

**GOVERNMENT SANCTIONED RACISM: THE IMPACT AND LEGACY
OF THE DAWN RAIDS**

PROF DAMON SALESA, MR JORIS DE BRES, MS JEMAIMA TIATIA

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>>RINGA HĀPAI: (Te reo Māori). Kia ora, malo e lelei, talofa lava, kia orana, namaste, bula and warmest greetings from Aotearoa to everyone who has joined us here in this webinar. Welcome to Te Tiriti-based futures and anti-racism conference 2022. I hope you've all been enjoying the conference thus far and the amazing range of speakers that have presenting.

My name is Jean and I'm honoured today to be chairing our session titled Government sanctioned racism: The origin, impact and legacy of the dawn raids. Just a few housekeeping reminders before I introduce our panel for today. Firstly, I wanted to remind people about the community code for this conference which you can see now on the slide being shown on screen.

Also, as in all sessions, there's an opportunity to post questions to our speakers during our discussion. This will be done through the Q&A option via the webinar format. We will attempt to get to these questions throughout our discussion. We also have a moderator on hand who will facilitate discussions, so feel free also to use this option in the chat to share your thoughts, links, ideas or anything that you think other people might be interested in regards to our kōrero today.

So without further ado, please allow me to introduce you to our panelists for today. We have Vice Chancellor Toeolesulusulu Damon Salesa who is a Samoan prize-winning historian and academic, an interdisciplinary scholar who specialises in the study of colonialism, history and politics. While he specialises in the Pacific Islands, including Aotearoa, he is also published on Britain and the US. A passionate teacher and educator, he has been deeply involved in not only university work but also work within schools and a range of communities. He has held a range of leadership roles within education, research and community settings, including but not limited to, holding the position of pro-Vice Chancellor Pacific at the University of Auckland and was recently appointed Vice Chancellor of Te Wānanga Aronui o Tāmaki Makaurau, Auckland University of Technology, AUT. He is the first ever Pacific person to hold such a role in a New Zealand university. There are many more accolades that I could mention here today in regards to Damon in his innovation in education and pedagogical work, however welcome Damon,

and we are really looking forward to hearing you today on this wonderful panel regarding the dawn raids. So welcome, great to have you with us.

Our next panelist is Associate Professor Jemaima Tiatia. Jemaima is acting pro-Vice Chancellor Pacific and co-head of school for Te Wānanga o Waipapa, School of Maori Studies and Pacific Studies at the University of Auckland. She is of Samoan heritage and has a background in public and population health. She was one of six panelists on the New Zealand Government's 2018 mental health and addiction inquiry, and currently a board member for the inaugural mental health and well-being commission. Her expertise lies in Pacific studies, Pacific health, mental health and well-being, suicide prevention and postvention, health inequities, climate change and youth development. She has held various governance positions, including as a current member of the Health Research Council of New Zealand's public health committee and as a previous member of the Mental Health Foundation's suicide bereavement service advisory group, the Health Promotion Agency's national depression initiative advisory group, and the Health Quality and Safety Commission suicide mortality review committee. Like our other panelists, Jemaima has a long list of accolades which include leading various research projects and today she joins our discussion on the dawn raids and we're really looking forward to hearing her insights, so welcome Jemaima, lovely to have you with us today.

Our final panelist, Joris de Bres. Joris was born in the Netherlands and moved to Aotearoa with his parents and six siblings in 1954 living first in the Hutt Valley and then in Auckland. At the time of the dawn raids he was secretary of the Citizens Association For Racial Equality, CARE, and actively campaigned with the Polynesian Panther party, Ngā Tamatoa and many others against the raids and random Police checks, and for justice for Pacific communities and migrant workers. He was the author of a number of booklets on the subject at the time, including *How Tonga Aids New Zealand*, *Worth Their Weight in Gold*; *The Overstayers and Migrant Labour in the Pacific* as well as articles in local and international publications.

He was subsequently a trade unionist, head of industrial relations in the PSA and a senior government manager in the Department of Conservation before serving as Race Relations Commissioner from 2002 to 2013. In the later role he was instrumental with Pacific partners in the establishment of the Samoan, Tongan and Cook Island language weeks and in promoting discussion on institutional racism. Like other panelists, Joris' experience is vast and I'm really looking forward to his insights into the topic today of the dawn raids. So welcome Joris and thank you for being with us also.

As you can see, we have three amazing speakers with us today, and we're going to be running this session in a conversational form, so I welcome our speakers to engage with one another for the people at home on the webinar to please place your questions in the Q&A, and as a start, I'd like to invite Damon to respond first to this question and for others to follow, and just what brings you to this kaupapa today? Thank you.

>>PROF SALESA: Kia ora. (Te reo Māori). Malo le soifua, malo e lelei, thank you Jean. Well, obviously the dawn raids were a pivotal moment not just in Pacific people's histories in New Zealand, but in New Zealand history, and people of my generation, it was something that we grew up having had a personal impact, being personally impacted by. And as a scholar, part of my work has been trying to understand how it fits into New Zealand's wider histories. I guess I'm a little bit of a gadfly around this, because by focusing solely on the dawn raids, we risk down-playing or isolating what is actually a deeper history of racism against Pacific peoples which stretches back, in New Zealand's case, centuries. And Pacific peoples, especially the Pacific peoples who were once a part of what I call New Zealand's empire, so the people who were within the sovereign -- that were ruled by the sovereign entity of New Zealand, so Samoa, Tonga -- not Tonga, Nauru, the Cook Islands, Niue and some other smaller islands at smaller periods of time were all part of New Zealand colonialism in a way that many New Zealanders forget, so racially based violence was something that some of those places experienced not just on a few mornings and on hundreds of mornings in the 1970s, but actually over decades, including murderous violence in the case of Samoa and deep suffering across the Pacific.

So the dawn raids for me are about recovering that history and making sure that it's present as we discuss New Zealand's future and as we reflect on what governance and our shared values might be in New Zealand. And so if we think through that history of racially-based intervention by governments, dawn raids sit as one of the most dramatic but far from the only example across that spectrum.

So for me, because my father was one of the people who came from the Islands, was one of those who had to carry his passport, although our family was not dawn raided, and I acknowledge the families who were, many of whom are my relatives and our friends on the call and those listening, yeah, as I think through that, that's one of the reasons it's so powerfully relevant to us.

And so I particularly acknowledge the people who have worked to make sure that we retain a consciousness of it, and I think that includes my sister colleague Jemaima, but also particularly acknowledging Joris and the others who formed a coalition to try and

protect Pacific people and to try and ensure that New Zealand did better, because this is clearly a massive -- in one sense a massive failure of New Zealand, in another sense a continuation of long histories of colonialism and racial, what I call racial statecraft by New Zealand and many of our neighbours.

So at the risk of giving a very scholarly answer to that but wanting really to put it in that larger context of New Zealand's empire and colonialism, and to use it as a reminder, particularly as we start thinking through this moment where finally we have New Zealand history in our schools, what is that history. And I guess part of my kind of bigger mission has been to remind people that New Zealand had a colonial history in New Zealand, but it also had a colonial history to the north of New Zealand, and Te Tiriti offers us a basis for thinking through both of those dimensions for a more just and fair future.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Kia ora Damon, thank you so much for that awesome articulation of how you are coming to this kaupapa today. And you're right, while we're potentially, you know, there is a strong draw to focus on the dawn raids, I think, yeah, great reminding us it's actually so much larger than that and there's so much that came before that culminated in this policy as such and what occurred.

I'm going to go to Jemaima next if that's okay and just ask you to provide us with some insight into how you come to this kaupapa with us today. Thank you Jemaima.

>>MS TIATIA: Nga mihi Jean. Kia ora koutou, malo lava le soifua. I guess what's brought me here today was obviously at the forefront of my mind probably coming off the back of the racist tirade I had experienced some time mid last year, and obviously also in my capacity in the roles that I hold in advancing and improving Pasifika interests.

So in light of the dawn raids I think what I may contribute, somewhat small, I'm very humbled by my fellow panelists, is the historical trauma and the intergenerational impact that is felt by most of us and how we are inheriting this trauma, and we're still healing and it's quite demoralising when it takes almost a generation just to receive that forgiveness from the government of the day.

And I think what's really telling for me in light of this entire kaupapa, is that it's not for Māori to fight our battles for us, they're fighting their own and we can't distract them from that kaupapa, but rather it's our responsibility, as Pasifika peoples, to support our whanaunga. And I guess hopefully what we will talanoa about today will open a can of worms in lots and lots of ways, I'm always up for a good fight, diplomatically, so yeah, I'm looking forward to it and thanks for the opportunity, kia ora

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Kia ora, thanks Jemaima, and yeah, I look forward to being part of opening that can of works with you here today, thank you for that. Joris, last who, you know, before the panel said I will go last, so here you go, Joris, passing the baton over to you, what brings you to this kaupapa today? Kia ora.

>>MR DE BRES: Tēnā koutou katoa. Well, I guess the dawn raids were a very formative experience for me. As you said in your introduction, I came here as a young migrant, a 7 year old migrant myself and went to school and university here, and then went overseas and came back. For the years before I left, during my time at secondary school, university in Auckland, my father was a Minister in the Presbyterian Māori synod, but he had come here as a migrant chaplain for Dutch migrants. So the whole -- both the immigration experience and the tangata whenua experience were part of my upbringing.

But what surprised me when I came back was that I, and many others in New Zealand, knew so little about the Pacific. I was -- when I was -- when I came back to New Zealand I was very active in the anti-apartheid movement and also very early engaged with Ngā Tamatoa. And when I became secretary of CARE a social worker in Ponsonby called Fred Ellis took me -- when I was elected at a meeting at the unitarian church hall in Ponsonby Road, took me to a church hall in Grey Lynn, an Anglican Church hall, and there was a whole group of newly arrived Tongan migrants coming here to work. And the visual image I have of that was one that reminded me of what I had seen in Germany and in the UK and elsewhere in Europe, where there was this massive explosion of migrant, temporary migrant work and often undocumented workers, or, as in the case of New Zealand, people who overstayed on a permit.

I guess at that point I became very aware of the degree of exploitation that was taking place, but I also became aware of the ignorance. So within some months of that when the dawn raids occurred, I found myself in a position of speaking for people who felt very, very badly about this. I remember a sense of shame at being a New Zealander at that point, and of course then I became very involved with a whole range of groups.

But interestingly it was within a month of the dawn raids the people from the Free Church of Tonga flew me over to Tonga and I started to go to their church conference, but also to meet with church leaders and political leaders in Tonga. This was after we had stopped the Ocean Monarch from taking overstayers back to Tonga.

But for me it was just, you know, an eye-opening experience. You know, when I then read about Pacific history and New Zealand's role in the Pacific and I saw the familiar names, you know, Captain Cook was there and the various government people who

we knew in New Zealand were also part of the colonial history of the Pacific, and -- yeah, I mean -- so the dawn raids themselves were an awakening, but I must say that I agree with both Damon and Jemaima, this was an explosion of things that were already long in the making and they were only one aspect of what was yet to come. So I guess we're here to explore a bit of that.

I mean they were something we need to remember, we need to be ashamed of, and we need to repair and place it firmly in our history. But it was only a symptom, in a sense, a very explosive symptom, of the white New Zealand immigration policy, the economic exploitation, the political domination, the whole relationship between New Zealand and the Pacific, and subsequently then the relationships which developed within New Zealand and the inequalities which persisted after that time.

One final thing, I guess, is that when I was Race Relations Commissioner there was a Massey academic who claimed to have done some research which basically ended up saying, you know, Pacific people are an underclass in New Zealand and we shouldn't -- they shouldn't be coming here. And at that moment there was a, you know, a massive expression of anguish and anger from Pacific communities and I ended up doing a report at that stage rebutting what this academic had said.

But again, I was aware, this was like 30 years on, how much these issues were alive and how people saw Pacific people in New Zealand really mattered to them and it still really hurt.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Amazing, thank you Joris for awesome insight in how you come to this kaupapa. I think one thing just hearing you all speak, you know, you've talked about this idea of the symptoms and the things that went on before the dawn raids. I was wondering if we could speak a little bit more to that, about what do you see as some of those key aspects, or symptoms, as you've said, that kind of led up to this. I'm thinking, you know, the things that we need to perhaps make sure, as you say, that we're conscious of, that we're ensuring aren't becoming, or continuing on as symptoms into our future here in Aotearoa New Zealand.

So I'm not going to pick, I'll leave it open to someone to jump in.

>>PROF SALESA: Okay, I'll jump in with --

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Thank you Damon.

>>PROF SALESA: I'll try and do a primer as well, so -- just because I know people's understanding will be variable, because we haven't taught it well in our schools. So I think the period of time we're mostly talking about is 1975 to 76, including part of 1974, with

some later dawn raids that followed sharply. Many people will know that in the 1960s, and indeed in the 1950s, New Zealand was one of the most prosperous places on earth. And part of that prosperity was, an enormous part of the prosperity was the taking of indigenous lands which fueled a pastoral economy that was booming in the post-war period, but was also aided by things like preferential deals with our mates in Europe, like England, and also with things taken directly from the Pacific, most notably fertiliser, which was literally Nauru uplifted and spread over the farmlands of New Zealand. So a period of real prosperity in 50s and 60s, which is why many New Zealanders saw it as the good old days.

But in the 1970s some of our friends left us, particularly the United Kingdom joined the European Union. And what that meant was that the market access we had for our farm goods changed. And this was one of many things, including a global oil crisis which meant the good life in New Zealand seemed to abruptly come to an end. And the good life was also based on a really protected economy, so that industries that wouldn't have thrived in New Zealand, like we built cars in New Zealand, we built hi-fis in New Zealand, because our borders were closed to cheap import.

And that state of play started to come undone, a kind of consensus, an economic consensus in the 1970s. And parts of it had been propped up by Polynesian labour, part of it brought from a rural Māori New Zealand, and part of it brought from a rural Pacific hinterland, places like Aitutaki and Rarotonga and parts of Samoa. And so all of a sudden the people who had been needed to fuel a kind of protected New Zealand economy were no longer seen as desirable by New Zealand factories and producers having a hard time. And at the same time many other migrants had come to New Zealand for the good life, but had come from Europe in particular.

And what basically happened is New Zealand thought there's too many people -- by New Zealand I mean successive New Zealand Governments -- we need to stop some of them coming and remove them. And instead of saying we're going to stop all migrants coming, they said we're going to address the Pacific ones. So actually most of the overstayers, most of the migrants were coming from Europe but were not part of the attempt to stop migration, and most of the overstayers had come from Europe as well, but were not targeted by the dawn raids.

And so what happened is they changed the migration settings, they sought to remove some of the workers that were fuelling this kind of New Zealand -- existing New Zealand economy, and at the time they didn't call it the "dawn raids", that was part of the critique of it, they called it the "immigration crackdown", or that was one of many

names it had. And the immigration crackdown focused on Pacific people in particular, but it especially focused on Tongans, because there were large groups of Tongans that were seen as more amenable to the practice of raiding. So the initial raids fell particularly heavily on Tongans, but also included Samoans, but it also included Pacific people who were New Zealand citizens, like Niueans and Cook Islanders and it include Māori because they looked like Pacific people, to racist eyes, and they often lived nearby or with Pacific people.

So the Police began raiding at dawn, arresting people, taking them to court and seeking to deport them. They didn't necessarily deport all of them. The first ones were under the Kirk government, very briefly, but the response to that was intensely negative, and because of Kirk himself and the composition of the Labour Party, they were actually ended by the Labour Government. But they'd sort of let the genie out of the bottle and the National Party had seen that actually there were a lot of New Zealanders who were opposed to that, but there appeared to be a lot more who supported it.

So by the time we get to the 75 election they become an election issue and Pacific people and the removal of them become an election issue. I'm very conscious I'm looking at Joris who knows this as a participant, I was like 2 years old, what do I know; and he can weigh in with a more textured one, but I wanted to give us that sense. And then they ran for several months from beginning in 75 and especially through 76.

And how they ended has not been properly described in the literature, but I think -- I can give that a go later, but that's the kind of overview picture. But people like me and Jemaima and Joris draw a line. I mean targeting people by race for deportation did not begin then and it certainly did not end then, and most of our immigration debates in New Zealand, as in other predominantly white countries, have a racial coding within them. And so it is very easy to see those connections. And then of course New Zealand was a colonial power in the Pacific and had not fully decolonised when this was happening.

Sorry for taking -- hopefully I did that in 5 minutes -- a kind of overview of what we're talking about. So Muldoon in particular was very strongly associated in the National government with them, but there was also a component there was much shorter duration and affecting only a few hundred, there's hundreds of people's lives, you know, at the scale of hundreds in 1974. So okay, and then Joris will correct me.

>>MR DE BRES: No, I wouldn't correct you. I think to me the -- maybe just elaborate that a little more. I do think the -- one of the things this whole conference is about is the role of the State and what was absolutely bewildering at the time -- to me anyway, I should have

known better -- was that, you know, politicians were overtly racist. I don't use those words lightly. Politicians and the Police and the Immigration Department, you know, from that time have a lot to answer for.

The operation that was launched under the Muldoon government, and that was the random checks which Damon was effectively referring to in terms of Māori and other Pacific peoples, residents and citizens being stopped in the streets and asked for their passports, that was called Operation Pot Black. It kind of, you know, it kind of beggars belief that that kind of terminology was used by the Police.

But the advertisements in the run-up to the election of 1975 were openly, well, we would say now were full of misinformation and bigotry. But you could see a pattern which goes right back to this long period of the white New Zealand policy. And it wasn't just a sort of subtle policy, it was expressed clearly in Government documents, that only white Europeans were to be accepted as migrants into New Zealand. And as late as 1974, this was actually already under the Labour Government, but not I think -- I think it's as Damon points out, the Labour Government was responsive to what happened and put a stop to it. But yes, the genie was out of the bottle. But even in 1974 the Immigration Department was telling people in Fiji that they had better not say it publicly, but they didn't want non-white migrants.

So I think we have to be really clear and learn from the fact that New Zealand was an explicitly racist country, and then on top of that you had that whole -- then they built the machinery of the immigration legislation around that. And one of the big changes that led to the dawn raids was that in 1968 the Act was amended so that the Police could detain people who had overstayed their permits. So the mechanism was in place by then to do what happened in 1974 and again in 1976.

What happened in 74 was that the -- even though the government responded very quickly, in fact when we raised the issue publicly it was kind of within -- and when we actually stopped that boat from taking people away in a coalition with Pacific communities and the Panthers and Ngā Tamatoa and the Auckland Trades Council, the response from the government to call a halt to the dawn raids was within 24 hours on I think 31 March.

But nevertheless, the flow of migrant workers from Tonga was halted, they stopped allowing people in on those three month permits. The reason they came on three month permits is because they couldn't come any other way. And employers and the government, both knowingly, brought people to New Zealand knowing that they would inevitably

overstay. So the government complicity in this was something that I think we have to confront.

And so -- and then the -- once, as Damon says, the genie was out of the bottle, the National Party at that point really fostered the hostility and the racism towards Pacific communities, and that didn't go away. So that remained and in a sense drove people down into, you know, second class citizenship. And that in turn then, through recession, through restructuring, through more recession, through the pandemic, you know, there's this ongoing series of set-backs for Pacific communities that dates back from that time.

Sorry, I went on a bit long.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: No, no that's great, thank you Joris and Damon for providing such a great overview and awesome insight into the time. I'd like to come to Jemaima now, if that's okay. So we've got some amazing questions coming through and I can see them, people, and I will be coming to them, I'm just trying to be strategic about where we slot those questions in.

But Jemaima, just in regards to obviously your own experience which you spoke about in your introduction when you were talking about what brings you to this kaupapa, you've obviously been on the receiving end, as I'm sure have other people in this panel, of racist attitudes which some could argue have come through from such racist policies and times in our history for Pacific people in Aotearoa New Zealand.

I was just wondering, we had a question from our webinar here just in regards, if you could share some implications of these policies and actions for contemporary health inequities. I know you have a specialty in regards to mental health, so even speaking about, you know, you talked about the ongoing trauma that has come out of such racist government-sanctioned policies and time, could you speak a little bit to that for the people who are here today?

>>MS TIATIA: Yeah, kia ora, I'll try to. I don't profess to be a historian but, yeah, like you said, I can speak from my own experience particularly around inequities. But I did want to reflect also on the question prior, that media representation doesn't help one bit. That has always been the way it's been since day dot and continues to be. And I think when you're -- the current framework, as it has been so for generations, is basically set up so that we cannot advance in any shape or form, and I think any threat felt will prompt, I guess, the dominance to guard their territory.

So I think the challenge for us, because I do want to bring it back to the kaupapa, the challenge for us, for all of us in light of Māori, is to set aside and support #landback.

But until we see this, so until we see the country commit to Te Tiriti meaningfully, meaningfully engage and stand true against that, then I don't think we can expect to see much progress for Pasifika, and that's the truth. Damon's right, until we get the narrative correct in our secondary schools and our primary schools, even in our early childhood, until we get that narrative right then we will continue to tell this story that is incorrect and inaccurate.

There was a question I saw and it was did the apology mean a lot? For some yes, for others not so much, even though it was well-intentioned and enormous work went behind that, particularly from the Ministry of Pacific Peoples and some leaders around that, around how it should play out.

Personally, I'm not speaking for any organisation, personally yes, it seemed theatrical and tokenistic on the surface and it did exclude our other Pacific ethnicities or nations, and that was quite sad, because it should have had a lot of time to prep for that and should have been a whole lot more inclusive. But the feeling I got after that apology was that it still wasn't enough, it really wasn't. And we have to be vigilant as a Pacific community, we have to be absolutely vigilant about that divide and conquer kind of mentality.

Do I consider New Zealand racist? 100% I do. And you can't tell me otherwise. What's needed is a reconfiguration in absolutely every form there is. Our mentality, our attitudes, our policies, the people that we engage with on the daily, and subtle racism is just as damaging for the overall mental health and well-being.

We have felt this and impending generations have felt the policies of the past, the racist, you know, based policies; in that you just need to look at our statistics to see that something's not quite right, what we're missing is the narratives. When you cap those narratives, when you muzzle those narratives, then you're only really going to get one particular viewpoint.

So I think it's important from here on in, as we have all done in our own mahi, but from here on in, and even the training of our future educators, for impending generations, that we start calling it out and that we have a zero tolerance, absolutely zero tolerance for any type of behaviour, speech, or action that discriminates or imparts prejudice, and until we get that right I think we will see a more thriving Aotearoa. Right now there's just too many hidden, underlying issues that need to be addressed, and the number one thing is Te Tiriti. Kia ora.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Kia ora Jemaima, awesome. Yeah, totally agree. You've actually addressed quite a few questions that have been coming through in regards to Tiriti and the connection there, so thank you for that.

Just going back to what you were saying around education and about moving forward, there's been quite a few questions in the chat in regards to potential resources, where could people start, you know, people who are educators and are wanting to, or are teaching about, you know, this government-sanctioned racism, are there any resources or things that any of you on the panel would suggest to people who are potentially wanting to start on this journey, wanting to learn more, or are actively teaching about these issues in regards to racism and racist policies, and what resources they could potentially use, or you would suggest, kia ora.

>>PROF SALESA: Kia ora Jean. There's Jean's book I think we can start with -- that's not your book? Sorry.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: I wish I was that clever, but no, it's not my book, not yet.

>>PROF SALESA: Sorry for putting you on the spot. One of the challenges is that there isn't a good solid account of dawn raids on its own. And so I think probably the best way to do it is -- maybe I should post something about this, I can bring together a few of them. One of the ones I think really captures it, two things that Joris has actually referred to, one is how Tonga supports New Zealand which drives at the economic injustice that sits behind many of the structural things driving the dawn raids.

Another one from the time is the one he explicitly mentioned which is called *The Overstayers*, which is a fantastic account from the time of that experience, and that was written by Joris and actually my boss when I am at AUT, which is Rob Campbell, the current Chancellor of AUT wrote that as part of their coalition to stop the dawn raids. Those are two easily accessible ones. I've got a chapter in the *New Oxford History of New Zealand* that tries to put the dawn raids in a longer trajectory, and then there's couple of other contemporary ones. There's a really good thesis by Sharon Liava'a as well. I'll try and do those up together.

I saw there was also a question about the new history curriculum and how that would fit in. I packed a bit of a sulk about the new history curriculum. Because I guess from where I sit New Zealand is a contested domain and a contested idea. You know, when the first instruction -- sorry, I'll go right back into 1840 briefly, but when the first instructions were written to the first Governor, who would become the first Governor of New Zealand, they actually made a mistake, believe this or not, on the latitude of

New Zealand. So when he arrived the latitude actually, instead of saying south, they put north. So the latitude of New Zealand, as specified in the original colonial instructions, went as far north as what is now the Solomon Islands.

So by a mistake that was copied over into the Bishop's instructions, and many New Zealanders subsequently tried to make that true. And we even now have two constitutional entities of New Zealand, one is called New Zealand Proper, that's what most New Zealanders think of as New Zealand, that's Te Ika a Maui, Te Waipounamu and Rēkohu, but we have another one which is called the Realm of New Zealand, and the Realm of New Zealand goes as far north as Tokelau, as far east as Rarotonga and that Realm of New Zealand means our nearest neighbour is actually Samoa to our south. And that's a very powerful reminder that what we think of as New Zealand is not written in stone, it changes and actually even our understanding of it shifts.

So our history has to capture that contestation over what New Zealand is and where it fits. And I think my feeling is that the new history curriculum is a massive advance but it isn't all the way there, and the battle we need to win with that is actually providing key resources for our rangatahi. If we don't do that, I fear that there'll be defaulted into a history which is centred around colonial characters like Grey and Seddon and won't actually change the cast of characters and the group of stories that properly represent New Zealand. And so to do that everyone in this line needs to start writing history. We need to repopulate, reclaim and decolonise our histories, and we can't do that from the sidelines. So I think, you know, there's a bit of work for everyone there.

I did just want to emphasise that sense of economic and educational injustice that lies at the heart of this for me. That yes, an apology is just an apology, but actually telling the truth is a signal moment in New Zealand's history. How many of our young people heard for the first time what the dawn raids was because of that. The answer is many, including my own children, I just sort of assumed they knew. What comes afterwards has to be the repair or the reconciliation, and economic and social and educational justice is an essential part of that.

Sorry to go on about that, but if you think about the educational system that my father and many of the people on the call's father or grandparents or grandmothers, mothers, fathers and grandparents grew up in, it was actually a racially segregated educational system where Māori went to a native school, Pākehā got better resources and a different curriculum and in the New Zealand's Pacific at one point in the 1950s there was not a single state high school. So you couldn't even go to high school under New Zealand

rule. And of course that meant that when people came to New Zealand, they were only prepared to be factory workers and labourers.

And so we're dealing with a multi-generational inequality that manifests in the lowest home ownership rates in the country, all sorts of inequalities that stem from our inability to have a tūrangawaewae and a safe place for our whānau. And I think that's why the history matters and that's why telling the truth matters, because the number one predictor of whether or not you own a home in Auckland is whether your parents did. So we know that generational inequality is a very real thing. Okay sorry, I'll shut up.

>>MR DE BRES: We've got a real deficit, you know. When I looked at this in the 1970s there was nothing, there was almost nothing about Pacific peoples in New Zealand, or the history of New Zealand in the Pacific, or the history of Pacific people in the Pacific. You know, it was a blank sheet, there was just a void.

When I went to go back recently before the apology in terms of calling for the apology, I still found that there isn't one, you know, there isn't one or a number of sort of resources that you can go to where the whole story is told. You have to go and find that thesis, you have to go and -- you still have to kind of look for a bit here and a bit there.

And one of the things I thought was good about the Chinese apology was that there was a fund set up to -- and a significant fund to fund the history of the Chinese in New Zealand and of New Zealand policy towards the Chinese. And I think there's a huge job to gather this material together in an accessible way so that you don't have to Google it, you know, endless parts of it. So not just the history of the dawn raids but the history of Pacific communities in New Zealand but the history of Pacific communities in New Zealand and the current history of the Pacific seems to me to be still, you know, a vast gap in our knowledge base in New Zealand. That's what I had hoped would come out of the apology actually, apart from, you know, also lots of other things, the big but that was spoken about at the ceremony.

But the education thing is huge. The one thing that I think has been valuable is Pauline Smith's story for children about the dawn raids, but, you know, there's a lot that our young people and adults could do with to learn more about this.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: That's amazing. And I think like touching on what you've all said here, one of the things I think, even for me personally, that I've found interesting is the silence in which a lot of people sit in regards to this topic. I know for myself it wasn't until I was in my 30s that I even began to hear stories from my own family about their experiences of this time. It almost was like there was still a certain amount of, I guess, shame in regards to that,

which is, you know, crazy, mind-blowing in a sense that we really have nothing to be embarrassed about, right, it wasn't like we did this thing.

Do you think that that's changing now with discussions like this, with people talking potentially to their children, with resources that are coming out, and if so, do you think what more needs to happen in that space so that these stories are being told, that the truth is out there?

>>MS TIATIA: I think we need a ready workforce, because you need the educators to be able to teach the truth. Obviously it would have to be a reflection of the population, but also we need to start dismantling the gaslighting that has been happening for a very, very long time. And a lot of our communities are woke and I guess in the space of the indigenous battles as well. Sorry, I'm -- there are a lot of questions coming through, I might just hand it over to Joris and Damon.

>>PROF SALESA: I think that's absolutely right, we need our -- I mean one of the things that did come out of the apology was the promise of a history of the dawn raids. Of course it's going to be a government-sponsored history and, you know, I think many of us might not necessarily take that as a -- although Internal Affairs does, or it might be the Ministry of Pacific Peoples, the government has done reliable, authentic histories. I'm not sure that's the way I necessarily would have gone about it myself. To be fair, I feel a kind of personal responsibility that I haven't written one and now I'm going on to be Vice Chancellor, so I have a half drafted one.

But I do think we need multiple voices, it's not the right approach to just surrender our collective voice to a single sort of authorised version. But actually a lot of it is quite available now in far more ways than it used to be. So I look forward to that. I do think, you know, our -- particularly supporting educators, knowing most of the people who will educate our children are not themselves Pacific or Māori, means that we need to empower them to do it in a way that is consistent, reliable and empowering, and that's going to be a job for all of us to take on. Because I think the teaching profession mostly, not uniformly, but mostly wants to get this right, yeah.

And I think -- yeah, I mean I was reflecting as we talked about, about the larger drive to decolonise history, which has been a part of Pacific history since its origins in the 1950s, and more recently in kaupapa Māori and other kinds of historical research. And I think that people -- one of the questions was about competency to deliver that within universities, and obviously I'm about to be a Vice Chancellor. And that is something that we do need to make sure that the educators of the educators are well-equipped and they're

well-trained to do it, and that they're well-resourced to deliver it in a way that compels and supports our learners.

So I think there is a whole of educational challenge to this, and, you know, part of the problem is we don't have all the people we need, the structural inequality and past racism has delivered a workforce that doesn't look like the students it's teaching, or the carers it's caring for. So, you know, that's the kind of living challenge that this should remind us of.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Joris, did you want to say anything there?

>>MR DE BRES: Well, I guess it comes back, again I'm echoing what the other panelists are saying really, that -- I mean I think that, you know, my learning from the dawn raids was that they took place within a whole history of institutional racism or structural discrimination, in the law and in attitudes and in practice. And there has been a continuum, you know, beyond the dawn raids that has kind of locked all that in place.

And so, you know, the thing that has to come out of this is a renewed effort to dismantle the structurally discriminatory system that we live under, and it's not just a matter of goodwill, it's a matter of changing -- it's not just a matter of changing attitudes even, although that's part of it, it's a matter of changing the laws, of changing the situation of people, whether it's housing or whether it's health or whether it's education, and work.

But the education thing I think is important, because that, you know, I mean we need to have in New Zealand, as we are starting to have but not nearly enough, the Pacific voices that are telling us these stories and interpreting their experience, and that information needs to be available to everyone. We're a long way from that.

I'm kind of shocked that when I looked again that, you know, maybe there's not a void and there are people who are valiantly trying to fill it, but there is a lot of work to be done in terms of making the sort of knowledge about our past more readily available.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Awesome, thank you everyone. I am really disappointed in the fact that we are actually 5 minutes to 10, which I know everyone in this webinar will be really disappointed about the fact that we're needing to wrap up our session, because this is such an important kōrero. And I know, just seeing the chat, people have really appreciated having this space to listen, to learn, and to pose questions. And I'll really sorry we didn't get to everyone's question, there were just so many.

But I wanted to just wrap up with a final question and final comments from our speakers, if that's okay, a question from one of the webinar participants "what are your

hopes for the future of Aotearoa for Pacific people?" I wonder if we come to you first, Jemaima, if that's okay.

>>MS TIATIA: Yeah. At the end of the day, and as simple as this is, we're all humans and we all need connection, we all need to be seen, valued, appreciated, and in an environment where we can thrive. Every New Zealander, every Pasifika person, every person with two, three arms, three legs or whatever, needs to know that they are contributing positively, that they -- that when they are having really crappy days that they have someone to turn to, and that when they are having highs and successes that they're not concealed, and I think that needs to happen for Pasifika.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Awesome, thank you Jemaima. Joris, would you like to go next?

>>MR DE BRES: During my time as Race Relations Commissioner I talked a lot about 2040, because I thought let's set ourselves a target for the 200th anniversary of the signing of Te Tiriti and let's envisage what we would look like then. It's come a lot closer since then, of course, and it's really only 18 years away until the 200th anniversary, but I still think there's some time for us to re-imagine New Zealand.

One of the things I used to say was you might like -- and this was to my Pākehā friends and fellow Pākehā, you know, in 2040, you know, you might be talking about a government that is predominantly Māori and Pacific, and perhaps a little Asian and not predominantly Pākehā. And so maybe when we're talking about what the Crown will do in 2040, it will be different from what the Crown would do if it was still a Pākehā Crown.

But I think we've got a long way to go to shift that and whether we can really see the difference in 2040 in our governance and in the situation of our peoples and have a truly diverse and equal society, you know, that's still a big imagining for me.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Awesome, thank you Joris, I love that big imagining. Damon, a final word?

>>PROF SALESA: And I'll make it quick. I think it probably matters less what I want because even my own children don't want what I want. So I just want equal enablement for their ambitions, you know, I guess seeing the impatience my own children have, you come to accept improvement in your lives, things were really quite different when I was a child. I mean there was -- I remember the first Samoan I ever saw on TV in New Zealand, you know, and now people don't know how much it's changed, and so we tend to think it's progress and it's not enough of course.

So I guess the bit I hope is that we collectively build a community that delivers on the relational connections and the, you know, that we're good ancestors together is probably the way I'd phrase it, that we don't hand on a world that's not sustainable, that isn't unjust,

or at least we hand on a world that's less unjust, and that our children can forge their own future in it, independent of this sort of pain from the past.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Awesome, so exciting, so excited for the possibilities of the future for us all.

Thank you so much everyone for your time and interest in our panel today. Thank you especially to our three amazing panelists. I know that if there was mic capability everyone would be cheering and clapping and just, you know, standing ovation kind of stuff because I know that we've all just appreciated your openness, your willingness to share your experiences and your insights and we've all learned so much, so thank you.

Thank you also to our partners, particularly Community Research for webinar support and our volunteers, and included on the slide show and the total of our organisational support partners, which are apparently over 40, so thank you so much.

Please join the Pecha Kucha event tomorrow(sic) which is a drop-in during the day and you can register via the website, so I really encourage people to do that. Recordings will be made available via YouTube and the website so you can watch this great panel presentation again, which I'm definitely going to be doing, and you can get the latest up-to-date details about the conference and engage with others via our Facebook page also, so please feel free to join and be part of the ongoing conversation.

Again, thank you everyone for being here and a special thank you to our esteemed guest panelists. We hope you enjoy the rest of your conference, have a wonderful day and week, kia kaha, kia maia ki manawanui. Kia ora everyone.