UNCONSCIOUS BIAS AND EDUCATION

A comparative study of Māori and African American students

Anton Blank, Dr Carla Houkamau and Dr Hautahi Kingi

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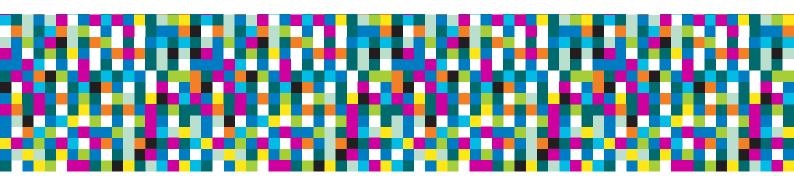
Unconscious bias and education

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About the authors

Anton Blank (Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu) is a consultant, writer and publisher with 30 years experience in social services, public health, communications, Māori development and diversity. This study emerged out of Anton's intense interest in the wellbeing of tamariki Māori – and moves this discussion into the diversity space by way of an international comparison.

Dr Carla Houkamau (Ngāti Kahungunu) is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Management and International Business at the University of Auckland. As a social psychologist Dr Houkamau has researched diversity within the Māori population, and the impact of systems' bias towards Māori. She has emerged as a national expert on the concept of unconscious bias.

Dr Hautahi Kingi (Ngā Rauru, Te Atihaunui a Papārangi) recently graduated from Cornell University with a PhD in economics, which explored the impact of immigration on indigenous populations. Dr Kingi positions the Māori experience within the global economic context, and provides fresh insights into the dynamics of racism from an international perspective.

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Foreword

Post-colonialism and anti-racist rhetoric have defined New Zealand's biculturalism since the Māori protest movement of the 70s. This has been a necessary development for Māori, who have been unified by an homogenous cultural identity to address the systemic discrimination of Māori so clearly evident in Aotearoa New Zealand. There have been very significant gains, which include the evolution of Māori education, the revitalisation of te reo Māori, and the Treaty settlement process.

Working in industries focused on Māori development since the 80s, I have observed this sometimes painful development from the frontline. During the early decades of the period, the process was very confrontational as Māori became aware of the victimisation they had experienced through colonisation. Pākehā also had to confront the institutional racism perpetuated by the apparatus of the state and its institutions – of which they were part. Many Pākehā have learned about tikanga and te reo Māori as a bridge builder between the cultures.

Fifty years down the track, what progress have we made? Here is some data lifted from the body of this report:

Data from the 2011/2012 New Zealand Health Survey – a national survey of approximately 13,000 adults and 4500 children (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2012) – indicated Māori are almost three times as likely as non-Māori to have experienced unfair treatment on the basis of ethnicity. 12.4% of Māori reported unfair treatment in the areas of health care, housing or work, compared to 4.2% of non-Māori. Data also showed Māori were more than 1.5 times more likely to have ever experienced ethnically motivated physical or verbal attacks, with 26.9% of Māori men, having experienced such attacks (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2015). [1]

In 2013 the New Zealand Human Rights Commission[2] (NZHRC) received 496 complaints of racial discrimination from New Zealand citizens. People of Asian, Polynesian and Māori descent all made complaints of racism, however, Māori reported experiencing the most discrimination. The largest number of complaints related to perceived discrimination in the employment area.

So, racism continues to be a lived experience for many Māori, and in the case of this report, for Māori children as a population. Compared to all other groups, teachers have lowest expectations of Māori students. Teacher expectations set the bar for Māori educational achievement, so it should be no surprise to anyone that Māori have a long history of under-achievement in the New Zealand education system.

If protest and confronting racism head-on doesn't work (and this seems to be the case), what then is the solution? Enter the paradigm of unconscious bias, which we present as a much-needed pathway out of the mire. The framework posits that bias is a natural human characteristic, socialised into us by a complex mish-mash of cultural messaging. We have

affinity with people who are like us and more difficulty building relationships with people we don't understand. It's the law of attraction.

Rather than understanding other cultures, the starting point for change then is *understanding our own biases*, and mitigating their impact on our decision-making and interactions with others. We have looked at interventions in other countries, which have worked, and they provide the kernel of a solution for Aotearoa New Zealand. There are most certainly ways that we can build empathy between diverse groups, which is critical as the New Zealand population becomes ever more diverse.

Since the 1990s, post-colonialism has been interrupted by post-modernism, globilisation and increasing communications technologies. As a result the Māori identity is less homogenous and much, much more diverse. Young Māori are digital natives whose identity is being shaped by a multiplicity of external forces. Diversity is the new thing. Diversity provides us with more ways of analysing and finding solutions for life and its challenges. African American children and young people are both like us and different to us. Their history of racism (much more overt and segregationist than ours) and the various strategies they have developed to address prejudice provide us with a glimpse of what our future might be. And hope, hope is there.

Anton Blank
July 2016

References

[1] New Zealand Ministry of Health. (2015). Tatau Kahukura: Māori Health Chart Book 2015 (3rd edition). Wellington: Ministry of Health.

[2] New Zealand Ministry of Health. (2012). New Zealand Health Survey Methodology Report. Wellington: Ministry of Health.

Key messages

- New Zealand Māori and African Americans occupy similar social spaces in their respective societies. When educational outcomes of Māori and African American children are compared, a strong and consistent pattern of disadvantage emerges.

- Deeply held and subconscious biases, based on social groupings and in-group favoritism, determine human behaviour and influence relationships between diverse social groups and ethnicities. The paradim of unconscious bias helps explain patterns of discrimination.

- Māori children face significant barriers to achievement, which stem from negative stereotypes attached to Māori as a social group. Personal and interpersonal racism – and institutional racism – also work together to perpetuate Māori disadvantage.

- The "Pygmalion Effect" describes how teachers' expectations determine, to a large part, students' educational outcomes. If Māori children are to achieve, teachers must lift their expectations of students and treat all students as having the same potential for achievement.

- US literature shows that gaps in achievement between individuals and across socio-economic and racial groups open up at a very young age, before children start school. The gaps that emerge at a young age strongly affect adult outcomes.

- Location and neighbourhood have a huge impact on success later in life. Children who move to low-poverty areas below the age of 13 do much better as adults.

- African American students who do well at school are picked on by their peers for "acting white". External forms of repression also come into play. Unconscious bias is a major factor, manifested in insidious discrimination that affects African Americans in every sphere from getting a job to obtaining medical advice.

- Recognising how unconscious bias influences teachers' relationships with Māori students is the key to lifting Māori educational achievement. Tools and programmes to address unconscious bias towards Māori should be developed and applied broadly in the full range of education, health and social service sectors. A whole of systems approach is required.

Executive Summary

This report explores education outcomes for Māori and African American children, especially in regard to underachievement by these groups. While the histories and cultures of the two groups are very different, almost every economic and social statistic indicates that they occupy similar social spaces in their respective societies. When educational outcomes of Māori and African American children are compared, a strong and consistent pattern of disadvantage emerges. The authors believe that research and interventionist programmes designed to reduce bias against African American children and adults can be adapted for use in a New Zealand context.

In the first chapter, Dr Carla Houkamau (University of Auckland) puts forward a strategy to reduce implicit bias towards Māori. Racism is disparaged in New Zealand where the vast majority of the population consciously endorses fairness and equity. At the same time, enduring disadvantage for Māori remains unexplained. In the spheres of racial attacks, health, education, justice and policing, and the media, Māori consistently experience discrimination. There is also resistance to the discourse of racism; many Pākehā believe that they are not racist rather that Māori are oversensitive. This resistance stems from unconscious biases that reflect deeply held stereotypes associated with different social categories, including ethnicity. These perceptions occur outside of the perceiver's conscious awareness.

A number of studies have identified interventions for reducing the expression of unconscious bias. These involved visualising or taking part in different scenarios in order to shift perceptions. Another method is to work to "blur" group divisions rather than reinforce them. What needs to happen from here? Firstly, research in the area of latent racism is required. Secondly, more clarity is needed about the extent to which implicit bias fuels racism. Finally, there is opportunity to test the effectiveness of an intervention in reducing bias towards Māori. It is also important that New Zealanders start to reframe the conversation (particularly in the media) about racism to focus on fair treatment and respect rather than racism and special treatment. There needs to be a new way of talking about racism – that deflects denial and defensiveness so that progress can be made.

The second chapter, by Dr Carla Houkamau and Anton Blank, looks at the issue of unconscious bias and the impact of this bias on outcomes for Māori performance in education. Māori children face significant barriers to achievement which, the authors posit, stems from negative stereotypes attached to Māori as a social group. Māori lag significantly behind Pākehā in every measure of educational outcome including secondary school retention rate, school leavers achieving NCEA Level 2, and rate of youth in education, employment or training. Studies have found that schools that were able to effect an improvement on Māori children's outcomes did so by emphasising the value of being Māori by using Māori language and culture in the curriculum, engaging in responsive teaching and nurturing student-teacher relationships.

One of the key assumptions of Māori underachievement in the educational arena is that Māori children are disadvantaged at school because they are more likely to come from

disadvantaged backgrounds. However, there is evidence that a higher socio-economic position does not account for all advantage that is experienced by non-Māori. A number of studies have put forward that both personal/interpersonal racism (personal views, attitudes and stereotypes) and institutional racism (differential access to resources caused by institutional processes and procedures) work together to perpetuate Māori disadvantage, regardless of socio-economic factors.

The impact of deeply held racist beliefs on Māori may be two-fold. On the one hand Māori may be affected if they are conscious of negative stereotypes held about Māori. In addition Māori may be subject to lowered expectations from dominant group members (i.e. Pākehā). One study with Māori children suggests that even very young Māori are acutely aware of the negative stereotypes attached to Māori and also believe them themselves. If Māori children are to achieve, it is crucial for teachers to lift their expectations of students and treat all students as having the same potential for achievement. This is a difficult proposition, as much of the discrimination that happens in society is likely to be unconscious and automatic. There is a real need to open up a discussion of the role of bias towards Māori children – and consider ways to address the potential negative impacts such attitudes may have.

The most well-known study investigating the effect of teacher attitudes towards students took place in an American elementary school. After students took an IQ test, the researchers informed the teachers that five students in their class had unusually high IQ scores and would probably be "late bloomers" (i.e. they would most likely out-perform their classmates later in the year). In reality, no late bloomers were identified, rather, these students were selected randomly. Despite this, the identified students out-performed the other students. This lead researchers to believe that the teachers treated these students differently after being told to expect sudden improvement. Now referred to as the 'Pygmalion Effect', this research describes how self-fulfilling prophecy embedded in teachers' expectations determine, to a large part, students' educational outcomes. It is also important to note that these results held true only for the youngest children. There was no discernible effect on older students' outcomes.

In conclusion, 'wise' educational environments can overcome negative impacts of bias; core elements include optimistic student-teacher relationships and stressing students' ability and worth. Another vital element is promoting self-awareness and introspection among teachers so they can discover their own biases. Finally as mentioned earlier respect and engagement with Māori children and families that emphasises the value of being Māori is crucial.

The third chapter, by Dr Hautahi Kingi, writing from Cornell University, examines educational achievement of African American children, with the aim of drawing comparisons with Māori children, and considering whether solutions for underachievement that have worked in the US could be transferable to a New Zealand setting. Although the relationship between Māori and African Americans is not an obvious one, almost every economic and social statistic indicates that they each occupy similar social spaces in their respective societies. For example, Staples (1993) discovered "striking parallels between the

demographic, social and familial situation of Afro-Americans and Māori despite a separation by thousands of miles as well as historical and cultural dissimilarities."

The US academic literature shows that gaps in achievement between individuals and across socio-economic and racial groups open up at a very young age, before children even start school. African American children enter kindergarten behind whites, and these achievement gaps persist at every grade level, and for every subject. However, studies have shown that these gaps are significantly reduced once the social environment of the child is taken into account. Children that are deprived of the opportunity to learn through poverty and lack of education of their parents do not perform well at school. The gap that remains after accounting for socio-economic factors may be explained by unconscious bias as explored in the first two chapters.

The gaps that emerge at a young age strongly affect adult outcomes. It is extremely unlikely that a child born near the bottom of the income distribution, for example, will eventually reach somewhere near the top of the distribution. This cuts to the core of what it means to have a fair society.

Effective solutions to the racial achievement gap aim to enrich the environments of disadvantaged children. Early intervention is the key, and many of the policy initiatives currently used to attempt to alleviate gaps would be better used in early interventions. One study states that "America currently relies too much on schools and adolescent remediation strategies to solve problems that start in the preschool years". It is unsurprising that the returns to investing in disadvantaged children are much larger early in life. The reason for this is that early investment creates the foundation of skills that make later investment more productive.

Recent research has explored the question of whether disadvantaged children can overcome that disadvantage simply by moving. Data confirms that where one grows up has a huge impact on success later in life. Children who move to low-poverty areas when below the age of 13 do much better as adults. Interestingly, the same benefits do not seem to apply to older children above the age of 13 or adults who move, emphasising the fact that early intervention is key. The importance of movement is relevant to Māori. In general, Māori are more geographically mobile than non-Māori.

However, as noted earlier, socio-economic factors cannot account entirely for the gaps in achievement between racial groups. Studies have found for example, that African American students who do well at school are picked on by their peers for 'acting white'. External forms of repression also come into play. Unconscious bias is a major factor, taking the form of insidious discrimination that affects African Americans in every sphere from getting a job to obtaining medical advice.

Overall, clear similarities can be discerned between the African American and Māori experience. Both groups experience discrimination in societies which espouse equality. African Americans and Māori both suffer from disadvantage which stretches from their early childhood and persists into their adult lives. In New Zealand, overt and violent expressions of racism are less common than in the United States, where many African

Americans are forced to deal with explicit racial bias. Nonetheless, Māori are subjected to subtle but deeply harmful forms of racism.

Emerging out of social psychology the paradigm known as unconscious bias provides a framework for understanding this racism, and mitigating it. Deeply held and subconscious biases, based on social groupings and in-group favoritism, determine human behaviour and influence relationships between diverse social groups and ethnicities. Recognising how this phenomena influences teachers' relationships with Māori students is the key to addressing the racism discussed in this report, and lifting Māori educational achievement. Tools and programmes to address unconscious bias towards Māori should be developed and applied in the full range of education, health and social service sectors.

A strategy to reduce implicit bias towards Māori

Mounting evidence suggests racism[1] contributes to Māori disadvantage in New Zealand. This perspective changes the focus of attention from Māori social and economic problems – to the role of the (predominantly Pākehā) majority population in maintaining the status quo. Racism is disparaged in New Zealand where the vast majority of the population has consciously endorsed fairness and equity. At the same time, enduring disadvantage for Māori remains unexplained. This chapter introduces an alternative framework to elucidate the psycho-social sources of discrimination towards Māori in New Zealand. The chapter explains the processes of bias and latent racism as well as the exclusionary behaviours that arise from these phenomena. Examples of how they may impact upon Māori are presented. The chapter also offers strategies to reduce implicit bias and latent racism towards Māori.

Māori in New Zealand

The historical relationship between Māori and Pākehā has created a complex social and political milieu in New Zealand. Contradictions are evident. Although Māori have achieved legal recognition of their right to equality alongside Pākehā, significant inequities remain. Pākehā are the majority at 75% of the population, swamping Māori (15% of the population).[2] While a very high level of social integration is the reality of contemporary Māori society (nearly 50% of Māori also identify as European/Pākehā), there is, arguably, some wariness between Māori and Pākehā which reflects a history of colonisation and intergroup conflict. In addition, despite a variety of Government programmes designed to support equity between Māori and European/Pākehā, significant and enduring social and economic inequalities remain.[3][4][5]

- Māori have lower incomes and poorer quality housing than European/Pākehā.
- Māori are more likely to live in poorer residential areas.
- Māori are also less likely to succeed in New Zealand's mainstream educational system compared to European/Pākehā.
- In relation to employment, Māori tend to be concentrated in lower-paid primary and semi-skilled occupations.
- There are major health disparities between Māori and Pākehā with Māori experiencing higher rates of illness, infection and disease.

A complex mix of factors associated with socio-economic status and lifestyle contribute to these continuing inequities. Apart from these factors a number of recent publications have suggested that racism contributes to Māori disadvantage.[6][7][8] Racism has been defined as an ideology of racial superiority followed by discriminatory and prejudicial behaviour towards those targeted (Jones, 2000).[9] The following section provides a sample of the range of studies which indicate Māori experience racism throughout most, if not all, sectors of New Zealand society.

Racial attacks

- Data from the 2011/2012 New Zealand Health Survey – a national survey of approximately 13,000 adults and 4500 children (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2012) – indicated Māori are almost three times as likely as non-Māori to have experienced unfair treatment on the basis of ethnicity. 12.4% of Māori reported unfair treatment in the areas of health care, housing or work between 2011 and 2012, compared to 4.2% of non-Māori. Data also showed Māori were more than 1.5 times more likely to have ever experienced ethnically motivated physical or verbal attacks, with more than a quarter of Māori men, or 26.9%, having experienced such attacks (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2015).[10]
- Similarly, in 2013 the New Zealand Human Rights Commission[11] (NZHRC) received 496 complaints of racial discrimination from New Zealand citizens. People of Asian, Polynesian and Māori descent all made complaints of racism, however, Māori reported experiencing the most discrimination. The largest number of complaints related to perceived discrimination in the employment area (not being given jobs or given less favourable working conditions because of their race/ethnicity).

Health

- There are major health disparities between Māori and Pākehā with Māori experiencing higher rates of illness, infection and disease.[12]
- According to a 2012 report from the New Zealand Human Rights Commission (NZHRC) the life expectancy for Māori men is 70.4 years and for non-Māori men it is 79.0 years. Life expectancy for Māori women is 75.1 years and for non-Māori women it is 83.0 years.[13]
- Compared to Pākehā, Māori have been found to be less likely to receive appropriate levels of screening and treatment of ischaemic heart disease (Bramley et al 2004).[14]
- Westbrooke, Baxter and Hogan (2011) found Māori men are less likely to receive medical intervention for cardiac disease compared with European/Pākehā men.[15]
- Hill et al. (2010)[16] [17] demonstrated that Māori have a significantly poorer cancer survival rate than non-Māori: partly due to differences in the quality and standard of medical treatment received.
- Aroll (2002)[18] found Māori were significantly less likely to be treated with antidepressant medication than non-Māori. Only 2 per cent of Māori diagnosed with clinical depression were offered medication, compared with 45 per cent of non-Māori patients with the same diagnosis.
- Johnstone and Read (2001)[19] ascertained the beliefs of New Zealand psychiatrists about issues pertaining to Māori mental health. A questionnaire involving closed and open-ended questions was sent to 335 New Zealand psychiatrists. Twenty-eight psychiatrists (11.3%), all male, New Zealand born, and with 10 or more years clinical experience, believed that Māori were biologically or genetically more predisposed than others to mental illness.
- Māori women have been found to be less likely to receive pain relief during labour and childbirth compared to Pākehā women (Ministry of Health 2006).[20]

- Findings of the 2001–02 National Primary Medical Care Survey (NatMedCa) indicated doctors spent 17% less time (2 minutes out of a 12 minute consultation) interviewing Māori than non-Māori patients.[21]
- Jansen,[22] Bacal and Crengle (2008) gathered insights into experiences of Māori consumers of health and disability services from a nationwide sample of 651 Māori – 384 females (59%) and 267 males (41%). The report notes many participants felt that they were treated with disrespect because they were Māori. Several believed they were treated differently from how they saw Pākehā patients getting treated.
- The Māori Asthma Review (1991)[23] found Māori were critical of the attitude of health practitioners to Māori people. Māori reported that a range of conscious or unconscious attitudes of health workers contribute to a reluctance by Māori to seek medical care for their asthma until it is absolutely necessary.

Education

- Turner used interviews and surveys to collect data from 15 New Zealand teachers and 14–16 year old students (n=361). Her analyses confirmed that European/Pākehā teachers held more negative beliefs about Māori students than any other ethnic groups in their classes.[24] Bishop et al., (2003) has suggested it is these negative perceptions that Pākehā hold about Māori students that leads them to treat Māori as if they are not capable of success which, in turn, creates a self-fulfilling prophecy of Māori educational failure.[25]
- Holmes, Murachver & Bayard (2001)[26] found negative attitudes towards Māori also exist among New Zealand High School students. Their study of 164 predominantly European/Pākehā students (aged 12–18 years old) found students rated Māori speakers as significantly lower on measures of social class and intelligence than Pākehā speakers.

Justice and Policing

- Differential treatment of Māori has been demonstrated in the area of justice. For example, a 2007 Department of Corrections report showed that Māori cannabis users in Christchurch were arrested at three times the rate of European/Pākehā cannabis users questioned by the Police (Workman, 2011).
- More recently New Zealand's Police Commissioner announced (via New Zealand mainstream media) that the New Zealand police have a negative "unconscious bias" towards Māori and that this bias needs to be urgently addressed (Māori Television, 2015).[27]

Sole versus mixed-Māori

- The extent to which Māori experience racism varies according to whether they are mixed-Māori (i.e. are of Māori and European/Pākehā descent) or sole-Māori (have two Māori parents).
- Houkamau and Sibley (2014) took a national probability sample of 1416 New Zealanders and examined differences in outcomes depending upon their affiliation

as Māori, Māori/Pākehā, or European/Pākehā. Results indicated that both sole and mixed-Māori/European reported poorer outcomes than European/Pākehā on various indicators of social and economic status (including educational outcomes, economic outcomes, and satisfaction with of living) however, those who identified as sole-Māori experienced worse outcomes on all outcomes measured.[28]

- More recently Houkamau and Sibley (2015) examined differences in rates of home ownership among Māori (n=561). The analyses found self-reported appearance as Māori significantly predicted decreased rates of home ownership. The authors concluded that Māori who identify as Māori only are subject to elevated levels of discrimination simply because they appear Māori to others.[29]

Māori in the media

- The issue of racism has recently be propelled to the forefront in the New Zealand media. As mentioned earlier, New Zealand's Police Commissioner announced (via New Zealand mainstream media) that the New Zealand police have a negative "unconscious bias" towards Māori. In addition, Andrew Judd (the major of New Plymouth) recently announced he would not run for mayor again in this year's local government elections because of "vicious racial abuse" he had received after supporting Māori representation on the council.[30]

- In response to media coverage of the Judd issue, Dr. Ray Nairn (who has studied the way the New Zealand media portrays Māori his whole career) says the recent experience of Andrew Judd is a textbook example of how racism is rife in New Zealand (Nairn cited in Hassan, 2016). Nairn observed that "Māori are essentially separated out from other New Zealanders… People who support Māori in efforts to have a voice in politics, or to advance Māori interests, they're labelled radicals, extremists, activists, and seen as a threat." He went on to observe that the media coverage of Māori reinforces negative stereotypes by portraying "settler common sense", in which Māori are the enemy, are the unacceptable "other" people."[31]

Resisting the racism discussion

These varied data sources evince the view that racism towards Māori is a genuine social problem that perpetuates Māori disadvantage in New Zealand.[32] However, in the public arena (in blogs, newspapers, websites and social media) there continues to be a significant groundswell of public opinion that racism toward Māori is not a real social problem (Cumming, 2014; Knightly, 2016; Meihana, 2016)[33] – and that Māori claims to social marginalisation due to racism are unwarranted (Sheppard, 2008; Vaughan, 2013).[34]

By analysing written submissions made by Pākehā to the Human Rights Commission Nairn and McCreanor (1990)[35] revealed interesting insights into Pākehā perspectives of Māori. Their data indicates that many Pākehā believe that they are not racist rather that Māori are oversensitive (i.e. they overreact at minor slights on the part of well-meaning Pākehā). The latter finding shows that, despite the large body of evidence that Māori confront considerable racism, many Pākehā do not perceive the situation the same way and this is why they are unwilling to partner with Māori to address the issue (e.g. see Coster, 2016).[36]

How can we reconcile the differences between Pākehā and Māori views on racism? The paradigm of implicit bias provides a way forward.

Implicit bias

Unconscious bias, sometimes referred to as implicit bias or implicit cognition, has been recognised in cognitive science and social psychology for decades. Unconscious bias is an automatic tendency for humans to perceive people, situations and events in stereotypical ways. These attitudes and stereotypes, in turn, affect our understandings, actions and decisions unconsciously.

Banaji and Greenwald[37] have shown how unconscious biases reflect deeply held stereotypes associated with different social categories including ethnicity, age, gender, socio-economic status and religion. These perceptions occur outside the perceiver's conscious awareness.[38] Humans reliably display in-group favouritism (a preference and affinity for their own in-group) and out-group derogation (discrimination toward out-groups).[39] These two cognitive phenomena combined create a natural predisposition to negatively stereotype out-group members and respond positively to similar others. [4]

Consequently, leading researchers have defined unconscious bias as occurring when an individual:

1. automatically or unconsciously classifies a person as a member of a group
2. applies stereotypes to the others based on their group membership
3. makes decisions based on those stereotypes.

A range of instruments have been developed for the purpose of assessing personal levels of unconscious bias. The most commonly used being the Implicit Association Test (IAT) which is a computer-based measure that measures the strength of associations between social categories (gender and ethnicity for example) and evaluations and stereotypes. The tool has been used in hundreds of studies across a wide array of disciplines to reveal implicit biases. Leading researchers in the area of implicit bias (Brian Nosek, Mahzarin Banaji and Tony Greenwald) used the IAT with the general public and explore bias towards a range of social categories.[40] Decades of research in social psychology has demonstrated that intense competition and strong out-group threats lead to negative out-group attitudes (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006).[41] [42] In addition, data from the IAT research has found ethnic minorities are typically the subject of negative bias from the dominant group.

These two finding indicate that Māori are particularly vulnerable to bias and negative out-group attitudes by Pākehā. New Zealand's history of colonisation and intergroup conflict amplifies negative attitudes towards Māori which have become deeply entrenched in New Zealand. Ironically, the relative empowerment of Māori (compared to other ethnic minorities) may drive bias even further underground because Pākehā are acutely aware that Māori will not tolerate open hostility and racism. Problematically discussion of these biases is awkward if not futile, because Pākehā do not perceive their own biases. So, although New Zealand has comprehensive laws, policies and practices in place to prevent

racism and discrimination and there has been a decline in overt racism toward Māori over the last several decades (Houkamau, 2006; NZHRC, 2012, 2013) there is still no shortage of evidence that indicates racism towards Māori is still extremely prevalent.

Latent racism and micro aggressions

Implicit bias may lead to a form of racism which is subtle and difficult to identify. There is a difference between blatant racism and latent racism (Yamato, 2004).[43] Blatant racism refers to obvious race-based bigotry, i.e. overt discrimination and social exclusion on the basis of racial identity. Latent racism occurs when racism is present but not explicitly articulated or clearly expressed – for example, an individual telephones a rental property owner only to be told that the property has already been rented once they tell the owner they have a Māori name.

Latent racism may manifest in the form of language and non-verbal behaviour which subtly denigrates individuals and the groups they affiliate with (Nelson & Walton, 2014). According to Nelson and Walton (2014) this kind of racism (also referred to as "casual racism") is often normalised through daily social interactions, including racist jokes and racial slurs. It is difficult to interrupt latent racism because it is difficult to detect – without making assumptions. A perpetrator of latent racism will typically not understand their own attitudes and behaviours, yet it can be extremely distressing for those who experience it (Mayeda et al., 2014).[44]

Sue (2010) has argued that latent racism manifests in "micro-aggressions". These are subtle, ambiguous and often unintentional acts of casual racism. Micro-aggressions can be:

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

According to Sue getting perpetrators to realize that they are acting in a biased manner is difficult because they consciously see themselves as fair-minded individuals and may genuinely not be aware of their biases. Sue (2010) goes on to suggest that micro-aggressions are potentially more harmful than one-off experiences of blatant racism because micro-aggressions are invisible, insidious and can happen many times every day. Micro-aggressions are hard to interrupt because if the victim confronts the perpetrator they may be labelled over-reactive and paranoid. Latent racism is powerful because it enables perpetrators to ignore their own behaviour.[45] What is the link between latent racism and implicit bias? Although they are conceptually distinctive concepts – experientially they blur as people with higher negative implicit biases are more likely to express latent racism – and as a corollary, engage in elevated levels of micro-aggressions (Sue, 2010).

What can we do?

The racism discussion is by nature polemic, and has become a hallmark of the biculturalism of the post-colonial period. A new approach is needed however. Educating groups about cultural differences and trying to increase Pākehā empathy for Māori is not likely to be

effective in the long term. Cultural competency training, particularly compulsory training, may have limited effect because it does not address the deeper, cognitive and emotional responses that people have. Moreover it may prime people to focus on difference which is also counterproductive.

Shore et al. (2009: 127)[46] observed that in order to move forward, we need to change our originating paradigms which are primarily negative, emphasizing discrimination and victimization, to explore our differences more positively. Given the significant amount of research demonstrating how implicit bias has a powerful impact on peoples' perspectives, exploring bias and latent racism could encourage the development a new discourse which is more conciliatory and solutions-focused.

Successful methods for addressing bias

Many methods for reducing implicit prejudice have been identified in the literature, however very little empirical data is available which identifies which approaches may be the most effective. In a large scale meta-analysis of mainly US-based interventions and studies, Lai et al., (2014) evaluated the relative effectiveness of bias-reducing interventions. The researchers experimentally compared 18 interventions for reducing the expression of implicit racial prejudice. Only eight of 17 interventions were effective at reducing implicit preferences for whites compared with African Americans.[47] Interventions which attempted to train respondents in out-group empathy or educate them on racial injustices *had no appreciable impact on bias*. Efforts to teach cross-cultural awareness, "instil a sense of common humanity" or promote an egalitarian worldview also had no real impact on reducing bias.

Of the eight that were effective, three in four in particular were significantly effective:

- An intervention where white Americans were asked to imagine being harmed by a white American and rescued by an African American (Vivid Counter Stereotype Intervention). In this scenario subjects scored lower on measures of implicit bias after imagining scenarios which were counter-stereotypical. This intervention shows that imagining a racial out-group member as heroic and positive can shift negative biases towards them.

- An intervention where white participants were assigned to be part of a sports team where all their teammates were African American and they were opposed by an all-white team which engaged in unfair play. Only through the supportive behaviour of their African American teammates did subjects prevail in the situation (Shifting Group Boundaries through Competition Intervention). This scenario shows that cooperating with racial out-group members to compete against in-group members may decrease implicit preferences of in-group members.

- A third intervention successfully decreased bias by priming white participants to consciously pair good concepts with racial out-group members and consciously implement them during a test of Implicit Associations.

- A fourth and similar intervention involved practicing an IAT with counter-stereotypical exemplars. In this situation a variation of the IAT procedure was used to reinforce positive associations with African Americans and negative associations with whites. To do this, they used very popular African American celebrities as part of the IAT measures which effectively elicited positive responses to other unknown African American individuals pictured in the same test. The priming of African American with "good" repetitively had the impact of generalising the positive evaluation to all African American people.

Other effective interventions used multiple mechanisms to increase their impact on implicit preferences (i.e. by combining elements of the four interventions above). The researchers also found that increasing participants' critical thinking and moral reasoning more generally helped to reduce bias. The researchers found that activities which repetitively associated positive ideas with African American people and negativity with white people had the greatest impact. This was found to be more successful than simply asking white people to feel positively towards African Americans. When white participants actively engaged in an activity where they were collegial or teamed with African American people – or were asked to vividly imagine scenarios where they had a positive relationships with African American people – their bias towards African American people reduced.

Lai et al.'s (2014) work endorses a wide body of literature concerned with addressing intergroup tensions generally. Most data from the social sciences indicates the best way to promote intergroup harmony and decrease out-group bias is to blur social divisions and create a superordinate group identity. Pettigrew et al. (2011)[48] offer a useful summary of the overall findings. Their meta-analysis of 515 studies and more than 250,000 subjects found that the best-documented strategy for promoting positive interpersonal relations between different groups involves working on shared goals. Also, doing shared activities based on equal status and positive interactions among people from different groups. These strategies are most effective when they involve cooperation – and ensuring that people from different backgrounds can contribute equally to the task involved. Pettigrew's work emphasises one simple point. Since people are naturally inclined to hold negative views towards out-groups the only way to address the tension is to "blur" group divisions rather than reinforce them. [49]

This data provides potential starting points for reducing bias and promoting intergroup harmony in New Zealand.

What needs to happen?

Three areas of action are needed.

First, research in the area of latent racism is required.
We can only surmise that experiences of latent racism are common in New Zealand because overt expressions of racism are deemed socially unacceptable, as well as illegal, and are, therefore, relatively rare. However, in reality, at the present time there is very little empirical research on the incidences and impact of latent racism in New Zealand and the extent to which latent racism perpetuates inequalities between Māori and Pākehā. The

studies cited provide a strong rationale for more research in this area. Particularly, how Māori who experience everyday latent racism also experience an erosion of their mental health, physical health, educational performance and their general quality of life.

More clarity is needed about the extent to which implicit bias exist fuels racism.

It may be best to start with research with subjects who are willing participants and wish to improve their intercultural skills. This can be achieved using similar methods as described by Lai et al., (2014) which involve administering the IAT along with other measures of bias, alongside objective assessment of subjects' performance in engaging with Māori. For example, teachers take the IAT and then relate their scores to the pass rates of Māori children in their classes. Other examples could include measuring implicit biases of health care providers and evaluating their scores with patient outcomes. Another line of research could examine the effectiveness of intercultural communications and interactions between Māori and Pākehā in various situations (e.g. between doctors and clients or teachers and their students). Research which explores the strategies Māori use to cope with bias is also needed. The aim of such research should be to identify ways Māori can mitigate bias and stereotype threat in order to constructively engage with Pākehā, and negate the negative impact of everyday racism.

Finally, there is opportunity to test the effectiveness of an intervention in reducing bias towards Māori.

Using methods outlined by Lai et al., (2014) it would be straightforward to trial an intervention with a New Zealand sample. The Vivid Counter Stereotype Intervention or Shifting Group Boundaries through Competition Intervention would be simple to set up in schools and workplaces and show significant promise for reducing biases permanently.

The delivery of interventions need to be carried out correctly and with facilitators who have excellent interpersonal skills and high emotional intelligence. It is also important that New Zealanders start to reframe the conversation, particularly in the media, about racism to focus on fair treatment and respect rather than racism and special treatment. There needs to be a new way of talking about racism, that mitigates denial and defensiveness. Both language and approach matter. Recently, theorists have recognised the need to remove the words "racism", "bias" and "cultural competency" from this discussion. Rather, all people have "blind-spots". This approach takes the view that addressing racism and discrimination is not about teaching people about cultural differences and minority rights. Rather effective programmes focus on fostering openness to others, working in collaborative groups to engage positively with out-group members and reflecting on how personal biases may impact on others.[50] [51]

Summary

At the moment there are few solutions for addressing the racism that Māori very clearly experience. Apart from legal sanctions, efforts to address the issue generally focus on cultural training – teaching other groups about the tenets of Māori culture. A new approach is needed – one which addresses underlying biases and the latent racism which manifests in the millions of micro-interactions Māori experience on a daily basis.

This chapter offers a review of addressing bias and promoting shifts in the perceptions of those who are biased. It discusses the implications of this data for social justice education, and suggests ways to disrupt the current systems that disadvantage Māori. There is enormous potential to develop interventions which could work to decrease bias towards Māori in New Zealand. Deliberate conscious actions are required to change the extant situation. The vast majority of research in this area has been conducted in the United Kingdom and the United States, and there is clearly a need for more understanding and research in New Zealand.

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[51] For this reason, I think we need to focus on shifting implicit bias (as a new terminology and framework). Notably some may believe that bias is just another word for racism. I choose to focus on bias because I believe that racism is such an emotive issue that using that word or focussing on addressing "it" makes the work of addressing disadvantage too difficult. Implicit bias provides a way to address disadvantage in a way which is non-blaming. It is also important for Māori to address their own bias – and this issues needs to be addressed as part of a "whole of system" approach to addressing Māori disadvantage.

Unconscious bias and the education of Māori students

"Indigenous individuals, particularly children, have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State without discrimination." United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Article 14 (UN 2007).

Background/Introduction

Existing commentary on Māori performance in education has failed to account for the impact of unconscious bias on Māori outcomes. The predominant focus has been on: the negative impact of socio-economic disadvantage; the amount and quality of resources in various areas of education; as well as cultural awareness training for teachers. While these factors are certainly important we believe there is a clear link between bias and Māori underachievement. Approaching the issue from a social-psychological perspective we posit Māori children face significant barriers to achievement which stems from negative stereotypes attached to Māori as a social group. We call for urgent and focussed attention on developing, trialing and evaluating practical interventions for removing biases throughout the New Zealand education system.

Here we compare Māori and African American children on educational outcomes to demonstrate a strong and consistent pattern of disadvantage experienced by these two populations. We believe that research and interventionist programmes designed to reduce bias against African American children and adults can be adapted for use in a New Zealand context.

Māori educational outcomes

Although New Zealand is home to many different ethnic groups, Māori are indigenous to New Zealand (Cunningham, 2012)[1] and the New Zealand Government is obligated to ensure that Māori rights to cultural, social and economic equality are promoted through the work of all state institutions. If significant discrepancies between the well-being of Māori and Pākehā exist, it is incumbent upon the government to reduce these inequities through research, policy and practical interventions. Māori education has been recognised as a priority area for government. Education is vital as it improves a population's life choices, widens the range of career options open to them, and allows them more control over their lives (Henare et al., 2011).[2] [3]

The Ministry of Education holds various collections of statistical information, including data on student participation and achievement, and sector performance across a range of educational criteria. Marriot and Sim (2014)[4] have recently outlined key educational performance gaps between Māori and non-Māori. These include:

- A secondary school retention rate (to age 17) for Māori students of 50.6% (75.4% for non-Māori);

- School leavers achieving University Entrance standard (NCEA Level 2) for Māori youth of 25% (47.9% for non-Māori);
- A higher rate of Māori youth not in education or employment or training at 22.4% (9.1% for the non-Māori population) (also see Te Puni Kōkiri, 2012).[5]

New Zealand's Ministry of Social Development (2003, 2004)[6] has described a number of policy initiatives designed to address these inequalities including increasing participation in early childhood education (where participation is low); and improving participation and achievement among young people who are at risk of leaving school with few qualifications. Although many Māori students may have benefitted from these interventions, research and national and international testing data continue to show significant disparities between Māori and Pākehā.

The Education Review Office (ERO) has published five national evaluation reports on this topic since 2001. These have identified system-wide issues and recommended steps to be taken by schools and by the Ministry of Education to promote educational success for Māori. Their 2010 report "Promoting Success for Māori Students" presents data collected from 60 secondary schools and 227 primary schools that had education reviews in 2009. ERO wanted to know about improvements in Māori student achievement in these schools since their previous ERO review.[7] The report focuses on three critical dimensions for success: presence (being at school), engagement (engaging with learning), and achievement. As part of this evaluation, ERO was also interested in the extent to which schools had discussed and used "Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success"[8] in their planning for Māori success.

In approximately a third of both primary and secondary schools, ERO found that Māori student achievement had either remained at high levels or substantially improved. These schools demonstrated consistently good presence and engagement of Māori students. There were several common characteristics in these schools, but most of all they were *inclusiv*e of students and their parents and whānau. This was reflected in school leaders' and teachers' "understanding of the centrality of Māori language and culture in the curriculum, responsive teaching, positive student-teacher relationships, and the inclusion of parents' views and aspirations in working with Māori learners. In a further 32% of primary schools and 45% of secondary schools there was evidence of some improvement. In the remaining schools ERO found no improvement."[9] ("Promoting Success for Māori Students")

The report concluded that many of New Zealand's educators have not recognised their professional responsibility to provide a learning environment that promotes success for Māori students. Moreover despite the widespread information and support available, a substantial proportion of schools do not review their own performance in relation to Māori student achievement.[10] According to this ERO report: "For Māori to achieve greater success in education it is crucial that all educators in New Zealand recognise, support and develop the inherent capabilities and skills that Māori students bring to their learning."[11] ("Promoting Success for Māori Students")

Education

One of the key assumptions of Māori underachievement in the educational arena is that Māori children are disadvantaged at school because they are more likely to come from disadvantaged backgrounds (i.e. have a lower socio-economic ["SEP"] position),[12] and therefore be relatively under-resourced. Those trapped in a "cycle of poverty" have less access to opportunity, knowledge, support, and resources which can be drawn from to promote educational achievement (Anderson, Bulatao and Cohen, 2004).[13] [14]

New Zealand's largest study on the life trajectories of New Zealand children (the Christchurch Health and Development Study) has verified children from wealthier families are better positioned for more positive outcomes in life. However, there is evidence that higher SEP does not account for all advantage that is experienced by non-Māori. Using data from the Christchurch study, Fergusson, McLeod and Horwood (2014) and Marie, Fergusson and Boden (2014)[15] have examined the relationship between childhood socio-economic status (SES) and ethnic disparities in psychosocial outcomes for Māori and non-Māori adults at age 30. They found that Māori had significantly poorer scores on measures of childhood SES and greater rates of adverse psychosocial outcomes in adulthood. Interestingly however, controlling for childhood SES did not fully explain the differences between Māori and non-Māori. The authors concluded that explanations for Māori inequities in relation to psycho-social well-being need to be broader than socio-economic disadvantage.

Māori leaders have also argued that inequities for Māori must be analysed more broadly. For example, Turia (2000)[16] has argued that colonisation traumatised Māori psychologically. Therefore while Government institutions of law, social welfare and education may attempt to close the economic gap between Māori and Pākehā (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2000)[17] such initiatives fail to address the impact of colonisation on the Māori psyche (Anaru, 2012).[18] Houkamau (2006)[19] has concurred and posits that there is a "psychological barrier" to Māori advancement in New Zealand society, which includes the corrosive influence of racism on Māori identity and self-efficacy. Indeed, mounting evidence suggests racism plays a significant role in terms of Māori disadvantage (Anaya, 2011);[20] (Human Rights Commission, 2011, 2012; Human Rights Council, 2009; Human Rights Committee, 2010).[21] This perspective changes the focus of attention from Māori social and economic problems – to the role of Pākehā in maintaining the status quo.

Racism and Māori

The view that both personal/interpersonal racism (personal views, attitudes and stereotypes) and institutional racism (differential access to resources caused by institutional processes and procedures) work together to perpetuate Māori disadvantage is well-documented.

For example, Consedine & Consedine (2005)[22] propose there is a range of negative attitudes held towards Māori, and these attitudes reflect a long history of white superiority and privilege which arrived in New Zealand with the first white settlers and remain deeply embedded in Pākehā attitudes today (also see McCreanor et al., 2011; McCreanor et al.,

2014). McCreanor (1997)[23] has documented the historical roots of anti-Māori racism in early colonial texts which demonstrate negative views of Māori as savages, dirty, lazy, violent and simple-minded (also see Ausubel, 1965;[24] Beaglehole and Beaglehole, 1946[25]). The New Zealand Human Rights Commission's annual Review of Race Relations in New Zealand in 2011 found evidence for continued and entrenched racial prejudice and the exclusion of Māori from full participation in all aspects of society (Human Rights Commission, 2011).

There is also evidence to suggest that Māori who are part Māori – or have one Pākehā parent – may be better placed to succeed in education. Kukutai (2004)[26] has observed that those of Māori descent who also report having one Pākehā parent ("mixed-Māori") experience less social and economic advantage relative to those of Māori descent who identify primarily as Māori ("sole-Māori") (Greaves, Houkamau & Sibley, 2015)[27] (also see Gould).[28]

To explain these differences Gould (1996 cited in Chapple, 2010, p.6)[29] argues that "intermarriage transfers Western cultural norms to Māori and thus ensures less disparity on the basis of the usual objective measures – based as they are on Western cultural norms – of income, of jobs and of life expectancy and so on." Houkamau and Sibley (2015) disagree with this view and suggest that mixed-Māori experience advantage as they are *less likely to experience discrimination based merely on physical appearance*. To demonstrate, Houkamau and Houkamau and Sibley (2014)[30] showed that those who identified as "mixed-Māori" were less likely to report they appeared Māori to others.

In a follow up study, Houkamau and Sibley (2015)[31] examined differences in rates of home ownership among Māori. Using data drawn from a large national postal sample of 561 Māori, their analyses indicated that self-reported appearance as Māori significantly predicted decreased rates of home ownership. This association held when adjusting for demographic covariates, such as education, level of deprivation of the immediate area, household income, age, relationship status, region of residence, and so forth. The authors concluded this suggests there is, or at least has been in the recent past, institutional racism against Māori in New Zealand's home lending industry, and this is based on merely physical appearance as Māori.

In New Zealand there is a very clear legislative regime which prohibits ethnic and racial discrimination (New Zealand Constitutional Advisory Panel, 2013).[32] In relation to Māori rights to equality a policy of "biculturalism" (equality and partnership between Māori and Pākehā) was adopted by the government in the mid-1980s (Van-Meijl, 1995).[33] Moreover, because of the cultural and political renaissance Māori have gained substantial recognition of their political rights to equality with Pākehā (Metge, 1990, 1995).[34] In addition, there have been a range of government interventions designed to promote racial and ethnic harmony in New Zealand. Significant inequalities persist however (Human Rights Commission (2012).)[35]

The social psychology of prejudice and discrimination

Insights from social and cognitive psychology provide a useful mechanism to understand why legislating against discrimination or insisting discrimination is ideologically unacceptable is largely ineffective.

A key assumption of the social psychology of intergroup relations is that human societies are permeated with inequities which stem from social group membership. Social identity theory ("SIT") can help us understand how humans behave in this regard (Tajfel, 1981).[36] An inherent human need to elevate one's own group is at the core of social inequities.

In their seminal introduction to SIT, Tajfel and Turner (1979)[37] proposed that perception of self is socially derived through relationships with others. Social identity is defined as a person's sense of who they are based on their group membership(s), and is an important source of belonging, meaning and social value. A basic premise of SIT is that groups in society (social classes, gender and ethnic groups) are situated within a social hierarchy in which some groups are "higher" and others "lower" depending on the amount of power, prestige and influence those groups collectively hold. The more positively one's group is perceived, the greater the positive evaluations that individuals can draw from in interpreting themselves. Conversely, people who belong to a "low-status" group may be prone to a "negative social identity" if they internalise unfavourable appraisals within their own self-concept.

Tajfel and Turner (1986)[38] argue that individuals strive for favourable evaluations of their own group, or for a "positive" social identity, because part of their sense of self derives from the way they perceive the value of their own group. Moreover, as they are likely to be perceived less positively by members of "high-status" groups, they may be subject to discrimination. SIT underpins the social psychology of discrimination, and explains why stereotypes about certain groups, combined with historical disadvantage, shape the way that individuals perceive and behave towards others. From this foundation the role of ethnic identity is powerful. Ethnicity is a key marker of identity and minority groups – or those subject to stigma – are at an automatic disadvantage as they are seen as belonging to a "lower group" and are therefore *inferior relative to majority group members.*

The impact on Māori may be two-fold. On the one hand Māori may be affected if they are conscious of negative stereotypes held about Māori. In addition Māori may be subject to lowered expectations from dominant group members (i.e. Pākehā). This idea has been espoused frequently in relation to Māori – often by Māori who have criticised negative stereotypes of Māori depicted in the mainstream media (e.g. Wall, 1995, 1997).[39] A number of publications have suggested that negative images of Māori in the television and print media perpetuate stereotypes that threaten Māori by feeding them negative ideas about themselves (Walker, 1990a, 1990b, 1996, 2002[40]). For example, Pania Dewes (1975),[41] a woman of Ngāti Porou descent, argued:

If I were to believe what I read and hear about Māori via the media, I would see myself as a glue sniffing, shoplifting, pot-smoking, tattooed street kid whose parents were ripping off the Department of Social Welfare or, alternatively, calling upon Māoridom or the Government to

ratify the Treaty of Waitangi. My future would also be mapped out for me. No school qualifications, no prospects, no motivation, no interests (outside of gangs), and no money. In fact a drag on society.

Similarly Ramsden (1994, p. 111)[42] observed:

Identity construction (for Māori) has offered little that is positive and much that is ambivalent and even bizarre. With so little to choose from it is scarce wonder that many Māori have chosen role models which relate to brown resistance movements … or to brute force.

Examples can also be found in Houkamau's PhD[43] which analysed 35 Māori women's life stories. Women reported acting "differently" around Pākehā because they believed Pākehā had "low expectations" of Māori. This quote from one respondent. "You had all these well-dressed Pākehā so I used to just model them. I found it really hard like to feel good about being Māori like in the work place and Māori are always being put down … in certain circles you are the only Māori around and you hear a lot of people putting down Māori and it's horrible." (Houkamau, 2006, p. 172). Other women reported feeling "more confident" among Māori and/or being embarrassed, self-conscious and changing who they "really were" among Pākehā (Houkamau, 2006 pp.169-174).

Are Māori children affected by negative stereotypes held about Māori? One study with Māori children suggests that even very young Māori are acutely aware of the negative stereotypes attached to Māori and also believe them themselves. Bruce, Curtis and Johnston (1998)[44] asked 34 Māori and Pacific Island children aged 5 to 6 years old (all from a similar socio-economic background) at Christchurch primary schools to look at pictures of light skinned and dark skinned children and attribute positive or negative attributes to them. They also asked children to identify which picture was the most like them, and which person they would rather be when they grew up. The results showed that all children were more likely to attribute negative attributes to dark skinned people and report that they would rather be light skinned when they grew up. The authors concluded that the positive bias Māori children showed towards light skinned people does not mean they do not want to be Māori. Rather, it suggests they are aware that negative stereotypes are attached to Māori and that Pākehā people have a higher and more desirable social and economic status. As such, they suggested, Māori children became acutely aware at a young age of the negative social implications of being Māori. The concept that Māori children internalise negative stereotypes held "against" them is, we believe, crucial to understanding Māori educational outcomes.

The contemporary image of Māori in New Zealand does not denote positive academic achievement. On the contrary the vast majority of educational successes – as well as roles as teachers, principals and policy and decision makers in New Zealand – have long belonged to Pākehā.[45] And the stereotypes associated with Māori tend to be negative. Although the impact of these factors have not been examined in relation to Māori, research with African Americans (also subject to negative stereotypes and prejudice in their own social and cultural milieu) has found negative expectations of African Americans causes a self-fulling prophecy. In an educational setting, African Americans may perform more poorly as they are "living into" the negative views held against them. Steele and Aronson

(1995) have demonstrated this phenomena[46] and argued that African Americans have an extra burden to carry: negative expectations in educational settings may lead them to believe teacher expectations. This can, in turn, lead to a general lack of self-belief, as well as "dis-identification" (a disinterest in school achievement).[47]

Steele and Aronson's work underlines the importance of teachers lifting their expectations of students and treating all students as having the same potential for achievement. Similar observations have been made by Bishop et al. (2003, 2007)[48] who have suggested that New Zealand educators have low expectations of Māori students – and tend to relegate responsibility for Māori achievement outside of their area of influence.

Unconscious biases

While educators may be well intentioned, several aspects of social psychological science suggest that it is still likely that, despite best intentions, negative expectations of Māori work to maintain the status quo. Do these negative concepts attached to Māori people filter into the education system? One recent small-scale study presents some very confronting data. Turner (2013)[49] examined 15 mathematics teachers and 361 Year 9 and Year 10 students. The teachers and students completed questionnaires and ten teachers also participated in semi-structured interviews.

Interview and qualitative data confirmed that teachers had lower expectations for and more negative beliefs about Māori students than any other ethnic group in their classes. Low teacher expectations for Māori emerged out of perceived deficits in the students' home background including broken families, a lack of parental support and education, and criminal tendencies. Teachers believed that Māori students lacked goals, motivation and aspirations. When asked about the achievement gap (i.e. why Māori students achievement was low relative to other students) most teachers identified deficits in Māori students' home backgrounds, and students' negative attitudes to education as contributing factors.

This data points to a need to open up a discussion of the role of bias towards Māori children – and consider ways to address the potential negative impacts such attitudes may have. Relatedly, we turn our attention to the issue of teacher attitudes towards Māori and how these may impact student outcomes.

The Pygmalion effect and self-fulfilling prophecies

Teacher attitudes towards students and their impact on student outcomes has received focussed attention from researchers for several decades. In a seminal study, Robert Rosenthal highlighted the powerful impact of teacher expectations on student achievement (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968).

Their original study took place in an American elementary school where they had students take IQ "pre-tests". In order to create an expectancy among teachers, they were told the test was the "Harvard Test of Inflected Acquisition", which served as a measure of "academic blooming". After the results were scored, the researchers informed the teachers that five students in their class had unusually high IQ scores and would probably be "late

bloomers" (i.e. they would most likely out-perform their classmates later in the year). In reality, no late bloomers were identified, rather, these students were selected randomly. At the end of the school year, all students were once again tested with the same test. This enabled researchers to assess actual changes in IQ. Differences in the degree of changes for the scores for "late bloomers" and controls were then used as an indication of the impact of the expectancy effect. By the end of the year, all the children had improved on their test performance and gained in IQ, but the five "late bloomers" performed much better than the other students (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1963).[50]

Researchers believed that their teachers treated the later bloomers differently after being told to expect sudden improvement. This study has become very well known in the educational arena and is summarized in "Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectation and Pupils' Intellectual Development". When first published in 1968, (later updated in 1992), Pygmalion in the Classroom was received with almost universal acclaim for its demonstration of how teachers' expectations determine, to a large part, student's educational outcomes. Simply put, when teachers expect students to do well and show intellectual growth, they do. When teachers do not have such expectations – students perform poorly. The text demonstrates that, in Rosenthal and Jacobson's original experiment, not only did teachers apparently give a boost to students who were expected to be "late bloomers" but teacher's judged those who were not "late bloomers" much more negatively. When students who were not expected to be successful did do well in class, teachers were apprehensive and did not seem to believe what they were seeing (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1963).

One interesting qualification to these results was that they occurred only for the youngest children (1st and 2nd graders). No consistent difference in IQ scores was observed in older children. The authors offer a number of reasons for this age difference in expectancy effects:

1. Younger children are generally thought of as being more malleable or "transformable". This belief may have decreased teacher bias.
2. Younger students may have less established reputations. In other words, if the teachers had not yet had a chance to form an opinion of a child's abilities they may be less likely to be biased towards them positively or negatively.
3. Teachers of these lower grades may differ from upper-grade teachers in their expectations of children.

Subsequent research from Rosenthal has clarified the mechanisms of expectancy effect to reveal four main processes by which teachers shape the behaviour of their students to create self-fulfilling prophecies:

1. **Emotional Climate:** Teachers act more warmly toward students they expect to do well – that is, they set a positive emotional environment for students who they expect more of. This, in turn, allows students to relax, trust their teacher, take risks and interact more frequently (have the confidence to ask questions and seek assistance).

2. **The input factor:** Teachers with higher expectations of their students are also more likely to give them more challenging material to study and are more likely to take the time to work through learning challenges with them (i.e. there is greater input for those who are expected to do well). Teachers who expect students to do poorly may be inclined to teach simple material and accept simplistic answers.

3. **Attention in class:** Teachers who expect more of students interact with them more frequently and take the time to explain information to them fully (because they believe the students are "worth the effort"). Teachers allow "late bloomers" (or those they expect more of) to answer more questions in class and are more patient when "late bloomers" make errors.

4. **Performance feedback:** Teachers give more detailed performance feedback to students who are considered high achievers. Children considered "good performers" are given more detailed, tailored and differentiated feedback on how to improve their performance.

Rosenthal and Jacobson's work demonstrates the powerful role of the self-fulfilling prophecy (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968).[51] Students believed to be bright and promising are treated and act in accordance with those expectations, students labelled inferior can end up failing. Rosenthal's work underlines the significance of Turner's study above and the potent danger of lowered teacher expectations or Māori. Indeed, those expectations may work to actively maintain Māori underachievement. On a more positive note, Māori (and all children) can be encouraged by being treated as if they are high achievers, talented and gifted. Planting positive expectations seems vital – for both students and teachers.

Rosenthal and Jacobson's work feeds directly into one of the most controversial issues facing Māori in education today, that is, are Māori students engaged with in a way which promotes their achievement? Considering Turner's findings, this leads us to ask how do our own teachers unconsciously communicate their lowered expectations to Māori? If so, are these lowered expectations directed at Māori on purpose?

Unconscious bias

Developments in cognitive psychology suggest much of the discrimination that happens in society is likely to be unconscious and automatic[52]. In their recent book, Banaji and Prentice (2013)[53] describe the "darker" side of human nature – that is, the tendency for human beings to automatically and unconsciously evaluate out-group members negatively. To demonstrate this, Banaji and Prentice (2013) devised the Implicit Association Test (IAT) which is an online assessment tool which helps individuals identify their own implicit biases. The tests reveal the extent to which respondents associate both negative and positive concepts and terms to different identity groups (see implicit.harvard.edu.). The tendency to do this seems to be universal, and happens almost instantly by virtue of social processing.

SCT, SIT combined with the notion of unconscious bias suggest Māori may be very vulnerable to unconscious bias in New Zealand, due to the negative social image and

stereotypes held against Māori. Indeed, Māori are bombarded by negative messages about being Māori on a daily basis. The national media frequently publicises negative statistics about Māori people (in relation to crime, health, unemployment and education) – it is virtually impossible for New Zealanders to avoid exposure to the idea that Māori are a brown underclass[54] "behind" Pākehā in most areas of public life (Walker, 1996, 2002).

In New Zealand race and racism is not a popular concept or topic of discussion, however, in the United States, where African Americans face racism (explicitly) daily there is increasing momentum to reduce, track and discuss the impact of racism. In the US racial stratification occurs throughout all social and economic spheres – employment, housing, and education.

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Looking offshore – a legitimate comparison

In this chapter, I survey the economic literature on racial achievement gaps in the United States. I focus first on the primary cause of racial achievement gaps – childhood disadvantage – and then discuss its severe negative consequences, as well as the implications for effective remedies. Finally, I discuss the evidence for unconscious bias – an important part of the racial achievement gap.

Throughout the discussion, I hope to weave a narrative that rings true to a New Zealand reader, while attempting to discuss potential implications for Aotearoa. Implicit in this goal is the assumption that the racial gaps in the United States and New Zealand are not only comparable, but also worthy of comparison. Although the relationship between Māori and African Americans is not an obvious one, almost every economic and social statistic indicates that they each occupy similar social spaces in their respective societies.

In 2013, African Americans and Māori made up 15.2% and 14.9% of their respective national populations.[1] African Americans make up 8.3% of the 113th US congress, and 12.5% New Zealand's 51st parliament are Māori members.[2] Unemployment rates for African Americans and Māori are typically double those of white Americans and New Zealand Pākehā.[3] African Americans live five fewer years than white Americans, while Māori life expectancy is seven years less than non-Māori.[4] Relative to whites, African Americans earn 24% less, and are six times more likely to be incarcerated – statistics which are almost identical to their Māori counterparts.

While their historical and cultural journeys are widely divergent, closer inspection reveals that Māori and African Americans have arrived at strikingly similar economic and social destinations. We are not the first to draw this comparison. For example, Staples (1993) discovered "striking parallels between the demographic, social and familial situation of Afro-Americans and Māori despite a separation by thousands of miles as well as historical and cultural dissimilarities." Kukutai (2010) considered many aspects of Māori inequality against a backdrop of similar African American social outcomes. More recently, Grimes et al. (2015) compared and contrasted cultural and economic beliefs across Māori and African American populations.

We are also aware that making broad comparisons across cultures can be controversial.[5] However, we believe that the benefits of doing so far outweigh the costs, and that Māori ought to welcome any insights into our people, regardless of where they come from. Kotahitanga and Whanaungatanga should surely extend to the academic arena, where there awaits a vast ocean of brilliant research into the economic condition of African Americans that remains to be exploited by Māori.

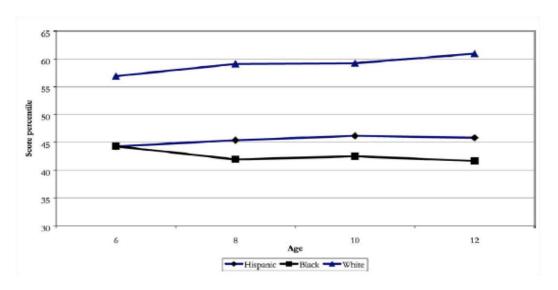**The racial achievement gap**

Cognitive abilities – such as numeracy and language skills – and non-cognitive abilities – such as motivation, self-esteem, personality and sociability – are the primary determinants

of major economic and social outcomes such as earnings, employment, university attendance, teenage pregnancy, participation in risky activities, and criminal activity (Heckman et al., 2006).

Because these abilities are shaped very early in life, gaps in achievement between individuals and across socio-economic and racial groups open up before children even start school. Although there are no cognitive differences between African American and white babies at the age of nine months (Fryer and Levitt, 2013), by the time African American children enter kindergarten, they lag behind whites by 0.64 standard deviations in maths and 0.40 in reading (Fryer and Levitt, 2004). These achievement gaps persist for every subject at every grade level (Fryer and Torelli, 2010). Just 12% of African American nine-year-old boys are proficient in reading, compared with 38% of their white counterparts, and only 12% of 13-year-old African American boys are proficient in math, compared with 44% of white boys (Council of the Great City Schools, 2012). The typical African American high school graduate reads at the proficiency level of the typical white high school entrant (Campbell, Hombo, and Mazzeo, 2000) and scores more than one standard deviation below white counterparts on the SATs – the standard university entrance test (Card and Rothstein, 2007).
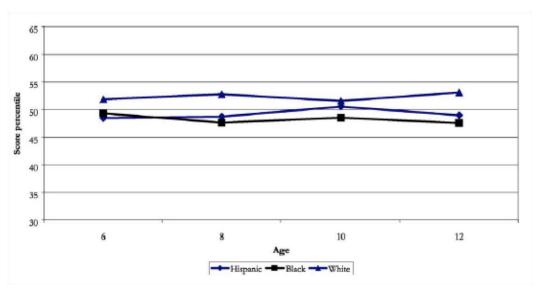
Cunha et al. (2006) examine how racial achievement gaps evolve over the course of a school career. Figure 1a plots the average percentile ranks on a standardized test of age-appropriate mathematics knowledge by age for white, African American and Hispanic students. It demonstrates that i) gaps in skills between races emerge at early ages and ii) these gaps persist as children develop. Figure 1b presents the same information, but after controlling for maternal education and cognitive ability – a common measure of the social advantage of a child. Although the gaps across racial groups do not disappear entirely, they are significantly reduced once the social environment of the child is taken into account. Much of the racial gap is related to differences in gaining skills while growing up.

Figure 1a: Raw Average Percentile Rank on Math Score, by race

Source: Figure 2B in Cunha et al. (2006). The test is the Peabody Individual Achievement test for Mathematics.

Figure 1b: Average Percentile Rank on Math Score adjusted by Maternal Education, by race

Source: Figure 3B in Cunha et al. (2006)

To understand why adjusting for a child's social environment dramatically reduces the racial achievement gap, consider Figure 2, which shows test scores by age for white children classified by their mother's education. Again, gaps in test scores by social background of the child are substantial, arise early and persist. The test score gap between the children of more educated and less educated white Americans is similar to the gap in test scores between white and African Americans. More educated parents simply have access to more financial resources, and are therefore better able to provide their children with nurturing and supportive environments in comparison to less educated parents. They are more likely to provide a home filled with books, an adult environment with university-educated professional role models, and the experience required to aid in the educational process such as monitoring schools for academic standards. On the other hand, common financial obstacles such as unexpected medical bills, or being the victims of robbery can be crippling blows for families on the edge. The children of these families therefore tend to miss out on the necessary food required to concentrate, or the extra funding needed to play sport and attend field trips.

This problem is not confined to the United States. In New Zealand, there are now 45,000 more impoverished children than there were in 2007.[6] Almost a quarter of a million young kiwis, through no fault of their own, do not have access to adequate housing, or suitable clothing. As a result, these children are deprived of the opportunity to learn, to thrive and to socially engage. Family income matters throughout life, but it has its greatest influence on forming the ability of children. Schools do little to budge these gaps even though the quality of schooling attended varies greatly across social classes. A similar story holds for indices of soft skills classified by social and economic status.
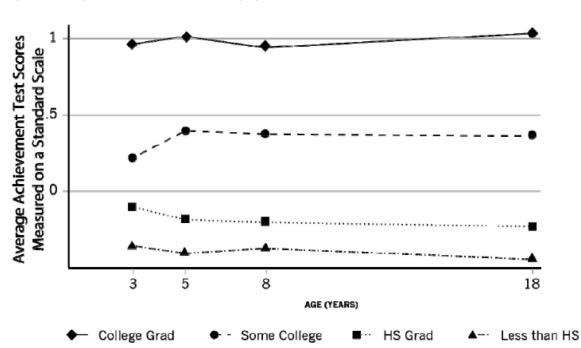
Figure 2: Average White Children Test Scores by Age and Maternal Education

Source: Figure 1 in Heckman (2011)

40

Half of the inequality in the present value of lifetime earnings is due to factors determined by the age of 18 (Cunha and Heckman, 2007, 2008). The achievement gaps, which are present at the age of three and persist through to the age of 18, therefore determine much of the gaps in adult outcomes. As a consequence, it is extremely unlikely that a child born near the bottom of the income distribution will eventually reach somewhere near the top of the distribution. The probability that a child born to parents in the bottom fifth of the income distribution will reach the top fifth is 7.5% in the US (Chetty et al. 2014), 9.0% in the UK (Blanden and Machin 2008), 11.7% in Denmark (Boserup and Kremer, 2014) and 13.5% in Canada (Corak and Heisz, 1999). Equivalent data does not exist for New Zealand, but Carter et al. (2014) showed that over an eight-year period, the probability of being in the top fifth of the income distribution having started in the bottom fifth is just 4.5%.

Alexander et al. (2014) provided more detail of this phenomenon by tracking 800 Baltimore schoolchildren over a period of 25 years. They showed that only 33 children moved from birth families in the low-income bracket to the high-income bracket as young adults, compared to an expected number of 70 if family had no bearing on children's mobility prospects. Of those who started out rich, only 19 dropped to the low-income bracket – just 25% of the number expected. Just 4% of children from low-income families had a university degree by age 28, compared to 45% of children from higher-income backgrounds. Among those who did not attend university, white men from low-income backgrounds found the best-paying jobs. At age 28, 41% of white men and 49% of African American men from low-income backgrounds had a criminal conviction, but the white employment rate was much higher.

These findings cut to the core of what it means to have a fair society. On inspection of the facts, the "American dream" and the New Zealand egalitarian belief are proven to be just that – merely dreams and beliefs with little basis in reality. Those who fall behind early, through no fault of their own, pay for it for the rest of their lives. As Heckman (2008, p. 1) grimly concludes, "The accident of birth is a major source of inequality."

The efficiency of early intervention

Figures 1 and 2 present a common message in the literature – that much of the racial achievement gap can be attributed to differences in ability across racial groups that emerge at a young age. To the extent that this is true, effective solutions to the racial achievement gap amount to enriching the environments of disadvantaged children, rather than African American or Māori children in particular.

There is a strong economic argument that investing in disadvantaged children is a rare public policy with no tradeoff between equity, social justice and long-term economic growth (Heckman and Masterov, 2007). Nobel laureate James Heckman argues that many of the policy initiatives used to alleviate achievement gaps – such as reduced pupil-teacher ratios, college tuition programs, adolescent and adult literacy programs, and public job training – would be better used in early interventions. "America currently relies too much on schools and adolescent remediation strategies to solve problems that start in the preschool years" (Heckman, 2011).

Figure 3 summarizes the core of his argument. It plots the rate of return on investment for an extra dollar spent on skills programs across the lifetime of an individual who has an initial (low) common baseline investment at all ages. Given the importance of skill acquisition early in life, it is unsurprising that the returns to investing in disadvantaged children are also much larger early in life. Early investment creates the foundation of skills that make later investment more productive (Cunha et al., 2006). Children who enter school with character and cognitive skills gain more from formal education so that early intervention makes later schooling more effective, which in turn percolates throughout the life cycle. As Carneiro and Heckman (2003) put it, "Skill and ability beget future skill and ability." If the cognitive and non-cognitive base has been compromised by early family disadvantage, skill investments at later ages are much less productive. The longer society waits to intervene in the life of a disadvantaged child, the more costly it is to remediate and overcome academic and social disadvantage. Placing greater emphasis on parenting resources directed to the early years supplements families and makes them active participants in the process of child development, thereby acting to prevent rather than remediate problems.
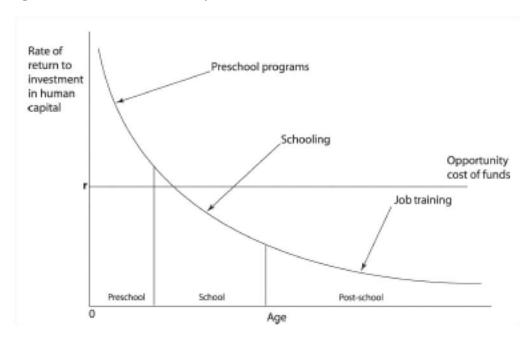
Figure 3: Rates of Return to Human Capital Investment

Source: Figure 1A in Cunha et al. (2006)

Empirical evidence from a variety of intervention studies shows that ability gaps in children from different socio-economic groups can be reduced if remediation is attempted at early ages. A well-known example is the Perry Preschool Program, which examined the lives of 123 children born into poverty with below average IQ in a city near Detroit, Michigan. From 1962–1967, three and four-year-olds were randomly divided into a program group that received a high-quality preschool program and a comparison group who received no preschool program. For two years, the program taught children to plan, execute and evaluate daily projects in a structured setting, while also providing weekly home visits by teachers. These children were then systematically followed through to the age of 40 with

information on earnings, employment, education, crime and a variety of other outcomes collected at various ages.

On almost every measure of achievement – from high school graduation rates to lifetime earnings and the likelihood of being arrested – the program group achieved to a higher degree than the control group.[7] Furthermore, Perry children made less use of remedial education than peers who did not receive treatment, which reinforces the message that the returns to later investment are greater if higher early investment is made. The estimated social rate of return from the Perry Preschool Program is estimated to be 7-10% per annum – much higher than the return on equity over the same period (Heckman et al., 2010). In their study comparing the costs of alternative adolescent mentoring programs with the Perry Preschool program, Cunha and Heckman (2007) estimate that delaying interventions by a few years would require 35% more spending in order to achieve the same results.

There is no equity-efficiency tradeoff for programs targeted toward the early years of the lives of disadvantaged children. Voluntary and culturally sensitive support for parenting should therefore be a politically and economically palatable strategy that addresses problems common to all racial and ethnic groups. Heckman (2011) summarises the nature of the argument very well:

Successful child development programs work because they start early. Benefits include enhanced school readiness, and reduced burdens on the schools for special education. They produce benefits in the teen years with better health behaviors, reduced teenage pregnancy and lower dropout rates. They promote higher adult productivity and self-sufficiency. They supplement the family by working with both the parent and the child. They provide a strong boost to character skills that matter. Successful programs offer a lifeline of family supplementation for disadvantaged families. They engage the parents, are voluntary, and do not impair the sanctity of the family. Disadvantaged families of all race groups gladly take up opportunities to enhance the lives of their children. Most mothers, however disadvantaged, want the best for their children. The voluntary nature of these programs avoids coercion and condescension and promotes dignity.
– Heckman (2011, p. 22)

Research into the effectiveness of early intervention has primarily focused on educational initiatives. More recently, however, the importance of the childhood environment has been demonstrated in studies that look into the effect of where one grows up.

In the United States, upward mobility varies substantially across neighbourhoods. For example, the probability that a child reaches the top quintile of the national income distribution starting from a family in the bottom quintile varies from above 16% to below 5% across different communities (Chetty et al., 2014). Using data from every metropolitan and rural area in the United States, Chetty et al. (2014) confirm that where one grows up has a huge impact on success later in life, and that this "Neighbourhood Effect" tends to amplify racial inequality. Indeed, Chetty et al. (2016) estimate that 20% of the black-white earnings gap can be attributed to the county in which African Americans vs. whites grow up. Although similar data does not exist for New Zealand, the idea that someone who

grows up in, say, Porirua, has different life outcomes to someone who grows up in Ponsonby is not surprising.

There are, however, two very different explanations for variation in children's outcomes across areas. The first is that different types of people live in different places. The second is that the places have a causal effect on upward mobility for a given person. Chetty and Hendren (2015) run a quasi experiment that approximates a situation in which children are randomly assigned to neighborhoods and then compare outcomes in adulthood. They identify the causal effect of every county in the U.S. on a given child's earnings. For example, children who move from Washington DC to Fairfax county at younger ages earn more as adults. They find that a child in a low income (bottom 25 percentile) family that moves from an average place to, say, Dupage Illinois earns a 15.1% change in earnings while a move to Baltimore would reduce earnings by 17.3%.

Can disadvantaged children overcome that disadvantage simply by moving? Chetty et al. (2016) investigate this question by analyzing the "Moving to Opportunity" experiment, which gave housing vouchers to 4,600 low income families using a randomized lottery in Boston, New York, LA, Chicago, and Baltimore in the mid 1990s. Children younger than 13 who move to low-poverty areas do much better as adults. They have 30% higher earnings, are 27% more likely to attend university and are 30% less likely to become single parents. The fact that moving had little effect on parents' earnings or the outcomes of children who were already teenagers further suggests that childhood exposure is a key determinant of upward mobility.

Encouraging families with young kids to move to lower-poverty areas improves outcomes for low-income children, which leads to an increase in future tax revenue. The higher earnings of these children more than offset the cost of vouchers relative to public housing. Furthermore, this integration can help the poor without hurting the rich as mixed income neighborhoods produce slightly better outcomes for the rich (Chetty et al., 2016). This is yet another instance of a policy with no equity-efficiency tradeoff. Given that Māori are, in general, more geographically mobile than non-Māori (Sin and Stillman 2005, 2015), such a policy ought to have relevance for New Zealand.[8]

A policy that moves people cannot, however, be fully scaled up. The characteristics of existing neighbourhoods with good economic outcomes can suggest ways to improve neighbourhoods with lower mobility. Chetty et al. (2016) find that racial and income segregation, places with a smaller middle class, and areas with more single parents are associated with less mobility. Areas with greater schooling expenditure, smaller classes, and higher test scores are correlated with more mobility.

The economic evidence for unconscious bias

The previous section discussed one of the primary reasons for racial achievement gaps – the large differences in abilities that arise early in the lives of children from disadvantaged families. However, as demonstrated in Figure 1, the gaps still remain even after accounting for these differences. The first chapter of this report discusses the likely role that unconscious bias plays in this "residual". Here, I will discuss the economic evidence for the

existence of unconscious bias, which, while difficult to define, is even more difficult to measure. Fortunately, a large number of ingenious research agendas have responded to this challenge.

A leading example is the study of Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004), who mailed thousands of CVs to employers with job openings. Before sending the applications, each CV was randomly assigned either a stereotypically African-American name (such as "Lakisha") or a stereotypically white name (like "Emily"). The same CV was 50% more likely to result in an interview if it had a "white" name. The statistical design ensured that any differences in outcomes could be attributed only to the names. Similarly, Pager et al. (2009) sent actual people with identical CVs and interview training to apply for low-paying jobs and found that African American applicants with no criminal record were offered jobs at the rate of white applicants with criminal records.

Similar results have been found in the bargaining for used cars, responding to "Trade Me" listings and the likelihood of receiving replies to emails. In the medical field, Schulman et al (1999) show that when doctors were shown patient histories and asked to make judgments about heart disease, they were much less likely to recommend cardiac catheterization (a helpful procedure) to African American patients – even when their medical files were statistically identical to those of white patients. Green et al. (2007) find that unconscious bias among US physicians contributes to ethnic disparities in the use of medical procedures. All studies consistently show that African Americans lose out as a result of their colour, or suggestion of colour.

Finally, while unconscious bias is primarily a form of external repression, there is growing evidence that minorities are themselves guilty of self-imposed unconscious bias. Of particular interest in the field of education is the social phenomenon of "acting white," which describes a set of social interactions in which minority adolescents who excel academically in school enjoy less social popularity than white students who do well.[9] The idea stems from a popular notion that some minority adolescents ridicule their minority peers for engaging in behaviors perceived to be characteristic of whites. These actions include, among others, speaking standard English, raising a hand in class, having an interest in ballet, enrolling in advanced classes, and wearing clothes from particular brands (Neal-Barnett et al., 2001, 2009).

Fryer and Torelli (2010) empirically investigate this phenomenon by constructing a measure of "social status" using the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, which provides information on the friendship patterns of a nationally representative sample of more than 90,000 students, from 175 schools in 80 communities, who entered grades 7 through 12 in 1994. They exploit a part of the survey that asks students to list up to five of their closest male and female friends. Fryer and Torelli (2010) demonstrate that above a certain grade point average, the popularity of white children increases while that of African American children decreases. An African American student with a 4.0 grade point average has, on average, 1.5 fewer same-race friends than a white student with a 4.0. Interestingly, this effect is most prevalent in racially integrated public schools and less of a problem in the private sector and in predominantly African American public schools. The results are unchanged when using alternative measures of academic achievement, such as math and

science grades, and participation in academic clubs such as math club or foreign language clubs.

Fryer and Torelli (2010) argue that these empirical patterns are most consistent with a simple model of peer pressure, in which signals that yield labor market success also induce peer rejection. The model's two distinguishing predictions – racial differences in the relationship between social acceptance and academic achievement will exist and these differences will be exacerbated in arenas that foster more interracial contact or increased mobility – are confirmed in the data.

"Acting white" is perhaps a result of the struggle for identity that minorities face. In an unfair world, it is natural to become suspicious of the dominant class, and it is unsurprising that resistance to it should crop up in the crucial developmental years. The effectiveness of a group such as Te Roopu Awhina at Victoria University in raising the level of Māori achievement in the sciences can be attributed in part to its success in normalizing academic merit in the Māori community. Perhaps the best way of overcoming the social stigma of "acting white" is to own the idea of academic excellence as Māori.

Concluding comments

To repeat Heckman's gloomy conclusion, "The accident of birth is a major source of inequality." The evidence in this chapter shows that this accident is particularly severe for African Americans. They suffer from childhood disadvantage to a larger degree than whites, and the consequent negative outcomes persist throughout their adult lives. On top of this, they are also subject to both explicit and implicit forms of racial bias. The evidence for this continues to build, and we posit that the experience is similar for Māori in New Zealand.

New Zealanders, in general, are less open to the discussion of racism in their society, perhaps because overt and violent expressions are less common than they are in the United States. Nevertheless, we argue that more subtle versions of it exist in the form of unconscious bias. Sendhil Mullainathan could just as easily have been speaking about New Zealand when he described unconscious bias in the United States:

Ugly pockets of conscious bigotry remain in this country, but most discrimination is more insidious. The urge to find and call out the bigot is powerful, and doing so is satisfying. But it is also a way to let ourselves off the hook. Rather than point fingers outward, we should look inward – and examine how, despite best intentions, we discriminate in ways big and small.[10]

This chapter is an attempt to explain the causes, consequences and potential remedies to the gap between races that has been extensively explored in the United States. We believe there is much to learn from this literature, and are certain that we have only scratched the surface.

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