A rapid review of racism in schools: Working paper

Mohamed Alansari, Maraea Hunia, and Jan Eyre

This document is a working paper drafted for a particular purpose: to inform the decision process about possible additional items for Wellbeing@School survey tools. It is a rapid review of recent key literature including meta-analyses and relevant New Zealand Aotearoa literature. Using a rapid review methodology means that some sections rely on secondary sources.

NZCER
Rangahau Mātauranga o Aotearoa

2020

New Zealand Council for Educational Research
P O Box 3237
Wellington
New Zealand
www.nzcer.org.nz
ISBN 978-1-98-854296-6

Contents

1. Introduction 1

Search strategies 1

Limitations of this paper 2

2. What is racism? 4

Tensions in the literature 5

What does racism look like from Māori perspectives? 6

Māori experiences of racism in education 6

Māori experiences of racism outside of education 7

What does racism look like from a wider range of cultural perspectives? 9

3. In what ways do students in Aotearoa New Zealand experience racism? 11

Students experience racism at different levels of the education system 11

Systemic racism is evident in the way the education system operates 13

Systemic racism and Māori experiences of education 14

Deficit theorising and systemic bias 14

Students' experiences of racism at the institutional level 15

Students' experiences of racism at the classroom level 16

Students' experiences of racism at the interpersonal level 18

4. Evidence-based strategies to address racism 20

5. Measuring racism 23

6. Summary and recommendations 26

How does racism fit within the current positioning of Wellbeing@School? 26

What might we recommend from the literature about the sorts of racism items that could be added? 27

Glossary 28

References 31

Appendix 38

1. Introduction

Wellbeing@School (W@S) is an online self-review toolkit developed by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) for the Ministry of Education. The toolkit includes survey tools for students and teachers, a self-review process, and support resources that together aim to help schools "explore how different aspects of school life contribute to creating a safe and caring climate that deters bullying". [1]

The Ministry of Education is considering adding items to the Wellbeing@School survey tools. The purpose of this rapid review is to examine the research literature relating to racism and its measurement for young people to determine if and how additional constructs might be added to the survey.

A rapid review is typically conducted within a short timeframe with the aim of providing an overview of key literature relating to a concept. A rapid review does not aim to synthesise and critique an exhaustive list of all the literature available related to the target area; instead it focuses on key sources of literature, messages, and understandings (Efron & Ravid, 2019).

The main focus of this rapid review is on the conceptualisation, operationalisation, and measurement of racism in school contexts. Specifically, we addressed the following questions:

- What is racism?
- In what ways is racism experienced by students in Aotearoa New Zealand?
- What is known about evidence-based/effective strategies that schools are (or could be) using to address racism?
- How are students' experiences of racism indicated or measured? Are there alternative ways of indicating or measuring racism?

The above overarching questions were developed in consultation with the Ministry of Education, and the literature scan began in mid-January 2020. The current working paper was completed in mid-April 2020.

Search strategies

A rapid review is an overview of key literature rather than a comprehensive review of all the literature available. Therefore, the range of information to be sourced, read, and referenced is restricted. We focused on sourcing literature that could be used to inform the development of a set of items measuring racism for the Wellbeing@School survey tools.

We searched primarily for literature from 2010 to 2020, looking for overviews, systematic reviews, and meta-analyses that covered national and international debates relating to theories, experiences, and

[1] https://www.wellbeingatschool.org.nz/about-ws-tools

measurements of racism in school contexts. We looked at both international and New Zealand literature. In reviewing New Zealand seminal studies, we focused on te ao Māori concepts and perspectives on racism. As Māori are tangata whenua, we prioritised literature from Māori writers and about Māori experiences of racism. Because Māori are likely to be experiencing effects of racism on an ongoing basis, Māori perspectives were of particular interest to this review.

To locate literature included in this review, our librarians used a range of library databases and search engines, including EBSCO, EDResearch, ERIC, INNZ, PsychInfo (EBSCO), Te Puna, A+Education, Academic OneFile (Gale), and BEI British Education Index (EBSCO). We used the following search terms:

- overview/literature review/systematic review/meta-analysis * racism * children/youth /adolescents * racism * children/youth/adolescents * school
- intervention/program/me * racism * school
- intervention/program/me * racism * school * New Zealand
- discrimination/bias * school * race/racial
- measuring/indicators * racism * children/youth/adolescents
- racism * Māori * tamariki/rangatahi
- racism * Pasifika/Pacific * children/youth/adolescents

We also searched Google Scholar and followed up on some literature cited in key documents. To capture examples of everyday racism in current contexts in Aotearoa New Zealand, we also included a range of blogs, magazines, and opinion articles in our review. While not traditionally used in literature reviews, these sources provided a useful additional perspective on the experience of racism and exemplified contemporary experiences of and perspectives on racism as documented in everyday media or news outlets. All references were entered in online referencing system Zotero. We screened all literature sources for relevance against the rapid review aims and questions. This was followed by a process of reading, analysing, and organising the literature to identify patterns and themes, as well as tensions and gaps. Finally, the resulting rapid review underwent a peer-review process to check the validity of interpretations and conclusions.

Limitations of this paper

Given the short timeframe associated with this rapid review, we mostly relied on quality-assured reviews and meta-analyses, alongside seminal pieces (both nationally and internationally) identified within those reviews or analyses, to guide the crafting of the current paper. As noted above, we also included some popular literature in our review, such as blogs, magazine articles, and opinion pieces, where this provided an additional perspective on the effects of everyday racism. Conclusions drawn from this review must be evaluated relative to the literature used within it. In this paper, we define racism as a network of disadvantage and differential treatment “embedded in power structures and systems, and perpetrated by individuals with power upon marginalised groups and individuals from within those groups” (see p. 6). In this review, we also distinguish between racism and race-based prejudice, to acknowledge that racial discrimination may be experienced by various racial-ethnic groups and in different forms. Māori and Pacific peoples in Aotearoa experience systemic, structural racism. While acknowledging that other non-minority groups such as Pākehā can experience acts of racial discriminination, we classify this as racial prejudice rather than racism per se.

We found that “racism” has many meanings and definitions. This means that researchers are not always talking about the same constructs and, especially in relation to measurement, instruments and scales are not easily comparable.

The literature we reviewed for this paper clearly shows that racism is present in education systems and settings. The literature also shows that racism affects the experiences and outcomes of students from marginalised groups, including Māori, Pacific peoples, and those from other minority ethnic–racial groups. The finding that racism exists across all levels of the education system leads us to question a focus on measurement of racism. We suggest that a more important area for investigation is identifying tools that address racism in education and that have benefits for all marginalised groups, including Māori and Pacific students as well as for those from refugee or migrant backgrounds. The same tools are likely to have benefits for all students in Aotearoa New Zealand.

2. What is racism?

Definitions of the term "racism" in literature indicate a duality of use. One set of definitions connects the term to the historic development of "race" as a concept, and to hegemonic beliefs that different "races" could be categorised as inferior or superior to others (for example, less or more cilivised, advanced, intelligent, or physically attractive). We saw definitions of this type in dictionaries—which reflect general use—and in academic literature. The second set of definitions is concerned with more general concepts of "racial prejudice" or "racial discrimination" (Merriam-Webster, 2020), and assumes that racism can be perpetrated by any person from any race upon a person or people from another race.

Both the Merriam-Webster (2020) and Cambridge (2020) online dictionaries define racism primarily as a belief system or ideology of the superiority of one race over another or others. This definition is echoed in much of the literature sourced for this rapid review (Abel & Mutu, 2014; Jones, 2000; Neville et al., 2000; Spoonley, 1993). These authors, whose work is described below, have also connected racism with power structures.

Abel and Mutu (2014) and Jones (2000) refer to racism as both ideology and behaviour, whereas Neville et al. (2000) and Spoonley (1993) connect racism with ideology and power:

> Racism is … often used to refer to the expression of an ideology of racial superiority in the situation where the holder has some power … A dominant group not only holds negative beliefs about other groups but, because of the power to control resources, is able to practise those beliefs in a discriminatory way … This ideological concept structures social and political relationships. (Spoonley, 1993, p. 4)

Mutu (2011) ties racism together with ideology, power, and acts or behaviour towards others:

> Racism can be defined as the attitudinal or ideological phenomenon that accepts racial superiority, and, when present in those with power, justifies them using that power to discriminate against and deprive others of what is rightfully theirs, on the basis of their race. (Mutu, 2011, n.p.)

A theme in the literature was the identification of power structures that stem from colonial ideologies as a source of racism (Abel & Mutu, 2014; Ngata, 2020; Spoonley, 1993):

> Racism … derives from a history of European colonialism. The idea of 'race' has evolved from its use in scientific explanation (now discredited) and as a justification in the oppression of colonised, non-European people. (Spoonley, 1993, pp. 3–5)

The idea of racism originating from colonial ideologies of superiority of a white European race over non-European races reflects that the concept of race is closely associated with physical characteristics, particularly skin colour. This was also a theme in the literature (Milne, 2013; Hippolite & Bruce, 2010). Some authors name this association between racist power structures and skin colour using terms such as "whiteness" (Picower, 2009), "white privilege", and "white spaces" (Milne, 2013). Ways of deflecting racism are referred to by Picower (2009) as "tools of whiteness", and these are described further in the following subsection.

A variety of categories of racism were identified in the literature sourced for this rapid review. They include **symbolic racism** (Henry & Sears, 2008), **modern racism** (McConahay, 1983), **colour-blind racism** (Neville et al., 2000); **structural racism, internalised racism**, and **institutional racism** (Lawrence and Keleher, 2004); and **societal racism** (Paradies and Williams, 2008, cited in Barnes et al., 2013). Further categories include **covert** and **overt racism** or **subtle** and **blatant prejudice** (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995).

All the above categories are briefly explained in the glossary at the end of this review. Concepts closely related to racism that also appear in the literature are **racial prejudice**, **unconscious bias**, and **micro-aggression** (Blank et al., 2016). These terms are also defined in the glossary.

Tensions in the literature

One tension we found is reflected in dictionary definitions that equate racism with racial prejudice. This line of definition is highly visible in comments posted by a general readership in response to online opinion pieces about experiences of racism (see, e.g., Rice, 2020; Lee & Gan, 2014). It is less visible in academic literature, which instead discusses and addresses racism as the product of a deeply embedded belief system. The term "racism" is used differently by different groups to denote and explain different experiences, and this may complicate discussions. A careful look at what racism does and does not represent is crucial to a better understanding of what it may look like in the eyes of students, and how it can be addressed.

Another tension in the literature is how, or whether, racism is discussed (Spoonley, 1993; Ngata, 2020; Tate & Page, 2018; Hippolite & Bruce, 2010). Tate and Page (2018) have argued that some authors discuss bias rather than racism, using terms such as "unconscious bias", "implicit bias", or "implicit consciousness". Their view is that "(un)conscious bias is the acceptable face of racism, the phrase that a majority white sector feels comfortable with using and discussing to describe itself" (p. 142). Tate and Page believe that terms such as "unconscious bias" are:

> … an alibi to diminish the recognition, analysis and salience of white supremacy in order to maintain it. This alibi is a wilful silencing which as a political act maintains white innocence at the same time as it enables a white 'will to forget' anti-Black and people of colour racism. (Tate & Page, 2018, p. 143)

Several authors point out various ways that racism is decentred or evaded through a range of strategies that Picower (2009) calls "tools of whiteness". These include:

- redirecting the focus away from addressing racism to, for example, the discomfort of dominant group individuals (Ngata, 2020)
- "whitesplaining"—people from a dominant group believing they are more qualified to speak about a marginalised group than a person who belongs to that group (Johnson, 2016)
- blaming people of colour for their circumstances (Picower, 2009)
- using apologies for discriminatory actions, which involve phrases such as "'but our intentions were good!'… [or] 'I'm sorry you were insulted'" (Lee & Gan, 2014, n.p.)
- denying being able to see race (Ullucci & Battey, 2011).

Tate and Page (2018) and Ngata (2020) have also argued that such evasion and refocusing shuts down discussion of racism, and upholds and protects racist structures and their beneficiaries. In a report on racism

against indigenous peoples in sport, Hippolite and Bruce (2010) argued that structural racism "marginalises, belittles or ignores Indigenous knowledge, protocols and cultural practice but makes it difficult, if not impossible, to talk about racism" (p. 24).

For the above-mentioned reasons, we feel that researchers and writers need to be clear about their definition of racism. In developing new questions for the Wellbeing@School tool, we believe it is important to take the position that racism stems from a belief system that assumes a hierachy of "races" and is intertwined with power. While this position allows that acts of race-based prejudice or discrimination can be perpetrated between individuals from any group, we class this as "racial prejudice" rather than "racism". Racism, on the other hand, we see as embedded in power structures and systems, and perpetrated by individuals with power upon marginalised groups and individuals from within those groups.

What does racism look like from Māori perspectives?

A range of literature sourced for this rapid review documents Māori perspectives on, and experiences of, racism. This literature includes studies located in the Aotearoa New Zealand education system, in other national structures and systems (such as health, justice, sport, and arts), and in facets of everyday life.

As will be described next, one major theme in literature from Māori academics and authors is that racism is embedded in New Zealand power structures (e.g., national and local government, and large organisational bodies) and systems (Penetito, 2010; Smith & Cram, 2001). Penetito's perspective is that the education system in Aotearoa New Zealand "was established by a colonial government that had strong views about the limitations of Māori … [to] mete out deprivation" (Penetito, 2010, p. 51). Narratives from Māori students and their whānau indicate that, from their perspectives, racism is a regular feature of the school lives of Māori students, and negatively affects their wellbeing, educational experiences, and outcomes (Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Office of the Children's Commissioner and NZ School Trustees Association, 2018).

Māori experiences of racism in education

Māori experiences of racism in the New Zealand education system are documented and discussed by many writers including Bishop et al. (2003), Bishop and Berryman (2006), Smith and Cram (2001), Milne (2013), the Office of the Children's Commissioner and NZ School Trustees Association (2018), Meissel et al. (2017), and Waitangi Tribunal (1993). These sources are discussed next.

In the research that provided the foundation for the focus and design of Te Kotahitanga professional learning and development (PLD), Bishop et al. (2003) concluded that a deficit victim-blaming perspective results in teachers having low expectations of Māori students, which creates a downward spiral of low achievement and failure. Low teacher expectations were confirmed in a study by Meissel et al. (2017), which found that priority learners, including Māori, received systematically lower overall teacher judgements (OTJs), even when their standardised achievement scores were the same as other students. Their results "paint a clear picture of an underlying systematic bias within the New Zealand education system" (p. 58). This is a concern given that students evaluated to be less able are generally given more restricted learning experiences, thus creating a vicious cycle (Rubie-Davies 2010, cited in Meissel et al., 2017).

Milne's PhD thesis (2013) argued that in "whitestream" New Zealand schools, a "white background is the norm", and students of colour are marginalised because they do not fit into expectations of white education structures.

> When we talk about multiculturalism and diversity what we are really referring to is the colour of the children, or their difference from that white norm, and how they don't fit perfectly inside our lines. If the colour of the space doesn't change, schools are still in the business of assimilation, relegating non-white children to the margins, no matter how many school reform initiatives, new curricula, strategic plans, or mandated standards we implement. (Milne, 2013, p. v)

Many of the young Māori participants in a study by the Office of the Children's Commissioner and NZ School Trustees Association (2018) described experiences of racism at an individual level. These experiences included both overt racism, such as name calling, and covert racism, such as when a teacher ignored them in class.

in Aotearoa New Zealand, covert racism also includes micro-aggressions characterised by "ambiguity and lack of intentionality that allow perpetrators to remain oblivious of their own racism and its impacts" (Mayeda et al., 2014, p. 5). Mayeda et al. identified a range of micro-aggressions that may inhibit Māori and Pacific students' educational progress, including

- micro-assaults such as dismissive attitudes towards the Treaty of Waitangi, individual students, or comments that attribute students' success to equity or support services; and
- micro-insults (unintentional actions that convey rudeness or insensitivity) such as the surprise expressed when Māori students and Pacific students succeed.

Māori experiences of racism outside of education

The literature we sourced for this review indicates that Māori experience racism in many ways that directly or potentially affect their health, wellbeing, access to justice, and educational and life outcomes. We reviewed literature that explored racism in:

- health (Blank et al., 2016)
- justice (ActionStation, 2018)
- sport (Hippolite & Bruce, 2010)
- arts (Solly, 2020; McAllister, 2020) everyday life (Barnes et al., 2013; Denney, 2018; and Ngata, 2020).

Health

Blank et al. (2016) reviewed literature that indicated racism and unconscious bias in the New Zealand health system. They note that racism within the Aotearoa New Zealand health system is often denied, yet statistics indicate that Māori are less likely than Pākehā to receive accurate diagnoses or appropriate treatment. The statistics also indicate that Māori access to health services is limited compared to that of Pākehā.

Justice

A study of the justice system found that Māori—including those who are school-aged—are targeted,

arrested, and incarcerated at much higher rates than Pākehā (ActionStation, 2018). The "agents of the justice system such as police, judges, courts, and lawyers hold an active bias against Māori, punishing them more harshly than Pākehā for the same transgressions" (ActionStation, 2018, p. 15). In addition, the media in Aotearoa New Zealand perpetrate stereotypes by, for example, presenting stories about Māori "unfairly and inaccurately" to the public, while ignoring Māori perspectives (ActionStation, 2018, p. 7).

Sport

Hippolite and Bruce (2010) gathered Māori experiences of racism in national sport (including at a structural level). They document systemic-level racist practices such as Māori exclusion from teams, for example through capped racial-quota systems; reluctance to let Māori teams use national emblems; a culture of silence around "issues of racism in mainstream sport" (p. 23); and tokenism and misappropriation of Māori culture and images. The authors also documented individual experiences that included overt and covert racism, including racist slurs on and off playing fields.

Arts

Māori authors and commentators have also described and discussed racism in the arts in Aotearoa. Ngāi Tahu author and musician, Solly (2020), described experiences and observations of racism while learning music at school, and later in the classical music community in Aotearoa New Zealand. While Solly was at school, and achieving good results, her music teacher "called [her] arrogant every time [she] said [she] wanted to study music at university, despite Pākehā students being told that they were capable and strong" (Solly, 2020, n.p.). In a recent opinion piece in the New Zealand online commentary magazine *The Spinoff*, Māori woman and author Anna McAllister (2020) described fellow students who directed violence at her and at Māori people and culture in general; misappropriation of Māori culture; and lecturers who set unreasonable and sometimes contradictory standards for Māori students, which were not asked of others.

Everyday life

Regarding everyday life in Aotearoa New Zealand, celebrity Te Whānau Apanui film producer Taika Waititi noted in a radio interview that "It's as racist as [f**k]. I think New Zealand is the best place on the planet, but it's a racist place" (Denney, 2018, n.p.). Examples Waititi gave included racial profiling of Polynesians, and refusal to pronounce Māori names correctly. Veteran human rights advocate from Ngāti Maniapoto, Pamela Ormsby, recalled that during a meeting to organise the 1980s protests against apartheid, a Pākehā organiser told Māori who were present that Māori in New Zealand had no experience of real racism (Ormsby, 2012). Ngata's (2020) opinion piece focused on two responses to an incident on live television, when a Māori researcher presented dismal facts from research into racism in the New Zealand justice system. The first response was tears from the interviewer, a Pākehā woman, and the second was media reaction to the incident. Ngata noted that there is a pattern in which the tears, or feelings, of "a white woman" become the centre of attention, and the bigger issue of racism against a marginalised group is sidelined.

> It's not her individual FAULT for having an emotional reaction to oppression, but it's also completely understandable for women of colour to be infuriated with how this played out … when white women cry over brown oppression … this does not occur in a vacuum, separate from every other instance in our lived history. What we see, when we see white women's tears, are all the tears that we are not allowed. It reminds us of our sisters who have been numbed into tearlessness, watching their men get

> locked away and their children taken from their arms, but then further punished for showing unacceptable emotion when they face their state oppressors. In white women's tears, we see the all powerful call to arms that has rallied their colonial male counterparts to launch to their defence and attack brown women for, usually, just speaking our truth. (Ngata, 2020, n.p.)

Most recently, during the COVID-19 Alert Level 4 lockdown in Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori authors have expressed concerns, via online opinion pieces, that Māori experience the greatest risks, both from the disease itself and from systemic racism expressed through lockdown laws (Forbes, 2020; Hamilton, 2020; Hitchcock, 2020; Jones, 2020). The resulting impacts on education for tamariki Māori might include:

- reduced opportunities for socialisation and learning due, for example, to restrictions on practising tikanga Māori, such as tangihanga and gathering of kaimoana
- socio-economic impacts due, for example, to projected high unemployment rates for Māori
- higher threat to health due to lower immunity and high rates of underlying health issues among Māori
- inequitable distribution of resources.

What does racism look like from a wider range of cultural perspectives?

Themes in international literature about racism in education mirror those in New Zealand literature. They include:

- perspectives that racism is systemic and is aimed at marginalised groups, particularly people of colour, including indigenous people of colour (Joseph et al., 2016)
- privileged majority group members, including professionals, perpetrating racism while denying its existence (Ulucci and Battey, 2010; Picower, 2009)
- difficulty in gaining official acknowledgement of the impact of racism on student achievement (Ulucci & Battey, 2010; Milne, 2019)
- a lack of awareness by majority-group professionals of their biases, and resistance to learning about them (Greenwald & Banaji, cited in Houkamau, 2016; Picower, 2009).

While it was outside the scope of this rapid review to search for literature pertaining to a wide range of different groups in New Zealand, we acknowledge that other minority groups experience the effects of racism. For example, the following study by Butcher et al. (2006) explored the experiences of refugees and migrants, including examples from education contexts. Through a series of focus groups with participants from South African, Asian, and other ethnic communities, Butcher et al. found that refugees and immigrants reported experiencing racial discrimination in "the arenas of employment, accessing goods and services (notably education and housing), and neighbourhood discrimination". The discrimination was strongest for "visible ethnic minority groups and/or the most different cultural backgrounds". Participants in the study who were Muslims or from the Middle East reported experiencing discrimination related to terrorist attacks (given the timing of this study, this referred particularly to the 11 September 2001 attacks in the United States). When talking about their children's education, refugees and migrants referred to issues that suggested "not that teachers are being

deliberately discriminatory but that they lack the cross-cultural awareness and/or expertise required to effectively respond to the particular needs of immigrant and refugee children in the classroom." (p. 32).

3. In what ways do students in Aotearoa New Zealand experience racism?

In this section, we look at studies that have explored whether and how racism is present in the education system and the ways in which racism affects students in the compulsory school sector. We consider both international studies and those based in Aotearoa New Zealand. We begin with studies that have explored students' experiences of racism, particularly those that drew on students' own descriptions or perceptions. We then turn to a wider exploration of the ways in which racism operates in the education system, including at systemic, institutional, classroom, and interpersonal levels.

Students experience racism at different levels of the education system

Despite the prevalence of "colour blind" attitudes that propose racism no longer exists and that all students have equal access to opportunities in education (Castro-Atwater, 2016; Milner, 2012), research shows that racism continues to occur across all aspects of education. Studies that have explored racism in educational settings have described it as a complex phenomenon, operating at multiple levels and manifesting in a range of ways (e.g., Milner, 2012). Priest et al. (2014), writing about the effects of racism on children and adolescents, have commented on the complexity of racism:

> … racism can be expressed through beliefs (e.g., negative and inaccurate stereotypes), emotions (e.g., fear/hatred) or behaviors/practices (e.g., unfair treatment, discrimination), ranging from open threats and insults (including physical violence) to phenomena deeply embedded in social systems and structures. (Priest et al., 2014, p. 1673)

These multiple and interconnected layers of racism combine to result in ongoing disadvantage and disparity for already marginalised groups. Milner (2010, cited in Milner, 2012) described how racism can:

> ... manifest through the curriculum [and] instructional practices, as well as in broader, systemic, and institutionalized structures that prevent particular groups of students ... from succeeding in the classroom and beyond. (Milner 2010, cited in Milner, 2012, p. 868)

Many other researchers have described how these multiple layers of racism compound to perpetuate disadvantage for marginalised groups (e.g., Blank et al., 2016).

Research that draws on the lived experiences of young people in schools, both internationally and in Aotearoa New Zealand, confirms that racism exists and is multi-layered. Studies that have surveyed or interviewed students to explore the level of racism the students experienced at school, and what form this racism took, include Joseph et al. (2016), Priest et al. (2019), Bishop et al. (2003), and Office of the Children's Commissioner & NZ School Trustees Association (2018). Common themes were that students experienced

different forms of racism that involved both their teachers and their peers, and that instances or experiences of racism could also be attributed to school-wide structures and policies.

For example, in the United States, Joseph et al. (2016) analysed data from surveys and interviews with 18 black female adolescent students from two high schools. Joseph et al.'s aims were to find out how the participants defined racism, what kinds of experiences of racism the participants reported experiencing in schools, and how the participants' perspectives and experiences could inform educational reform. Participants described experiences of "prejudice, discrimination, and differential treatment as well as stereotypes, labels and low teacher expectations" (p. 14). They felt there was a "racial hierarchy" within schools, with students of colour at the lower end. This hierarchy operated across different levels of the school, from "systemic or institutional issues, to experiences with students and with teachers" (p. 16).

Moodie et al. (2019) carried out a systematic review of 46 studies published between 1989 and 2016 on racism and its impact on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. Moodie et al. wanted to find out whether and how racism influences the school experiences of these students. The review found that racism "negatively impacts the experiences of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students from primary school, through high school and to later life" (p. 292). The impacts of racism Moodie et al. described included "school withdrawal, de-identifying as Indigenous, emotional distress and internalisation of negative belief about Indigenous intelligence and academic performance" (p. 274).

The Australian Speak Out Against Racism (SOAR) project (Priest et al., 2019) surveyed a representative sample of 4,664 Year 5–9 students and their teachers in New South Wales and Victorian schools to find out about their experiences of racism and racial bullying. About a third of students reported experiences of racial discrimination by peers and in everyday life. Just over a tenth of students reported experiences of racial discrimination by teachers. Students from backgrounds other than Anglo-Celtic and European were twice as likely to experience discrimination. Students were also asked about their experiences of "vicarious racism"—that is, whether they had witnessed others being discriminated against by their peers or teachers. Sixty percent of students reported that they had seen "acts of racial discrimination against other students, by peers" (Priest et al., 2019, p. 25). Just under half (43%) of students reported seeing instances of teachers racially discriminating against other students.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, Bishop et al. (2003) gathered Year 9 and 10 Māori students' narratives about their classroom experience in mainstream schools. The researchers used insights from these narratives to develop a professional learning and development intervention (Te Kotahitanga) for teachers, which was later associated with improved learning, behaviour, and attendance outcomes for Māori students. Analysis of the narratives showed that students were well able to describe and explain their experiences of racism, and that their descriptions and explanations were very different from those offered by their teachers. While students, parents, and principals talked about "structural and cultural relationship barriers that limited [Māori students'] progress and achievement" (p. 28), teachers were more likely to use deficit theorising to explain differences in academic progress and achievement for Māori students.

The Office of the Children's Commissioner and the NZ School Trustees Association (2018) reported on the results of engagement with tamariki and rangatahi about their experiences of the Aotearoa New Zealand education system. This engagement was designed to inform the development of National Education and Learning Priorities and ensure young people's voices were heard. Information was collected from 1,678 children and young people through surveys and face-to-face conversations. A key insight from this project

was that many children and young people reported experiencing racism at school. Rangatahi Māori, young Pacific peoples, and other ethnic–racial groups described their experiences of racism from both teachers and peers.

These studies provide evidence that students, both internationally and in Aotearoa New Zealand, continue to experience racism in school. This racism spans different levels of the school system, with systemic, structural dimensions as well as direct, interpersonal ones. In the following subsections, we look in more detail at the levels of racism described in the literature we reviewed.

Systemic racism is evident in the way the education system operates

As we have explored in the first section of this paper, researchers have conceptualised systemic racism in various ways. However, these conceptualisations commonly refer to the way in which a marginalised racial–ethnic group is systematically excluded from "participation in the power decisions that shape all aspects of society, including schools" (Joseph et al., 2016, p. 15). Decisions made at a societal level by a dominant, powerful group (often white), and which exclude the perspectives of other groups, lead to "manifestations of discrimination, oppression and white supremacy" (p. 15).

These manifestations of discrimination and oppression can be seen in Aotearoa New Zealand in the way in which schooling is conceptualised, organised, and enacted. The education system in Aotearoa is founded on traditional hegemonic Western ("white") approaches and aligns with Eurocentric ideas about the purpose of education and the way in which knowledge is structured and transmitted. Success is measured in terms of academic achievement. Systems and structures in schools today continue to reflect these Eurocentric origins and hence to advantage "white" students. This situation has tended to have gone relatively unexamined: "New Zealand's education system has been largely silent on the topic of whiteness and the Eurocentric nature of our schooling policy and practice" (Milne, 2013, p. v).

Researchers who have recently drawn attention to the structures underpinning the education system as significant contributors to ongoing disparities for some groups of students, including Māori students and Pacific students, include Milne (2013) and Berryman and Eley (2019). These researchers describe how the structures themselves are a form of racism, by which the dominant and powerful group imposes its ways of doing things on others: "woven into the very fabric of our educational system is an underlying racism that persistently and perniciously disadvantages Maōri students" (Berryman & Eley, 2019, p. 991). As Bishop et al. commented in 2003, schools are "designed for and by those who have the appropriate 'cultural capital' to achieve in the schools and classrooms" (p. 29).

Wilkinson (cited in Moodie et al., 2019) sees systemic racism in the education sector as a result of the complex interweaving of institutional racism with "interpersonal racism perpetrated by non-Indigenous teachers and students" (Moodie et al., 2019, p. 287). In this view, systemic racism results from the way schooling is enacted at the institutional level and delivered in the classroom by teachers. This includes the effects of deeply embedded stereotypes and negative assumptions of minority groups' academic abilities, which are held at societal as well as institutional, individual, and community levels. Citing the work of Peter McLaren, Berryman and Eley (2019) note that systemic racism may be perpetuated unknowingly by the actions of individuals within the system:

> We don't need to be racist ... to be complicit in racist practices, as racism 'can also be embedded in structures that themselves carry the historical legacy of violence against minoritized populations ... our actions (often unwittingly) conform to rules, codes and practices that disadvantage certain groups (notably minority student groups) and privilege others. (McLaren, in Berryman et al., 2015, cited in Berryman & Eley, 2019, p. 990).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori continue to experience disadvantage in the education system because of racism that is embedded at a structural, systemic level (see, for example, Milne, 2019).

Systemic racism and Māori experiences of education

The history of unfair treatment of Māori in the New Zealand education system is well documented (see, e.g., Smith & Cram, 2001; Waitangi Tribunal, 1993):

> The education system in New Zealand is operating unsuccessfully because too many Maori children are not reaching an acceptable standard of education. For some reason they do not or cannot take full advantage of it. Their language is not adequately protected and their scholastic achievements fall far short of what they should be. The promises in the Treaty of Waitangi of equality in education as in all other human rights are undeniable. Judged by the system's own standards Maori children are not being successfully taught, and for this reason alone, quite apart from a duty to protect the Maori language, the education system is being operated in breach of the Treaty. (Waitangi Tribunal, 1993, p. 38)

Moreover, Penetito (2010) argued that elements of paternalism and racism have persisted in the education system through history to the present day. Penetito explains that the disjunction between Eurocentric, white models of education and the norms of Māori culture have resulted in systemic racism which places Māori students at a disadvantage.

> Why is there a problem with Māori student performance? Because the cultural discontinuity between the homes and families of Māori students and the institution of the school are enormous. How will learning the Māori language improve Māori student educational performance? It will help them feel positive about themselves as Māori, which is a necessary ingredient in their ability to contest the ethnocentric values and sometimes racist practices of the school. (Penetito, 2010, p. 265)

Milne (2013) explains this discontinuity using terms such as "whitestreaming" to describe how, in New Zealand schools, a "white background is the norm". If this situation does not change, non-white students will always struggle to fit in. This is because the education system as a whole in Aotearoa New Zealand reflects the cultural norms of the dominant, white, group (see also discussion on pages 5 to 7 of this paper).

Deficit theorising and systemic bias

Bishop et al. (2003) proposed that "cultural deficit theorising" explained disparities in educational achievement, and linked this to systemic issues:

> Many current educational policies and practices, as in most western countries, were developed and continue to be developed within a pattern of power imbalances. These power imbalances favour cultural deficit explanations (victim blaming) of Māori students' educational performance that perpetuates the ongoing colonising project of pathologising the lives of these students, and maintains the power over what constitutes appropriate classroom interactions in the hands of teachers without any reference to the culture of Māori students. (Bishop, et al., 2003, p. 5)

Deficit theories "collectively see the locus of the problem as either lack of inherent ability, lack of cultural appropriateness or limited resources ... the general pattern of the solutions that they propose suggests that the 'victims' need to change, usually to become more like the proponents of the theories" (Bishop et al., p. 6).

A number of researchers have explored "colour-blind" attitudes and how they affect students' experiences in education (e.g., Castro-Atwater, 2016; Milner, 2012). Those who take a colour-blind perspective do not not "see" colour. They are of the view that racism no longer exists, and that all students have equal opportunities to succeed. Colour-blind perspectives, either consciously or unconsciously held, result in teachers avoiding discussions about racial differences and the existence of racial inequality and institutional racism. Rather, educators may believe in emphasising commonalities between people, treating all students the same, and being "fair". This refusal to acknowledge the existence of race affects different levels of the educational system. For example, it affects decisions about what is taught (the curriculum), instructional practices, and school policies (Milner, 2012). Crucially, colour-blind attitudes lead to reluctance to engage in critical thinking and discussions about race, which can be particularly harmful for students who continue to experience racism on a day-to-day basis (Milner, 2012).

Students' experiences of racism at the institutional level

Year 9 and 10 Māori students in Bishop et al.'s (2003) study spoke of feeling an "overwhelming denial of them as Māori" while at school (p. 30), and of feeling excluded by the school system. Recent research suggests that this experience is common and ongoing: results from the 2015 round of PISA showed that increasing percentages of Aotearoa New Zealand students reported feeling like an "outsider" at school (Berryman & Eley, 2019). Researchers have suggested several possible contributing factors. To illustrate, Māori students in Bishop et al.'s (2003) study described being negatively affected by the dominant culture of the school, which positioned their own culture as lesser or as a subject of study:

> Many Māori children feel excluded, often by the language used in the classroom, mispronunciation of their names, their culture being ignored or being made into a subject of study or being subject to interpretation by "ignorant" others. (p. 30)

This links with previous discussion about the Eurocentric nature of the schooling system (see pages 13 and 14).

In the secondary school, institutional racism has been found to manifest in the way that students are channelled towards particular school programmes and pathways. For example, students from minority groups may be directed towards and overrepresented in pathways that have fewer academic opportunities, because of stereotypical beliefs about student abilities (e.g., Berryman & Eley, 2019; Joseph et al. 2016). A student interviewed by Berryman and Eley (2019) commented:

> If you're a Māori, you're probably already put in those classes where they're not pushing you to succeed as much, so automatically you do not achieve well. That's the overall stereotype of Māori achievement. People aren't expecting as much of you. (p. 996)

Similarly, Helme's (2005) research into Vocational Education and Training programmes in secondary schools found that although vocational programmes can offer worthwhile opportunities for students, some schools use them "as a streaming device … that locks students out of academic studies and pathways"

(Helme, 2005, cited in Moodie et al., 2019, p. 289).

Other examples of institutional racism described in the literature occur when schools privilege and legitimise the worldview and opinions of the dominant group, including negative stereotypes of other racial–ethnic groups. For example, Joseph et al. (2016) described an incident in which a white student's newsletter article, which contained racialised and derogatory language towards coloured students, was published rather than being censored by the school. The authors argued that this incident had the effect of legitimising the white student's stereotypical view. Another example of institutional racism described by the participants in Joseph et al.'s study was the differential application of dress-code rules, with students of colour being unfairly targeted.

Milner (2012) identified a range of institution-level outcomes from a "one-size-fits-all" approach to the education system that disadvantages non-majority groups:

> - An overrepresentation of students of color in special education;
> - An underrepresentation of students of color in gifted education;
> - An overreferral of students of color ... for disciplinary actions and consequences;
> - An overwhelming number of students of color expelled or suspended;
> - An underrepresentation of students of color in schoolwide clubs and organizations, and in other prestigious arenas. (Milner, 2012, p. 871)

Students' experiences of racism at the classroom level

Students have described experiencing racism both through the content of what is taught and through the way in which teaching and learning is organised, including the actions and attitudes of the teacher. A strong theme in studies that have focused on student experiences of racism is teachers' differential expectations and treatment of students, based on students' race (e.g., Bishop et al., 2003; Joseph et al., 2016).

At a curriculum level, the content of what is taught may reflect the majority "white" culture, with little coverage of subject matter or themes relating to students from other racial–ethnic groups. Students from minority groups may not be able to "see" themselves, or the experiences and accomplishments of their group, in the curriculum. Instead, the curriculum may be dominated by perspectives, norms, and worldviews of the dominant group (Milner, 2012). In Aotearoa New Zealand, this may be evident in lack of Māori themes and topics (Berryman and Eley, 2019, citing various best evidence syntheses). This is likely to contribute to feelings of alienation or loss of belonging, as described by Berryman and Eley (2019) and Bishop et al. (2003).

In Joseph et al.'s (2016) study based in the United States, the majority of experiences of racism described by students concerned teacher attitudes, interactions, and comments. Teachers gave students of colour differential treatment based on lower expectations, stereotyping, and prejudice. One student, Kishana, described her experience:

> I feel like when I first walk into a classroom, the teacher expects, because of the way I dress and the people I talk to, they automatically expect that I'm going to be disrespectful, that I don't care about learning, that I'm only there because I would get in trouble for not being there. So, I feel like that is

> what they expect. (Joseph et al., 2016, p. 18)

Studies that have collected students' narratives of their experiences in schools in Aotearoa have found similar descriptions of differential expectations from teachers (Berryman & Eley, 2019; Bishop et al., 2003; Office of the Children's Commissioner and NZ School Trustees Association, 2018). In a paper that explored belonging and wellbeing for indigenous students in New Zealand's schools, Berryman and Eley described the prevalence of bullying, including forms of racism such as "racial microaggressions" (e.g., "derogatory racial slurs") and "lateral or horizontal violence" (e.g., "bullying and intimidating behaviours that are directed against one's peers") (Berryman & Eley, 2019, p. 986). Māori students believed that teachers treated them differently because of their race:

> Many teachers overtly negatively stereotyped Māori students, with some teachers being covertly racist. They felt that teachers expected them to misbehave and were constantly looking for misbehaviour (and finding misbehaviour that would be ignored in other students) and, likewise, teachers ignored opportunities to recognize good behaviours. (p. 992)

Rangatahi Māori, young Pacific people, and other ethnic minorities who contributed to the Education Matters to Me project (Office of the Children's Commissioner and NZ School Trustees Association, 2018) described experiencing racism from both teachers and peers at school. The impact of implicit and explicit negative assumptions and expectations from teachers based on racial stereotypes was a strong theme. These assumptions affected the quality of students' relationships with teachers and negatively impacted on their experiences and achievement:

> Many rangatahi shared experiences of racism from their relationships with their teachers. Rangatahi said they feel judged and that they are expected to fail or are set up to fail by their teachers. These feelings and shared experiences of rangatahi significantly impact their access to meaningful educational experiences. (p. 20)

Differential expectations also extend to teachers' negative beliefs about indigenous students' academic capacity. Some studies have found that these beliefs exist even among teachers in training (Dandy et al., 2015, cited in Moodie et al., 2019). Such beliefs, which may be unconsciously held, can affect students' experiences and learning opportunities within the education system, thus perpetuating poorer outcomes (e.g., Meissel et al., 2017). As one example, the findings from a 1990 project with teachers in Aotearoa New Zealand:

> … highlighted how deeply entrenched such disadvantageous, differential treatment is within the beliefs and practice of many teachers in Aotearoa New Zealand. In most cases, this is not due to conscious prejudice, but part of a pattern of well-intended but disadvantageous treatment of Māori students. (Cazden, 1990, cited in Ministry of Education, 2018)

In Bishop et al.'s (2003) study, researchers found that teachers' explanations of differential achievement were based on deficit thinking.

> The teachers spoke of students' deficiencies as being major barriers to students' progress and achievement ... many teachers believe that Māori learners are simply less capable of educational achievement because most come from limited language and economically poor homes. In contrast, those parenting, principals and students identified a combination of structural and cultural relationship barriers that limited their satisfactory progress and achievement. (Bishop et al., 2003, p. 28)

Those from a white majority background, including many teachers in mainstream schools, may have an

entrenched perspective of culture. They may even deny that they have a culture (Choi, 2008; Meece & Wingate, 2009–2010; both cited in Castro-Atwater, 2016). However, culture has a powerful impact on the way we are socialised into the world, and on our attitudes, perceptions, and worldviews. These attitudes, perceptions, and worldviews may lead to biases such as stereotypical views or beliefs, which may be deeply ingrained and unacknowledged (Blank et al., 2016). Acknowledging and reflecting on the impact of our own culture is recommended as an important step in moving towards a more equitable education system (Milner, 2012).

Students' experiences of racism at the interpersonal level

Literature describes students experiencing racism directly from others, including their teachers and peers. Writing about the education system in Australia, Grigg and Manderson (2014, p. 68) state that "ethnographic research in primary and secondary schools in a number of Australian states has demonstrated how students, parents, and teachers support and perpetuate widely prevalent racist behaviour and attitudes". Similar findings have been found in studies focusing on the experiences of students in Aotearoa New Zealand. (e.g., Berryman and Eley, 2019).

A common theme in research is that students experience both covert racism and overt or explicit racism. Covert racism includes comments or jokes based on "unknowingly offensive myths and stereotypes" (Ben-Moshe & Halafoff, 2014, p. 53; Gross & Rutland, 2014; Berryman and Eley, 2019). However, there is also evidence of overt, explicit racism within schools, both from teachers and other students. Berryman and Eley described how Māori secondary school students they interviewed as part of Kia Eke Panuku 2015 (Berryman & Eley, 2019) "were very clear that racial microaggressions were rampant in their school experiences and they viewed this as explicit racism" (p. 995). The explicit racism included negative comments from teachers, peers, and members of the community. One student explained, "Some teachers are racist. They say bad things about us" (p. 995); another commented that:

> … people in our community say, 'Oh, that person's dumb because they're Māori' … Just because you're Māori, it doesn't mean that you're dumb. And it doesn't mean that you can't achieve. (Berryman & Eley, 2019, p. 995)

Some studies have also reported examples of peer-to-peer racist incidents such as teasing, being left out, or being treated with less respect, as well as actual physical violence (Priest et al., 2019).

The main focus of a qualitative study by Mayeda et al. (2014) was on the factors that contributed to success for a group of high-achieving Māori and Pacific tertiary students. During interviews, the majority of students initiated discussions about coping with racism, specifically micro-aggressions characterised by "ambiguity and lack of intentionality that allow perpetrators to remain oblivious of their own racism and its impacts" (p. 5).

Summary

Our rapid review of the literature suggests that children in Aotearoa New Zealand, especially Māori and Pacifica students and those from other non-white ethnic–racial groups, experience racism in school. Students

experience racism at a systemic level that results in differential outcomes; however, they also experience more direct racism from both their peers and from teachers. Implicit and explicit negative assumptions, based on deficit thinking and racial stereotypes, impact on their educational experiences and achievement.

In order to begin addressing the inequalities created by racism, researchers have pointed to the need to first acknowledge its existence and then to reflect on its impact (e.g., Castro-Atwater, 2016; Milne, 2012). Including discussions about race in the classroom is one way of doing this. Castro-Atwater (2016) suggests that educators encourage:

> … discussions about racial identity, historical and present-day inequalities, and the accomplishments of people of color within a curriculum because this can provide a safe forum for both White children and children of color to gain assistance in their reasoning on these issues and stimulate critical thinking and discussion about race. (p. 213)

Other strategies and interventions designed to address racism in the education system are reviewed in the next section of this paper.

4. Evidence-based strategies to address racism

It is well established in the literature that interventions and evidence-based strategies can improve students' attitudes towards, and interactions with, peers from other ethnic–racial groups. The same literature has also revealed positive moderate effects of those strategies on majority group members' ethnic–racial attitudes towards those from ethnic–racial minority students (Lai et al., 2014; Ulger et al., 2018). As will be discussed in this section, different authors have argued for different approaches to implementing those interventions or strategies (i.e., student versus teacher-focused interventions) and to varying levels (i.e., infrequent anti-racist classroom activities versus school-wide anti-racist policies or practices). What is common across these studies, however, is the recognition of the complexity and danger of racialising classroom experiences where students' opportunities to learn are differential and predicated on their ethnic–racial backgrounds. What is also common across these studies is the one-size-does-not-fit-all mindset that seems to have shaped educators' decision-making processes when choosing strategies for combating racism in schools. Critical, systemic, and community-level engagement are critical pillars to the success of those strategies.

In a meta-ethnographic review of the experiences of African–American secondary school students in the United States, Neal-Jackson (2018) argued that effective strategies to address educational inequities faced by students from historically marginalised backgrounds must begin by examining the role of school(ing) in enabling, or hindering, student opportunities to learn. Neal-Jackson (2018) noted that although efforts to create inclusive and supportive classroom environments for students have been discussed in previous literature, such conversations were often described in greater detail by students than by school staff. That is, whereas students from ethnic–racial minority backgrounds have often spoken about wanting to do well at school, including ways they could be supported, their teachers have often adopted a deficit view of these students' educational journeys, describing their teaching efforts as primarily consisting of managing the students' behavioural problems. This argument is further supported by West-Olatunji et al. (2010) who found that teachers were more likely to focus on taking disciplinary action and wanting to gain control when dealing with African–American students, instead of teaching them. Taken together, these studies suggest that teachers play a substantial role in creating or diminishing differential—and inevitably inequitable—opportunities to learn. These studies also suggest that effective strategies to reduce such disparities could begin by addressing teaching behaviours and attitudes associated with enhancing positive student experiences, as well as reducing differential treatment in the classroom.

Despite the argument that teachers play a considerable role in racialising student experiences in the classroom—through offering differential treatment based on student race or ethnicity—many of the studies that aimed at reducing classroom racial disparities have focused on students, not teachers. In a systematic review of studies on anti-racist education efforts, Lynch et al. (2017) found that 63% of all studies reviewed between 2000–2015 that indicated implementing anti-racist education were classroom-based strategies aimed at changing the behaviour of individual students or groups. The strategies were typically in the form of printed material to read and reflect on. The remainder of studies conducted school-based strategies in the form of policy changes, pre-service teacher training (see also Ullucci & Battey, 2011), or professional

development courses for in-service teachers. Through the same review, the authors noted a lack of attempts to undergo school-wide interrogations and/or addressing structural issues to challenge racism in schools. Interestingly, the review findings seem to suggest that many school-focused strategies to address racism try to do so by challenging student beliefs and behaviour, as opposed to the beliefs and behaviours of teachers. Lynch et al. (2017) have suggested that there is much scope for such positioning to be challenged (see also Neal-Jackson, 2018).

Moreover, although many student-focused interventions have been found to be associated with enhanced classroom climate (Ulger et al., 2018), Aldana and Byrd (2015)—in a similar vein to Khalifa et al. (2016)—emphasised that we should consider a comprehensive, wider view on how racism is socialised within and beyond schools. This could involve considering teachers' role in racialising classroom experiences, as well as the reciprocal relation between home and school environments. That is, just as schools play a significant role in students' understanding of their own race, ethnicity, and racial–ethnic identity, and of how that shapes their out-of-school interactions (MacDonald, 2019), the same out-of-school environments play an equally significant role in their understanding of the above, including how it shapes their in-school interactions (Aboud & Doyle, 1996). Therefore, Aldana and Byrd (2015) have suggested that teachers should reconsider their approaches to multicultural education and inclusive practice by incorporating racial–ethnic knowledge in their teaching. This might involve promoting and extending classroom ethos to include that of students and their families (see also Hughes et al., 2006), as well as fostering an egalitarian classroom environment where students from diverse cultural backgrounds can see their own cultures and values reflected in everyday schooling practice. Aldana and Byrd's (2015) recommendations are also in line with those by Cabrera et al. (2019), who suggested that more work needs to be led by schools to eradicate factors associated with negative schooling experiences for students from ethnic minority backgrounds.

One exception to Lynch et al.'s (2017) argument that not much research has been done to identify teacher- or leader-specific anti-racist interventions is Te Kotahitanga (Bishop et al., 2014; Bishop et al., 2003; see also pages 6 and 12 in this paper). Their seminal research and intervention study aimed to challenge teacher racism to improve student outcomes in Aotearoa New Zealand. The findings from their study suggested that theory-based, school-wide programmes can make a positive difference to the educational experiences and long-term outcomes of Māori students in mainstream schools. In their PLD programme, Bishop and colleagues focused on shifting classroom pedagogy and re-focusing teacher practice to incorporate students' culture and establish positive and supportive classroom relationships. Later iterations of Te Kotahitanga included leadership PLD as an attempt to address racism at an institutional level.

Furthermore, the PLD model within Te Kotahitanga aimed to support teachers to interrogate their bias as well as provide support for teachers to shift from a transmission model of teaching towards relational, collaborative, and power sharing practices that enable Māori students to "see themselves and their families in the curriculum, that is, where Culture with a capital C is present and accurately represented" (Bishop et al., 2003, p. 33). To support this shift, an Effective Teaching Profile (Bishop & Berryman, 2009) was developed from the project findings and literature. This observational and PLD tool assisted in identifying effective classroom practices which create a culturally appropriate and responsive context for learning in classrooms. The tool was used to support teachers to change their practice. Like other studies, Te Kotahitanga alerts us to the fact that biases are deeply held. Explicit forms of learning are required that firstly assist teachers to interrogate their own practice and identify bias, and secondly offer them support to replace deficit behaviours with other more effective practices.

Another exception to Lynch et al.'s (2017) earlier argument is the work carried by Khalifa et al. (2016). Khalifa et al. underlined four layers, or components, of culturally responsive practice to address educational inequities and racism, especially towards students from ethnic–racial minority backgrounds. Khalifa et al. (2016) have argued that what is needed to achieve systemic social justice and equitable classroom outcomes is culturally responsive *leadership*, which is not as widely explored as culturally responsive *teaching*. As a result, the authors have synthesised the school leadership literature to identify primary strands of culturally responsive school leadership behaviours. The strands they identified were:

1. critical self-reflection on one's own leadership practices
2. school leaders' role in developing culturally responsive teachers
3. promoting a culturally responsive/inclusive school environment, and
4. engaging students, parents, and indigenous contexts in the process of schooling.

The authors concluded their review by suggesting that the most promising feature of their four-strands model is its commitment to maintaining high outcome expectations, while also advocating for students, parents, and community-based causes. Arguably, therefore, the balance of systemic expectations and advocacy that the four strands offer has the potential to serve as a transformational catalyst, moving us from culturally responsive *teaching* to culturally responsive *schooling*.

5. Measuring racism

Over the past 30 years, many theorists have articulated different ways to conceptualise racism in schools, including how it manifests in school processes, policy, and classroom talk. We were not surprised to find that, depending on how racism and ethnic–racial discrimination were theorised in prior literature, the operationalisation and measurement of such notions in educational contexts differs greatly. Hence, it was equally unsurprising to find over 120 quantitative instruments designed to measure racial discrimination in various settings (see Priest et al., 2013). The majority of these instruments have focused on consequential outcomes of racism such as discrimination (Priest et al., 2014), prejudice (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011), and differential or unfair treatment.

We found a number of popular measures of experiencing, or being exposed to, racial discrimination. These include the following, listed from most to least frequently used: the Everyday Discrimination Scale (EDS) (Clark et al., 2004); the Experiences of Discrimination Scale (EOD) (Krieger, 1990); the Adolescent Discrimination Distress Index (ADDI) (Fisher et al., 2000); the Racism and Life Experiences Scale (RaLES) (Harrell et al., 1997); and the Schedule of Racist Events (SRE) (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). Other measures in the literature include the Asian American Racism-Related Inventory (AARSI) (Liang et al., 2004); the Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS) (Utsey, 1999); and the Perceived Racism Scale (PRS) (McNeilly et al., 1996). According to Priest et al. (2013), most of the above tools have demonstrated acceptable levels of measurement reliability and validity, with the exception of two. The ADDI was found to have poor internal reliability indicators and content validity, and insufficient reporting of psychometric properties constituted a threat to the reliability and validity of RaLES. Most of the tools listed above described their instrument development procedures beginning with qualitative research (e.g., interviews, focus groups, and literature scans) aimed at translating research insights into a pool of potential survey items. These items were then typically piloted and subjected to data-analytical techniques with a view of creating a set of inter-related items that measures the multi-facets of racial discrimination or exposure to racism.

Overall, it is worth noting that many of the studies that utilised the tools above have adapted the scales, more so than adopted them—this is, many researchers have rewritten some of the items from the survey tools mentioned earlier to suit the context of their investigation, and at times added a few more items that did not appear in the original scale manuals. This poses a validity problem, as it becomes harder to assess the validity of any of the tools when they are being adapted differently by different authors, without re-examining the reliability of those adapted tools and their associated factorial validity. At the same time, this raises an important point regarding the contextual relevance of any survey to the nature of the investigation—and to its associated stakeholders—in a way that does not compromise the reliability of the data collection tool and the validity of claims inferred from the data it elicits.

One point of contention in the literature is determining ways to measure racism without activating participants' social desirability bias (i.e., participants responding to certain questions in a way that aligns with social norms or expectations, rather than responding in a way that aligns with their actual perceptions, attitudes, or behaviours). This problem is particularly associated with measures that ask participants to self-

report their perceptions of racism, in contrast to those investigating exposure to, or consequences of, racism. Therefore, measuring racial discrimination, or experiences of racism more broadly, appears to be predicated on how racism is manifested in educational settings, with a focus on its extent or severity.

This does not mean that self-report measures of ethnic–racial experiences of discrimination are not useful. For example, Priest et al. (2014) developed a questionnaire measuring experiences of racism and ethnic–racial attitudes, utilising a sample of 263 primary (82.4%) and secondary (17.6%) school students. They did so by using: (1) items that asked participants to explicitly report on how racist or discriminatory they perceived themselves to be against members of other ethnic–racial groups; and (2) items that explicitly asked participants to identify direct experiences of racial discrimination using priming questions (e.g., "Were you left out by a student/teacher *because* of your culture?"). Despite their tool demonstrating good reliability indicators, the authors suggested research needs to be done to develop "a more detailed and nuanced measurement of racial/ethnic backgrounds" (Priest et al., 2014, p. 1683), with a closer look at the framing of questions that explore both direct and vicarious forms of ethnic–racial discrimination.

Other examples of tools based on self-report perceptions of ethnic–racial attitudes and discrimination include the Australian Racism, Acceptance, and Cultural-Ethnocentrism Scale (RACES) (Grigg & Manderson, 2015), the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS) (Neville et al., 2000), and the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) (Worrell et al., 2011). All three instruments have been subjected to psychometric testing, and have demonstrated acceptable levels of reliability and validity. Table 1 below lists these three instruments and the definitions of the constructs they measure. What is common across all three tools is that they measure ethnic–racial attitudes bidirectionally (i.e., dominant group attitudes towards minority groups, and vice versa), by including negative and positive views (i.e., acceptance as well as discriminatory views). They also treat ethnic–racial attitudes as multi-layered, multi-focal social phenomena (i.e., measuring dominant group attitudes towards their own, minority group attitudes towards their own, and both groups towards each other, situated within local and societal contexts).

Table 1 ***Examples of instruments measuring self-report ethnic–racial attitudes***

Instrument	Constructs measured	Definitions
RACES	Accepting Attitudes (12)	Out-group endorsement and acceptance
	Racist Attitudes (8)	Out-group denigration and derogation
	Ethnocentric Attitudes (4)	In-group favouritism and loyalty
CoBRAS	Racial Privilege (7)	Blindness of the existence of White privilege
	Institutional Discrimination (7)	Limited awareness of the implications of institutional forms of racial discrimination
	Blatant Racial Issues (6)	Unawareness to general, pervasive racial discrimination
CRIS	Assimilation (5)	Low race salience on the part of the individual
	Miseducation (5)	Acceptance of the negative stereotypes present in society
	Self-Hatred (5)	Unhappiness with own group's heritage and characteristics
	Anti-White/Dominant (5)	Profound negative views of White (or dominant) ethnic–racial groups
	Ethnocentricity (5)	Acceptance of own's ethnic–racial views that are perceived to belong to that group
	Multicultural Inclusive (5)	Acceptance of own's group coupled with a willingness to respect and engage with other cultural groups

Note 1: Numbers in brackets denote the number of items measuring each construct.
Note 2: See Appendix for example items.

6. Summary and recommendations

We pose three overarching questions to frame our recommendations for the Wellbeing@School survey.

- How do we ensure schools understand and respond appropriately to the multi-faceted nature of racism, including its impacts on school climate and student wellbeing, given the local and international perspectives highlighted in this review?
- How do we ensure schools understand and adopt a systemic, strengths-based approach to designing strategies to eliminate racism and racially discriminating school experiences among their students, rather than amorphous, risk-based approaches to designing those?
- How do we help school leaders and teachers to understand better the powerful role schools can have by providing protective factors vital to reducing racism and racially discriminating experiences among children and young people?

How does racism fit within the current positioning of Wellbeing@School?

Much of the literature on eliminating racism encourages systemic, school-wide efforts to fostering inclusive and supportive learning environments, as well as providing protective factors that are vital to enhanced classroom relationships and student wellbeing. In other words, eliminating racism is associated with enhancing positive wellbeing of the individual and of the system. Many of the existing items in the current Wellbeing@School survey could be used to indicate the prevalence of those protective factors, alongside school-level efforts in creating positive and equitable school experiences for their students.

What might we recommend from the literature about the sorts of racism items that could be added?

There are some clear messages from the literature about factors to consider if we are to develop a focus on racism in the Wellbeing@School survey tools. Out of this review five key considerations for developing new items emerged. These are the importance of:

- viewing racism as originating in deeply embedded beliefs and ideas about race, including the superiority of some races over others, and associated power imbalances

- treating racism as a multi-layered system with impacts felt at all levels of the school context (i.e., at the individual, classroom, and school or policy level). That is, racism can be expressed through belief systems (e.g., deficit theorising, stereotypes, low expectations, prejudice), emotions (e.g., fear/hatred towards historically marginalised groups), classroom behaviours (e.g., differential treatment in the classroom, restricting pathways/opportunities, targeted disciplinary actions, ability grouping, processes of othering), and school-wide policies and practices (e.g., Eurocentric curriculum, "white streaming", lack of authentic engagement with indigenous and multicultural knowledge and worldviews in mainstream schooling)

- exploring how teachers are supported or given the opportunity to reflect on their belief systems. This includes investigating how these belief systems impact on the educational experience of their students

- exploring teachers' own perceptions of and attitudes towards racism, as well as exploring classroom behaviours or attitudes associated with eliminating racism or differential treatment in schools (i.e., school-wide protective factors)

- exploring students' own perceptions of racism and whether it takes place at their schools, as well as their perceptions of the impact of racism on their educational experience, by exploring behaviours or attitudes associated with racism or differential treatment (i.e., classroom- or student-focused protective factors).

Glossary

Colour-blind racism

Colour-blind racism reflects an unawareness or denial of the existence of racism, and a "belief that ideological and structural racism does not exist" (Neville et al., 2000, p. 61). The ideas proposed within this paradigm are that everyone is the same, race does not matter, and everyone has equal access to opportunities (Alexander, 2012, cited in Joseph et al., 2016; Neville et al., 2000; Metzler, 2010, cited in Joseph et al., 2016).

Covert racism

"Covert racisms are subtle, subversive, and deliberate informal and formal mechanisms that allow differential access to rewards, prestige, sanctions, status, and privileges based on racial hierarchies. … tradition, norms, and customs typically uphold, justify, or obscure its operation" (Coates, 2008, pp. 211–212).

Implicit bias or implicit cognition (*see* **Unconscious bias**)

Internalised racism

Lawrence and Keleher (2004, p. 2) describe individual, internalised racism as "private manifestations of racism that reside inside the individual. Examples include prejudice, xenophobia, internalized oppression and privilege, and beliefs about race influenced by the dominant culture."

Institutional racism

Institutional racism is that which "occurs within and between institutions. Institutional racism is discriminatory treatment, unfair policies and inequitable opportunities and impacts, based on race, produced and perpetuated by institutions (schools, mass media, etc.). Individuals within institutions take on the power of the institution when they act in ways that advantage and disadvantage people, based on race" (Lawrence and Keleher, 2004, n.p.).

Micro-aggressions

Micro-aggressions are "subtle, ambiguous and often unintentional acts of casual racism" (Blank et al., 2016, p. 14). They can be verbal, non-verbal, or symbolic:

- verbal (patronising comments about culture)
- nonverbal (closed body language or disdainful looks)
- symbolic (negative images of Māori in the television or media).

Modern racism

The dominant group believes that racism is a thing of the past, that the minority group is too demanding of its rights and uses unfair tactics, and that the advances the minority group make are undeserved (McConahay, 1986, cited in Neville et al., 2000).

Racial prejudice

Racial prejudice can be demonstrated through acts or behaviours that insult, exclude, or stereotype. Any individual or group, from any race, can exhibit racial prejudice toward an individual or group from another race (Blank et al, 2016).

Structural racism

Lawrence and Keleher (2004) identity structural racism as "the most profound and pervasive form of racism—all other forms of racism (e.g., institutional, interpersonal, and internalised racism) emerge from structural racism" (p. 1). Lawrence and Keleher describe structural racism as "the normalization and legitimization of an array of dynamics—historical, cultural, institutional and interpersonal—that routinely advantage whites while producing cumulative and chronic adverse outcomes for people of color. It is a system of hierarchy and inequity, primarily characterized by white supremacy—the preferential treatment, privilege and power for white people at the expense of … racially oppressed people" (p. 1).

Symbolic racism

"Symbolic racism is usually described as a coherent belief system that can be expressed in several beliefs: that [a minority group] no longer face much prejudice or discrimination, that [this group's] failure to progress results from their unwillingness to work hard enough, that they make excessive demands, and that they have [got] more than they deserve." (IresearchNet, 2020b).

Unconscious bias

Unconscious bias—also referred to as implicit bias or implicit cognition—is “an automatic tendency for humans to perceive people, situation and events in stereotypical ways. These attitudes and stereotypes, in turn, affect our understandings, actions and decisions unconsciously” (Blank et al., 2016, p. 13.

References

Abel, S., & Mutu, M. (2014). There's racism and then there's racism: Margaret Mutu and the immigration debate**.** https://www.academia.edu/7612617/Theres_Racism_and_then_theres_racism_Margaret_Mutu_and_the_Immigration_Debate

Aboud, F. E., & Doyle, A. B. (1996). Parental and peer influences on children's racial attitudes. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 20*, 371–383.

ActionStation (2018). *They're our whānau: A community-powered and collaborative research report on Māori perspectives of New Zealand's justice system*. Author. https://actionstation.org.nz/dowunfairnloads/tow-report.pdf

Aldana, A., & Byrd, C. M. (2015). Social ethnic-racial socialization: Learning about race and ethnicity among African American students. *The Urban Review, 47*, 563–576.

Barnes, A. M., Taiapa, K., Borell, B., & McCreanor, T. (2013). Māori experiences and responses to racism in Aotearoa New Zealand. *MAI Journal 2*(2), 63–77.

Ben-Moshe, D., & Halafoff, A. (2014). Antisemitism and Jewish children and youth in Australia's Capital Territory schools. *Social Inclusion, 2*(2), 47–56.

Berryman, M., & Eley, E. (2019). Student belonging: Critical relationships and responsibilities. *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 23*(9), 985–1001.

Bishop, R., & Berryman, M. (2006). *Culture speaks.* Huia.

Bishop, R., & Berryman, M. (2009). The Te Kotahitanga effective teaching profile. *Set: Research information for teachers, 2*, 27–33.

Bishop, R., Berryman, M., Tiakiwai, S., & Richardson, C. (2003). *Te Kotahitanga Phase 1: The experiences of Year 9 and 10 Māori students in mainstream classrooms*. Ministry of Education. https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0017/7532/te-kotahitanga.pdf

Bishop, R., Berryman, M., & Wearmouth, J. (2014). *Te Kotahitanga: Towards effective education reform for indigenous and other minoritised students*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Blank, A., Houkamau, C., & Kingi, H. (2016). *Unconscious bias and education: A comparative study of Māori and African American students*. Oranui Diversity Leadership. http://www.oranui.co.nz/images/oranui_reports/unconscious-bias-and-education.pdf

Butcher, A., Spoonley, P., & Trlin, A. (2006). *Being accepted: The experience of discrimination and social exclusion by immigrants and refugees in New Zealand*. (Occasional publication 13, New Settlers Programme). Massey University.

Cabrera, A. F., Guerrero, A. J. M., Sanchez, J. S. P., & Rodriguez-Garcia, A. M. (2019). Bullying among teens: Are ethnicity and race risk factors for victimization? A bibliometric research. *Education Sciences*, *9*, 220. https://www.mdpi.com/2227-7102/9/3/220

Cambridge. (2020). *Cambridge dictionary*. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/racism

Castro-Atwater, S. A. (2016). Color-blind racial ideology in K-12 shools. In H. A. Neville, M. E. Gallardo, & D. W. Sue (Eds.), *The myth of racial color blindess: Manifestations, dynamics, and impact* (pp. 207–225). American Psychological Association.

Clark, R., Coleman, A. P., & Novak, J. D. (2004). Brief report: Initial psychometric properties of the everyday discrimination scale in black adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence*, *27*, 363–368.

Coates, R. D. (2008). Covert racism in the USA and globally. *Sociology Compass*, *2*(1), 208–231. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Rodney_Coates/publication/229055290_Covert_Racism_in_the_USA_and_Globally/links/544671960cf2d62c304dbe3f.pdf

Denney, A. (2018, April 5). *Unknown Mortal Orchestra & Taika Waititi on New Zealand culture.* Dazed. https://www.dazeddigital.com/music/article/39590/1/unknown-mortal-orchestra-ruban-nielson-taika-waititi-interview

Efron, S. E., & Ravid, R. (2019). *Writing the literature review: A practical guide.* The Guilford Press.

Fisher, C. B., Wallace, S. A., & Fenton, R. E. (2000). Discrimination distress during adolescence. *Journal of Youth & Adolescence*, *29*, 679–695.

Forbes, M (2020, April 10). *Tuna, tapenade but no tangihanga*. Aotearoa Media Collective. https://aotearoamedia.co.nz/f/tuna-tapenade-but-no-tangi?fbclid=IwAR2frEkfsNDjmjRx9cmJkbHAMjdw74u5YaYS08yWMbEP0_nTk_A_SyNMSJg

Grigg, K., & Manderson, L. (2014). Building harmony: Reducing and measuring racism in Australian schools. *The Australian Community Psychologist*, *26*, 68–89.

Grigg, K., & Manderson, L. (2015). Developing the Australian Racism, Acceptance, and Cultural-Ethnocentrism Scale (RACES). *The Educational and Developmental Psychologist*, *32*(1), 71–87.Gross, Z. & Rutland, S. D. (2014). Combatting antisemitism in the school playground: An Australian case study. *Patterns of Prejudice*, *48*(3), 309–330.

Hamilton, S. (2020, April 2). *'Let them starve': The lockdown of 1913 and its lessons for today.*

The Spinoff. https://thespinoff.co.nz/society/02-04-2020/let-them-starve-the-lockdown-of-1913-and-its-lessons-today/?fbclid=IwAR0lMVxdqOzmzvS35x2Pts7OhwXiVaRVWGDZM6E3xPZXthxWPQSEUVegQqE

Harrell, S. P., Merchant, M. A., & Young, S. A. (1997, April15–19). *Psychometric properties of the Racism and Life Experiences Scale (RaLES)*. [Paper presentation]. Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Chicago, IL.

Henry, P. J., & Sears, D. O. (2008). Symbolic and modern racism. In J. H. Moore (ed.). *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. 3, pp. 111–112). Macmillan.

Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal, 2(2), 23–45, https://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/handle/10289/4565

Hitchcock, J. (2020). *The effects of the Covid-19 recession will hit Māori hardest.* The Spinoff. https://thespinoff.co.nz/atea/08-04-2020/the-effects-of-the-covid-19-recession-will-hit-maori-hardest/?fbclid=IwAR009fNFy0OV7qekZxPuIpojYU6ILaWdIMjdb0QMaMXVDTiJNJmPDncoksw

Houkamau, C. A. (2016). What you can't see can hurt you: How do stereotyping, implicit bias and stereotype threat affect Māori health? *MAI Journal*. DOI: 10.20507/MAIJournal.2016.5.2.3

Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental Psychology*, *42*, 747–770.

IResearchNet (2020). Symbolic racism. http://psychology.iresearchnet.com/social-psychology/prejudice/symbolic-racism/

Johnson, M. Z. (2016, February 7). 6 ways well-intentioned people whitesplain racism (and why they need to stop). *Everyday Feminism.* https://everydayfeminism.com/2016/02/how-people-whitesplain-racism/?fbclid=IwAR2VYpaK0kZIvoNUwa_gY32xzDxSskB3hoNpOKbF1jCMbE7X5eIeY7uZvbE

Jones, C. (2000). Levels of racism: A theoretic framework and a gardener's tale. *American Journal of Public Health*, *90*(8), 1212–1215.

Jones, R. (20 March, 2020). Why equity for Māori must be prioritised during the COVID-19 response. https://www.auckland.ac.nz/en/news/2020/03/20/equity-maori-prioritised-covid-19-response.html

Joseph, N. M., Viesca, K. M., & Bianco, M. (2016). Black female adolescents and racism in schools: Experiences in a colorblind society. *High School Journal*, *100*(1), 4–25.

Khalifa, M., Gooden, M. A., & Davis, J. E. (2016). Culturally responsive school leadership: A

synthesis of the literature. *Review of Educational Research*, *86*, 1272–1311.

Krieger, N. (1990). Racial and gender discrimination: Risk factors for high blood pressure? *Social Science & Medicine*, *30*, 1273–1281.

Lai, C. K., Marini, M., Lehr, S. A., Cerruti, C., Shin, J. E. L., Joy-Gaba, J. A., ... & Frazier, R. S. (2014). Reducing implicit racial preferences: I. A comparative investigation of 17 interventions. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, *143*, 1765–1785.

Landrine, H., & Klonoff, E. A. (1996). The schedule of racist events: A measure of discrimination and a study of its negative physical and mental health consequences. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *22*, 144–168.

Lawrence, K., & Keleher, T. (2004, October 20). *Chronic disparity: Strong and pervasive evidence of racial inequalities: Poverty outcomes, structural racism.* [Paper presentation]. Race and Public Policy Conference, Berkeley. http://www.intergroupresources.com/rc/Definitions%20of%20Racism.pdf

Lee, E., & Gan, M. (2014, January 23). More than a night of harmless fun: Hawaiian cultural appropriation. *The Sheaf*. https://thesheaf.com/2014/01/23/more-than-a-night-of-harmless-fun-hawaiian-cultural-appropriation/?fbclid=IwAR0gA8sfVYqxNO2BQ5PY0JDTW55x-9C6ezSkt4thEOdiD1rNQoKD8WwruqQ

Liang, C. T. H., Li, L. C., & Kim, B. S. K. (2004). The Asian American racism-related stress inventory: Development, factor analysis, reliability, and validity. *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, *51*, 103–114.

Lynch, I., Swartz, S., & Isaacs, D. (2017). Anti-racist moral education: A review of approaches, impact and theoretical underpinnings from 2000 to 2015. *Journal of Moral Education*, *56*, 129–144.

MacDonald, L. (2019). 'The same as everyone else': How academically indigenous secondary school students respond to a hidden curriculum of settler silencing. *Whiteness and Education*, *4*, 38–52.

Mayeda, D. T., 'Ofamo'oni, I. F., Dutton, H. D., Keil, M., & Lauaki-Vea, E. (2014). Māori and Pacific student experiences with everyday colonialism and racism. *Social Space*, *8*(2), 1–25. https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/25353

McAllister, A. (2020, February 27). The angry brown woman: My issue with art schools. *The Spinoff*. https://thespinoff.co.nz/atea/27-02-2020/the-angry-brown-woman-my-issue-with-art-schools/?fbclid=IwAR1TtELtiLC6ZrF1UA5z5DkV7GrZHgpGgL_2vqSezppl9BDJBlunxhX6AFk

McConahay, J. B. (1983). Modern racism and modern discrimination: The effects of race, racial

attitudes, and context on simulated hiring decisions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *9*(4), 551–558.

McNeilly, M. D., Anderson, N. B., Armstead, C. A., Clark, R., Corbett, M., Robinson, E. L., ... & Lepisto, E. M. (1996). The perceived racism scale: A multidimensional assessment of the experience of white racism among African Americans. *Ethnicity & Disease*, *6*, 154–166.

Meissel, K., Meyer, F., Yao, E. S., & Rubie-Davies, C. M. (2017). Subjectivity of teacher judgments: Exploring student characteristics that influence teacher judgments of student ability. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *65*, 48–60. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2017.02.021

Merriam-Webster. (2020). *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/racism

Milne, B. A. (2013). *Colouring in the white spaces: Reclaiming cultural identity in whitestream schools* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Waikato]. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/7868

Milne, A. (2019, October 14). White-gaze centred judgements. https://www.annmilne.co.nz/blog/tag/ERO

Milner, H. R. (2012). Losing the color-blind mind in the urban classroom. *Urban Education*, *47*(5), 868–875.

Ministry of Education. (2018). Key evidence: Overview. https://www.education.govt.nz/our-work/overall-strategies-and-policies/ka-hikitia-accelerating-success-20132017/key-evidence/overview/

Moodie, N., Maxwell, J., & Rudolph, S. (2019). The impact of racism on the schooling experiences of aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students: A systematic review. *Australian Educational Researcher*, *46*(2), 273–295

Mutu, M. (2011) *The state of Māori rights.* Huia.

Neal-Jackson, A. (2018). A meta-ethnographic review of the experiences of African American girls and young women in K-12 education. *Review of Educational Research*, *88*, 508–546.

Neville, H. A., Lilly, R. L., Duran, G., Lee, R. M., & Browne, L. (2000). Construction and initial validation of the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS). *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *47*, 59–70.

Ngata, T. (2020, February 28). White women's empathy, and the brown lives they decenter. The Non-Plastic Maori. https://thenonplasticmaori.wordpress.com/2020/02/28/white-womens-empathy-and-the-brown-lives-they-decenter/

Office of the Children's Commissioner & NZ School Trustees Association. (2018). *He manu kai mātauranga: He tirohanga Māori. Education matters to me: Experiences of tamariki and rangatahi Māori*. Office of the Children's Commissioner.

http://www.occ.org.nz/publications/reports/education-matters-to-me-experiences-of-tamariki-and-rangatahi-maori/

Ormsby, P. (2012, August 18–19). *The CABTA campaign*. [Conference session]. ANC Centenary Conference, Wellington, New Zealand.

Penetito, W. (2010). *What's Māori about Māori education? The struggle for a meaningful context*. Victoria University Press.

Pettigrew, T. F., & Meertens, R. W. (1995). Subtle and blatant prejudice in Western Europe. *European Journal of Social Psychology (25)*. 57–75. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/229733458_Subtle_and_Blatant_Prejudice_in_Western_Europe

Picower, B. (2009). The unexamined Whiteness of teaching: How White teachers maintain and enact dominant racial ideologies. *Race, Ethnicithy and Education*, *12*(2), 197–215. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613320902995475

Priest, N., Chong, S., Truong, M., Sharif, M., Dunn, K., Paradies, Y., Nelson, J., Alam, O., Ward, A., & Kavanagh, A. (2019). *Findings from the 2017 Speak Out Against Racism (SOAR) student and staff surveys.* CSRM Working paper no 3/2019. https://csrm.cass.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/docs/2019/8/CSRM-WP-SOAR_PUBLISH_1.pdf

Priest, N., Paradies, Y., Trenerry, B., Truong, M., Karlsen, S., & Kelly, Y. (2013). A systematic review of studies examining the relationship between reported racism and health and wellbeing for children and young people. *Social Science and Medicine, 95*, 115–127.

Priest, N., Ryan, P., Ferdinand, A., Paradies, Y., & Kelaher, M. (2014). Experiences of racism, racial/ethnic attitudes, motivated fairness and mental health outcomes among primary and seconday school students. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 43*(10), 1672–1687.

Raabe, T., & Beelmann, A. (2011). Development of ethnic, racial, and national prejudice in childhood and adolescence: A multinational meta-analysis of age differences. *Child Development, 82*, 1715–1737.

Smith, L. T., & Cram, F. (2001). *A civilising mission? Perceptions and representations of the Native Schools system*. Auckland University Press.

Solly, R. (2020, March 1). Being Māori in classical music is exhausting. E-Tangata. https://e-tangata.co.nz/reflections/being-maori-in-classical-music-is-exhausting/?fbclid=IwAR3Nx04kKs88yw443MhXCXC-EEIu3bMkqYyDUuC-smmAdUm2ztQPubGm4CE

Spoonley, P. (1993) *Racism and ethnicity.* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.

Tate, S. A., & Page, D. (2018). Whiteliness and institutional racism: Hiding behind (un)conscious

bias. *Ethics and Education*, *13*(1), 141–155.

Ulger, Z., Dette-Hagenmeyer, D. E., Reichle, B., & Gaertner, S. L. (2018). Improving outgroup attitudes in schools: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of School Psychology*, *67*, 88–103.

Ullucci, K., & Battey, D. (2011). Exposing colour blindness/grounding color consciousness. *Urban Education 46*(6), 1195–1225.

Utsey, S. O. (1999). Development and validation of a short form of the index of race-related stress (IRRS)—brief version. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counselling and Development*, *32*, 149–167.

Waitangi Tribunal. (1993). *Report of The Waitangi Tribunal on The Te Reo Māori Claim* (No. WAI262). Author. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_68482156/Report%20on%20the%20Te%20Reo%20Maori%20Claim%20W.pdf

West-Olatunji, C., Shure, L., Pringle, R., Adams, T., Lewis, D., & Cholewa, B. (2010). Exploring how school counselors position low-income African American girls as mathematics and science learners. *Professional School Counseling*, *13*, 184–195.

Worrell, F. C., Mendoza-Denton, R., Telesford, J., Simmons, C., & Martin, J. F. (2011). Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) scores: Stability and relationships with psychological adjustment. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, *93*, 637–648.

Appendix

Example items from validated survey tools are listed below. However, it must be noted that these items were developed in different contexts (Australia and the United States). We suggest that all items should be checked and adapted to suit the Aotearoa New Zealand context (e.g., simpler and more relevant vocabulary, using terms that our students could understand and relate to) before using them for research purposes. We also want to caution the use of terms such as "race" or "racial minorities", as we have found from previous research that Aotearoa New Zealand students better understand, and relate to, terms such as "culture", "cultural backgrounds", "ethnicity", and "ethnic backgrounds".

Example items from the RACES (Grigg & Manderson, 2015)

Construct 1 (Accepting Attitudes):

- I accept people from all backgrounds
- I have respect for people from all backgrounds
- People from all backgrounds are equal
- Having many different backgrounds in Australia is a good thing
- People from all backgrounds should be treated equally
- I live peacefully with people from all backgrounds
- I share with people from all backgrounds
- I like talking with people from all backgrounds
- I don't tease people because of their background
- I stand up for people from all backgrounds
- We should be taught about all backgrounds in school
- I get upset if I hear racist comments about any background
- I don't ignore people because of their background

Construct 2 (Racist Attitudes):

- People from some backgrounds are more violent than others
- I don't trust people from some backgrounds
- People from some backgrounds are not friendly
- People from some backgrounds are more likely to get into trouble than others
- I don't understand people from some backgrounds
- If people aren't happy in Australia they should go back to their own country
- People from some backgrounds get more than they deserve
- If people don't fit into Australian society they should change

Construct 3 (Eurocentric attitudes):

- I only feel comfortable around people from my background
- I only feel safe around people from my background
- Only people from my background understand me
- I only have friends from my background

Example items from the CoBRAS (Neville et al., 2000)

Construct 1 (Racial Privilege):

- White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the colour of their skin
- Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not
- Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison
- Race plays a major role in the type of social services that people receive in the U.S.
- Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S.
- Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich
- White people are more to blame for racial discrimination than racial and ethnic minorities

Construct 2 (Institutional Discrimination):

- Social policies discriminate unfairly against white people
- White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the colour of their skin
- English should be the only official language in the U.S.
- Due to racial discrimination, programs are necessary to help create equality
- Racial and ethnicity minorities here have certain advantages because of the colour of their skin
- It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American, or Italian American
- Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and values of the U.S.

Construct 3 (Blatant Racial Issues):

- Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations
- Racism is a major problem in the U.S.
- It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities
- It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems
- Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today