

# **A culture-centered approach to community-led social cohesion in Aotearoa New Zealand**

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22 February 2022

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## ABOUT CARE

The Center for Culture-centered Approach to Research and Evaluation (CARE) at Massey University, Aotearoa New Zealand, is a global hub for communication research that uses participatory and culture-centered methodologies to develop community-driven communication solutions to health and wellbeing. Through experiments in methods of radical democracy anchored in community ownership and community voice, the Center collaborates with communities, community organizers, community researchers, advocates, and activists to imagine and develop sustainable practices for prevention, health care organizing, food and agriculture, worker organizing, migrant and refugee rights, indigenous rights, rights of the poor, and economic transformation.

Prof. Mohan J. Dutta is the Director of CARE and author of books such as *Neoliberal Health Organizing*, *Communicating Health*, and *Voices of Resistance*.

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## Introduction

The Christchurch terrorist attack urgently necessitates the development of strategies for addressing racism and hate<sup>1</sup>. The challenge of social cohesion in Aotearoa New Zealand is one of addressing the networks of disinformation that propel hate<sup>2</sup>, specifically addressing the growth in anti-Māori propaganda, anti-migrant attitudes, and Islamophobia<sup>3</sup>. In addition to threatening social cohesion, disinformation and hate deplete human health and wellbeing of communities at the margins, multiplying manifold their experiences of marginalisation<sup>4</sup>. The threats to social cohesion are funded by powerful political and economic interests, and circulated through digital media infrastructures and shadow organisations<sup>5</sup>.

Drawing on ethnographic research on the global flows of racism carried out across five countries (Aotearoa New Zealand, U.S., India, Singapore, and Malaysia), corresponding anti-racist interventions developed by communities at the “margins of the margins” in projects hosted by the Center for Culture-Centered Approach to Research and Evaluation (CARE), and the activist-in-residence programme addressing “Global Racisms” hosted by the Center, we offer a framework for anti-racism in Aotearoa New Zealand<sup>6</sup>. Specifically, the proposed framework crystallizes the key themes and narratives emergent from advisory groups of Māori, migrant, and Muslim (with intersecting migrant and Muslim identities) community members participating in building anti-racist solutions in Aotearoa.

Drawing on the culture-centered approach (CCA)<sup>7</sup>, we build on the concept that the erasure of voices at the margins of diverse communities in Aotearoa New Zealand reflects an underlying racist ideology based on the erasure of the agency of people and communities at the margins. Moreover, we argue that the dominant approach of the state to multiculturalism reflects colonial whiteness, serving the interests of power in its engagement strategies<sup>8</sup>.

The existing framework of engagement adopted by the Ministries reinforce power inequalities in communities, defining communities from a dominant framework, and selecting those community organisations that serve the hegemonic agendas of the state. Simultaneously, those at the “margins of the margins” of communities are erased from the spaces of decision-making, with their voices silenced on an ongoing basis. This erasure perpetuated in dominant forms of engagement perpetuates and magnifies existing inequities, threatens social cohesion, and adversely affects health, wellbeing, life, and livelihoods of diverse communities at the “margins of the margins.” We therefore ask: what do anti-racist solutions look like when marginalised communities have a voice? What do solutions for social cohesion look like when marginalised communities have a voice? Situated in place-based local contexts, the advisory groups met seven times between 2019 and 2021 to make sense of their everyday experiences of racism, develop a research framework to explore the underlying causes of racism

and solutions to it, make sense of the emergent themes, and create anti-racist solutions. The advisory group meetings were complemented by 32 in-depth interviews carried out by our research team comprising community and academic researchers in Glen Innes, Highbury, Palmerston North, and Feilding. The emergent campaign created by the community advisory group, #EndTheHate, foregrounded the voices of Māori and ethnic minority communities in Aotearoa New Zealand. The rest of this report highlights the key lessons emergent from the community-led culture-centered framework of anti-racism as the basis for building social cohesion in Aotearoa New Zealand.

At the onset, we note that the Christchurch white supremacist terrorist attack demonstrated three key intersecting sites of necessary transformation in Aotearoa New Zealand: (a) Islamophobia; (b) white supremacist hate targeted at minority communities; and (c) white supremacist hate targeted at migrant communities of colour. In Aotearoa, these sites of transformation are connected with the racism of the colonial project targeting Māori as the Indigenous people of the land, and Pasifika communities as tangata moana, situated in the backdrop of the global growth of Islamophobia fuelled by the security apparatus and white supremacists in the post 9-11 climate. The culture-centered approach (CCA) situates racism amidst the structures<sup>9</sup>, the forms of organizing,, rules and roles in dominant society, noting that racism is a modern phenomenon that is

tied to the twin projects of colonialism and slavery<sup>10</sup>. Racism as the differential treatment based on colour of skin is a construct that was actively manufactured by colonizers to justify colonial occupation and the enslavement of Africans as labour. The production of the primitive other on the basis of the colour of skin served to construct people and cultures as less than human, thus legitimating land theft, theft of resources, rape, genocide, and ownership as property. Anti-racist interventions therefore at their root ought to challenge colonial land theft and the carceral state, pointing toward the vitality of connecting struggles against racism to repatriation of Indigenous land and abolition of the prison-military-industrial complex.

## Chapter 1

### Guiding concept: Culture-centered approach

This report is guided by the culture-centered approach (CCA) to developing anti-racist solutions. The CCA is a meta-theory of social change communication that recognizes and supports community agency as the driver of social change, recognizing and centering the knowledge generating capacities of local and Indigenous communities (LICs)<sup>11</sup>. Because racism is deeply embedded in the denial of the knowledge generating capacities of diverse LICs, this recognition of community knowledge and community ownership of processes of social change transforms the dominant forms of social, institutional and cultural organizing that have historically erased the voices of diverse communities<sup>12</sup>. The CCA notes that communicative inequalities, inequalities in the distribution of resources of communication, including information, representation, decision-making, voice, and participation constitute the experiences of marginalization<sup>13</sup>.

The culture-centered process empowers community agency to draw on cultural strengths situated in context in developing, sustaining, and evaluating prevention solutions, rooted in community ownership of decision-making processes<sup>14</sup>. Community participation and mobilization are the key ingredients in the development of solutions against racism, constituting the intersecting sites of political, economic, community, familial, and individual-level behavior change (Ellsberg, Arango,



Morton, Gennari, Kiplesund, Contreras, & Watts, 2015; Michau, Horn, Bank, Dutt, & Zimmerman, 2015). The community-led solutions to social cohesion are placed in dialogue with the necessary structural changes, with community members at the “margins of the margins<sup>[1]</sup>” who have been historically absent from decision-making processes driving the processes of social change.

The recognition that the erasure of community voice lies at the heart of the gaps and failures in existing approaches to developing social cohesion drives the analysis offered in this report. Our conversations with members of diverse communities experiencing deprivation point overwhelmingly to the sense of being unheard and unseen. We therefore ask, what would the promotion of social cohesion look like if voices of communities were to be heard and if lived experiences of community members at the “margins of the margins” were placed at the center of the development of solutions? We particularly attend to the notion that the whiteness of the Crown structures developing frameworks for social cohesion through engagement reproduce existing inequalities, consolidate power in the hands of the status quo, and continue to paradoxically contribute to the conditions that fundamentally threaten social cohesion. For instance, multicultural engagement with the dominant community leaders within communities or with hegemonic organizations within communities reinforces the deeply entrenched inequalities that exist within communities. In the context of the

Indian migrant community, Crown decisions to engage with organizations that are reflective of the Hindutva agenda while simultaneously failing to engage with Indian minorities perpetuates the Hindutva agenda, which is intrinsically tied to the production and circulation of divisiveness, and more specifically Islamophobia<sup>15</sup>.

The languages of safety and inclusiveness that are offered by the Ministries as the basis for continuing to engage with these Hindutva organizations further perpetuates the marginalization of minority communities experiencing disenfranchisement, gaslighting their lived experiences with Islamophobia. The rhetoric of kindness held up publicly doesn't really play out in the experiences of Muslim minorities at the margins, who voice experiences of being unheard<sup>16</sup>. Participants in our interviews noted that in the backdrop of the Christchurch terrorist attack and formation of platforms to address the underlying causes that led to the attacks, Hindutva-espousing individuals and community organizations from within the Indian community volunteered and made themselves visible as key stakeholders to be included in the conversations. They noted that the government's engagement with these Hindutva-attached stakeholders threatened the sense of wellbeing, safety, and trust experienced by Indian Muslims, who were concerned about the Hindutva linkages of the stakeholders. In this backdrop, participants in our interviews pointed out that they did not know where to raise their concerns. A number of other participants pointed out that even as they raised these concerns, they went unheard.

The CCA puts forth the concept that communities are the best spaces to solve and prevent the problems they experience. It works through participatory and culture-centered methodologies to develop community-led communication solutions<sup>17</sup>. Attending to the organizing the role of communities at the “margins of the margins” as the spaces for identifying the structural challenges and for co-creating community-anchored solutions to these challenges, it explores the communication processes through which infrastructures for voice can be co-created in communities<sup>18</sup>. According to the CCA, the racism and marginalization experienced by diverse communities at the “margins of the margins” can be prevented by promoting community involvement in the creation and implementation of solutions. It foregrounds community agency to draw on cultural strengths in developing solutions, recognizing the power of communities at the “margins of the margins” as the drivers of social change.

In the CCA, the preventive solutions are placed in dialogue with the necessary structural changes, with the involvement of community members at “margins of the margins” who have been historically absent from decision-making processes in the creation of the conceptual frameworks that guide solutions. This is driven by the recognition of contested, dynamic, and transformative nature of communities, specifically attending to the inequalities that are normalized within community life. That community spaces are sites of contestation of power serves as the basis for continually foregrounding the erasures within communities, building invitational spaces for the participation of

community members who are historically disenfranchised. Putting forth the concept of listening to the voices of the communities experiencing marginalization, it attends to creating community-led advocacy that decolonize the dominant structures. The process of decolonisation through listening outlined in the CCA critically interrogates the dominant structures, examining closely the power dynamics that silence community voices. The forms of power consolidation in dominant hierarchies must be challenged so community-led solutions for social cohesion can be upheld, with communities conceptualizing and implementing the solutions that will work for them, embedded within their local contexts.

### Voice infrastructures

Voice infrastructures are platforms where communities can come together, express their theories, build conceptual frameworks, create solutions, and implement solutions<sup>19</sup>. These voice infrastructures form the foundations for community participation in creating and implementing community-led prevention. The culture-centered approach (CCA) places community voice amidst the interplays of structure, culture, and agency.

Structure refers to the ensemble of an entrenched network of organisations that direct the flow of resources<sup>20</sup>. Access to preventive resources are controlled by this very network of organisations embedded in the intertwined networks of capitalism and colonialism. In the context of family violence and sexual violence, these structures can be land resources; housing

resources; resources for food such as community gardens, grocery stores and food banks; income resources; intervention services; police; court systems; community organisations and spaces for support; shelters; collectives; communication forums including media; government social service agencies; and various private sector organizations that offer employment, and deliver products and services. For communities at the margins, everyday experiences of community life are embedded within structures of colonialism, capitalism, patriarchy, and whiteness, deepening the experiences of marginalization (C. Elers et al., 2020). The process of cultural centering working in solidarity with communities at the “margins of the margins,” thus recognizing the inequalities in distribution of power that exist within communities.

Culture reflects the “shared values, practices, and meanings that are negotiated in communities...culture is both static and dynamic; it passes on values within a community and at the same time co-creates opportunities for transforming these values over time” (Dutta, 2018, p. 241). Culture is situated within the local context of communities (Dutta, 2007). It is variable, fluid and heterogeneous, constituted through meanings, and exists in the rhythms of daily lived experiences (Dutta, 2020). It is embedded in historical contexts (Airhihenbuwa, 2007), evidenced by the perpetuation of marginalization upon communities through the intertwined processes of capitalism and colonialism

(Dutta, 2004a, 2004b; Elers et al., 2020). Airhihenbuwa (1995) describes the influential nature of culture as it sets norms by which both individuals and collectives communicate with each other, learn, reshape ideas and generally navigate life experiences.

Culture offers a social map containing an evolving intricate web of people, places and matters of significance that can stretch back into time. It is a vital element in life’s course that contributes to the production of localised knowledge and behavior change (Basu & Dutta, 2009). In hegemonic health and development communication, culture is examined for key norms and themes in an attempt to enhance the message’s effectiveness to the targeted community. Dutta (2007, 2020) explains that the configuring of cultural messages further erases the margins of the margins by co-opting experts or role models as the key creators, drivers and disseminators. In so doing, the margins of the margins of communities are again positioned as problematic, passive recipients of communication targeted at them (Airhihenbuwa, 1995; Dutta, 2004a, 2004b, 2016). Prevention interventions seek individual level behavior change to produce healthy citizens, simultaneously erasing the structural contexts of capitalism-colonialism that threaten human health and wellbeing.

Conversely, centering culture as a site for social justice communication, the CCA provides alternatives to a neoliberal, hegemonic paradigm by engaging and foregrounding community articulations of meanings as the basis of creating community-led social transformations (Dutta & Basu, 2008; Ford & Yep, 2008). In its explicit commitment to mobilizing

culture as a site for resisting the interplays of colonialism and capitalism, the CCA challenges the essentialism of elite-driven culturalist logics that prop up culture to consolidate oppressive systems (Dutta, 2019).

Agency is the “enactment of everyday choices and decisions by community members...” (Dutta, 2016, p. 4). Agentic expression by community members is situated within the negotiation of structure (Dutta & Basu, 2008). Agency is both expressed amidst the structural architecture as well as being constituted within cultural norms. Agency draws on cultural contexts while simultaneously negotiating structures and building registers for transforming structures (Dutta, 2020). The CCA steadfastly works to spotlight the erasure of marginalised voices and in turn co-constructs localised meanings of wellbeing with community members at the “margins of the margins” (Dutta & Elers, 2020).

Cultural meanings are reflected in the agentic expressions of community voice and offer the basis for transforming structures. Agency is also located within the culture of a particular community that is engaged in generating a culture-centered intervention, placed in dialogue with the listening work performed by academic/s (Basu & Dutta, 2008). The CCA continually questions the role of power in the representation of community voice and ownership of community-led solutions, especially where external agencies and even community stakeholders assume the mantle of representing community voice. Dutta (2016, 2018) further explains that when the voices of communities are

foregrounded, communities at the margins are positioned as owners and key players in structural transformation processes.

## Whiteness

Whiteness is the overarching ideology that takes as universal conceptual frameworks emerging from the dominant white culture<sup>21</sup>. The taken-for-granted assumptions of whiteness uphold white power and class structure by setting up hierarchical systems of advantage and disadvantage embedded in white cultural logics (Frankenburg, 1993; McIntosh, 1988; Roediger, 1999). The violence of whiteness plays out through the erasure of diverse cultural knowledge systems, described as cognitive epistemicide (de Sousa Santos, 2015). This process of erasure sets up and reproduces systems of oppression that perpetuate racism. Moreover, the overarching ideology of whiteness labels Indigenous and diverse knowledge systems as threats to universal knowledge, thus working to actively undermine diverse ways of knowing.

## Colonialism

Colonialism, the process of occupying Indigenous land to extract resources and profits, forms the infrastructure of global racism<sup>22</sup>. Colonial processes of extraction and oppression have historically been held up by racist narrative accounts that construct the “other” as less than human. Culturally essentializing accounts serve as the rhetorical tools to justify colonialism as the civilizing mission. This fundamental denial of the humanity of colonized people and communities serves as the basis for the processes of displacement and expulsion from land,

extraction of resources, organized violence, and genocide.

The discursive infrastructures of colonialism continue to perpetuate in settler colonial states, forming the architecture of racism. In the post-9/11 climate, colonial constructions of the Muslim threat worked actively to drive neocolonial occupations, and prop up a security-military-industrial infrastructure that was rooted in Islamophobia. The crafting of the “Muslim” as the terrorist threat drove the expansionist agenda of neocolonialism, actively incorporating Islamophobia as the basis of the security apparatus. The security industry has been built over the past two decades around the production of the Muslim terrorist threat, building an environment which has contributed to white supremacist propaganda rooted in Islamophobia, working complementarily with Zionist and Hindutva propaganda that circulates Islamophobia<sup>23</sup>.

### Slavery

The discursive construction of the slave as less than human and therefore as property to be owned forms the global infrastructure of racism<sup>24</sup>. Note here the political-economic function served by the structure of racism. The communicative construction of the Black other as lacking legitimizes the market in slave trade. The very language of freedom in dominant Western liberal discourse is shaped by racism as the denial of freedom to the Black slave. Racism therefore is in essence a project of incarceration, evident in the vast inequalities across the globe in the burdens of incarceration borne by Indigenous, Black, and other minority communities. The prison-industrial

complex generates profits through the exploitative racist structures that place Indigenous, Black, and communities of colour under surveillance and into prison systems.

### Communicative inversion

The erasure of the voices of the margins is accompanied by ongoing communicative inversion, the turning of materiality on its head through communicative tools. Through stories, images, and statements, lived experiences of those at the margins are inverted, propping up communicative strategies that serve the propaganda infrastructures of those in power. Consider for instance the communicative inversions carried out by white supremacists that portray Māori asserting sovereignty as stealing from the Crown, inverting the materiality of ongoing land theft and theft of Indigenous knowledge and resources that forms the basis of the settler colonial state in Aotearoa New Zealand. Similarly, consider the communicative inversion of hate carried out by organisations such as Hindu Youth and Hindu Council in Aotearoa, framing the dissent against the hate politics of Hindutva as hate, invented under the narrative of Hinduphobia.

## Chapter 2

### Racism as structural determinant

A social constructionist approach to racism situates race and racism amidst the structures that organize society. Explaining racist behaviors as resulting from racist structures turns the focus to the necessary social change addressing societal rules, norms, and practices<sup>25</sup>. Rather than approaching racism from a psychological, individual-level framework, the understanding of racism as a structural determinant closely examines the societal rule and codes that legitimize racism. The CCA constructs racism at the intersections of colonialism, capitalism, and whiteness, attending to the interplays of these forces in perpetuating the marginalisation of Indigenous communities, communities of colour, gender diverse communities, and other minority communities.

#### Racism, settler colonialism and attitudes toward Māori

That Māori have historically and continue to disproportionately bear the burden of racism in Aotearoa New Zealand and have resisted racism in diverse forms should serve as the basis of anti-racist strategies. That the formation of settler colonial structures is anchored in racism offers a decolonizing register for societal transformation. Historically, the discursive construction of Indigenous people as the primitive other formed the basis of culturally essentializing, racializing narratives that offered legitimacy to colonial theft and colonial violence. We continue to witness disproportionate levels of racism being

directed at Māori, with serious effects on health and development. Racist ideologies within institutions and organisations delivering services continue to adversely affect Māori outcomes, from education, to access to employment, to access to preventive solutions, healthcare, decent housing, and food.

#### Racism and attitudes toward Pasifika communities

As tangata moana, Pasifika communities have historically been targeted with racist discourses, practices and policies that reflect the colonial ideology of Aotearoa New Zealand<sup>26</sup>. The “Dawn Raids” capture the deep and insidious forms of racism directed at Pasifika communities that are scripted into the organizing of the police, immigration system, and the broader Crown structure<sup>27</sup>. These discourses and practices continue to be evident in broader society, in public discourses, as well as within the contexts of institutions. For instance, in the media, Pasifika people are portrayed as unhealthy, dependent and criminal<sup>28</sup>. These racist portrayals are accompanied by the ongoing erasures of Pasifika peoples and communities at the “margins of the margins.” Organizational practices reflect racist attitudes, racist norms, and structural barriers to mobility experienced by Pasifika communities. At the “margins of the margins,” the ongoing exploitation of seasonal workers from across the Pacific, without the basic labour and migration protections, continues to embody the racist thread. The unique relationships of Pasifika people and communities with Māori and with the history of Aotearoa largely remains erased from policy frameworks<sup>29</sup>.



### Racism and attitudes toward Muslims

Since 9/11 in the U.S. and subsequent state responses against Muslims, racism targeting Muslims has been on the rise<sup>30</sup>. Islamophobia, the fear of the religion Islam and its followers Muslims, has been catalysed as a political resource. The Islamophobia industry, profiteering from the circulation of anti-Islam attitudes, has captured the attention of white supremacists, catalysing the fear of Muslims taking over Western liberal democracies. Moreover, the Islamophobia industry has been deployed by Zionist organisations and it enjoys official support in some countries of the world<sup>31</sup>. Hindutva organizations, built on the political ideology of Hindu nationalism, have catalyzed this broader climate of Islamophobia to circulate and feed the Islamophobic ideology globally. The post-9/11 security-military surveillance apparatus has played a vital role in legitimizing Islamophobia and in giving it the narrative legitimacy to propel itself. Placing Muslims under surveillance has worked through the processes of othering, evident in anti-Muslim immigration policies that have been adopted by states<sup>32</sup>. Increasingly across the globe, the networks of Islamophobia have become intertwined with the anti-indigenous violence.

A report of the United Nations published in February 2021 highlights the growing rate of Islamophobia and more surveillance against Muslims around the world. The UN report titled 'Countering Islamophobia/Anti-Muslim Hatred to Eliminate Discrimination and Intolerance Based on Religion or Belief' notes that almost 4 in 10 Europeans held unfavorable views of Muslims. The report also observes that negative and one-sided portrayals of Muslims have some

contributions to the rise of Islamophobia around the globe. According to the Muslim poll conducted by Institute for Social Policy and Understanding (ISPU) of US cited that 62% of Muslims and 68% Muslim women within the US experienced some forms of religious discrimination in 2019<sup>33</sup>.

This is not only the scenario of the US but other North American countries also exhibit the same phenomenon. Statistics Canada mentioned that hate crimes against the Muslims grew by 253 per cent from 2012 to 2015 in Canada<sup>34</sup>. Though freedom of religion is widely valued in Canada, the country sees the "act of unspeakable hatred" and Islamophobia this year as on 6th June 2021 an extremist killed the Muslim parents, grandmother and sibling of a 9-year-old boy who was left fighting for his life. Again, the Hindutva project in India that forms the anchor to the current government led by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), has rooted itself in large cross-sections of the Indian diaspora in the West, and exists in resonance with the Islamophobic narratives circulated by the Zionists and white supremacists<sup>35</sup>.

These connections need to be explored in depth to understand the workings and circulation of Islamophobia in Aotearoa New Zealand. Moreover, the Islamophobic ideology is often circulated through non governmental organizations, charitable organizations, and Crown structures.

For instance, in our fieldwork, we have observed Islamophobic attitudes held by Crown employees. These sites that enable the reification of Islamophobia need to

be closely examined, and funding decisions need to be appropriately made.

### Racism and attitudes toward migrant communities

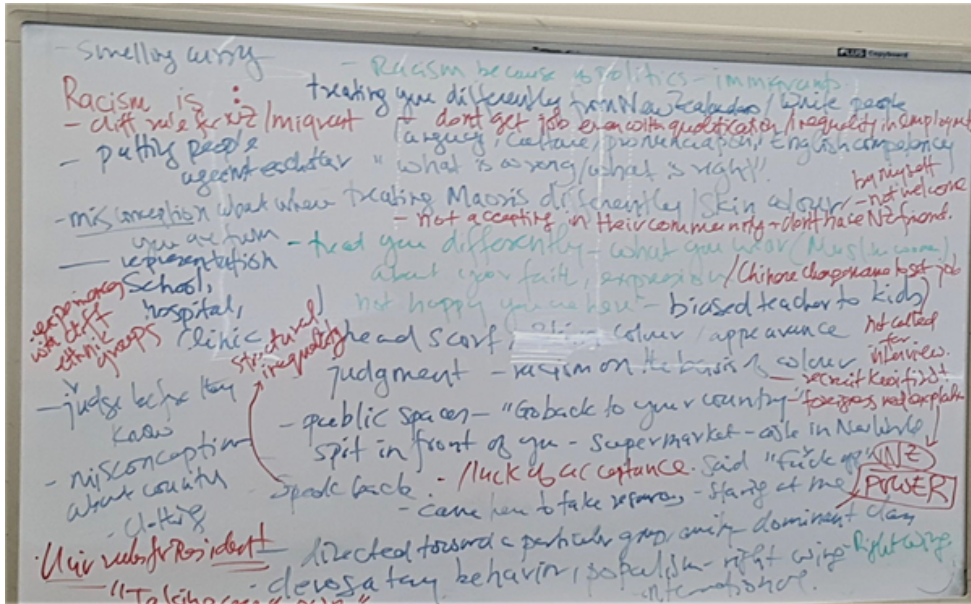
The portrayal of migrants as threatening to the cultural sanctity of Western societies is a consistent element in global public discourse<sup>36</sup>. Extant literature on settlement experiences of migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand shows the experiences of racism, discrimination and exclusion<sup>37</sup>. The number of complaints elevated to the race relations office is increasing over the years, depicting the climate of xenophobia in Aotearoa New Zealand<sup>38</sup>. The Muslim community in Aotearoa New Zealand has long voiced concerns about structural discrimination and systemic oppression, documenting the various forms of risks to the safety of community members of this community<sup>39</sup>.

The Christchurch terror attacks in March, 2019 occurred in the backdrop of racism, discrimination and Islamophobia, where hostile behaviours towards migrants are seldom recorded, analysed or acted on. The attacks portrayed how the acts of hatred, racism and Islamophobia is alive in Aotearoa and focused on people of colour. 'They are not us' narrative followed by the attacks, seek to absolve and reject the racism that exists in Aotearoa New Zealand through its colonial history<sup>40</sup>. Such silencing is reproduced through smartly constructed discourses that support New Zealand society to be culturally and historically oblivious of its colonial past and the violence inflicted on minority communities.

Funded by Massey University, the research project carried out by CARE titled 'Everyday negotiations of racism in New Zealand' records and explores narratives of racism in Aotearoa New Zealand. Migrant community members speak of racism, victim blaming, inequitable treatment by agencies and services, policies that are tokenistic and under-serve migrant communities. The narratives highlight having to constantly articulate their stories and/or defend themselves to agencies and support services and then not having any kind of relief. Community members emphasize that the solutions must encompass a platform for genuine partnership, active protection of migrant interests, and full participation in decisions that impact them.

Figure1 (on page16): Lived experiences of migrant communities in dealing with racism in Aotearoa New Zealand articulated during an advisory board meeting.





### Racism and attitudes toward Black communities

As noted earlier, global infrastructures of racism are held up by an anti-Black ideology that sees Black communities as less than human, and reproduces narratives denigrating Black people and Black communities<sup>41</sup>.

These anti-Black narratives hold up racist practices that are directed at Black people and communities, and flow across global boundaries. The racist construction of the Black body forms the basis of Western institutions, organizations, and societies, coded into the norms of civility and participation.

### Examining the underlying political economy of hate

Racist hate is seeded, supported, and circulated by a capitalist infrastructure that profits from hate<sup>42</sup>. The structures of capital have historically profited from racism and continue to profit from racism. This linkage between racism and capital needs to be critically interrogated, particularly attending to the ways in which racist discourses and ideologies have been at the heart of generating profits through exploitation. The ongoing attacks on Indigenous communities, migrants, and communities of colour through racist discourses are carried out by capitalist interests, invested in the perpetuation of racist hate. The current proliferation of hate globally is driven by digital capitalism, with the largest digital corporations such as Facebook and Twitter profiting from the virality of hate<sup>43</sup>.

Similarly, ongoing attacks on anti-racist pedagogy and anti-racist interventions are carried out through infrastructures supported by capitalist interests<sup>44</sup>. Underlying the discourses of racism are white structures that maintain power and control, delegitimizing the voice of Indigenous communities and other communities of colour.

### Hate and attitudes toward transgender communities

Of salience is the intersection of white supremacist racism directed at Indigenous communities, Black communities, and migrants, particularly Muslims, and the white supremacist hate directed at transgender communities<sup>45</sup>. Violence directed at transgender people and communities embodies a form of extremism where the underlying impetus is to maintain a patriarchal cisnormative social system. Across the globe, the rise in hate and violence directed toward transgender people and communities is intertwined with white supremacy<sup>46</sup>.

### Mapping global connections

Whiteness travels. Racism travels. The ideology of white supremacy travels. The mobility of racism across global spaces underlies the various forms of hate directed at Indigenous and ethnic minority communities. White supremacists for instance connect through digital platforms, co-creating an overarching architecture of hate that is expressed digitally and in various forms of white supremacist violence. Moreover, white supremacists intersect with and pick up strategies from other ideologies of hate, such as Islamophobia that drives Hindutva ideologues<sup>47</sup> and Islamophobia supported

by Zionists<sup>48</sup>. It is vital that a structurally-based analysis of racist hate speech looks closely at the global flows of racist ideologies, the intersections between various forms of locally experienced racisms, and the connections between the various forms of racism expressed in local contexts.

## Chapter 3

### Centering voices of cultures at the margins

The current landscape of policy-making and public discourses typically erases the voices of Indigenous and minority communities experiencing racism. Those at the “margins of the margins” of communities, at the gendered, raced, classed intersections are doubly erased. The culture-centered approach foregrounds the important role of building infrastructures of participation of Indigenous and minority communities in discursive spaces and in spaces of decision-making.

### Margins of the margins

Emergent from the key tenets of intersectionality<sup>49</sup> and Subaltern Studies theory<sup>50</sup>, the concept “margins of the margins” in the CCA builds a critically reflexive method for creating spaces for inclusion in policy-making processes, attentive to the absences from spaces of participation, continually asking, “who is not present here?” “Whose voices are missing from the discursive space?” “Which voices are not reflected here,” and “How can we invite those voices in?” Empowering communities as drivers of change calls for building voice infrastructures for community-led

prevention, with community voices shaping the contours of prevention solutions and communities owning these solutions. The concept “margins of the margins” builds in an ongoing process of power sharing and redistribution in communities, ensuring the power spreads out radially within communities, seeking out voices that are otherwise erased from discursive spaces, and co-creating spaces for these voices to be heard. Based on the concepts that communities are heterogeneous spaces where power is negotiated, the concept “margins of the margins” is attentive to the democratic opportunities for participation of diverse community members who often bear disproportionate burdens of the inequalities in opportunities for participation in decision-making processes. Recognizing the knowledge generating capacities of communities at the “margins of the margins,” the CCA notes that the presence of community-driven knowledge embedded in contexts is vital to building and sustaining preventive efforts. Moreover, the tenet of critical reflexivity ensures that the questions about voice and erasure are asked on an ongoing basis, inviting in diverse voices that have been historically placed in the peripheries.

### Dialogic spaces

Dialogic spaces are both material and philosophical infrastructures for conversations, rooted in norms and logics that are invitational to diverse communities at the margins<sup>51</sup>. Allowing space for courageous conversations, empowering individuals and communities to authentically voice their experiences, and supporting these conversations are

the building blocks for foregrounding narratives which are often not heard.

It is critical to note that the terms of dialogue, when dictated by the mainstream logics of whiteness, continue to perpetuate the erasure of minority communities. Therefore, the very rules and norms of communication and participation must be re-imagined through the participation of communities in community-led anti-racist solution development. This process of community participation in dialogue and the co-creation of dialogic norms is a cyclical and iterative process.

Dialogic spaces alter the structures of the status quo, shifting the dynamics of power to the “margins of the margins” through the presence of diverse voices offering diverse accounts of lived experiences with racism. These diverse voices resist the erasures, communicative inversions and distortions that are often carried out by racist structures that are embedded in the dominant cultural values of whiteness. It is vital that such dialogic spaces are built across a variety of contexts from public areas to schools to workplaces to non-governmental organisations and Crown structures. Through dialogue, registers are created for listening to the voices of diverse minority communities that are often the targets of hate.

### Anchoring in Te Tiriti

Anchoring anti-racism in Te Tiriti O Waitangi places the lived experiences of Māori with challenging racism at the forefront of solution development. The leadership of tangata whenua lies at the

heart of the development of anti-racist solutions. Recognizing the sovereignty of communities in local contexts, creating co infrastructures for the participation of tangata whenua in leading anti-racist solutions through dialogues with Pasifika and other migrant communities of colour is important. Community leadership in the development of anti-racist solutions recognizes the guiding principle of tino rangatiratanga. Through their participation in community-based communication infrastructures, tangata whenua offer the imaginaries for anti-racist strategies.

### Creating Pedagogies of transformation

Building structurally transformative pedagogies in the classroom and in the community is a core component in creating and sustaining societies that are anti-racist. Pedagogies of transformation recognize the structural roots of racism and seek therefore to address those very structures that perpetuate racism.

### Dismantling whiteness

Whiteness, the taken-for-granted values of hegemonic white culture, constitutes the underlying architecture of education in Aotearoa New Zealand. The norms, rules and codes of whiteness shape the racist construction of knowledge in the ambits of white Eurocentric culture, simultaneously devaluing the knowledge held by Māori, Pasifika communities, and migrant communities in Aotearoa New Zealand. The structure of education from schools to tertiary education organizations is embedded in the logic of whiteness, perpetuating the devaluing of diverse ways of knowing, often carried out under the rhetoric of universal

science and economic competitiveness. For the white supremacist far-right, projecting the calls for social justice in education as the ultimate threat to the sacredness of education and as destructive forces is part of the racist strategy. Consider for instance the ongoing attacks on social justice education launched by the thought leadership of the far right, with Jordan Peterson noting the imminent dangers posed by social justice education. This then is picked up by white supremacists, who construct the narrative of a cultural Marxist conspiracy to target minorities, migrants, and gender diverse communities<sup>52</sup>. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the disinformation campaigns attacking Māori and other minorities (including Muslims) follow this global disinformation strategy, with the New Zealand Alt Right circulating the QAnon conspiracy frame that connects cultural Marxism, Chinese Communist Party and the United Nations.

Similarly, in the mainstream, it is vital to interrogate critically the claims to science and universal knowledge to erase Mātauranga Māori and diverse knowledge systems held by Indigenous and migrant communities across the globe. It is similarly vital to critically interrogate the neoliberal diktats of market, employability, and practical education that are often deployed to erase critical anti-racist pedagogy. Recognizing that racism as historically worked to erase the ways of knowing of colonized and enslaved people, dismantling the overarching ideology of whiteness is a key element in building anti-racist education both inside the classroom and outside it.

### Te Reo in the classroom

Te Reo is a taonga (treasure) that the Crown is obligated to protect for the indigenous people of New Zealand. However, the Crown only made Te Reo an official language in Aotearoa, New Zealand, in 1987<sup>53</sup>. Māori language is not given value in everyday teaching. Teaching Te Reo in the classroom should occur at all stages of education, being embedded in the curriculum far beyond the tokenistic efforts often seen in many schools today. The teaching of Te Reo in the classroom to all students honours Te Tiriti o Waitangi. It serves to normalise the Māori language in everyday lives, aiding to dismantle the views of colonial structures.

### Māori history

The pedagogy of anti-racism in Aotearoa should be rooted in learning Māori history, the history of colonization, and the history of racism embedded in the colonization process. This teaching of Māori history and the history of colonial racism needs to be incorporated across the curricula, from schools into tertiary education. The recognition of the role of racism in colonial violence is a key element of building anti-racist knowledge.

### Kaupapa Māori theory

The key tenets of Kaupapa Māori should offer the guiding frameworks for community-led anti-racist solutions led by tangata whenua in Aotearoa New Zealand. Smith (2017) highlights that Kaupapa Māori theory and method transform praxis, calling for the opening

of spaces (and in this, the withdrawing of hegemonic ideologies) where Māori share in the decision-making in order to affect social transformation.

The concepts of resistance and struggle are embedded in Kaupapa Māori theory as it pushes back against the ongoing negative effects of colonisation and challenges the inequitable distribution of power that props up and perpetuates ongoing colonial structural violence (Pihama et al., 2002, 2016, 2017). Kaupapa Māori theory is dynamic and organic, driving social transformation practices that emanate from within Whānau and communities (Smith, 2015). Kaupapa Māori theory in practise strategises towards the pursuit and expression of tino rangatiratanga by Māori, as reaffirmed by the ethos of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840 (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014).

### Histories of diverse communities

Aotearoa New Zealand has had a long history of diverse communities of colour migrating and settling into the country. The early migration of Pasifika communities into Aotearoa offers a discursive framework for challenging racism. Similarly, early Chinese migrants into Aotearoa built communities, experienced racism and challenged it in various forms. Historical accounts offered by diverse communities of their negotiations of racism in Aotearoa offers a necessary communicative anchor for the public pedagogy of racism.

### Critical race theory

Critical race theory is rooted in the recognition that racism is a social construct, embedded in legal systems and policies, leading to the disproportionately poor outcomes in indigenous communities and communities of colour. Beyond analyzing racism as individual prejudice or bias, critical race theory attends to the structural features of racism, attending to the forms of governmentality that legitimize and reproduce racism. It offers education into the racist features of structures that shape public policies and laws.

Systematic and sustained pedagogy in critical race theory is vital in addressing the racism across layers of society in Aotearoa New Zealand. Critical Race Theory offers the conceptual basis for critically examining the production and circulation of racism within the structures, as well as for building anti-racist solutions. These anti-racist solutions enable the empowerment of diverse communities by creating spaces of listening and dialogue based on genuine respect for diverse communities, and particularly communities at the “margins of the margins.”

### Creating spaces for solidarity

Solidarity, the connections between marginalised communities, is an empowering and transformative resource in the struggle against racism<sup>54</sup>. Co-creating spaces of solidarity that are built through the participation of Māori, Pasifika, migrant communities at diverse intersections of gender, social class, and migration status sustains anti-racist strategies.

The connections built through mutual recognition of struggles to dismantle racist structures sustains the infrastructures for voices, creating multiple nodes for the voices to be heard. Moreover, through the mutual recognition of the forces of whiteness, colonialism, racism, and Islamophobia, collective strategies are crafted. These collective strategies build on each other, and create openings for social change.

## Chapter 4 Policy considerations

The preventive solutions outlined in the previous section should be supported by policies. The policy considerations outlined below create the structural contexts within which anti-racist solutions are sustained.

### Centering voices of the margins in justice

Marginalised communities experiencing hate tied to racism, homophobia and transphobia are historically erased from discursive spaces and communication infrastructures<sup>55</sup>. These erasures are magnified at the gendered and raced intersections of dominant systems. Those at the “margins of the margins” of minority communities are often violently erased from decision-making spaces and from the dominant structures of organizing. These erasures result in the perpetuation of racist policies and practices that continue to perpetuate violence. Justice systems are often rife with structural barriers, constructed in codes of whiteness and with multiple structural barriers experienced by



minority communities. These structural barriers are exponentially magnified for people and communities at the “margins of the margins.” Addressing institutional and structural racism is therefore fundamentally about placing the voices of people and communities at the “margins of the margins” at the center. This means that existing processes, norms, and practices of communication within justice systems need to be fundamentally transformed.

### **Centering voices of the margins in communication infrastructures**

Marginalised communities are often erased from public discourses, organizations, and community spaces. These erasures further perpetuate the marginalization of communities. Creating communicative infrastructures in communities, organizations, and media for people and communities at the “margins of the margins” to tell their stories builds public pedagogy and counters the racist othering discourses.

### **Regulating hate speech on digital spaces**

Digital spaces serve as the key resources in the creation and accelerated distribution of hate<sup>56</sup>. Section 61 of the Human Rights Act 1993 of Aotearoa New Zealand states that “it shall be unlawful for anyone to publish or distribute threatening, abusive or insulting words likely to excite hostility or bring into contempt any group of persons who may be coming to or in New Zealand on the ground of the colour, race or ethnic origins of that group of persons.” Also, New Zealand’s Harmful Digital Communications Act 2015 states that

“digital communication should not denigrate an individual by reason of his or her colour, race, ethnic or national origins, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or disability.” Social media play crucial roles in allowing extremists to spread hate speech globally and New Zealand is not an exception. White supremacist comments are defended through “free speech” policies, which are considered crucial by the structures of whiteness to save human rights from collapse from the “threatening” others. This rise in hate speech in the virtual world is compounded by hurdles in monitoring such activities, which means that the online environment remains largely unregulated. For example, the terrorist succeeded to livestream the Christchurch attacks on Facebook and even though social media platform providers quickly took down the footage, copies were incessantly re-uploaded and re-posted across numerous platforms on the Internet. Solutions to hate speech in Aotearoa New Zealand may require legal, constitutional reforms and culturally centered frameworks dealing with incitement and offense.

### **Dismantling the carceral state**

The carceral state is a product of the infrastructures of colonialism and slavery<sup>57</sup>. It therefore goes against the underlying theoretical analysis of anti-racism to propose strategies for addressing racism by putting people in jail. Progressive policies directed at addressing racism should seek to reduce the number of people in jail. Any solution that places jailing individuals for participating in creating and

disseminating hate speech is antithetical to building harmonious societies committed to dialogue. It is vital to recognise that individual racist behaviors and/or behaviors of hate are embedded within structures that promote and perpetuate racism<sup>58</sup>. Moreover, it is often the footworkers of the ideologies of hate, themselves coming from marginalised contexts, that face the full power of the carceral state, often with multiple structural barriers to securing justice. At the same time, the politicians and capitalist classes that actually seed the hate and profit from its circulation continue to perpetuate the hate with impunity. Consider for instance the context of the U.S. where Donald Trump largely remains protected, with large legal teams to argue his case, as individuals participating in the Capitol riots are placed in prison.

### **Building anti-racist political cultures**

Racist ideologies are often deployed as tools for politicians in building political communication strategies<sup>59</sup>. Racism in political discourse is a key strategy for recruitment of supporters as well as for manipulation of public opinion. Over the last decade, digital platforms have been strategically deployed to disseminate racist discourses, as part of broader political marketing strategies. Politicians often strategically craft divisive messages that directly appeal to the underlying ideology of white supremacy. communication strategies<sup>59</sup>. Racism in political discourse is a key strategy for recruitment of supporters as well as for manipulation of public opinion. Over the last decade, digital platforms have been strategically deployed to disseminate racist discourses, as part of broader political marketing

strategies. Politicians often strategically craft divisive messages that directly appeal to the underlying ideology of white supremacy.

Consider for instance that global movement of the divisive rhetoric of Trump across national cultures. Consider similarly the sustained and ongoing attacks on critical anti-racist pedagogy spearheaded by politicians seeking to appeal to a white supremacist voter base. The recognition that current political culture is intertwined with the circulation of racist discourses is a key element in building anti-racist interventions. A publicly-funded database should be created for tracking racism in political discourses across communication channels. Such a database, along with the anti-racist pedagogy discussed earlier, is vital to building an anti-racist political culture. Similarly, monitoring campaign funding offers another avenue for holding politicians accountable.

### **Monitoring and regulating money trails**

Racist ideologies are held up and disseminated through communication infrastructures that fund the production and circulation of these ideologies<sup>60</sup>. The economic resources that underlie racist hate speech need to be closely monitored and regulated. Those communication platforms that carry and circulate racist hate speech need to be monitored and held accountable. Regulations may be multi-layered, all the way from placing penalties on racist hate speech to censoring racist hate speech, situating any such response within the analysis of power and its intersectional



interplays. Beyond hate speech, multiple forms of racist discourses need to be monitored and categorized.

Reporting mechanisms should be created that require organizations to disclose the funders of racist communication, with a publicly available repository that makes publicly available the money trails funding racist discourses. Funding should support the tracking of the financial flows of racism and hatred. It is vital to note the global networks of hate, attending to the ways in which hateful ideologies such as white supremacy and Hindutva flow across global spaces, leveraging the global connectedness afforded by social media.

It is the whiteness of hegemonic approaches to social cohesion that fails to see the interconnectedness of various forms of disinformation and hate across global borders, and fails to take ownership of the forms of hate elsewhere that are seeded through local-regional-national networks. For instance, migrant Indian minorities Sikhs and Muslims are told to “leave your problems in India” when they bring up the hateful discourses of Hindutva targeting them here in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The whiteness of the Crown structure and its superficial multiculturalism reaches out and listens to upper caste Hindu men in various engagement efforts, while undermining the voices of migrant Indian minorities experiencing Islamophobia and hate directed at them. Building the infrastructures for the voices of the “margins of the margins” ought to work alongside holding accountable those economic and political resources that underlie the hate which produces marginalization.

Simultaneously, minority communities, and particularly those at the “margins of the margins” should be offered empowerment education on how to report racism, how to follow up with it, and how to have their voices heard.

### **Holding up the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)**

In 2010, Aotearoa New Zealand became a signatory to the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (DRIP), a universal human rights framework that seeks to guarantee the basic elements of freedoms to Indigenous peoples. The Declaration lays out the principles of fully-informed consent, transparency and accountability to Indigenous communities in the development of Indigenous land and resources. It also lays out the principles of reparations and compensations for the violations of the guaranteed protections of property and resources. The framework outlined in the He Puapua report<sup>61</sup> offers an entrypoint for the implementation of the Declaration in Aotearoa. Upholding the basic principles of UNDRIP is a necessary element in building an anti-racist framework in Aotearoa, which in turn is the building block for creating social cohesion.

## **Chapter 5 Recommendations**

Drawing upon the theoretical framework of the CCA and the empirical findings across global spaces including in Aotearoa New Zealand, we offer the following recommendations for consideration:

1. Anchor the framework of social cohesion in Te Tiriti, rooted in the key tenets of Kaupapa Māori. Foreground and empower Māori leadership in communities at the “margins of the margins” as the basis of building a conceptual framework for social cohesion in Aotearoa New Zealand.

2. Recognise the structural context of racism. That racism is intertwined with the history and contemporary forms of capitalism creates the basis for developing anti-racist solutions that seek to transform structures.

3. Recognise the global context of disinformation and hate that threaten social cohesion in Aotearoa New Zealand. Therefore, social cohesion here needs to be situated in context, connected to social cohesion and democracy in other parts of the globe. This becomes the basis for developing appropriate strategies here in Aotearoa New Zealand that are deeply aware of the forces of hate working through networks globally, and are responsive to these global forces. For instance, the disinformation and hate being spread by Hindutva in India is intricately interconnected with the disinformation and hate that is being circulated by Hindutva in the Indian diaspora in Western democracies including in Aotearoa New Zealand.

4. Note the limits of an individually-directed attitude change framework of anti-racism that fails to acknowledge and address the structural contexts of racism. Further note that such an individualizing approach is enmeshed in whiteness, reflecting the values of the dominant white culture. It erases relationships, Whanau, organizations, and communities as spaces for transformation.

5. Create a policy framework for holding digital platform corporations to account. The existing policies of digital corporations such as Facebook are inadequate in addressing the climate of disinformation and hate. Moreover, the capacity of these corporations to self-monitor and regulate hate is fairly limited, given that the very architecture of hate underlies virality, which in turn drives the advertising revenues to be generated. The state therefore needs to play a key role in monitoring digital platforms, in developing take-down policies for content that spreads disinformation and hate, and in developing appropriate responses for transnational corporations that don't comply with the policy response.

6. Given the potential for abuse of the framework of addressing racism and hate by powerful political and economic interests, who themselves often profit from hate, adequate checks and balances need to be put into place in deploying a framework for addressing hate. In addition, it needs to be ensured that the definition of hate is derived through the participation of communities at the margins of the margins”, and is situated alongside safeguarding the rights of communities at the “margins of the margins” to dissent against dominant structures.

7. Ongoing critical pedagogy needs to attend to the co-option of justice-based structures by groups that perpetuate hate to consolidate power and control. Communicative inversions and communicative erasures need to be continually examined. For instance, the current efforts by Hindutva-aligned groups to silence critiques of the hate politics of Hindutva under the manufactured labels

of Hinduphobia and Hindumisia needs to be closely monitored, regulated, and responded to. Attacks on academic freedom and diverse political opinions by organizations aligned with the Hindutva ideology need to be addressed through appropriate policy responses such as critically examining public funding for such organizations that disseminate disinformation.

8. Complexities of communities and power inequalities are key elements in addressing social cohesion. That communities are not homogeneous and are sites where power inequalities play out are key elements here. For instance, recognizing that the voices of gender diverse minority people within a migrant community are likely to be silenced by the powerful, patriarchal, upper class, cishnormative voices within the community should serve as the basis for building voice infrastructures anchored in the needs of those at the “margins of the margins.”

9. The voices of the “margins of the margins” ought to shape the framework for building social cohesion. This includes building infrastructures for those at the margins to define hate, empowering those at the margins to create spaces for listening to these voices in ways that matter. For instance, Sikhs and Muslims in the Indian diaspora in Aotearoa New Zealand document their experiences with hate that is circulated on digital infrastructures in the region. Empowering the voices of the Sikhs and Muslims in the diaspora ought to translate into creating appropriate community-driven local, regional and national frameworks where community members can articulate their experiences

and find solutions. To the extent that the spaces of decision-making on the strategies for developing social cohesion are controlled by Hindutva-aligned, upper caste men, the marginalization is going to be perpetuated. Spaces for organizations such as Indian Association of Minorities are vital to generating social cohesion.

10. Challenge the dominant approach to social cohesion rooted in whiteness that sees social cohesion as one of producing unity, while simultaneously unseeing and erasing the lived experiences with oppression of those at the “margins of the margins.” By instead centering social justice, pay attention to the unheard/erased voices at the “margins of the margins.” Similarly, closely attend to the ways in which Ethnic Communities, Human Rights Commission, etc. are organized. The Crown’s inability to anticipate and respond to the needs of marginalized communities is rooted in its whiteness, sending out top-down solutions directed at communities while erasing the agentic capacities of marginalised communities at the “margins of the margins” to develop solutions. The ongoing disenfranchisement of already marginalised communities is one of the most critical challenges to social cohesion.

11. Similarly, ensure that spaces such as Interfaith spaces have diverse representations, with attention to social justice based frameworks that are attentive to the inclusion of voices at the “margins of the margins.” The hegemonic approach to interfaith embedded in whiteness that seeks to impose a top-down framework of unity while erasing diverse voices is actually antithetical to the possibilities of social cohesion and harmony secured

through authentic participation of diverse voices.

12. Track the money trails and the financial flows of hate. Monitor the funding mechanisms that are driving hate across spaces, and develop policy responses to address the financial sources of disinformation and hate. This includes introducing penalties and closing financial accounts that are connected to hate. This also includes taking ownership for hate elsewhere that is supported by financial resources here in Aotearoa New Zealand.

13. Create community education on principles of democracy, social justice, secularism, and Te Tiriti across diverse contexts. Continue to build culture-centered pedagogy on these key concepts across spaces. Create community-driven spaces for education in the key concepts of civics and history that constitute the history of Aotearoa New Zealand.

14. Create digital literacy and critical literacy pedagogy that is anchored in diverse cultural contexts. In the backdrop of the large-scale deployment of hate and disinformation on digital platforms, continuing investments in literacy ought to drive efforts of building social cohesion.

15. Recognise the limits of a ghettoised approach to multiculturalism that is superficial and embedded in whiteness, which in turn, creates the conditions that threaten social cohesion. This means recognising the capacity of diverse communities as capable and empowered participants in developing solutions and in contributing to democracy in Aotearoa New Zealand.

16. Create spaces of solidarity that connect communities in their journeys for building inclusive spaces. Recognise the leadership of tangata whenua and of diverse communities at the “margins of the margins” in creating solutions. Build dialogic spaces that enable collaboration and partnership to build social cohesion in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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