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**THE SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE OF VISIBLE ETHNIC MINORITY  
ADOLESCENTS OF ASIAN ORIGIN IN AUCKLAND  
SECONDARY SCHOOLS**

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for  
the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

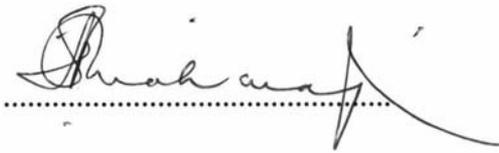
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December 2002

## DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis represents my own work, except where due acknowledgement is made, and that it has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation or report submitted to this University or to any other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualification.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Amritha Sobrun-Maharaj', is written over a horizontal dotted line. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long, sweeping tail that extends to the right.

Amritha Sobrun-Maharaj

## ABSTRACT

This research explores the social acceptance of visible ethnic minorities of Asian origin within three selected secondary schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and presents the visible ethnic minority perspective on social acceptance within a diverse ethnic environment. This is done through an investigation of interethnic attitudes and perceptions of social acceptance amongst adolescents from the European, Maori, Pacific Island, West Asian (Indian) and East Asian (Chinese) groups in these schools, and an examination of the nature and extent of bullying and ethnic intimidation as key indicators of social non-acceptance. The thesis distinguishes between bullying and ethnic intimidation as separate issues within the domain of 'intimidatory practices', and argues that ethnic intimidation occurs independently of intra-ethnic bullying behaviour and has negative social, psychological and physical effects on visible ethnic minorities. 'Bullying' is used to signify intimidatory behaviour that occurs intra-ethnically, and is not ethnically motivated. 'Ethnic intimidation' is used to signify intimidatory behaviour that occurs inter-ethnically, is ethnically motivated and directed at peoples who are ethnically different. The behaviour does not have to be motivated by the usual personal and behavioural characteristics that motivate intra-ethnic bullying. Ethnic minority status is the primary motivation.

Preliminary data from a small pilot study indicated that ethnic minority pupils feel unaccepted by their peers and consequently suffer varying degrees of health problems. These indications were examined in a main survey of 208 pupils from years 9, 11 and 13, and triangulated with interviews with pupils, parents, and teachers, plus observations of interactions in schools. Through an analysis of participants' perceptions of others (direct perspectives) and their perceptions of the perspectives held by others (meta-perspectives), the survey examined attitudes toward others of different ethnicity ('interethnic attitudes'), the extent of interethnic interaction, perceptions of intimidatory practices, orientations toward the acculturation of immigrants, the degree of peer victimisation and bullying experienced, and the effects of these on pupils' mental and physical well-being and self-esteem.

Quantitative data from the survey suggests average levels of interethnic social acceptance, but significant social distance (separation) between ethnic groups, as well as some misconceptions on the part of the ethnic groups regarding acceptance and understanding of one another's ethnic differences. It confirms the existence of ethnic intimidation (as distinct from bullying), but suggests no significant difference in victimisation to *bullying* and the physical and mental well-being of pupils from the different ethnic groups.

However, qualitative data from interviews suggests visible ethnic minority pupils are victims of *ethnic intimidation* to a significant extent, and experience poorer physical and mental well-being to varying degrees. This inconsistency may be due to the nature of the instrumentation used to measure non-acceptance. The Peer Victimization Index, which was borrowed from an Australian study (Rigby, 1993), may have been devised to measure intra-ethnic bullying within a mono-ethnic environment, and may be insensitive to the subtleties of ethnic intimidation and feelings of non-acceptance.

The relative invisibility of ethnic intimidation can be understood in terms of the impact that colonialist and liberalist discourses have had on the construction of social inquiry into school-ground intimidatory practices. A liberal understanding of social life that is embedded within colonialist practice, has contributed to the interpretation of school ground intimidatory behaviour in individualised terms, and the difficulty of recognising the ethnic vector that comes into play when such practices are interethnic in form.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

*Nothing ever is, but all things are becoming...All things are the offspring of flux and motion*

(Socrates, 470-399BC)

### 1.1 SETTING THE SCENE

In the last few decades there has been a major mobilization of people across the world which has created massive changes in the populations of many countries, imposing interethnic contact on their citizens. This sudden deluge of foreign peoples into previously largely mono-cultural societies has not always been well received by the host communities who have perceived it as a threat to their stability. Consequently, modern history is replete with accounts of negative encounters between diverse societies where peoples who are ethnically different have been repudiated, usurped and even systematically annihilated.

Many immigrants, non-western visible ethnic minorities in particular, have consequently had to endure rejection by their hosts, which has led to conflict at various levels for them. It is therefore these people who ask why it appears to be so difficult for their western hosts to accept them. Early societies, according to Outhwaite (1994) were more egalitarian with less conflict. If such relationships were possible in the past, why has it become so difficult for them to occur in the present? Why is the social acceptance of those who are different, problematic? These are questions that are not easily answered, and answers to them will be sought for a long time to come. This research will, however, explore these concerns and attempt to provide some insights to aspects of these questions.

## 1.2 SCOPE, PURPOSE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This research is an exploratory study. Primarily, it explores the social acceptance of visible ethnic minority adolescents of West and East Asian origin (i.e. of Indian origin and of Chinese origin) within a selection of schools in Auckland, and documents their perceptions of their social acceptance, thereby providing a visible ethnic minority perspective on social acceptance. The overall aim of the study is to investigate the degree and nature of social acceptance perceived to be experienced by these visible ethnic minority pupils. The extent to which they perceive themselves as being socially at risk, and the extent to which this impinges on their psychological and social development are also examined.

This is achieved through a survey of the perceptions of pupils of the five major ethnic groups of New Zealand (namely European, Maori, Pacific Island, West Asian and East Asian); through interviews with a sub-sample of Asian pupils, their parents and teachers, and through a study of the school ecology and its effects on the social acceptance of visible ethnic minority pupils. The *school ecology* refers to the whole environment in which the school is located, its surrounding culture, and the interactions between the people and the objects in that environment. This includes the physical and social aspects of school life such as the language and non-verbal communication used by teachers and pupils in classroom interaction, social interactions in classrooms and around the school, and the physical and social context in which these behaviours occur. These observations and interviews serve to triangulate the data.

Additionally, it explores the role of other situational, socio-cultural and personal variables in producing social non-acceptance within schools. The study also examines how these factors bear upon the nature of their coping response and their notion of self, and considers the psychological consequences of social non-acceptance for these pupils. Furthermore, it provides explications for perceptions, behaviours and attitudes by a process of reflection and critical analysis through which intimidatory practices, which are indicators of non-acceptance, are reconceptualised and located within plausible social scientific paradigms such as colonialism and liberalism, which, this thesis proposes, may have an impact on the

social acceptance of visible ethnic minorities. In so doing, it attempts to bring together bodies of literature that have previously had little interface, by using a trans-disciplinary approach to explore what is a complex topic, and to contribute to a wider understanding of how diverse peoples relate to one another.

While the focus of the topic is the social acceptance of visible ethnic minorities, intimidatory practices such as bullying and ethnic intimidation are analysed within this paradigm as key indicators of social non-acceptance in schools. There is a pressing need for current information on intimidatory behaviour within the context of ethnic diversity in Aotearoa/New Zealand that contributes to perceptions of social non-acceptance, and for strategies that can be applied to diminish physical, verbal and psychological interethnic violence, and to improve the social acceptance and safety of all pupils. This research is a response to this need. Results of the study are used to develop a range of solution focussed strategies to assist schools to create a safe environment and provide a service more suitable to the needs of all our pupils.

In light of the increase in migration around the world and the ethnic diversification of global societies, which may have a negative impact on interethnic relations on both macro (international relations) and micro levels (social acceptance in schools), this thesis considers a possible orientation to acculturation in global societies, in which there is mutual adaptation of hosts and guests in the acculturation process. It also tests this orientation with respondents in this study, and proposes a model for social interaction within a global community. Furthermore, the study proposes a more adequate research methodology, from an ethnic minority perspective, that accommodates research of ethnic minorities by ethnic minorities themselves, in opposition to traditional ethnographic methodology.

This enquiry has been precipitated by the researcher's commitment to social equity and the acceptance of all pupils within our schools, irrespective of 'race, colour or creed'. It is hoped that it will provide new information and knowledge about interethnic contact between visible ethnic minority immigrant and local New Zealand pupils, which will inform public debate and be relevant to value decisions of policy-makers, practitioners and

others concerned with the educational, social and psychological well-being of our children. As it presents the perspective of visible ethnic minority pupils of Asian origin in secondary schools, it is also hoped that it will add a new voice to the literature on the social acceptance of visible ethnic minorities in our schools.

### **1.3 BACKGROUND OF STUDY**

As a visible ethnic minority immigrant teacher at four predominantly European secondary schools in Auckland, I engaged in informal, participant observation over a period of twelve years. Initially, these observations were inadvertent, however, as time progressed and I learnt more about the ethos and culture of the schools, as an insider, my interest grew and the observations became more organised. The first subject of interest was visible ethnic minority pupils' expression of their feelings and identities through their art. This culminated in a master's thesis on the topic. Interviews conducted with visible ethnic minority pupils during this project revealed a deep concern of these pupils about their social acceptance in the school, even though this information was not solicited. This captured my attention, and the compelling nature of the data presented to me during this time, together with the extent of behavioural indicators of non-acceptance observed, motivated me to undertake a formal study of this phenomenon.

### **1.4 BARRIERS TO POSITIVE ETHNIC RELATIONS**

Evidence indicates that inter-societal contact between host communities and visible ethnic minority immigrants is difficult (Ward et al., 2001), and usually negative, resulting in conflict at various levels. Psychological theories of cultural contact, i.e. cognitive, behavioural and affective theories such as social identification, attribution, culture learning, and stress and coping theories, attempt to explain why both positive and negative contact occurs between peoples of diverse ethnicities. The main psychological barriers to positive interethnic relations are identified as being the tendency to prefer people similar to oneself, with a smaller cultural distance (e.g. Byrne, 1969; Byrne & Ervin, 1969; Byrne & McGraw, 1964; Byrne & Wong, 1962; Byrne, 1961), in-group bias (e.g. Tajfel *et al.*, 1971; Koslin *et*

*a.l.*, 1972; Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Clark, 1985), ethnocentrism, and the individualist or collectivist nature of the group (Ward *et al.*, 2001). Ward *et al.* (2001) note that most of these difficulties can be overcome. It is apparent, however, that they are not being overcome, that the difficulties persist and escalate, and that the understanding and management of such contact is problematic.

Whilst these theories are all valid, illuminating and useful, they only partially explain interethnic attitudes and relationships, as they fail to consider the sources of these attitudes, behaviours and cognitions. In order to manage the problem effectively and enhance strategies to promote effective interethnic interactions, there needs to be more understanding about the dynamics of relationships between diverse ethnic groups, especially western and non-western groups. To do this, it is necessary to go beyond these explanatory theories and search deeper for the roots of these problems. It is only when the sources are located that the problems will be truly understood, and the development of more appropriate and effective strategies for positive interethnic interactions will be possible. This thesis contends that these roots can only be found by delving into the history of these relationships, and that some of the explanations to current human response to ethnic difference lie within our colonial history. The nature of our interethnic relations and our attitude toward difference has been influenced by the nature of initial contact between the colonisers and the colonised, and its concomitant worldview of liberalism. It is this relationship between the coloniser and the colonised, embedded within a traditional liberalist worldview which is overly individualistic (Gaus, 1983), that is the foundation of current relationships between western and non-western ethnic groups.

Colonialism has endowed European colonisers with a sense of superiority over others, while liberalism, with its focus on individuality, has engendered a sense of selfishness to the exclusion of others as seen in the misinterpretation of the theory of rights for example, with its consequent disregard of ethnic differences and the creation of a sense of uniformity. The 'liberal' version of the system of rights fails to realise that the private autonomy of citizens with equal rights must go hand in hand with activating their autonomy as citizens of the nation. It therefore misunderstands the universalism of basic rights as an abstract

levelling of distinctions to be a levelling of both cultural and social differences (Habermas, 1994: 116). The attitudes conceived in this relationship are manifested not only in the policies of major social institutions, but also within our classrooms, on the school grounds, and in the language we use.

## **1.5 CHALLENGING OUR LANGUAGE**

The use of some basic concepts in the literature on intimidatory practices, prejudice, liberal theory, and in general discourse, both intrigue and concern the non-western ethnic minority reader. The extent to which these concepts either denigrate and exclude such readers or illuminate situations for them is the cause of this fascination. Several concepts (some of which will be discussed in chapter three) have been created or manipulated by colonizers to impose and maintain cultural dominance over the colonized 'other'. Consequently, it is necessary to reconceptualise some of these concepts and our usage of them, because the meanings we assign to them determine our responses to issues associated with them. Some concepts which are pertinent to this study are discussed below:

### **1.5.1 'Reality' or Perception?**

There appears to be a general inclination to dismiss the *perceptions* of people as being inconsequential as they do not reflect '*reality*', therefore should not to be taken seriously. In the context of interethnic relations, such an attitude serves to maintain the hegemonic social order. However, in phenomenology there is no such thing as objective data, because all data is subjective (Frydenberg, 1997). Individuals perceive the world in a unique way and their perceptions make up the phenomenal field. They react to the environment as they perceive it; consequently, their perceptions are their 'reality'. The way individuals cope and adapt therefore depends on each individual's perception of the world and of the self, because the world is not a given; it is defined by each perceiver (Dornbusch, 1997 in Frydenberg, 1997: ix). Studies examined by Sorensen (1993) have emphasised the significance of individual perception in coping, as perceptions are more significant than what we call 'reality', because perceptions constitute reality. Consequently, this study

perceives the perceptions of the respondents as important as they constitute their ‘reality’ and determine understandings and misunderstandings, and their effects on interethnic attitudes and behaviours.

### **1.5.2 Language and ‘Reality’**

Language is not an unambiguous reflection of ‘reality’ (Bogin, 1999), but makes possible actions that are oriented toward reaching understanding (as social interactions of all types are mediated by language) (Habermas, 1994: 205). The power of language is thus enormous as it gives its users control over their social world. When manipulated, it can become a powerful tool which can be used to mislead and to create false notions about a social ‘reality’. The widespread use of euphemisms in the name of social etiquette and political correctness is one way in which our social reality is distorted. Viewed from an ethnic minority perspective, the inherited normative vocabulary and the current usage of some of these concepts not only misrepresents the ethnic diversity of our time, as Tully (1995) asserts, but also the characteristics of these cultures, their peoples, and the nature of their relationships. Not only does our language misrepresent and distort social ‘reality’, but it also marginalises and trivialises ethnicity and in so doing, ensures that European cultural dominance is maintained.

### **1.5.3 The Concept of Ethnicity**

A more realistic interpretation of this concept of ethnicity is necessary as it constitutes the foundation of the guiding philosophy of this thesis. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English (5<sup>th</sup> edn.) (1964) defines the word ‘ethnic’ as pertaining to race, ethnological, gentile, heathen. The New Zealand Oxford School Dictionary (2<sup>nd</sup> edn.) (1998) defines it as belonging to a particular racial group within a larger set of people. The Illustrated Oxford Dictionary (1998) defines it as: **1 a** (of a social group) having a common national or cultural tradition. **b** (of clothes, music, etc.) characteristic of or influenced by the traditions of a particular people or culture, esp. one regarded as exotic. **2** denoting origin by birth or descent rather than nationality (*ethnic Turks*). **3** relating to race or culture (*ethnic*

*group; ethnic origins*). These three definitions demonstrate the development and transition of the denotation of the word over a relatively short period of time. Whilst they all refer to race, the early definition includes the original negative connotation of an unenlightened person (heathen), and the later definition is trivialised and patronised by the inclusion of the word 'exotic'.

Social psychologists have offered various definitions of the word 'ethnic' and the term 'ethnicity'. Generally, they consider ethnicity as being conceptualised as a common origin or culture resulting from shared activities and identity based on some mixture of language, religion, race, and/or ancestry (e.g. Yinger, 1985), or the ethnic group as referring to people who share a sense of identity and a sense of belonging to a people with a common cultural tradition (e.g. Sprinthall & Collins, 1995). Hall (1992: 297) defines ethnicity as 'the term we give to cultural features – language, religion, custom, traditions, feeling for 'place' – which are shared by a people'. From a sociological perspective, the term 'race' is archaic and the term 'ethnicity' should be used to describe peoples and their cultures, religions, traditions and languages. While some understand the semantics of the word, it is evident from anecdotal accounts that a large number of people, both lay and professional, are ignorant of the racial (physical) aspect of the word 'ethnic'.

For visible ethnic minorities, concepts of 'ethnicity' shape understandings of so-called social 'reality'. Western concepts of the term preclude them from the ethnic paradigm. Common belief implied by definitions used in Aotearoa/New Zealand as well as in other western countries is that only cultural minorities are 'ethnic' and that peoples of European origin are not ethnic specific (refer to chapter seven for analysis). The misrepresentation of 'ethnic' meaning amongst dominant ethnic groups hinders analysis of the social dynamics through which cultural dominance is reproduced. Many people of European origin apparently continue to be influenced by the original, negative connotation of 'unenlightened pagans' which was used by colonisers to describe the colonised non-western and non-Christian 'other'. Consequently, they do not see themselves as 'ethnic', and operating from an ethnocentric point of view, see ethnic others as different or inferior. A further consequence of this is that, due to popular usage of the word, non-western

peoples themselves have come to internalise this connotation and to believe that it refers only to them (peoples of colour) and their cultures. Thus, there is a tendency amongst people to speak of westerners or 'whites' on the one hand, and 'ethnics' on the other.

The view advanced in this thesis is that the concept of *ethnicity* requires reconceptualisation in ways that are critical of the encumbrances imposed upon them by colonialism and liberalism. If 'ethnicity' were to be reconceptualised and marketed, for example, as a characteristic that all people possess irrespective of their race, colour or creed, the idea that *we are all ethnic* would become profoundly powerful. Ethnicity would thereby become a defining characteristic of all peoples, signalling their cultural attributes in a manner that would not function through the repudiation of the cultural 'other'. It would say that, although we are not the same, *we are equal in our difference*. Those who deny themselves this ethnicity would, in effect, be suggesting that they do not have a culture - that they are lacking. The guiding philosophy of this thesis is that we are all ethnic; therefore we are all equal with equal needs, feelings, desires and aspirations.

In light of this discussion, the terms used in this thesis to describe peoples and their conditions are 'ethnic' or 'ethnicity'. However, the terms 'race' or 'racial' are used occasionally when quoting other writers.

#### **1.5.4 Intimidatory Practices, Bullying and Ethnic Intimidation**

The presence of intimidatory practices within school environments is an early warning sign that there are acceptance and safety issues in schools that need to be dealt with in order to prevent violence being expressed through other means (Dwyer, Osher, and Warger, 1998). The numbers of critical incidents that have taken place in overseas schools in recent times indicate that there is a need for current information on such intimidatory behaviour, and for strategies that can be applied to diminish violence and to improve the social acceptance and safety of all pupils. This research is a response to this need and examines school-level intimidatory behaviour as a key indicator of non-acceptance within the context of interethnic social acceptance in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

In Aotearoa/ New Zealand, there has been traditional acceptance within society that 'bullying' amongst children is a 'natural' part of growing up, an aspect that does not warrant great concern. However, 'bullying' is a form of violence that contributes significantly to the emergence of unsafe environments in schools. Only in the last decade has 'bullying' begun to be recognized as a serious problem in New Zealand schools. The practice of bullying here is widespread and has impacted on the health and mental wellbeing of those pupils who are victims of this form of violence (Sullivan, 1999). A primary effect of the 'common-sense' framework within which New Zealanders (and perhaps others) conceive of bullying, is that it contributes to the perception that violent and intimidatory behaviour amongst school pupils is an individual activity with no ethnic vectors. Consequently, even when visible ethnic minorities are involved, such behaviour is considered to be ably represented by the socio-culturally benign term of 'bullying'. This label trivialises and minimises what is a grave and huge issue for visible ethnic minorities, and disassembles the ethnic vectors of school-level intimidatory practices of this nature. Hence, in this thesis the broad term of *intimidatory practice* is used to describe all forms of behaviour that include violence at the physical, verbal or psychological level. Furthermore, the thesis distinguishes between intimidatory practices such as bullying and ethnic intimidation as separate issues within the domain of 'intimidatory practices'. *Bullying* signifies intimidatory behaviour that occurs intra-ethnically, and is not ethnically motivated. *Ethnic intimidation* signifies intimidatory behaviour that occurs inter-ethnically, is ethnically motivated and directed at peoples who are ethnically different. It refers specifically to the physical, verbal or psychological abuse of someone from another ethnic group motivated by a negative attitude toward that ethnic group. The behaviour does not have to be motivated by the usual personal and behavioural characteristics that motivate intra-ethnic bullying. Ethnic minority status is perceived as the primary motivation.

Concepts of ethnicity shape understandings of intimidatory practices. The definitions of ethnicity which have been used in reports of bullying within New Zealand schools tend to imply that the dominant cultural group in Aotearoa/New Zealand has no ethnicity and that only cultural minorities are 'ethnic'. Not only is this use of the term demeaning to ethnic

minorities, it also hinders analysis of the social dynamics through which cultural dominance is reproduced.

## **1.6 WHAT IS SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE?**

In the context of this study, the term simply refers to the acceptance, without prejudice, of people of all ethnic groups within a social milieu. It includes the correlates of recognition, respect, interaction, adaptation and sharing, which are variables that influence perceptions of acceptance. Furthermore, it distinguishes between genuine, unconditional *acceptance* on the one hand, and superficial *tolerance* on the other, which suggests being forced, through extraneous circumstances, to ‘put up’ with people we do not necessarily like and wish to be with.

## **1.7 ETHNIC CATEGORIES**

For the purposes of this study, the following classification was used to define the ethnic groups living within Aotearoa/New Zealand: European, Maori, Pacific Island, West Asian and East Asian. Sometimes, for the convenience of analysis, the Maori and Pacific Island groups are collapsed into a single Polynesian group, and the West and East Asian groups, into a single Asian group. However, these categories are not intended as violations of their distinct and diverse ethnic identities, which are acknowledged in this thesis.

### **1.7.1 Who are ‘Visible Ethnic Minorities’?**

The term ‘visible ethnic minority’ in western countries generally refers to those people who are of non-western origin, and who are recognizably (physically) ethnically different from the majority members of that society. In New Zealand this group would include those of Polynesian, Asian and other ethnic origins. Following the discussion on ethnicity above, for the purpose of this study which focuses on peoples of Asian ethnicity, the term ‘visible ethnic minority’ refers to those people of Asian origin who are different from the majority

members of the New Zealand society. As a group within the country, they are numerically smaller and non-dominant.

### **1.7.2 Who are Europeans, Polynesians and Kiwis?**

The label *European* is used to refer to all Caucasian peoples of European origin, irrespective of country of birth. When there is certainty about the specific identity of the person, a more specific label such as Irish, American, Bosnian etc. is used.

The label *Polynesian* is used when referring to the broad group of Maori/Pacifika. The more specific labels of Maori and Pacific Island are used when the specific group is being referred to, or when there is certainty about these identities. When there is uncertainty about whether a child is Maori or Pacific Island, as during the observation process when there is no communication between researcher and pupils, the broad label of Polynesian is used.

The label *Kiwi* is a universalising and ethnic free term with its origins in Liberalism, and is used to refer to those peoples of European and Maori origin born in Aotearoa/New Zealand and perceived as New Zealanders. It is a term affectionately used by the locals to describe themselves.

### **1.7.3 What about West and East Asians?**

For the purpose and convenience of this study, the Asian sample has been divided into West Asians and East Asians.

*West Asian* refers to the broad group of peoples of Indian origin, irrespective of country of birth, and includes those of Middle Eastern countries. The more specific labels of Indian, Iranian, Indo-Fijian, South African Indian etc. are used when there is certainty about these identities. When there is uncertainty, the broad label of West Asian is used.

*East Asian* refers to the broad group of peoples of Chinese origin, irrespective of country of birth, and includes South East Asia and Japan. The more specific labels of Chinese,

Korean, Taiwanese, Japanese, Malaysian, Indonesian etc. are used when there is certainty about these identities. When there is uncertainty, the broad label of East Asian is used.

These two groups of people are studied together in this research for the following reasons: There are many similarities between West and East Asian cultures, as confirmed by studies of Chinese (Sun & Gibson-Cline, 1996) and Indian youth (Kashyap, 1996) in their home countries. One of the more recent reasons for these similarities is the adoption of the religion and philosophies of Buddhism by large numbers of Chinese. Since Buddhism is an aspect of Hinduism (Sivananda, 1987; Parrinder, 1975), the philosophies and many customs and traditions are the same, therefore the cultures of both groups are similar. Indians and Chinese (Buddhist Chinese in particular) are characteristically industrious, conservative, submissive and intensely private and spiritual, and place strong value on cultural and religious beliefs developed thousands of years ago (Sun & Gibson-Cline, 1996; Kashyap, 1996). Their lives are guided by these philosophies. For these reasons, it was considered possible to study Chinese and Indian pupils together.

## **1.8 RESEARCHER'S STORY**

What we see is determined by many individual, subjective factors, in particular, our own past experiences in any particular situation, and all the relevant conceptual frameworks we have already developed in order to interpret the world (Simpson & Tuson, 1995). The role of the researcher's life history is therefore important in the shaping of research design (Stanfield, 1993), as are the values of the researcher which are determined by this life history. The evaluation of practice and the focus of the research are all determined by the researcher's ideas of how things ought to be, and these ideas that the researcher holds are determined by her or his history and social background and the social myths inherent in that background (Tajfel, 1981). In order to appreciate the motivation behind this research and the values that guide it, it is necessary to situate the researcher within her own socio-cultural and historical background. A brief description of this follows:

I am one of these visible ethnic minority West Asians. I was born and raised in South Africa, and migrated to New Zealand with my family fifteen years ago. Having lived in apartheid South Africa for most of my life, I am acutely aware of the injustices of racism and of its various manifestations and consequences, not only for its victims, but also for its perpetrators. Hence my concern at the realisation that the racism of South Africa thrives, albeit covertly, even in a supposedly egalitarian society such as that of Aotearoa/New Zealand. The consequence of this concern and my experiences, together with those of my family as well as many others in my situation, is this study of the social acceptance of visibly ethnic minority adolescents. As it not possible for a researcher to completely extricate herself from her personal circumstances when conducting research, because it is those very circumstances that motivate the inquiry, I acknowledge from the outset that it is highly likely that notes of passion may creep into the work from time to time, despite every attempt to be clinically objective. Although this passion may sometimes make statements appear ‘strong’, it will not detract from their verity.

My keenest observations have come from my own personal experience as a ‘black’ woman in South Africa where I experienced the humiliations of apartheid (segregation) and the denial of basic human rights and opportunity, and my social and professional background enabled me to be a sensitive and perceptive observer. My purpose is to create awareness about life on the other side of the ethnic fence with the hope that this may alleviate negativity. I also hope that this work will assist people like me to purge themselves of the destructive identities that have been imposed on them by colonisers and to improve the quality of their lives, as the purpose of all research should be (Stanfield, 1993).

### **1.8.1 Guiding Dicta**

This work is guided by the following dicta which I consider to be of general application to life. I believe that it is necessary to take cognisance of them when studying human relationships:

- All people are equal, but not the same.

- All people are fundamentally and inherently good. Any ‘badness’ is external, temporary, acquired, and eradicable.
- All people have needs, feelings, desires, values, and mental capacity. Although these may differ because people are not the same, they are present in everyone.
- As equal beings, all people have a need to be recognised as such, and to be accepted and respected by their fellow beings.
- Being equal, people need to be given equal rights, liberties and opportunities.
- There is a great deal of misinformation and fear concerning people who are different. These can be dispelled through communication.
- Skin colour, on which inequalities are based and judgements made, has a purely ecological origin and is ontogenetic in nature (Bogin, 1999), and has nothing to do with the notion of good and evil.
- Diversity should be embraced, respected and celebrated, not rejected.

## 1.9 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

This chapter has set the scene, described the purpose of the study, and introduced the major terms, concepts, issues, and distinctions in this thesis. These ideas will be elaborated in the rest of the thesis.

*Chapter two* locates the study within its New Zealand context, analyses the situation, raises some of the key ideas, problems and controversies, and presents the research questions.

*Chapter three* reviews both historical and current literature on the social acceptance of visible ethnic minorities, and focuses on the major theoretical approaches to understanding interethnic contact. It also delves into the colonial history and liberalist worldviews for explications of current human responses to ethnic difference.

*Chapter four* provides an analysis of school ground intimidation as a key indicator of social non-acceptance, then moves to suggest alternative bases upon which due recognition might be given to the constitutive role of ethnic difference in the development of intimidatory behaviour amongst school pupils.

*Chapter five* describes the conceptualisation of the research process. Existing literature is used to explain the theoretical framework that has shaped the conduct of research in the

field. The research perspective employed in this study and the rationale for its selection are outlined. Theory is proposed for research into ethnic minorities.

*Chapter six* provides a detailed description of the methods, instrumentation and procedures used throughout the data collection.

*Chapter seven* presents the results for the quantitative aspect of the data which concerns a survey of pupils from the five main ethnic groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It also discusses the main findings in relation to the research questions and the model for social interaction proposed in chapter ten.

*Chapter eight* presents the results for the first section of the qualitative data. This includes an analysis and interpretation of pupil and parent interviews in relation to the research questions and the model proposed in chapter ten.

*Chapter nine* presents the results for the second section of the qualitative data which is the ecological studies of schools. This includes conversations with teachers and observations in and around the school. The main findings are analysed and interpreted in relation to the research questions and the model proposed in chapter ten.

*Chapter ten* triangulates the data, provides an overall discussion of the findings in relation to the research questions, and considers their implications and limitations. It concludes with recommendations for future research.

*Chapter eleven* concludes the thesis by speculating on ways of improving the social world of the respondents and by proposing a model for social interaction in a global society.

### **1.9.1 Caveat**

The word 'data' is used in this thesis as a collective noun with a singular verb.

# CHAPTER TWO

## CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

*A society is only as good as its members*

(Confucian Thought)

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter locates the study historically within its international and New Zealand context, and analyses the situation in terms of globalisation. It raises some of the key ideas, problems, and controversies concerning this complex and often controversial area of ethnic relations. It also presents the research questions.

### 2.2 GLOBALISATION AND MULTICULTURALISM

Rather than describe this period we live in, in relation to the preceding period as a post-modern age or other, Tully (1995: 11) suggests that it should be described in its own terms as an age of cultural diversity. The term 'globalisation' defines the processes through which cultural diversity has been brought together, operating on a global scale, which cut across national boundaries, integrating and connecting communities and organisations in new space-time combinations, making the world in reality and in experience more interconnected (Larrain, 1994: 151). These patterns of human interaction, interconnectedness and awareness are reconstituting the world as a single social space (McGrew, 1992: 65) in which territorial boundaries are becoming increasingly insignificant. Harvey (1989 in *ibid*: 67) believes that this is having a disorienting and disruptive impact on cultural and social life, as well as upon political-economic practices and the balance of class-power. Hall (1992) suggests that it is also having an unsettling impact on national identities with contradictory outcomes: a tendency toward a 'global post-modern' culture and simultaneously the resurgence of nationalism, ethnicity and

fundamentalism. The modern self is being 'de-centred', and some social identities are being 'dislocated' (Hall, 1992).

There is also a tension between the 'global' and the 'local' (Hall *et al.*, 1992: 6). In a global or world society, humanity is organised horizontally (not in a vertical hierarchy) into multiple, overlapping and permeable communities or systems of social interaction, and the existing world order is being transformed conspicuously through its direct challenge to the primacy of the nation-state in its present form. (McGrew, 1992: 78). With the recomposition of the labouring class in western societies, social divisions such as those associated with gender, race and ethnicity have assumed greater salience, producing a greater complexity of social life, and a plurality of social groupings and communities of identification. Consequently, some social scientists claim that political and social values, cultural identities, and even the very sense of self are in considerable flux and disarray, and the general picture of social existence in the late modern world has been rendered more fluid by globalisation (Hall *et al.*, 1992: 8).

Through the twentieth century, western modernity has acquired a global reach with enormous human cost since it has been 'fuelled by a tremendous arrogance and violence' (Modelski quoted in McGrew, 1992: 65). Consequently, the processes of globalisation, just as much in the past as nowadays, are simultaneously processes of domination and power in which cultural patterns prevalent in leading societies become paradigmatic, a *desideratum* which others must strive for and around which some forms of homogenisation occur (Hall *et al.*, 1992).

Cultural homogenisation is implicit in globalisation (Hall, 1991). The overarching framework of this global culture is an American conception of the world that has resulted in the world-wide predominance of neo-liberalism, which is adopted in most western countries in different forms. During Britain's reign in the globalisation of that time, it contributed to the formation of other cultural identities – of many peripheral nations, and its own identity was formed in and shaped by this process. That identity, says Hall (1991: 20), was strongly centred, highly exclusive and exclusivist. Everything else was placed as the

'other', be it the colonised other or the less powerful other (Larrain, 1994: 155). However, the present globalisation (according to Hall, 1991: 33) has awoken a desire in ethnic groups to reaffirm their difference and to keep their heritage cultures and languages alive as signs of a new form of internationalism. Instead of eroding identity and culture, globalisation appears to be bolstering and reaffirming cultures and cultural identities amongst many ethnic groups. This trend is visible amongst some of the ethnic minority immigrants of New Zealand.

Due to globalisation and a massive swell in international migration in the last century, there are very few homogeneous societies in the western world today, and nation states are increasingly changing from being predominantly mono-cultural to multicultural societies. Most countries have become culturally pluralistic and contain many minority groups with distinct ethnic identities, which are clearly distinguishable from the majority-defining cultural group. As a result, the host cultures have, over a short period of time, come into contact with large numbers of a diverse range of peoples from European and Asian countries, as well as some from the African continent. This wave of change has taken a little longer to reach the shores of Aotearoa/New Zealand which, only a short while ago, was still in its post colonial era (although some would argue that we still are, and others – even more radically – would suggest that we are still fully colonial). Aotearoa/New Zealand is now fast catching up with this international trend, which is expected to continue to increase over time (Ward *et al.*, 2001; Tully, 1995), and socially its population has changed drastically from being bicultural to multicultural in the last decade. However, politically Aotearoa/New Zealand is considered to be bicultural and not multicultural. Such dramatic changes in population create problems and issues, and literature concerning these will be discussed in chapter three.

Cultural pluralism, in essence, allows immigrants to retain their linguistic and cultural activities, but requires them to adopt the public values of the country of settlement. However, despite official policies based on this principle of integration, in practice immigrants are expected to assimilate to the dominant ethos of the host country, at least at the overt, behavioural level. (Ward *et al.*, 2001; Tully, 1995). Aotearoa/New Zealand has

an immigration policy inspired by the cultural pluralism ideology, but not political pluralism.

Before embarking on a description of the problem of concern in this thesis and a discussion of the cultural status of Aotearoa/New Zealand, it is necessary to take a look at the history of relations between the Occident and the Orient in order to be able to visualise the present situation clearly.

### **2.3 A BRIEF HISTORY OF EUROPEAN RELATIONS WITH NON-EUROPEAN PEOPLES**

It is necessary to write something about the history of European and non-European relations, for various reasons. Firstly, knowledge of this history is necessary in order to place the study within a broader context. Secondly, as the present is determined by history, it is important that this history and its implications for the present is understood, in order to ensure that the mistakes of the past are not repeated. People either contribute positively to a relationship, or they contaminate it with the things they drag along from the past. A lack of knowledge and understanding of the dimensions of history results in its repetition, as is continually witnessed, therefore it needs to be explored rather than repressed or denied and continue to be dragged, consciously or unconsciously, into the present and future.

In the past, it was believed that people differed socially and behaviourally because of fundamental biological inequalities, and all races of colour were attributed with physical characteristics that were supposedly biologically inferior. Early historical accounts chronicle the discovery of groups of people who differed biologically and behaviourally from the explorers, in the 'new worlds' of Asia, Africa and the Americas. Political and economic fortunes were to be made from the newly discovered worlds and peoples, and European explorers took those fortunes by armed aggression, false promises, and the introduction of infectious diseases, and slavery and genocide became two of the by-products of European expansion (Bogin, 1999). The justification for the physical and cultural carnage wrought upon the indigenous peoples was always that *they* were different

from and inferior to *us*. Bogin states that Europeans needed to create a category of the inferior *other* in order to subdue and dominate. The easy creation of the *other* as an inferior being was aided by the western philosophical notion of ideal types, of which people were imperfect copies, and to which Europeans were the closest. In the nineteenth century, with the new methodology of anthropometry which enabled the systematic measurement and classification of people into discreet racial groupings, the era of scientific racism was born (Bogin, 1999). This was fuelled by the belief of the time that the various races originated from separate evolutionary lineages. However, according to the 'Eve hypothesis', if it is true, all living human beings are descended from a single female who lived in Africa about 200,000 years ago (Cann, 1988 in *ibid*: 36).

Early literature on the subject of western encounters with the east, which provides an early colonial perspective, and is described as containing 'the barest facts' (Hammerton, date unknown), serves to illustrate the intentions and attitudes of these explorers. Although the Orientals were considered to be inferior, their talents were envied and feared; consequently, they needed to be subjugated, controlled and oppressed. When describing da Gama's first encounter with India in 1498, Hammerton wrote:

Before he left he had an audience with the local chieftain. Rubies glistened on the Indian's robe; about his arm was a jewel-studded bracelet; round his neck was a string of pearls the size of hazel-nuts, and gold rings hung down from his ears (pg. 65)

Vasco da Gama's description of the Orient (India and China), was as follows:

In the towns art flourished, and literature; there dwelt men skilled in the crafts, learned in tongues, in the texts of the great teachers, in the traditions of their forefathers. Dynasties of princes rose and flourished...Religion held sway...(pg. 109).

The uncharacteristic *other* and his fortunes, and the land that produced them was to be 'exploited', and the Orient was to be 'westernised'. Hammerton regretfully continued:

Our empire of India dates only from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and it was well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century before the British had brought the peninsula as a whole under their sway (pg. 109).

He quoted Knowles (date unknown) who described the British as 'the invader who had come to stay', unlike the French and the Portuguese, and described the work of 'the hand of

the oppressor' who had remedied 'the social evils bound up with Hinduism', and 'the disgusting customs' (pg. 110-111). Hammerton complained that the efforts of the British 'made very little alteration in the lives of the great majority', and that:

China was not a second India, however, and though in 1841 the Chinese were forced by British gunboats to open their ports to British trade and cede Hong Kong, during the years that followed the European powers made but small territorial gains in China (pg. 111-112).

An ongoing concern of the west, i.e. the ability of Asian peoples to adapt, learn fast, progress, and hold their own, which is as pertinent today as it was early last century, is revealed by Hammerton when, in describing South Africa, he states:

In the Union two million whites are confronted by seven and a half millions of natives and Asiatics [Indians], who year by year are becoming better educated, more capable of government, more skilled in industry (pg. 109).

All other peoples and cultures are apparently perceived as peripheral and inferior by western cultures that have communicated these attitudes to non-western peoples. Some of them have, unfortunately, internalised such notions about themselves.

Clearly, this particular rendition of history is Eurocentric and not neutral. However, it does elucidate European attitudes toward non-Europeans and the nature of their relationship at the time, and is significant as it is the foundation on which the relationship between these two groups has been built. Indeed, it is on this very foundation that this relationship continues to stand today.

In the light of this history, it would be quite plausible to suggest (as does Bogin in the context of anthropology) that some of the theories offered to explain the difficulties associated with interethnic contact may be designed (consciously or subconsciously) to conceal the racist roots of this problem. Or, the failure to recognise the influence of the colonial past on current attitudes may be a consequence of 'blocking out' such knowledge by western researchers. This thesis suggests that the negative attitudes spawned over five centuries ago persist today, and that it is these attitudes that determine the behaviours

encountered on the school ground and in the wider community. It is against this colonial background that present attitudes and behaviours are considered in this thesis.

### **2.3.1 The Myth of ‘White’ Superiority**

One of the products of this colonial history is the myth of the biological superiority of the ‘white’ race over non-‘white’ races. Although it is now widely accepted, even amongst many ‘whites’, that this notion that the ‘white’ race is superior to other races is nothing more than a myth (Bullock, 1975), it is apparent that many ‘whites’ continue to uphold this belief. However, it is merely a self-serving bias that ignores all rational information, and is designed to meet the needs of those who are psychologically insecure and who need to protect or enhance their egos. This thesis considers this myth as significant as the continued acceptance by many Europeans of this notion as being ‘the truth’ exerts a strong influence on present day attitudes and behaviours and impacts negatively on interethnic relations.

## **2.4 IDENTITY AND CULTURE OF AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND**

Margaret Robertson’s (1996) description of various social aspects of Australia, the rivalled sibling of New Zealand, could well have been written for this country. Like Australia, ‘Kiwi’ (as it is affectionately known by the locals) history dates from British colonisation in the late eighteenth century when the original Maori inhabitants were ‘violently displaced’ by ‘the land-hungry and profit-seeking Europeans’ (Robertson, 1996). Their culture is essentially a ‘transplanted’ British one, which has evolved to include aspects of Maori culture. Many ‘Kiwis’ of European origin still display strong ties with their mother country to which the obligatory OE (overseas experience) is made by large numbers of young people.

The 1970s, 1980s and 1990s saw large numbers of Asians of Indian and Chinese origin, as well as Middle Easterners settle in Aotearoa/New Zealand. These new settlers brought

with them a variety of cultural traditions and practices that enriched the local culture and exposed New Zealanders to an array of exotic and exciting phenomena. However, the insular 'Kiwis' (both physically and mentally – New Zealand is officially the most isolated nation on earth) appeared to find this difficult to deal with and many reacted with hostility rather than respond with friendship, as evidenced in the media.

While outsiders consider Aotearoa/New Zealand to be multicultural and pluralistic (Bochner, 1982 in Ward *et al.*, 2001), New Zealand, however, still considers itself to be a bicultural nation, and has emphasised biculturalism since the 1980s (Wilson & Yeatman, 1995). The prominence of this perspective was demonstrated recently when a comment made by the new race relations commissioner, Joris de Bres, that 'New Zealand is a bicultural nation in a multicultural society', 'caused a minor stir' according to Geoff Cumming of the Weekend Herald (September, 28-29, 2002, B6). Despite the obvious multiculturalisation of the country during the last decade, it has remained politically regarded as a bi-cultural society in which only the Maori and Anglo-Saxon cultures are officially recognised. This view has dictated the policies of the government and other major social institutions, often resulting in the neglect of those New Zealanders who fall outside this binary.

#### **2.4.1 The Myth of Egalitarianism**

However, despite its emphasis on biculturalism and frequent neglect of those who fall outside this binary, Aotearoa/New Zealand considers itself to be an egalitarian society and prides itself on this myth, which is widely utilised by immigration consultants to attract immigrants to the country, for example. However, shortly after arrival here, all immigrants are faced with the stark reality of the mythical nature of this claim as they encounter episode after episode of xenophobia and its concomitants both in their lives and in the media.

At another level, as in Australia, this notion of egalitarianism operates to enforce mediocrity, as well as prejudice and discrimination. The widespread submission of New Zealanders to the ‘tall poppy syndrome’, and its consequential fear and distrust of excellence and preference for mediocrity, acts not only to the national detriment, but also to the repudiation of high achievers, especially when they are immigrants. Those New Zealanders, who are well informed, appear not to support this view of egalitarianism, and public statements by such people, refute this claim. For example, Lesley Max, a ‘Kiwi’ ‘social entrepreneur’ discussed the social divisions in Aotearoa/New Zealand on a television interview saying that ‘there are two New Zealands, the business sector and the social sector, and the two don’t know each other’ (‘Today Live’, TV1, 13.05.02).

#### **2.4.2 Immigrants in Aotearoa/New Zealand**

Not only is it the business sector and the social sector that do not know each other, but it is apparent that the various ethnic groups of New Zealand know very little, if anything, about each other. The ethnic diversity of the New Zealand population continues to grow rapidly since the last decade, and the gap between the ethnic groups appears to be growing at the same pace as locals reportedly withdraw further away from their foreign immigrants as their numbers grow. An excursion into the history of immigration in Aotearoa/New Zealand will demonstrate the extent to which the New Zealand population has changed in recent years, and will show that this trend is likely to continue in the future. Consequently, steps need to be taken to ensure understanding and positive interaction amongst these diverse ethnic groups.

Polynesian settlers arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand around the 10th century, and it was only after 1769 when James Cook arrived that European people settled in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Since then the immigrant population has grown and changed dramatically (Statistics NZ, 2001). Till the late nineteenth century, Aotearoa/New Zealand was populated by British and Maori. The discovery of gold during this time brought the first non-European immigrants to the country in the form of Chinese nationals who were unwelcome. To dissuade them from coming here in large numbers, their families were

debarred from the country and an exorbitant poll tax was imposed on them, as was common practice of the British in some of 'their' colonies (for example, indigenous Africans in South Africa were required to pay some kind of poll tax if they wished to enter the urban areas). This was soon followed by a small group of Indians from British ruled India (of that time), who were allowed in as British subjects, and, as such, were not taxed for entry.

Australia and the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands to some extent, have traditionally been the two dominant sources of New Zealand's migrants. From 1962 a Western Samoan quota began and still exists (Statistics NZ, 2001). Until the 1970s few other non-European immigrants came to Aotearoa/New Zealand. After the first coup d' état in Fiji in 1987, large numbers of Indo-Fijians were allowed into the country. At about the same time small numbers of mainly professional South African Indians began to leave the apartheid regime of the time to settle in what they believed to be an egalitarian Aotearoa/New Zealand. In the early 1990s peoples of Chinese origin began to emigrate to Aotearoa/New Zealand. Revised immigration policies soon encouraged an influx of Asian immigrants from all parts of Asia, and by the mid 1990s large numbers became visible in Auckland, New Zealand's largest city to which most flocked. This produced an outcry from the 'Kiwis' whose protestations against the 'Asian invasion' were echoed by the media. The change of government in South Africa in 1994 saw huge numbers of 'white' South Africans fleeing the black government flood the country over the next few years. No such protestations against these immigrants were heard. During the same period, immigrants from other countries, such as the Middle East and Eastern Europe, plagued by political unrest flocked to Aotearoa/New Zealand. It was seen as an easy destination, adding to the growing numbers of visible ethnic minorities.

The immigration policy was changed in 1995, following concern over the high level of immigration (of Asians, although the statistics report does not record it this way). Changes included stricter enforcement of approval targets and stricter English language requirements (clearly directed at Asians), which resulted in a fall in Asian immigrant numbers. Minor changes to the immigration policy between 1998 and 2000, including easing of the language requirements, contributed to an increase in immigrant arrivals in 2000. Migrants from Asia

in the 1990s were most commonly aged 15 to 34 years. This was due to New Zealand's immigration policy which gives preference to those aged in their twenties and early thirties, as well as to students in their late teens or early twenties who study in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Students were also a factor in the high proportion (62 percent in 2000) of migrants from Asia who did not have an occupation.

Immigration statistics (Statistics NZ, 2001) show that the four largest net inflows of migrants in 2000 were from China (5,200), India (2,200), South Africa (2,200), and Japan (1,900). In 2001 Aotearoa/New Zealand recorded a population of almost 3.8 million, with an increase of 9.7 percent from 1991 to 2001. There was a net inflow of 32,800 migrants in the June 2002 year, with significant net inflows from China (13,800), India (5,800), the United Kingdom (4,900), South Africa (3,200), Fiji (2,400), and Japan (2,300). Of these, over one million live in Auckland which is the largest city in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In 2001, approximately 75.6 percent of the population were European, 13.8 percent were Maori, 6.1 percent were Pacific Island, 4.2 percent were Chinese, and 1.9 percent was Indian. From 1996 – 2001 there has been a small decrease in the European and Maori populations, and a small increase in the Pacific Island, Chinese and Indian populations. From 1990 – 2000 there has been an increase in immigrants from India, China and Japan.

The fears and insecurities of many New Zealanders might have taken their toll once more. A toughening of English language requirements for immigrants have been enforced again (19.11.2002). As it is usually Asian immigrants who have insufficient English skills, it is apparent that this change targets them, and its purpose is to ensure that the country is not 'invaded' by such people yet again. After this announcement, over 14,000 New Zealanders telephoned a radio station opposing immigration, and just over 900 supported it, highlighting the extent of some of their insecurities.

However, ethnic diversity continues to grow. Although three out of every five children living in Aotearoa/New Zealand are European, the proportion that belongs to other ethnic groups is increasing. Between 1986 and 1996, the percentage of European children among

New Zealand's population fell sharply from 72.7 to 62.4 percent. Over the same period, the proportion of Māori children increased from 20.0 to 24.5 percent, while the proportion of Pacific Islands children increased from 5.6 to 7.6 percent and the proportion of Asian children from 1.7 to 5.0 percent. Of the New Zealand children born overseas, the biggest change was the increase in the proportion born in Asia (27.6 percent) - nearly a three fold increase over the ten-year period. This trend is likely to continue in the future, making it necessary for Aotearoa/New Zealand to be armed with knowledge about such change, its dimensions and consequences, so that all its citizens are able to manage the transition positively and comfortably.

The ethnic diversity of the country is illustrated by the various languages now spoken here. Although English is the main language spoken by children in Aotearoa/New Zealand, a significant number of children at the 1996 Census were recorded as speaking other languages. The other most commonly spoken languages are Māori, Samoan, Tongan, Cantonese and Northern Chinese. Children born overseas were over three times more likely to speak two or more languages than their New Zealand-born counterparts. A total of 34.1 percent of children born outside Aotearoa/New Zealand could speak more than one language, and nearly half (49.4 percent) of all Asian children and just over 4 out of every 10 (43.1 percent) Pacific Islands children could speak two or more languages (Statistics NZ, 2001).

### **2.4.3 The Visible Ethnic Minority Immigrant**

Research on immigrants and refugees (Sprinthall & Collins, 1995; Ward *et al.*, 2001) show that although most researchers recognise that refugees face many of the same intercultural issues as immigrants, many assume incorrectly that premigration factors and trauma pertain only to refugees and influence only their adaptation process and health. However, most immigrant families who choose to emigrate from their homelands usually do so for drastic reasons. Since the last decade, Asian immigrants to Aotearoa/New Zealand are predominantly these voluntary ones who have left their home countries for such reasons. Indians from South Africa, who left during the apartheid regime, fled oppression by

Afrikaners, and those who left later, fled violence from the Africans. Indians from Fiji fled persecution by the indigenous Fijians, and Indians and Chinese from Malaysia, fled oppression by local Malays. Chinese from Hong Kong left for fear of oppression by the communist regime and those from South Korea for similar reasons. Immigrants from Iran and Iraq also fled political and religious oppression, and Indians from Sri Lanka escaped war due to political unrest. It was only the Indians from India, the Japanese, and the Chinese from Taiwan who left mainly for educational and lifestyle reasons.

These immigrants have made huge sacrifices of both a material and emotional nature, which have far reaching psychological consequences for the whole family, a view supported by Fraser *et al.* (2000: 459-460). They suggest that the possibilities of such stress existing should always form part of any consideration of immigrants' situations as their realities, which are often negative, frequently trigger depression. They are faced with the immense task of rebuilding their lives (often from scratch), dealing with the trauma of separation from loved ones, and adjusting to a foreign cultural and physical environment. It takes enormous courage, determination and commitment to make such a move, therefore all parents who take up this gauntlet are worthy of admiration and respect as they possess the strength of character for which all should aspire. They are optimistic about their futures when they come to New Zealand as they have met the requirements for migration and have been accepted into the country. In return, they offer either expertise and skills, or financial investment. Their economic, social and psychological status is higher than that of refugees and 'traditional' immigrants who migrate for economical reasons, consequently, their expectations here are higher. They expect to be accepted and respected as they deserve, however, many of these amazing people are subjected to rejection from many of their New Zealand hosts instead. All they ask of their host communities is that they are accepted for who and what they are, and that they and their cultures are recognised and respected.

Because it is not possible for hosts to distinguish between refugees, those who move from poorer to richer countries for economic reasons, and the financially secure migrant who moves for political reasons, when a visible ethnic minority immigrant is encountered, it is likely that many New Zealanders may assume that she or he is financially disadvantaged

and dependent on the host country, and local attitudes may be determined by this assumption.

Visible ethnic minority children are very often involuntary migrants, because they usually have little or no say in the family's decision to move, and frequently find themselves caught up in a tangle of mixed emotions concerning their new, and often unwelcome, lives. They are unhappy about having to exchange familiar environments, cultures, lifestyles and peoples for unfamiliar ones. Most of all, they 'mourn' the loss of close friendship ties, and are apprehensive, even petrified, about having to rebuild these with people who are totally unknown. The stresses associated with such a scenario are enormous, to say the least. This is the state of mind in which most visible ethnic minority immigrant children enter the new social environment. Although they have reservations about their ability to adapt to this foreign society, they expect to be accepted nonetheless. However, it is not long before they discover (much to their surprise and confusion) that they are often not welcome and not accepted, and are perceived by many as unequal and inferior. None is prepared for the rejection that awaits many of them.

Adapting to a foreign country and a new education system is a massive task for young people. Many immigrants are of the opinion that educators within this system are not fully aware of the complexity of the situation, and of the enormity of the pressures placed on these foreign children who have to deal not only with social, cultural and educational changes, but also psychological ones. It is apparent that it is not only foreign pupils, but also locals who are experiencing problems with adapting to foreign peoples and cultures. If we can gain insight into the perceptions of immigrant and local New Zealand pupils, and thereby understand them better, we may be able to help them gain a deeper understanding of themselves and of each other. Moreover, educators could help facilitate and expedite the social integration of immigrant pupils, and thereby ensure that the academic development of all our pupils is not placed at risk.

## 2.5 IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION ON SCHOOLS

The deluge of visible ethnic minority immigrants to Aotearoa/New Zealand has, as expected, had a huge impact on schools. The presence of West Asian (Indian) and East Asian (Chinese) pupils in schools is a new phenomenon about which little is known and which requires in-depth study. The rapid change in school populations from largely monocultural or bicultural to multicultural populations, is posing a problem for most schools which are apparently experiencing trouble with mapping the dimensions of this complex problem. Due to the large number of economically independent immigrants, schools now recognise the need to become pro-active in terms of promoting acceptance of pupils from other cultures, particularly Chinese fee-paying pupils. However, they are apparently uncertain of the extent of the problem, the interrelationships, and how to intervene, amongst others, as there is very little information on interethnic contact and perceptions, and the social acceptance of these immigrant pupils. An inability to cope with the changing face of schools would impact on the service provided to pupils and could place both immigrant and local pupils academically and socially at risk due to these unprecedented changes.

Not only has the presence of large numbers of visible ethnic minority immigrants changed the face of schools, but they have also changed their sound. As stated earlier, foreign languages are becoming common-place in New Zealand, consequently, it is now quite common to hear a variety of foreign languages such as Chinese, Hindi, Afrikaans and Pacific Island languages on the grounds, in corridors and classrooms. Anecdotal evidence, as well as empirical evidence from this study, shows that while some teachers and pupils find this interesting, many appear to be annoyed by it and believe that these languages should not be spoken at school. Some speakers of these languages feel that they should be allowed, not only to speak it, but also to study it. On the other hand, there are those speakers who feel that the vernacular should be avoided at school. An ethnic minority's language is one of the most evident and powerful symbols of distinctive identity, and one of the major symbols of separateness with dignity, of a positive self-definition (Tajfel, 1978). For this reason, and because of the ever growing numbers of speakers of other

languages in schools, it is important to know exactly how those involved feel about the use of foreign languages and to consider the status of these languages within schools. This thesis seeks to provide definitive information about ethnic minority needs and attitudes with regard to their vernaculars, as well as local attitudes toward their usage, amongst other things.

Educators who are directly involved with the education and social development of young people need to be concerned with these issues because they impinge on the academic development, not only of immigrant pupils, but also of local New Zealand pupils who must, of necessity, be influenced by a negative social climate at school. It is therefore important to study this situation and to document the perceptions of pupils on social acceptance, and the conditions that generate prejudice, so that ignorance may be eradicated, conflict alleviated, understanding promoted and some change in attitude instituted in order to improve the social and learning environment of all our pupils. This research, apart from being about social acceptance and intimidatory behaviour in schools per se, is about the wider concept of acceptance and diversity, and strives to address the problem being experienced by schools by providing a knowledge base that will assist them to adapt to their new environment.

### **2.5.1 Interethnic Relations**

In order to improve the social acceptance of visible ethnic minority pupils and interethnic relations in schools, attention needs to be paid to the perceptions of pupils. Perceptions are important because our ability to adapt to a new environment is determined by our perceptions of that environment. Those perceptions influence our attitudes which, in turn, influence our behaviour. It is therefore important to be aware of the perceptions of pupils of all ethnic groups as they influence interethnic behaviour within schools and interethnic relations in the wider society. Asian pupils behave according to their perceptions of behaviours and attitudes of New Zealand pupils and local New Zealand pupils in turn respond to their behaviour. As suggested in the last chapter, our perceptions are our reality, and a lack of understanding of these perceptions can lead to misunderstandings, the

compounding of which can lead to the development of a 'vicious cycle'. The interethnic relationships, attitudes and perceptions of the present adolescent population are therefore of great importance because they will establish the future of interethnic relations in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Consequently, it is important that we all understand each other, and recognise, respect and celebrate diversity so that we can be assured of a peaceful and harmonious future.

It is also important for educators, as well as all interested others, to know about and understand behaviours and attitudes of local and other children coming into this culture 'for understanding and knowledge are the foundations of effective action' (McNeill, 1990: 132). This will enable them to provide a service more suited to the needs of both local and immigrant pupils, and create a social environment that does not encourage ethnic prejudice and racism. Researchers have identified a need for a comprehensive account of the processes and patterns of intergroup relations in immigrant and refugee communities, and the patterns and outcomes of interactions with non-compatriots (Ward *et al.*, 2001: 119). This research endeavours to provide such knowledge to facilitate mutual understanding, adaptation and acceptance amongst all our pupils.

### **2.5.2 Transition and its Effects**

One of the impediments to interethnic harmony is considered in this thesis to be the enormous changes and their concomitant pressures arising from liberalist worldviews to which society is currently being subjected. Our global society is consequently undergoing many major social changes that began in the late twentieth century (Hall, 1992; Larrain, 1994; McGrew, 1992; Tully, 1995). These social changes, together with technological developments of the past few decades and large scale migration, have contributed to changes in the usual gender roles, resulting in women's liberation in the home and the workplace, amongst others. These vast changes in worldviews and lifestyles have thrust the world into a phase of transition which is occurring with alacrity at various levels, and impacting on everyone, to some extent, consequently, life is no longer simple and predictable. Changes to what was 'normal' in the past are causing much tension amongst

the global population. The New Zealand society of the twenty first century, like other societies around the world, has also been caught in the throws of these changes.

At the macro level, the face of the world is changing. Countries are changing from homogeneous, monocultural societies to heterogeneous, multicultural ones. Rapid technological developments have added to this social upheaval, causing much conflict and stress on people. Limited resources for coping with this change have left them feeling threatened and insecure. On a micro level, gender roles are rapidly and significantly changing with women becoming more liberated than has ever occurred before. The present generation of women are competing with men and are swiftly taking over what were traditionally men's roles in the workplace, causing more conflict and stress. As elsewhere in the world, New Zealand women are forced to play two or more roles simultaneously like no other generation of women has had to. They are compelled to keep the traditional roles of housewife and mother, amongst others, while taking on the challenges of new roles of executive and provider. This causes overload for women, and conflict and tension as men and women work (or wrestle) through this changing power relationship. The effect of this on relationships and childrearing practices is evident in increasing breakdowns in marriages and increasing disciplinary problems with children who no longer have the undivided attention of mothers who are often over worked and stressed, and of fathers who are frequently disgruntled and insecure. A disturbingly large number of children must now deal with not only the usual pressures of growing up, but also with those stemming from broken homes and traumatised parents, complicating life further. Unhappy, stressed adults raise unhappy, stressed children, and unhappy, stressed people are intolerant people. Add to this equation the element of a foreign onslaught, and that becomes the straw that breaks the camels back. When the perpetrators of that apparent onslaught are visible ethnic minorities, they instantly become scapegoats on whom frustration and indignation can be vented.

It is a contention of this thesis that, apart from social identification theories used to explain negative culture contact, and the effects of colonialism and liberalism suggested in this thesis, this phase of transition (which is an off-shoot of liberalism) in which the world

presently finds itself, and its repercussions contribute significantly to problematic interethnic relations. This does not imply that these changes are negative and that women should not be liberated etcetera. It means that the way we respond to it needs to be modified and managed in ways that will eliminate negative effects.

### **2.5.3 The 'Storm and Stress' Myth**

The effects of liberalism can also be seen in adult attitudes toward adolescence and discipline and children's responses to these attitudes. Adolescents are confronted with a host of physiological, psychological and emotional challenges, and the extent to which children cope with these challenges is generally dependent on an impact and interplay between individual and situational determinants (Frydenberg, 1997: 6; Jackson & Bosma, 1990: 203). Traditional psychoanalytic theory assumed that crisis was inevitable with adolescence, and regarded this period primarily in terms of age-related storm, stress and crisis. It also believed that successful resolution of this struggle was crucial before young people could equip themselves to take on adult responsibilities, a theory widely espoused by New Zealanders.

However, this myth has recently been exploded, and normative research has revealed that adolescents experience just as much stress and concerns as all people do in different stages of their lives. In fact, it is now accepted that most adolescents traverse the period without significant difficulties (Frydenberg, 1997: 6). It has also been pointed out that adolescence is a 'socially created' stage of life which has been construed in the interests of streamlining and maintaining social order (Poole, 1983 in Frydenberg, 1997: 7).

Current psychosocial theories (which include behavioural and cognitive-behavioural theories) argue that although youth may be particularly vulnerable to stress, they are capable of participating actively in their own development, coping productively and working toward solutions that utilize resources available to them. The assumption is that the problems that they face are determined in large part by their experiencing of their own environments as well as by their stage of life. And, since environmental resources vary, the

strategies they use to cope with their problems, as well as the effectiveness of these strategies also vary (Gibson-Cline, 1996). This perspective is supported by Oriental cultures who nurture young people and for whom adolescence has not been perceived as a problematic phase.

However, it is clear to immigrants that many New Zealanders continue to believe that adolescence is inevitably a period of storm and stress and that nothing can be done about it. Bird & Drewery (2000: 145) acknowledge that many older people in Aotearoa/New Zealand seem to take up an 'oppositional orientation' to young people. Consequently, in New Zealand schools, there appears to be more social disorder amongst this group than order, and an acceptance amongst many adults of this status quo - that this is the way things have to be. There appears to be a general apathy and malaise amongst many New Zealanders to do anything about this. The significance of this for this study is that a consequence of this stance is a lack of discipline and its concomitant social deviance which creates a fertile ground for intimidatory practices, in particular, those directed against visible ethnic minorities.

## **2.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The data collected over twelve years of observation confirmed the initial concerns of the respondents of the first study of visible ethnic minorities (mentioned in chapter one) and reaffirmed the need for the present study. As observation progressed, specific research questions emerged from the examination and analysis of the data. Further data collection through informal, unobtrusive and detached observation and reflection at three other schools, enabled progressive focusing of the research questions.

The main question being pursued in this research is: To what extent do visible ethnic minority pupils of Asian origin perceive themselves to be socially accepted in Auckland secondary schools?

In order to answer this question, a number of related questions need to be answered. These include:

- What are *interethnic attitudes* of local New Zealand and visible ethnic minority pupils in Auckland secondary schools, and is there congruence of perceptions of inter-ethnic attitudes amongst the different ethnic groups?
- To what extent do pupils from the different ethnic groups *interact* with each other?
- What are visible ethnic minority pupils' perceptions of their *social acceptance*, why do they have these perceptions (variables), and is there variability in these perceptions?
- What *prejudices* do visible ethnic minority pupils perceive to be held against them, and how is this perceived prejudice communicated to them?
- What do pupils perceive to be the *causes* of prejudice, the contexts and attributes that elicit prejudice, and the effects of stereotypes on prejudice?
- What are pupils' perceptions of *intimidatory practices* at school, and to what extent are they victims and/or perpetrators of these?
- How do visible ethnic minority pupils *cope* with non-acceptance?
- What are the psychological and physical *consequences* of non-acceptance on visible ethnic minority pupils? To what extent are they affected?
- What *issues* do pupils consider to be problematic and in need of attention at school?
- What are pupils' orientations toward the *acculturation* of immigrants?

## 2.7 SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed the effects of globalisation on cultures, identities, ethnicities, communications and politics, and the effects of its universalising tendencies on ethnic groups' need to reaffirm their difference, and on their attachment to their locality. Globalisation has awoken a desire in them to keep their heritage cultures and languages alive as signs of a new form of internationalism. The history of European and non-European relations was discussed briefly so that its implications for the present are understood. It was suggested that the negative attitudes spawned over five centuries ago persist today and determine the behaviours encountered on the school ground and in the wider community.

The myth of 'white' superiority and its strong influence on present day attitudes and behaviours was outlined. The history of immigration in Aotearoa/New Zealand and the history, identity and culture of Aotearoa/New Zealand were discussed to place the study in a wider context. The effects on schools of the myth of egalitarianism, bilingualism and large-scale migration of visible ethnic minority immigrants to Aotearoa/New Zealand were also discussed, as well as adaptation problems encountered by immigrants, and ethnic relations in New Zealand. The effects of transition and the 'storm and stress' myth on attitudes and behaviours were also discussed.

# CHAPTER THREE

## THE SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE OF ETHNIC MINORITIES

*It is a human aspiration to belong to a culture and place and to be at home in the world*

(Foucault, 1984).

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The literature pertaining to this study is reviewed in two parts. The first part considers interethnic and cross-cultural interaction in terms of the social acceptance of visible ethnic minority immigrants, and the second considers school based intimidatory practices that contribute to perceptions of non-acceptance of visible ethnic minority pupils.

This chapter presents the first body of literature on interethnic contact, specifically the social acceptance of visible ethnic minorities. It briefly examines the major theoretical approaches to understanding interethnic contact from social, personality, and cross-cultural psychology, which include cognitive, behavioural and affective theories, and reveals the gaps in these approaches to understanding the social acceptance and psychological adaptation of the visible ethnic minority immigrant. It then delves into our colonial history and liberalist worldview where, it argues, explications of current human responses to ethnic and cultural difference may be found, and considers the implications of colonialism and liberalism on interethnic responses in general, and in the New Zealand context in particular.

### 3.2 THE FOCUS OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH

There is extensive international literature on interethnic contact. Initial work focussed on interracial contact, and the focus changed later to intercultural contact and acculturation. This work is briefly reviewed below.

### 3.2.1 Interracial Contact

Early research concerned *interracial contact* and focussed on the clash between ‘white’ and ‘black’ people and sought explications for attitudes such as *racism* and *prejudice*. Research began in the 1920s, in the USA, with studies of the Negro-White situation (e.g. Bogardus, 1925, 1933; Thurstone & Chave, 1929; Katz & Braly, 1933, 1935; Horowitz, 1936, 1944; Likert, 1942; Bray, 1950). This theme has continued to dominate the field of social psychology around the world today (Eagly, 1992), particularly in the USA and to a lesser extent in Britain, Canada, Europe, Israel, Africa and Australia. Most studies of prejudice have focussed on the determinants of prejudicial attitudes, and as noted by Korzenny and Schiff (1986) and van Dijk (1983), have examined these from the perspective of westerners who have discriminated against non-westerners (e.g. Allport, 1954; Laishley, 1975; Brislin, 1981; Pate, 1983; O’Driscoll & Feather, 1983; Marin, 1984; Haddock *et al.*, 1991; Hurwitz & Peffley, 1992; Schwarzwald & Hoffman, 1993). A comparatively small number of studies has considered the non-western minority perspective (e.g. Bagley & Verma, 1975; Tajfel, 1981; Mellor & Firth, 1983; van Dijk, 1982/3; Arredondo, 1983; Bennett, 1984; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Korzenny & Schiff, 1986; Lichter & Lichter, 1987; Ascher, 1989; Allen *et al.*, 1990; Tully, 1995).

In Aotearoa/New Zealand the study of interracial contact began in the late 1950s with the investigation of European attitudes toward Maori (Vaughan, 1959; Vaughan & Thompson, 1961; Vaughan, 1964). This was later extended to include attitudes toward Polynesian immigrants, which remained the major theme till the early 1990s (e.g. Graves, 1973; Nicholson, 1976; O’Driscoll & Feather, 1983; St. George, 1983).

### 3.2.2 Intercultural Contact and Acculturation

The increase in migration from non-western to western countries, and students studying abroad in the last few decades prompted a deluge of studies on immigrants and international students around the world, and shifted the focus from *interracial* contact to *intercultural* contact and *acculturation* and its consequences of *prejudice* and

*discrimination* (e.g. Chang, 1991; Yang et al., 1994; Yau & Smetana, 1993; Zheng & Berry, 1991). There is a substantial body of research of intergroup relations amongst ethnically and culturally diverse communities within heterogeneous societies, and on economic adaptation in migrant populations. More of this research has been undertaken on children in migrant communities, and theory has been based on intergenerational comparisons (Ward *et al.*, 2001). However, psychologists have tended to focus on studying intergroup processes such as those concerning conformity and social influence, and the large majority of studies have continued to present the perspective of the majority culture which is usually of European origin (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). Most studies focus on the 'pull' of immigrants and the 'push' of refugees, consequently, they do not appear to realise, and consider the possibility, that immigrants could also suffer traumatic effects of migration as refugees do. They also focus on the adaptation of the immigrant to the host community, with comparatively few recognising or acknowledging the need for host adaptation to immigrants as well (e.g. Ward *et al.*, 2001; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987).

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, the 1990s saw the beginnings of studies of other ethnic minorities, although still from the majority culture's perspective. These include the investigation of the impact of immigrant minorities on New Zealand customs and culture by the University of Auckland (1990), the investigations of non-English speaking background students by the Ministry of Education and the Auckland Education Advisory Service (1992), and the impact of international students on domestic students and host institutions, commissioned by the Ministry of Education (Ward & Brown, 2002). Since the early 1990s, several studies have been undertaken on social interaction between international 'sojourner' students and domestic students, usually at tertiary level and from the perspective of the international student. These studies have considered the quality and quantity of contact, friendship patterns, social support networks, educational aspirations, and the functional roles of intercultural interactions (e.g. Ip, 1990; Lyons, 1992). The results of this work indicate that the amount of cross-national interaction is typically low, that international students expect and desire greater contact, and that interaction with domestic peers is generally associated with psychological, social and academic benefits for the international student (Ward & Brown, 2002).

### **3.2.3 Issues of Perspective**

The first Aotearoa/New Zealand studies that focused on the ethnic minority immigrant perspective were conducted by ethnic minority immigrant researchers on their experiences in their new environment (e.g. Chung & Walkey, 1989; Ip, 1990; Maharaj, 1993; Ho *et al.*, 1994). While much work has been done on international, short-term students, comparatively little work has been done in Aotearoa/New Zealand that presents the perceptions of visible ethnic minority *immigrant pupils* on their social acceptance at secondary school.

While there is a considerable overlap of circumstances between international and immigrant students, there are also many differences which set them apart. The significant difference lies in the length of expected stay in the host community and the psychological orientation associated with that time frame. In most cases 'international' students would be 'sojourners' (Ward *et al.*, 2001) expecting to spend a short period of time in the foreign country, which would impact positively on their perceptions of and responses to negative experiences. The knowledge of their imminent return to a familiar and safe environment would provide a protective buffer against serious and long-term psychological trauma. Immigrant children, on the other hand, who are presented with the prospect of having to endure negative circumstances possibly for the rest of their lives, are situated in a totally different psychological space to that of the 'sojourner'. These children are vulnerable and not in a position to be dismissive of negative attitudes and behaviour as their 'sojourner' counterparts are. From a psychological perspective, the plight of the visible ethnic minority immigrant child is quite different from that of the international student. It is this perspective on which this thesis focuses.

### **3.3 RESEARCH ON INTERETHNIC AND INTERCULTURAL CONTACT**

A great deal of research has been undertaken to answer this perplexing question about the non-acceptance of non-European peoples by those of European origin. Ward *et al.* (2001) provide an excellent review and summary of the research in this area of intercultural

contact. Briefly, this summary indicates that research on intercultural contact has been done on contacts between residents of a culturally diverse society, and between society contacts which occur when people from one society travel to another country, with the latter being focussed on till recently when intra-society intercultural contacts became more frequent. These studies have been based on the major theoretical approaches to understanding interethnic contact from social, developmental, personality, cross-cultural, and health psychology which include cognitive, behavioural and affective theories. Much of this research studied the empirical outcomes of intercultural contact which include *satisfaction* of sojourners with their new lives, their *emotional adjustment* over time, the extent to which they *interact* with and engage in the host culture, the *adverse psychological consequences* of failing to adjust to the new culture, their ability to *manage the transition*, and the degree of competence they achieve in *negotiating their new setting*.

### 3.3.1 Psycho-Social Theories

Several psychological and social theories have been offered to explain this phenomenon of social non-acceptance of difference. Taylor and Moghaddam (1987) offer a concise account of these theories which are realistic conflict theory, social identity theory, equity theory, relative deprivation theory, elite theory and attribution theory, and themselves offer a five-stage model of intergroup relations which focuses largely on groups of unequal status. Ward *et al.* (2001) summarise *social identification theories* as focussing on intergroup perceptions of foreign students and their hosts, *culture learning theory* as concerning itself with the description, explanation, and prediction of social difficulties, and *stress and coping approaches* as focussing on the identification of factors that function as significant stressors and impair adaptation to a new milieu. They categorise these theories into three approaches, namely, behavioural, affective and cognitive approaches. Since self-definition is affected by group membership, they consider how ethnic identity is maintained, how in-groups and out-groups are perceived, and how self-esteem is affected by acculturative pressures. They explain concepts such as stereotyping, in-group bias and prejudice which characterise intercultural contact. The core assumption of these theories, which is that culture contact is inherently problematic and stressful, is supported by this thesis.

However, these authors state that members from non-dominant groups are usually willing to make social contact, but they are willing to do this only if they wish to identify with the dominant cultural group. Those who wish to preserve their original cultural identity are not likely to desire intergroup interaction. This view cannot be supported by this thesis which will demonstrate that although the ethnic minority respondents of this study undoubtedly wish to preserve their original cultural identity, they equally desire social contact with the dominant host group.

### **3.3.2 The Missing Link**

Only one study mentioned above (Mellor & Firth, 1983) examines the meta-perceptions of visible ethnic minority immigrant and local pupils, that is, what they believe other groups think of them. As explained in the previous chapter, their perceptions of how others feel about and respond to them, is crucial to their adaptation to the adopted home. If visible ethnic minority pupils feel that they are disliked and not accepted, they will suffer the consequences of rejection and not adapt successfully. But if they perceive themselves to be liked and accepted, they will interact confidently and adapt successfully. The significance of this view is acknowledged by Ward *et al.* (2001) who state that mutual perceptions are a key feature of intergroup relations. There are often perceptual mismatches between immigrants and hosts, and while perceptions of prejudice may be inaccurate and differ from actual prejudice, these perceptions are nevertheless related to the formation of migrant identity and the selection of acculturation orientations (Keefe, 1992). Perceived discrimination has been associated with an increase in ethnic loyalty (Padilla, 1986), resistance to assimilation (Mainous, 1989) and conflicts with acculturation (Vega *et al.*, 1993).

Apart from investigating to varied extents the aspects examined by previous researchers, this study surveys meta-perceptions of the major ethnic groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and closely examines visible ethnic minority pupils' perceptions of their social acceptance by their hosts. Additionally, it takes a glimpse into the perceptions of the hosts concerning immigrants, as much as the design allows, as local pupils and parents of European origin

are not interviewed. However, the perceptions of teachers who are also parents of secondary school pupils are procured, providing some in-depth data on local European perceptions as well. These perceptions are equally important as they determine host responses to foreign pupils, and influence the adaptation of host pupils to the new settlers. This view is also supported by Ward *et al.* (2001) who assert that the satisfactory adaptation of immigrants to their new country is crucial, not only to immigrants themselves, but also to the host population, because failure to do so would be costly to both parties in personal and financial terms. These costs include impaired self-esteem, delayed career progression and general unhappiness, and intergroup and international disharmony. Most research on immigrants is based on the assumption that they are economically depressed and seek economic support in their new country. This study investigates a different kind of immigrant who has higher socio-economic status and consequently, higher expectations in the host country.

Research on identity and acculturation, and Tajfel's (1978) *Social Identity Theory* are concerned with the way in which people view themselves and their perceptions of in-group and out-group members. As noted by Ward *et al.*, Social Identity Theory offers insight into the nature of intergroup relations, but presents a rather pessimistic perspective on harmonious intergroup relations, highlighting the significance of social categorisation and social comparison and the widespread existence of in-group favouritism and out-group derogation. *Realistic threat theory* has been used to account for negative attitudes toward immigrants, with threat of job loss and increased social assistance to immigrants cited as a factor (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). These theories, offered as explanations for social non-acceptance of difference, provide valuable and enlightening explications and contribute significantly to the comprehension of intercultural contact. However, they do not appear to be able to adequately explain why intercultural encounters are usually negative rather than positive, why modern societies reject rather than accept cultural difference; and where the explanations for this phenomenon lie.

What underlies the scientific conception of explanation is the assumption that to understand an event is to know the events that produced it (Fay, 1983: 42). Therefore, any explanation

of the present state of intergroup relations must incorporate the *past history* of these groups, and must be related to the wider social setting in which individuals operate, as this strongly influences and is influenced by individual behaviour (Tajfel, 1978, 1981; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). Some western researchers and theorists agree that the history of relations need to be considered in order to understand present relations (e.g. Frydenberg, 1997; Lambert & Taylor, 1990; Ward *et al.*, 2001). However, if historical circumstances are considered, this consideration is superficial. For example, Ward *et al.* (2001) acknowledge that the difficulties immigrants experience are the result of a complex set of social-psychological influences played out during a long period. Nevertheless, when referring to this 'long period', they fail to consider significant historical events that influence such experiences. Their in-depth study of intercultural contact only twice mentions racism: first when summarising a study that argued that racism is the most serious risk factor for immigrants (Fernando, 1993); and second which mentioned the elimination of race as a criterion for admitting immigrants (Ward *et al.*, 2001: 277). Ward & Brown (2002) recognise that the main obstacle to positive cultural contact is the Eurocentric bias of contemporary psychology which has been dominated by western thought, yet they do not search the history of this bias for further explanations.

While the aforementioned theories do take into consideration wider social frameworks, they neglect to look beyond this present social framework at the events that have shaped the existing framework within which intercultural relationships occur today. An understanding of intergroup relations simply cannot be achieved without taking into consideration the shared histories of the groups involved, and the ways in which these influence the present, and are sustained to ensure their continued influence.

It is the contention of this thesis that our present social framework of interethnic contact has been shaped by the initial encounters between European colonisers and non-European peoples during which time the seeds of psychological dysfunction were sown. Of equal importance is the way in which colonialism's concomitant liberalist philosophy that informs and underpins social and political life, shapes these relationships. This thesis argues that the theories of interethnic and intercultural contact fall short of adequate

explanations of negative interethnic behaviour because they do not locate this behaviour within this broader historical framework within which the source of negative contact lies. Additionally, none of these theories appears to have considered the effects of liberal philosophy on these relationships. Only a few ethnic minority researchers have examined colonial and liberalist influences on people in general and on aspects of interethnic relationships (e.g. Tully, 1995; Tajfel, 1978, 1981; Hall, 1991, 1996, 1997; Bellamy, 1992). This study addresses these questions by delving into our history to seek the source of current cognitions, feelings and behaviours which, it proposes, lies in the debris of our colonial history and the smog of our liberalist worldview. A consideration of these influences will illuminate present day attitudes and behaviours.

### **3.3.3. Effects of the Past on the Present**

The impact of our past histories on our present attitudes and behaviours cannot be ignored because human beings are active agents, selectively perceiving problematic situations in ways that reflect past histories, current goals, and societal standards (Frydenberg, 1997). Any study of the relations between social groups within any society must take into account the 'objective' conditions of their co-existence. Apart from the economic, political, and social circumstances, these objective conditions more importantly refer to the historical circumstances which have led to, and often still determine, the differences between the groups in their standards of living, access to opportunities such as jobs and education, or the treatment they receive from those who wield power, authority or sometimes simply brute force (Tajfel, 1978: 3). These objective conditions are always associated with widespread 'subjective definitions', stereotypes, identifications, cognitive structures, likes and dislikes, belief systems, and the behaviour related to them. Again, it must be stressed that these must be taken into account in the general analysis of racial or any other intergroup relations, since they are likely to contribute to the pattern of these relations and to changes in them.

Tajfel (1978) emphasises that the analysis of these 'objective' conditions of the development of social relations between groups must come first and foremost in our

attempts to understand the nature of these relations. This is because human social behaviour can only be properly understood if we are able to get to know something about the subjective 'representations of social reality' which intervene between conditions in which social groups live, and the effects of these conditions on individual and collective behaviour. The history and the contemporary features of social, economic and other differences between social groups are reflected in the attitudes, beliefs and worldviews held by members of these groups. These 'subjective' effects of social conditions are reflected in turn in what people do, in how they behave toward their own group and toward others. The resulting forms of 'ingroup', 'outgroup' and 'intergroup' behaviour contribute, in their turn, to the present and the future of the relations between the groups (ibid: 3).

### **3.4 OUR COLONIAL LEGACY**

The story of colonialism is a story of change without historical precedent in its speed, global scope, and pervasiveness. It tells of European imperial dominance not as a temporary repression of subject populations, but as an irrevocable process of transmutation in which old desires and ways of life were destroyed and new ones took their place (Stocking, 1999: 314). European imperial expansion almost exterminated some populations wherever they settled with European diseases, war, starvation and cultural destruction. Descendants of the colonised, after centuries of appropriation and destruction of their civilisations, now need to free themselves 'from deeply ingrained, imperious habits of thought and behaviour' (ibid: 19). They now need to be regarded from their viewpoints, in interaction with other cultures.

#### **3.4.1 'Civilising' the 'Uncivilised'**

Most modern theorists did not believe that cultural diversity would disappear solely by the unintended consequences of progress. They held that it was the duty of a modern constitutional government to overtly assist the process and ensure in practice the consequences they predicted in theory. Accordingly, they 'reformed' backward citizens so that they acquired the manners and policy of a 'civilised and enlightened age', and became

fit members of a modern society (Tully, 1995: 87). Europeans justified British rule and cultural assimilation with the theory that it was their duty to spread European markets and constitutions to the 'uncivilised' because 'they provide the threshold for moral progress'. The non-European 'other' was considered so base that to prepare people for the superior life of a modern constitutional nation, it was necessary and beneficial to break down their ancient cultural ways and instil modern ones (ibid: 89). Techniques of reform were employed throughout the colonies to reduce the primitive customs of lower peoples and gradually 'civilise' them in the superior ways of the imperial societies (Colley, 1992 in ibid). The British colonisers saw themselves as enlightened guardians who were preparing lower, childlike and pre-consensual peoples for a superior, modern life, and in this way they could regard the destruction of other cultures with moral approval.

Larrain (1994: 141) states that these theories themselves are ideological in the sense that under the cover of respect for cultural differences, pluralism and relativism, they construct the 'other' as having so little to do with the European mainstream culture as to be inferior. The European cultural identity was considered to be rational and the centre where history was being made and it was able to place and recognise everybody else as peripheral. Europeans saw reason, knowledge and science as the keys to liberation, happiness and progress, and the world beyond Europe was conceived as the world of unhappiness, since (according to them) instrumental reason and science were not well developed there. Even broad-minded liberalists such as Marx, says Larrain (1994), saw European expansion abroad as inevitable and in certain respects necessary as it entailed conquest and destruction for the sake of progress. It is in this context that most theories of development, accompanied by their respective critiques of ideology, encountered and constructed the 'other' that had to be saved from its traditional pattern of backwardness and stagnation (Larrain, 1994: 141-142).

While the universalistic theories of modernity looked at the 'other' from the perspective of the European rational subject, thus reducing all cultural differences to its own unity, historicist theories looked at the 'other' from the perspective of its unique and specific

cultural set-up, thus emphasizing difference and segmentation. These theories have been the architects of current reprehensible attitudes of westerners toward non-westerners.

### **3.5 THE LIBERAL LEGACY**

Since the French Revolution, the liberal tradition of political thought has come to play a determining role in political discourse throughout the western world, and liberal ideals have fashioned state, social and economic systems creating the institutional framework and the values within which most westerners continue to live and to think (Bellamy, 1992; Johnston, 1994). Indeed, that tradition might now reasonably be described as hegemonic as it resonates within all notable aspects of occidental social life.

Liberalism (like Marxism) has emancipatory aspirations for humankind, and looks forward to the eventual emergence of a cosmopolitan world society; a global community in which transnational social bonds and universally held notions of peace, justice, equality and freedom define the conditions of human existence (McGrew, 1992). The traditional concerns of liberal political philosophy have been for the autonomy and self-determination of the individual, namely through the establishment and protection of civil and personal liberties, and through the guaranteeing of access to education, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, of artistic freedom, etcetera. (Gaus, 1983). In a mono-ethnic, monocultural society, achievement of these ideals are unproblematic, but in differentiated and complex modern societies these theories are inadequate, and cannot be adapted or extended to encompass the pluralism of the modern world (Bellamy, 1992). Any attempt to do so without reworking liberal thought to accommodate multi-ethnicity and multiculturalism, results in the kinds of conflict witnessed around the world today, rather than stability.

Theories such as liberalism are more than abstract renditions of social reality (Johnston, 1994). They constitute the scaffolding through which the cognitive architecture of the west has been constructed. As such, they become interpretive frameworks through which people understand their lives and which come to exercise a normative force on their sensibilities.

Such theories define for us the way the world ‘really is’. Theories arrange perceptions and filter information, and, in so doing, set agendas, signal ‘where to look’, and convey messages about the kinds of information that are and are not likely to be worth collecting. This filtering of information is an effect of power. According to Johnston, people who inhabit the liberalist mindset act so as to arrange the world in ways that the theory of liberalism directs.

### **3.5.1 Suppression of Difference for Individuality**

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, the adoption of the civic attitude that the liberal tradition attempts to engender through its cultivation of mutual respect amongst people, has become a valued ideal in its social life. This civic attitude of respect, as engendered by liberalism, is undoubtedly a laudable goal, however, the liberal method for doing this, through the adulation of a universalising identity such as *New Zealand citizen* or *morally responsible self*, suppresses the genuine differences within its society. Those whose identities or life styles lie on the borderlands of acceptability are required to deny significant aspects of themselves in a manner that is not required of those whose shared identity forms the template for social ‘normality’.

An important outcome of the liberalist perspective is that it produces a Janus-faced orientation toward individuality, both sides of which prevent an adequate recognition of the collective dimensions of individual identity. On the one hand, liberalism’s focus on individuality disassembles the similarities that exist between individuals and down-plays the social significance of characteristics which they share. On the other, liberalism exerts a levelling force on social life such that group differences are submerged in favour of a non-specific and universalizing sense of identity i.e. that we are (in some banal, generic sense) all the same. Both impulses thereby function so as to deny the existence of the collective identities that operate beneath the universalizing image of selfhood, identities that exist as a consequence of individual embeddedness within particular cultures, traditions, and systems of meaning. Instead, in New Zealand a tendency appears to equate ‘New Zealandness’ with individual liberty, over and above an association with ethnic heritage. This has led to the

adoption of a colour-blind approach in the treatment of ethnic difference. Positively, this highlights a sense of equality between individuals (as celebrated within traditional liberal philosophy) but, negatively, leads to a devaluation of socio-cultural difference.

A consequence of this colour-blind approach in the treatment of ethnic difference, as alluded to above, is that New Zealand journalists who inhabit this liberalist position do not appear able to consistently recognize ethnic variables in problems of violence, even when such matters are readily apparent to those from the ethnic minority communities involved. Emblematic of this is reportage of a celebrated case in which Arthur Harawira forcibly interrupted the book launch of Michael Morrissey's novel *Paradise to Come* at Auckland in July 1997. Leading media reports focused on the legal aspects of the case (North Shore Times September 25, 1997) and its implications for the protection of literary freedom (Heal, 1998), de-emphasizing the clash of cultural perspectives that gave rise to the incident (Tie, 1999: 1, 257-60).

The inability of journalistic reports to consistently acknowledge ethnic dimensions has, moreover, been compensated for by easy access to behaviourist explications of social life, as has been normalized by the hegemonic status of colonialist and liberalist frames of reference. The privileging of individual self-hood within liberalism and the denial of ethnic difference is authorized, in part, by the behaviourist social sciences that interpret social issues such as intimidatory practices in an individualised manner. The vitality of individualising discourses such as psychology, in turn, depends upon the success of liberalism and colonialism. They mutually constitute one another in a manner that neither discourse can openly acknowledge, without undermining their own legitimacy. To further stress the point being made in this thesis, the reverberation of colonialism and liberalism throughout New Zealand society obscures the social and cultural factors that are at work in the creation of social identities, generally, and non-acceptance and its manifestation in intimidatory practices, in particular.

### 3.6 THE IMPACT OF COLONIALISM AND LIBERALISM ON THE FORMATION OF INTERETHNIC RELATIONS

The traditional version of liberalism that has informed much political discourse in Aotearoa/New Zealand has come under sustained internal critique. Moreover, the manner in which this has occurred incorporates a strong criticism of colonialism. These critiques have emphasized the role that collective identity plays in the constitution of subjectivity, and have highlighted the legitimate role of governments in protecting the socio-cultural institutions through which individual self-hood forms (emblematic of these critiques are Bellamy 1992, Gaus 1983, and Kymlicka 1989). To this end, such interventions suggest that mutual dependence is more important than personal independence, and that cooperation should be privileged over competition, and that mutual appreciation ought to be encouraged over the pursuit of private enjoyment.

According to notable liberal theorist William Kymlicka (1989), liberalism can accommodate such insights because it has always, implicitly at least, included a broad account of the relationship between the individual and society. His contribution demonstrates that individuals gain their values and cognitive frameworks as much from their ethnic, religious, and linguistic communities as from the constitutional apparatus of the nation state. Consequently, any investigation of social life, particularly within societies with a diverse cultural base, must be cognizant of the socio-cultural factors through which individuality is constituted. The issue of social non-acceptance and its manifestation in intimidatory practices such as ethnic intimidation within our communities and schools, then, must be seen not only as a behavioural construct, but also as one that is redolent with cultural dimensions.

For those of non-European ethnicity, the suggestion that identity ought to contain an ethnic dimension might seem *passé*. The self-identification of 'ethnic' has long been required of them by virtue of the social processes through which European cultural dominance has been secured and maintained. The call for Europeans to identify as being 'ethnic' is highly problematic in contrast, in so far as it is not self-evident which values, images, or practices

will provide sufficient grounds for the creation of a specifically western mode of self-understanding. Indeed, at the same socio-historical moment as indigenous identity has begun to develop as a fulcrum for ethnic self-knowledge, the regulatory institutions through which western ascendancy and identity were previously assured (the Nation-state, Law, Science, Church) increasingly eviscerate (Touraine, 1989). The sovereignty of the nation-state, for example, is increasingly being diluted through the repositioning of nations within a growing network of trans-world governance (Scholte, 1999). Forced to negotiate with a variety of supra- and sub-national authorities, the nation-state is entering a *post-sovereign* condition whose impact upon nationalist identity and citizenship is far from clear.

In addition to the periodic crises in governance to which the post-sovereign condition of the nation-state might lead, the incremental demise of the authority of Nation-state, Law, Science, and Church raises practical questions about the ground upon which people of European descent might now *identify, live, and act* 'otherwise' (in non-racist ways, for example). The apparent post-modernity of social conditions, within which previous sources of social authority become less able to regulate social life, can be interpreted as giving rise to a certain optimism: social divisions which once proved insurmountable may be amenable to the levelling effects of other social dynamics, such as mass consumerism. In this vein, popular social movements that are based on radical theoretical positions, such as *post-colonialism* and *post-liberalism*, have become highly portable and marketable, especially within arenas such as the tertiary education sector (Reading, 1996:150-65). Moreover, an adherence to radical perspectives, such as post-colonialism, takes on the vista of a desirable attribute that any socially aware individual would want to possess.

This emerging marketability of radicalism conceivably signals the unfolding of an innovative source of change. At a time when the critical narratives of the past wane in their ability to command universal support (Marxism and nationalism being, perhaps, two of the most striking examples), consumer choice emerges as a dynamic that could open up 'new spaces' and break down 'existing structures of defence' against critical thought. Under this universalizing gambit of the global capitalist imperative, the institutions of liberalism and colonialism could conceivably be re-imagined as *discourses* that can be deconstructed,

reconfigured, and reinhabited in considerably altered forms. Moreover, for people of European descent, their successors (such as post-liberalism and post-colonialism) would emerge as critical frameworks that do not demand the taxing levels of ideological and moral commitment once required by Marxism, feminism, nationalism, and anti-racist theory. However, visible ethnic minorities, in particular indigenous activists such as Moana Jackson, contend strongly that neo-liberal and neo-colonial conditions still prevail. For them, the notion of 'post' suggests that the practices of domination associated with liberalism and colonialism have altered to the degree that the orthodox tools of analysis are no longer sufficient. They beg to differ, suggesting that the modes of domination remain essentially the same.

These 'new-generation' critical discourses might create innovative ideas for re-imagining shared social life by reworking the meaning of *propositional thought*, an important cognitive device through which theory has traditionally functioned. On the one hand, discourses such as post-liberalism and post-colonialism replicate the normative dimension of orthodox emancipationist theory in that they continue to gesture towards the superiority of particular politically-motivated propositions about social life (for example, that social divisions arising from patriarchy and colonialism are neither necessary nor desirable). The manner in which they do so has become quite circumspect, however, exemplified in calls (following Buber, Levinas, and Derrida) for a generalized and ethically inspired 'openness to Otherness'. This contrasts with the manner in which orthodox socialist, feminist, or anti-racist theory has often been highly prescriptive, dictating the manner in which members of a given social movement are to think and act. This orthodoxy, exemplified in the work of radical feminist Catherine McKinnon, has come under sustained criticism from 'new generation' critical discourses such as those of post-structuralist/feminist legal theorist Drucilla Cornell (Cornell, 1991). Moreover, this new generation of critical theory emphasizes the *sensual* manner in which discourse functions within the human subject. They highlight the manner in which such discourses *proposition* subjects, soliciting the socially aware self with promises of fresh liaisons with self-fulfilment, with new encounters in radicalist exhilaration.

Despite the questionable association that these radical critiques gain with the capitalist logic of production/consumption when they are positioned within the (increasingly) market-oriented tertiary education sector, these critiques have the potential to spawn a vibrant form of counter-hegemonic activity. This would be an ironic outcome, educationalist Bill Reading optimistically intimates, given that the market-imperative reduces radicalism to the status of a commodity, subjugating radical conceptions of social justice to the 'exclusive rule of exchange value' through which capitalist trade functions (Reading, 1996: 178). Where the resistive energy that is generated by these radical critiques is decoupled from the rationality of production/consumerism and is instead infused within a respect for Otherness, those critiques might conceivably become an important source of social change (ibid: 150-65). Liberalism may indeed contain the seeds of its own undoing.

### **3.6.1 Issues of Identity and Culture**

Colonialism and liberalism have had a negative impact on the notion of identity and culture for both the colonisers and the colonised. While non-European cultures and identities were denigrated because the non-European 'other' was considered to be at the lowest stage in a state of nature (Tully, 1995: 65), Europeans who were considered as being at the highest stage of human development defined themselves in relation to the 'other'. Moreover, by repudiating that 'other', the idea of 'us' as opposed to 'them' or 'others' became exaggerated. In this modern, enlightened period which is supposedly characterised by the liberal philosophy of individual equality and respect, the maintenance of a superior European identity which is measured against the inferiority of the ethnic 'other' is rendered problematic.

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, an attempt is made to overcome this problem by the construction of general categories of identity. Categories such as a non-specific *person* or *New Zealander* are preferred over categories that resonate with ethnic images (such as *Asian*, *Maori*, or *Pacific Islander*). The construction of such categories occurs through their repeated citation. The sub-text of such reiteration becomes 'We are all the same' or

'We are all New Zealanders'. This practice of repetitive mention does not have a fully-formed New Zealand identity or humanity as its point of reference (for, as sociologist Paul Spoonley indicates with reference to Aotearoa/New Zealand identity (Spoonley, 1990: 29-30), an overarching sense of selfhood such as this has never existed). Rather, it refers in an oblique manner to those forms of human being that the chosen category repudiates, specifically, ethnically derived forms of identity. To this end, *ethnicity* comes to refer to non-European identity, to that which European-ness is set against and is to surpass.

However, a general category of identity such as *New Zealander* is equally problematic because culture and identity are intertwined and neither can function without the other. Every item of culture, maintains Stocking (1999: 51), represents a value, fulfils a social function, and has a positive biological significance. For ethnic minorities, identity has become equally problematic, but for different reasons. The self-awareness generated by contact with western peoples has brought home the realisation that they are not the inferior beings that they were conditioned into believing. Their culture is an integral part of their identities; however, it is inferiorised by Europeans who convey this attitude to them through their denigration of these groups. They perceive cultural identity and differences as deficits (Hall, 1996), and apparently disregard and disrespect those who possess it.

A consequence of this attitude is social rejection of those who reside within the ethnic-culture paradigm. A further consequence is that visible ethnic minorities, who have internalised these notions about the inferiority of themselves and their culture, have attempted to conceal aspects of their culture and tradition in the belief that they were inferior. Their new-found knowledge about themselves has now empowered them to reject colonial notions of themselves and to renegotiate their cultural identities. They now wish to redefine themselves and find new ways of presenting themselves as equal players on a level playing field.

Yet another consequence of colonial attitudes is that contemporary theorists of modern constitutionalism continue to take their conclusions for granted as authoritative premises and traditions of interpretation. This kind of cultural imperialism continues in the current

view that assimilation to the dominant culture serves to provide a superior cultural context in which members of ethnic minority groups can better exercise their freedom of choice in modern societies (Tully, 1995: 91). Western researchers who are guided by colonialist principles, perpetuate the status quo by perceiving and treating cultural identity in the old essentialist way. However, the following discussion will demonstrate, with the help of existing literature, that cultural identity is a living, active concept that is integral to every human being, and that the old conception of identity is a product of colonialism, that has the effect of sustaining the status quo. The following chapters of the thesis will then continue to demonstrate that devaluation of this cultural identity has grave repercussions not only for its victims, but also for its perpetrators in terms of psychological well-being and ethnic and national harmony.

### **3.6.2 The Notion of Cultural Identity as ‘Aspectival’**

There are two possible ways of conceiving cultural identity, which are the essentialist and the historical (Larrain, 1994; Tully, 1995; Hall, 1996). The essentialist conception is narrow and closed, and represents cultural identity as an already accomplished fact and constituted essence. Most westerners, including New Zealanders, apparently still think of cultural identity in this way. This view of identity associates the ‘other’ and the experience of otherness with another culture. One’s own culture provides an identity in the form of a seamless background or horizon against which one determines where one stands on fundamental questions (whether this identity is ‘British’, ‘woman’ or whatever). Having an identity consists in being oriented in this essential space, whereas the loss of such a fixed horizon is equated with an ‘identity crisis’, with the loss of all horizons (Tully, 1995).

Modern theorists believe that the concept of identity is not essentialist, but historic (Larrain, 1994). Habermas (1992) perceives it as a ‘project’, Hall (1996) as ‘strategic and positional’, and Tully (1995) as ‘aspectival’. The identity, and so the meaning of any culture, asserts Tully, is thus ‘aspectival’ rather than essential. This historical conception is encompassing and open, and represents cultural identity as something which is being produced, always in process, never fully completed. According to Hall (1990: 225) this

conception of identity is a matter of becoming as well as of being, it belongs to the future as much as to the past, and is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Identities undergo constant transformation as they are constructed and reconstructed. They are not fixed in some essentialised past, but are subject to the continuous play of history, culture and power.

Consequently, cultures are not internally homogeneous. They are continuously contested, imagined and reimagined, transformed and negotiated, both by their members and through their interaction with others. Like many complex human phenomena, such as language and games, cultural identity changes as it is approached from different paths and a variety of aspects come into view. Cultures are now viewed as living, overlapping, interactive and internally negotiated. Tully believes that as a consequence of the overlap, interaction and negotiation of cultures, the experience of cultural difference and otherness is *internal* to a culture and to one's own identity, which consists in being oriented in an aspectual intercultural space (Tully, 1995: 13). The significance of this new conception of identity is that it demonstrates that the status of peoples and societies are not fixed and static, but always changing to accommodate changing circumstances. Consequently, the social positions occupied in the past are not fixed and embedded in that past history, but can be changed.

### **3.6.3 Negative Interethnic Contact and Intergroup Conflict**

A predictable and inevitable consequence of these subjective effects of colonialism and liberalism (discussed above) is negative interethnic contact and subsequent intergroup conflict. According to social contact theorists, positive ethnic attitudes develop out of positive interethnic contacts (Cohen, 1979; Pettigrew, 1973; Amir, 1976; Schofield, 1978; Byrne, 1961). But, contact per se does not ensure positive results, and may in fact confirm previous myths and stereotypes. Prerequisites for positive attitudes and interaction are as follows: equal status for minority members; a social climate that supports interethnic association; contacts that are sufficiently intimate to produce reciprocal knowledge and understanding between groups; and cooperative interaction aimed at achieving shared

goals. All reports, both empirical and anecdotal, point to a lack of these elements and to the inherent negative nature of interethnic contact (e.g. Ward *et al.*, 2001, 2002; Tully, 1995; Aronson, 1999; Shorish et al., 1993; Larrain, 1994).

It is believed that the openness to ethnic diversity or the 'stage of ethnic identity' of the people involved determines the nature of interethnic contact (Bennet, 1984). The *stage of ethnic identity* reflects the extent to which a person is comfortable with his or her ethnic identity, and is accepting of others with differing ethnic identities, i.e. openness to human diversity. Bennet and Banks (1979) are of the belief that stage of ethnicity and interethnic contact are interrelated. Positive interethnic contact is positively related to satisfaction and stage of ethnicity, which also predicts satisfaction. However, the stage of ethnicity of both groups must coincide for this to occur. If the dominant 'white' group is at a low stage of openness (ethnically encapsulated), which appears to be the case amongst many New Zealanders (from an ethnic minority perspective), social integration of ethnic minorities could be precluded.

Additionally, the attitudes of host groups determine whether contact will be positive or negative. Host groups are not passive observers of newcomers, but 'critical players' in the formation of interethnic relations and the adjustment process (Lambert & Taylor, 1990). A clear picture of attitudes of middle-class and working-class 'whites' toward non-'whites' is painted in the following investigation by these authors. Middle-class whites expressed 'a discernible degree' (slightly above the neutral point on the scale) of openness to newcomers and respect for heritage cultures. They believed that this 'suggests that the more advantaged white Americans may empathise and understand the plight of immigrant families' (ibid: 109) as they expressed a favourable perspective on issues dealing with multiculturalism. However, 'the line of tolerance was drawn at the idea of involving public schools' in language maintenance (ibid: 120), but for their own children bilingualism as developed through schooling was highly prized for its social, intellectual, and career related consequences. From an ethnic minority perspective, these results could simply suggest covert racism which is concealed with political correctness, and demonstrates an

employment of double standards when considering their own need for bilingualism. It is this covert racism of which many westerners are guilty that contributes to negative contact.

The white working-class parents were found to display 'a much more distant, unfriendly and unappreciative attitude toward multiculturalism and ethnic newcomers, with their attitude being 'negative to the point of disdainful' (ibid: 121). They assigned no favourable attributes to immigrants, and kept them at extreme social distances, including 'Blacks'. They were also 'strongly against' other cultures and language training, but saw 'substantial advantages' for their own children if they were to become bilingual. The authors state that 'the double standard implied appeared to pass without notice' (ibid: 121), (a double standard that they themselves did not notice with the middle class whites). Their values were also discordant and more at odds with middle-class whites, and they appeared 'racist in outlook, as though they were personally threatened by ethnic groups of all sorts' (ibid). They appeared to be 'a suspicious, unfriendly, and potentially threatened enemy of cultural and racial diversity'. However, they had very positive images about themselves whom they saw as being especially likeable, powerful, intelligent, law-abiding, non-violent, trustworthy, smart with practical things, and determined to succeed. It is possible that the attitudes displayed by working class respondents in their study are no different from those displayed by the middle class 'Whites', and that the only difference lies in their knowledge about political correctness and the ability of the middle class respondents to conceal attitudes that they know to be politically incorrect.

Not only do ethnic minorities now need to reconceptualise and renegotiate their identities, but members of the majority culture also need to reconsider their position within global societies. It is possible, however, that due to the effects of our colonial and liberal history on their psyches and the need to hold on to every vestige of power and the glories of the past, western host communities may be unable to develop the sense of awareness of self and others, and the empathy and acceptance needed to cultivate a healthy social climate for positive interethnic contact. The inevitable outcome of this will be continued negative intergroup contact, intergroup conflict and racism, and prolonged adverse psychological

effects for both groups. These effects are measured in this study and are presented in chapter seven.

### **3.7 THE PSYCHOLOGICAL MANIFESTATION OF RACIST INTERETHNIC RELATIONS**

Colonisation was part of an ‘essentially transnational and transcultural global process’ (Hall, 1996), which had a profound effect on all of its participants. The effects on the human psyche are manifold. Racist relations have manifested psychologically on both the descendents of the colonisers and the colonised in various ways because, suggests Hall (1996), colonisation was never simply external to the ‘societies of the imperial metropolis’, but was always inscribed deeply within the colonisers themselves, as much as it became indelibly inscribed in the cultures of the colonised. Psychological consequences pertinent to this study are discussed below.

#### **3.7.1 Supremacist and Eurocentric Ideology**

It has been proposed that colonialism has bequeathed ‘white’ people with a false sense of imperiousness by misleading them into believing that they are inherently superior and that non-white people are inherently inferior (Tully, 1995; van Dijk, 1993; Larrain, 1994). This hubris has dictated the nature of their interactions with such people. Liberalism has endowed them with egoism, sometimes to the point of self-annihilation. The combination of the two has often produced calamitous consequences for themselves and their non-white counterparts alike. The vicious cycle of supremacist and Eurocentric ideology has rolled on to produce further negative contact, which in turn has consolidated the notion of supremacy and Eurocentrism.

Until the nineteenth century, travelling scholars and philosophers reproduced a large body of Eurocentric beliefs, including derogating stereotypes and prejudices. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries such forms of ethnocentrism deteriorated into more explicit racist ideologies, supported by pseudo-scientific research into the difference, if not

the inferiority of non-white people. Ethnocentrism fulfils the functions of contributing to the continuation of the group as an articulate social entity, and for individual members, positively valued differentiations from others contribute favourably to their self-image and boost their self-respect. These accounts tend to focus on difference and not on similarities, and amount to saying: 'We are what we are because they are not what we are' (van Dijk, 1993).

It has also been suggested that European people's largely 'intolerant' and unaccepting attitudes toward other races, are based, in part, on a more generalised ethnocentric response rooted in an intolerance of social (and political) diversity, where groups who are different or who challenge the status quo are viewed with a degree of fear and loathing (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1992). Negative stereotypes are reflective of racial prejudice which is a reflection of an encompassing sort of ethnocentrism, and the consequence of these beliefs and attitudes is to perpetuate centuries-old inequalities between the races, and the feelings of superiority enjoyed by the perpetrators.

This Eurocentrism and racism are said to be also reflected in academic discourse, and the remnants of its ideological frameworks continue to be widespread in many contemporary political, social and cultural domains (van Dijk, 1993). Such institutional arrangements of scholarly hegemony, and their concomitant practices, are supported by deep and barely conscious ideologies about the supremacy of western science. van Dijk (1993) considers the term 'cultural difference' to be a less crude term of this ideological orientation. The argument in this thesis is that these ideologies continue to permeate many state and private institutions, and are consciously or unconsciously bequeathed to children. These ideologies are embodied in the attitudes and day to day activities of many professionals, lay-people and children alike, and are reflected in the racism experienced by visible ethnic minorities within these institutions, on the streets and in schools.

### 3.7.2 Power and Control

Ethnic control theory focuses on the control of ethnic minorities by the dominant group living within the nation, by dominating societal resources (Shorish *et al.*, 1993). The elements of an ethnicity theory specify certain dimensions found in the majority-minority sense of 'peoplehood'. Dimensions of ethnicity run along qualities like language, religion, race and culture that are often interlinked. But when different ethnic groups are bound within a national system, a psychological factor in terms of these ethnic qualities intervenes because acquiring an ethnic quality carries with it implications about groups' inherent rightness. Such a control theory specifies that those without a sense of ethnicity (like many western peoples) must lack respect or regard for those who have it, and those whose ethnicity controls society will question any need for more resources to carry out a different ethnicity that is perceived as threatening. The result lies in the ethnic superiority of those who control the distribution of resources.

It is not merely in the political system alone that maldistribution takes place when ethnicities conflict. The dominant ethnic group controls the process of religion, economic order, political life and education. On a larger scale, maldistribution is seen in how European nations have treated ethnic minorities. If the minority ethnic values are close to the majority, they end up being assimilated or isolated within the majority culture. If the two groups' ethnic views diverge sharply, the result may be a cultural separation in different structures or a colonial model shutting off participation in majority-controlled institutions, both of which occurred simultaneously (to ensure oppression) in South Africa for half a century.

Social theorists state that power is a constitutive dimension of all modern social relations, and is chronically and inevitably involved in social processes, and social struggles between classes, social movements and other groups are 'inscribed' into the organisation of society (Tully, 1995: 3; Giddens, 1995: 268). In any encounter between different ethnic groups and cultures, power and the control it avails to the holders of that power, is always involved, and the issue of cultural identity arises. Identity usually implies a degree of

continuity, an overall unity and self-awareness. Most of the time these characteristics are taken for granted, and the question of cultural identity becomes an issue only when there is instability and crisis and a perceived threat to the old-established way of life. Britain's cultural identity, for example, was formed in and shaped by the colonial process. Its imperial power has been eroded through the loss of empire. Western peoples are therefore afraid of losing any more power. A search for a new sense of identity 'which at points desperately tries to rekindle the past' is now seen, not only in the nation as a whole, but in individuals as well (Larrain, 1994: 154-156). This thesis considers that this need to rekindle the power and position of the past is manifested in intimidatory practices of Europeans against non-Europeans.

### **3.7.3 Racism**

Racism is the offspring of colonialism and liberalism. It is considered to be the psychological response of westerners toward non-westerners who they simultaneously perceive as inferior and a threat to their supremacy. The conflict generated by colonialism and liberalism has resulted in racism on a grand scale reflected on many levels in the community, the workplace and in schools. Racism is deeply rooted and persistent in western cultures (Harvey, 1988; Wiegel & Howes, 1985), but has only been recognized as such since the immigration of 'black' people brought the issue home (Lloyd, 1983). Modern racism, according to van Dijk (1998: 278), is no longer biologically based, but takes a more 'acceptable' form as cultural racism in which others are not vilified for what they are, but for what they do and think. This form of racism is essentially a social system of group dominance. In particular, it is a property of ethnic group dominance and is identified as the historically rooted dominance of 'whites' (Europeans) over 'others'. van Dijk's conception of racism also includes ethnicism, that is, a system of ethnic dominance based on cultural criteria of categorisation, differentiation, and exclusion, such as those of language, religion, customs or worldviews. The criteria of these are often inextricably linked.

Racist ideas, beliefs, feelings, attitudes and behaviour relating to race and skin colour are communicated to the young throughout the pre-adult years by parents, siblings, teachers, peers, the mass media, churches and other cultural agents (Furnham & Stacey, 1991). Various forms of modern, symbolic racism are also said to be widespread in academia. To mask and minimise the problem, western researchers (as well as ethnic minority researchers who feel obliged to follow suit) use terms such as ethnic and racial 'conflict' and 'antagonism' instead of more specific terms like racism (van Dijk, 1993: 195-196). Xenophobic incidents around the world in the past decade (see summary by this author, pages 2-4) serve to show that racism is very much alive and kicking. Countries around the world, including Aotearoa/New Zealand, constantly warn their peoples of crime by their ethnic minority immigrants, but racism is not categorised as a crime, so it is not targeted.

### **3.7.4 Ethnic Prejudice and Discrimination**

Another psychological manifestation of racist relations is ethnic prejudice and discrimination. Prejudicial and stereotyped conceptions that national groups and individuals hold with respect to each other stand in the way of understanding, at the personal, national and international levels. Many researchers agree that this may also contribute to international hostilities (e.g. Gilbert, 1951; van Dijk, 1993, 1998). Within a micro-sociological perspective, prejudice and the ways it controls our everyday talk at the same time exhibit, create and confirm such macro-sociologically relevant aspects as group conflicts, discrimination, dominance and racism at another level of analysis (van Dijk, 1983).

Social categorisation is often offered as an explanation for ethnic prejudice. To make sense of the complexity of the social environment, people purportedly categorise others into groups, which help them find their own place in the confusing network of social relationships. Such an explanation lends a noxious activity a benign appearance. This 'knowledge' that westerners have about non-westerners is associated with widespread negative stereotypes consisting of characteristics which are assigned to all and bind them together. Given that such categorisation is based on stereotypes that are usually negative,

and that these stereotypes have much of their origin in colonialism, it can hardly be accepted as a legitimate excuse for such behaviour.

Studies show that people who have negative feelings about and reject themselves, are likely to have negative attitudes toward others and to reject them, resulting in poor personal adjustment to others and their environment (Laishley, 1975; Verma, 1975). Accordingly, it is widely believed that prejudiced behaviour has its roots in anxiety, insecurity, alienation and low self-esteem in addition to other characteristics, and that individuals tend to shape their ethnic attitudes in such a way that they are consistent with whatever self-esteem they have. Such an interpretation considers prejudice to be a result of personal pathologies. However, psychological studies indicate that ethnic attitudes are complex and situation specific, hence, while intergroup prejudice is interlocked into the fabric of individuals' personalities (authoritarian), it is also enmeshed into their environments (Laishley, 1975). There is a direct relationship between human psychological functioning and the large-scale social processes and events which shape this functioning and are shaped by it (Tajfel, 1978). Consequently, prejudice is not just an expression of individual malaise or maladjustment, or inter-individual conflict, but an expression of certain structural properties of the broader society as well, which serve to create the categories in terms of which people sort out and evaluate the social relations around them (Tajfel, 1981).

The degree of prejudice experienced by visible ethnic minority individuals and groups is influenced by social norms, the individual's personality, environment, overt and covert values, self-esteem and other personal, situational and socio-cultural variables (Laishley, 1975). Given the historical background of colonialism to race relations, initial categorisation by ethnic group brings in its wake a heavy load of beliefs, expectations and reactions to an individual as a member of a specific group. Surprisingly, it is still customary to approach the problem of prejudice and discrimination from either a western or European perspective, the perspective of the discriminators, or a quasi-neutral 'observer' perspective, instead of from the point of view of the victims of interethnic prejudice. (van Dijk, 1983, Korzenny & Schiff, 1986). These authors assert that it is the ethnic minority members themselves who are at the receiving end of such treatment; therefore they will

know it when they see, hear or feel it. For this reason, they are the best observers of prejudice and discrimination (van Dijk, 1983) therefore their perspective needs to be taken into consideration. This study provides visible ethnic minority respondents with the opportunity to testify to their experiences of prejudice and discrimination which are usually denied by their perpetrators.

### **3.8 LANGUAGE AS A FOUNDATION FOR INTERETHNIC RELATIONS**

The social conditions within which people find themselves are in large part the outcome of human activity, and those who occupy positions of power have been known to manage conditions in ways that ensure the continuation of these positions (Fay, 1983). While it may appear that western 'powers' no longer colonise non-western countries and their peoples, they do continue to 'colonise' them psychologically. The manner in which this occurs, however, is more subtle, and is executed through policies such as bi-culturalism for example, that do not necessarily alter the balance of power in the significant areas of life, such as political and economic governance (Tauri, 1999). One of the most powerful ways in which the social world is 'colonised', is by the way in which knowledge about this world is filtered through language and communication.

#### **3.8.1 Western Discourses of Power**

With the demise of traditional forms of colonial conflict, western imperial power has produced new forms of conflict which involve new political languages, new powers, new social groups, new desires and fears, new subjectivities (Stocking, 1999: 323). Power is considered to be the medium of the realisation of collective human interests (Giddens, 1995: 215), and in modern times colonialism is sustained through the power of language and discourse. van Dijk (1998) declares that discourse has a special function in the expression, implementation and the reproduction of ideologies, since it is only through language use, discourse or communication that they can be explicitly formulated. These are legitimised and nurtured through western administrative systems and institutions which

reproduce the hegemonic discourse of colonial administrators. These western discourses of power are used to define and control social knowledge and the social order.

The language of modern constitutionalism, which has come to be authoritative, was designed to exclude or assimilate cultural diversity and justify uniformity (Tully, 1995: 58). Tully suggests that the design is difficult to see because this 'modern' language has become the customary way of thinking about, reflecting on and envisioning a just constitutional order. While masquerading as universal, Tully notes that this language is imperial in three respects: in serving to justify European imperialism, imperial rule of former colonies over Indigenous peoples, and cultural imperialism over the diverse citizens of contemporary societies. The words we use today to describe the 'other' and matters pertaining to that 'other' were coined by colonisers to relegate these peoples to the lowest strata of society and to perpetuate the status quo. Those terms and the uses of them have come to be accepted as the authoritative vocabulary for the description of the colonised 'other' over the last three hundred years. They were developed during the age of European imperialism, and served to legitimate it (ibid: 36-37).

Tully (1995) asserts that the first and often overlooked step in any enquiry into justice is to investigate if the language in which the enquiry proceeds, is itself 'just'. It is necessary to call into question and amend a number of unexamined conventions, inherited from the imperial age, that continue to inform the language used to describe non-western peoples and cultures, and their place in the global society. A significant change is required in the way of thinking about these issues, as well as about having to use the dominant, imperial, English language to describe such matters. Such a stance has always had the support of vibrant thinkers such as Habermas (1981), Taylor (1994), Tully (1995), and Hall (1996) who have sought to subvert that cultural dominance.

Habermas (1981) maintains that in contemporary capitalist/industrial societies communication has become the new form of legitimation for political power. However, the manner in which the instrumental nature of particular social structures (the capitalist economy and the State, particularly) has come to 'colonise' the 'lifeworld' (the world of

interpersonal interaction) has distorted communication. Habermas (1981) considers systematically distorted communication and the barriers to genuine discourse consensus as the real chains of humankind.

### **3.8.2 The Theory of Communicative Action**

The mechanism for manipulating the social world is described in Habermas' (1984) theory of communicative action and notion of communicative rationality, which concerns *speech oriented toward reaching understanding*. This theory of communication that draws on a formalist theory of linguistics and utilizes a consensual rather than a correspondence theory of truth has important implications for critical social theory because it can explain social action. It shows how communicative acts (verbal or non-verbal) take on the function of coordinating action, and thereby contribute to the construction of social interactions. A description of this process will facilitate comprehension of the argument that language and its mode of communication have the power to influence social outcomes.

Habermas believes that there are unavoidable presuppositions that guide linguistic exchanges between speakers and hearers in everyday processes of communication in any language. These presuppositions are about a commonly supposed system of worlds, the 'lifeworld', which is a kind of deep-seated, implicit, *background knowledge* including knowledge of the speaker's personal history or familiarity with the culturally specific contexts in which a topic is normally discussed (Habermas, 1984). In the background of the lifeworld, which embodies cultural reproduction, social integration and socialisation (Outhwaite, 1994); knowledge of the world and knowledge of language are integrated. The background knowledge of the lifeworld forms the indispensable context for the communicative use of language, and without it meaning would be impossible.

The concept of communicative action is based on and supplemented by this concept of the shared lifeworld of participants. When participants in communication refer to objects or states of affairs in the world, they are situated within the horizon of this intersubjectively shared lifeworld about which they have knowledge which is culturally transmitted and

linguistically organised (Outhwaite, 1994). The social space of this lifeworld inhabited in common provides the key to the conception of society proposed by the theory of communication. Communicative action is hence dependent on *situational contexts*, which represent segments of the lifeworld of the participants in interaction, i.e. our knowledge concerning particular aspects of our world has to be linguistically organised using a formal language before it can be communicated. *Knowledge* is therefore intrinsically of a linguistic nature (Habermas, 1998: 311).

The dimension of *validity* (i.e. the truthfulness of the knowledge being imparted) is inherent in language. Everyday linguistic interaction is primarily a matter of raising and responding to validity claims about knowledge. There are a number of validity claims: a claim to the truth of what is said or presupposed, a claim to the normative rightness of the speech act in the given context, a claim to the truthfulness of the speaker, (Ibid, 1998: 3). In communicative linguistic expression all these claims are raised simultaneously, but in a typical exchange just one of the claims is raised explicitly, and the others remain *implicit presuppositions* (background knowledge) of understanding the utterance. Accordingly, in the context of interaction between western and non-western peoples, communication does not have to be explicitly racist for its implicit racist connotations to be understood.

The idea of universal validity claims has implications for language and social theory. It proposes that language has an in-built connection with validity claims (about the truthfulness of knowledge) thereby giving rise to a proceduralist conception of *social order* (which makes no claims to prescribe or evaluate the content of any given order) as reproduced through communicative action, i.e. knowledge about the world is disclosed through language.

The significance of Habermas' proposition for this study lies in the support it provides for the theory that the social order prevalent today (i.e. the nature of the interaction between western and non-western peoples), continues to be 'colonised' by the instrumentalism of western administrative logic which (through technologies and organisation) 'reifies' knowledge into pseudo-objectivist forms which are supposedly independent of human

production and purpose (Habermas, 1998). However, knowledge is related to action, and there is an intimate connection between the ideas that we have and the sort of life that we lead. Our knowledge about social life affects our living of it. Accordingly, the purpose of knowledge gained from social science is to enable people to control their social environment, thereby making it more harmonious and congruent with the needs and wants of its members (Fay, 1983: 19). Scientific study provides *objective* knowledge of how events or properties of systems are related, and provides us with the power requisite for the task of social control.

In modern industrial societies, there is an inherent tendency to support the dominant elements in the social order. When social systems are rooted in dominant-submissive social relations of this sort, to strengthen and reinforce this type of social relationship, appropriate knowledge conducive to the support of these systems must be provided (ibid: 20). In multi-ethnic societies where western peoples are dominant and seek to control non-western peoples, knowledge is not always objective and truthful. *Subjective* knowledge about the inferior status of non-western peoples is used to provide western peoples with power to control and dominate them and support the status quo. This knowledge is communicated through distorted language designed by colonisers, which, this thesis contends, plays a pivotal role in maintaining the present social order between westerners and non-westerners.

Within this dominant-submissive system, basic social relations are taken to be 'objectively required' and thus given an independent status; consequently, members of the dominated group are not able to see that this domination is not necessary but only conventional (Fay, 1983). Their language and understanding of themselves and their society consists of concepts which reflect this illusion about which they know nothing because they have neither the language nor the perspective to discuss their truer relationship, and they believe that this inegalitarian relationship *has to be that way* because it is natural and 'given'. They cannot see the dominance as 'coercive or thwarting' because they have become 'prisoners of a set of ideas which lends seemingly rational, if implicit, support to these inegalitarian social institutions' (ibid: 63). If they do not somehow come to see this dominant-

submissive social structure as repressive, they have no reason to expect that it would disappear. This is because social relations are conceptual relations (defined and regulated in terms of duties, rights, roles etcetera) which form part of a cultural tradition of communication. Until different concepts are employed for speaking about subject positions and social relations, there can be no emancipation from an oppressive society (Fay, 1983: 62-63). In all these social processes language, whose distortion protects the interests of the dominant group, has been an important vehicle through which the desired social order has been reproduced and maintained.

### **3.8.3 Language of Social Control**

Habermas (as does Humboldt (1963 in *ibid*) and Taylor (1991 in *ibid*), and Fay, 1983) recognises that social interactions of all types are mediated by language because language has a world-disclosing function i.e. it interprets the world for people, and allows what is in the world to appear there in a certain way. 'World-disclosure' means for these authors that language is the constitutive organ of thought, of social practices and of experience, and also of the formation of ego and group identities (Habermas, 1998: 191). From a rationalist perspective, this will therefore mean that the way people perceive their worlds, and the identities they form will be determined by the language used to describe them and their worlds.

Some of the symbols of everyday language that legitimise and maintain the oppression of ethnic minorities are the labels that are casually attached to such peoples. Labels are usually encountered in the form of stereotypes which are the cognitive categories people use when thinking about groups and about individuals from those groups (Ashmore *et al.*, 1981 in Jussim *et al.*, 1995). The labels attached to ethnic groups reflect the interpretations, evaluations, beliefs or judgments of these different targets by their users, and applying a label to a target also influences how perceivers judge and evaluate that target (Jussim *et al.*, 1995). However, marginalised groups have been able to develop considerable social power through 'overidentifying' with the very labels that were intended to deride them (e.g. Nigger, Queer, Slut) (Zizek, 1997), or by social creativity such as the re-evaluation of

existing labels which carry an unfavourable connotation (e.g. 'Black is beautiful') (Tajfel, 1978). In Žižek's terms, the political goal becomes that of 'traversing the fantasy' which sustains the pejorative viewpoint. Re-articulation of the caustic labels and a refantasing of identity using those labels (e.g. Queer) bring about progressive forms of subjectivity. Despite this creative ability of marginalised groups, the use of language that reflects positive attitudes and behaviours needs to be encouraged in order to ensure favourable evaluations of people that may lead to positive interethnic relations.

An analysis of a few significant core concepts that, from an ethnic minority perspective, have consolidated the colonial fantasy, and have been used to misrepresent global social relations and to encourage (perhaps inadvertently) negative relations, is undertaken below. The concept of ethnicity has already been examined in chapter one.

### ***'Assimilate'***

It is common practice to use the word 'assimilate' to describe the process of change that non-western immigrants must undergo when they enter a western society. This suggests that they must be absorbed into and made like the new system. For this to happen, it is expected by western societies that peoples of different cultures must change their culture to fit in with western culture. This expectation is based on the Eurocentric belief that western cultures are superior to all other cultures. Clearly, its usage in this context is the product of colonialism. Whilst those who understand the concept of assimilation avoid its use and choose to use the word 'integrate' instead, the large majority of people are not aware of its decline in favour and continue to use it. By using it they not only display ignorance about the (supposed) change in attitude, but also their preference in terms of relations with ethnic minorities. (It is assumed that those who have a change in attitude would be aware of the change in terminology.) The continued use of this word is hurtful and insulting to non-western ethnic minorities. People must accordingly be made aware of the negative connotation of the word, and its use should be discouraged.

### ***'Tolerate'***

All writers in the area of interethnic relations, including supposedly well-informed theorists and philosophers, continually use the word *'tolerance'* instead of *'acceptance'* when talking about the desired attitude and response that western peoples should have toward the non-western ethnic 'other'. In the light of the discussion of the language of colonialism in chapter one and above, this usage suggests a particular mindset of westerners toward ethnic minorities and multiculturalism. The very use pre-empts an attitude, one which is negative rather than positive. It automatically transports the user to a frame of reference that includes distance and civility, even political correctness, but not acceptance. It suggests to ethnic minority readers that they are inferior and must therefore be 'put up with' or endured. The language we use determines our attitudes and behaviours. The use of the word 'tolerance' in relation to the ethnic 'other' clouds the judgement of the user and throws a negative light on the relationship.

Even non-western writers use the word 'tolerance' in place of 'acceptance'. This could display ignorance on their part of the connotations of the word, and/or a blind acceptance of the language of westerners who are purported to know better (a result of the internalisation of their dominant social status by non-westerners). Its effect on ethnic minority users can only be a consolidation of their inferior status in the eyes of the western world. The denotation of the word tolerate is: endure (suffering etc.), permit, forbear to judge harshly or rigorously (The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1964), and other such negative denotations. The current usage in terms of other peoples is clearly a contrivance of colonialism, and describes the negative attitudes held by colonisers toward the colonised 'other'. The word brings with it a host of negative connotations associated with inferiority. It represents linguistic domination - a colonising of the mind. Our diction needs to be considered more carefully in our effort to promote better ethnic relations. Hopefully, constant use of the positive term 'acceptance' will eventually ameliorate attitudes.

### ***'Melting Pot'***

The metaphor of the 'melting pot', which is widely used in Aotearoa/New Zealand by journalists, politicians and lay-people alike, signifies an assimilationist approach to diversity. It projects to users of the term the notion that all distinct cultures and identities must be sacrificed in favour of some nebulous condition in which all are presumably 'equal' in their cultural indigence. The enlightened amongst those who are expected to jump into this 'melting pot' are left with a deep sense of enormous loss. The only outcome of such a situation would be a prolonged period of grieving and conflict from which nobody with a distinct sense of self could possibly recover, and which could only engender more conflict and grieving. The view that the use of this metaphor needs to be discouraged so that its concomitant mindset can be eradicated is supported by social theorists such as McGrew (1992) who believes concepts such as the 'melting pot' are obsolete.

The influence of colonialism is still evident, even in academic work. Whilst this may often be inadvertent, the possibility that some academics may be voluntarily under its influence, is an unsavoury 'reality'. These fortuitous or wilful effects keep the colonial connection alive. Some western researchers, however broadminded in their views, appear to display vestiges of colonial attitudes toward ethnic minorities (perhaps subconsciously), which can often be detected in their work. For example, Ward *et al.* (2001) in their brilliant review of intercultural contact, report Paige and Martin (1996) as listing the KSAs (knowledge, skills, abilities and attitudes) desirable for culture trainers as being personal characteristics such as self-awareness, 'tolerance' for ambiguity, and cognitive and behavioural flexibility; past cross-cultural experience; motivation; interpersonal and communication skills; and knowledge of the field. They add 'respect for the local culture' as also 'a *desirable* trait' (not an imperative trait!) 'as it is increasingly being recognised that intercultural training has ethical implications, in particular with respect to the consequences of the asymmetrical power that often characterises the relationship between trainers and trainees' (ibid: 268). This begs the following question: would they not include respect for the local culture if there were no perceived ethical implications? It is apparent from this that the reasons for making adjustments to ethnic minorities are influenced by ulterior motives which are self-

protecting, as alluded to above. Self-interests are apparently more important than the interests of the ethnic minorities concerned, and the wider interests of the global community.

Given the immense social, as well as political, influence that academics have in the formulation of ideology in all societies, it is crucial that they develop an awareness of any latent influences or tendencies that may colour their perceptions.

In this same vein, Lambert & Taylor (1990: 73) provide some useful insights into coping with diversity. However, they found the responses of their Albanian and Arab respondents, because of the more extreme stands they took, to be indicative of not having adjusted to American norms, saying: 'For example, they are totally committed to heritage culture and language maintenance, almost with a zeal. Both groups also have an extremely favourable self-image, one that seems exaggerated...' They interpreted their desire to maintain their culture, and emphasis on achievement, as an indication of maladjustment, and considered their values to be 'deviations from the American value norms', and perceived 'these un-American features of the perspectives of the Albanian and Arab parents... to reflect a confusion regarding what they should do to accommodate to American life, possibly attributable to their more recent arrival'. They also found that the Albanians and Arabs contributed to intergroup tensions in the community, 'possibly because they lack knowledge of American value norms on intergroup relations' (Lambert & Taylor, 1990: 73).

Additionally, like a very large number of Europeans, these authors apparently consider ethnicity to be a defining characteristic of only non-Europeans. Consequently, they speak in terms of 'language' as being foreign languages exclusive of English, and 'ethnic' as referring to non-European peoples (Lambert & Taylor, 1990: 53). One of the points being made in this thesis is that we are all ethnic, accordingly, all our languages including English, are culturally significant to all speakers of those languages, hence all the languages spoken within multicultural societies should be awarded equal status.

Furthermore, Sprinthall and Collins (1995: 52) in their informative and useful work on adolescent psychology, state that ‘the terms ethnic group and minority group actually refer to collections of people from diverse racial and cultural heritages. The broad category of Asian, for example, includes members of diverse national, racial and tribal groups which have distinct cultural traditions’. Implicit in this definition is the belief that ethnic groups are minority groups and that majority groups, which usually refers to the European societies of western researchers, are not ethnic.

In their discussion of their Interactive Acculturation Model which takes account of the dynamic interplay of host community and immigrant acculturation orientations, Bourhis *et al.* (1997) reflect a broadmindedness that many western researchers lack. However, although this broadmindedness is evident in their consideration of the possibility of reciprocal influence between hosts and immigrants, the influence of a residual colonialist mindset is ever present. While they recognize that ‘dominant host members *do* influence the acculturation strategies of immigrants’, they consider the possibility that immigrants ‘*may* also affect the orientations of the hosts’ (my italics). That there *must* or (more acceptably and less prescriptively) *should* be mutual influence does not appear to be an option. (From an ethnic minority perspective, this has nothing to do with exercising power, but is all to do with reciprocity – with the idea of mutuality, togetherness, acceptance and sharing – attributes that *should* characterise all relationships on both micro and macro levels).

Typically, most western researchers also use western norms as the standard by which others are measured.

These are just a few examples of the invisible hand of colonialism indefatigably at work.

#### **3.8.4 Language as a Foundation for Building Positive Interethnic Relations**

It has been suggested above that language has come to play an important role in the reproduction of contemporary social life because communication is an integral part of social relations, and the nature of communication between groups strongly influences the

nature of their social relations. It has also been posited with the assistance of Habermas' theory of communicative action that language has played a pivotal role in interethnic relations, and has functioned and continues to function as a foundation for negative interethnic relations. Habermas asserts that knowledge has the potential to facilitate communication in the 'lifeworld'. This thesis has maintained that the present social order in the context of western and non-western interaction has been shaped by negative portrayals of non-western peoples through distorted communication. The worldviews of many westerners consequently include notions about non-westerners as being uncivilised, backward and inferior, inter alia, and, most significantly, lacking rationalist foundations for their cultures. This notion is consolidated by the language used and the world that is disclosed by that language, and has facilitated negative communication which has resulted in unfavourable social relations.

However, Habermas (1998) also maintains that communication is a learning process, and that we can learn to communicate in a way that is not distorted. Additionally, he believes that language has an emancipatory potential as the very constitution of language provides the possibility of universal understanding because through undistorted communication the *truth* can be created. But, whether our language of communication is distorted or emancipatory depends on what the prevailing social conditions foster. Power and ideologies which claim to be 'objective', 'scientific', and capable of fixing meaning, plus social and cultural context, determine the interpretation of language. However, meaning cannot be fixed, therefore it can be changed. Accordingly, language could be used as a foundation for building positive interethnic and intercultural relations. Although this idea that language and communication can function as a foundation for an inclusive form of politics is generally considered to be contestable (Callinicos, 1994; Outhwaite, 1994), its possibility is recognised by other theorists as well (Humboldt, 1963; Taylor, 1991).

A significant aspect of Habermas' argument is that knowledge is always produced dialogically (in conversation with others), and never by individuals in isolation. As such, social order would always be in the process of development, and its evolution could be guaranteed (and its calcification prevented) by the participants in the conversation adhering

to the 'procedures' for dialogue that are implied by universal validity claims. Given the linguistic nature of knowledge (knowledge is established through speech acts), and that social interactions are mediated by language (which in turn gives rise to conceptions of social order which are evolutionary in nature), undesirable social orders can be changed through alterations in the language platforms through which they are reproduced. Given that social life is as much linguistic as it is behavioural in its constitution, a social order could be *refashioned* and *reproduced* through the modification of the language that constitutes our thoughts, social practices, experiences, egos and group identities, given that it is the realm of language which discloses to the individual subject their world to them. If such a possibility exists, then all that the peoples of the world need to do is take up this challenge.

### **3.9 SUMMARY**

This chapter reviewed the literature on the social acceptance of visible ethnic minorities, tracing it from research on interracial contact to current work on intercultural contact and acculturation, which are guided by theories from social, developmental, personality, cross-cultural, and health psychology. They consider intercultural contact to be inherently problematic and seek explanations for negative contact in the major contemporary theories of culture learning, stress and coping, and social identification. The view is expressed that these theories make valuable contributions to understanding human behaviour, but do not completely explain negative interethnic and intercultural contact.

The gap in this work is identified as being the failure of these investigations to look into the history of intercultural contact for possible explanations of negative contact. While some western researchers have recognised the need to consider historical influences on contact, none has investigated the effect of initial contact between European colonisers and non-European cultures on current relationships between these groups. Additionally, none has considered the effects of liberal philosophy on these relationships. A few ethnic minority researchers have examined colonial influences on ethnic minorities and some researchers have considered liberalism's influences on people.

The chapter then proposes that our colonial and liberal history may provide the missing link in the explanations for negative interethnic contact, in particular, for contact between visible ethnic minorities and western peoples. It continues with a discussion of colonialism and liberalism and their impact on modern constitutionalism, values, ideologies, culture and identity, intergroup contact and intergroup conflict, and on the lives of local New Zealanders. The psychological manifestations of racist interethnic relations are considered including Eurocentricism, power and control, racism, prejudice and discrimination. Finally, language as a foundation for present negative interethnic relations is discussed, and the possibility of using language as a foundation for building positive interethnic relations is considered.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## TOWARD AN ANALYSIS OF INTIMIDATORY PRACTICES WITHIN SCHOOLS

*You never really understand a person till you consider things from his point of view – till you climb into his skin and experience things the way he does*

(Harper Lee: To Kill a Mockingbird)

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, the effects of colonialism and liberalism on our worldviews, conceptions of self and responses to ethnic diversity were discussed. This chapter considers the effects of colonialist and liberalist assumptions on research into intimidatory behaviour and the conceptual tools used in the development of research methodologies for the study of 'bullying'. It examines and provides a critical analysis of school ground intimidation, or bullying, as it is a key indicator of social non-acceptance in schools. Where the social non-acceptance of visible ethnic minorities is concerned, it is proposed that this form of bullying should be considered as a form of *ethnic intimidation* as, from the ethnic minority perspective, ethnic difference plays a constitutive role in the development of intimidatory behaviour amongst school pupils in multi-ethnic school settings. Existing sociological and psychological literature which informs the construct of intimidatory practices is reviewed in terms of interethnic relationships at school.

### 4.2 DEVELOPMENT IN CONCEPTIONS OF BULLYING

Studies of intimidatory practices amongst school children have flourished since the late 1970s and early 1980s. What is now considered benchmark research on bullying behaviour was initiated in Scandinavian countries in the latter part of the 1970s (Olweus, 1978, 1984. Also refer to 1991a, 1991b, 1995), from which time it gained momentum. This interest in the phenomenon of bullying apparently started in Sweden in what appears to be a context

of ethnic discrimination. A subsequent examination of circumstances at the time has revealed that the increase in bullying in schools, and its recognition as a significant problem that needed addressing, coincided with the influx of large numbers of visible ethnic minority immigrants into the country, although bullying behaviour was not initially perceived in this context. Exemplifying this, in his research into bullying in Norway, Dan Olweus (1978) identified the key elements of bullying as being an imbalance of power, negative actions (aggressive, intentional, harm-doing, physical, psychological, exclusion), and repeated actions. He perceived bullying and violence (physical) as subcategories of aggression, with an overlap between bullying and violence. His later 1983 Norwegian study moved beyond these simple behavioural categories to measure the percentage of immigrants, amongst others, suggesting an investigation of ethnic issues. However, despite these ethnic contexts, consideration of an ethnic element remains underdeveloped in his work and does not seem to be apparent in his definition of bullying. Whilst his studies focussed on behavioural issues, it is apparent that there is a need to recognise that 'ethnicity' can emerge as a significant explanatory factor. From an ethnic minority perspective, the primary focus on behavioural dimensions of bullying may be explained in terms of the colonialist and liberalist influences that have impacted on our society. The effect of these influences has been that the ethnic dimension has not received the consideration that it should. All subsequent research on bullying (until very recently), which started a decade later in Europe, England, Japan, the United States, and Canada, and in Australia and New Zealand in the early 1990s, has been guided, and perhaps constrained somewhat by behavioural constructions of bullying and intimidation.

At a generalized level, these studies all indicate that bullying is quite widespread in schools, affecting a significant proportion of children. The foci of the majority of these studies have reflected assumptions about the descriptive characteristics of bullying in so far as they have focussed on intra and inter-personal characteristics (Moore, Adair, Kruiswijk & Lysaght, 1997) including the incidence of bullying, the gender and personality-types of perpetrators, and the apparent dimensions and determinants of aggressive behaviour. Reflecting an apparently liberalist mindset, most of this research has equated the activities of 'bullies' with specific (deviant) characteristics of their individuality. Their apparent goal

has been, usefully, to guide teachers, counsellors, parents and pupils on the immediate management of intimidatory situations and their perpetrators (e.g. Quon, 2001; Tattum & Herbert, 1993; Johnstone, Munn & Edwards, 1992; Rigby & Slee, 1992; Elliot, 1991; Smith & Thompson, 1991; Arora, 1994; Dale, 1991; Olweus, 1991a, 1991b; O'Moore & Hillary, 1991; Stephenson & Smith, 1988). Most Australian literature (which strongly influences New Zealand research), reflects these patterns in which bullying is represented in individualist terms. However, recent works by Rigby (1999) in Australia and Lösel and Bliesener (1999) in Europe have added a new dimension to these behavioural studies by going beyond description and investigating the effects and impacts of bullying on children. This latter research thereby acknowledges and draws attention to the significant psychological repercussions of such practices on victims.

Within the context of Aotearoa/New Zealand, the study of school ground intimidatory practice is still in its infancy. Indeed, until very recently (a period which coincides with the influx of visible ethnic minority immigrants into the country), such intimidatory practices have not been seen as problems that warrant closer investigation (Hird, 1997). Most literature reflects studies that are limited to surveys and other forms of descriptive analyses conducted by academics and professional and governmental agencies that evaluate either the prevalence of bullying in our schools (Adair, Dixon, Moore & Sutherland, 2000; Galbraith, 1997, 1998; Maxwell & Carroll-Lind, 1996, 1997; McMillan, 1995; Doherty, 1994; Cram, Doherty & Pocock 1994; Kearney, 1993; Special Education Services, 1993; Primary Principal's Federation Survey 1992) or the effectiveness of intervention programmes (Moore, Adair, Kruiswijk & Lysaght, 1997; Sullivan, 1997; Carr, 1995). These studies indicate that a similar pattern of bullying exists in Aotearoa/New Zealand as in other western countries. They also portray bullying as a 'hidden curriculum' that conditions children to accept aggressive interaction (TV3, 1999). The Office of the Commissioner for Children has, in addition, revealed that New Zealand schools harbour a distressing number of 'bullies', making young people in Aotearoa/New Zealand more likely to be bullied than children in other western countries. In this same vein, the Office of the Commissioner indicates that three out of four children are bullied every year. Similarly, according to the Ministry of Education, the number of young people assaulting

others has nearly tripled in recent years, with bullying-related suspensions increasing by more than one hundred over the last year.

The few efforts to eliminate violence in schools were either inadequate or encountered problems (Carr, 1995). In response to these issues, the Special Education Service in Manakau North (now Group Special Education) decided to address the issue of violence from a system level perspective rather than an individual perspective (ibid.). They designed a pilot programme which integrates the effective aspects of other intervention techniques into a socially oriented change effort. It was intended to address the issue of violence (and, indirectly, bullying, which is a subset of violence) from a 'whole school' perspective, involving staff, pupils and the immediate community (ibid: 12). Pupil responses indicated a widespread recognition that violence resulted from social rather than personal factors, and only a very small number of individuals perceived anti-social behaviour to result from inherent personality traits (ibid: 61).

Carr's evaluation of the pilot programme recognises that it was based on 'Pakeha values' even though 'many of the teachers came from Maori or Polynesian ethnic backgrounds' (1995: 68), and that individual differences such as 'diversity in background and culture' (ibid: 67) were not taken into account. However, even though the programme has a pro-social orientation, neither it nor the evaluation report appears to recognise the ethnic component of intimidatory behaviour. With the permission of the original authors, the researcher undertook a review of these Special Education Service (1993) surveys concerning the incidence and type of bullying across the school population. The review showed that there was considerable evidence of ethnic dimensions that may not have been apparent to the original researchers. In survey 1, for example, an average of 41 percent across all respondents reported being intimidated because of their 'race/colour', and in survey 2, a total of 76 percent of pupils who identified as being of a minority culture reported having been intimidated because of their ethnicity. More significantly, these surveys gesture toward the existence of ethnic intimidation within intimidatory practices that occur amongst school pupils, and provide some important indicators concerning the ethnic dimension that warrant further analysis. Moreover, the evaluation report on this

eliminating violence programme (Moore *et al.*, 1997) recognises the significance of cultural dimensions in intimidatory practices in its recommendation of a study to investigate cultural perceptions of violence. However, this report like the report on the pilot programme does not directly propose the concept of ethnic intimidation. They all do, nonetheless, point to the need for more focussed studies to consider the ethnic dimension and its association with intimidatory practices.

A prevailing effect of this repeated representation of bullying in behavioural terms has been the absence, till very recently, of a sustained consideration of the roles that social differences - including ethnicity - play in the constitution of intimidatory behaviour. It minimizes the social dimensions of the subjectivity of bullies, and of the contouring effects of ethnic relations on their behaviour. The consequence of this liberal mindset is that studies conducted within obviously mixed-ethnic contexts in which ethnic issues would be highly significant situational factors influencing both teachers and pupils, fail to take into account the possibility that ethnic factors might be at play. To this end, the present research was undertaken in order to do a situational analysis of social acceptance of minority students and especially, to consider the ethnic dimension of bullying and intimidation.

#### **4.2.1 Social Context and Ethnicity in Intimidatory Practices**

Gesturing in the kind of analytical direction being taken in this present work, there is a useful body of literature that addresses the social dimensions of class and gender in violence (e.g. Verma, 1986; Bagley, 1982; Connell, 1987; White, 1995), or emphasises preventative social approaches to bullying (e.g. Thompson, Arora & Sharp, 2002; Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla, Ruan, Simons-Morten & Scheidt, 2001; Espelage, Bosworth & Simon, 2000; Eslea & Mukhtar, 2000; Barbarin, 1999; Fried & Fried, 1996; Boulton, 1995; Loach and Bloor, 1995; Smith & Sharp, 1994; Tattum & Herbert, 1993). More significantly, Barbarin (1999) has considered bullying in the context of social risks to psychological adjustment (such as bullying, destructiveness and social rejection); and Espelage, Bosworth and Simon (2000) have suggested that current bullying prevention efforts should be

modified to focus beyond individual behaviour change and include an assessment of the socio-cultural factors that may be contributing to this (ibid: 332), thereby acknowledging the importance of environmental factors in bullying behaviour. The very recent British work of Ainscow (2001), in special education, has demonstrated an awareness of cultural and social influences and is leading the way in terms of mapping the development of inclusive practices in education systems. On the positive side, this literature highlights the importance of social context in the interpretation of bullying and other forms of intimidatory behaviour.

Only recently has the significance of ethnicity in intimidatory practices begun to be recognised. Junger's Netherlands study in 1990 was amongst the first to suggest the possibility of growing 'racially-motivated' violence. Junger (1990) applied Olweus' research on bullying to the question of 'racial harassment', and showed that there is a 'racial' dimension to the 'larger picture of "bullying"' which was demonstrated by responses of ethnic minorities who mentioned being bullied more often due to their ethnic background. However, she suggests that ethnicity is not the sole or predominant attribute of bullying appearing in 'multiracial' settings (ibid: 65), and that it is a myth that 'youths are harassed because in some way they differ (or deviate) from other youths, especially because of the way they look or talk' (ibid: 67). Consequently (and supported by Olweus' (1978) finding that being from an ethnic minority group or speaking with a foreign accent does not relate to being 'harassed'), she attributes such harassment only to individual, pathological characteristics of the bully, and not to the social order that empowers those with such tendencies to abuse those who are considered to be inferior. She does, nonetheless, question whether ethnic abuse and abuse because of other physical attributes carry different levels of intimidation and whether victims suffer more from the one than from the other, signalling simultaneously the existence of the phenomenon of ethnic intimidation and an apparent lack of adequate conceptual tools for its identification and analysis.

A substantial addition to the research field has been made by authors such as Ahmed and Smith (1994), Loach and Bloor (1995), Boulton (1995), Emery, Hayes and Parlet (1999),

Eslea and Mukhtar (2000), and Nansel *et al.* (2001) who recognise the 'racist' nature of some forms of bullying. Loach and Bloor (1995), for example, have suggested that many acts of bullying are actually racism which is being seen in a simplistic way when subsumed under the umbrella of bullying. In their study of gender differences in bullying, Ahmed and Smith (1994) found evidence of 'racist bullying' amongst British pupils with around one quarter of those who had been called names, having been called them about their colour. Similarly, Boulton's (1995) study that looked more specifically at the bullying experienced by ethnic minority children, found that 80 percent of the Asian children had been teased about their race or colour by white children, and only 33 percent of the white children had been racially teased by Asians. The overall picture was of largely separate social interactions for Asian and White children. Eslea and Mukhtar's more recent (2000) investigation of the bullying experiences of Asian schoolchildren in Britain also found evidence of 'racist bullying', and found bullying between members of the same ethnic group to be comparatively rare. In Australia, Emery, Hayes and Parlet (1999) explored the racist experiences of a small group of Aboriginal children in a predominantly White Australian high school, and found high levels of 'racist bullying' amongst pupils. Nansel *et al.* (2001), apart from providing important data on the prevalence and psychosocial correlates of bullying among US youth, have suggested that bullying includes a 'racial' dimension and that it affects well-being and social functioning.

In New Zealand, a small body of recent work by Sullivan (2000), Sobrun Maharaj, Tie and Ryba (2000), and Sobrun Maharaj, Ryba and Tie (2000) introduces the ethnic dimension of bullying to this literature. Sullivan's illuminating and valuable contribution is the first New Zealand study that addresses the issue of racism in our schools, which is usually masked by political correctness, and provides a blueprint for effectively dealing with this phenomenon. He acknowledges that bullying can be 'racist' and have socio-emotional implications, that ethnic minority children have to endure this regularly, and that Chinese and Indian communities in New Zealand are regarded as a threat, are perceived as unaggressive and easy targets, and are increasingly becoming victims of 'racist bullying'.

The exciting shift in direction in recent years that this small group of studies portrays is in the growing realisation that ethnic minority members are victims of 'racist bullying'. This emerging thread is important, and signals a bold move. However, these authors do not appear to identify ethnic intimidation as a separate issue from bullying, which is motivated primarily by ethnic status (as discussed in chapter one). Their work does, nonetheless, recognise and begin to address the ethnic dimension. Further specificity is required in study the existence of ethnic intimidation as a construct apart from bullying, and recognising the constitutive role that ethnic difference plays in the development of intimidatory behaviour amongst school pupils in multi-ethnic settings. This thesis seeks to contribute to and further develop this significant innovation by exploring the contention that when visible ethnic minorities are targets of 'bullying', ethnicity becomes a significant factor and primary motivation in this behaviour, and, under these circumstances, such intimidatory practices are, more specifically, *ethnic intimidation*. Furthermore, it suggests that the concepts of liberalism and colonialism may provide insight to and advance this notion of ethnic intimidation. It addresses the negative effects that liberal and colonial discourses have, demonstrating the manner in which they contribute to the reproduction of social divisions. Special reference is made to those divisions associated with ethnic difference.

#### **4.3 DECONSTRUCTING 'BULLYING' IN AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND: DISCLOSING ITS LIBERAL AND COLONIAL DIMENSIONS?**

Thus far, interpretations of school ground intimidatory practices have been dominated by a liberal paradigm that is embedded within colonialist practice. This colonial mindset and concomitant liberal philosophy have exerted a powerful influence on the cognition and behaviour of most researchers and lay observers alike, and has had a negative effect on their construction of knowledge about bullying. The individualized interpretive framework, which, till very recently, has been the orthodox lens for analyzing school ground intimidatory practices, is also complicit in the reproduction of cultural dominance. In its emulation of liberal political philosophy, which encourages the study of human

behaviour in an individualistic manner, methodological individualism has largely thwarted adequate analysis of the ethnic dimensions of intimidatory behaviour.

Whilst intimidatory practices undoubtedly possess behavioural dimensions, they equally possess ethnic elements. The liberal, individualising frame of reference with which these intimidatory practices have largely been interpreted in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context (as elsewhere) restricts the scope of such analysis. Specifically, it hinders an evaluation of structural dimensions such as ethnicity by normalising the chain of signifiers that equates intimidatory practices with the moral-intellectual constitution of offending individuals. An exploration of the manner in which Aotearoa/New Zealand's colonial environment (details discussed in the previous chapter) has shaped the construction of knowledge about bullying, is presented below as an example of a potentially useful approach for advancing the analysis of intimidatory practices beyond an individualised perspective.

#### **4.3.1 The Colonial and Liberal Legacies and their Influence on conceptions of Intimidatory Practices**

The assumption about bullying amongst most New Zealanders is that the issue is predominantly an individual matter, that the *bullying problem* is a *problem with bullies*. Thus far, the individualised gaze of the psychologist/counsellor has largely been the norm for understanding practices involved in school ground intimidation. This behaviourist mode of interpretation has gained hegemonic form within the public sphere also, through the repetition of morally-charged descriptions (such as 'bully' and 'bullying behaviour') that focus on the constitution of the offending individual. More than simply reflecting an individualised perspective, intimidatory practices within multi-ethnic school settings are usually analysed in a Eurocentric manner through the representation of the ethnicity (of perpetrators and victims) as the property of 'the other', with Europeans being somehow 'beyond' ethnicity (refer to chapter one for an explication of the term 'ethnicity'). This has the effect of obfuscating the ethnic dimension that can be at work in many intimidatory practices, reserving the use of the term 'ethnic' for those episodes that have involved perpetrators or victims from non-European ethnic minorities.

The reasons for this lack of attention to the ethnic dimension, and for the focus on the individuality of the people involved, becomes apparent when the practice is placed in the context of Aotearoa/New Zealand's colonial history. The flaw in portrayals of intimidatory practices signals the pervasiveness of a residual Euro-centeredness that envelops the construction of identity categories in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The colonising impulse of nineteenth and twentieth century Europe has been intrinsic to European processes of identity formation. In the associated process of subjugating the cultural diversity of the ethnic 'other', the reality of the violence that has been visited against that 'other' has been repressed in favour of a grand envisioning of an ordered and orderly progression of European civility across the globe. Illustrative of this is the manner in which the wars that were fought over land in Aotearoa/New Zealand during the 1800s were known as the 'Maori Wars', until recent times. This label dissembled the reality that it was the European quest for colonies that fuelled the conflict and, moreover according to James Belich, a European belief in the superiority of the white races over those being colonised (Belich, 1988). To this end, cautions Cultural Studies theorist Stuart Hall, 'we cannot afford to forget the over-determining effects of the colonial moment, the "work" which its binaries were constantly required to do to *re-present* the proliferation of cultural difference and forms of life, which were always there, within the sutured and over-determined "unity" of that simplifying, over-arching binary, "the West and the Rest"' (Hall, 1996: 249).

The legacies of this condition for the New Zealand society are many and varied. These include the development of a European-dominated culture that has been ignorant of the socio-historical circumstances in which it is embedded and functions (Wilson, 1990); institutional manifestations of the colonial legacy; the trivialisation of ethnic minority culture, and the perpetuation of ethnic stereotypes, amongst others. The marginalisation of ethnicity signals a more diffuse process through which the colonialist mindset is reproduced. This replication arises, in part, from an erroneous belief by many New Zealanders of European origin that their perspectives are universally shared and are not ethnic-specific (Fox, in McGregor & TeAwa, 1996: 242). Rather than indicate a failure of personal integrity or morality on their part, this hubris highlights an important issue about the construction of ethnic identification.

The construction of preferred categories of identity, as discussed in the last chapter, occurs through their repeated citation. The condition of *New Zealander* (or *person*) thus exists through this exclusion of ethnicity. To this end, the repeated citation of ‘bullies’ as ‘non-specific *persons*’ who are detached from social and ethnic groups, occurs through a tacit disavowal of ‘unacceptable’ forms of identity, namely those that appear to be ethnically exclusive. In keeping with this denigration of ethnicity as a category of thought, it becomes easier, apparently, and perhaps politically safer, to deal with intimidatory behaviour in behavioural terms rather than as a practice that has ethnic dimensions. To do otherwise would disrupt the root images upon which the vitality of liberal democratic discourse depends, that ours is a fundamentally consensual community comprising morally autonomous individuals.

This reiteration of a universalizing identity (of *New Zealander* or non-specific *person*) challenges the assumption that Aotearoa/New Zealand represents a post-colonial situation, as might be optimistically read off governmental attempts to redress historical grievances by Maori. Notwithstanding the possibility that developments toward this end might indeed be occurring, it invites the social critic to also interpret such instances as an exemplification of neo-colonialism, wherein European conceptions of social and cognitive order continue to prevail and are reproduced in oblique ways through the social fabric. A good example of this is the substitution of kinship or patronage as bases for formal social relations with the contractualism of (western) law advocated by neo-classical economic theory. At an overt level, this thesis argues (and will be presenting with increased vigour), evidence that a colonial attitude is being expressed in school based intimidatory behaviour. In an indirect manner, this same attitude is at work in the official reportage of that phenomenon, through a minimization of the role that ethnic division plays in the constitution of intimidatory practices. This signals a continuing relegation of ethnicity to the boundaries of acceptable modes of human being (at least, in comparison to other identity forms such as *nationalist identity* or the highly diffuse notion of *humanity*).

This representation of ethnicity as a category of ‘otherness’ rather than as a universal quality is also informed by the liberalist philosophy (discussed at length in the previous chapter)

that underpins political life in Aotearoa/New Zealand. That philosophy shapes the construction of knowledge about bullying and other forms of intimidatory practices amongst school pupils. It suggests that behaviours such as bullying originate, in an immediate sense, within *attitudes* that individuals hold towards others. Moreover, it is held that these attitudes stem from family values and principles, from school and community cultures (Batsche 1997 is emblematic of this position). Such approaches do not critically examine, however, the consensual assumptions upon which contemporary understandings of 'family', 'education', and 'community' are predicated, and on the manner in which these orient attitudes, views and behaviours toward an acceptance of existing patterns of domination and power.

Because of this fairly widespread disavowal of ethnicity and the myth of egalitarianism and white supremacy within New Zealand society, labelling the construct of ethnic intimidation 'racist bullying' has the effect of trivialising and minimising the phenomenon and detracting from its gravity and severity. It suggests that such behaviour is merely an extension of school ground pranks and not linked to the colonial and liberal legacies of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Recognising ethnic intimidation as a separate construct, together with bullying, within the broad construct of intimidatory practices should draw attention to the significance of the phenomenon within a society that is arguably neo-colonial and extremely liberalist. This recognition should enable educationalists and other interested parties to analyse and manage the phenomenon more adequately, and to create strategies that will ensure the development of more positive and inclusive school cultures, thereby providing a learning environment more suitable to the needs of all children.

#### **4.4 SUMMARY**

This chapter has brought together sociological and psychological literature which informs intimidatory practices within schools. It has proposed that the intimidatory practice of ethnic intimidation be considered as a separate issue from bullying, and has suggested that a colonial and liberal understanding of social life has influenced the manner in which bullying behaviour has been studied. It has also proposed that bullying can best be

understood in terms of the impact that colonialist and liberalist discourses have had on the construction of social inquiry into such topics. Suggestions were made about alternative ways in which recognition might be given to the constitutive role of ethnic difference in the development of intimidatory behaviour amongst school pupils.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE

*Observe how all things are continually being born of change. Whatever is is in the some sense the seed to what is to emerge from it.*

(Marcus Aurelius, 121-180 AD)

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the aims and objectives and research perspective of the study. The theoretical framework that has shaped this research is explained, and an analysis of different methodological approaches is also undertaken. It is argued that research in the area of the social acceptance of ethnic minorities within schools needs to be conducted within a multi-dimensional paradigm, from a trans-disciplinary position, and be informed by literature from related fields of study in sociology, educational psychology, human development and philosophy. An appropriate methodology for the study of ethnic minorities by ethnic minorities is proposed.

### 5.2 RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The main *aim* of this study is to investigate the degree and nature of social acceptance perceived to be experienced by visible ethnic minority immigrant pupils of West and East Asian origin (i.e. Indian and Chinese) in a selection of three Auckland secondary schools. This requires an analysis of colonialism and its language, and liberalism on interethnic attitudes and relationships, and of the school ecology and its effects on the social acceptance of these pupils.

The specific *objectives* of the research are:

1. To determine visible ethnic minority pupils' *perceptions* of their *social acceptance* in their schools, and to what extent personal, socio-cultural and situational *variables* including colonialism, liberalism and language influence these perceptions.
2. To investigate *interethnic attitudes* of pupils from the five main ethnic groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand, namely European, Maori, Pacific Island, West Asian (i.e. of Indian origin) and East Asian (i.e. of Chinese origin), and to determine whether there is congruence or discongruence of perceptions amongst these groups.
3. To examine the effects of the *school ecology* on interethnic interaction and social acceptance amongst pupils.
4. To determine what *prejudices* visible ethnic minority pupils perceive to be held against them, and how this perceived prejudice is *communicated* to them.
5. To determine what pupils perceive to be the *causes* of prejudice, what contexts and attributes elicit prejudice, and the effects of stereotypes on prejudice.
6. To explore pupils' perceptions of *intimidatory practices* at school, and to determine the extent to which pupils are either victims or perpetrators of these practices.
7. To determine to what extent visible ethnic minority pupils *cope* with non-acceptance, and what coping strategies they employ.
8. To examine the psychological and physical *consequences* of perceived non-acceptance, and the extent to which pupils may be affected by them.
9. To investigate what *issues* pupils consider to be problematic and in need of attention at school.
10. To determine pupils' orientations toward the *acculturation* of immigrants.

### 5.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

All scientific research must be guided by philosophical paradigms which help refine methods of investigation and ensure that prejudices, superstitions and unquestioned assumptions do not impede scientific progress (Craib, 2001). Amongst these paradigms are various logics of social and educational research, the roots of which lie in three dominant twentieth century philosophical traditions which characterise scientific research. These are logical empiricism or positivism (causal); interpretive theories (meaningful); and critical

theory (normative) (Soltis, 1984: 5). They represent basic belief systems for understanding phenomena, and reflect different assumptions that manifest themselves in distinct methods of social science. Each of these paradigms also has inadequacies which, if utilised on their own would weaken research. However, when the paradigms are combined they offer research the robustness and rigour required of all such work. Postmodernist thinking, which takes a more radical theoretical position, has also made its mark on social and educational research. Lifespan psychology is also considered to be useful for this study.

A discussion of the nature and philosophical assumptions of each paradigm will demonstrate that these traditions are all commensurable, therefore complementary. Consequently, they are used simultaneously in this study. This approach is thus multi-dimensional, employing both quantitative and qualitative research techniques that involve empirical, interpretive and critical methods, and are guided by postmodernist thinking and lifespan psychology. Central to the discussion of the validity of social and educational research are various sub-disciplines of philosophy that need to be considered. These are epistemology, ontology, axiology and methodology (Craib, 2001; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). An alternative ecological perspective is also considered.

### **5.3.1 Research Paradigms**

Following is a brief outline of the research paradigms and their philosophical assumptions that guide this study:

#### ***Logical Empiricism (Positivism)***

Logical empiricism or positivism as it is also known, originates from the natural sciences, and is founded on the assumption that the methodological procedures of natural science can be directly applied to the social sciences (Soltis, 1984). This premise reflects a realist view of the world (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), which presumes that the world exists externally of the social scientist who is able to make neutral and objective observations (Hughes, 1990). The cornerstone of empiricist social science is objective observations of the 'real' world.

There are four essential features of this meta-theory (Fay, 1983): the first draws on the distinction between discovery and validation, and explains and interprets cause; the second is its belief in a neutral observation language as the proper foundation of knowledge; the third is its value-free ideal of scientific knowledge; and the fourth is its belief in the methodological unity of the sciences.

### ***Interpretive Theories***

The interpretive paradigm includes different theoretical perspectives which espouse a relativist or constructivist view of the world. Relativism claims that individuals construct their own versions of 'reality' hence there are multiple realities of the world. Interpretivists therefore seek to include the human aspect in science because they believe that observations are continually mediated through the social scientist's particular view of 'reality' (Mishler, 1979). The social scientist's observations are therefore considered to be inherently biased, value laden and subjective (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The foundation of interpretivist social science is based on subjective observations of an 'indeterminate' world. Its task is to discover the intentions which actors have in doing whatever it is they are doing (Fay, 1983). For educational research, the interpretive paradigm takes its work to be inquiry into human intersubjective meaning so that we can understand how education initiates us into our culture (Soltis, 1984).

### ***Critical Theory***

Critical theory embraces a form of historical realism which is based on a combination of critical, feminist and post-modern theory (Anderson, 1989). It rejects positivism and endorses the subjectivity of interpretivism, and focuses on the achievement of emancipation. Critical theorists believe that perception is structured by linguistic categories, mental attitudes and interests of observers, that the categories that define 'truth' reflect different values and interests at different points in history, and that 'reality' must be interpreted, mediated or constructed by conceptual schema (Robinson & Bunsen, 1995 in Selby, 1997). A critical examination of social phenomena would liberate people from

sources of domination, repression and subjugation and thus result in more enlightened observations (Carr & Kemmis, 1983). It stresses the need for inquiry that takes into account the historical-ideological moment we live in and the influence it has on us (Soltis, 1984).

A critical social science and its research is characterised by three main features: 1) It accepts the necessity of the interpretive categories in social science, and is rooted in the felt needs and sufferings of a group of people, and believes that theorists must come to understand these actors from their own point of view; 2) It seeks to uncover those systems of social relationships which determine the actions of individuals and the unanticipated consequences of these actions; 3) It recognises that social theory is interconnected with social practice, and it ties its knowledge claims to the satisfaction of human needs, desires and purposes (Fay, 1983).

### ***Postmodernist Thinking***

Postmodernism carries the implication that the social world has undergone a major and dramatic change (Craib, 1992), and views social 'reality' as an abstraction that is defined by and embodied in discourses (Derrida, 1976; Foucault, 1990). Post-modern thought that emphasises discourse, considers reality to exist as a text that can be studied and changed because it is socially constructed. Postmodernism is also about the autonomy of the different areas of social life, and does not develop theories about social 'reality' that treat society as a totality (Craib, 1992), but strives to create discursive space for the previously silenced minorities, and to elucidate and resist the technologies of repression and representation which dominate the current historical moment. One of the consequences of postmodern thought is multiculturalism.

In postmodernism the personal is political, the political is personal, and social theory must always move from one to the other (Denzin, 1991). It is also about the expansion of consciousness, and suggests a deeper understanding of subjectivity. Postmodernists argue that we have accorded science the status of 'truth' and have tended to view as objective

knowledge that which is actually socially constructed and subjective, limiting our behaviours according to what science has declared appropriate (Craib, 1992; Harraway, 1993 in Selby, 1997).

### ***Life-span Psychology***

Life-span psychology is based on the principle of cause and effect. According to the orientation of life-span psychology, development is a lifelong process in which no special state of maturity is assumed, and in which the process of psychological growth continues throughout the life span (Bates *et al.*, 1980, in Frydenberg, 1997: 8). It has three major components based on the premises that development is influenced by the context in which the development takes place, that is, school, family and peer group (Bronfenbrenner, 1977); that interactions between individuals and their context involve a reciprocal influence (Lerner & Spanier, 1980), and that continuous interactions between the individual and various social contexts are transactional, i.e. the social contexts and individuals may change over time (Sameroff, 1975). Thus, individual development occurs in the context of social change. This study is guided by this perspective of development as it provides a useful approach to investigating the dynamic interrelationship between youth, the community and the environment.

### **5.3.2 Guiding Philosophies**

To help with being more systematic in investigations, there are some valuable ideas and arguments from philosophy that can be drawn upon (Craib, 2001). These are the four sub-disciplines of epistemology, ontology, axiology and methodology. A brief discussion of these philosophies that guide this study follows:

#### ***Epistemology***

Epistemology is about the way in which knowledge is known, and concerns itself with the nature of an explanation (Craib, 1992). It refers to theories of knowledge as explanatory

constructs for presenting knowledge about what there is in the world. Since it is not possible to be all-knowing, the researcher needs to select a particular framework as an interpretive tool for arriving at some understandings. This needs to take account of the sources of knowledge that have been used to arrive at an interpretation. These could be purely objective and observable in form or subjective and inferential phenomena that cannot be precisely measured. It is this subjective/objective debate which is at the heart of the paradigm shifts that have taken place in social science and educational research (Selby, 1997).

### *Ontology*

Ontology concerns itself with the nature of the world: what sorts of things exist and what are the different forms of existence. It refers to the materialist, idealist, dualist and agnostic views of what kinds of things there are in the world and whether there is a real world of material objects or simply a world of ideas, or a combination of both, or that the nature of the world as it exists independently of our subjective experience just cannot be known (Craib, 2001, 1992). The basic consideration is whether the world is fundamentally a physical place that is limited only to those things that can be observed, or whether there is also a range of unobservable physical entities that consist of metaphysical properties such as a higher power, soul or mind. This, according to Selby (1997) raises fundamental questions about the meaning of 'reality' and the connectivity between that which can be directly observed versus inferences concerning relationships between the physical and the metaphysical aspects of the universe.

### *Axiology*

This concerns the things that are valued by a particular person and the ways in which they develop knowledge and understanding of themselves in relation to others. There are fundamental questions concerning the relationship between facts and values, and whether these can be considered as separate dimensions or whether they are integrally related. There are also questions concerning the ability of researchers to set aside their social,

political, religious and economic values to engage in inquiry. Selby (1997) states that it would be unreasonable to believe that research can be carried out at an objective level that is entirely independent of these axiological considerations. Moreover, it would not be desirable (or even valid) for such values to be undeclared. The inter-subjective nature of meaning as well as its personalised, subjective dimension must be taken into account (Soltis, 1984) therefore the personal values and experiences of the researcher must be made known, as has been done in this thesis.

### ***Methodology***

This concerns the procedures that a researcher follows to gather information for analysis. A distinction needs to be made between method as in the information collection process, and methodology as this pertains to the theories and conceptual frameworks that are used to determine the most appropriate method adopted in a study (Selby, 1997). Whereas traditional empirical research tended to rely on a single method, most contemporary research in the field is multi-dimensional, employing both qualitative and quantitative research techniques. Accordingly, this study is multi-dimensional and involves empirical, interpretive and normative methods as suggested by Soltis (1984:5).

### ***Ecological Perspective***

This perspective, proposed by Ryba (1989) and built on the 'reference model' suggested by Emihovich and Miller (1988), draws attention to the interaction of the social and environmental aspects in learning. It recommends that both naturalistic and experimental methods of research must be integrated within an overall ecological framework. Accordingly, research must be multi-dimensional, employing both quantitative and qualitative techniques and include a study of the ecological environment within which interactions occur. This study is guided by these recommendations.

#### 5.4 RATIONALE FOR SELECTION OF RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE

This study of the social acceptance of visible ethnic minority pupils constitutes the study of a social construct within an educational setting. As stated in chapter four, previous studies of intimidatory practices within schools have largely represented the phenomenon in *behavioural* terms, and there has been an absence of a consideration of the roles of social differences such as ethnicity in the constitution of intimidatory behaviour. Instead, the activities of ‘bullies’ have been equated with characteristics of their *individuality*. The study of intimidatory practices or the ‘bullying’ phenomenon needs to be undertaken within a *socio-cultural context*, which would understand bullies and victims in terms of their ethnic dimensions that cannot be detached from the social and cultural relations through which their identities form.

Clearly, this would re-cast bullying as something more than just children violating each other in accordance with their idiosyncratic pathologies. As such, the term bullying could fruitfully be replaced by the more inclusive term of *intimidatory practices*. Moreover, it would become accepted that the contours of those intimidatory practices reflect, in part at least, the shape of interethnic relations. To this end, they could be partially re-presented as instantiations of *ethnic intimidation*.

This change to the analytical tools through which the phenomenon of bullying is interpreted, would impact upon the methods used to investigate this problem. Until the present, surveys have proved adequate for investigating the issue, given that it was understood in behavioural terms, bracketed off from the social relations within which perpetrators are embedded. Conversely, sole reliance on the survey method becomes problematic when identities and perceptions are analyzed in terms of the social relations within which people live. Those identities and perceptions then become public affairs, seen to manifest each time they get reiterated in the rituals and practices of everyday life. Several scholars affirm the need for data collection directly from the naturalistic perspective of subjects by self-report which is considered to be the primary source of data. It is through such subjective data that the identification of meaningful relationships and

building of theory can occur. There is a call for research which successfully employs qualitative methods dependent upon valid, first-hand; subjective accounts of encounters and challenges which include developmental immaturity in cognition and language, differences in world views, life experience and daily activities, and barriers stemming from a common perception children have of adults as authority figures (Sorensen, 1993: 72-73).

Researchers also report that there is a relative lack of information on the child's perception of his world (Sorensen, 1993). Such information is usually provided by adults who present their perceptions of children's perceptions, which are not always correct. Walker (1986 in Sorensen, 1993: 80) notes that children are sensitive to and influenced by parents' attitudes, beliefs, and values, but do not automatically mimic those. They are capable of processing available information and arriving at conclusions with a perspective different from parents'. Based on this assumption, data on the child's world is best obtained directly from the child rather than indirectly through the eyes of the parents. This research is a response to this call, and provides information on the perceptions of all pupils by directly obtaining these from them through interviews.

Studies of intimidatory practices, therefore, need to adopt a more inclusive research perspective that is multi-dimensional and recognizes the possible contribution of different perspectives. For this reason, both quantitative and qualitative methods are utilised in this study. Qualitative methods provide an epistemological search for the meaning of ethnic differences to its members and their expressions in social life such as schools. This emetic approach to understand personal meaning in life's expressions uses semi-structured interviews and observational techniques that permit triangulation of data as a form of validation (Shorish *et al.*, 1993). The quantitative aspect of this study allows for the utilisation of rigorous scientific techniques in the form of surveys, which provide objective information in the form of numbers, and reveals intimate connections between apparently unrelated phenomena (Fay, 1983). Both methods also permit the triangulation and validation of the qualitative data.

As Selby notes (1998: 29), each methodology contributes to the development of knowledge, informing and enriching the other despite their competition at the level of base assumptions. To this end, studies need to be *empirical* to give us insight into its causal and correlational dimension (objective), *interpretive*, dealing with the inter-subjective nature of meaning as well as its personalized, subjective dimension to open up our understanding of the kinds of human meaning exchanged, developed and evoked, (Soltis, 1978: 9; 1984: 5), as well as *critical* which, during these times of social upheaval, will enable understanding of the problem from an ethnic minority perspective, and provide people with a theory by means of which they could change what they or others are doing (Fay, 1983: 91). As Soltis observes regarding the experiences of children, occurrences at school are filled with both 'meaning' and 'meaningfulness' and any attempt to represent them in their fullness requires a range of investigatory procedures (Soltis, 1978: 7).

The expanded range of research devices that are advocated will also ensure that the perspectives of victims (of 'bullying') are represented as much as those of the perpetrators. This is important given that bullying is being presented here as an inherently social practice, one that happens *between* people.

The discussion thus far indicates, however, that attention needs to be given to more than data-collection tools. In any human encounter there are always principles and values at work that shape the manner in which social life is interpreted. These values and principles are determined by the 'historical-ideological moment we live in' (ibid: 7). As such, the beliefs that prevail at any one time and place regarding truth and the means for discovering truth will influence the manner in which lived experience is understood in that space/time.

An opposite view tends to prevail, however, and is closely associated with the liberalism discussed earlier. It suggests that behaviours such as bullying originate, in an immediate sense, within *attitudes* that individuals hold toward others. Moreover, it is held that these attitudes stem from family values and principles, from school and community cultures (Batsche 1997 is emblematic of this position). Such approaches do not critically examine, however, the consensual assumptions upon which contemporary understandings of

'family', 'education', and 'community' are predicated, and on the manner in which these orient attitudes, views and behaviours toward an acceptance of existing patterns of domination and power.

A critical orientation toward the study of intimidatory practices would have the potential to remedy this deficit, through its ability to highlight the ideologies and 'most fundamental embodiments of power' that are at play at any time and place (Soltis, 1984: 9). To this end, research into the problem of bullying has to deconstruct the discourses of liberalism and colonialism as much as it goes out with its survey forms and dictaphones to 'find what's happening' within the play-grounds and corridors of schools. As a consequence, research into the 'bullying' phenomenon must be done from a trans-disciplinary position and needs to be informed by literature from sociology, educational psychology, human development and philosophy. The data gained from surveys, observations, and interviews will not 'speak for itself' but, rather, will only gain significance as it gets interpreted through frameworks that take seriously the effects of liberalism and colonialism upon social behaviour. Only through that wider contextualisation can the socio-cultural dimensions of the phenomenon emerge and a more expansive set of responses envisioned.

#### **5.4.1 The Ethnic Minority Perspective**

Studies on ethnicity have produced knowledge that is 'ideologically determined and culturally biased' being 'rooted firmly in historically specific folk notions of socially constructed racial differences and their sociological, political and economic consequences' (Stanfield & Rutledge, 1993: 4). The dramatically changing world in which we live demands that we cease to allow well-worn dogma to keep us from designing research projects that will provide the necessary data for the formulation of adequate explanations for the ethnic dimensions of human life (ibid: 6). Our failure to do so will result in the social sciences becoming increasingly marginal as ethnicity becomes increasingly dominant in the problems faced by the world.

For this reason, there is a call from academics for more inclusive research which incorporates the experiences and perspectives of traditionally excluded groups, by minority scholars themselves, on the assumption that they are better able to understand the nuances of racial oppression (Anderson, 1993; Rutledge, 1993). However, it has been difficult for scholars of colour with truly radical, liberating views on racism and its eradication and on the validity of cultural difference as a normative human attribute in the industrial world, to be heard, believed and rewarded within academic communities and on the outside (Hymes, 1972; Ladner, 1973; Stanfield, 1988 in Stanfield, 1993). This is the result of historical colonial attitudes and cultural traditions that encourage westerners to link phenotypic differences with presumptions about intelligence, moral character, personality and interpersonal behaviour (Stanfield, 1993; Bogin, 1999; Weber, 1968 in Rutledge, 1993). There is also the dilemma of the work of scholars of colour being shrugged off as mediocre or otherwise irrelevant as a defence mechanism exhibited by those who wish not to acknowledge the importance of the empirical findings or claims of these researchers (Stanfield, 1993: 29). Moreover, it has always been the norm in the social sciences to assume that Eurocentric empirical realities can be generalised to explain the realities of people of colour. In most presumptuous fashion, for decades, researchers steeped in Eurocentric norms have applied Eurocentric concepts of families, deviance, social movements, psychological development, organisational behaviour, stratification, and even spirituality to the experiences of people of colour. Stanfield (1993: 27) states that this has occurred to such an extent, that our social science knowledge of the indigenous senses of people of colour is actually quite sparse and superficial. He asserts that if the problem of the twentieth century has been the problem of the colour line, the problem of the next century will be the deepening complexities and contradictions of that colour line. This observation cannot be appreciated until we 'pour new wine into new bottles through creating new ways of thinking and explaining a new world' (ibid: 35).

Studies of race and ethnic relations in particular are encouraged as there are aspects of racial phenomena that cannot be grasped empirically and formulated conceptually by 'a member of the oppressing group' (Anderson, 1993: 40). These are the existential, methodological, political and ethical barriers, such as the nuances of culture and group

ethos, the meaning of oppression and psychic relations, and ‘what is called the Black, the Mexican-American, the Asian and the Indian experience’ (Blauner & Wellman, 1973: 329 in *ibid*: 40). This research is a response to that call.

Rutledge (1993) cites the following advantages of having research on ethnic minorities done by ethnic minority researchers: Because they have firsthand experience of the culture, ethnic minority researchers gain a greater awareness of complex and multiple-network linkages among individuals and groups in the community. They are able to see and understand the consequences of historical and contemporary ethnic exclusion and domination, and to assess the strategies and tactics racial communities create in order to co-exist in a non-egalitarian setting. Additionally, they can acquire a data base about one community that could be of some value in making comparative analyses with similar-sized communities. They are able to understand the dynamics of conflict and change in closed community settings; the complex manner in which national values and ideas penetrate the local community ethos, and how racial exclusion and domination have shaped the personal development of all sectors of the community. Moreover, they are able to witness institutional and organisational change in the making, and are able to understand the many dimensions of institutional and organisational power in community settings.

## **5.5 IS THIS ETHNOGRAPHY?**

These considerations mentioned above, call to question the nature of the study of ethnic minorities. The historical interethnic conditions that have influenced the social framework in which our global community functions (as outlined previously), have also impacted on traditional ways of conducting research into ethnic minorities. Sociological studies of race have often been distorted by having been centred in the perspective and experiences of dominant group members who have applied ethnocentric concepts to such study (Anderson, 1993). In fact, much of the ethnic research done today (mostly anthropological) has a racist history in which the development of racism and some anthropological methods run parallel to each other (Bogin, 1999). Ethnography, which is the traditional method employed in the study of the ethnic ‘other’, was born out of the unbalanced relationship between Europeans

and non-Europeans. It is essentially a description of 'other' ethnicities written by people from western ethnicities. Ethnographies represent 'the grand encounter of the West with the rest' (Fox, 1991:11) which distinguishes self from the primitive or savage 'other', the enlightened outsider from the unenlightened insider.

The goal of the ethnographer is to describe a way of life of a particular group from within, that is, by understanding and communicating not only what happens but how the members of the group interpret and understand what happens. The primary technique used in ethnographic research is participant observation, which usually involves living or otherwise spending extended periods with the people 'one is trying to understand.' (Kornblum in Smith & Kornblum, 1996:2). During this time, supposedly objective data about that group is gathered and presented from the ethnographer's perspective. However, it is widely known that so-called objective conditions are always associated with subjective definitions, stereotypes, identifications, likes and dislikes, and belief systems (Tajfel, 1978), therefore cannot be objective. It follows then, that the data that is produced by these ethnographers is their subjective interpretations and representations of the social 'realities' of the ethnic 'others', shaped by their likes and dislikes, stereotypes, beliefs and such like. Many of these cultures have been grossly misrepresented for this reason, and also due to misunderstanding caused by miscommunication, and even suppression of the 'native point of view' (Clifford in Fox, 1991: 6). Fox (1991: 5-6) alleges that such cultural and professional contortions are ever present; consequently, we are much more suspicious of ethnography's claim to provide a tidy picture of the 'other'.

The justification for ethnography has been, and still is, that these so-called uncivilised cultures are supposedly incapable of representing themselves. However, globalisation and migration have now created an awareness of the capability of and need for non-western peoples to speak for themselves, inter alia. Post-modern anthropologists recognise that 'the present condition of the world both compels and enables radically novel works' (Clifford in Fox, 1994: 5). Increasingly, peoples from these communities are now presenting their own accounts of their worlds. This process is completely different from those employed by outsiders. It does not 'seek to understand' some other group of people through intense

involvement with one's subjects, and the ethnographer's 'presentation of self' (Smith and Kornblum, 1996: 2). Conversely, it involves representations of the group by one of its own who is an insider. This difference needs to be recognised and described as such, so that there is no ambiguity about the nature and authenticity of the information being presented.

## 5.6 'COMMUNOGRAPHY'

In response to this need for recognition of the ethnic minority's representation of the self and the authenticity of the information being presented, this study proposes a new label that will separate the authentic work of minorities from those of the uninformed outsider. This label will describe research undertaken by a researcher who is a member of the community being described. As an insider, the researcher does not need to negotiate her position with the subjects and spend prolonged periods of time with them within an artificially created situation. As a member of the community, she has first hand knowledge of the perceptions of this group, which constitute their social 'reality', and is presenting the perceptions of her own community. In terms of the present research, visible ethnic minorities of Asian origin are being described by a member of this broad group. As an ethnic minority person of Asian origin, the researcher is located within the world of the Asian ethnic minority, and lives their experiences with them. To the traditional European ethnographer this study may appear to be 'quasi-ethnographic', as it seems to be ethnographic, but is not really so in that the researcher is a person from the community being studied (Appadurai, 1991; Anderson, 1993). Such a concern would be justified. Although the word 'ethnography' is defined as the 'scientific description of races of men' (Fowler & Fowler, 1964), traditional ethnography (as has been explained above) has been Eurocentric involving a person of European origin who was regarded as non-ethnic, entering and studying the lives of the ethnic 'other'.

Rather than describe studies of ethnic minorities done by ethnic minorities as ethnographies done by 'halfie' or 'indigenous' ethnographers, terms utilised by post-modern ethnographers Abu-Lughod and Limón respectively (Fox, 1991:4), it is proposed that this study be considered to be, more specifically, a *communography*. In this study, a

communography is portrayed as a community's written description of itself, involving many insider voices, not only that of the researcher. The goal of the communographer who is a member of the community of people being represented is to describe their own way of life and worldview, and their interpretation and understanding of it, together with their current perceptions and experiences of their world. This will include the 'ethnoscapes' which are the new 'landscapes of group identity' (Appadurai, 1991:191 in Fox, 1991) in which people find themselves today. Such a description would make it possible to distinguish these studies from those done by outsiders studying the ethnic 'other'.

In light of this explanation, it is proposed that this research be considered to be a *communography* of visible ethnic minority pupils of Asian origin in three Auckland secondary schools. During this type of research causes and explanations will be provided from their perspective, and theories will be developed about why the respondents behave the way they do. Such hypotheses are expected to emerge from the research as it goes along, rather than be specified from the start and used as a guide to the kind of data that is sought and collected (McNeill, 1990).

## **5.7 CASE STUDY**

Because this study describes the experiences of a particular group of people, it is also considered to be a case study. Case study is a style of research with an aim to observe, probe and understand the subjective meanings of complex social phenomena and provide insights, meanings and converging evidence for the construction of theories (Stenhouse, 1982). This approach is considered useful and appropriate because of the possibility that it may prompt further, more wide-ranging research, or some broad generalisation may be brought to life (Borg, 1963). There is no claim to representativeness, and the essence is that each subject studied, whether it is an individual, a group, an event, or an institution, is treated as a unit on its own (McNeill, 1990).

As this research involves in-depth study of Asian pupils in three schools, and does not claim to be representative of all schools in Auckland, or Aotearoa/New Zealand, the case

study approach is considered to be suitable. Accordingly, this study should be considered to be a *communographic case study* of the social acceptance of visible ethnic minority immigrant pupils of Asian origin in three Auckland secondary schools.

## 5.8 SUMMARY

This chapter outlined the aims of the study which investigates the degree and nature of social acceptance experienced by visible ethnic minority immigrant pupils of West and East Asian origin (i.e. Indian and Chinese) in Auckland secondary schools. It espouses the view that research in education and the social sciences must be empirical, interpretive, normative and critical, that is, it should be conducted within an ecological perspective and a multidimensional paradigm, and guided by their underpinning ontological, epistemological, axiological and methodological assumptions. This research is also guided by the discipline of life-span psychology.

Previous studies of intimidatory practices within schools have largely represented the phenomenon in behavioural terms, and there has been an absence of a consideration of the roles of social differences such as ethnicity in the constitution of intimidatory behaviour. It presents the view that studies of intimidatory practices need to be undertaken in a socio-cultural and ethnic context, and to adopt a more inclusive research perspective that is multi-dimensional and recognizes the possible contribution of different perspectives.

Studies on ethnicity have produced knowledge that is ideologically determined and culturally biased being rooted in historically specific folk notions of socially constructed racial differences. For this reason, there is a call from academics for more inclusive research which incorporates the experiences and perspectives of traditionally excluded groups, by minority scholars themselves, on the assumption that they are better able to understand the nuances of racial oppression.

Ethnography, which is the traditional method employed in the study of the ethnic 'other', is a description of 'other' ethnicities written by people from western ethnicities. The data that

is produced by these ethnographers is their subjective interpretations and representations of the social realities of the ethnic 'others', shaped by their likes and dislikes, stereotypes, beliefs and such like. Globalisation and migration have now created an awareness of the capability of and need for non-western peoples to speak for themselves. It is proposed that studies of a group by one of its own who is an insider, be considered to be a *communography*. A communography is portrayed as a community's written description of itself, involving many insider voices, not only that of the researcher.

As this research involves in-depth study of the social acceptance of visible ethnic minority immigrant pupils in three secondary schools, and does not claim to be representative of all schools in New Zealand, the case study approach is considered to be suitable.

# CHAPTER SIX

## RESEARCH METHOD

*The only way of discovering the limits of the possible is to venture a little way past them into the impossible*

(Clarke's Second Law)

### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the research design and outlines the methods utilised to gather data. It provides a detailed description of the sample of schools and participants, and the instruments and procedures utilised throughout the data collection. Attention is also given to ethical considerations.

### 6.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

This research was designed to realise the specific aims of the study within a multi-dimensional paradigm which involved both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection. The first phase of the study involved a survey which used a questionnaire to gather information from a sample of pupils belonging to the five main ethnic groups in New Zealand, in three Auckland secondary schools. The questionnaire investigated interethnic attitudes of these pupils which included both direct and meta-perspectives, experiences of intimidatory behaviour, social distance, peer victimisation, mental and physical well-being, self-esteem, acculturation orientations, stereotypes, and issues of concern at school. The selection of items was validated by administration of a pilot questionnaire and input from the participating pupils, as well as some input from the principals of the participating schools. The research also consisted of a series of interviews with a sub-sample of pupils and their parents to provide in-depth information on their perceptions of social acceptance. The final phase of the research consisted of an ecological

study of the participating schools through observations of pupil and teacher interactions both in and out the classroom, and informal conversations with teachers and principals of the three schools who were asked for their views on the social climate within their schools, and what strategies could be employed for improvement. Although detailed attention was not given to gender differences, the study was so designed to enable examination of differences between the genders.

These complementary investigations and multiple methods of information gathering together enabled triangulation of data, and ensured that the strengths of one method compensated for possible weaknesses of another in the overall research design. They also provided a better view of the situation by allowing it to be seen from more than one angle. These methods also enabled the development of a clear picture of the social 'realities' of the participants from their perspectives.

### **6.3 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE RESEARCH DESIGN**

The fundamental purpose of academic research in schools is the development of theoretical and empirical knowledge. It reveals features of school life which are frequently hidden from public view and often illuminates social processes which the participants in school life do not recognise or simply take for granted (Foster, 1996). This research was designed to provide such knowledge and to realise the specific aims of the study. The investigation of such educational and social phenomena, as stated in the previous chapter, requires both qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches. The *quantitative method* focuses on the numerical measurement of the data that includes information on frequency, duration and intensity, and supplements the qualitative method. The *qualitative method*, which is flexible and has a minimum of prestructuring, provides a narrative description and exploration of social meaning and cultural context of data through rich, detailed, meaning-centred accounts. Accordingly, the design of this research is multi-dimensional involving both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection in order to ensure that crucial quantitative dimensions and important qualitative features of the phenomenon being studied are not neglected.

The *survey* was used to provide numerical data on specific processes, behaviours and events in schools. *Interviews* with parents and pupils, *conversations* with teachers, and *observations* of classrooms and school grounds provided detailed descriptive accounts which were sensitive to social context and to the meanings in play in particular situations.

Direct *observation* is considered to be probably the most important data collection technique used in school inquiry (Foster, 1996: viii) because it enables the collecting of information about the nature of the physical and social world as it unfolds before us directly via the senses, rather than indirectly via the accounts of others (ibid: vii) It also enables us to formulate common sense theories about the world, and to test and modify these theories, and the information we collect through observation provides us with the knowledge we need in order to act in the world. Moreover, it provides detailed information about aspects of school life which cannot be obtained from interviews and surveys, such as a detailed record of the language and non-verbal communication used by teachers and pupils in classroom interaction. Researchers can record what they see happening at first hand and not rely on participants' accounts which may be distorted by the person's concern to present a desirable image of themselves or the school. Foster (1996) is of the opinion that observational data is therefore more likely to be accurate. Observers may also be able to 'see' important features of the school environment that participants cannot see, as processes are often taken for granted by participants and therefore may be very difficult for them to recognise, describe or evaluate. It may require the trained eye or detached viewpoint of the observer to 'see the familiar as strange' (Delamont, 1981 in Foster, 1996: 13), and to provide the detailed description or objective assessment required. It can also give us information on members of the school community who are unable or unwilling to participate in interviews or fill in questionnaires.

For these reasons, and also to verify data provided on surveys and interviews, observation was included as the third stage of this study. It is suggested that observations should be flexible with a minimum of prestructuring as this allows the observer to begin the process with a relatively open mind, to minimize the influence of preconceptions, and to avoid imposing existing preconceived categories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The aim is to develop

theoretical ideas from an analysis of the data collected so that theory is 'grounded' in the data. This procedure was therefore followed when observing. The combination of quantitative and qualitative data provided an in-depth picture of the perceptions, perspectives and cultures of pupils, parents and teachers, as far as was possible from an 'insider's' point of view.

## **6.4 PARTICIPANTS IN THE STUDY**

### **6.4.1 School Sample**

It was decided to conduct the research in schools in the city of Auckland because it was considered to be the most diverse city in Aotearoa/New Zealand in terms of ethnicity. As such, it is a city that is in the process of adapting to the nations ethnic pluralisation. Three co-educational secondary schools were selected from areas that were generally regarded as high, middle and lower income areas. According to the most recent Education Statistics of New Zealand of that time (1998), these schools had diverse ethnic populations comprising of relatively high proportions of visible ethnic minority pupils.

### **6.4.2 Survey Sample**

The sample consisted of 208 pupils in years 9 (67 pupils), 11 (54 pupils) and 13 (87 pupils). This included 105 females and 103 males, with 25 percent of the pupils being European, 15 percent Maori, 16 percent Pacific Islander, 25 percent West Asian and 19 percent East Asian. There were 63 pupils from School 1, 40 from School 2, and 105 from School 3. Although it was hoped to have even numbers of ethnic groups from each school, final numbers were determined by pupil response. The characteristics of the participants are shown in Tables 6.1a and 6.1b.

For the purpose of this study, the Asian sample was divided into two broad, ethnically similar groups of West Asian and East Asian pupils. The West Asian sample consisted of all pupils of Indian ethnic origin, irrespective of country of birth, including pupils from the

Middle East. The East Asian sample consisted of all pupils of Chinese ethnic origin, irrespective of country of birth, including South East Asia and Japan.

Table 6.1a: *Composition of Survey Sample by School (1, 2 & 3), Ethnicity, Gender and Proportion of Total*

	S 1	S2	S3	Total	S1	S2	S3	Total	Total	
<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F+M</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>European</b>	11	2	12	<b>25</b>	13	3	12	<b>28</b>	53	<b>25</b>
<b>Maori</b>	7	1	8	<b>16</b>	1	2	11	<b>14</b>	30	<b>15</b>
<b>Pacific Island</b>	1	5	11	<b>17</b>	2	4	10	<b>16</b>	33	<b>16</b>
<b>West Asian</b>	8	6	13	<b>27</b>	8	7	10	<b>25</b>	52	<b>25</b>
<b>East Asian</b>	4	6	10	<b>20</b>	8	4	8	<b>20</b>	40	<b>19</b>
<b>Total</b>	31	20	54	<b>105</b>	32	20	51	<b>103</b>	208	<b>100</b>

Table 6.1b: *Composition of survey sample by ethnicity, level and gender*

<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Y9</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>Y11</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>Y13</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>
<b>European</b>	14	8	6	9	4	5	30	13	17
<b>Maori</b>	11	5	6	9	4	5	10	7	3
<b>Pacific Island</b>	11	6	5	13	5	8	9	6	3
<b>West Asian</b>	18	8	10	12	7	5	22	12	10
<b>East Asian</b>	13	7	6	11	5	6	16	8	8
<b>Total</b>	67	34	33	54	25	29	87	46	42

### 6.4.3 Interview Sample

#### *Pupils*

A sub-sample of thirty five Asian pupils was interviewed. This number consisted of 20 West Asians and 15 East Asians, with 17 boys and 18 girls. There were 13 from year 13, 11 from year 11, and 11 from year 9. The characteristics of the pupils interviewed are shown in Table 6.2 below.

Table 6.2: *Composition of Pupil Interview Sample by School, Level, Ethnicity and Gender*

	<b>School 1</b>		<b>School 2</b>				<b>School 3</b>				<b>Total</b>		<b>35</b>			
	<b>WA</b>		<b>WA</b>		<b>WA</b>		<b>EA</b>		<b>WA</b>		<b>EA</b>		<b>WA 20</b>		<b>EA 15</b>	
	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>
<b>Y13</b>	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	3	3
<b>Y11</b>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	3	4	2	2
<b>Y9</b>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	2
<b>Total</b>	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	4	3	3	9	11	8	7		

## Parents

Formal interviews were conducted with a sample of 24 parents, 12 of whom were West Asian and 12 East Asian. Nine (38%) of these were males and 15 (62%) were females. The countries of origin of West Asian pupils and parents are shown in Table 6.3a, and of East Asians in Table 6.3b below.

Table 6.3a: *Countries of Origin of West Asian Pupils and Parents*

West Asians						
Country	India	Fiji	Sri Lanka	South Africa	Iraq	Total
<b>Pupils</b>	1	12	5	1	1	20
<b>Parents</b>	1	4	4	2	1	12
<b>Total</b>	2	16	9	3	2	32

Table 6.3b: *Countries of Origin of East Asian Pupils and Parents*

East Asians											
Country	NZ	HK	Laos	China	Taiwan	Korea	Japan	Indonesia	Cambodia	Philippines	Total
<b>Pupils</b>	8	2	*1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	15
<b>Parents</b>	3	2	*1	1	2	0	0	2	*1	0	12
<b>Total</b>	11	4	1	2	2	1	1	3	1	1	27

\* Refugee

## Teachers

Conversations were conducted with a total of 85 teachers from the three participating schools, with 27 (32%) from School 1, 29 (34%) from School 2, and 29 (34%) from School 3. This included 47 (55%) females and 38 (45%) males, of which 23 (27%) were visible ethnic minority teachers and 62 (73%) were of European origin. These characteristics are shown in Table 6.4 below.

Table 6.4: *Ethnic Identity of Teacher Sample*

Schools	Euro	Maori	Pac Is	W Asian	E Asian	Total
<b>School 1</b>	19	2	1	4	1	27
<b>School 2</b>	19	1	0	5	4	29
<b>School 3</b>	24	1	2	1	1	29
<b>Total</b>	62 (72.9%)	4 (4.7%)	3 (3.5%)	10 (11.8%)	6 (7.1%)	85 (100%)

#### 6.4.4 Observation Sample

A total of 33 classes were observed in the three schools with 10 in School 1, 11 in School 2, and 12 in School 3. This comprised six year 13, nine year 11 and 18 year 9 classes. More junior classes were observed than senior classes as undesirable social behaviour is generally known to be more prevalent in junior classes, and to decrease with maturity. Table 6.5 below shows the levels of the class sample.

Table 6.5: *Summary of Classes Observed*

	School 1	School 2	School 3	Total
Year 13	2	2	2	6
Year 11	3	3	3	9
Year 9	5	6	7	18
Total	10	11	12	33

#### 6.5 DESCRIPTION OF DATA COLLECTION MEASURES

A *questionnaire* comprising ten questions (A-J) was administered to this group of 208 pupils. These questions included the following scales: The Ethnic Attitude Scale, questions on Perceptions of Intimidatory Practices, The Acculturation Orientation Scale, The Stereotype Scale, The Social Distance Scale, The Peer Victimization Index, The General Health Questionnaire, The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, a list of School Issues, and questions on Demographic Data. Permission was sought from authors where necessary to adapt and utilize their scales. A description of these scales follows:

##### 6.5.1 Question A: The Ethnic Attitude Scale

This question consisted of *The Ethnic Attitude Scale* which measured interethnic attitudes of European, Maori, Pacific Island, West Asian (Indian) and East Asian (Chinese) pupils. It was adapted from a scale used by Mellor and Firth (1983), which they adapted from a General Racism scale developed by Verma and Bagley (1972, 1975). They derived this scale from the Wilson-Patterson scale (1968) for measuring interethnic attitudes in British teenagers. The scale includes 25 items shown in Table 6.6 below.

Table 6.6: *The Interethnic Attitude Scale*

No.	Item
1	Europeans
2	Highly civilized Asians
3	Colonialism
4	Asian immigration
5	White superiority
6	Maori
7	Kiwi morals and values
8	Polynesian inferiority
9	Ethnic minority rights
10	Pacific Islanders
11	Equal opportunity for all
12	Schools without Asians
13	Ethnic pride
14	Asian neighbours
15	Multicultural education
16	East Asians
17	Equality of races
18	Asian languages
19	Mixed relationships
20	European immigration
21	Exotic Asian culture
22	Maori tradition
23	West Asians
24	Separate schools for ethnic groups
25	Sending Asians back to their country

The scale includes three subscales which are the *Anti-European* (items 1, 3, 5, 7 and 20), *Anti-Asian* (items 2, 4, 12, 14, 16, 18, 21, 23 and 25), and *Anti-Maori/Pacifika* (items 6, 8, 10 and 12) scales. The rest of the items are general items and pupils responded to these on a five point scale. Items 3, 5, 8, 12, 24 and 25 are negative items for which the scores are reversed only when seeking attitudes of individual respondents, for which a score is required out of a maximum of 125 points. Pupils were required to respond to this scale three times, once as they thought Europeans would answer it, once as they thought Maori/Pacifika would answer it, and once as they thought Asians would answer it. One of these scales would pertain to themselves, thus they would be answering it for themselves.

### 6.5.2 Question B: Intimidatory Practices

This question consisted of 14 open-ended questions on *Perceptions of Intimidatory Practices*, and included two questions suggested by principals (last two). It required open-

ended responses to the questions in Table 6.7 below. The scoring for each question is as reflected in the table.

Table 6.7: *Intimidatory Practices*

Item	Question: Write as much as you can about the following:	Scoring
1	What do you understand by the word 'bullying'? (What does it mean for you?)	1= good understanding of concept, 2= reasonable understanding, 3= some or little understanding, and 4= no understanding at all.
2	What do you understand by the word 'ethnic'? (What does it mean for you?)	Same as above
3	Have you ever felt that you were not accepted by your schoolmates? YES/NO	1= No 2= Yes
4	List some of the things that have happened to you at school that have made you feel unaccepted?	1= not racial 2= racial
5	How often have these things happened?	1= similar to 'sometimes' 2= similar to 'quite often' 3= similar to 'very often'.
6	Why, do you think, have these things happened to you?	1= not racial 2= racial
7	Who are the people who have done these things to you?	1= not racial 2= racial
8	When have they done these things to you?	1= occurrences before this year 2= occurrences during class time 3= occurrences during intervals 4= occurrences after school 5= occurrences all the time.
9	Where have these things happened?	1= incidents in class 2= in corridors 3= on grounds 4= outside school 5= everywhere.
10	What have you done about this? Why?	1= ignoring it 2= telling friends 3= telling family 4= telling teachers 5= verbal retaliation 6= physical retaliation 7= silence due to fear, denial or frustration
11	How does this make you feel?	1= not caring 2= being sad 3= being hurt 4= being angry 5= being mentally or physically ill
12	Has your school helped you with this in any way?	1= school helps very much 2= helps quite a bit 3= helps a little 4= does not help at all
13	What do you see as a strong point about your school with regard to social acceptance?	1= school is very good 2= good 3= okay 4= bad
14	How do you feel about, and cope with having people from countries you may not like in your school?	1= like having them in school 2= don't mind 3= don't care about it 4= don't like it 5= hate it

### 6.5.3 Question C: The Acculturation Orientation Scale

This question consisted of *The Acculturation Orientation Scale* which measured the orientations of the five ethnic groups toward acculturation. This scale was developed by the researcher on the basis of Taft's (1953) theory of assimilation which distinguished between three orientations, viz. monism, pluralism and interactionism. A fourth dimension that advocates a complementary orientation based on ethnic minority speculation was added. The scale contains a statement for each orientation, and required subjects to rate their degree of agreement or disagreement to each statement on a five point scale. Items 1 and 2 are negative items for which the scores are reversed only when seeking attitudes of individual respondents, for which a score is required out of a maximum of 20. These items are shown in Table 6.8 below.

Table 6.8: *Acculturation Orientation*

	<b>How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Tick one of the columns for each item.</b>
1	Immigrant students should try to become “Kiwi” when they come to New Zealand, and forget about their past
2	New Zealanders and immigrants should remain who they are and keep with their own groups
3	New Zealanders and immigrants should mix and, in time, become one big family with no differences
4	New Zealanders and immigrants should live side by side, learn the good things from each other and not lose their individual cultures and identities

### 6.5.4 Question D: The Stereotype Scale

Question D consisted of *The Stereotype Scale* which is a free-choice scale that measured attitudes through stereotypes used by the different ethnic groups to describe each other. It gave subjects the opportunity to express how they perceived a particular ethnic group, and attempted to determine to what extent attitudes are influenced by stereotypes. The scale for use in this research was adapted from a scale developed by Bagley and Verma (1975). It

listed 9 groups of people which were: ‘Bullies’, ‘Europeans’, ‘Students’, ‘Pacific Islanders’, ‘West Asians’, ‘Maori’, ‘Teachers’, ‘East Asians’ and ‘Counsellors’.

Pupils were required to write three adjectives of their choice which best described each group. Descriptors were scored on a three point scale with one point awarded for positive descriptors, two for neutral descriptors, and three for negative descriptors. Thus, if individual attitudes were required, a high score denoted negative attitudes toward these peoples, and a low score denoted positive attitudes.

### 6.5.5 Question E: The Social Distance Scale

This question consisted of *The Social Distance Scale* which examined two components, the first of which was a racial distance scale, and the second component consisted of an occupational distance scale, and the items were arranged in descending order of intimacy. Table 6.9 below shows the items contained in each scale and their distance. The scale provided data on the degree and quality of contact and communication amongst pupils of the different ethnic groups. It was adapted by the researcher from the scale developed by Bogardus (1925) to measure social distance or the degree of intimacy an individual would allow to members of outgroups, and was constructed particularly for use in the present New Zealand secondary school context. Pupils were required to rate the items for each of the five ethnic groups as well as for five additional groups which were; ‘People from other cultures’, ‘Boys’, ‘Girls’, ‘People from my own culture’, and ‘Students my age’. This question required pupils to respond to the ten stimulus groups by selecting as many items as they considered appropriate, from the list of 14 contact and communication items in the combined racial and occupational distance scales.

Table 6.9: *The Social Distance Scale*

Distance	Occupational distance	Racial distance
1	I spend most of my leisure time with	I enjoy speaking to
2	I do my homework with	I often talk to
3	I eat my lunch with	I sometimes talk to
4	I play sport at school with	I would like to talk to
5	I sit in class with	I am forced to talk to
6	I do not mix with	I never speak to
7	I do not wish to know	I don't ever wish to speak to

### 6.5.6 Question F: The Peer Victimization Index

Question F consisted of *The Peer Victimization Index* which measured the extent to which pupils were victimised by their peers. This scale consisting of 20 items, was developed by Rigby (1993) and includes the items shown in Table 6.10 below.

Table 6.10: *The Peer Victimization Index*

No.	Item
1	I like playing sport
2	I get good marks in class
3	I get called names by others
4	I give soft kids a hard time
5	I like to make friends
6	I play up in class
7	I feel I can't trust others
8	I get picked on by others
9	I am part of a group that goes round teasing others
10	I like to help people who are being harassed
11	I like to make others scared of me
12	Others leave me out of things on purpose
13	I get into fights at school
14	I like to show others that I'm the boss
15	I share things with others
16	I enjoy upsetting wimps
17	I like to get into a fight with someone I can easily beat
18	Others make fun of me
19	I get hit and pushed around by others
20	I enjoy helping others

Pupils responded to these items on a four point scale. Scores for items 1, 2, 5, 10, 15 and 20 which are positive items, are reversed when seeking a total score for individual respondents in order to determine their degree of victimization.

*Bully and victim scales* were extracted from the Peer Victimization Index to determine to what extent pupils were victims and/or bullies. The negative items were used to form these scales. Items 3, 7, 8, 12, 13, 18 and 19 were used to form the victim scale, and items 4, 6, 9, 11, 14, 16 and 17 were included in the bully scale.

### 6.5.7 Question G: The General Health Questionnaire

Question G consisted of *The General Health Questionnaire* which was devised by Goldberg and Williams (1988) for use as a measure of psychiatric disorder. It consists of 28 items each of which deals with a symptom of poor health, and contains four subscales which are: Somatic symptoms, anxiety symptoms, poor coping symptoms, and depression symptoms which are shown in Table 6.11 below. Pupils were required to respond to this on a four point scale.

Table 6.11: *The General Health Questionnaire*

	<b>Have you recently:</b>
	<i>Somatic symptoms</i>
1	Been feeling perfectly well and in good health?
2	Been feeling in need of some good medicine?
3	Been feeling run down and out of sorts?
4	Felt that you are ill?
5	Been getting any pains in your head?
6	Been getting a feeling of tightness or pressure in your head?
7	Been having hot or cold spells?
	<i>Anxiety symptoms</i>
8	Lost much sleep over worry?
9	Had difficulty in staying asleep once you are off?
10	Felt constantly under strain?
11	Been getting edgy and bad tempered?
12	Been getting scared or panicky for no good reason?
13	Found everything getting on top of you?
14	Been feeling nervous and strung-up all the time?
	<i>Poor coping symptoms</i>
15	Been managing to keep yourself busy and occupied?
16	Been taking longer over the things you do?
17	Felt on the whole you were doing things well?
18	Been satisfied with the way you've carried out your task?
19	Felt that you are playing a useful part in things?
20	Felt capable of making decisions about things?
21	Been able to enjoy your normal day-to-day activities?
	<i>Depression symptoms</i>
22	Been thinking of yourself as a worthless person?
23	Felt that life is entirely hopeless?
24	Felt that life isn't worth living?
25	Found at times you couldn't do anything because your nerves were too bad?
26	Thought of the possibility that you might do away with yourself?
27	Found yourself wishing you were dead and away from it all?
28	Found that the idea of taking your own life kept coming into your mind?

### 6.5.8 Question H: The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale

This question consisted of *The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale* (1965) which measured the self-esteem of subjects. It is a 10-item Guttman scale designed to measure global positive or negative attitudes toward the self, and includes the items in Table 6.12 below.

Table 6.12: *The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale*

No.	Item
1	On the whole, I am satisfied with myself
2	At times I think I am no good at all
3	I feel that I have a number of good qualities
4	I am able to do things as well as most other people
5	I feel I do not have much to be proud of
6	I certainly feel useless at times
7	I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others
8	I wish I could have more respect for myself
9	All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure
10	I take a positive attitude toward myself.

Pupils responded to this on a four point scale. Scoring for items 1, 3, 4, 7 and 10 which are positive items, are reversed when seeking scores for individual respondents to determine levels of self-esteem.

### 6.5.9 Question I: School Issues

This question consisted of the following list of items that referred to *Issues* concerning school: bullying, violence, name-calling, sexual harassment, ignoring, excluding, disobedience, discrimination, rudeness, noise, making fun of others, speaking foreign languages, pushing in corridors, prejudice, wearing make-up, talking in class, disrespect of teachers, wagging, racial harassment, verbal abuse, foul language, theft, wearing mufti, smoking, disrespect of students, tale-telling, drugs, disrespect of property, alcohol, vandalism.

Pupils were asked to circle those issues that they felt needed to be dealt with at school.

### 6.5.10 Question J: Demographic Data

This question consisted of *demographic and occupational* background questions concerning pupils and parents.

### 6.5.11 Scale Reliability

The *Interethnic Attitude Scales* that provide measures of perceived social acceptance in respect of Europeans, Polynesians and Asians, and the *Peer Victimization Index*, the *General Health Questionnaire* and the *Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale* all had a reasonable level of reliability in that the levels for Cronbach's alpha all exceeded 0.8 except for the Peer Victimization Index with Cronbach's alpha at 0.78, as indicated by Table 6.13 below. This suggested that these scales were well suited to the study population.

The reliability of the *Interethnic Attitude Scales* was excellent with Cronbach's Alpha value of above 0.80 for all three scales: Maori racism - Alpha = 0.82, European racism - Alpha = 0.88, Asian Racism - Alpha = 0.80. This suggested that there was probably sufficient communality in all 3 scales to justify their use. For this reason factor analyses were considered to be unnecessary. Missing values were computed for each item of these scales using SPSS's regression procedure. There were also significant positive correlations for these three scales, particularly in regard to Maori social acceptance and European social acceptance ( $r = 0.30$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ), and in regard to Maori social acceptance and Asian social acceptance ( $r = 0.34$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ). The plausibility of these correlations serves to further validate the use of these scales in this research.

The reliability of the *Social Distance Scale* has been reported to be as high as .90 (Shaw & Wright, 1967). The reliability of the Peer Victimization Index is moderate, Alpha = .7771, and the reliability of the Bully and victim scales which were extracted from the Peer Victimization Index is moderate with a Cronbach Alpha of 0.79 for the bully scale and 0.76 for the victim scale. The reliability of the General Health Questionnaire is excellent

(>0.80), Alpha = .9520, and the reliability of the Self-Esteem scale is excellent (>0.80), Alpha = .8436.

Table 6.13: *Correlations for scales: Significant correlations in bold print (Sig. < 0.05)*

	Scales					
	Perceptions of Racism in:-			Scales that measure		
	Europeans (1)	Maori (2)	Asians (3)	Peer Rejection (4)	Bad Health (5)	Self Esteem (6)
<b>Cronbach's Alpha</b>	0.88	0.82	0.80	0.78	0.95	0.84
<b>Correlation</b>						
<b>(1)</b>	<b>1.00</b>	<b>0.30</b>	<b>0.18</b>	0.11	0.03	-0.07
<b>(2)</b>	<b>0.30</b>	<b>1.00</b>	<b>0.34</b>	<b>0.25</b>	-0.02	-0.11
<b>(3)</b>	<b>0.18</b>	<b>0.34</b>	<b>1.00</b>	<b>0.31</b>	0.10	-0.08
<b>(4)</b>	0.11	<b>0.25</b>	<b>0.31</b>	<b>1.00</b>	<b>0.31</b>	<b>-0.34</b>
<b>(5)</b>	0.03	-0.02	0.10	<b>0.31</b>	<b>1.00</b>	<b>-0.41</b>
<b>(6)</b>	-0.07	-0.11	-0.08	<b>-0.34</b>	<b>-0.41</b>	<b>1.00</b>

## 6.6 PILOT STUDY

### 6.6.1 Survey

A draft version of the Social Acceptance Opinion Questionnaire was administered to a sample of pupils to determine the efficacy of the questionnaire as an instrument measuring social acceptance, and to test task facility and item appropriateness and discriminability. A small core class of twenty pupils from year 9 in a school similar to the test schools formed the sample for this pilot study. The class comprised nine European, one Maori, one Pacific Islander, three East Asian and six West Asian pupils. These pupils were informed of the purpose of the research and their role in testing the questionnaire, and were asked to request help from the researcher if necessary while completing the instrument. They were also asked to comment (on the last page of the questionnaire) on the suitability and usefulness of the questionnaire and the degree of ease or difficulty with which it was answered, in particular question A which had to be responded to three times, and to provide reasons for this.

All participants provided useful comments which indicated that they had experienced no problems in understanding or answering the questionnaire. Comments on the usefulness of such a study indicated that these pupils felt there were issues related to social acceptance which needed to be addressed. A few queries about instructions on the questionnaire enabled the researcher to eliminate ambiguities pertaining to these. The study also enabled the researcher to gain experience with administering the questionnaire, to confirm the efficacy of the instrument, and ascertain the time required to complete it. Analysis of the draft questionnaire data enabled the researcher to recognize and eliminate redundancies and to develop more effective analysis strategies.

Administration of the revised Social Acceptance Opinion Questionnaire in the main study resulted in data being available from a total sample of 208 pupils.

### **6.6.2 Interviews**

Pilot interviews were conducted with two pupils of Asian origin to test the efficacy of the interview schedule. One pupil was a year 13 West Asian female, and the other was a year 11 East Asian male pupil. The purpose of the interview was explained, and the pupils were asked to point out difficulties and suggest revisions during the course of the interview.

Both pupils found the interview to be effective and thought-provoking as it brought to the fore issues of non-acceptance that they had previously, either consciously or sub-consciously, concealed even from themselves. When asked how they felt about being interviewed on the topic, they said that the experience was almost cathartic. It had provided them with the opportunity to talk about issues that they normally found difficult to talk about. They appeared to look relieved after having shed a burden that they had carried for so long. Both pupils requested adding questions about the attitudes and behaviours of teachers which they believed contributed significantly to matters of social acceptance in schools. On the strength of these tests, some adjustments were made to the questions, collapsing some and adding a few.

This response appeared to indicate that the instrument had generally worked effectively, consequently, after the revisions mentioned above, the interview schedule was confirmed.

## 6.7 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND THEIR DATA GATHERING STRATEGIES

The *main question* that prompted this investigation is: To what extent do visible ethnic minority pupils of Asian origin perceive themselves as socially accepted in Auckland secondary schools?

In order to answer this question, several *related questions* need to be answered. Following are the ten specific research questions and a brief description of information gathering strategies that were used to answer them:

Question 1: What are visible ethnic minority pupils' perceptions of their social acceptance, and to what extent do personal, socio-cultural and situational variables including colonialism, liberalism and language influence these perceptions?

*Research Strategies:* Interethnic Attitude Scale, Self-Esteem Scale, Peer Victimization Index and open-ended questions in survey, interviews and observations.

Question 2: What are interethnic attitudes of local New Zealand and visible ethnic minority pupils in Auckland secondary schools, and is there congruence of perceptions amongst the different ethnic groups?

*Research Strategies:* survey of direct and meta-perspectives on interethnic attitude scale, stereotype index in survey, interviews and school observations.

Question 3: What effect does the school ecology have on interethnic interaction amongst pupils?

*Research Strategies:* survey of social distance between ethnic groups using the Social Distance Scale, interviews and school observations.

Question 4: What prejudices do visible ethnic minority pupils perceive to be held against them, and how is this perceived prejudice communicated to them?

*Research Strategies:* open-ended questions and Issues Index in survey, interviews and school observations).

Question 5: What do pupils perceive to be the causes of prejudice, the contexts and attributes that elicit prejudice, and the effects of stereotypes on prejudice?

*Research Strategies:* open-ended questions, Issues Index, and Stereotype Index in survey, interviews and school observations.

Question 6: What are pupils' perceptions of intimidatory practices at school, and to what extent are they victims and/or perpetrators of these?

*Research Strategies:* open-ended questions and Peer Victimization Index in survey, interviews and school observations.

Question 7: How do visible ethnic minority pupils cope with non-acceptance?

*Research Strategies:* open-ended questions, Peer Victimization Index, General Health Questionnaire, Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale, interviews and school observations.

Question 8: What are the psychological and physical effects of experiences and perceptions of negative encounters on visible ethnic minority pupils? To what extent are they affected?

*Research Strategies:* General Health Questionnaire and Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale in survey, interviews and observations.

Question 9: What issues do pupils consider to be problematic and in need of attention at school?

*Research Strategies:* Issues index in survey, and interviews.

Question 10: What are pupils' orientations toward the acculturation of immigrants?

*Research Strategies:* Acculturation Orientation Scale in survey.

## **6.8 MAIN STUDY PROCEDURE**

### **6.8.1 Presentation of Researcher**

Visits to schools were made in conservative attire that was not too formal and managerial, in order to gain the confidence, respect and co-operation of staff and pupils. However, although an attempt was made to blend in with the dress of most teachers, it was necessary to present smartly at all times due to the researcher's natural characteristics of female,

visible ethnic minority which often automatically elicit assumptions of inferiority and ignorance. It is common knowledge that ascribed characteristics such as age, gender and race restrict the sort of person the researcher can become and the sort of relationship that can be developed with subjects (Foster, 1996: 32). Visits to homes were always made in casual attire so as to identify with the visible ethnic minority parents and pupils interviewed, and place them at ease. This resulted in relaxed and comfortable conversations which provided rich and meaningful data.

During all the research procedures including the survey, interviews, conversations and observations, steps were taken to ensure minimal reactivity, that is, the effect of the researcher and the research process on responses (Foster, 1996: 16), by placing respondents at ease with some gesture of friendliness such as a smile and/or 'small talk' where appropriate, except during the observations when no 'small talk' was engaged in to preserve the unobtrusive nature of the observations.

### **6.8.2 Approach to Principals**

It was assumed that the willingness of the principals and Boards of Trustees of these schools to participate represented a positive attitude to research, a concern for providing a safe and happy learning environment to their pupils, and trust in the researcher. This would translate into a positive working relationship of co-operation and mutual respect with these schools, and ultimately, an enjoyable and rewarding research experience for all concerned.

These principals were therefore invited to discuss the research at greater length over lunch at the College of Education. They were briefed on the details of the study and offered a degree of control over the research by allowing some collaboration, such as suggesting additions to the questionnaire which could be useful to their schools, and determining convenient times at which different stages of the research would occur, in order to ensure that their schools and staff were not inconvenienced in any way. This demonstrated a respect for their right to be consulted and involved, and ensured that the research would address their concerns and produce information that they would find useful. Questions

suggested by two principals were duly included. All possible help was offered with the administration of the research at their schools such as sample selection, addressing of envelopes to parents, collection of consent forms and the final administering of the survey, so as to minimize the creation of additional work for the staff. This offer was eagerly accepted by all three principals and subsequently honoured by the researcher.

### **6.8.3 School Sample Selection Process**

Nine secondary schools with comparatively large proportions of the five main ethnic groups were initially selected from the greater Auckland area. They were approached requesting a breakdown of the category 'Asian' into Indian and Chinese with the numbers of these pupils enrolled at that time. Six of these schools responded to the request. Their principals and boards of trustees were sent information sheets explaining the nature and purpose of the study and the methods to be employed, and invited to participate in the study. Of these, two refused to participate, offering an inundation with such requests as their reason, and one did not respond. The three schools that agreed to participate were included in the study. Coincidentally and fortunately, these turned out to be schools from each of the SES areas in Auckland.

#### ***Survey Sample Selection Process***

In an attempt to eliminate any systematic bias and to maximize the chance that the sample would have similar characteristics to the school population as a whole, a randomly selected sample of 450 pupils was drawn in equal numbers from each of the five ethnic groups in the three schools to participate in the survey. These were pupils who considered themselves as belonging to (self-nomination) the ethnic groups of New Zealand European, Maori, Pacific Island, West Asian (including South Asian and Middle Eastern) and East Asian (including Southeast Asian and Japanese). Participants were selected from years 9, 11 and 13 to provide a wide range of maturity levels that may have an influence on attitudes and perceptions. The 450 pupils consisted of 150 pupils per school, with 50 pupils from each level, comprising of 10 from each ethnic group, with five males and five females

in each group. Although selection was randomly made, it was guided by the procuring of equal numbers of both sexes in each ethnic group. These 450 pupils were invited to participate in the research, and were given information sheets and consent forms to take home to their parents.

The information sheet provided details of the researcher, explained the nature and purpose of the study, and the methods to be employed. The study was introduced as a survey of pupils' opinions on the social acceptance of pupils from minority cultures. Pupils and parents/guardians were assured of their right to decline participation, the confidentiality and anonymity of responses, their right of withdrawal at any time during the study, and their right to receive information about the outcome of the study in an appropriate form. Formal, informed consent was procured by asking both parents/guardians and pupils of years 9 and 11, and pupils of year 13 and parents/guardians if necessary, to sign the consent form and return to the school in the envelope provided, if they chose to participate. Tutors were asked by their principals in each school to encourage their pupils to participate so that an adequate sample could be procured.

As initial responses were slow, the researcher requested addressing the original sample at each school in order to further explain the purpose and value of the study and to encourage pupils to participate. This had a positive effect on responses which improved considerably thereafter. Of the 450 information sheets and consent forms sent to parents, 235 forms were finally signed and returned to the schools, consenting to participate in the study. However, some of the pupils who agreed to participate did not turn up on the day of the survey. The number of pupils who finally answered the questionnaire was 208. It was endeavoured to have equal numbers from each ethnic group, however, final numbers were determined by pupil responses.

### ***Interview Sample Selection Process***

Parents and pupils were interviewed as a follow up to the written surveys that were conducted at schools. These interviews were conducted at venues elected by the

interviewees. All interviewees chose to be interviewed at their homes, except two pupils who preferred to be interviewed away from home and not in the presence of their parents. One chose to do this after school on the school premises, and the other, during the weekend, in a park in the neighbourhood. The duration of the interviews ranged from 10 minutes for two parents with English as a second language, to 65 minutes for a very motivated parent. The average duration was 35 minutes.

*Pupils* were asked to indicate on their consent forms whether they wished to participate in interviews that were to follow the survey. Of the 235 who returned positive replies, 167 indicated that they were willing to be interviewed. Of these, 104 were non-Asian pupils, 43 were West Asian, and 20 were East Asian. A total of 36 pupils, 18 West Asian and 18 East Asian, were selected from this group. This group comprised 12 pupils from each of the three schools, six being West Asian and 6 East Asian, with one female and one male from each of the three levels of year 9, year 11 and year 13. A final sample of 35 pupils was interviewed.

When selecting pupils for interviews, the intention was to have one male and one female pupil of East and West Asian origin, per level, in each school. This would have provided a total of 18 pupils in each of the two ethnic groups per school, with a grand total of 36 pupil interviewees. However, it proved to be difficult to procure the desired number of pupils of East Asian origin for interviews in all three schools, particularly in one. The primary reason for this was their fear of communicating in English, which was their second language. Many pupils were also away overseas or had changed their location at the time when interviews were conducted, and could therefore not be contacted. Consequently, only 15 of these pupils were interviewed.

On the other hand, pupils of West Asian origin were easily located and the desired 18 procured. Two additional pupils were interviewed for the following reasons: One parent substituted himself, at the time of the interview, with his year 11 daughter as he felt he could not express himself adequately in English. Although she provided information that her father would have, most of it concerned her experiences at school, so she was regarded

as a pupil respondent. Another year 13 pupil who had agreed to be interviewed on her consent form, was present at her friend's home during her interview, and implored me to interview her as well. As it was difficult to turn away such an eager respondent who had participated in the survey and expected to be interviewed, she was added to the list. Consequently, 20 pupils of West Asian origin were interviewed.

*Parents* of pupils who participated in the interviews were telephoned by the researcher and invited to be interviewed as well. Nineteen of these agreed to participate. As for East Asian pupils, it was also difficult to procure East Asian parents for interviews. Consequently, five parents of the desired 12 had to be interviewed whose children were not at the three participating schools, but at other similar schools in the same levels. These five were solicited in order to procure the desired number of 24, as some parents were unwilling to participate due to a lack of proficiency in English.

West Asian parents were more easily located and 11 were procured from the three participating schools. Only one had to be interviewed whose child was at another school similar to the three participating schools. As with the additional Chinese parents, this parent conveyed similar concerns as those whose children attended the participating schools. While this resulted in a minimal sacrifice of the purity of the research design, which was necessary for pragmatic reasons, it did in no way compromise the data collected, as these parents conveyed similar concerns as those whose children attended the participating schools.

### ***Teacher Selection for Conversations***

The researcher was asked by the principals to address the staff of the three schools on the first morning of the on-site studies of the school ecology. At this time teachers were invited to engage in informal conversations with the researcher during intervals and before and after school. However, very few teachers came forward to do this. The researcher then approached teachers and engaged them in discussions about the social climate within their schools. Some teachers whose classes were observed were also conversed with at the end of

the lesson if they had no class thereafter. These conversations lasted from ten to thirty minutes.

### ***Principals and Counsellors***

Formal appointments were made with school principals and counsellors to discuss the social climate of their schools, and time was allocated for this during school hours, in their offices. The nature of these conversations was hence a little more formal than those with teachers, and the duration ranged from half an hour to one hour with a principal.

## **6.8.4 Data Collection Procedures**

### ***Survey***

The questionnaire was presented in the form of a twelve page booklet, and consisted of a mixture of Likert-type scales, ranking and list formats, and open-ended questions. These questionnaires were administered to pupils by the researcher, in the halls of two schools and the library of one. The procedure was explained to pupils before they answered them, and assistance was provided if required. The special procedure for Question A, the Interethnic Attitude Scale was explained clearly and in detail. Participants were asked to answer the scale three times, once rating their own perceptions (direct perspectives), followed by their ratings of the two other groups' responses to each group (meta-perspectives). In other words, if they were Maori/Pacifika, for example, and had answered one part for themselves, for the next two parts they would consider what answers a European and an Asian would give. Pupils were not allowed to discuss their responses while answering the questionnaire. The average time taken to complete the task was approximately 40 minutes.

### ***Interviews and Conversations***

The relationship the researcher develops with the people being studied is critical to the success of the research. Accordingly, the trust and confidence of teachers was gained by being professional yet friendly, and by displaying an understanding of the difficulties faced

by them in dealing with a multicultural school population with which many were not too familiar. The trust and confidence of pupils and parents was gained by locating myself within their world by identifying with them as a fellow visible ethnic minority immigrant of Asian origin at the beginning of the interview, and by empathising with them and listening sympathetically to their experiences in a foreign country and to their perceptions of their social acceptance.

As Smith and Kornblum (1996) illustrate, empathy can become a problem as objectivity can be lost in the process. Bearing this in mind, the researcher ensured that contributions to the dialogue were limited to nods and monosyllables of understanding and agreement. Non-verbal language, such as facial expressions, eye behaviour, use of space, hand gestures, and tone of voice, was also observed as it often provides more information than the spoken word.

### *Pupil Interviews*

The purpose of interviews was to provide additional information on pupils' perceptions of their social acceptance. A total of 35 interviews were conducted with West and East Asian pupils, by the researcher. This subset of Asian pupils was contacted by telephone to arrange times and venues for interviews. This was done in the first week of January when it was expected that most families would be back from vacations. All pupils, except two, were interviewed at home. Of the two who did not wish to be interviewed within earshot of their parents, one was interviewed at school, and the other in a neighbouring park.

It was decided to conduct these follow-up interviews in January of the following year rather than immediately after the surveys for the following reasons: Pupils were busy with preparations for examinations which were to be done shortly after the surveys were conducted. They were also to be engaged in end of year activities immediately after examinations which would have distracted them from focussing on interviews. It was also considered advantageous to allow them a period of time between surveys and interviews which would place them in a position from which they could reflect more clearly on the previous year.

The interviews were open-ended, in-depth and active to allow direct, unrestricted gathering of qualitative data on pupils' perceptions and experiences of social acceptance. A schedule incorporating all the variables being investigated was used as a guide to ensure that all aspects were covered. Parents were invited to sit in on these interviews, and many chose to do that. Respondents were placed at ease and sufficient rapport established with them by engaging them in some 'small talk' prior to commencing the interviews. All the interviews were recorded with the permission of the interviewees, and these were transcribed by the researcher. The duration of the interviews ranged from 25 minutes for a few pupils with English as a second language, to 55 minutes. The average duration was 40 minutes.

#### *Parent Interviews*

As with pupil interviews, parent interviews were open-ended, in-depth and active to allow direct, unrestricted gathering of qualitative data on their perceptions and experiences of social acceptance. Here again, rapport was also established with parents by engaging in some 'small talk' and a schedule was used as a guide. Parents were all interviewed at home, and all interviews were recorded with their permission and transcribed by the researcher. The duration of the interviews ranged from 10 minutes to 65 minutes, and the average duration was 35 minutes.

#### *Teacher Conversations*

Informal conversations were conducted with a total of 85 teachers in the three schools observed. These conversations were held during observations at schools to capture a larger group of respondents on site, which would provide a more spontaneous and richer set of data. They were conducted as a follow-up procedure to interviews with pupils and parents, to procure their perceptions of the social climate within their schools. Most of these conversations were held during intervals, before and after school in the staff room, while some were conducted in classrooms after pupils had left.

The conversations were open-ended and responses were sought to four main questions which were asked informally as part of a casual discussion. They were: (1) What are your

perceptions of social acceptance within this school? (2) What, in your view, are the circumstances that contribute toward this situation? (3) Is there any way in which the social climate in this school can be improved? (4) How do you feel about the ethnic diversity of your school population? Do you see it as advantageous or disadvantageous? Why? The duration of these conversations ranged from 5 minutes with a few teachers who were not particularly keen to talk, to 30 minutes with motivated teachers. The average duration was approximately 15 minutes.

#### *Conversations with Counsellors and Mediators*

The counsellors and pupil mediators (if any) of each school were asked three additional questions to those asked to teachers. These were specific to their roles in the schools. They concerned the main reasons for pupil visits to them, whether pupils ever complained about ethnic/racial intimidation of any kind to them, and whether they had ever recognised ethnic/racial undertones to problems of a general nature presented to them. If so, how often did this happen, and how did they deal with it. These conversations were held in their offices and, consequently, acquired a more formal tone. However, they were placed at ease by the conversational tone employed by the researcher. The average duration of these conversations was approximately 35 minutes.

#### *Conversations with Principals*

Conversations were conducted with principals much in the same way as those with counsellors. They were held in their offices and, consequently, acquired a formal tone. Principals were asked questions in the following areas: (1) their perceptions of social acceptance within their schools; (2) what factors or characteristics of their schools created the kind of social climate that they have, and (3) whether there was anything that they could or would like to do to improve the social environment of their schools for both staff and pupils. The average duration of these conversations was approximately 45 minutes.

### *School Observations*

On site ecological studies involving unobtrusive observations were conducted at the three participating schools to explore the social processes within the schools that were thought to influence perceptions of social acceptance, and to validate data provided during interviews, conversations, and in the survey. One week was spent at each school during which time observations were made of social interactions in classrooms and around the school, and an effort was made to ensure that the visits were well managed and non-obtrusive. Permission was requested in writing from principals to allow the researcher to observe approximately two year 13, three year 11 and five year 9 classes in each of their schools. In two schools, classes to be observed were chosen by the principals who informed teachers of the impending visit by the observer. In one school, volunteers for this had to be sought by the researcher herself. An announcement to this effect was made by the principal in the staff room, and deans and heads of departments volunteered their classes. One head of department also volunteered the class of one of her 'good' teachers. In the other two schools classes chosen by the principals were all those of deans and heads of departments, except one. Although prior arrangements were made with teachers by principals in most cases, permission was also sought individually from these teachers by the observer to enter their classrooms, and no class was entered till the teacher arrived.

Even though their interactions with pupils were also to be observed, teachers were told only that the purpose of the visit was to observe pupil interactions. This minor concealment was necessary in order to minimise personal reactivity on their part, so that their usual behaviour could be observed as much as possible. They were asked to point out a discreet position, preferably at the back of the class, that could be occupied by the observer without causing too much distraction and disruption to the class. Sitting in front was avoided, even though it would have provided a better view of facial expressions, because it would have caused too much reactivity. Whenever possible, this was done before the pupils entered the class, so as to minimise the intrusion and draw as little attention to the observer as possible.

Although reluctance was sometimes displayed, despite prior arrangement by the principal in most cases, the observer was never turned away. Teachers were allowed to choose whether they wished to introduce the observer to their classes, or whether they wished to ignore her presence. Some chose to make an introduction, while others preferred not to deviate from their normal procedures. When an introduction was made, the observer was merely described as someone observing the lesson. This was done, again, in order to reduce personal reactivity on the behaviour of the pupils.

As observation was used as triangulation to validate data obtained from surveys and interviews, social interaction with pupils was avoided. There was no verbal communication between observer and pupils at any time, either in the classroom or on the grounds. The only form of communication that did occur, was a smile if eye contact was made with pupils. This was done to put them at ease and to avoid making them feel threatened in any way.

As one of the aims of the observation process was to be flexible and responsive to the ideas and issues which emerged during the course of data collection, the focus of observations was wide, and the concern was to obtain a broad overview and basic information. At the same time, it was also attempted to include detailed records of events and behaviours that impact on perceptions of social acceptance. Therefore all observations which appeared to be potentially relevant or interesting were recorded. An assessment of reactivity was also recorded where relevant.

Classroom observations were recorded while in the classroom in the form of field notes in a notebook. Field notes were preferred as a method of recording observations because of their flexibility and the greater degree of detail allowed in the narrative account. These were recorded in the form of summaries of general impressions and descriptions, and details of behaviour, and the physical and social context in which it occurred. This allowed 'a fuller appreciation of meanings in play in particular situations' (Foster, 1996: 47). Where possible, conversations heard were recorded verbatim.

Observations made around the school on the playgrounds, at the canteen and at the entrances, during intervals and before and after school, were recorded immediately after the session in order to ensure that all information was recorded correctly and completely, without any distortion or loss of data. Breaks were taken after each observation session to allow time for recording and analysing of notes, and reflection on the research. More junior classes were observed than senior classes as undesirable social behaviour is generally known to be more prevalent in junior classes, and to decrease with maturity. This trend was also reported by respondents during interviews.

## **6.9 DATA ANALYSIS**

### **6.9.1 Surveys**

The questionnaires and responses were coded using a guide developed for the study, and all coding was done by the researcher. The coded data was then entered into a *SPSS*<sup>™</sup> database by a qualified technician employed by the university, and analysed with the assistance of a statistician using procedures from the *SPSS*<sup>™</sup> programme (Version 10, 2001). The qualitative responses were thematically analysed by the researcher in relation to the research questions and variables.

### **6.9.2 Interviews and Conversations**

The analysis of interviews is considered to be the final stage of listening to hear the meaning of what was said by the respondents (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). The data heard and transcribed was closely examined and coded by the researcher and the themes and concepts that describe the world of the interviewees were extracted and divided into categories. The material in these categories was then examined for variations and nuances in meaning and connections between themes, so that these could be integrated into theories that offer an accurate, detailed, yet subtle interpretation of that material.

### **6.9.3 Observations**

The analysis of observations was conducted in much the same way as the analysis of interviews. The field notes were closely examined and coded by the researcher, and the themes and concepts were extracted and divided into categories. This material was then examined for variations and nuances in meaning and connections between themes, and these were then integrated into theories.

## **6.10 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

The design of the research was guided by the ethical requirements of the Ethics Committee of Massey University in Albany, and by the intention of the study which is to assist visible ethnic minority pupils experiencing difficulties of social acceptance by providing them with the opportunity to communicate their feelings, and to initially create awareness amongst teachers about difficulties being experienced by their ethnic minority pupils, and to finally initiate improvements in attitudes and practices within schools where possible.

### **6.10.1 Safety, Anonymity and Confidentiality**

The safety of the participants was considered to be of utmost importance, accordingly, all participants were assured of their right to decline participation, the confidentiality and anonymity of responses, their right of withdrawal at any time during the study without prejudice, and to request that any previous information be destroyed. They were also informed of their right to receive information about the outcome of the study in an appropriate form. The procedures for ensuring anonymity and confidentiality were explained to the participants by the researcher when administering surveys and conducting interviews. Consent forms, questionnaires and interview transcripts were coded and pupils were not required to write their names on the questionnaires to further protect their identities. As large groups of pupils answered the questionnaires, the possibility of individuals being identified was reduced. Identities of pupils participating in interviews were protected as interviews were conducted in private and only the researcher was in contact with them. Should incidents of severe non-acceptance and bullying be uncovered, it was decided that pupils would be referred to the school counsellor, with the pupil's

permission, for the protection of that pupil. Such intervention was not necessary as steps were already being undertaken by those involved in such incidents.

Administration of questionnaires and observation of pupils were carried out at schools, and observations of pupil interactions were non-obtrusive. Interviewees were allowed to select the venue for the interviews so that they would feel safe and comfortable, and for the same reason, it was recommended that they be conducted in the participant's home. The researcher travelled to the participants at all times, and they were not expected to travel to the researcher, except for the answering of questionnaires which were administered when pupils were already at school.

### **6.10.2 Informed Consent**

Two separate descriptions of the study and statements of what was being requested of the participants, written in a manner appropriate to the audience, were sent to Boards of Trustees/principals/teachers and to parents/guardians/pupils. Separate consent forms were provided for Boards of trustees and principals granting permission for the schools to participate in the study. Separate consent forms were also provided for teachers and parents consenting to participate in interviews if required, and for pupils consenting to participate in the survey and interviews. However, teachers chose not to sign these forms as they did not consider them to be necessary. Formal, informed consent was procured by asking both parents/guardians and pupils of years 9 and 11, and pupils (and parents/guardians if necessary) of year 13 to sign the consent form and return to the school in the envelope provided, if they chose to participate after careful consideration of the information.

Those individuals who had signed the consent form indicating a willingness to participate in the study were informed by the school when the survey would be conducted. Interviewees were contacted individually by the researcher by telephone to arrange interviews.

### **6.10.3 Security**

The raw data contained in questionnaire answers, interview transcripts, and written reports gained from observations, were securely stored in a research archive in room 54.03A in the Educational Psychology Training Programme building, and will be destroyed after the completion of the project. Interviews were recorded with the permission of the interviewees and were transcribed by the researcher. All data was kept confidential and secure and was only used in the research outlined and in publications arising from the study. The results of the research will be made available to the participants in an appropriate form if requested.

### **6.11 SUMMARY**

This chapter outlined the data gathering methods undertaken in this study. It described the research design in detail and justified its suitability. The participants in the study and the ways in which they were procured were clearly described. It also described the techniques used to pilot-test the instruments. The research questions were enumerated and appropriate research strategies were related to them. Thereafter, the various procedures, namely surveys, interviews and observations utilised for information gathering and analysis were explicitly presented. Finally, the ethical and security considerations made with respect to this study were outlined.

# CHAPTER SEVEN

## SURVEY RESULTS

*We may not be able to control what others do to us, but we can control the way we respond to it*

### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the results for the quantitative aspect of the data which was obtained from a survey of pupils from the five main ethnic groups in New Zealand. The data includes: (1) interethnic attitudes, (2) social distance, (3) perceptions of intimidatory behaviour, (4) stereotypes, (5) orientation toward acculturation, (6) issues of concern at schools (7) perceptions of peer victimisation including bullies and victims, (8) perceptions of health, (9) perceptions of self-esteem, (10) effects of demographic factors, (11) correlations for peer victimisation, health and self-esteem, (12) school comparisons, and (13) a structural equation model for perceptions of social acceptance. Refer to chapter six for a discussion of these scales.

Various *SPSS*<sup>TM</sup> techniques are utilised to analyse the data which is focussed, verified and organised into themes. A Structural Equation Model for Perceptions of Social Acceptance developed from the theory is used to confirm the results obtained from the scales. Some statistically insignificant results are reported as they provide interesting and useful data that has not been previously available. Also, with a larger sample size, some of these differences could possibly be significant. Summaries of the analyses follow:

### 7.2 INTERETHNIC ATTITUDES

Using the items shown in Table 7.1 below, scales were calculated for perceived levels of social acceptance for Europeans, Maori/Pacifika and Asians, which were used to determine

interethnic attitudes. In these scales items 3, 5, 8, 12, 24, and 25 were reversed. Low values for these scales indicate high levels of social acceptance. High values indicate a relative lack of social acceptance.

EUROPEAN = Perceived level of European social acceptance

MAORIFI = Perceived level of Maori and Pacific Island social acceptance

ASIAN = Perceived level of Asian social acceptance

### 7.2.1 Direct Perspectives of Ethnic Groups

'Direct perspectives' refers to a group's own perceptions of other groups or conditions. For ease of comparison, relative differences between the groups are presented in the text as descriptions based on the average ranking on the scale items, together with the actual level of statistical significance for each item for the ethnic differences. These are also displayed in the tables. A between groups comparison of the means for each item of the Ethnic Attitude Scale (showing levels of social acceptance) is displayed in Table 7.2.

Means for each ethnic group indicate that social acceptance levels for the three broad ethnic groups are moderate, being in the range 2-4 where 2 means relatively high levels of social acceptance and 4 means relatively low levels of social acceptance. European and Maori/Pacific means tend to be relatively high suggesting low levels of social acceptance. Asian means tend to be relatively low suggesting higher levels of social acceptance. These overall results indicate that, whilst the three groups appear to have moderate views about each other (means between 2-4) they show significantly greater preference (higher levels of social acceptance) for their own groups (P-value=0.000 for Friedman's Related Sample Test). The mean preference ratings for Europeans and Maori were slightly higher than for Asians although this difference was not statistically significant. The *European* mean preferences for other groups were: Pacific Islanders (2.54), Maori (2.60), East Asians (2.60) and West Asians (2.70). *Maori/Pacific* participants indicated a preference for Maori and Pacific Islanders significantly more than the other ethnic groups (mean, P-value = 0.000). The mean preference ratings were: Europeans (2.79), East Asians (2.98), and West Asians

(3.08). Maori/Pacifica recorded a significantly higher preference for Europeans than Asians (P-value=0.003). In contrast, *Asians* participants recorded a significantly higher preference for Europeans (2.51) compared with Pacific Islanders (2.73) and Maori (2.93) (P = 0.006).

The *Anti-European subscale* measures acceptance or non-acceptance of Europeans. *Maori/Pacifika* means tend to be relatively low for Europeans (2.79) and 'Kiwi' morals and values (2.00), suggesting higher levels of social acceptance, but the means tend to be relatively high for Colonialism (3.84) and the idea of White superiority (3.94), suggesting less acceptance of these ideas. Similarly, *Asian* means for Europeans (2.51) and Kiwi morals and values (2.72) suggest higher levels of acceptance, but the means for Colonialism (3.39) and the idea of White superiority (3.57) suggest little acceptance of these ideas. This suggests more acceptance of Europeans, but less acceptance of some of the ideas associated with Europeans (P-value = 0.000). However, Maori/Pacifika and Asians differ slightly (P-value>0.05) on European immigration which Asians rated more highly on average (2.59) than Maori/Pacifika (3.08). *Europeans* rated more highly on average for 'Europeans' (1.60), suggesting high acceptance of themselves, and more moderately for European immigration (2.15) and Kiwi morals and values (2.35). However, the means for Colonialism (3.64) and White superiority (3.49) tend to be relatively high, suggesting less acceptance of these ideas amongst Europeans as well (P-value = 0.000).

The *Anti-Asian subscales* were designed to measure acceptance or non-acceptance of East (Chinese) and West Asians (Indians). *Maori/Pacifika* means for East Asians (2.98), West Asians (3.08) and Asian neighbours (2.94) tend to be relatively low (and not significantly different) suggesting higher levels of social acceptance of Asians. But means tend to be significantly higher for Asian immigration (3.45) and Asian languages (3.22), Schools without Asians (3.20), and Sending Asians back to their country (3.46), suggesting that although acceptance levels are lower for Asian Immigration and Asian languages there is also opposition to the idea of schools without Asians or the idea of sending Asians back to their own countries. *European* means for East Asians (2.60), West Asians (2.70), Asian neighbours (2.51), Asian culture (2.60), Asian languages (2.94) and Highly civilised Asians (2.58) tend to be significantly lower (P-value<0.05) than for Maori/Pacifika, suggesting

more acceptance of these peoples and issues. Means for Asian immigration (3.15), Schools without Asians (3.93) and Sending Asians back to their country (4.15) tend to be relatively high suggesting less acceptance of these ideas by Europeans. This suggests moderate levels of acceptance of Asians and these ideas associated with them, especially in the case of Europeans. *Asians'* means for all items concerning themselves are low (total mean=1.84), suggesting high levels of acceptance, while means for Schools without Asians (4.25) and Sending Asians back to their country (4.66) are high, suggesting very little acceptance of these issues.

The *Anti-Maori/Pacifika subscale* measures acceptance or non-acceptance of Maori and Pacific Islanders. *European* means for Maori (2.60), Pacific Islanders (2.54), and Maori traditions (2.79) tend to be relatively low, suggesting higher levels of social acceptance. As expected the mean for Polynesian inferiority was high (3.85) suggesting low acceptance of this notion. Similarly, *Asian* means for Maori (2.93), Pacific Islanders (2.73) and Maori traditions (2.80) tend to be relatively low, suggesting higher levels of social acceptance, but means for Polynesian inferiority (3.49) suggest low acceptance of this notion. *Maori/Pacifika* rated more highly on average for Maori (1.87) and Pacific Islanders (1.77), suggesting high acceptance of themselves. There was a significant difference between Maori/Pacifika (2.97), Europeans (3.85) and Asians (3.49) in terms of their acceptance of the notion of *Polynesian inferiority* (P-value = 0.000 for an independent samples t-test), suggesting that Maori/Pacifika perceive themselves as inferior more than Asians and Europeans do.

The means were uniformly low and there were no significant differences between the groups for Equal opportunity for all (E 1.66, M/P 1.80, A 1.68), Equality of races (E 1.79, M/P 1.87, A 1.70) and Multicultural education (E 1.85, M/P 1.88, A 1.77), suggesting high levels of acceptance of these items. Means for Ethnic minority rights (E 2.96, M/P 2.16, A 2.26) and Mixed relationships (E 2.06, M/P 2.19, A 2.41) tend to be relatively low, suggesting relatively higher levels of acceptance.

The direct perspectives of the three broad ethnic groups, showing levels of social acceptance for each of the 25 items, are shown in table 7.1 below. Maori and Pacific Islanders have been combined as ‘Maori/Pac’, and West and East Asian have been combined as ‘Asian’.

Table 7.1: *Direct Perspectives of Social Acceptance for the Three Broad Ethnic Groups*

Item	Perceptions of Non-Acceptance – Mean (Std. Dev.) in:						P Values
	Europeans (n=48)		Maori/Pac (n=67)		Asians (n=85)		
	Mean	Sd	Mean	Sd	Mean	Sd	
Europeans	1.60	.71	2.79	1.05	2.51	.93	0.000
Highly civilized Asians	2.58	.82	3.06	.98	1.80	.87	0.000
Colonialism	3.64	1.01	3.84	1.07	3.39	1.34	0.114
Asian immigration	3.15	.82	3.45	1.00	1.93	.94	0.000
White superiority	3.49	1.28	3.94	1.20	3.57	1.28	0.097
Maori	2.60	.94	1.87	1.07	2.93	1.05	0.000
Kiwi morals and values	2.35	1.10	2.00	.94	2.72	1.05	0.000
Polynesian inferiority	3.85	.97	2.97	1.54	3.49	1.05	0.002
Ethnic minority rights	2.96	1.18	2.16	1.12	2.26	1.09	0.001
Pacific Islanders	2.54	.90	1.77	1.09	2.73	1.10	0.000
Equal opportunity for all	1.66	.94	1.80	1.12	1.68	1.12	0.680
Schools without Asians	3.93	1.16	3.20	1.34	4.25	1.29	0.000
Ethnic pride	2.08	.79	1.98	1.29	1.87	1.02	0.227
Asian neighbours	2.51	.83	2.94	1.14	1.88	1.00	0.000
Multicultural education	1.85	.92	1.88	1.15	1.77	.97	0.814
East Asians	2.60	.80	2.98	1.01	1.83	1.02	0.000
Equality of races	1.79	1.03	1.87	1.10	1.70	1.03	0.602
Asian languages	2.94	1.03	3.22	1.29	1.71	.96	0.000
Mixed relationships	2.06	.99	2.19	1.13	2.41	1.24	0.331
European immigration	2.15	.65	3.08	1.17	2.59	.96	0.000
Exotic Asian culture	2.60	.96	3.06	1.23	1.74	.97	0.000
Maori tradition	2.79	1.17	2.03	1.16	2.80	1.08	0.000
West Asians	2.70	.78	3.08	.98	1.96	1.07	0.000
Separate schools for ethnic groups	4.28	1.02	3.91	1.18	3.99	1.18	0.199
Sending Asians back to their country	4.15	1.03	3.46	1.52	4.66	.88	0.000

\*5-point Scale: 1= Like very much, 2 = Like quite a lot, 3 = Like sometimes, 4 = Like very little, 5 = Do not like at all

\*\*Ordinal Logistic regression tests for independent samples were applied to obtain the P-values in view of the discrete ordinal scales

For item 1 there is a significant difference between the three ethnic groups, indicating that Europeans rate themselves more highly than other groups rate them. There is a significant difference for the three ethnic groups for items 2, 4, 12, 14 and 16, suggesting a greater level of agreement by Asians on these Asian issues compared with other groups. Similarly,

there is a significant difference for the three groups for items 6 and 10, suggesting that Maori/Pacifika rate themselves at a significantly higher level compared with the other groups. Finally, there is a significant difference for the three groups for item 7, suggesting that Maori/Pacifika are much more in favour of Kiwi Morals and Values than ‘Kiwis’ themselves and Asians.

### 7.2.2 Intergroup Preferences

Table 7.2 presents the order of preference for ethnic groups. This is a descriptive analysis based on an ordering of the means for items 1, 6, 10, 16 and 23. A closer examination of means for each of the five groups reveals that Maori (3.22) and West Asian (3.00) attitudes toward each other are mutual with both scoring approximately the same means in terms of each other. On the other hand, many other attitudes are not reciprocal. It is apparent that West Asians (1.84) show a higher level of social acceptance for East Asians, than East Asians show for West Asians (2.44); and East Asians apparently rate Pacific Islanders (2.79) higher than Pacific Islanders rate them (3.11). The European mean for social acceptance of Pacific Islanders is slightly higher than for the other groups (2.45), followed by Maori (2.60), East Asians (2.60) and West Asians (2.70). The Maori mean for social acceptance of Pacific Islanders (2.11) is higher than for Europeans (2.57), East Asians (2.81) and West Asians (3.22). The Pacific Islander mean for Maori acceptance (2.28) is higher than for Europeans (2.95), West Asians (2.97) and East Asians (3.11). The mean West Asian (Indian) level of acceptance for East Asians (1.84) is significantly higher than for Europeans (2.66), Pacific Islanders (2.67) and Maori (3.00). The mean acceptance levels of East Asians (Chinese) are similar for Europeans (2.34), West Asians (2.44), Pacific Islanders (2.79), and Maori (2.85).

Table 7.2: *Intergroup Preferences*

Order of preference	1 (Mean)	2 (Mean)	3 (Mean)	4 (Mean)
<b>Europeans (E)</b>	PI (2.45)	M (2.60)	EA (2.60)	WA(2.70)
<b>Maori (M)</b>	PI (2.11)	E (2.57)	EA (2.81)	WA(3.22)
<b>Pacific Islanders (PI)</b>	M (2.28)	E (2.95)	WA(2.97)	EA (3.11)
<b>West Asians (WA)</b>	EA (1.84)	E (2.66)	PI (2.67)	M (3.00)
<b>East Asians (EA)</b>	E (2.34)	WA(2.44)	PI (2.79)	M (2.85)

### 7.2.3 Meta-Perspectives of Social Acceptance for the Five Ethnic Groups

In this analysis, a group's own perceptions were compared with how other groups thought they perceived them. For example, the question was asked, 'Is there a significant difference between the perceptions of Europeans in regard to Maori attitudes, and actual Maori attitudes (i.e. perceptions of Maori themselves)?' Non-parametric Mann-Whitney tests were used to determine the significance of the results with ordinal logistic regression being used to confirm the significance. In all cases the response variable was a single ordinal item such as 'How much do you like Europeans / Maori / Pacific Islanders / East Asians / West Asians?'

#### *Interethnic Misconceptions*

It was found that, whilst pupil perceptions are often correct, there are also some significant misconceptions amongst them about interethnic attitudes. In several cases, feelings of groups toward other groups appear to be underestimated with pupils believing that groups accept other groups less than they appear to, or overestimated with pupils believing that groups accept other groups more than they appear to.

There appears to be some interesting *misconceptions about European attitudes* although these differences were not found to be statistically significant. Apparently, East Asians (3.06) tend to underestimate European acceptance (2.60) of Maori, while Maori (3.19) underestimate European acceptance of East Asians (2.60), and overestimate (2.39) European acceptance of themselves (2.60). East Asians also apparently underestimate (3.06) European acceptance of West Asians (2.70). While not attaining statistical significance, the results provide interesting information about misconceptions between the groups, which is potentially useful and may have a bearing on perceptions of social acceptance. Mann-Whitney P-values were confirmed using ordinal logistic regression.

Table 7.3a: *Misconceptions about European attitudes*

	<b>1=Like Very Much</b>	<b>P-value</b>
What Europeans think of Maori	2.60	0.422
What Maori think Europeans think of Maori	2.39	
What Europeans think of PI	2.54	0.213
What PI think Europeans think of PI	2.28	
What Europeans think of West Asians	2.70	0.193
What West Asians think Europeans think of WA	2.95	
What Europeans think of East Asians	2.60	0.197
What East Asians think Europeans think of EA	2.89	

There appears to be some significant *misconceptions about Maori/Pacifika attitudes*. The West Asian perception of their acceptance level by Pacific Islanders was lower (3.17) than apparent Pacific Islander levels (2.97); and by Maori, was slightly higher (3.17) than apparent Maori levels (3.22). East Asians rated Maori (2.81) and Pacific Islander (3.11) acceptance of them significantly less (3.35) than apparent levels. Europeans also rated Maori (2.57) and Pacific Islander (2.95) acceptance of them significantly less (3.19) than apparent levels. Europeans (1.47) and Asians (1.69) apparently over estimate Maori (2.11) and Pacific Islander (2.28) levels of acceptance for each other. Significant Mann-Whitney P-values were confirmed using ordinal logistic regression.

Table 7.3b: *Misconceptions about Maori/Pacifika Attitudes*

	<b>1=Like Very Much</b>	<b>P-value</b>
What PI think of Europeans	2.95	0.215
What Maori think of Europeans	2.57	0.002
What Europeans think Maori/ PI think of Europeans	3.19	
What PI think of West Asians	2.97	0.389
What Maori think of West Asians	3.22	0.957
What West Asians think Maori/PI think of WA	3.17	
What PI think of East Asians	3.11	0.316
What Maori think of East Asians	2.81	0.040
What East Asians think Maori/PI think of EA	3.35	

There are some significant differences evident between the groups which may reflect some *misconceptions about Asian attitudes*. Europeans (3.20) and Pacific Islanders (3.38) are

apparently under the impression that West Asians (3.00) and East Asians (2.85) accept Maori significantly less than they appear to, but Maori perceptions (2.93) appear to be more accurate. Europeans (1.80) and Pacific Islanders (1.82) appear to think that East Asians (2.44) accept West Asians significantly more than they apparently do. Pacific Islanders (3.21) are apparently under the impression that West (2.67) and East Asians (2.79) accept them significantly less than they appear to. Significant Mann-Whitney P-values were confirmed using ordinal logistic regression.

Table 7.3c: *Misconceptions about Asian Attitudes*

	<b>I=Like Very Much</b>	<b>P-value</b>
What West Asians think of Europeans	2.66	0.829
What East Asians think of Europeans	2.34	0.100
What Europeans think Asians think of Europeans	2.62	
What West Asians think of Maori	3.00	0.929
What East Asians think of Maori	2.85	0.587
What Maori think Asians think of Maori	2.93	
What West Asians think of PI	2.67	0.030
What East Asians think of PI	2.79	0.066
What Pacific Islanders think Asians think of PI	3.21	

### ***Misconceptions about Other Issues***

Only in the following cases (refer to Tables 4a and 4b below) were there misconceptions in relation to the meta-perspectives of other issues. Interestingly there were no misconceptions in regard to Asian attitudes.

### ***Significant Misconceptions regarding European Attitudes***

Europeans rated their liking for the concepts of Colonialism, White Superiority, Polynesian Inferiority and Schools without Asians at a lower level than other ethnic groups realise. Ordinal Log-Linear Regression showed significance levels of less than 0.006 for all these results. For these scales 1=do not like at all, 2=like very little, 3=like sometimes, 4=like quite a lot, 5=like very much. They rated Equality of races and Mixed relationships at a

significantly higher level, suggesting a somewhat greater level of acceptance of these items than other groups realise. They rated Separate schools for ethnic groups and Sending Asians back to their country at a lower level than other ethnic groups believe, suggesting a lower level of acceptance of these items. Ordinal Log-Linear Regression showed significance levels of less than 0.003 for all these results. In the following table the coding for Equality of races and Mixed relationships is 1=like very much, 2=like quite a lot, 3=like sometimes, 4=like very little, 5= do not like at all, while the coding for Separate schools for ethnic groups and Sending Asians back to their country is 1=do not like at all, 2=like very little, 3=like sometimes, 4=like quite a lot, 5=like very much.

Table 7.4a: *Misconceptions regarding European Attitudes toward Other Items*

Ethnicity	(Euro) Colonialism	(Euro) White Superiority	(Euro) Polynesian Inferiority	(Euro) Schools without Asians	(Euro) Equality of Races	(Euro) Mixed Relationships	(Euro) Separate Schools for Ethnic Groups	(Euro) Sending Asians back to their Country
<b>Euro Mean</b>	2.36	2.51	2.15	2.07	1.79	2.06	1.72	1.85
<b>N</b>	44	47	46	46	48	47	47	48
<b>S.D.</b>	1.01	1.28	.97	1.16	1.03	.99	1.02	1.03
<b>Maori Mean</b>	3.04	3.04	3.36	2.88	2.57	2.48	2.54	3.32
<b>N</b>	27	24	28	26	28	27	26	28
<b>S.D.</b>	1.26	1.37	1.37	1.40	1.20	1.12	1.33	1.54
<b>P. I. Mean</b>	2.82	2.97	3.15	2.62	2.46	2.28	2.35	2.41
<b>N</b>	38	35	39	39	39	39	37	39
<b>S.D.</b>	1.16	1.10	1.20	1.16	1.21	1.07	1.06	1.31
<b>W.A. Mean</b>	3.10	3.67	2.79	2.91	2.12	2.44	2.48	2.80
<b>N</b>	40	43	42	43	43	43	42	44
<b>S.D.</b>	1.34	1.29	1.05	1.27	1.07	1.22	1.38	1.56
<b>E.A. Mean</b>	3.31	3.78	2.94	2.89	2.61	3.14	2.64	2.66
<b>N</b>	35	36	36	35	36	35	36	35
<b>S.D.</b>	1.37	1.20	.95	1.25	1.05	1.00	1.17	1.33
<b>Total Mean</b>	2.90	3.18	2.82	2.63	2.26	2.45	2.30	2.54
<b>N</b>	184	185	191	189	194	191	188	194
<b>S.D.</b>	1.26	1.33	1.17	1.27	1.14	1.13	1.23	1.42

#### *Misconceptions of Maori/PI Attitudes*

The following table (7.4b) suggests that Maori (1.57) may value Kiwi morals and values more than other ethnic groups realise, while Maori (1.89) and Pacific Island pupils (1.87) may value Multicultural education more than other ethnic groups realise. Pacific Island (2.34) pupils do not appear to value Maori tradition as much as other races apparently think

they do, but this is confounded by the Maori/Pacifika mix of attitudes being assessed. Finally Maori (2.14) and Pacific Island pupils (2.05) appear to value Separate schools for ethnic groups less than other ethnic groups realise. Ordinal Log-Linear Regression showed significance levels of less than 0.010 for all these results. In this table 1=like very much, 2=like quite a lot, 3=like sometimes, 4=like very little, 5= do not like at all in all cases except Separate schools for ethnic groups. For this last column 1=do not like at all, 2=like very little, 3=like sometimes, 4=like quite a lot, 5=like very much.

Table 7.4b: *Misconceptions of Maori/PI Attitudes.*

<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>(Maori/Pac) Kiwi Morals and Values</b>	<b>(Maori/Pac) Multicultura l Education</b>	<b>(Maori/Pac) Maori Tradition</b>	<b>(Maori/Pac) Separate Schools for Ethnic Groups</b>	
<b>European</b>	Mean N S.D.	2.57 47 .93	2.17 47 1.01	1.36 47 .87	2.87 46 1.22
<b>Maori</b>	Mean N S.D.	1.57 28 .69	1.89 28 1.13	1.61 28 .99	2.14 28 1.18
<b>Pacific Is.</b>	Mean N S.D.	2.31 39 .98	1.87 39 1.17	2.34 38 1.19	2.05 39 1.19
<b>W. Asian</b>	Mean N S.D.	2.05 38 1.01	2.54 41 1.12	1.50 42 .83	2.85 41 1.31
<b>E. Asian</b>	Mean N S.D.	2.46 35 .92	2.41 34 .92	1.49 35 .89	3.03 33 1.13
<b>Total</b>	Mean N S.D.	2.24 187 .97	2.19 189 1.09	1.65 190 1.01	2.61 187 1.27

#### 7.2.4 Attitudes to Immigration

Pupils meta-perceptions of attitudes to immigration were compared i.e. what they thought other's attitudes toward immigration were. Perceived attitudes to Asian immigration were compared with perceived attitudes to European immigration using a non-parametric Wilcoxon signed rank test. It was found that for all three ethnic groups there are significant differences in regard to attitudes toward European and Asian immigration ( $P < 0.000$  for all

three groups). The following table shows the mean responses for each ethnic group. The results (in Table 7.5 below) suggest that Europeans and Maori/Pacifika prefer European to Asian immigration, and that Asians prefer Asian immigration to European immigration.

Table 7.5: *Perceptions of Attitudes towards European and Asian Immigration: Mean response (std error)*

Major Ethnic Group	Perceived attitudes of Europeans to Immigration by:		Perceived attitudes of Maori/Pacifika to Immigration by:		Perceived attitudes of Asians to Immigration by	
	Asians	Europeans	Asians	Europeans	Asians	Europeans
European	3.15 (0.12)	2.15(0.09)	3.72(0.11)	3.43(0.13)	1.48(0.10)	3.09(0.09)
Maori/Pacifika	3.20(0.12)	2.42(0.13)	3.45(0.12)	3.08(0.14)	1.92(0.15)	2.98(0.12)
Asians	3.23(0.12)	1.91(0.10)	3.53(0.11)	3.26(0.12)	1.93(0.10)	2.59(0.11)
Total	3.20(0.07)	2.15(0.07)	3.55(0.07)	3.24(0.08)	1.82(0.07)	2.84(0.07)
P-value(*)	0.000		0.000		0.000	

(\*) Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test, a nonparametric test for paired data was applied making no assumptions about the distribution of response differences

### 7.3 SOCIAL DISTANCE

A distance measure was defined for any group as the greatest distance recorded (e.g. ‘I don’t ever wish to speak to’, for racial distance and, ‘I do not wish to know’, for occupational distance). The racial distance measures showed no significant ethnic differences, but several significant occupation distance measures. The same results were obtained when average and a smallest distance measure were used instead of maximum differences.

#### 7.3.1 Occupational Distance

An average, smallest and a greatest occupational distance measure were defined using Yes/No responses to the following items:

Distance = 1: I spend most of my leisure time with

Distance = 2: I do my homework with

Distance = 3: I eat my lunch with

Distance = 4: I play sport at school with

Distance = 5: I sit in class with

Distance = 6: I do not mix with

Distance = 7: I do not wish to know any

An analysis of both occupational closeness (smallest distance) and separation (greatest distance) showed that all the ethnic groups are well separated suggesting that they are all perceived quite separately. It also suggests that pupils who feel distant from Pacific Islanders probably feel distant from Maori as well.

Table 7.6 below shows the *average occupational distance* for each ethnic group. The occupational distance for Europeans showed a significant overall difference in the distance between themselves (2.77) and all other ethnic groups: Maori (4.48), Pacific Islanders (4.51), West Asians (4.36) and East Asians (4.37). The occupational distance for Maori suggests a separation between themselves (3.32) and East Asians (5.43) and West Asians (5.63), and Pacific Islanders (3.76) and Europeans (3.15). The occupational distance from East Asians (Chinese – 3.07) showed a significant separation between them and Maori (4.77), Pacific Islanders (4.67) and West Asians (4.15), except Europeans (3.72). The occupational distance for Pacific Islanders (3.00) showed a significant difference in the distance from East Asians (5.01) and West Asians (4.96), followed by Maori (4.04) and lastly by Europeans (3.79). The occupational distance for West Asians (Indians – 3.13) showed a significant difference in the distance between them and Maori (4.92), Pacific Islanders (4.28), East Asians (4.18) and Europeans (4.05).

Table 7.6: *Average Occupational Distances from European, Maori, Pacific Islanders, West Asians and East Asians*

Ethnic Group	Mean Average Distance (std. dev.) from:				
	East Asians	Pacific Islanders	West Asians	Europeans	Maori
<b>Europeans</b>	4.375 (0.469)	4.513 (0.285)	4.366 (0.292)	2.770 (0.133)	4.489 (0.364)
<b>Maori</b>	5.433 (0.338)	3.764 (0.414)	5.636 (0.324)	3.155 (0.249)	3.327 (0.200)
<b>Pacific Islanders</b>	5.011 (0.276)	3.003 (0.223)	4.968 (0.358)	3.794 (0.357)	4.047 (0.356)
<b>West Asians</b>	4.189 (0.383)	4.283 (0.293)	3.133 (0.266)	4.057 (0.257)	4.926 (0.278)
<b>East Asians</b>	3.075 (0.299)	4.672 (0.338)	4.153 (0.294)	3.722 (0.312)	4.770 (0.344)
<b>P-value(*)</b>	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000

(\*) Kruskal-Wallis Test was used to compare independent ethnic samples. This nonparametric test makes no assumptions regarding the distribution of responses.

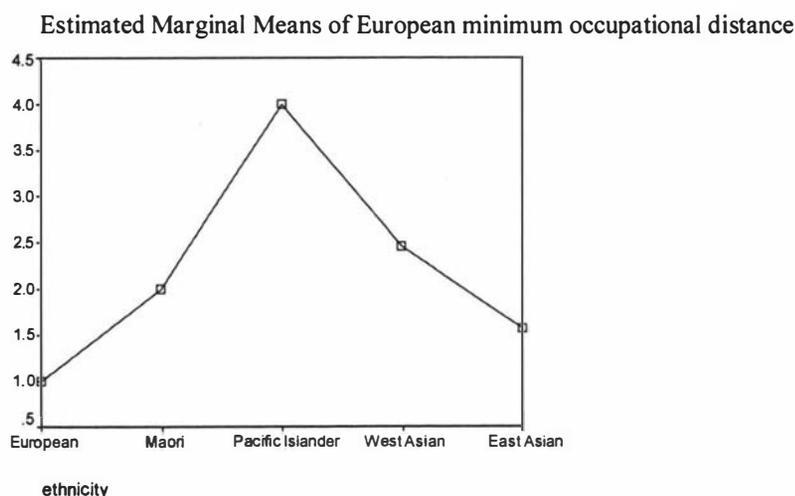
### 7.3.2 Minimum Occupational Distance

As minimum occupational distance would show which groups pupils preferred to work with, minimum occupational distances for each group are shown in the graphs below. The *occupational closeness* (minimum distance) results showed significant differences between groups when a Kruskal Wallis test was applied (all  $P < .001$ ).

#### *European Minimum Occupational Distance*

Occupationally, the graph below (Figure 7.1) suggests that Europeans tend rate themselves to be closest to and choose to work with East Asians, followed by Maori, West Asians and lastly, Pacific Islanders.

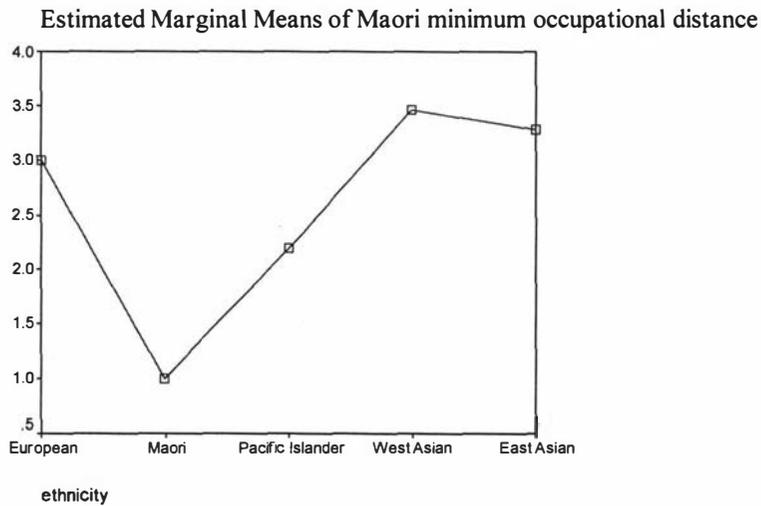
Figure 7.1: Minimum Occupational Distance for Europeans



#### *Maori Minimum Occupational Distance*

Occupationally, the graph below (Figure 7.2) showing Maori participants' ratings suggests that they tend to be closest to and choose to work with Pacific Islanders followed by Europeans, East Asians and lastly, West Asians.

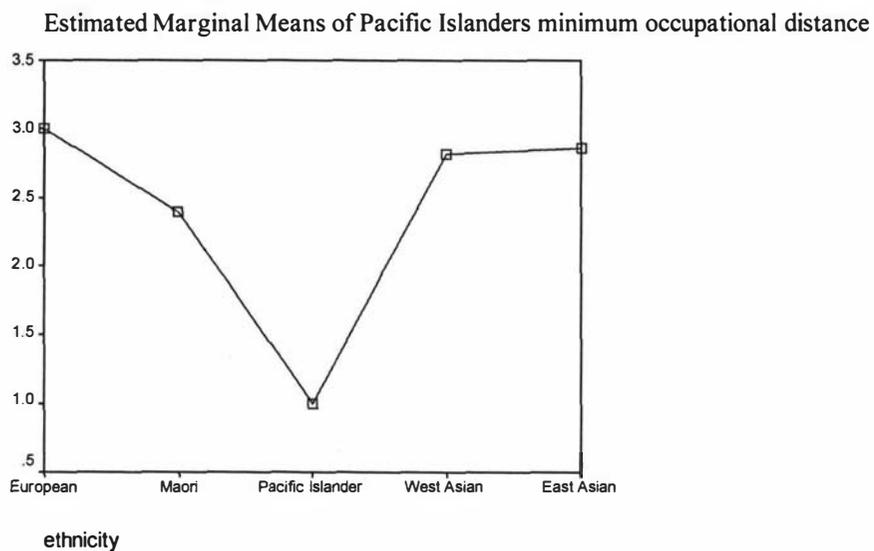
**Figure 7.2:** Minimum Occupational Distance for Maori



***Pacific Islander Minimum Occupational Distance***

The graph below (Figure 7.3) suggests that occupationally, Pacific Islanders tend to rate themselves as closest to and choose to work with Maori followed by West Asians and East Asians and lastly, Europeans. On average, they appear to be not too close to any of the groups.

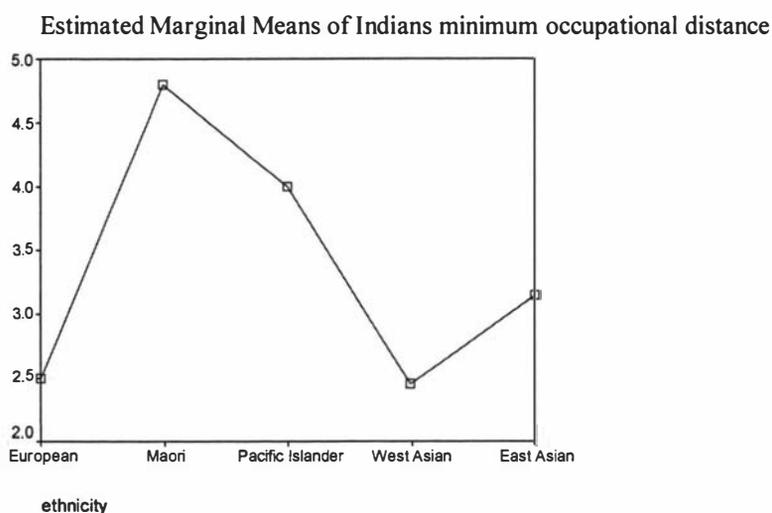
**Figure 7.3:** Minimum Occupational Distance for Pacific Islanders



### ***West Asian (Indian) Minimum Occupational Distance***

The graph below (Figure 7.4) suggests that occupationally, West Asians tend to rate themselves to be closest to and choose to work with Europeans, followed by East Asians, Pacific Islanders and lastly, Maori.

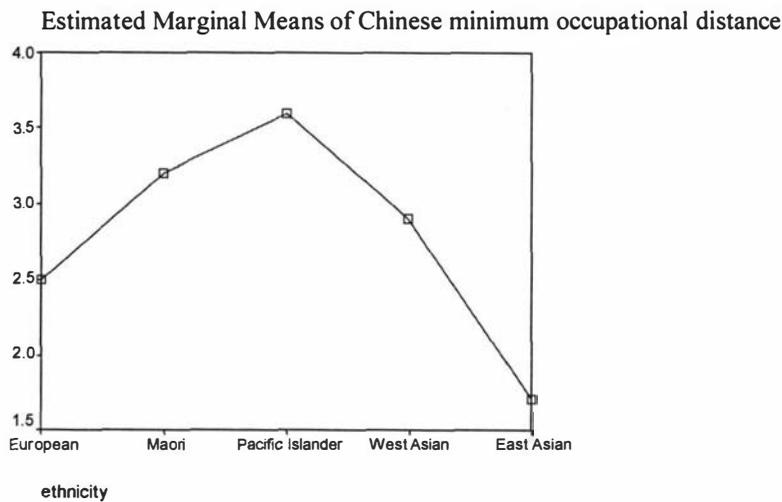
**Figure 7.4:** Minimum Occupational Distance for West Asians



### ***East Asian (Chinese) Minimum Occupational Distance***

Occupationally, the graph below (Figure 7.5) suggests that East Asians tend to be closest to and choose to work with Europeans, followed by West Asians, Maori and lastly, Pacific Islanders. On average, they appear to be not too close to any of the groups.

Figure 7.5: Minimum Occupational Distance for East Asians



## 7.4 PERCEPTIONS OF INTIMIDATORY PRACTICES ('BULLYING')

### 7.4.1 Results for the Five Ethnic Groups

Chi-square tests of association were used to determine if the perceived causes of rejection differed significantly for the three broad ethnic groups (European, Maori/Pacifika and Asian). It was found that Asians are more likely to experience ethnic intimidation (interethnic bullying) than the other groups ( $P < 0.002$ ).

There were significant correlations with ethnicity for the following four questions:

*List some of the things that have happened to you at school that have made you feel unaccepted.* ( $P < 0.002$ ).

It is evident from these results (shown in Table 7.7 below) that Asians, particularly East Asians, are more likely to feel unaccepted because they experience ethnic intimidation, and Europeans (especially) and Polynesians are most likely to feel unaccepted for non-ethnic reasons.

Table 7.7: *Reasons for Rejection*

**why not accepted \* ethnicity Crosstabulation**

			ethnicity					Total
			European	Maori	Pacific Islander	West Asian	East Asian	
why not accepted	not racial	Count	25	13	16	12	7	73
		% within ethnicity	71.4%	59.1%	72.7%	42.9%	30.4%	56.2%
	racial	Count	10	9	6	16	16	57
		% within ethnicity	28.6%	40.9%	27.3%	57.1%	69.6%	43.8%
Total	Count	35	22	22	28	23	130	
	% within ethnicity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

*Why, do you think, have these things happened to you? (P<0.000)*

These results also indicate that Asians (particularly East Asians) are more likely to experience rejection and blame school problems on ethnic intimidation than other ethnic groups, and Europeans (especially) and Polynesians are most likely to perceive that they are being intimidated for non-ethnic reasons. Table 7.8 displays this evidence.

Table 7.8: *Reasons for Intimidatory Practices*

**why things happened \* ethnicity Crosstabulation**

			ethnicity					Total
			European	Maori	Pacific Islander	West Asian	East Asian	
why things happened	not racial	Count	21	11	11	7	4	54
		% within ethnicity	65.6%	57.9%	55.0%	29.2%	17.4%	45.8%
	racial	Count	11	8	9	17	19	64
		% within ethnicity	34.4%	42.1%	45.0%	70.8%	82.6%	54.2%
Total	Count	32	19	20	24	23	118	
	% within ethnicity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

*Who are the people who have done these things to you? (P<0.000)*

Again, these results indicate that Asians are more likely to experience rejection from members of other ethnic groups, i.e. ethnic intimidation (interethnic), and that Europeans, Maori and Pacific Islanders are most likely to be intimidated by people from their own ethnic groups (intra-ethnic). This is shown in table 7.9 below.

Table 7.9: *Perpetrators of Intimidatory Practices*

**who did things \* ethnicity Crosstabulation**

			ethnicity					Total
			European	Maori	Pacific Islander	West Asian	East Asian	
who did things	own ethnic group	Count	21	15	14	10	4	64
		% within ethnicity	77.8%	75.0%	73.7%	41.7%	19.0%	57.7%
	other ethnic group	Count	6	5	5	14	17	47
		% within ethnicity	22.2%	25.0%	26.3%	58.3%	81.0%	42.3%
Total	Count	27	20	19	24	21	111	
	% within ethnicity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

*How do you feel about, and cope with, having people from countries you may not like in your school?* (P<0.003).

These results show that Asians (particularly West Asians) are more likely to like having people from other countries in their school (East Asians are least likely to mind). When the positive responses of ‘like it’ and ‘don’t mind’ are combined, West Asians (73.6%) display the most positive attitude toward people from ‘disliked’ countries, followed by East Asians (60.7%), Pacific Islanders (58.8%), Europeans (52.4%) and lastly Maori (34.6%). A significantly higher proportion of Maori (23.1%) rated themselves as ‘hating’ having people from other countries in their school. These attitudes are shown in table 7.10 below.

Table 7.10: *Attitudes toward People from Disliked Countries*

**people at school from disliked countries \* ethnicity Crosstabulation**

			ethnicity					Total
			European	Maori	Pacific Islander	West Asian	East Asian	
people at school from disliked countries	like it	Count	16	2	12	14	4	48
		% within ethnicity	38.1%	7.7%	35.3%	41.2%	14.3%	29.3%
	don't mind	Count	6	7	8	11	13	45
		% within ethnicity	14.3%	26.9%	23.5%	32.4%	46.4%	27.4%
	don't care	Count	11	9	10	5	9	44
		% within ethnicity	26.2%	34.6%	29.4%	14.7%	32.1%	26.8%
	don't like it	Count	7	2		3	2	14
		% within ethnicity	16.7%	7.7%		8.8%	7.1%	8.5%
	hate it	Count	2	6	4	1		13
		% within ethnicity	4.8%	23.1%	11.8%	2.9%		7.9%
Total	Count	42	26	34	34	28	164	
	% within ethnicity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

#### 7.4.2 Qualitative Data on Intimidatory Practices

The following five tables on pupil definitions of bullying and ethnicity, things that have made them feel unaccepted, reasons for negative behaviour, and perpetrators of intimidatory practices, are based on descriptive analyses of qualitative data from the open-ended questions in the survey, and do not imply statistical significance.

##### *Pupil Definitions of 'Bullying'*

Almost half the pupils defined bullying as *physical intimidation* including pushing, punching, fighting and beating up. Half of this number were Europeans and East Asians (Chinese), followed by Maori, Pacific Islanders and lastly, West Asians (Indians). About the same number included *verbal intimidation* in their definitions, which included name-calling, mocking, picking on, taunting, teasing, putting down, threatening and getting smart. The largest group of these were Europeans, followed by East Asians, West Asians, Maori and lastly, Pacific Islanders.

*Ethnic intimidation* was cited as the next significant descriptor, and this included being picked on, insulted, ostracised, discriminated against, and called names because of their race, colour and religion. West Asians cited this most, followed by Pacific Islanders, Maori and lastly, Europeans and East Asians. Similar numbers included *position of power* in their definitions with Pacific Islanders being the largest number, followed closely by Europeans, then Maori and West Asians, and lastly, East Asians. *Emotional and psychological intimidation* was listed mostly by Europeans followed by Asians to a lesser extent, and being forced to *do things they did not want to do* and *sexual intimidation* were included by a few. These details are presented in table 7.11 below.

Table 7.11: *Pupil definitions of bullying*

<b>Descriptor</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Ethnic Composition</b>
<b>Physical intimidation</b> Pushing, punching, fighting, beating up	89 (45%)	23 (26%) European 16 (18%) Maori 14 (16%) Pacific Island 13 (15%) West Asian 23 (26%) East Asian
<b>Verbal intimidation</b> Name-calling, mocking, picking on, taunting, teasing, putting down, threatening, getting smart.	87 (44%)	25 (29%) European 12 (14%) Maori 11 (13%) Pacific Island 19 (22%) West Asian 20 (23%) East Asian
<b>Racial or ethnic intimidation (Social)</b> Picked on, insulted, ostracised, discriminated against, called names due to race, colour and religion	37 (19%)	4 (11%) European 7 (19%) Maori 8 (22%) Pacific Island 14 (38%) West Asian 4 (11%) East Asian
<b>Position of power</b> Bigger and stronger bullying smaller, weaker, younger	34 (17%)	8 (23%) European 7 (21%) Maori 9 (27%) Pacific Island 7 (21%) West Asian 3 (9%) East Asian
<b>Emotional intimidation</b> Making people feel inferior, worthless, unwanted, uncomfortable; offending, annoying	31 (16%)	17 (33%) European 1 (3%) Maori 1 (3%) Pacific Island 3 (10%) West Asian 9 (29%) East Asian
<b>'Mental' intimidation (Psychological)</b> Hating for no reason, bossing people, treating people badly or unkindly, and being mean to someone.	19 (10%)	8 (44%) European 2 (11%) Maori 2 (11%) Pacific Island 4 (21%) West Asian 3 (16%) East Asian
Forcing them to do things that they did not want to Give money, do homework	12 (6%)	2 (17%) European 2 (17%) Maori 4 (33%) Pacific Island 2 (17%) West Asian 2 (17%) East Asian
Sexual intimidation	1 (3%)	1 European

### ***Things that have made Pupils feel Unaccepted***

Forty five percent of the sample reported feeling unaccepted specifically because of *ethnic intimidation*, which included racist name-calling, taunts and comments (43%), made fun of because of appearance and accent (14%), rejected/excluded because of race (37%), talked down to as if inferior (2%), treated differently because of race (2%), cultural misunderstanding (1%), and asked to go back home (1%).

Table 7.12: *Things that have made Pupils feel Unaccepted*

<b>Descriptor</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Ethnic Composition</b>
Exclusion	16(8%)	European (11)
Name calling	13 (6%)	5 (39%) European 4 (31%) Maori 2 (15%) Pacific Island 1 (8%) West Asian 1 (8%) East Asian
Mocking	13 (6%)	3 (23%) European 2 (15%) Maori 4 (31%) Pacific Island 3 (23%) West Asian 1 (8%) East Asian
Teasing	13 (6%)	6 (46%) European 1 (8%) Maori 3 (23%) Pacific Island 2 (15%) West Asian
Fights – punched, beaten up, pushed	11 (5%)	2 (18%) European 2 (18%) Maori 1 (9%) Pacific Island 3 (27%) West Asian 3 (27%) East Asian
Put downs	10 (5%)	3 (30%) European 2 (20%) Maori 2 (20%) Pacific Island 2 (20%) West Asian 1 (10%) East Asian
Ignoring	10 (5%)	4 (40%) European (11) 2 (20%) Maori 1 (10%) West Asian 3 (30%) East Asian
Swearing	9 (5%)	1 (11%) Maori 2 (22%) Pacific Island 3 (33%) West Asian 3 (33%) East Asian
Stealing my things	5 (2%)	4 (80%) West Asian 1 (20%) East Asian
Arguing	3 (1%)	1 (33%) European 1 (33%) West Asian 1 (33%) East Asian
Bullying	3 (1%)	1 (33%) European 1 (33%) West Asian 1 (33%) East Asian
Picking on	2 (1%)	1 European 1 Maori
Staring	2 (1%)	2 East Asian
Forcing me to do things	2 (1%)	1 Maori 1 East Asian
Being mean without reason	2 (1%)	2 European
Discriminating	2 (1%)	1 European 1 Maori
Jealousy, Stereotyping, Gossiping, Feeling threatened by me	6 (3%)	5 (83%) Maori 1(16%)
Judging, My food thrown around	2 (1%)	2 Pacific Island

Eighty seven percent of these were visible ethnic minority pupils, and 13 percent were European pupils, of which five (45%) were foreign immigrant Europeans.

*Other things* that made pupils feel unaccepted were exclusion (8%), name-calling (6%), mocking (6%), teasing (6%), physical fighting (5%), put downs (5%), ignoring (5%), swearing (4%), having their belongings stolen (2%), being argued with, bullied, picked on, stared at, being forced to do things, being mean without reason, discriminated against, jealousy, being stereotyped, judged, gossiped about, having their food thrown around, and believing that others felt threatened by them all accounted for one percent and under each. Table 7.12 above provides the ethnic composition for these figures.

### ***Reasons for Intimidatory Behaviour***

Table 7.13 below shows that 46 percent of the sample reported ethnicity as the reason for intimidatory behaviour toward them. Ninety percent of this group were visible ethnic minorities and ten percent were European. Of this, 44 percent were immigrants. Other reasons given (in smaller proportions) were difference, jealousy, insecurity, shyness, lack of knowledge about others, discomfort with other kinds of people, being new at school, parental influence, retaliation, meanness/cruelty, it being a 'part of life', immaturity, standing up to bullies, for fun, selfishness, to impress others, feeling threatened by foreigners, and because they are smarter.

Table 7.13: *Reasons for Intimidatory Behaviour*

<b>Descriptor</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Ethnic Composition</b>
Ethnicity Race, skin colour easy target, non-acceptance and dislike of difference, seen as inferior, feeling angry, threatened, poor English, stereotypes	95 (46%)	9 (10%) European (4I) 10 (11%) Maori 8 (8%) Pacific Island 33 (35%) West Asian 35 (37%) East Asian
Difference – disability, size, personality	8 (4%)	5 (63%) European 2 (25%) Maori 1 (13%) Pacific Island
Jealousy	6 (3%)	2 (33%) European (1I) 3 (50%) Maori 1 (17%) East Asian
Insecurity	5 (2%)	4 (80%) European (1I) 1 (20%) East Asian
Shyness	4 (2%)	1 (25%) European 3 (75%) East Asian
Lack of knowledge of others	4 (2%)	3 (75%) European 1 (25%) Maori 1 (25%) West Asian
Discomfort with me	3 (1%)	2 (67%) European 1 (33%) West Asian
New at school	3 (1%)	European
Parental influence	3 (1%)	1 (33%) West Asian 2 (67%) East Asian
“I do it to them” (retaliation)	3 (1%)	1 (33%) European 1 (33%) Pacific Island 1 (33%) West Asian
People are mean/cruel	2 (1%)	1 Maori 1 Pacific Island
“It’s just a part of life”	2 (1%)	European
Immaturity	2 (1%)	1 Pacific Island 1 (West Asian)
Stand up to bullies	2 (1%)	West Asian
Nothing else to do, for fun	2 (1%)	1 West Asian 1 Pacific island
Selfishness, to impress others, feel threatened by me, I’m smarter	4 (2%)	1 Pacific Island 2 European 1 West Asian

I = Immigrant

### ***Perpetrators of Intimidatory Practices***

Table 7.14 below shows that 22 percent of the sample stated that their schoolmates were the perpetrators of intimidatory behaviour toward them. Of this group that reported

schoolmates responsible, 22 percent were Asian. Sixteen percent identified European pupils as perpetrators, and 73 percent of this group were Asian. Twelve percent identified Pacific Islanders as perpetrators, of which 68 percent were Asian. Eleven percent said they were Maori, with 78 percent being Asian. Two percent identified West Asians as perpetrators with 75 percent being Asian, and 25 percent being European. Only one West Asian stated that East Asians were perpetrators. Two percent of pupils felt teachers were perpetrators of intimidatory practices, with equal numbers from each group, except West Asians who did not identify teachers as perpetrators at all.

Table 7.14 *Perpetrators of Intimidatory Practices*

<b>Group</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Ethnic Composition</b>
Schoolmates	46 (22%)	15 (33%) European 11 (24%) Maori 9 (20%) Pacific Island 6 (13%) West Asian 4 (9%) East Asian
Europeans	34 (16%)	3 (9%) European 3 (9%) Maori 3 (9%) Pacific Island 10 (29%) West Asian 15 (44%) East Asian
Pacific Islanders	25 (12%)	4 (16%) European 3 (12%) Maori 1 (4%) Pacific Island 7 (28%) West Asian 10 (40%) East Asian
Maori	22 (11%)	3 (14%) European 1 (5%) Maori 1 (5%) Pacific Island 7 (32%) West Asian 10 (46%) East Asian
West Asians	4 (2%)	1 (25%) European 1 (25%) West Asian 2 (50%) East Asian
Teachers	4 (2%)	1 (25%) European 1 (25%) Maori 1 (25%) Pacific Island 1 (25%) East Asian
East Asians	1 (.5%)	West Asian

### *Pupil Definitions of Ethnicity*

Table: 7.15 *Definitions of Ethnicity*

<b>Descriptor</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Ethnic breakdown</b>
did not know	53 (25%)	
referred to other cultures, people or races who were 'foreign' and 'from a different country, usually non-white people', 'Asians', 'other cultures apart from Europe and Britain', 'separate'.	24 (15%)	12 (50%) European 5 (21%) Maori 3 (13%) Pacific Island 3 (13%) West Asian 1 (4%) East Asian
culture	103 (63%)	25 (24%) European 15 (15%) Maori 15 (31%) Pacific Island 18 (18%) West Asian 24 (23%) East Asian
heritage	49 (30%)	5 (10%) European 6 (12%) Maori 15 (31%) Pacific Island 11 (22%) West Asian 12 (24%) East Asian
race	39 (24%)	9 (23%) European 5 (13%) Maori 5 (13%) Pacific Island 12 (31%) West Asian 8 (21%) East Asian
traditions	17 (10%)	3 (18%) European 2 (12%) Maori 5 (29%) Pacific Island 2 (12%) West Asian 5 (29%) East Asian
religion	10 (6%)	1 (10%) Maori 4 (40%) Pacific Islander 4 (40%) West Asian 1 (10%) East Asian
beliefs and customs	5 (3%)	1 (20%) Maori 1 (20%) Pacific Island 3 (60%) East Asian
values and morals	3 (2%)	1 (33%) European 1 (33%) West Asian 1 (33%) East Asian
language	1 (.50%)	East Asian

Table 7.15 above shows that 15 percent of pupils in the sample, of which Europeans were the largest number (50%), considered that the word 'ethnic' referred to other cultures, peoples or races who were 'foreign' and 'from a different country, usually non-white people', 'Asians', 'other cultures apart from Europe and Britain', and 'separate'. Sixty three percent considered that it referred to 'culture', of which Europeans and East Asians were the largest groups. Thirty percent included 'heritage' in their definitions, of which

Pacific Islanders and Asians were the larger groups and twenty four percent thought it referred to race. Traditions, religion, beliefs and customs, values and morals, and language were also included to a lesser extent in some definitions.

## **7.5 STEREOTYPES**

### **7.5.1 Use of Negative Adjectives**

As shown in Table 7.16 below, Maori/Pacifika tended to use more negative adjectives in relation to Europeans than Europeans or Asians. Maori and East Asians tended to use negative words in relation to Pacific Islanders and West Asians more frequently than Europeans. On the other hand, Europeans tended to use negative words in relation to Maori and East Asians more than Maori/Pacifika or Asians. Maori pupils were inclined to use the highest number of negative words to describe other ethnic groups, followed by European pupils. West Asians (Indians) consistently used the fewest negative words to describe each of the other ethnic groups. However, caution needs to be exercised in interpreting these results which could possibly reflect differences in language usage, amongst other things. Percentages of first words for which the sample gave negative responses are shown below. A Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test showed that the percentage of negative words was significantly higher for Maori (28%, 33% and 35% for the three adjectives), and Pacific Islanders (26%, 26%, 28%) than for the other ethnic groups. ( $P < 0.000$ ).

An interesting finding is that East Asian pupils tended to describe teachers most negatively, followed by Pacific Islanders and Europeans. Maori tended to describe counsellors much more negatively than any other group, followed by East Asians and Pacific Islanders. Again, these results are descriptive and may not necessarily imply group differences in attitude.

Table 7.16: *Percentage of Negative Adjectives for Each Ethnic Group (Word with Lowest P-value in each case)*

First Word (*)	Percent of neg. Words	European	Maori	Pacific Island	West Asian	East Asian	P-value
<b>Bullies</b>	91.0	91.5	88.5	84.6	92.7	97.1	0.322
<b>Europeans</b>	14.3	4.9	32.0	21.2	4.9	17.1	0.032
<b>Students</b>	7.4	8.1	4.0	11.4	2.4	11.1	0.016
<b>Pacific Is</b>	25.9	25.0	40.0	20.6	17.5	31.3	0.058
<b>West Asians</b>	17.0	19.4	17.4	12.1	10.5	27.6	0.490
<b>West Asians</b>	16.5	7.1	45.4	8.7	8.3	35.3	0.001
<b>Second Word</b>							
<b>Maori</b>	28.3	43.2	20.0	32.0	15.8	28.1	0.056
<b>Teachers</b>	18.6	20.0	16.0	21.2	9.8	27.3	0.555
<b>East Asians</b>	8.7	17.6	9.5	11.5	5.4	0	0.121
<b>Counsellors</b>	12.6	10.0	30.4	12.5	2.4	16.1	0.081

(\*) Unless otherwise indicated

## 7.5.2 Ethnic difference for Europeans

Only in the case of the word ‘Europeans’ was there a consistently significant ethnic difference in the responses. Maori/Pacifika used more negative words to describe Europeans than Asians or Europeans. For the first word the P-value was 0.015, 0.008 for the second word and 0.063 for the third word.

Table 7.17: *First Adjective for Europeans*

adjective for Europeans(1) \* major ethnic group Crosstabulation

		major ethnic group			Total	
		European	Maori/Pacifika	Asian		
adjective for Europeans(1)	positive	Count	33	36	62	<b>131</b>
		Column %	80.5%	62.1%	81.6%	<b>74.9%</b>
	neutral	Count	6	7	6	<b>19</b>
		Column %	14.6%	12.1%	7.9%	<b>10.9%</b>
	negative	Count	2	15	8	<b>25</b>
		Column %	4.9%	25.9%	10.5%	<b>14.3%</b>
<b>Total</b>	Count	<b>41</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>175</b>	
	Column %	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	

### 7.5.3 Descriptive Data on Stereotypes

#### *Inter-Rater Reliability Check*

The researcher and an assistant independently rated the adjectives to test for reliability. There was a 98 percent agreement rate for the ratings of positive, neutral and negative.

#### *Predominant Descriptors*

An examination of descriptors used by pupils revealed that the predominant adjectives used for all groups were good, friendly, hardworking, nice, kind, okay/all right and cool. Frequencies (%) for each group are shown in Table 7.18 below:

Table 7.18: *Predominant Adjectives used to Describe Group*

Adjective	Euro %	Maori %	Pac. Is. %	W.Asian %	E. Asian %
friendly	32	20	25	17	16
good	28	15	15	16	15
hardworking	19	8	12	28	24
nice	6	9	4	7	6
kind	8	4	4	6	5
cool	4	9	7	2	6
okay	3	4	4	2	2

Additionally, intelligent, helpful, snobbish and arrogant were used to describe *Europeans*; traditional, lazy, unfriendly and mean for *Maori*; big, happy, strong, tough, funny, sporty, religious, cultural, lazy, unfriendly and bullies for *Pacific Islanders*, and intelligent, smart, quiet and unfriendly for both *Asian* groups.

Descriptors used for self-perceptions and perceptions of other groups can be seen in appendix 13.

## 7.6 ORIENTATION TOWARD ACCULTURATION

Participants were asked to rate their perceptions toward each of the following orientations toward acculturation of immigrants and host communities:

C1: Immigrant pupils should try to become ‘Kiwi’ when they come to New Zealand, and forget about their past (Monism).

C2: New Zealanders and immigrants should remain who they are and keep with their own groups (Pluralism).

C3: New Zealanders and immigrants should mix and, in time, become one big family with no differences (Interactionism).

C4: New Zealanders and immigrants should live side by side, learn the good things from each other and not lose their individual cultures and identities (Complementalism).

Ordinal Logistic regression was used to determine whether there were significant differences in the responses toward acculturation for the five ethnic groups. The overall response showed that there is no significant difference between the groups, except for item three (Interactionism) where a significant difference was found. However, results for the other three items are also shown as they provide useful information on pupils’ attitudes toward acculturation that has not been available previously, and show their support for the model proposed for social interaction within a global community.

Mean levels of agreement and disagreement are shown in Table 7.19 below.

Table 7.19: *Acculturation responses: Mean level of disagreement (std error)*

<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<b>C1 (Monism)</b>	<b>C2 (Pluralism)</b>	<b>C3 (Interactionism)</b>	<b>C4 (Complementalism)</b>
<b>European</b>	3.92 (0.15)	3.62 (0.17)	2.66 (0.17)	1.44 (0.08)
<b>Maori</b>	3.57 (0.26)	3.18 (0.26)	2.50 (0.24)	2.00 (0.26)
<b>Pacific Is.</b>	4.18 (0.17)	3.42 (0.19)	1.82 (0.29)	1.33 (0.14)
<b>West Asian</b>	4.13 (0.18)	3.47 (0.19)	1.86 (0.15)	1.44 (0.13)
<b>East Asian</b>	3.95 (0.16)	3.62 (0.17)	2.20 (0.13)	1.45 (0.11)
<b>Total</b>	3.97 (0.08)	3.48 (0.09)	2.21 (0.08)	1.50 (0.06)
<b>P-value(**)</b>	0.166	0.040	0.004	0.050

\*Five-point Scale: 1= Agree strongly, 2 = Agree, 3 = Uncertain, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Disagree strongly  
 (\*\*) Ordinal Logistic Regressions Test was applied in view of the discrete ordinal scale

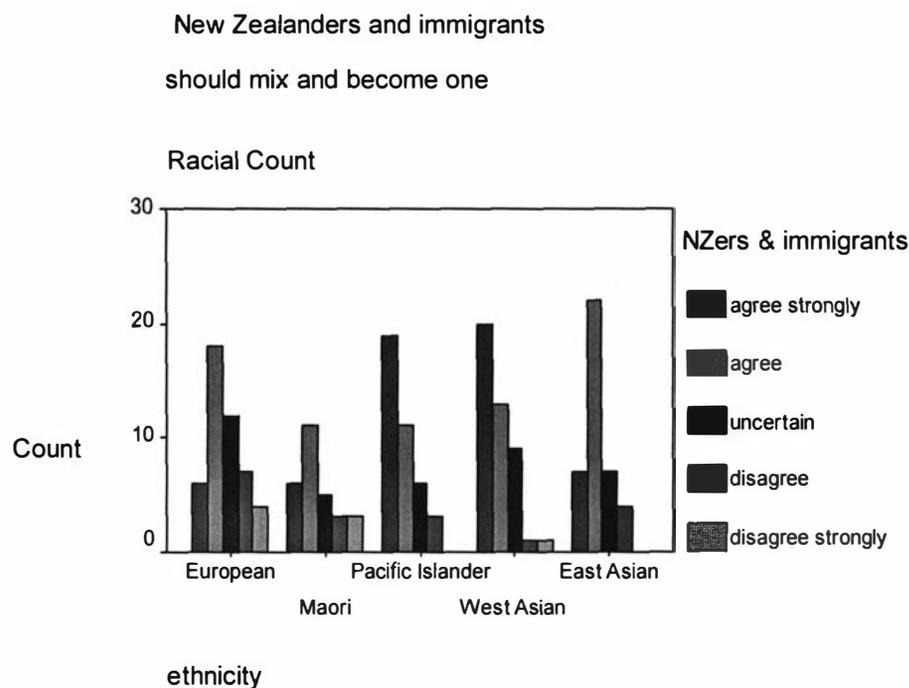
For Interactionism (item three), the highest disagreement was shown by Europeans, and the lowest disagreement by Pacific Islanders and West Asians (Indians).

### 7.6.1 Interactionism - The 'Melting Pot' Theory

A total of 67 percent agreed with the notion of New Zealanders and immigrants mixing and becoming one big family, and 13 percent disagreed. There was significant ( $P < 0.002$ ) disagreement between the ethnic groups on whether New Zealanders and immigrants should mix and eventually become one big family with no differences (the melting pot). The strongest agreement came from Pacific Islanders and West Asians. There was increasing disagreement for East Asians, with the greatest disagreement coming from Europeans and Maori.

The following bar graph provides a visual representation of this information:

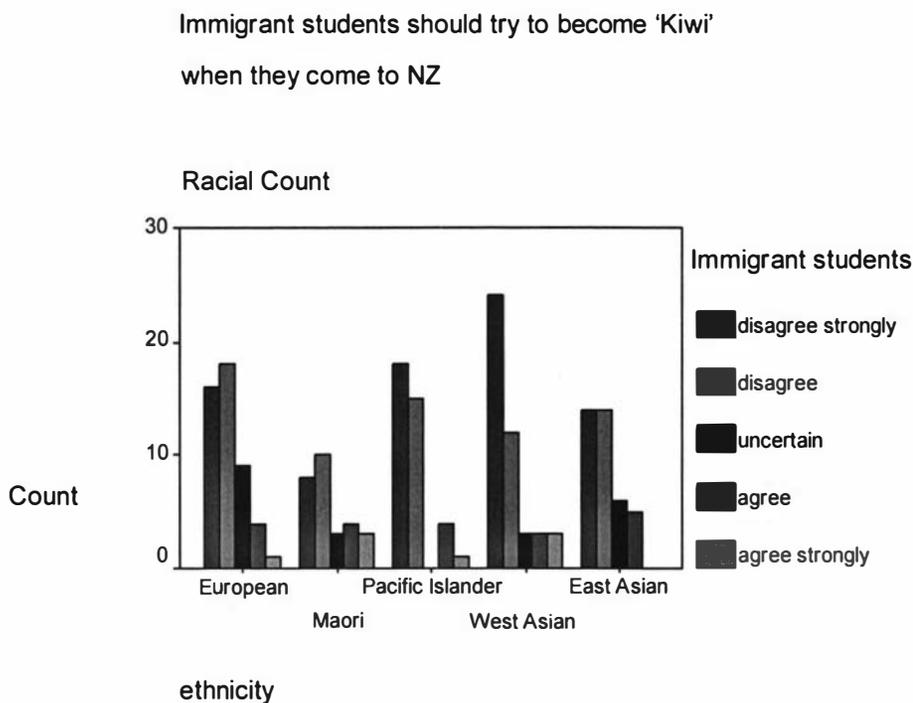
*Figure 7.6:* Interactionistic Orientation to Acculturation



### 7.6.2 Monism

Table 7.21 above shows significant uncertainty and disagreement amongst all groups with this orientation of total assimilation with a loss of identity. Three quarters of the sample disagreed, 40 percent strongly, and 14 percent agreed with it. However, there was no significant difference in responses for the three main ethnic groups. The following bar graph provides a visual representation of this information:

*Figure 7.7: Monistic Orientation to Acculturation*

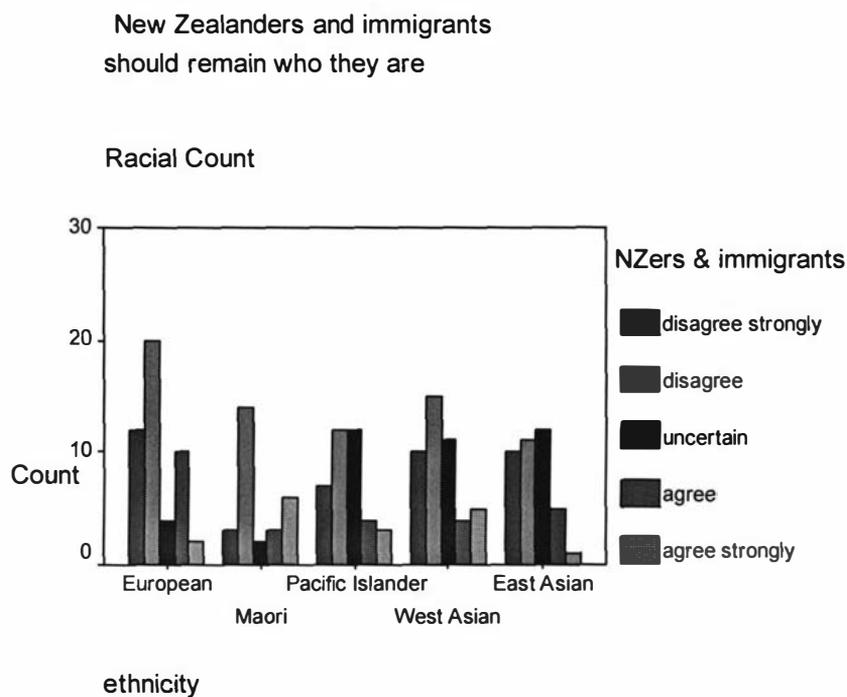


### 7.6.3 Pluralism

Fifty eight percent of the sample disagreed with this orientation, and 22 percent agreed with the notion of separatism. There were larger numbers of European and Maori (the two majority groups in this country) than the three immigrant groups, who either disagreed or agreed, with small numbers being uncertain. Larger numbers of Pacific Islanders and Asians displayed uncertainty about it, and smaller numbers agreed with this concept.

However, as for item 1, there was no significant difference in responses for the three broad ethnic groups. The following bar graph provides a visual representation of this information:

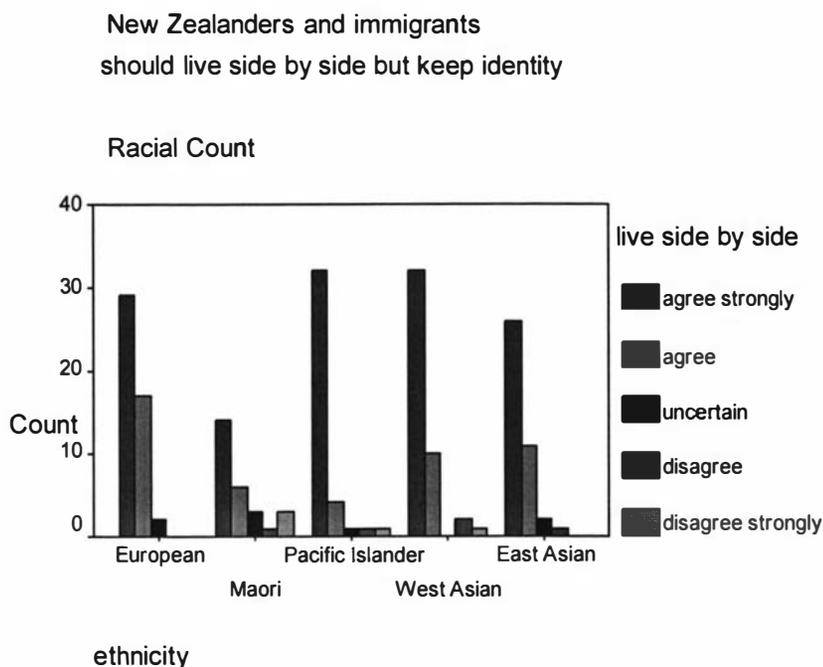
*Figure 7.8: Pluralistic Orientation to Acculturation*



#### 7.6.4 Complementalism

Results show an overwhelming agreement (87%) with this concept of hosts and immigrants living side by side, learning the good things from each other and not losing their individual cultures and identities. The only group that did not overwhelmingly ‘agree strongly’ was the Maori. The bar graph below provides a visual representation of this information.

Figure 7.9: Complementalistic Orientation to Acculturation



## 7.7 ISSUES OF CONCERN AT SCHOOL

Bullying and violence are considered by pupils to be the most serious problems at school followed by theft, drugs, vandalism, racial harassment and name-calling. More than 60% of pupils mentioned each of these problems. There are similar percentages for all ethnic groups, except in the case of the following: For bullying there was a relatively high percentage for Pacific Islanders and East Asians, and relatively low for West Asians who appeared to consider it to be less of a problem than the other groups. A relatively low percentage of Asians, but a high percentage of the other three ethnic groups considered sexual harassment to be a problem, and a relatively high percentage of Asians considered noise to be a problem. A relatively high percentage of Maori and Pacific Islanders considered foul language and drugs to be a problem. This data is shown in table 7.20 below.

Table 7.20: *Issues that should be dealt with at School (with percentages for each ethnic group)*

E %	M %	PI %	WA %	EA %	Total No	Total %	Rank	Word	P-value
70	77	85	52	83	156	75.0	1.0	bullying	0.003
74	77	67	50	68	145	69.7	2.0	violence	0.084
60	73	76	54	65	139	66.8	3.0	theft	0.198
57	73	79	50	65	134	64.4	4.0	drugs	0.036
57	70	64	50	63	127	61.1	5.0	vandalism	0.370
60	53	67	56	50	126	60.6	6.5	name-calling	0.614
57	73	64	40	63	120	60.6	6.5	racial harassment	0.061
55	63	61	58	53	124	59.6	8.0	smoking	0.841
66	60	70	42	45	123	59.1	9.0	sexual harassment	0.030
60	50	55	48	50	113	54.3	10.0	making fun of others	0.805
45	57	64	52	48	112	53.9	11.5	rudeness	0.457
55	63	61	40	50	112	53.9	11.5	alcohol	0.215
42	57	61	44	40	101	48.6	13.0	disrespect of teachers	0.212
43	40	61	48	40	100	48.1	14.0	wagging	0.284
53	50	52	37	40	99	47.6	15.0	verbal abuse	0.535
53	47	48	31	50	98	47.1	16.0	disrespect of property	0.278
51	34	55	27	43	92	44.2	17.0	discrimination	0.081
43	50	33	35	43	87	41.8	18.0	disrespect of pupils	0.624
40	37	48	35	38	86	41.4	19.0	disobedience	0.787
49	40	39	25	38	84	40.4	20.0	prejudice	0.167
26	47	48	37	18	73	35.1	21.0	foul language	0.014
32	27	18	27	25	59	28.4	23.0	pushing in corridors	0.712
36	30	24	19	25	58	27.9	24.0	ignoring	0.512
34	30	24	19	38	63	30.3	24.0	excluding	0.367
13	17	12	33	38	50	24.0	25.0	noise	0.011
19	10	27	25	28	47	22.6	26.0	tale-telling	0.404
17	10	15	25	18	39	18.8	27.0	talking in class	0.637
15	17	12	13	13	30	14.4	28.0	wearing mufti	0.974
15	17	9	10	3	24	11.5	29.0	speaking foreign lang	0.293
9	7	9	8	13	20	9.6	30.0	wearing make-up	0.949

## 7.8 PEER VICTIMISATION

A *Peer Victimization Index* (described in chapter six) was used to determine to what extent pupils were bullied by their peers at schools. Scores for positive items (1, 2, 5, 10, 15 and 20) were 1= very often, 2= pretty often, 3= once in a while and 4= never. Scores for negative items (3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18 and 19) were reversed, with 1= never, 2= once in a while, 3= pretty often, and 4= very often. The means for these items are shown in table 7.21 below:

Table 7.21: *Victimisation - Descriptive Statistics*

		<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>
1	I like playing sport	207	3.22	.83
2	I get good marks in class	207	2.82	.71
3	I get called names by others	202	2.03	.83
4	I give soft kids a hard time	204	1.39	.65
5	I like to make friends	205	3.48	.71
6	I play up in class	202	2.06	.79
7	I feel I can't trust others	204	2.21	.82
8	I get picked on by others	203	1.68	.79
9	I am part of a group that goes round teasing others	203	1.33	.59
10	I like to help people who are being harassed	198	2.72	.92
11	I like to make others scared of me	205	1.36	.62
12	Others leave me out of things on purpose	203	1.57	.70
13	I get into fights at school	206	1.31	.55
14	I like to show others that I'm the boss	204	1.34	.62
15	I share things with others	204	3.13	.70
16	I enjoy upsetting wimps	204	1.26	.59
17	I like to get into a fight with someone I can easily beat	204	1.21	.58
18	Others make fun of me	203	1.69	.73
19	I get hit and pushed around by others	205	1.29	.65
20	I enjoy helping others	207	3.34	.74

### 7.8.1 Bully and Victim Measures

Bully and victim scales were extracted from the *Peer Victimisation Index* to determine to what extent pupils were victims and/or bullies. The negative items were used to form these scales. Items 3, 7, 8, 12, 18 and 19 were used to form the victim scale, and items 4, 6, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16 and 17 were included in the bully scale. The reliability of the scales is acceptable with a Cronbach Alpha of 0.81 for the bully scale and 0.76 for the victim scale (Values of below .70 are deemed acceptable by Hair, Anderson, Tatham & Black (1995) if the research is exploratory).

Table 7.22 a: *Bully and Victim Measures*

<b>Test Statistics<sup>a,b</sup></b>		
	<b>BULLY</b>	<b>VICTIM</b>
Chi-Square	1.175	2.720
df	4	4
Asymp. Sig.	.882	.606

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: ethnicity

Table 7.22 b: Means for Scales (1-4 scale)

Report			
ethnicity		Question F bully score	Question F victimisation score
European	Mean	1.3750	1.7381
	N	43	42
	Std. Deviation	.38091	.46583
Maori	Mean	1.5577	1.7000
	N	26	25
	Std. Deviation	.57688	.51595
Pacific Islander	Mean	1.3849	1.6623
	N	38	38
	Std. Deviation	.29692	.41097
West Asian	Mean	1.3586	1.7421
	N	38	42
	Std. Deviation	.41931	.62383
East Asian	Mean	1.4088	1.8376
	N	37	39
	Std. Deviation	.40252	.52910
Total	Mean	1.4066	1.7392
	N	182	186
	Std. Deviation	.41222	.51344

No significant group differences in victimisation or bullying were found in the results of the five ethnic groups, as seen in the tables above. All groups appear to be sometimes involved in bullying, and are also sometimes victims of such intimidatory practices to varying degrees.

### 7.8.2 Gender Effects for Bullying and Victimisation

There were significant gender effects for victimisation as well as for bullying ( $P < 0.001$ ), with males experiencing more rejection than females. These are shown in Table 7.23 and Figures 7.10 and 7.11 below:

Table 7.23: Significant Gender Effect for Victimization

**Test Statistics<sup>a,b</sup>**

	Question F bully score	Question F victimisation score
Chi-Square	28.871	5.830
df	1	1
Asymp. Sig.	.000	.016

a. Kruskal Wallis Test  
 b. Grouping Variable: sex

**Report**

sex		Question F bully score	Question F victimisation score
female	Mean	1.2431	1.6458
	N	91	96
	Std. Deviation	.20947	.43276
male	Mean	1.5612	1.8316
	N	98	98
	Std. Deviation	.47969	.55741
Total	Mean	1.4081	1.7397
	N	189	194
	Std. Deviation	.40635	.50697

Figure 7.10: Profile plot showing Gender differences in Victimization

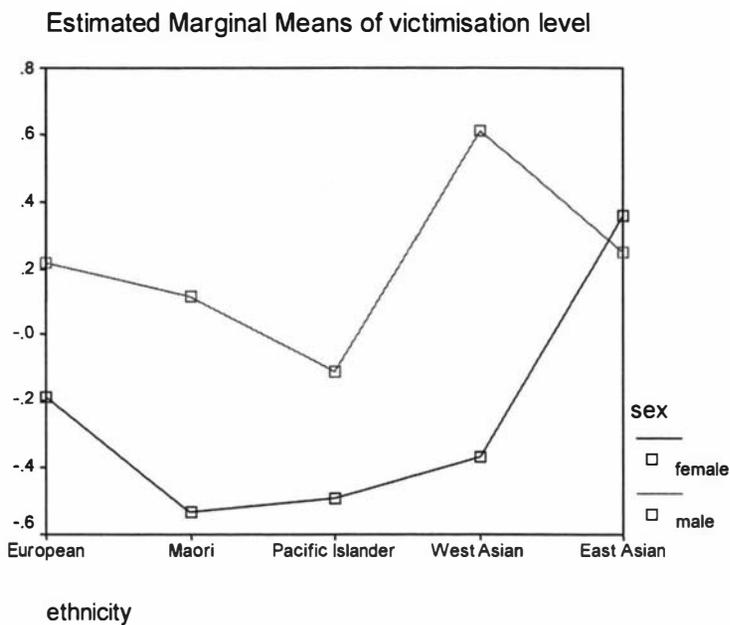
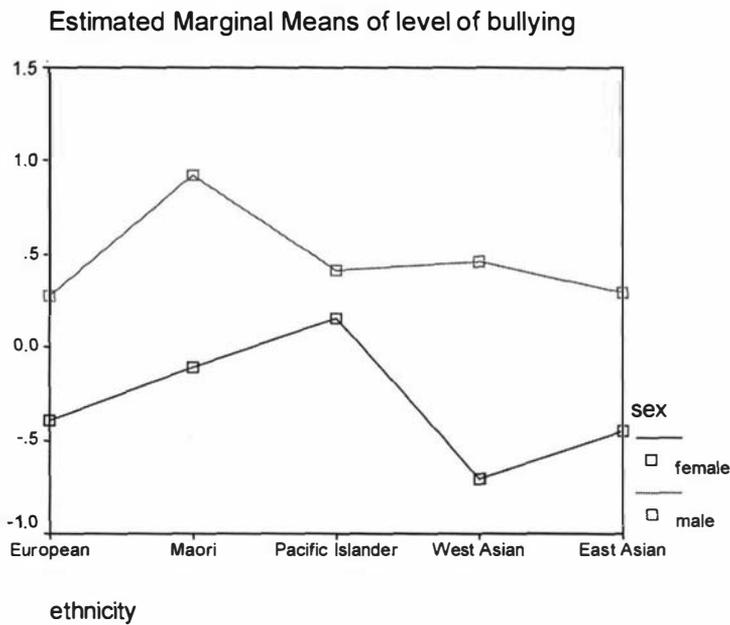


Figure 7.11: Profile plot showing Gender differences in Bullying



## 7.9 EFFECTS OF DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

### 7.9.1 Gender Effects

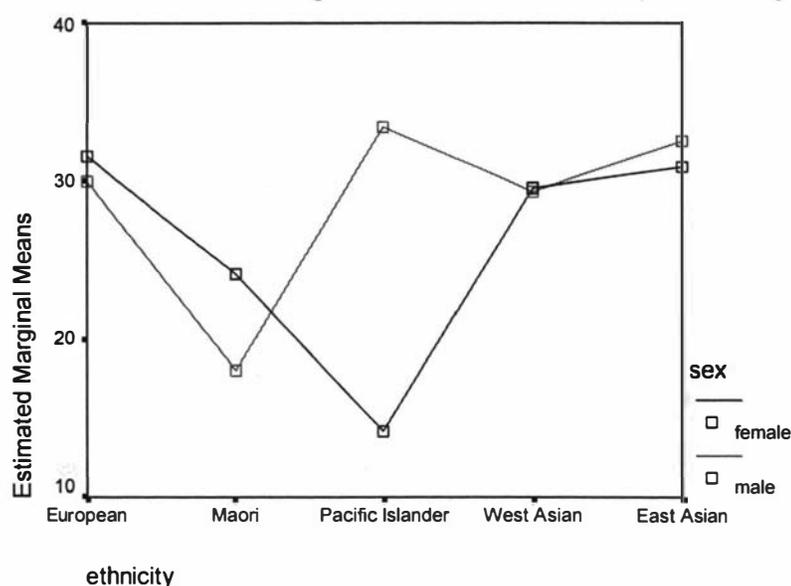
Gender had a significant effect on *Perceptions of Asian Social Acceptance* ( $P < 0.002$ ) with males seeing Asians as more racist than females ( $P < 0.026$ ), as shown in Table 7.26 below. The Bad Health and Self Esteem scales were not significantly affected by these variables, but there were significant gender effects for the *Peer Victimisation Index* ( $P < 0.001$ ), with males experiencing more peer victimisation than females, as seen in Table 7.24 below:

Table 7.24: Significant Gender Effects for Perceptions of Asian Social Acceptance and Victimization

		Report	
sex		Perception	Peer victim.
female	Mean	16.7126	30.4198
	N	87	81
	Std. Deviation	11.1208	4.9165
male	Mean	20.4177	34.9535
	N	79	86
	Std. Deviation	9.3034	6.4149
Total	Mean	18.4759	32.7545
	N	166	167
	Std. Deviation	10.4317	6.1551

In the case of perceptions of *Polynesian social acceptance*, there was a significant interaction effect for ethnicity and gender ( $P < 0.001$ ). As indicated in Figure 7.12 below, only for Pacific Island pupils was there a large difference between male and female pupils, with males seeing Polynesians as more racist than females. There was no significant interaction in European scales.

Figure 7.12: Estimated Marginal Means for Perceptions of Polynesian Racism



## 7.10 CORRELATIONS FOR PEER VICTIMISATION, HEALTH and SELF ESTEEM

Table 7.25 below shows that there were moderate but significant correlations for peer victimisation, bad health and low self-esteem ( $P < 0.001$ ), suggesting that there may be an inter-relationship between these three variables and that bullying may impact on health and self-esteem.

Table 7.25: Spearman *Correlations for Peer Victimization, Health and Self-Esteem*

			Correlations		
			PEERVIC	BADHEALT	SELFESTE
Spearman's rho	PEERVIC	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.305**	-.317**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.001	.000
		N	167	113	139
	BADHEALT	Correlation Coefficient	.305**	1.000	-.342**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.	.000
		N	113	138	123
	SELFESTE	Correlation Coefficient	-.317**	-.342**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.
		N	139	123	174

Table 7.26 below shows that there was a significant correlation between peer victimisation and perceived non-acceptance in Maori and Asians ( $P < 0.005$ ). However, it must be noted that these are associations that show that there is a relationship between the variables, and do not necessarily imply causation.

Table 7.26: Spearman Correlations for Peer Victimization: Perceived non-acceptance for the three groups

			Correlations			
			PEERVIC	EUROPEAN	MAORIPi	ASIAN
Spearman's rho	PEERVIC	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.127	.283 **	.259 **
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.167	.002	.002
		N	167	120	122	135
	EUROPEAN	Correlation Coefficient	.127	1.000	.293 **	.233 **
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.167	.	.001	.008
		N	120	147	119	129
	MAORIPi	Correlation Coefficient	.283 **	.293 **	1.000	.309 **
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.001	.	.000
		N	122	119	151	130
	ASIAN	Correlation Coefficient	.259 **	.233 **	.309 **	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.008	.000	.
		N	135	129	130	166

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

## 7.11 HEALTH

Table 7.27 below displays the means and standard deviations for each of the items on the General Health Questionnaire. The means suggest that, on average, pupils have been experiencing health that has been the 'same as usual' (mean close to 2). No significant differences in health were found in the results of the five ethnic groups.

Table 7.27: *Health – Descriptive Statistics*

1 = Better than usual, 2= Same as usual, 3= Worse than usual, 4= Much worse than usual

	<b>Have you recently:</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>
1	Been feeling perfectly well and in good health?	202	1.98	.72
2	Been feeling in need of some good medicine?	188	2.03	.84
3	Been feeling run down and out of sorts?	191	2.20	.90
4	Felt that you are ill?	190	2.15	.90
5	Been getting any pains in your head?	189	2.14	.92
6	Been getting a feeling of tightness or pressure in your head?	184	2.07	.85
7	Been having hot or cold spells?	184	2.06	.85
8	Lost much sleep over worry?	187	2.32	.95
9	Had difficulty in staying asleep once you are off?	183	2.16	.88
10	Felt constantly under strain?	183	2.21	.92
11	Been getting edgy and bad tempered?	185	2.10	.87
12	Been getting scared or panicky for no good reason?	182	2.13	.83
13	Found everything getting on top of you?	181	2.18	.89
14	Been feeling nervous and strung-up all the time?	186	2.17	.87
15	Been managing to keep yourself busy and occupied?	186	1.94	.77
16	Been taking longer over the things you do?	182	2.01	.74
17	Felt on the whole you were doing things well?	188	1.99	.80
18	Been satisfied with the way you've carried out your task?	186	1.96	.83
19	Felt that you are playing a useful part in things?	189	1.90	.74
20	Felt capable of making decisions about things?	188	1.81	.74
21	Been able to enjoy your normal day-to-day activities?	189	1.85	.80
22	Been thinking of yourself as a worthless person?	184	2.07	.92
23	Felt that life is entirely hopeless?	178	2.00	.90
24	Felt that life isn't worth living?	178	2.04	.92
25	Found at times you couldn't do anything because your nerves were too bad?	180	2.02	.79
26	Thought of the possibility that you might do away with yourself?	177	2.01	.86
27	Found yourself wishing you were dead and away from it all?	178	2.07	.99
28	Found that the idea of taking your own life kept coming into your mind?	177	1.99	.96

## 7.12 SELF ESTEEM

Self-esteem was measured with *The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale* (described in chapter six). Positive items (1, 3, 4, 7 and 10) were scored with 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= agree and 4= strongly agree. Negative items (2, 5, 6, 8 and 9) were reverse scored with 1= strongly agree, 2= agree, 3= disagree and 4= strongly disagree.

Table 7.28 below provides means and standard deviations for each of the ten items on the self-esteem scale. The means suggest that, on average, pupils are experiencing moderate

levels of self-esteem. No significant differences in levels of self-esteem were found in the results of the five ethnic groups.

Table 7.28: *Self Esteem – Descriptive Statistics*

No.	Item	N	Mean	Std Dev
1	On the whole, I am satisfied with myself	198	2.03	.70
2	At times I think I am no good at all	202	2.71	.80
3	I feel that I have a number of good qualities	201	2.85	.63
4	I am able to do things as well as most other people	198	1.87	.69
5	I feel I do not have much to be proud of	197	2.90	.73
6	I certainly feel useless at times	199	2.59	.80
7	I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others	196	1.91	.69
8	I wish I could have more respect for myself	199	2.24	.82
9	All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure	194	3.07	.78
10	I take a positive attitude toward myself	195	1.88	.74
	Valid N (listwise)	176		

### 7.13 COMPARISON OF PEER VICTIMISATION, HEALTH AND SELF ESTEEM SCORES FOR 5 ETHNIC GROUPS

Table 7.29: *Comparison of Peer Victimization, Health and Self Esteem Scores for 5 ethnic groups.*

**Test Statistics <sup>a,b</sup>**

	Peer rejection	Bad Health	Self Esteem
Chi-Square	5.432	4.220	3.046
df	4	4	4
Asymp. Sig.	.246	.377	.550

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: ethnicity

**Report**

ethnicity		Peer rejection	Bad Health	Self Esteem
European	Mean	1.6837	2.0297	2.9726
	N	48	48	48
	Std. Deviation	.3170	.5579	.5909
Maori	Mean	1.7029	1.9544	2.9612
	N	28	28	28
	Std. Deviation	.3810	.5674	.5412
Pacific Islander	Mean	1.5812	2.1865	2.8860
	N	39	39	39
	Std. Deviation	.2545	.4306	.4034
West Asian	Mean	1.5989	2.0255	2.8041
	N	45	45	45
	Std. Deviation	.3067	.5327	.3914
East Asian	Mean	1.7083	2.0868	2.8460
	N	40	40	40
	Std. Deviation	.3016	.5658	.4104
Total	Mean	1.6522	2.0602	2.8909
	N	200	200	200
	Std. Deviation	.3119	.5324	.4739

A comparison of peer victimisation, health and self-esteem scores suggest that there are no significant differences for the five ethnic groups.

#### 7.14 SCHOOL COMPARISONS

A Multivariate Analysis of Variance showed that perceptions of social acceptance did not differ significantly between the three schools. This result suggests that the results are not school specific.

The schools also do not differ significantly in terms of the peer victimization (lack of peer acceptance) and self-esteem scales. As expected, peer victimization (lack of peer acceptance) perceptions are more prevalent amongst boys than girls ( $P < 0.001$ ). There is a slight indication of higher self-esteem in boys than in girls ( $P < 0.066$ ). There was some indication that pupils at School 2 had worse health than pupils at School 1 ( $P < 0.047$ ). This is represented in Table 7.30 below:

Table 7.30: *Health Levels in Schools*

**BADHEALT**

Duncan<sup>a,b,c</sup>

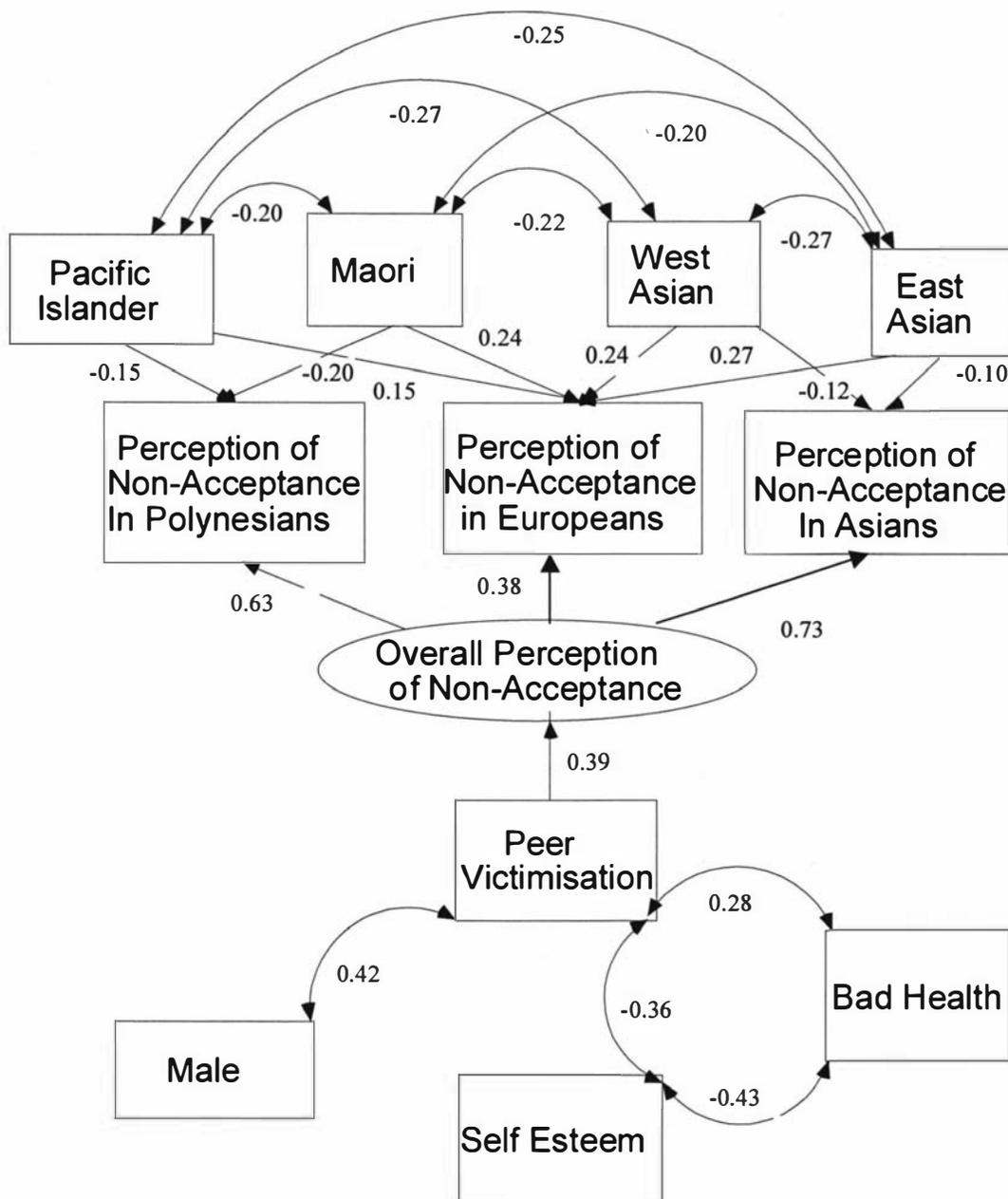
SCHOOL	N	Subset
		1
1.00	23	52.9130
3.00	20	55.8500
2.00	52	58.0769
Sig.		.284

### 7.15 STRUCTURAL EQUATION MODEL FOR PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE

The results of the *Structural Equation Model for Perceptions of Social Acceptance* indicate that the data supports this model well (Details on the analysis are provided in Appendix 12). This model, which was developed from the data, shows the influence of ethnicity and of peer victimisation on perceptions of social acceptance, and confirms the results obtained from the scales. Amongst these are the following: ethnicity and feelings of peer rejection strongly influence perceptions of acceptance or non-acceptance, and all ethnic groups consider themselves to be more accepting than other ethnic groups perceive them to be. It suggests that ethnicity is more important than peer rejection as a source of perceptions of social acceptance. It also confirms that 55.8% of the variation in perceptions of Asian Social Acceptance, 44.8% of the variation in perceptions of Maori/PI Social Acceptance and 21.6% of the variation in perceptions of European Social Acceptance can be explained by ethnicity. The strongest correlation with Peer Rejection (not perceptions of social acceptance) occurs for gender (0.416) with males being much more likely to experience peer rejection than females. Peer Rejection also has a strong correlation with Self Esteem (-0.360), indicating that pupils with low self-esteem are more likely to experience peer rejection. This effect is bi-directional. The correlation between (Bad) Health and Peer Rejection is lower (0.278), but there is also an indirect effect because Self-Esteem and (Bad) Health are strongly correlated (-0.426), therefore all these effects are reciprocally interactive. In conclusion, it confirms the existence of interethnic social non-acceptance in New Zealand and the negative influence of non-acceptance on interethnic relations.

These results are seen in Figure 7.13 below

Figure 7.13: Structural Equation Model for Perceptions of Social Acceptance: Showing standardised regression weights and correlations



## 7.16 SUMMARY

This chapter analysed and presented the quantitative and qualitative results obtained from the survey of European, Maori, Pacific Island, West Asian (Indian) and East Asian (Chinese) pupils from years 9, 11 and 13.

Interethnic attitudes of the five groups were measured, and quantitative data on the groups' direct and meta-perspectives was discussed. Quantitative data on inter-group preferences, levels of social acceptance in the three major groups, self perceptions, gender differences and attitudes to immigration was also summarised. The results indicate that generally, interethnic attitudes amongst pupils range from moderate toward other groups, to very positive toward their own group and Europeans and Polynesians may not be comfortable about having Asians in their schools. While pupils have some significant misconceptions about other groups' perceptions, congruence of perceptions appears to be much greater.

Social distance between the groups was measured and occupational distance was found to be significant. Results show that the ethnic groups appear to be fragmented, and that there is significant distance for all groups, suggesting that pupils from the different ethnic groups do not mix with each other much, and that none of the groups is particularly close. The greatest division apparently lies between Europeans and the other ethnic groups suggesting that Europeans may not wish to mix with others.

Quantitative and qualitative data on perceptions of intimidatory practices was presented for the five ethnic groups, and factors that have made pupils feel rejected, reasons for rejection, perpetrators of intimidatory behaviour, attitudes toward people from disliked countries, and definitions of bullying and ethnicity were discussed. The results indicate that Asians, particularly East Asians, experience the most non-acceptance, and feel the most rejected by other pupils, who they identified as being mainly Europeans, followed by Pacific Islanders and then Maori. Bullying was considered to be a big problem and a large number of pupils reported feeling rejected because of ethnic intimidation. A significant number of European

pupils considered the word 'ethnic' to exclude them and to refer only to non-European peoples.

Negative and positive stereotypes used to describe the ethnic groups were presented. Results suggest that the different ethnic groups may not be very accepting of each other. The high use of negative words to describe other ethnic groups by Maori, and European pupils to a lesser extent, suggest that some of them may not be very accepting of pupils from other ethnic groups.

Pupils' orientations toward acculturation of immigrants were analysed and discussed with particular reference to interactionism for which there were significant differences. Despite the distance between the ethnic groups, responses to this scale indicate that most pupils have a positive attitude toward social interaction, and most prefer complementalism as an orientation to acculturation. School issues that concerned pupils were listed in order of priority with bullying being shown as the greatest concern, followed by violence, racial harassment and name-calling which were seen as serious problems at school.

The extent to which pupils perceive themselves as bullies and victims was analysed and significant gender effects were shown. Health and self-esteem levels for each ethnic group were analysed and correlations for peer victimisation, health and self-esteem were discussed. There were no significant ethnic differences. There was a correlation between peer rejection, bad health and low self-esteem, which suggests an interaction between peer rejection, bad health and ratings of self-esteem.

Effects of demographic factors on perceptions of social acceptance and their relation were analysed and discussed. Ethnicity and gender were found to have significant effects on perceptions of social acceptance. Results for the three schools were also compared. There were no differences in terms of perceptions of social acceptance amongst the schools, which suggests that the results are not school specific. Finally, a structural equation model for perceptions of social acceptance was presented which confirmed these results and

showed the influence of ethnicity and of peer victimisation on perceptions of social acceptance.

# CHAPTER EIGHT

## PARENT AND PUPIL INTERVIEWS

*We're all players on the same stage, so we have to make room for each other*

(Asian Parent)

### 8.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, results are presented for the first section of the qualitative data, which includes experiential data from pupil and parent interviews. This data is analysed, interpreted and organised according to the significant ideas, concepts and themes that represent the personal, socio-cultural and situational variables considered to influence or be influenced by perceptions of social acceptance. These narratives communicated verbally and nonverbally are woven together to form a clear, overall description of respondents' perceptions of their and others' attitudes and behaviours. The findings are interpreted in relation to the research questions and the proposed model of social interaction within a global society presented in chapter five. Due to the copious amount of this data, which is integrated and triangulated with additional qualitative and empirical data, the discussion and theoretical elaboration is presented in the final chapter of this thesis.

An interview schedule was used to guide open-ended questions, which were designed to test the main variables. Due to the semi-formal nature of the interviews, the sequence of questions and their wording was guided by the interviewees. However, care was taken to ensure that all variables were covered in each interview. Parent and pupil interviews have been analysed together, although they were conducted separately, as the information provided covered the same categories. Analysing them separately would have resulted in too much repetition. As parents' perceptions also elucidate and substantiate pupils' perceptions, it was considered appropriate to combine them.

Parents and pupils chose to participate in these interviews because they wished to tell their stories. For some, confidentiality and anonymity was not an issue, and they did not mind having their names mentioned if necessary. Through stories people say things that would be inappropriate to say directly (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Therefore, their stories with their sometimes dramatic statements and vehemence are included in this analysis as they reveal and underscore significant themes, set the tone and help to interpret the material. This section is thus replete with numerous quotations from these stories.

## **8.2 PERSONAL VARIABLES**

### **8.2.1 Needs and Expectations in New Zealand**

#### ***Reasons for Migration***

Fifteen (75%) West Asian and nine (60%) East Asian pupils (i.e. 69% of the total) came to New Zealand with their families primarily for *political reasons*. Two sets of parents and one child came here as refugees from Laos and Cambodia. They reported that there was far too much violence, insecurity and non-acceptance at various levels in their countries, and they hoped to find a safe, peaceful and accepting environment in New Zealand. This was followed by *educational reasons* which were generated by political unrest in their countries. As education was constantly disrupted, parents of 14 (70%) West Asian and six (40%) East Asian pupils (57% of total) stated that they hoped to provide their children with a stable education of a high standard in New Zealand. Most parents and pupils said they perceived the country to be peaceful and safe, as indicated in comments such as the following:

- The political situation in South Africa, as you know, was not desirable for black people at that time, and if we wanted to give our children a better future, we had to leave. We came to New Zealand because we had heard how beautiful and safe this country is.
- It is very peaceful here. Sri Lanka had lots of violence and it was very unsafe to live there. Also, sometimes the education was disrupted because of the violence, so we couldn't go to school.

Only the Japanese, Taiwanese and Indian pupils and parents reported coming here primarily for educational reasons. The reason stated by the Japanese pupil was to improve her English and Taiwanese and Indian pupils cited gaining better prospects of entry into universities as their reason, as competition for limited seats was too great in their countries. This created excessive stress for children at too young an age, as reflected in comments such as these:

- In Taiwan the competition for entering university is very severe. I had to get private tutors to help my children do well, and they had to work very hard with no time for any recreation. At 14 years my daughter got grey hair. I thought it was too hard for them, so I decided to leave Taiwan for their education.
- It's very hard to get into university in India...

### *Acceptance*

Both parents and pupils interviewed demonstrated a strong need for acceptance in their new country. All parents perceived themselves as positive people who shared the aspirations of any other group. As such, they said they wanted to be accepted and treated well, and wanted to 'get ahead in life like anybody else'. However, most stated that they felt unaccepted. Thirty-four pupils (97%) said they did not feel completely accepted here, and 28 (80%) did not feel accepted initially, however, they said as time passed they felt a little more accepted by their peers. More West Asian pupils (19-95%) appeared to feel accepted later than East Asian (9-60%). Twenty-two parents (92%) reported that they did not feel fully accepted here as suggested by the comment below:

- We want people to accept us and we're trying to do that through the Ethnic Council and organisations like that. But I don't think that we are succeeding to the extent that we want to.

Although the two refugees encountered acceptance problems from time to time, they said they regarded them as insignificant in relation to the aid given to them by this country, and were prepared to overlook them in gratitude.

Only one West Asian, year 13 pupil said that she felt totally accepted by her peers, had experienced no negative behaviour at any time, and felt no racism toward her.

- It's been good. Kids accept you for who you are, you know. They don't worry about colour or race or anything.

However, she later said:

- When I go out with my friends I don't want to be Indian.... I don't really know [why]. I just know that it would be better sometimes if I weren't an Indian when I'm out.

### ***Equal Opportunity***

The immigrants expected to be granted equal opportunity to achieve their goals here. However, parents reported finding that neither of these expectations was adequately met, which led to much frustration amongst them, as suggested by the comments below. Pupils' views of equal opportunity differed from their parents' with twenty six (74%) of all pupils reporting having felt that they had adequate opportunity here to achieve their goals.

- We see education as a way to do that. If you're educated you can get a good job and you can do well in society. So we value education and we respect all people and believe that everybody should be treated equally.
- We were very comfortable in our country, but we came here for our daughter's education. Not that the education there wasn't good enough – it was. We just thought she'd have a better chance for the future if she has a Western education. But then we come here expecting to get a good job because we qualified under the points system to come here, but we find there are no jobs for us. We are discriminated against because of who we are. Back home we had everything – good jobs, good friends and everything.

### ***A Sense of Belonging***

On account of their feelings of non-acceptance, 15 (43%) pupils and all parents of both West Asian and East Asian origin reported experiencing a lack of a sense of belonging here. They said they did not see New Zealand as their country, but 'as a place to live in,' because they felt certain that New Zealanders would never accept them as one of them.

- It's a good place to live, but I don't strongly identify with being a New Zealander.
- It is important to know who you are because we have different faces, so the 'Kiwis' will never accept us as one of them.
- We have some things here, but we don't have everything ....[I miss] a sense of identity, culture ... and just feeling that I belonged.
- I don't have that group of people that I feel a sense of belonging to. It's being a part of a group of people with whom you share the same things, with whom you can talk about the same things and you feel you're being heard.

- How can you have a sense of belonging in an environment in which you're not accepted?

They said they saw themselves as not having a country of their own and not belonging anywhere, as indicated in parents' replies such as those below, to the question: 'Which country would you see as your country?' They were:

- I don't have one ... we're neither here nor there.
- You don't belong one way or another, and to have a sense of belonging is quite important.
- You don't really feel like you fit in any place. You can't be a 'Kiwi' because you don't look like one, and you're not really accepted in New Zealand society.
- I just feel we all in New Zealand are in limbo ... because we are neither here nor there.

The local Chinese parents and pupils who were born here, said they did not feel accepted by their own people, who are the new Chinese immigrants, or the local 'Kiwis'. They felt 'Kiwis' were more accepting of them before the new immigrants arrived because they were in small numbers and they knew them. Now they are suspicious of them. This was confirmed by this comment from a new immigrant:

- I have friends who were born here. Their grandparents came here 100 years ago during the gold rush. From the Chinese point of view they are not really Chinese because they can't even speak the language. And they think they are 'Kiwi', but I know the 'Kiwis' don't think they are 'Kiwi', so who are they?

And the following comments:

- I look different. They don't know that I was born here. Physically, I'm different and they go by my physical appearance. And my thinking is different.
- They call us bananas, you know, because they say we're yellow on the outside and white on the inside that we're not true Chinese, but like white people on the inside. They don't see us as similar to them.

### ***Empathy***

All parents and 26 (74%) pupils complained about a *lack of empathy* in peoples of the majority cultures whom they felt did not understand or care about their situation. Instead, they said, they responded to them in hurtful ways such as the following:

- They say stuff that they don't realise is hurting somebody else.
- Kids don't know what they talk about and they can be mean.

Many pupils appeared to have an *ability to empathise* with their peers from the majority cultures and to understand why they did some of the things that they did, even though these actions were detrimental to them. This ability is reflected in the following comments:

- I know when they are doing things that are not right. But I also think that maybe it's right for them even though it's not right for us.
- Not all people are the same – that's what we're taught. Not just in terms of money and what they have, but also in terms of education and other things, so people need help in different ways and we must recognise that and try to help.

They also appeared to be able to empathise with other ethnic minorities and to understand why they behaved the way they did.

- These people, they don't really know. We have the Koreans and these other groups, and most of them are immigrants and they can't speak English and they can't make friends that easily, and they find it easier to relate to people of their own ethnicity. [Other people] think they're snobs or something, but it's not that.
- There was this girl at school, she's Japanese. She just came here, and when she sees me on the street she would walk with me, but when she saw other Japanese people, she just walked off with them and I felt really bad. She was really quiet when she was with me because she finds it hard to speak English, but when she was with her friends she was talking Japanese really fast. ... she was really happy that she could just talk to her Japanese friends.

### ***Community and Cultural Support***

Parents spoke of their *need for support* from people in the community, and felt they got very little of this from local 'Kiwis'. Those whose children had suffered the effects of non-acceptance believed that adequate community support might have prevented, or at least alleviated, the consequences to which they became victim. It would serve as a buffer against abuse they may receive from others, and give them the strength to cope with it and avoid damaging effects on them. In the face of discrimination and prejudice, visible ethnic minority immigrants appeared to stand together and support each other. This is suggested by the following comments:

- But, you know, it's funny how it's different with other ethnic groups. My other neighbour is Chinese. She talks to us all the time and even brings us vegetables from her garden, so we take her things too. We visit each other, but the other old lady – the 'Kiwi' one – only calls me when she wants something done. She has never given me anything for the odd jobs I do for her – not that I want anything. But I don't do anything for the Chinese lady and she always shares with us. She lives alone too, but she trusts

me. The 'Kiwi' lady only trusts me when she needs something done. But that's okay – I'm happy to do it for her.

- My sister had lots of problems with her neighbours ('Kiwis').... Her neighbour would never even greet her – they were so unfriendly.... Our neighbours are very good. They are Chinese and don't speak much English, but they always try to talk to us.
- In the 5<sup>th</sup> form he (Indian boy) had only Asian friends and spent every weekend playing basketball with them. They accepted him.... Chinese from Hong Kong and Indians from Singapore. I think they might have had something in common because they were outsiders.
- Most South African Indian families keep together, so their kids are protected within that environment. --- tells me that at intervals at school all the Indian kids come together and congregate in C block. You won't see one white face there. And it's the same group that mixed outside school. My kids have not had that and I think it has had an adverse effect on them. We were alone in Whangarei with no Indian families there at the time, so they had only white friends. They were good friends, but they didn't have friends from their own culture.

### *Human Nature or the 'Sticking Together Syndrome'*

Human nature was frequently cited as one of the reasons why people do not mix easily and prefer to remain with their own groups, or 'stick together' as foreigners are often accused of doing. Many interviewees said they felt comfortable with their own people because they spoke the same language and shared the same customs. They felt it was perfectly normal to choose to be with people to whom you can relate and from whom you can get moral support.

- But it is a natural tendency of people to stay close to their own people because they can relate to them more easily.
- If they stay in their own groups, that's natural. You want to be with people you can relate to. Everyone does that, not only Asians. The Polynesians and Europeans do it too. But we do mix too.
- When you can't speak English you need to be around people with whom you can communicate. You need to have neighbours who can talk to you and understand you – it makes life easier .... You have friends with whom you can socialise. Others do that too – Maori live with their people and Samoans too. The same with Europeans. Everybody needs to have their own people around them .... You need support from your own community.

Most children also appeared to choose to have their closest friends from their own ethnic group for the same reason, as reflected by comments such as the following:

- Because I can relate to them. They are like me. We do the same things. Some of us talk the same language. I am happy with them.
- It's easy to be with other Asians because we speak the same and our customs are the same, so it's comfortable to be with them.

- It's just so much easier to stay with your own – you speak the same language and you know each other.

Another reason cited by respondents for keeping with their own groups, was strength in numbers. Pupils felt that they were not intimidated as much if they were seen to have the support of large groups of people from their own ethnic groups. This appeared to deter others from harassing them, as indicated in comments of this nature:

- There are lots of Indians in our school, so they can't do it (intimidate) too much. .... You have people to support you.

However, some appeared to be able to empathise with the local New Zealanders and appeared to realise that even they may be experiencing the same need to be with their own people now that they are being confronted by so many foreigners.

- They won't include you in their group – they keep to themselves. But I suppose that's human nature – all people are the same. If they were to go to China, I suppose the Chinese would do the same to them.
- Maybe the 'Kiwis' don't mix too easily, like some of the Sri Lankans. Maybe it's just human nature. I don't know. I may be wrong, but that's what I guess. That's what I have observed

In the same way, children of mixed heritage appeared to choose friends who were also of mixed heritage as they felt they could relate to them because they shared commonalities and were therefore more comfortable with them. One such child said:

- Most of my friends are half-castes. Like my best friend is Samoan and Irish and English all mixed into one. And my other friend is Maori and Chinese and English.

A visible ethnic minority parent who worked within the public sector found that other visible ethnic minority people chose to come to her rather than a person of European origin, as they felt that they could relate to her and she would understand them better.

- Especially the minority people – they come to me easily. If there is a choice between me and a European person, they'll come to me .... They do tell me, once they get talking to me, that I understand them and white people don't.

## *The Vernacular*

Attitudes toward *speaking in the vernacular* at school varied. Some parents (7-29%), especially of Chinese origin (5-42%), were of the opinion that their children should not be encouraged to speak in their mother tongue at school. Those who felt this way did so because they felt that doing this was preventing them from gaining *proficiency in English*, and apart from being rude, they feared it would create problems of misunderstanding and ill feeling amongst non-speakers. Twenty (57%) pupils said they thought that it contributed to *racial tension* at school, and twenty three (66%) believed people were offended by it.

- It could create problems. You know, it happened to me recently ... at work. There's another Sri Lankan girl who works with me. We spoke to each other in our language when we thought nobody was listening, but another 'Kiwi' girl heard. She was angry because she thought we were talking about her. I tried to explain to her that we weren't, but she didn't believe me.... It creates a lot of racial tension. Especially with the Chinese – they talk a lot in their language and keep in their own group, so people don't like it.
- If there's a whole group of them I don't really think they care, but if there's just one or two around they'll think we're talking about them.
- I think it sometimes made them angry because sometimes they'd say, 'What are you talking about?' and just look at us. Maybe they think we're talking about them, so it's not nice because we don't, and it's not nice if they think that.
- I think the school should have a policy that people should not speak other languages at school, only English. Because, if we all speak English, we will get to know each other and not feel that we are different. We will understand everything that everyone is saying and there won't be bad feelings.... Speaking different languages in groups at school only divides the school.
- If he mixes more with the 'Kiwis', his communication skills would improve ... English is his second language, you know.
- I think it should stop. I did it because it was hard for me, but if I spoke English all the time I would be speaking it better now.

Some ethnic minority pupils for whom English was the first language, reported *feeling uncomfortable* themselves about their compatriots speaking in the vernacular as it created misunderstanding.

- I can't understand what they're saying. It just makes me feel uncomfortable a bit. Lots of people feel like that.
- You know, sometimes people get into their own groups and speak their own language, and you don't know what they're saying, and that can be hard .... And they look at you strangely while they're talking, so you wonder whether they're talking about you.
- Because you wouldn't know what they're talking about. You might think they're talking something bad about you. That's what a lot of people think, and I think that contributes to a lot of problems.

- --- my friend, she doesn't like it. She says they talk too much in their own language, and when they laugh, she thinks they're laughing at her. But they're not – she just thinks that.
- They don't understand what they're saying and they think they're saying bad things about them.
- When they (Chinese) do that I feel like they're talking about me or something because I don't know what they're saying.

However, the rest (24-69%) said they felt there was *no harm in speaking their own language* as long as they did not do it in the presence of non-speakers. This would be impolite, and it was not their intention to offend anybody. They explained that when pupils spoke in their own language, they did it only because they were more comfortable speaking a language in which they were fluent, and they could get their message across more easily and a lot quicker. Sometimes, they said, it was only in their own language that they could express precisely what they wished to say. These sentiments are suggested by comments such as the following:

- We never speak it when others are around ... Maybe some think it's rude, but we don't do that. We never talk it in public places or the classroom. At lunchtime we sit in the garden in a corner and we start speaking in English, but it just happens that we begin to talk in our language because it's easier that way.
- Certain things you can only say in your own language...the way you describe things, sometimes you can't say it in English. It's not the same – it doesn't have the same meaning. You can only say it in your language to get the right meaning across.
- Sometimes, when we're on our own, never when others are around. That would be rude. But I like to do that when I'm alone with them because it gives me a chance to practise my language. I missed out when I was young, you know.
- It's good for people to talk their own language because they keep it alive and don't forget it. And sometimes people express themselves better in their own language.

Some of these pupils, who sometimes spoke in their own language, said they believed that others understood why they were doing it. They did not realise that they might have been offending people by doing that.

- I think people are quite sensible where other cultures are concerned, so maybe they understand. You see, we have lots of different cultures in our school, so I think they understand and respect the cultures.

## *Adaptation*

All parents displayed an acute awareness of the *need to adapt* to the New Zealand culture not only in order to be accepted by New Zealanders, and ‘so that life is easier for them’, but because they believed that people living within a country should adapt to each other. Indian parents in particular, as well as some Chinese parents, said they believed that this needed to be done whilst retaining as much of their own culture as possible. However, they accepted the fact that some of their culture would be lost or changed to some extent as their children adapted. This view is suggested by comments such as these:

- The world is changing and people will move, so we have to adapt.
- I know this will mean that they will forget some of their own culture in time, and I feel sad about that, but we have no control over that. That is the way things will go, so I have to accept that. .... As long as they know a little of it, but keep the values.
- It's very important because if he doesn't (adapt) he won't fit in and he won't be accepted. It's important to adapt to the mainstream culture when you go to a new country. If he takes that too far and becomes more like a 'Kiwi' in the future, I can't do anything about it, but I would like him to retain his culture at the same time.
- But we have to adapt to this environment also. We have to mix with everyone and learn about what this society expects of us and cooperate with them. At the same time, we have to continue with our culture as well. It's important that our children remain disciplined. And we must respect the other culture as well.
- We have to maintain our language and culture because that's what makes us who we are. But at the same time we must adapt to the local culture otherwise we won't fit in, and if we don't fit in we won't be accepted. So we have to have a balance of both.
- I cannot bring my kids to NZ and expect them to be S. African. That's not realistic. So if they are S. African N. Zealanders I don't have a problem with that. I'd like them to have our values – the S. African Indian values.

Whilst they realised that their children must learn from the New Zealand culture and ‘modern ways’, they said they wanted them to ‘*learn the good things only*’, and in so doing, enjoy the best of both worlds. As some parents said:

- There are a lot of bad things out there, which we don't want them to learn.
- Learn from the new culture too, but ... know what to take from it and what not to take. He can enjoy the best from both worlds then.
- The only thing is we don't want them to do the wrong things that happen here. You know, the way the young people live here – we don't want that for our children. You know, girls going out freely and living how they do – that's not right for us. They must stick to our values there. But with some other things it's okay.
- European children change their minds and make them do things differently, but I want them to do things in the right way – the way we know is good.

- Choose what's right ... and not be influenced by the bad things... the way some of the 'Kiwi' kids live – they leave home so early and their parents have no control over them and things like that.

Many *pupils* shared this attitude with their parents, and realised that they had to adapt to the New Zealand lifestyle in order to be accepted by the locals. This was apparent in some of their comments:

- They (immigrants) have to get in touch with the local way of doing things. They can hang on to their culture and beliefs and that sort of thing, but you have to be open. You have to be willing to give a little and take a little.
- They should keep their culture alive, but they should also learn about the new country and its culture, or it will be hard for them.

Although they expressed fear of loss of culture in the process of adaptation, parents said they found solace in the fact that the *values* that they had taught their children would guide them through the initial conflicts that they would experience in this new cultural environment. This is reflected in comments such as the following:

- The values you carry are inside you and they stay. You can't change them. They affect you subconsciously.

They also appeared to recognise the need to *change with the times* and discard what is irrelevant to the present, as reflected in these comments:

- Oh yes, we all need to do that. What was good in the old days is not necessarily good anymore. But we keep the good things.
- We talk about that and how things should be. The common feeling is that all the traditions are not important, but what will help them in the future must be kept.

However, five (42%) parents of Chinese origin, to whom culture did not appear to be as important, appeared to be quite willing to sacrifice their culture and compromise their identity for acceptance. They said they were happy to do whatever it took in order to be accepted and appeared anxious to avoid a 'backlash' in their new country. Four (27%) East Asian pupils shared this view which is suggested by the following comments:

- [Culture and ethnicity] is not very important .... However, we celebrate them to show our culture here in New Zealand - it is different and the local people must see it and know about it. We would like to be accepted as 'Kiwis' and be like them in some ways.

- I feel that to make life easier for yourself and to live happily, you have to adjust your lifestyle and live like the 'Kiwis'. It's the only way. I tell everybody that.
- I want them to be Cambodian, but if they are more 'Kiwi', it's okay because it is for their benefit – they will be more accepted.
- There are so many different ethnic groups that have come to New Zealand and sometimes there is a backlash from the local New Zealanders. We are the new ones here, so we have to try to live with them, not them with us, so there isn't such a backlash. If we try to adapt to their way of life, they will accept us and not be so prejudiced toward us.
- It's very difficult here. People ask what that is and laugh at children who are different, so I don't want them to do anything that's different. I'm not teaching them anything [that's Chinese]. When they grow up they must decide what they want to do.

### ***Standard of Education***

All parents interviewed said they felt *disappointed* with the standard of education here as they were given to believe that it was a lot higher than in their countries. Instead, they found that standards were lower than in their home countries. Nineteen pupils (54%) said they were not happy with their performance at school, and found that they were doing work that they had done about two years earlier in their home schools, and felt bored and unchallenged. Of these seven (35%) were West Asian and 11 (73%) East Asian.

- The education system is not as good as we thought, but it's okay. We have to compromise. Sometimes we think that the education was better in India because the standards are higher there and our daughter would have done better.
- In Hong Kong it's much more difficult. You have to work very hard all the time, and it's hard to get into college. You've got to get very good results to do that. The standards are much higher there compared to here. If I was in Hong Kong I would probably have been kicked out of school by now.
- Compared to where I come from, the standards here are quite low. They're way behind. If you compare, what they're doing here in high school, they're doing in primary school in China. And the kids are not pushed to work hard – they should because that's what they're here for. But they're more interested in sport and things. That's good, but they should be studying.
- The standards in South Africa were much higher than here, and the stuff we're doing now at college, I did a long time ago in South Africa ... so it was a bit boring – there was no challenge.
- I don't like their policy – kids automatically go into the next level – they don't have to pass exams. That's not good.
- As you would know, as all people who come from other countries like Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Africa or anywhere will know, the standard of education here is not high. It is low in terms of the knowledge the children get. I always ask the children what they are doing at school, and compared to Taiwan, they are far below standard and well behind. And the big problem is that my second daughter thinks she's doing fine, but I know that she can do a lot better if she was challenged, but she doesn't get that here. That is what is disappointing to me. The education is very limited.
- In Taiwan all schools follow the same syllabus. They use the same texts and study the same books... and everybody does the same exams, so they have the same standards.

Here different classes in the same level in one school study different things and there's no standard.

Most parents and pupils reported finding the *atmosphere in schools* to be too relaxed with no motivation or pressure from teachers to perform. Consequently, they felt that they were not achieving to their highest capability. Generally, they said they felt that school is a lot easier here because not much serious work is done in the classroom, and they are not given much homework. These perceptions are reflected in the following comments:

- They don't work hard at school – everything is just a joke, you know. And they don't respect their teachers too. Now that's something strange to us because in Sri Lanka education is so important and our teachers are more important because without them we can't be educated.
- Then if they are working as they should at school, they'll have no time for abusing other children. If the standards are higher and the children know they have to work, they'll be too busy to do these things. But that doesn't happen here. The kids are not interested in school, the teachers don't seem to worry too much – you know, you learn if you want to – so the kids do what they please.
- I'm also a school teacher and I'm not very happy with the education system in New Zealand. I think the school system is not serious, you know. It doesn't push the kids to study. Till 5<sup>th</sup> form it doesn't do this, but in the 6<sup>th</sup> form school starts in New Zealand, and it ends there.
- If I don't look after my kids and help them in my spare time, I think they will never do well at school. The teachers don't work hard with them. It's not just me who feels like this. I've got friends from South Africa and India and other places, and they all feel like this. All foreigners don't like this system – they are not happy.
- Here they were left to their own resources – work was set and if they wanted to do it they could, and if they didn't want to, they didn't have to. The teachers didn't care whether the children worked or not and they didn't motivate the children. Children need guidance and motivation or they won't work hard enough, so we can't say they are adults and leave them alone. They also didn't get homework, so their performance at school dropped and they didn't do well enough.

At the same time some pupils, especially those of Chinese origin who were worked too hard in their home countries, said they welcomed the *lack of pressure* and the practical focus of many subjects as it decreased stress in their lives and gave them time for other activities.

- Here things are very practical. In India everything was very theoretical. Here we get to do things with our hands.
- There (Hong Kong) people pressure you to study hard all the time. There's too much pressure. Here there's no pressure.
- They don't work very hard and school is way behind. .... It's fine because it's a lot easier for me – I don't have to work so hard.

## *Discipline*

All parents and pupils complained about discipline which they felt was sorely *lacking* in our schools. One of the reasons cited for this was a lack of accountability which they felt contributed to negative attitudes and behaviour toward education, discipline and difference. They felt that the lack of discipline amongst pupils led to a lack of respect, which contributed to negative attitudes and ethnic intimidation. These perceptions are reflected in the following comments:

- The biggest drawback here would be the discipline.
- I think it (discipline) could affect social interactions because how kids get along will be determined by how they behave.
- Living is part of education. Children have to learn to do things in an orderly way. When they are disciplined in this way they do better at school because their minds are right. Appearance is important too. When children come to school neat and tidy, their minds will be in the same state and they will perform in the same way.
- Here they focus on the wrong things – they spend most of the time in class doing things that have nothing to do with the subject as I see it. They just have a good time and there's no discipline, and I think all this contributes to it. And this happens in my daughter's class which they actually call an advanced class (laughs).
- The main purpose of coming to school is not to study here. Everything else is more important, like sport and other things. And the discipline! .... There has to be discipline if children are to do well at school.
- There's no discipline and I think that is the problem. But it can be done. We did it, so why can't it be done here?

However, although they agreed that stricter forms of discipline were necessary in our schools, no parent or pupil advocated corporal punishment, but were instead happy to be free of such a harsh form of discipline, and were pleased that:

- Here the worst thing you can get if you don't do well or anything, is a detention.

Nine (26%) parents suggested that schools could not do anything about this problem as it was much more widespread and not limited to the school. They felt that the responsibility of discipline had to be shared by *parents* and not left entirely to the school, as appeared to happen here. They were of the opinion that discipline started at home during early childhood, so parents had to take responsibility for the discipline of their children:

- It all starts at home, you know. Parents need to teach their children discipline and the right attitudes.

- They (the school) can get the parents involved because after all, it's their responsibility.

### *Teacher Attitudes*

All parents were of the opinion that intimidatory practices at school had 'a lot to do with the teachers' as 'they don't know how to *control* the children'. They said that their experiences here told them that those who were strict had less or no intimidatory behaviour in their classrooms, and those who were not, had a lot, as indicated by comments such as the following:

- In Intermediate school he had a firm teacher. The children were frightened of him, so they behaved themselves and he didn't have these problems. The teacher wouldn't allow children to behave like that. But in the second year the woman was too soft and had no control, so the children did what they wanted to and he had so many problems that year. He had some problems in primary school too, but that was the worst year. It all depends on the school management, that's my feeling.
- Even at college it's the same problem – the children take advantage of some of the teachers, so these things happen.

Pupils reported that teachers were too busy to get involved, so were *ignorant* of what happened around them. They said that a lot went on in classrooms and playgrounds that they were unaware of. They also suspected that teachers did not care and did not want to know.

- They feel their job is to teach and they get busy with that ... Some of them just don't care. Some of them are just not aware.
- I think that because teachers are so busy, they just don't want to know. They go into the class and teach the kids and don't care whether 20 kids don't understand what they're saying. I've heard of many teachers who are racist from Chinese and Indian kids.
- They hand it over to the office and think it's their problem then. Maybe they don't want to know.

Several parents (21-88%) also appeared to be convinced that teachers had *racist attitudes* themselves, and they believed that these racist attitudes impeded them from seeing the truth, particularly in incidents of ethnic intimidation. Many parents and pupils talked about experiences like the following:

- I talked to the teacher once about how the Maori kids treated everyone else, but she took it as a racist comment from me.
- So many people complain to teachers, but teachers don't always do something about it because some of them are racist themselves.

- An Indian parent told me of her child who is at --- College who has been putting up his hand to answer questions and never gets asked by the teacher. After two months at school he has decided that he is invisible to his teacher, and had decided not to participate anymore. I've heard of many cases at --- where kids felt they were not being heard because they were not 'white'. You know all those fights that would happen there between Chinese and 'white' kids? The Chinese kids were always blamed because they couldn't express themselves, and even if they could they were still blamed. That was common knowledge at --- College.
- My daughter who is at primary school now also has some experiences that can be called racist. I don't know. Even the teachers are like that. But she has learnt from her brother's experiences and she stands up for herself.

Eight (33%) parents stated that a *lack of cooperation* by staff due to negative attitudes toward ethnic minority parents also contributed to poor relationships at school. This view is reflected in comments like the following:

- One day I went to the school and asked to see the principal and they made some excuse and said he wasn't available. So the next time I made an appointment and saw him. I tried to explain what was happening, but they did not want to accept what I was saying. That's another problem. Instead of listening to me and trying to do something, they tried to deny everything and send me away. They said they have so many students and none of the parents come and complain about anything. I think they thought that I was trying to make up things.... I feel that they are not doing anything to help. They can solve the problem.

Many pupils (17-49%) said that their teachers did not listen to them or believe them when they complained, but instead accused them of 'telling fibs. For these reasons children did not *trust* teachers and chose not to complain to or seek help from them. They believed that they would not understand and that it would create further problems for them as they had previously experienced.

- They say I'm telling fibs and they don't listen to me.... That made me feel really bad. I hated the teacher.
- She didn't want to create any problems for herself. This is a 'Kiwi' country, you see, so she better not say anything – the teachers are 'Kiwi'.
- They (teachers) wouldn't understand. And what would they do anyway? They'd think there was something wrong with me.

### ***Knowledge and Awareness***

Parents expressed the belief that *teacher knowledge and awareness* of different cultures contributes to better attitudes and relationships amongst children. They maintained that teachers did not know enough about the cultures of their pupils therefore often

misunderstood them and did not know how to respond to them. They believed that it was the teachers' responsibility to increase their knowledge and awareness of the cultures of their pupils, and to educate and create awareness amongst their pupils:

- The teacher taught the class in such a way that the children had an understanding of everyone, so they treated them better.
- I think teachers should talk to children generally about situations like this, and make it known to them that we are in a multicultural school and society, and that it's not right to be picking on other people's cultures and things. Talk to them so that they understand that they've got to respect other people's cultures, and that if they see someone doing something different, it's not wrong – it's their culture and they must respect it.
- I think people should learn more about the different cultures at school .... The school can teach about these things in Social Studies and they should teach everybody to be multicultural because New Zealand is multicultural now.

All parents were of the opinion that teachers lack the ability to deal with problems of ethnic intimidation as they do not understand the *dynamics of the problem*, or *misunderstand* them completely. They said that teachers did not appear to know, for example, that children of European origin, as well as those of Polynesian origin, deliberately antagonise and incite ethnic minority children into negative reactions, and then innocently walk away from the situation while appearing to be the victims, and the ethnic minorities the perpetrators. This is suggested in comments like the following:

- Maybe they just don't see it that way, or they probably feel it's not their problem.
- The principal investigated the matter and they were quite good. But they told him he was at fault too, but they don't realise that he gets pushed and pushed, so he says things too because he gets irritated. Sometimes the beginning is small, but it ends being a big thing. They start it and in the end he becomes the one who is to blame.

### ***Modelling***

Both parents and pupils suggested that children learn their attitudes and behaviours from their significant adults, and that parents and teachers, either deliberately or inadvertently, *promote certain attitudes* and behaviours to their children through their behaviour. Eleven (31%) pupils said they often found teachers to be guilty of this as well, as indicated in comments of this nature:

- She's (teacher) always mean to me and Jasper .... an Indian boy. She even calls him stupid, and he's not stupid. So everybody calls him stupid. That's not fair. She only does that to the Indian and the two Chinese in the class .... My other friends say that some of their teachers are like that to them as well. I don't know why teachers are racist.
- That's the way their parents think, so they are like that too.
- They've been brainwashed into thinking like that. You can't just catch such attitudes like that (click of fingers), it has deep roots.
- That also depends on attitudes of the parents. If they don't like Asians, their kids will never approach Asians – never. They will have the same attitude. I feel there are some parents who have that attitude.

A parent of a secondary school boy also spoke about her daughter at primary school and told of her current experiences, which endorsed this point. She told about an incident when the teacher laughed at her daughter for calling herself a 'Kiwi'. The child asked her why she was laughing, and she said she could not understand how 'you people' (referring to immigrants of colour) 'could call yourselves Kiwis', and continued to laugh. She was soon joined by the rest of the class, which upset and embarrassed the girl. This parent felt that:

- Some [teachers] feel we're coming to school and wasting their time and so they discriminate.

The following experience on the school ground offered further support to this. An Indian girl and her two 'Kiwi' classmates accidentally pushed a 'Kiwi' boy while playing. The next day the mother of the boy, who helped at school, reprimanded the Indian girl for pushing her son, but did not include the two 'Kiwi' girls who had also accidentally bumped into him. This raised the concern of the parent of the girl who wondered what example that would have set the children who witnessed that incident. Another Chinese parent told of her experience as a teacher aide in a primary school which also substantiated this claim:

- I helped as a teacher aide and people there were so racist. There was a little boy in the class who kept telling me he didn't like me. So I asked him why and he said it was because I was Japanese. I explained that I was Chinese and he said he doesn't like Chinese too. I told the teachers that it's so bad that little children are being taught this, and that it could lead to bigger things later.

### ***School and the 'Real World'***

Generally, perceptions of the school in relation to the 'real world' were ambivalent. Most pupils and parents said they felt that there was no similarity between the two, and that the

'real world' was very different and not as easy. Life at school was comparatively easy and safe as it was predictable because pupils were forced to behave in particular ways. On the other hand, there were those who felt that in some instances, mainly the multi-ethnic population, there were similarities, and in others there were none. Comments such as the following are redolent of these perceptions:

- Some things are happening in the school, but not in society. Once the children leave the school, they go back to the old ways and they just keep to themselves. It's like school is a different little world where certain things happen, but once kids are out of school they behave differently.
- Maybe they have to mix at school – they are expected to, so they do it. The teachers force them to mix in various ways through their work and other activities, but once they're outside they are free to choose what they want and so they don't mix. There's no-one to force them there. Usually friendships only happen at school and they end there. Sometimes they continue into university, but usually they don't go beyond school.
- In the real world it's not like that. In school people are forced to mix because they're in the same class and doing the same things, but outside it's different. I don't think it's going to be as easy in the real world. .... Attitudes are probably the same, but nobody has to behave in a certain way because they're all together in a small place. They don't have to be tolerant, so I don't know whether it's going to be as easy as it is at school. You feel safe at school because you know what to expect. I think school is unreal – it's not the way the world really is.

### ***Support and Responsibility to Pupils***

Pupil and parent perceptions of the pastoral and academic support offered by the school to visible ethnic minority pupils varied according to their experiences at their schools. While some found their schools to be supportive, the majority of pupils (26-74%) said they found them to be *lacking in support*. They felt that although their schools were offering some support, there was still much more that they could do.

- The school provides the anti-harassment service, which is a part of social interaction. That's a good part. But otherwise it leaves it up to students to take care of themselves. A lot of kids don't know how to respond to certain situations, and they flounder if you don't have a good family to support you. Communication skills are also so important. The school should teach that.
- I think the school can do a lot, but currently, they do nothing. They just talk to kids and tell them to go away and to ignore kids who say anything to them. So when I tell my son to stand up for himself, he says, 'No, the teachers say we must ignore them and walk away.' That's no good because this just gives the bullies more power. They know nothing is going to happen to them, so they keep coming back. And nobody is complaining so the teachers think everything is okay. But it's not – these kids are frightened to talk because they're supposed to ignore it.

- The school can do a lot. I know because I was a teacher in China before I came here. I understand that teachers are busy and have no energy for these things. They have enough to do. But it's a question of discipline.
- No one cares really. They do put systems into place, but a lot of kids fall through the holes in that system and --- was one of those kids. At the end of the day he had harmed himself and not the school .... They did not try to help him – they just got rid of him. They kept punishing him with detentions and things, but they never tried to find out what the problem was and see how they could help him .... At my school now there's a child who's having a problem. I have asked to see that child because I know that if she knows that someone cares, it will help her.

Eighteen (51%) children for whom English was a second language, including *fee paying pupils*, said that they were not receiving the kind of assistance from their schools and teachers that they expected:

- Maybe the teachers could have given us things to write, and they could have marked it and shown us where we went wrong and how to improve it .... She gave us the questions from test papers and asked us to answer them, but she didn't check them. I found myself going back to her all the time to check it .... I just didn't know what to do.
- There is no guidance at school. We have to guide them or they will be lost. Even with their subject choice – we are not familiar with the system so we make the wrong choices because nobody guides us properly. Here you can take any subject you want, but certain subjects don't qualify for bursary. This happened to my son – he chose science, but he should have taken physics and he wasted a whole year because science was not a bursary subject. The school should have seen that it was wrong and guided us, but they didn't.
- They do try, but I don't think they do enough. I think their attitude is that you've come to this country, so you make good – you go with what's here. They have made minor alterations. I've suggested that they should have someone who speaks Cantonese in our school to help these kids. I've said we need a counsellor for these kids. 33% of kids in schools in this area are Asian and we don't have things like that for them .... They are not catering for kids from ethnic minorities. A lot of our South African kids, because of their Western upbringing, cope, but the others just fall by the wayside. The majority of the S. African Indian kids fit in and do well.

Fifteen (43%) pupils and all parents were also of the opinion that the school had the responsibility of, and was capable of *providing knowledge* to pupils about their new social environment. This is reflected in the following comments:

- I think a lot can happen in the schools. Children can be taught about these things at school. If the children know, they will one day pass the knowledge on to their children, so it's important to start with children.
- I think there should be more education on racial tolerance and that would eradicate these problems.
- Schools only teach stereotypes about cultures, if they teach anything – like Chinese people eat rice etc. They don't teach enough about different cultures.
- They should teach everyone about the different cultures ... then people will understand each other and not find things strange and unacceptable.

- Schools should teach children about other cultures and to respect other cultures, so people don't feel this way.
- It would be good if they could have more 'Kiwi' friends and mix more, but I don't know how we can do that. Maybe the school can do something. Maybe have study groups where they purposely mix the kids from different countries. What they do now is put children from the same country together, but they need to mix them purposely – children from other countries and 'Kiwis' .... It can encourage more mixing.

### ***Parent Participation***

Parents acknowledged their lack of participation in school activities and explained that this was not due to a lack of support for their children and/or their schools. They gave two main *reasons for not attending* school meetings. Some parents, particularly East Asian parents of Chinese origin, felt they were not proficient in English so were embarrassed to speak to teachers in their poor English. Many Asian parents of both Indian and Chinese origin also felt that there was no need to go to school if things were going well for their children. They associated being called to school with negative connotations, as suggested by comments such as the following:

- I don't attend parent-teacher meetings because things are alright. If things were not going the way I wanted them to, then I would go.
- It's just a Chinese thing. In Hong Kong parents seldom go to the schools. There isn't anything like this. If they go, it's because they've been sent for, and that is because there is something wrong.

### ***Personal Responsibility***

All parents and pupils were also asked to respond to the question 'Are visible ethnic minorities responsible for negative attitudes toward them?' Their responses were spontaneous and confident. All appeared to have no doubt that they conducted themselves in the best way they knew, and said that they went out of their way to make themselves acceptable to all other ethnic groups. If they did anything incorrectly, it was out of ignorance and not malice. For this reason they felt they did not deserve the abuse they received just for being different.

- It's a result of the differences, and people don't understand the differences. And it's not always easy to adapt immediately – it takes time, doesn't it? I suppose some sort of

education programme can teach us and the locals, because people don't even know what they're not doing right, do they?

- It's not his fault. Nothing is his fault. What can he do if he's Indian?
- I'm a Sri Lankan and I can't change myself into a 'Kiwi' even though I'm in that country.
- The colour of my skin, the way I look – I can't change that.
- Well, it's not their fault if they have the values that they do, and if they look the way they do. They can't change that.
- I'm born this way and I can't change the way I look.
- My friend really has such a bad time. She's got these small eyes, you see, and people at school go up to her and say, 'Open up your eyes, you ...' She really gets upset because those are her eyes. What can she do about them? They shouldn't pick on her looks.

They said that they needed some assistance with adapting to the New Zealand culture as they had no prior knowledge of it. Like the refugees, they also needed some kind of orientation course to prepare them for life here.

- You know, when refugees come to this country they go through an orientation course which prepares them for life here. They know what to expect and how to live here. But when immigrants come they don't have any orientation course. They just get into the community and they don't understand what is going on here and how they are supposed to live. They don't have any standards and continue living like they did in their home country. I think that causes lots of problems. They need an orientation course too, so that they can learn about the local way of living.

Parents and pupils were asked whether there is anything that they, people who are different from the majority groups, could do to improve the situation for themselves. All parents and 23 (66%) pupils said they believed that it was within the power of immigrants to change attitudes and behaviours toward themselves. They acknowledged that some of them were remiss in this area, and that they themselves needed to take the initiative to improve their lot. They all accepted that they did not mix enough with other ethnic groups and that this had to be remedied immediately.

- It's important that we don't keep to ourselves and that we adapt. We must do something to get rid of the wrong ideas people have about us.... So it's up to us to educate them about ourselves, or how will they know about us?
- [We must] do voluntary work and show people how we are so that they know we are good and there's nothing wrong with us. ... Participate and let them get to know us – tell them about us.
- I think mixing is important. We need to mix and let people know us.
- Maybe Indians can invite others to attend their functions – like if they're celebrating some festival or something. Advertise it and ask other groups to attend.
- Try to organise functions [and] get Europeans to go to these functions more. They should mix too, don't just leave it to the immigrants.

They also agreed that parents who did not speak English needed to remedy that so that they could communicate with others and in so doing improve relationships, as indicated in comments of this nature:

- If parents speak more English they will be able to understand what is going on at school and what their children are doing. They will also be able to go to school and be more involved in their children's school life, and this will help.

It was apparent from comments such as those below that they recognised the need to have more confidence in themselves and not be afraid.

- Maybe I can be more confident and more outgoing.
- Don't be afraid and show them that I'm just as good as anybody else.
- You have to believe in yourself and have respect for yourself or you won't make it.
- I suppose not be afraid. If you're afraid to talk to people they may think you're unfriendly or dumb and get the wrong impression. You must have confidence.
- By respecting themselves and just being themselves and not trying to change too much. They mustn't be afraid to be who they are, you know.
- They shouldn't be afraid to speak up. ... They must also be proud of who they are. They mustn't be embarrassed about the way they speak ... that's their way and they shouldn't be ashamed of it – it's part of their identity.
- I think we need to change our attitude toward these things and the way we handle them. .... People walk around as if they're afraid of being there, as if they were apologising for their presence. They're inviting trouble by doing this. We've got to learn to walk tall and be proud of who we are.

They said they realised that they needed to create awareness and provide knowledge about themselves and their situation, not only for their benefit, but also for New Zealanders.

- I suppose if groups talk about the situation more and recognise the problems that would help. Chinese people don't like to talk about these things, but talking would help. If we identify the problem, we can fix it. Did you see 'The Joy Luck Club' – the film? The local Chinese really identified with that film because it expressed for us all our fears and conflicts. We all feel like that. It's about the problems of integrating with Western society...That was a huge thing for us. So maybe things like that – publicity about things in newspapers and so on. That's really important because it will tell the people about us. It will help all sides know and understand what goes on and how people feel. That movie and book helped local Chinese bond very strongly. That was their thing – somebody understands!
- If we show them something of our culture, then they will know a bit. We need to expose them to our culture if we want them to know. They would see what we are like and may be interested to know more.
- I think we have to get the New Zealand society to know these things somehow. We have to invite them to our functions and show them what our culture is all about and they will definitely appreciate it. We must also invite them to our homes and show them our good nature – they must appreciate that.

They also needed to provide stronger support systems for themselves. These sentiments were expressed in comments like the following:

- We should get together and organise something so that we have a strong support system. We don't have that.

It was apparent, in comments such as those below, that some people were already trying to narrow the gap between the ethnic groups, and were taking the initiative by inviting others to get to know them.

- We have invited our neighbours to dinner, and other friends. My daughter baby-sits for a 'Kiwi' family and they have become very close to us and come to our home. First we invited them to our festivals and explained what they are, and about our food, and they like it. We always have our friends over just for a cup of tea too.
- Some people are already trying, like parents who attend meetings at school. That's a good thing to do. They can make some constructive contribution. By going they can raise issues like culture and racism, and make people aware of what's going on and what they want. By mixing you get people to know you and then they understand you better and realise that you're like any other person. That's what we have to do.

Those pupils and parents, who felt that they were accepted to some extent, expressed the belief that this was mainly due to their own efforts. They had gone out of their way to make friends, always initiating communication, and had tried to do things in ways that were acceptable to all. They had also maintained self-confidence in their dealings with people from the majority culture. They believed that if they did not make the effort, nobody would bother to talk to them.

- Probably because I mix around with everyone. I generally do everything with everyone. I don't just stay with one person .... I have adapted in many ways already so that I am accepted.
- When I see kids playing, I just go up to them and say hi, and ask what's their name, and if I can join in. I'm not afraid to communicate with people.
- They know that when I walk passed I will greet them, or when people are fighting, I will try to stop the fight, and things like that. So, I suppose they know what my values are and it does influence them.
- I talk to everybody. It's good to do that because it makes the others feel that that person is interested in me, and it makes them want to talk to you.
- I think it's my confidence and the way I carry myself that makes a difference.
- I have to because they already have friends so they don't need to talk to me. I need friends here so I have to talk to them, or they won't.
- I didn't speak English then and you have to ask to get into a group, and because I couldn't speak English, nobody asked me to join them .... Later I learned that if I didn't talk to them, nobody would talk to me, so I began to talk to them.

### *Hope and Gratitude*

Despite their apparent feelings of disillusionment with the present and concomitant psychological and physical problems, many (19-79%) parents, as well as 27 (77%) pupils felt that there was hope of improvement in the future. Some said they had noticed changes in attitude and behaviour since they first came here, so felt hopeful of further change for the better. Most parents (22-91%) said they were also grateful for the opportunity to have a better life in New Zealand.

- Hopefully things will be different with the younger generation. They will get used to this type of life with all these different people, and they will be okay.
- I suppose things will change on their own because the country is becoming so multicultural so fast. So it will happen.
- I'm sure they'll change in time. Once people get used to a multicultural society they will begin to change.
- When I first came here two years ago, I found people kept in their own groups and didn't mix. But now, this year, they mix a lot, and that's good .... People are...seeing others and realising that we're all the same. They tend to be more open now and are beginning to respect each other. Mainly because they're getting to know each other more.
- The first generation that has confronted this, hates the people, but the next generation will be better. We know that this is how it will be, so we accept it. What else can you do?

However, five (21%) parents did not seem to be as hopeful. One parent who had lived in different parts of the world and had seen and experienced stronger degrees of racism, expressed the view that because New Zealand is only just beginning to experience diversity, attitudes would first get worse before they get better. This view, which is reflected in comments such as those below, was shared by four others who had lived here for longer periods, and had observed the changes in population and attitudes.

- It's the same story in every country that you go to. I think here, in New Zealand, it will probably get a lot worse before it begins to get better.
- If there are too many other cultures here it will be bad for the New Zealand culture, especially the Maori culture .... I don't think the Maori people will like it very much, also the 'Kiwis' – the Pakeha .... New Zealand is a small country and it can't have too many cultures because it creates problems .... There were always some problems, but it's still not so bad. I think it will get worse.

## 8.3 SOCIO-CULTURAL VARIABLES

### 8.3.1 Ethnicity

#### *Sense of Ethnicity*

The majority of parents (21-88%) and pupils (33-94%) of West and East Asian origin said that they regarded their ethnic origin as important. They displayed a strong sense of ethnicity and maintained that there is a need for this when living in a foreign country. They also displayed a great deal of pride in themselves, their ethnicity and their culture, and stated that they wished to retain these in their new country. All West Asian and 11 (73%) East Asian pupils believed that their ethnicities had a strong influence on their self-concepts. Comments such as the following from parents and pupils reflect these sentiments:

- You must be proud of who you are and where you come from. You mustn't forget that because it's your identity, so you don't try to be 'Kiwi' or something else.
- I'm a Sri Lankan and I'm proud to be that ... I don't want to be anything else.
- I'm an Indian and I can't change that. I don't want to because it's great to be an Indian. Our culture is so good. We have so much which the 'Kiwis' don't have.
- I know I'm a Sri Lankan ... and I'm proud of being [one]. I like my culture.

#### *Respect and Recognition of Ethnicity*

Every parent and pupil interviewed displayed a strong need for respect of their ethnicities by local New Zealanders. They said they found the lack of respect for other cultures and ethnicities shocking and hurtful as they had been taught to respect all cultures, which they believed to be equally valid. These beliefs and feelings are reflected in comments such as the following:

- People don't care about other people's cultures, they only care about their own, so they don't respect other people's cultures.
- They called me all these mean names like 'ching-chong' and all that stuff, and really nasty things. They just don't respect people from other cultures. That kind of hurt me.

They also believed, as stated in the comments below, that if all people respected other people's ethnicities and cultures there would be fewer problems and more acceptance amongst the ethnic groups, and people would not be hurt unnecessarily:

- Then they won't mock me about it, like they do sometimes, you know, call me 'Ghandi' and 'stupid Indian' and all. I don't like that. It doesn't feel good when they say such things.
- If they don't respect it (my culture) they'll be mocking me about it. Also, there'll be no racism if everybody respects each other's ethnicity.

### 8.3.2 Culture and Religion

#### *Worldview and Philosophy*

Comments of parents and pupils revealed a philosophy about the nature of social interaction within a global society. These comments suggested a desire for peoples of different ethnicities and cultures to live side by side in acceptance of each other, mixing harmoniously, and sharing and learning from each other's cultures while maintaining the validity of each. They thought that people should *complement* each other's cultures rather than impose one on the other or discard both to create something new:

- We could take on some western values ... and they could learn about family values and diligence etc. from us. ... We have to learn to accept other cultures and their way of doing things. If we can see the positive rather than the negative, so much good can come out of it.
- If people will talk and listen, maybe they'll see the value in taking things from the other side and the importance of integrating.
- After all, this is a multicultural country, so everyone should know about each other. ... Each group should learn something about the other, and also learn from each other.
- I think we should retain our ethnicity. We have lots of other cultures here, and people should get together and learn about each other's cultures. They should learn about ours and take some things from us, and we should take some things from them.
- We must preserve what we have, and we must also look at the good things that others have and learn from that – take the good things from others .... We must also be prepared to change the things that are no longer relevant in our own culture, and to take on new things from other cultures that are good for us. The times have also changed, so we must change too.
- They must learn about the other cultures – not only the immigrants, but also the New Zealanders. Everyone must learn about everyone. The world is a stage where everyone comes out and plays, so we must all play together. We have to play different roles, so we have to learn to adjust and adapt to everyone – not just one group because we're all players on the same stage, so we have to make room for each other. The world is a very small place now, you know – one global village, so everyone has to co-operate.
- Part of the thing is to be accepted by the locals, so we have to adjust so that they accept us. But they also have to make some adjustments – it's a two-way street, you know. We all have to learn about each other and accept each other. .... It has to come from both sides.

However, there were some parents who were pessimistic about New Zealanders who, they felt, were not willing to learn from others and would not be prepared to cooperate and complement other cultures.

- I don't think so (that they will cooperate). And we'll have to excuse them. They've never been outside the country – they don't know anything about China or anywhere else. This is their world. They don't know anything else. You can't teach an old dog new tricks, so just excuse them. You can't expect them to learn about us or do anything our way.
- How many of the locals will learn about immigrants? They will feel this is my country, so why should I learn about them. They should learn about us. And that is true – we are learning and trying to do things their way, but they should try to learn about immigrants too, so in a few years from now it won't be a problem because everyone knows and understands. That is, if they are willing to learn.

### ***Retention of Cultural and Religious Values***

It was apparent from their remarks that all West Asian parents and pupils placed a great deal of emphasis on both *culture and religion*, which they believed affected their attitudes, behaviour and perception of others. They also believed that their culture and religion affected other people's perceptions of them. Religion did not appear to be as important to East Asian parents and children interviewed, of whom only five pairs (42%) practised their religion. Culture was significant to seven (58%) East Asian parents and their children who shared the beliefs of the West Asians. However, all parents interviewed perceived *cultural values* as extremely important, and expressed a great concern about the loss of these in their children. They asserted that these basic social values were their foundation, which would support them and guide them along the right path should they be confused or flounder in the foreign culture. For this reason all West Asian and many East Asian parents felt that it was very important that their children retained their ethnicity and cultural values here, as reflected in comments like the following:

- It is important for their culture to remain strong so they keep the good values.
- I want them to keep their Chinese culture because that's very important for who you are. I also want them to retain our Chinese values, but it's hard to control this because of all the other influences.

They regarded the *value of family* as extremely important and wanted their children to retain this in New Zealand where they perceived this value to have eroded considerably.

- The value of family is very strong. ... The family is like a house on legs, and if one leg crumbles the whole house will crumble.
- I think that those things are important, like the value of family. If the family is strong, when you go out into the big world and something goes wrong, as it always happens, then you will be strong because you have family to turn to.
- European children leave home when they're 17 or 18 and live on their own. I don't want my children to do such things because the family is very important. It's what keeps them strong. Without family support they can go astray like many European children.

One child of mixed European and Asian parentage made this observation about the value of family:

- I didn't notice that in my Dad's family. We went to Holland recently, and they all live their own lives. If we didn't go out and see them, we wouldn't have seen half of them. Whereas in my Mum's family they were all fighting about us staying with them. They were saying, 'Ah, stay with us.' They have different values.

It was apparent from comments like these that many children were able to make the right choices based on what they had learnt from their culture:

- I am able to look at what others are doing and think, 'That's not right – they should do it this way,' or 'That's good, maybe I can do it like that.'
- My parents taught me that when people do things, I should always ask myself why they are doing it.
- I see people differently because I follow my Korean values, like we must be good to our neighbours, for example. But 'Kiwis' don't always know their neighbours, so this surprises us!
- I know that I must be open-minded and try to see both sides of things. To respect others. It depends a lot on what you learn at home from your parents and your culture, the way you treat other people.
- Like when you're with others and you see them drinking and you want to try it out, but then you think about what your parents have taught you, and you don't. And other things that people do too – you know it's wrong and you mustn't do it.
- We know what is right and wrong, so we know when people do wrong things and how they should behave.

### *The Value of Respect*

All parents, including those East Asians who appeared not to be particularly religious or cultural, placed respect at the top of their list of values. They reported that they regarded this virtue as being of primary importance because respect automatically leads to the other virtues of goodness, compassion, empathy, acceptance, etc. They said they taught their children early in life to first respect themselves because then only would they be able to

respect others, and that all people should be respected irrespective of their attitude toward you. They also taught them to respect difference in all its forms. This was clearly communicated by both pupils and parents:

- We are taught to respect all people. ... I respect them and who they are. I think all people should respect each other because we're all the same really. There's no one better than the other only because they look different. And if you want to get respect, you must first give it.
- We have taught them the value of respecting other people so this makes life easier for them.
- I think just showing respect for all people, irrespective of ethnicity and race and so on, is important.
- My culture teaches me to respect others and their culture.
- It's like it reminds me you should always respect yourself and you should always respect others, and don't do what others are doing if you know it's wrong.
- If I get respect from them, it's my duty to respect them too. But if I don't get respect from them, it doesn't mean I won't respect them because then I would be dropping down to their level.
- We teach our children to respect their elders and other people. They cannot call adults by their first name like the locals do. That's not done – it's disrespectful.

The apparent lack of respect in schools amazed both West and East Asian pupils who said that they had been raised to respect their teachers for they provided them with the education on which their future depended. They regarded all other adults with the same respect as they provide invaluable knowledge and guidance gained from experience and wisdom. They revealed they were equally confounded by the apparent lack of respect in many homes, as reflected in comments such as the following:

- I was shocked when I first came here because students just talk back to teachers and there's no respect and things like that.
- I wouldn't call my elders by their first name, for example. Europeans do that. To me that's wrong – it's like they don't respect them.
- Like my friend --- she argues with her mum all the time. I don't do that. I may talk back sometimes, but I don't stand there and argue with her. --- knows I wouldn't do that and that I have a better relationship with my mum because that's how we live.
- When you hear the way other kids talk – they talk back to adults, and their attitudes, and you think that's not the way to behave. You've got to respect your adults, you know. That's what we've been taught.
- In Fiji students respected their teachers, but here that doesn't happen.
- There is no order – children do what they want and don't respect their teachers. It shocks our children. They can't understand this kind of behaviour.

### ***Concern about Peer Pressure and Erosion of Values***

All West Asian and many East Asian parents displayed much concern about the erosion of cultural values in their children now that they are living in a western country. Although some East Asian parents (5-42%) said that gaining acceptance in the new culture took precedence over maintaining old cultural values, most parents asserted that, despite their willingness to adapt, they felt peer pressure was exerting too strong an influence on their children, and that they had very little control over this. These sentiments are indicated in comments like the following:

- Here you can't make children do things the way you want them to. You have no control over them and that creates problems. And you can't do anything about it because of the law – it's all wrong. Parents don't have any control over their children here, and I'm not happy about that. .... The law protects them. But I don't think that's protecting them – it's creating problems. We are not happy about that. They will lose the good values we have taught them and what will happen to their future? I think that's why the children here are so mixed up. How can they make decisions about their lives when they're so young and don't know what's good for them?
- The moral ones (values) are the big ones. There are lots of things that I wouldn't like my children to do, but they're growing up here in a western society so we're sometimes forced to allow some things even though we don't like them .... You keep your values somehow and you also try to conform. That's not easy, but we have to try.

They complained that their children were often forced to do things, even if they did not want to, because they were afraid of being perceived as stupid by their peers. They also felt unhappy about being forced to allow their children to do things that they would not normally allow because they did not want their children to be ridiculed or rejected:

- Maybe if they don't [do as their friends do] they won't be accepted by their friends. Maybe people will laugh at them because they think they are stupid if they don't do what they do.
- Being Indian here is very hard. Everything is so different here and you have to try to be like the 'Kiwis' otherwise people think you are stupid. It's very difficult.
- Sometimes it's hard because I don't know how I should be doing things, because I know how I'm supposed to do it, but my friends are doing it another way, and I would like to do it like them, but I know I shouldn't. Do you get me?
- Like they do something and they want you to do it, but then they think about it and they say, 'Oh no, --- can't do it,' and they allow that. And that's good that they know, but sometimes when I want to do it with them I think, 'Oh, why did I tell them.'
- There are all these pressures so we have to compromise. They won't be accepted by their peers and they'll feel inferior, so they have to conform.

### 8.3.3 Identity Issues

#### *Ethnic Identity*

Seventeen (85%) West Asian and three (20%) East Asian pupils identified themselves with their own ethnicity only. They showed an appreciation of their own identities, and that it is not possible for them to become something else by virtue of their distinctive looks. All West Asian and 12 (80%) East Asian pupils said they wished to retain their identities in New Zealand. Eighteen (90%) West Asian and 13 (87%) East Asian pupils said they believed that all immigrants should retain their identities and should not have to give them up when they move to another country. These same pupils were certain that others saw them only as who they were ethnically and not as 'Kiwis'. Two (13%) East Asian children believed they were perceived to be 'Kiwi' by others and did not mind how people saw them. Another said he was unsure of how he was perceived and did not care as it did not matter to him.

- I see myself as an Indian living in New Zealand .... You can't just lose your culture and become like someone else. It's important. It's who you are.
- I'm actually quite proud to be an Asian. Being European is --- well, everyone thinks that Europeans are so high class and all that because of the American revolution and all that, but I think that being Asian is so special.
- I like being Chinese. I'd like to marry a Chinese person someday and have Chinese children and carry on with my culture.
- I couldn't even think about being something else.
- You should still be who you are. You can't forget that. You just do certain things like them.
- ...because of the way you sometimes talk and all, and your behaviour. .... I play a lot of sport and most Indians don't do this, so they see me that way. .... They call me a Kiwi-Indian.

#### *Dual Identity*

Most visible ethnic minority immigrant children with a strong sense of ethnic identity appeared to have developed a way of coping with their new cultural environment, which allowed them to retain their own cultural identity while also adopting the new one when necessary without any sense of conflict. They consequently found themselves with two identities, such as Indian or Chinese and New Zealander, and playing two roles

simultaneously, or constantly switching from one to the other. Often they did not appear to be aware that they had developed dual identities, and talked strongly of having only one, which was their original identity. Those who were aware perceived this as an advantage over those who are monocultural as they share two cultures and therefore have the best of two worlds. They also speak two languages, which many others cannot do. Three (15%) West Asians and 12 (80%) East Asians identified themselves as Asians as well as 'Kiwis', perceiving themselves as having two identities:

- Now that I'm mature I realise that I am actually advantaged because I have the best of two worlds. At home ... I speak my language and have my cultural values, and at school I'm like a 'Kiwi'. I can switch roles. The 'Kiwis' can't do that.
- It (ethnicity) makes me stand out and I'm proud of it. I can speak two languages and I get to do all kinds of other stuff – the Indian stuff and the 'Kiwi' stuff.
- Sometimes I do feel advantaged because of my two cultures. I have that and I don't want to lose that. A lot of Kiwis feel that New Zealanders are better than everyone. You know, they don't know anyone else – the furthest they have been from here is Wellington.
- Because I was born here I am half New Zealander and half Chinese. I eat Chinese meals and I get to speak two languages ... and Kiwi kids don't, and I know two cultures which they don't.
- At home we all have our own cultures, but out of home we're Kiwi.
- You have to be one thing when you're with your own family or community, and somebody else when you're with the others.
- I'm better than the others. They can only speak one language. I feel proud.

## **8.4 SITUATIONAL VARIABLES**

### **8.4.1 Perceptions of New Zealand**

#### ***The Multi-Ethnic Nature of Auckland***

Parents reported one of the most attractive features of Auckland's society to be its multi-ethnic population. They perceived this to be the city's greatest asset. That it could simultaneously be a safe and peaceful place to live in increased its attractiveness.

- There are lots of people from different countries here mixing together, and I like that because it's different from my country. In my country there are only Koreans and very few foreigners. Even the English teachers are mostly Koreans, so you don't have a chance to meet foreigners.
- I feel safe here. You don't feel like that back home.

They also appeared to find Auckland more accepting than other parts of New Zealand. They suggested this may be so because exposure to diversity and contact with others had provided Aucklanders with some knowledge about visible ethnic minorities, so attitudes amongst those who had been subjected to this diversity were comparatively positive. This view was supported not only by parents and pupils who have lived elsewhere, but also by teachers who have lived and taught elsewhere in the country who felt that:

- the atmosphere is much better here – things are so much brighter. .... People are friendlier here. .... Maybe because they've passed that stage already here. They've already gone through having different types of people here and they are used to it now. There are many more people from different cultures here.

### ***Double Standards***

A characteristic of New Zealanders that some immigrants found noteworthy and pleasing, is their positive attitude toward the handicapped which was not witnessed as much in other countries. This was reflected in comments such as the following:

- What I like about New Zealanders is that they treat the handicapped people well. They don't care about the fact that they can't speak properly or do something properly.... That's nice – I like that about them.

However, some parents were confused about the contradiction they found in this. On the one hand, 'Kiwis' treated their handicapped comparatively well, but on the other, they sometimes treated visible foreigners as badly as others may generally treat the handicapped. They perceived this as a reflection of double standards employed by some 'Kiwis' which was also reflected in other behaviours.

### ***Insularity***

Parents suggested that attitudes and behaviours of New Zealanders were influenced by their insularity. Their physical insularity from the rest of the world had contributed to their mental insularity and consequent negative attitudes. This belief was expressed in comments such as the following:

- I think it's because they are so closed, you know. This country is so far away from everywhere else. They don't know about other people, and think why should they know. They have that mentality - this is the world for them. They have to open their minds to other things – they are closed to everything else.

## 8.4.2 Attitudes and Behaviour

### *Contradictory Self-Perceptions*

Parents suggested that many 'Kiwis' may be experiencing some form of conflict due to their contradictory *feelings of supremacy over non-western peoples* on the one hand, and *low self-esteem* on the other. They expressed the belief that many 'whites' regarded themselves as superior to others by virtue of their race and history, but simultaneously appeared to have lower self-esteem. This conclusion was drawn from their belief that people abuse others because they have low self-concepts and self-esteem, consequently need to put others down in order to feel better about themselves. A large number of pupils (28-80%) and parents suggested that as they cannot do this to people whom they perceive as equal or superior to themselves, they turn on those whom they have been socialised to believe are inferior. Ethnic minorities then become the soft target. Parents expressed the fear that it would not be possible to change them as they were too widespread and deep-seated. These perceptions were expressed in comments such as the following:

- I think the 'Kiwis' feel they are superior to the Asians because they speak better English and they play sport. And they think they study better in class because they speak better, but that is not true.
- On the one hand they think we're stupid, and on the other they're afraid of us.
- I was born here, so I probably act more European than Asian, so I know their way, and I don't think New Zealand Europeans are high class. Maybe they're different in Europe. In Asia, like Hong Kong, people think that Europeans are just opportunists – they just come and take as much as they can out of a place because they think they're superior to everyone else and can do what they want.
- Bullies get bullied themselves, so they take it out on someone else. So people don't have to do anything for them to do it. They just find someone who's usually smaller to take it out on, also if you look different.
- There's that pecking chain thing – older, bigger people pick on younger, smaller people to make themselves feel more confident. They also pick on anyone they feel is not as good as they are.
- Maybe it makes people feel good. Especially if you have low self-esteem it's good to know that there's someone lower than you.

### ***Misunderstanding***

All parents and a large number of pupils were of the opinion that there is a lot of misunderstanding on the part of local New Zealanders due to a *lack of knowledge* and a *dependence on stereotypes* to provide them with knowledge about other ethnic groups. They suggested that this was a major factor contributing to negative attitudes and behaviour toward visible ethnic minorities, and that New Zealanders of European and Polynesian origin knew very little about people of other ethnicities, therefore did not understand them. Lack of knowledge resulted in the indiscriminate use of stereotypes and assumptions being made about them which often led to misunderstandings. They suggested that now that the country is becoming multicultural, all people should learn about each other in order to avoid misunderstandings and assumptions based on stereotypes. Comments such as the following display these perceptions:

- In a few years there's going to be a real mixture of people in this country, so 'Kiwis' should know about them. They too should learn about the people who come here, like immigrants should learn about the 'Kiwis'. We must know about the people whose country we are in, and we are doing that. We are trying to mix and adapt. They must also do that. It's only right – it must work both ways.
- I think it's really important for us to know about people's race and ethnicity and to know about their thinking; otherwise it's really hard to get along with people.
- People are always afraid of what they don't know. If they don't know it, they keep away from it. ... But people tend to say that if they don't know it, it's not good, it's bad because it's not like us.
- They don't know us. They don't even know the difference between Chinese and Japanese. They think everyone is the same. There's this guy at school who keeps saying, 'What's the difference?'
- If they know us they will realise that although our cultures are different, we are actually the same. People don't know so they assume things and have prejudices.
- A lot of Europeans don't know enough about different cultures, and so they are left to make assumptions or go by what their friends say and what society says. So teaching about the different cultures would help too.

They were of the opinion that the media contributed largely to the adoption and reinforcement of these stereotypes. Many expressed opinions like the following:

- You know, people behave like this because they don't know anything about immigrants. Instead they have the wrong impression. Things like the World Vision advertisements give people the wrong impression about Indians. You know, they show Indians living in poor conditions with no education and things like that, so people think that all Indians are like that. They don't know that most of them are very educated and smart. Look at all the scientists in America and the computer experts and all. How many people know about these things? These things don't get told to people – only the negative things, so

people don't know and they think Indians are stupid. That's wrong. People should know everything, not just some things.

- They get taught on TV to see other races negatively. In lots of programmes you see kids calling other kids names and doing bad things to other races, so they do the same.

A number expressed offence and sometimes amusement at the assumption that those who look different, and/or could not speak English fluently, are 'dumb':

- They think we're dumb, so they look down on us.
- Like some people think that because Asians don't speak English, they're dumb.
- Some teachers thought I was dumb because I didn't speak English well .... I felt so stupid, you know, because I could tell they were treating me like a dumb person.

Some pupils felt that teachers were just as guilty of stereotyping as others were and made assumptions about them at school where pupils were categorised according to stereotypes. For example, visible ethnic minority pupils were often put into ESOL classes irrespective of their English proficiency because it was assumed that they could not speak English. These experiences are reflected in comments such as the following:

- I was put into this group when I first came here because they thought I couldn't speak English. I shouldn't really be there, but I'm stuck there now.
- I remember in the fourth form how some people tried to talk to me slowly and deliberately and very loudly because they thought I couldn't speak English. What a shock they got when I replied in 'Kiwi' English. It was very amusing.

### ***Racism, Prejudice and Discrimination***

Seven (20%) pupils (six East Asian and one West Asian) spoke of severe *racism, prejudice and discrimination* at school, while the other 28 (80%) pupils spoke of being subjected to moderate amounts of this. Many spoke of witnessing such experiences of other visible ethnic minority pupils at school. All 20 (83%) parents who worked within the 'Kiwi' community spoke about their experiences of racism and discrimination in the workplace, which they suggested was a consequence of European New Zealanders' *prejudices* against them. Those parents who could not find employment due to perceived discrimination, felt unaccepted here. Many said that they were told that their qualifications were unacceptable and needed to be upgraded; however, after doing this they had not found permanent positions. Teacher-parents who had found themselves permanently relieving at schools told

of their experiences of ridicule and abuse from pupils who pretended not to be able to understand them, made fun of their accents, and sometimes called them derogatory names.

These perceptions were expressed in numerous comments such as the following:

- When you think about how they discriminate against us when we look for jobs it makes you wonder how much they know about us. They just listen to our accents and think we're no good. But other people have accents too. Sometimes you can't understand some British people too – they speak so badly, but they don't complain about that.
- I'm a teacher and I haven't been able to get a job, I think because I'm Indian. They told me that I need a New Zealand diploma, so I went and did that. I have been employed for the last six years as a reliever, but I cannot get a permanent position. I have not been called for an interview. I think when they see my name on my application they just put it aside. I taught for 14 years in Sri Lanka and I'm not good enough for here. So, all this makes me feel I'm not accepted here.
- Sometimes they pretend they can't understand me and they make fun of my accent, but I just ignore them.
- It's almost like you have to prove yourself to them. If you are a European you are accepted more readily, but if you're not, you have to pass a test all the time to be accepted. It's difficult to be accepted at face value.
- But mostly it has been with jobs – it's been very hard to get a job. I think people don't like our accents, you know. Our qualifications are fine, but when they see our names on the application form, they don't go any further. Or if they do phone, when they hear our voices they stop, so I think they are racist when it comes to jobs.
- A lot of people's attitudes are deep-seated. It's prejudice that goes back a long way. It comes from their families, so it will be really, really hard to bring about a change.
- The prejudices in this country are so huge and continue to grow. People call what is different, stupid, inferior or wrong, but people from all over the world are different and we must learn to accept that.

All parents and 28 (80%) pupils suggested that the *cause of all negative behaviour* and discrimination was simply racist attitudes. Some parents and pupils often avoided using the word racist or saying directly that the locals bore racist attitudes toward them, because they said it would be impolite to do so. However, they did allude to this in many ways:

- Well, they don't go beyond saying 'hi' and things like that. ... Maybe if I looked different it would be different.
- It's no good when people look down upon you only because you look different.
- We don't treat people badly just because they look different or something.
- Maybe they don't like immigrants here. The colour of our skins may be the problem.
- Maybe if I were European it would be different. Even if I was Maori maybe, but I'm Asian so it's different for me.

A senior pupil who happened to be an anti-harassment mediator at her school, spoke directly of racism as a cause of conflict amongst pupils:

- Most of them (conflicts) had a racial base. You know, we are trained in how to deal with these problems and how to find the cause of the problem. When kids come to you they say, 'So and so threw a pen at me,' and you have to find out why. And when you question them, you finally realise that the problem is racial, even though it was just the throwing of a pen at someone. And mostly the people themselves don't realise that it happened because of racism. When you question them and get to the root of the problem, you realise that it was done because they didn't like who the other person was.

When asked if people were aware that a lot of the bullying at school was due to racism, she said:

- No, I don't think so. Some kids do, others don't. But a lot do, and I think those would tell their families, so they would know too.... Most [teachers] don't. Sometimes we have sessions with teachers and we realise that a lot of them are not aware of the problem. They just see it as kids bullying each other, and they give both detentions, and they think that's the end of the problem. But it isn't. It doesn't solve it.

Some apparently disillusioned parents and pupils also made direct reference to racism, as seen below, when talking about their experiences which they perceived to be due to racist attitudes.

- I think some people are racist outside the school. I've experienced this a few times. Just yesterday we were in a dress-shop and we had to wait to be served, and the people who were served before us were treated so well because they were European...but when she came to serve us, she didn't even smile and just asked what she could do for us. I think she was just racist. She should treat all customers in the same way.
- I think there is some degree of racism; I suppose I shouldn't say that, where mixing of cultures is concerned. We're not always accepted, you know.
- The other group that won't communicate is the Maori, and they won't because of lack of racial tolerance.
- Sometimes kids can be pretty racist, especially the new kids coming into school... mainly 'Pakeha' kids and Maori and Islanders... and third formers, but once they get to know you they're okay.
- ... because of my skin colour. They're just racist .... They just don't like Indians and Chinese.
- When he told his parents he wanted to marry me, they said bring her home. But as soon as he said I was Chinese, that was it. The door was closed. It was literally that she is black and black people cannot be trusted. You see on TV that they steal and do that sort of thing.

Some parents said they felt certain that racism exists to a large extent, but that people just repress it because they are afraid of the consequences if they show it. They also felt that it is not acknowledged because if it is they will have to take responsibility for it.

- I know it's still there, but it's only being repressed by the people. It's not being shown openly. They control it most of the time, but every so often it comes out into the open

and you see it when people lose control of their anger, and in the media. They control it only because they are afraid that they can be sued if they do something wrong. You know harassment is a big thing now.

- I think most schools don't want to acknowledge that they have such a problem because then they'll have to do something about it.
- If you're with educated, cultured and refined people, you will find that they will not be racist. But that's because they are schooled in what to say and not to say, and what is appropriate and what isn't. But when you're with uneducated people, you'll find that every time they open their mouths something crude and rude and racist will come out. So the racism is there, it's just cloaked better in some cases.

Several respondents were of the opinion that it was the responsibility of parents and families to teach children not to be racist, and it was too late to do this when they got to school. This is reflected in the following comment:

- I don't really know whether you can teach people these things at this age. You can't teach them to be understanding and sympathetic and things like that. That must happen at home when they are young. My parents taught me these things when I was a child. If you don't learn then, you never learn. If you were taught to be racist when you were a child, school can't teach you not to be.

### ***Fear, Suspicion and Insecurity***

When asked why they thought people behave negatively toward people who are different, almost all parents and many pupils said they thought that such people were afraid, suspicious and insecure, and that intimidation was their defence mechanism. They feared that their jobs and other opportunities were being taken by immigrants. They expressed sentiments like the following:

- Maybe they're afraid. You know, they came here and took this country and felt safe and secure. Now others are coming and taking it from them, so they are afraid. What is their future? But it doesn't have to be like that. The world is for everyone.
- It's only when you get to know people that you understand them and don't feel threatened by them. Then you realise that they're just like you – that everyone is the same. There's nothing wrong with anybody – we're all equal.
- People are really the same, and if people get to know each other they will see that. When they don't know they are suspicious and they use their imagination too much in the wrong way.
- I think the 'Kiwis' might feel a bit threatened. I think they might be a bit on the defensive.
- Because they're scared. They are afraid of the immigrants. They feel threatened by them. They feel we are taking their land and jobs and invading their country. So they can only see bad in us and not anything good. They can't see all the good things that immigration is doing for them – the jobs it's providing them, the money it's bringing into this country and all that. They're just scared.

- It's probably because not all minorities are the underdog anymore, so people feel threatened. You know, it's easier to accept when somebody is in need and you feel sorry for them and you say, 'I did this for them,' but when you have a minority group that stands as tall as you are, then I suppose it's different.

### ***Envy and Resentment***

Interviewees also suggested that envy played a great part in negative attitudes and behaviour. Many immigrants, especially the Chinese, had material things that the locals did not have. Some parents, especially absentee ones, provided material comforts for their children to ensure that they had the standards to which they were accustomed, and were happy in their new country. This, unfortunately, had apparently created envy amongst many 'Kiwis' who resented foreigners for that:

- I think they actually don't like us because some Asians are rich and wear nice clothes.
- They may be thinking that we are prospering, but we are prospering because of our hard work, and maybe they don't know that. Maybe it's just jealousy.
- In the beginning I wasn't very accepted by them because I talked differently and I wore smart clothes on mufti days, and they used to say, 'Oh, look at her. Who does she think she is?'
- The 'Kiwi' children think that Chinese children have a lot of pocket money, so they feel they should take some of it. They have to work for their money – their parents don't give them any, so they take from the Chinese children .... Some of them dress very well and also drive nice cars, so these children are jealous. They want it too, so they just take it from them.
- Parents pay the tradesmen cash and they think Asians are too rich, and they tell their children this, so they think we must take some of that money.

Most immigrant children also performed better at school than the locals, which apparently created more envy and made them lash out against them in various ways:

- Kids say things when you're doing well in class.... They don't really say too much. It's the way they look at you – you know they don't like it when you do well – better than them. They're just jealous.
- I think they feel threatened by them. They are here longer than all of us, and these people come in and do better than them in school and in other things. They get good results and they drive fancy cars.
- You've done better, so they want to put you down. .... They don't like it.
- What has been happening, is that the Asians have been doing very well and taking the prizes at school, and some of the others don't like that. Also, there aren't many Polynesians in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> form and they generally don't do very well, even the Kiwis, so this causes some tension sometimes.
- You hear all these comments at the kids' high school. There are a couple of Chinese kids there who are here only for a few years and they are at the top of maths and science, and you hear only all kinds of negative comments about it.

### ***Ethnic Intimidation***

All visible ethnic minority pupils interviewed reported having experienced ethnic intimidation at some stage of their school lives. All said that they had experienced *name-calling, teasing and put-downs* at primary school, which is the commonest form of intimidation there. A large number continued to suffer this at intermediate school, and a significant number (24-69%) were bullied in this way at secondary school. They included *body language* as a form of intimidation. They found themselves being intimidated in these ways mainly for their physical appearance, their language and accents, and high achievement at school. This is suggested by the following comments:

- There was a lot of bullying going on there because there are lots of Indians and Chinese there. And the students there call Asian people names and give them a hard time in class.
- Mostly racial comments from people...in the shop where I work....people come in and they're sometimes mean and call me names...mainly about being black, you know, like 'you black bastard' and 'you stupid Indian'.... Once a fellow was angry about waiting to be served, so he became abusive .... My friend too – he works at Pak 'N Save and a 'white' guy (a customer) told him off and asked him to go back to his country about two weeks ago.
- There are some European children who make fun of Chinese children when they speak their language. They even make fun of their food – what they bring to eat at school.
- --- calls my friend --- 'Yellow.' He never calls her by her name, just 'Yellow'.... He also does that to this Indian girl .... He doesn't do that to the 'white' kids or Islanders.
- They call you names and swear at you even when you're playing and they don't like something ... like, 'you stupid Indian' and 'Ghandi' .... They say things like that to everyone about their race when they argue.
- Sometimes in class when people say things about others and it makes you feel not accepted ... about the way you look – what your hair looks like and your colour and things like that, you know.
- People make fun of other people's cultures and call them names about who they are. They just say things to me about the Chinese culture. They pick on it and mock it.
- Calling him crude names, tripping him when he walked passed in the classroom, just taking his books and throwing them, threatening him on the grounds .... The word 'black' appeared in a lot of them (names).

Parents also reported being told that there was a lot of ethnic intimidation in New Zealand, and that they had been subjected to abuse of this nature in the community. This is reflected in comments such as the following:

- People told us that there was a lot of teasing and bullying of different cultures in New Zealand

- I was told sometimes people talk to you, but sometimes they listen to your English and they don't want to talk to you. Sometimes they treat you badly. They just ignore you and don't want to look at you – like you're no good.

Seven (20%) children also reported having heard of, seen, or having been subjected to physical violence. However, they said not much of this occurred within the schools as most fights were taken outside the school after school hours because the school grounds were closely monitored:

- There's this guy who beat me up five times...
- There's not much fighting in school. They take it outside .... because the teachers are always watching and won't let them do it in school.

One parent told of his son being bullied into doing schoolwork for others because he was perceived as being smart.

- They think Chinese children know all the work so they can get them to do their work. A bunch of boys have been bullying him and making him do their homework, you know, but he feels it's easier just to do it and not to stand up for himself .... I can't do anything for him. He's got to stand up for himself and say, 'Look, you can't do this to me because I'm Chinese. Go do it to one of your own people.' But he's not like that, he's very quiet.

Parents and pupils told of being able to recognise body language and negative tones, and of knowing when things said were intended to be derogatory.

- The way they look at you, you know they don't like you. They don't want to deal with you or talk to you. I can feel it – they don't have to say anything. It happens everywhere.
- Nobody has said anything to me about wearing my Indian clothes, but the way they look at you, you wonder whether they like it. Sometimes you feel some people don't like it .... Others make you feel so uncomfortable – the way they look at you, you can pick up the feeling.... Even if you're wearing western clothes they look at you like that.
- There are riffs around who say things to you when you're out sometimes, and then there are some people who are not polite and just ignore or snub you .... We had some bad experiences when we first came, and even now. Just yesterday in a store we were snubbed totally, and then when the saleswoman had to talk to us, she was very impolite.
- They enjoyed attention and they got it from abusing Asians. Very often it was more subtle and indirect – they wouldn't just call you a name directly, but antagonise you in some way.
- At other times they don't say anything like that, but it's the way they look at you and the tone of their voices that tell you that they don't like you.
- I know when people mean it as a joke, but I also know when it's not joke.
- There were just these Maori and Pacific Island students who used to say things to me .... They would tease me about being Indian, but not much really. It's just the way they

would talk to me and behave, not so much what they said. I just knew they didn't accept me.

Twenty-five (71%) West and East Asian pupils found pupils of European origin to be guilty of this practice, and 17 (49%) found pupils of Polynesian origin to be the perpetrators of this hurtful practice.

- There are some Polynesians who are tolerant, but generally they're not. They pass negative comments to every second person who walks by, asking them to go back to their country. They say 'This is our country, you shouldn't be here' and things like that.
- They ('Kiwis') just ignore everyone. Of-course individuals are different – I'm just generalising .... They can be racist too, but I find here, in college, the Polynesians are more racist. In primary school it was the Europeans more.
- Of all the people I have met here I have found the Maori and Pacific Islanders to be the most racist.
- There were mainly Islanders there and very few Europeans and only a few Indians, and the Islanders didn't like the Indians and they used to make life very difficult for us .... They used to pick on us all the time. I was the only Indian in my class and they made life miserable for me. They used to call me names and pick on my culture. It's funny; they used to call me black when they themselves are black.
- I have to say it's the White people – they do it more than others, and they do it more to the people from the Middle East, I think.
- Kids would mock me because I couldn't speak English ....Kids who are born here – 'Kiwis' – Europeans.
- It's mostly the Pacific Islanders who do such things, I think. They fight with other groups and also with their own.
- They call us 'curry munchers' and other things, and I know they don't like us. I've heard mostly Maoris say such things about us. And they pick on our colour too, which surprises me because they are also brown.

Some West and East Asian pupils told of being intimidated by these local pupils into giving them money. They felt that this practice was able to continue quite freely because they did not complain about it as they 'don't want any trouble'.

- They'd say things to us and call us names .... And when I would go to the canteen to buy something, they'd wait till I got my change, then ask me for money. At first I used to give it to them because I didn't know what to do, but my friends told me not to or they'll do it all the time, so I stopped .... There were some Maori, but more 'Kiwi' kids. There was a group that did this all the time. I knew two of their faces well.
- Some try to get money out of Asians too because they know that they'll give it because they're afraid. They also tease them a lot.
- She says some 'Kiwi' children always ask the Chinese children for money and they never give it back. She told me this when I asked her why she doesn't make more 'Kiwi' friends. She said she doesn't like them because this is what they do to the Chinese children. And they don't know what to do – they are scared so they give them the money.

Several pupils said that their intimidators would call them names, then if they were challenged or reported, they would pretend to be innocent of malicious intent, as indicated in the following comment:

- When they say something bad and you say something, they just say they're joking and you can't do anything about that.

The majority of pupils interviewed said they felt that ethnic intimidation was profuse amongst the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> formers (year 9 and 10), and believed that it decreased with maturity. Consequently there appeared to be comparatively little of this kind of behaviour amongst the senior pupils.

- I was in the 7<sup>th</sup> form and those students are quite nice – they help you and talk to you. It's mainly the juniors who do all these bad things. They pick on people who are different and call them names, but not the seniors. The 7<sup>th</sup> formers were good to me.

However, there were some pupils who talked about negative experiences with senior pupils as well, such as this one experienced by a Chinese pupil:

- A group of 'Kiwi' girls at school were walking in front of her, then they turned around and one 5<sup>th</sup> former said, 'You Asian people, go home to your country.'

One child talked about her experiences in her previous school where ethnic minority teachers were also bullied, and consequently could do nothing about the intimidation in their classes.

- They did nothing because ... a lot of the teachers get bullied too because quite a lot of them are Indians there .... The teachers can't do anything about it.

### 8.4.3 Contact

#### *Interaction at School and in the Workplace*

Both parents and pupils were of the opinion that there was *limited interaction* at school and in the workplace. They found that most people generally kept to their own groups, and that any mixing was *superficial*. Many parents and pupils indicated that they would like to mix with their 'Kiwi' neighbours and schoolmates, but generally found *few opportunities* to do

this. They felt that 'Kiwis' were often *unwilling to mix* with them. These perceptions are shown in comments such as the following:

- It's just that the opportunities are not there. People are very nice. We've had no problems with anyone at all, but that's all it is – hello and goodbye and no real mixing. We try. We speak to our neighbours over the fence. We try to say more than just hello, and they're nice, but it doesn't go beyond that.
- You have to talk to them because if you don't, nothing is going to happen.
- Even the children find it hard to make friendships. They have to work very hard at it. People don't just accept them immediately.
- I see that in class everyone talks to each other, but in the grounds during breaks the 'Kiwis' stay with their own people, and the Asians and the Maori do the same most of the time, so I stay with my Korean friends and some other Asians.
- The 'Kiwi' children just say hello to them and they don't invite them to do anything with them. They don't invite them to their homes, so our kids don't invite them too. Even our neighbours – all they say is hello, but they don't talk to us.

### *At School*

Thirty one (89%) pupils said they preferred to spend their time at school with friends from their own ethnic group. Of these 18 (90%) were West Asian, and 13 (87%) were East Asian. The explanation offered for this by 25 (71%) pupils was that they could relate to them better. Twenty seven (77%) chose to be with other visible ethnic minority pupils if they had to be with others, and 18 (51%) spent time with 'Kiwi' pupils. Thirty one pupils (89%) said they had some contact with pupils of other ethnicities at school. Although most pupils said that there was 'quite a lot of mixing in their schools compared to other schools, there were many who spoke of *segregation* of the ethnic groups.

- If you look around you'll find that most people hang around in their own groups – ethnic groups. Maoris and Islanders hang out in their own groups, and Asians and Europeans, and they don't accept the others.
- An observation I've made is that all the Chinese stick to themselves, and all the Indians stick to themselves. They don't mix very much. That's how it is and it's very hard to breach that.
- I see people in their own groups like Indians and Chinese, and they speak their own language and nobody talks to them, and they don't talk to anybody else.
- They mix freely with their own groups, but not with others.
- They do the same thing – not only Chinese, but also Indian and European. They all keep in their own groups and very few mix.

### *Outside School*

Twenty eight (80%) pupils said they preferred to spend time with people from their own ethnic group when not at school. Of these 16 were West Asian (80% of WA total), and 12 were East Asian (80% of EA total). Twenty one (60%) chose to be with other visible ethnic minorities, and 20 (57%) spent some time with 'Kiwis'. Twenty five pupils (71%) said they had contact with pupils of other ethnicities outside school.

### *In the Workplace*

Many parents said that there was a semblance of acceptance at work, but they were unsure of how sincere this was. Most felt that demonstrations of acceptance were usually superficial, as suggested in the following comments:

- When you're in the workplace too you're forced to mix, but outside nothing happens. But then sometimes workmates mix outside – they attend Sri Lankan functions – I've seen them at some weddings.
- Maybe then as adults they begin to see things differently and choose to mix, I don't know ... Maybe they just come to see what's happening. Maybe it's just curiosity because I've never seen them at their homes.
- I find that people are generally friendly, but it's always superficial. You don't ever get to know your neighbours, and when you pass people in the street, you smile, but nobody even asks you over for a coffee.
- I have experienced my share of discrimination. You know, people find it difficult to accept people from other cultures. On the surface they try to look as though they're accepting you, but you know they don't.

### *On the Sports Field*

Only six (30%) West Asian and three (20%) East Asian pupils interviewed, said they played sport at and outside school. They said that the sport played was mostly soccer, in teams that were predominantly Asian, with a sprinkling of pupils from other ethnic groups, therefore very little mixing occurred on the sports field.

### *Negative Experiences*

Respondents' said that their perceptions of acceptance and attitudes toward mixing were frequently coloured by their experiences here. Those who had positive experiences with the locals were able to mix more easily, while those who had negative experiences were not

able to mix as easily. They said they were robbed of their confidence by these experiences and chose to keep away from those who could possibly harm them. Their perceptions of New Zealanders were tainted by experiences like these:

- I didn't feel good with them anymore because my bag got stolen .... Then later in the fourth term I saw my bag – another 'Kiwi' boy had it. I knew it was my bag because it had my Korean symbol on it, and he brought it to school! .... I didn't do anything about it because ... I didn't want any trouble.
- She had a bad experience at school, so she doesn't want to go to their homes .... A group of 'Kiwi' girls at school were walking in front of her, then they turned around and one [5<sup>th</sup> former] said, 'You Asian people, go home to your country.' Then my daughter said to them, 'You 'Kiwi' people, go home too. This is not your country. This is a Maori country'. My daughter was very angry. So, I think that created some bad feelings, some conflict, so from that time she doesn't want to mix with them. They've said that to us before that too (on the street). 'You Asians go home, the airport is there,' and they pointed in the direction of the airport.
- They shout at me when I'm in the car. Also when I'm walking in the street they say things .... They use the 'f' word and ask me to 'go home'.
- I've been spat at on my face on the street (in the city by a European man) ... I was just walking on the street and he spat on my face and said, 'Go back to Asia.' What could I do? I was so embarrassed. I couldn't beat him .... It happens a lot in my community in ---- When you take a walk or drive down the street people show you the finger and swear at you ... Sometimes someone will swear at you and say, 'Go home, you bloody Asian,' or something like that.
- Also, our mailbox has been destroyed a few times. Many Asians have had that happen to them, so we know that some people don't like Asians.

Teachers had also had negative experiences at school such as being mocked at openly, as this parent who happened to be a teacher at a secondary school, reported:

- A 4<sup>th</sup> form kid wanted to know from me whether I was the mother of another Indian child in the class, and he made fun of it. I knew he was being racist, so I just turned it around and asked him whether he was the son of some 'white' teacher on the staff. I said, at least the teacher I referred to had his surname, but the child he referred to didn't even share my name. But I did it light-heartedly and laughed it off, but he was very embarrassed.

### ***Uncertainty and Fear***

Many parents and pupils reported not having too much contact with the locals. Although they were trying to do something about interacting with them and getting known to them, they said they encountered impediments such as people not wanting to get 'too involved' with them, which engendered feelings of uncertainty amongst them. Fourteen (40%) pupils said they were uncertain of how people were going to react to them, and did not want to be

embarrassed. Nineteen (52%) pupils said they often had to initiate conversations with others, despite these fears, or nobody would talk to them. Eight (23%) pupils said they were afraid to talk to others because they felt that they were not liked by them.

- So you don't know what to do – do they really want to mix with you or not? That is why you don't know whether you should invite your neighbours or not. School children too – they'll phone the children at home, but they won't come. My daughter had quite a few 'Kiwi' friends at school, but only one girl ever came to our house. So, because she came once my daughter also went to her house once, but otherwise there's not enough mixing outside school.
- I think they don't know how to continue after one visit. Do they ask the people back or do they wait for an invitation from them, or what? Who must make the first move after that? Will I be accepted and will I be treated well? All these things, you know.
- It's just the fear of being new and not knowing how people will react. You don't want to embarrass yourself. You don't want them to laugh at you.... What you might say – how you sound.
- There's too much uncertainty with everyone. Nobody knows what they should do and we don't want to be rejected, so we hold back. Somehow we need to get passed that. It's happening at all levels. My wife is a doctor and she had a lot of problems getting registered. There were two doctors at the hospital, one Fijian Indian and one 'Kiwi', who helped her a lot, so we invited them to dinner with their wives. ... After that the Fijian doctor invited us to his home, but the 'Kiwi' doctor didn't. He's very nice to my wife still and they are in touch over the phone, but he has not asked us to his home.
- I wouldn't know whether they'd want to talk to me, so I'd rather wait for them to talk first.
- If you talk to them first they might not respond to you kindly.

However, some also realised that this uncertainty may be shared by 'Kiwis' as well.

- Maybe the 'Kiwis' are just as uncertain as we are. I don't know. I don't want to say anything bad about anyone.

Some were also sometimes concerned about their sincerity when they did mix. They realised that not all people were insincere and had hidden agendas, but some of their experiences forced them to wonder about whether they were really accepted, and if they appeared to be so, whether it was sincere or whether there were ulterior motives to it.

- But our neighbours ('Kiwis') are good. They love to eat our food, so sometimes we cook for them.... They don't cook very much, but they sent us chocolates once.
- The one lady across the road talks a bit more, but that's because she needs my help from time to time, otherwise, no.... She's old and lives alone, so when she needs a bulb changed or something small fixed or anything like that, then she calls me and I go over and do it for her, and we exchange a few words, but that's about it. I don't mind. I can manage it, so I'm happy to do it.
- We (7<sup>th</sup> formers) all eat together so we share. The White kids like our food.
- I would like them to come, but they haven't asked me over, so I don't know whether I can ask them. You don't know what they're thinking or feeling, so you don't know what

to do. It's all very nice on the surface, but it's just on the surface. You get the feeling that you're okay to do jobs for them, but not for anything else.

#### **8.4.4 Communication**

##### ***The Language Barrier***

All Chinese parents displayed concern about the problems and misunderstanding that the lack of English language skills was causing for some of them and their children:

- I think language is very important. It affects the experiences everyone has here. Children are affected because their parents don't attend interviews and this makes them feel bad because 'Kiwi' parents are coming and not theirs. And the 'Kiwis' think the Chinese parents don't care to come and this creates lots of misunderstanding and problems. And if children have poor language they cannot achieve well even if they are smart.
- If they can communicate people will understand them. At school children don't speak English and stay in their own groups and speak their own language. I think that creates more problems because the locals don't understand their language and they might feel embarrassed and wonder what they're talking about – are they talking about us or what? So this creates bad feelings unnecessarily.
- I know how important English is for people of my age because it's hard to do anything without it and it's hard to be accepted without it. .... People are not always nice when you can't speak English. .... People don't want to talk to you – they just ignore you when they see you can't speak English.
- Because they cannot speak properly ... they think they are stupid, but it's only the language and the writing that they don't understand. When my son first came here he didn't know the difference between b and d, and p and q. He did not study English at primary school ... it is just studied as a course in high school with emphasis on grammar. Here the teachers don't know what grammar is – even the English teachers.

They reported needing to mix with English speaking people to improve their English so that they could communicate with the locals, however, they would not speak to them because they could not speak English. Consequently, their children communicated only with Chinese speakers, so could not improve their English, creating a difficult situation:

- In particular, we wanted them to improve their English language. Unfortunately, I don't think they have achieved that because in our daughter's case, I don't think she made a lot of 'Kiwi' friends. After school they have their Chinese friends, so they don't have a chance to speak English, as a result their spoken English has not improved.
- There is a language barrier, so even if they ('Kiwis') try – some do – our children can't communicate. They answer yes or no and say no more, so the other party thinks they don't want to talk.

They felt this was not understood by the locals who denigrated them for being unable to communicate rather than help them.

- Some people even laugh at them. I try to explain to them when that happens, that English is foreign to them and they should understand, but they're not interested. They just want to tease them and make fun of them.
- Their minds are used to the Chinese concepts, so they find it easier to think and speak in Mandarin – their mother tongue. So, in school they try to communicate with 'Kiwi' children, but they get frustrated, so they stick with their own groups instead.
- When I got here my Korean friends helped me because I didn't know anybody and I couldn't speak English very well. So, for the first three months I only mixed with my Korean friends, but after that I began mixing with other people.

However, other visible ethnic minority immigrant pupils understood this and were able to empathise with them, as reflected by these comments:

- They (Chinese) keep to themselves mostly .... But I think that's mostly because of their language – they can't speak English, so they keep with their own group.
- Usually they're very humble and shy, and wait for others to talk to them first, but sometimes they try to mix, and they'll do anything you ask them to .... They're new and they're unsure and just want to do the right thing .... They'll talk for a while and then go back to their group.
- I realise they're not being unfriendly or anything – it's just the language. But a lot of people think they're being unfriendly and they are the ones who pick on them
- Exchange students can't speak English and they need to be with other Asians.
- They always try to talk to us – they just have a communication problem.
- It's very hard to speak to them (Chinese) because their English isn't very good. I sometimes feel sorry for them because they can't even understand what's going on in class.

They reported they found this attitude difficult to comprehend as they felt that New Zealand Europeans and Polynesians did not speak good English either:

- I'd like to speak clear, good English, not like the 'Kiwi's' English. They don't speak good English – you can't understand most of them. I studied in America for a while – I could understand them, but not the 'Kiwis'.

### ***Local Expectations***

Some parents and pupils indicated that they merely responded to the expectations of the people around them. They believed that the local people did not expect them to be able to communicate with them, so they did not bother to. They also believed that they were considered to be 'dumb' because they were not fluent in English, so they behaved accordingly.

- People have the idea that Asians are mousy and shy, so I was happy to fit into that mould and let them do the talking.... I suppose I just wanted them to believe what they wanted to believe.

They said that their own expectations also influenced their behaviour and degree of communication. Many found that because of previous negative experiences they assumed that they were going to be treated in a particular way, and so avoided repetitions of such experiences, as indicated by comments such as these:

- I am looking forward to it (going to a new school), but I'm also very worried about it because I will have to make new friends all over again. I know the Koreans will help me, but I don't know how the others will be, and I don't want anymore bad experiences.
- There will always be some problem because not all people will accept us.

## **8.5 COPING WITH NON-ACCEPTANCE AND INTIMIDATION**

Parents remarked that not all immigrants were able return to their home countries because they were being intimidated or were disappointed with their new homeland. Although a number had done this, most had to remain here and make the most of the situation. They had employed several strategies to cope, some of which were functional and others dysfunctional. These strategies are discussed below:

### **8.5.1 Functional Coping**

#### ***Resorting to Religion***

Parents and pupils of Indian origin often drew on their religion as a source of spirituality, inspiration, support and guidance in order to cope. This is reflected in comments such as the following:

- It tells us what we should do and how we should live. We read about that in the Gita and Ramayana. We learn that we must respect each other and be kind to others.
- When she first came home and talked about the situation, we had to talk to her and comfort her and make her believe in herself and in our culture and religion.
- We follow the teachings of the Ramayana, and Ram used to help people and do good, so I'd say I'm influenced by these values.
- We all have to remember that if we treat people nicely, they'll also treat us nicely. It works both ways. We learn that in our religion, so we teach our children to try to see the good things, the positive in everything and not the negative. That's the way to get by.

### ***Being Grateful***

Being grateful (discussed earlier) may also represent an attempt by parents to cope with feelings of disappointment and disillusionment.

### ***Stoicism and Endurance***

Parents attempted to cope with their disappointment and disillusionment by being stoic and trying to deal with the situation and not allow their emotions to overcome them. They also assisted their children to cope with intimidation and non-acceptance by advising them to do the same and to be strong and endure it as they believed nothing could be done about it..

This was expressed in comments such as the following:

- We try to teach him to just laugh at it when people say things to him. Make a joke of it.
- We are living here now, so we must make the most of it. I tell my children all the time that they must not feel small because we are as good as anybody else. And they must not worry when anybody tells them they're just immigrants because, after all, we're all immigrants here. Some are just older.
- We have to accept that racism happens everywhere, so we have to try to cope and be as comfortable as we can with it. We can't get angry about it all the time as we used to, but instead we tell ourselves that we are as good as anybody else. Everybody has good points and bad points.
- Just laugh at it or we'll all be walking around with a chip on our shoulders about being black.
- With the human race you'll always get someone who will pick on someone who's different. I've told them that, and all you can do is teach them to be strong when these things happen.
- It's hard to deal with, but I try to accept it because this is what life is all about. .... I look at it as one of life's experiences .... You have to think that way or you won't cope.

### ***Standing Up for Themselves***

Sixteen (46%) pupils and most parents believed that the only way to cope with intimidation was to 'stand up' for themselves.

- If you know that something wrong has been done to you, don't just accept it, stand up for yourself and let people know you're not going to be pushed around. If you don't, it's going to get worse. So, stand up for yourself and be proud.
- They must stand up for themselves and do what's right for them.
- They must speak up for themselves and be strong or they won't make it. Stand up for yourself.
- I try to teach them to stand up for themselves, but they're afraid.
- You can fight back if they say anything to you. You shouldn't be afraid. .... They need to be told.

Many pupils and parents who found it difficult to cope, resorted to dysfunctional methods of coping such as the following:

### **8.5.2 Dysfunctional Coping**

#### ***Self-Blame and Self-Exclusion***

Some pupils apparently blamed themselves for non-acceptance and reportedly imposed self-exclusion on themselves due to their feelings of rejection by local pupils, as indicated by comments such as the following:

- He feels maybe he's to blame for what happens to him and that makes him feel really bad. Now he feels all 'Kiwis' are bad. .... He just avoids all of them, and now he wants to go back to Japan.
- When you're going through that, you just want to avoid those people. You don't want to talk to them.
- They don't want to talk to anyone .... because nobody will understand. They'll just think they're making a big deal out of nothing.

#### ***Silence***

Some children chose silence as their coping mechanism. They told nobody about their experiences and *pretended* that they did not happen. There were many reasons why this method was resorted to. Children were often afraid to tell their parents as they would reprimand them for being at fault and ask them to focus on their work instead, or they would ask them to ignore it. They also did not want to trouble their parents who had enough to worry about themselves. Some thought their parents would dismiss it because they did not understand what was going on. They were also embarrassed to admit that they were subjected to such vile behaviour, and often blamed themselves for it:

- When I didn't go to school I used to pretend that I was sick. I never told them the real reason. If I did they would have scolded me and told me to go. You know how our parents are about education.
- Well, I didn't want to worry them about it.
- Oh, they'll just say, 'Don't worry about it'.

A Chinese girl consented to being interviewed, but changed her mind when called to arrange a time. She said she was 'not comfortable' with talking about 'these problems' as they 'upset' her to talk about them. She preferred to remain silent about her problems.

### ***Blocking Out, Pretending and Ignoring***

Another common coping strategy employed, was blocking the nasty experience out of their minds and pretending it did not happen, or just ignoring it and the perpetrators. Most respondents apparently tried to block out these memories in order to be able to move on, and were reluctant to talk about them. They initially pretended that they had no problems at all, but slowly opened up after they became more comfortable with talking about themselves. However, the ability to pretend and ignore things did not mean that the victim was not hurt by the experience as illustrated by the following comments:

- Well, I don't really want to remember these things – I'd rather forget them.
- I'd ignore it. At first it hurt a lot, but after a while I learnt to ignore it. There were lots of kids (other Indians and Chinese) who were ostracised like that. You could see how they were hurting because they'd cry and stuff.
- I really don't remember .... They were vulgar words.
- I try not to think about it. I just think if I were tough like Hulk Hogan what I would do.
- They'd (parents) say that I should ignore it and get on with things because that's what I'm there for.

### ***Frustration, Anger and Retaliation***

Pupils appeared to be frustrated by being rejected which often led to feelings of anger. Some talked about being driven to retaliation out of frustration and anger at being abused for no apparent reason. Retaliation was always a course of action taken in self-defence. Some felt that they had had enough of negative attitudes and behaviour, said it was time that they stood up for themselves and did something about it. They suggested that negative attitudes were flourishing because they were allowing it to happen:

- We've got to stand up for ourselves or they will think we are weak.
- It wasn't very nice. I was very angry. .... I didn't feel good after that ...and I didn't feel the 'Kiwis' were very nice.
- They call me names, so I call them back names...You can't always let them get away with it.

- Later I didn't let it worry me ... I began to say such things too. Not really call names, but things like 'Oh yeah, you're that too' and I'd laugh at them.
- I just find fault with them and say it back. ... I have to do it ... I've tried the ignoring technique. It worked a couple of times, but not all the time.
- I can try treating them like trash as well. ... It will make me feel better because when I say, 'I'm just as good as you are,' they say, 'No, you're not.'
- If we fight back we're in fault too. But I reckon it would be easier if you're allowed to fight back because then you can defend yourself. Like if you beat them up they won't trouble you anymore.
- Some Asians do that because they remember how the 'Kiwis' treated them when they first came here and couldn't speak English, so now that they can speak and know about the country, they feel they don't need the 'Kiwis'.
- I would cry mostly, and sometimes when I was really angry, I would ask them to shut up. I can't imagine how I got through those years when I think about it now.
- When they bullied me, I fought back, but that was after they did it to me. .... I tried to be nice to them, but it didn't help.

### ***Showing off***

The more affluent parents and pupils from Hong Kong, Taiwan and Korea reported that they came here as proud and successful business people only to find themselves being abused and denigrated for not being able to speak English. In order to claim their rightful place in the New Zealand society and reclaim their dignity, they began to show off their material possessions. This, unfortunately, has not had the desired effect, but has encouraged retaliation from the 'Kiwis'. One Chinese parent explained it this way:

- Many of the Chinese who come here from Hong Kong and Taiwan and Korea are very rich, but they can't speak English. Because of this the local 'Kiwis' think they are stupid and they look down upon them. So these parents teach their children to show off who they are and what they have so that the locals will respect them and not treat them like they're nobody. They're very rich, you see, and they're not used to being treated badly.
- Then sometimes the Asian children see that the 'Kiwis' don't like them and what they have, so they show off more because they don't like them. Then this makes matters worse.

### ***'Bribery'***

Some parents and pupils appeared to be either consciously or unconsciously resorting to some form of mild 'bribery' in order to escape abuse and encourage acceptance. A European teacher told of how a very small Indian boy with very dark skin in her year 9 class brought the whole class Indian sweets made by his grandmother the day before, and of how everyone enjoyed them. This might have been his way of gaining their favour and

ensuring he was accepted and treated well by them. A few children also talked of trying to 'bribe' (although they did not put it this way) children at their schools with food and sweets so that they would accept them, but that did not always have the desired effect. Some parents also talked of doing this in order to procure acceptance:

- When I gave them things like sweets they'd accept it, but then they'd do that to me again.
- I take Indian food to school and I share it with everyone, and they like it.... I do that and I have lots of friends.
- Every time I come back from China I bring them (neighbours) a gift. This time I brought the baby an outfit.

### *Escape*

Due to feelings of helplessness, some families thought the only way to deal with their situation was to escape from it. They uprooted themselves and *moved* house at great expense just to provide their children with an environment that was free of ethnic intimidation.

- I didn't like it there, so we moved and came to live here.
- We brought him here for a better education, and he wasn't getting that at ---, so we had to move.... It's costing us more here because we've had to buy uniforms and the school fees are very high.

## **8.6 CONSEQUENCES OF NON-ACCEPTANCE AND INTIMIDATION**

### **8.6.1 Self-Esteem and Self-Confidence**

Personal characteristics such as *self-esteem and self-confidence* clearly had an effect on the way children coped with non-acceptance and influenced the consequences. Those who appeared to have stronger personalities and higher levels of self-esteem and confidence appeared to be able to cope relatively well with non-acceptance and intimidation:

- He was always quiet and on the shy side when he was little, but --- was more confident and she would speak out so she never had any problems. .... He seemed to cope with things in--- in his small, protected school, but when he came to --- and had to start all over, he didn't cope. He was lost.
- At first I felt ashamed because I'm different, but then I thought being different is what makes me me. Then I felt, it's too bad, you've (those who disliked it) got to deal with it. .... [Now] if I do see it (racism), I step in and stop it.
- I just don't worry about it anymore because if I let it worry me, I'll just get depressed.

However, those with weaker personalities and lower levels of self-esteem and self-confidence were not able to cope and appeared to suffer further lowering of self-esteem and loss of confidence.

### **8.6.2 Disillusionment**

Many parents (13-54%), particularly those who had suffered rejection at some level, showed signs of disappointment, disillusionment and unhappiness with their experiences here, and some said they regretted their move. They stated they had come here for a better life for their children, but have had to endure discrimination and abuse instead. A number also said they felt cheated as they were given a totally different impression of what life in New Zealand would be like by immigration consultants who, they believed, knowingly misled them. The following are some of the sentiments expressed by these parents:

- We were told everything is so good here – that we'll get jobs so easily, and if you can't, the government will help you, and that there's a good health system, and the future is good. But we find nothing of that is true. In fact, the future for us looks bleak.
- I do have regrets. We are just making the most of what we have, but I think my husband and I may go back. Our children may stay here because they may have better opportunities, but I don't think it will get better for us.
- We heard about this place where there is no racism, and there is equality and things are so good. We didn't go to Australia because there is racism there. Then we came here and we were disappointed. We realised it's happening everywhere.
- The immigration consultant showed us a house in Howick and said it's near the school and our children can just walk, so we bought it. We didn't know how the school was. We trusted them to do the right thing for us, but they didn't.
- Before we came here the immigration consultant told us that New Zealand has the third best education system in the world with a very high standard. We believed that and came here, but then we found our children's ability was much higher than their classmates, and that the standard in Taiwan was much higher than here. They were better than their classmates in everything except English. .... I was very disappointed with this.
- We thought everything was going to be good because when we applied for immigration, we got our points for qualifications and experience, so we thought we'd get good jobs. We were very disappointed at what we discovered when we got here.
- We come here and we have to try so hard for everything. It's hard to make friends. We try but we're uncertain about whether people will accept us or not, we hardly have a social life compared to back home. We are doing jobs that are lower than what we had. I am disappointed!
- When Europeans come to India we treat them so well. We are polite to them and respect them and help them in whatever way we can. We even take them out and show them things. I don't expect the same from New Zealanders, but at least they can be polite. When you're a minority, that's what you have to put up with.

- I have to go back to school this year because my qualifications are not good enough for this country. That makes me very unhappy because I have so much experience and qualifications.

Even more pupils (26-74%) expressed disappointment, disillusionment and unhappiness with their education and the way they were treated by their peers. This is suggested by comments such as the following:

- If I can respect others and what they believe in, I think that I should get the same in return.
- We all have standards. I have a standard, and that standard goes down at ..., bit by bit. There's no competition, nothing.
- When it happened to me I felt ashamed and hurt because I was new there and people shouldn't do that to me. People should help them if they don't know. They shouldn't hurt them – that's bad.

### 8.6.3 Conflict

It was clear that many of the visible ethnic minority people interviewed were experiencing conflict at some level due to their often hostile environment. *Personal conflict* included that of culture and religion, erosion of values, peer pressure and identity (discussed earlier). Both parents and pupils appeared to be grappling with such conflict, as seen in the following comments:

- Sometimes, because my grandparents want us to do everything in the Muslim way and it's hard sometimes, so sometimes I feel it will be easier to be a 'Kiwi'. But I want my family with me, so I have to be like them. I can't give up my culture.
- I'd say the most difficult part is trying to maintain our culture. .... It's a difficult situation for us to let her know that certain things are not accepted even though they are accepted in other cultures. .... It's hard to know what to allow and what not to allow.
- They don't allow me to do the things I want. .... I'm not allowed to go where I want to and to stay out late and things like that.
- It's a bit difficult to explain to her ... sometimes it's difficult for us to put it into words because we were brought up in a certain way.... But there are some little issues that we feel we have to accept now that she's growing up with these other children.

A pupil of European and Asian parentage appeared to be experiencing much conflict about the loss of her Asian heritage. Although she lived as a European person and looked quite European, she chose to categorise herself as Asian at school, displaying her need to capture the Asian in her. However, she felt a sense of powerlessness because she appeared certain

that the western identity would triumph over the eastern. Her need to honour the Asian in her was reinforced by her choice of a Chinese person for a boyfriend.

- Sometimes I see myself as a European New Zealander and sometimes as Asian. I've always been in-between. I don't want to let go of my Chinese half. I don't want to denounce that ... because I don't have much contact with my Chinese culture. ... I feel that I've missed out on something. I love the language – I hear them speak it at school and I love to listen. It's really quite a nice language. .... I feel I owe it to myself to find out something. I am as much Chinese as I am Dutch. .... I should know something about the other half. .... Since I don't speak Chinese – it's just the blood – and I don't have any contact with them either, so I'll probably just end up being Dutch. And that's a bit sad, but there's nothing I can do about it.

### *Identity Conflict*

One (5%) West Asian child and six (40%) East Asian children, one of whom was born in New Zealand, and most of who grew up here, were apparently experiencing conflict with their identities. The West Asian child who said that she had never experienced racism was clearly experiencing conflict about who she was and what she should be. She did not want to be Indian, yet did not want to change her culture. She also believed that others saw her as a 'Kiwi' and she wanted to be perceived as such. It was evident from her demeanour and the following comment that her experiences here had resulted in conflict about her identity:

- When I go out with my friends I don't want to be Indian. .... I just know that it would be better sometimes if I weren't an Indian when I'm out.

The Chinese pupil born here said she was raised very much like a 'Kiwi', so felt 'Kiwi', however, she looked East Asian so was not regarded as 'Kiwi' by New Zealanders. Neither was she nor the other children born or raised here regarded as true Asians by recent immigrants. These children reported feeling the need to adapt to the New Zealand way of living in order to be accepted, but found themselves naturally reverting to their own ways of doing things. This appeared to create much difficulty and confusion for them as reflected in the following comments:

- I feel Indonesian, but I can't really call myself Indonesian because I don't live there. But I was raised here, so I should be a New Zealander, but I still am Indonesian. I don't know. I look Indonesian, so I tell people I'm Indonesian, so I guess I am.
- I try to do things in the 'Kiwi' way and be like a 'Kiwi', but I find myself thinking in the Japanese way, so sometimes it's hard.
- My passport says I'm Fijian, and I'm not, I'm Indian. Now that I'm here people ask who I am and I say Indian. But I come from Fiji, so they expect me to be Fijian. What will I be called now that I'm living here? That's a question even I cannot answer sometimes. But I'm an Indian and that's what I look like, so I can't be anything else.
- I've walked into a Chinese restaurant and had them come up to me and talk to me in Chinese, and I've had to say I don't speak Chinese, and that gets to me. I went to Hong Kong recently and they were all speaking to me in Chinese.
- I don't know which group I want to belong to. I want to be in the middle – it's hard ... there's nothing I can do to be in a situation where they're both together. I don't know. I just feel that sooner or later I'll have to choose which one I want to be.

### ***Rejection of Ethnic Identity***

Some pupils resorted to avoiding being seen with their own people or being heard talking in their own language, for fear of the repercussions. They were even ashamed of being themselves because they had been made to feel inferior about whom and what they were. They thought that being like 'Kiwis' would make them more acceptable and solve their problems, so they tried to be more 'Kiwi' by mixing with them more than with people from their own ethnic group, as suggested by the following comments:

- I tried not to just go around with Japanese people, but I tried to mix with others, and I tried to speak like a Kiwi. I think that helped.
- I started being more like them then they accepted me. .... It was strange at first and I didn't like it, but then I got used to it.
- I just do everything the way everyone else does when I'm at school. .... Maybe they'll feel like I'm one of them.
- I got teased a lot, so I thought it was a disadvantage to be Sri Lankan, so I tried to be Kiwi. I was too young – I didn't know.
- If only I were Swedish --- It would be easier if I was white. .... Then they wouldn't bully me.
- It's like they don't want to be heard speaking their own language. I don't understand this. They look around to see who's listening. Have they become ashamed of who they are? Have they developed a complex about who they are? I don't want this to happen to us. .... Maybe they feel that if they identify with the Kiwis they will be more accepted by them. If they are seen with other Indians and heard speaking their own language, the Kiwis won't want to accept them. They may look down on them.
- Some of our people have developed an inferiority complex here, it seems to me. They seem to be losing some of their good values here. .... They are beginning to get materialistic and superficial. That is not the way we are.
- I always feel slightly --- it's not really inferior, but sort of like that.
- The South Africans who are here are not the same people that they were in South Africa. They have changed – they have taken on ways of living and friendships that are not the same as in South Africa. There is a sense of superficiality about everything. They all

feel they need to make an impression in this foreign environment .... Maybe people are not comfortable with who they are.

#### **8.6.4 Self-Blame**

There appeared to be a strong tendency amongst many respondents to blame themselves for the problems they experienced at school or elsewhere as they believed that they were not good enough for the locals. They believed that there was something wrong with them, which explained why they were treated badly. This caused much stress and embarrassment for them, and some were visibly agitated when they recalled these experiences. These effects are apparent in comments such as those below:

- I try to see what's wrong in me. Why do people behave like this towards me? Maybe I should be more like a New Zealander.
- I felt bad that there was something wrong with me, so I tried to be like them. I felt disadvantaged.
- I thought that the problem was mine because I had just come from Korea, so I had to make the adjustments.
- I thought they might hate me or something because my English wasn't too good.

#### **8.6.5 Helplessness**

Some parents appeared to be devastated by feelings of helplessness as they did not know what to do for their children. They felt responsible for their predicament for they had brought them to this country and had subjected them to such harsh treatment. Others tried to just deal with it from day to day so that they did not have to think about it too much. Feelings of helplessness were also expressed by some pupils:

- I just deal with it from day to day.
- In the beginning I wasn't [happy] because I had too many problems at school, and I didn't know what to do, and I didn't want to go to school.
- I remember thinking at the time that we should go back to South Africa because I didn't bring my kids here to suffer like that.
- They were very sad and worried about it, but they couldn't do anything. And they brought us here for a better education and future, so they were very worried because things weren't going right. .... He (Dad) feels really bad and wants to go back to --- now. .... My dad feels racism is a big problem here, so he wants to go.
- It really upsets me to see him go through all this.

### 8.6.6 Depression

Many parents and some pupils appeared to be depressed due to their feelings of non-acceptance and intimidation. A year 11 boy who was intimidated and rejected from primary school first sank into a state of *depression*, and later at high school chose to *rebel* against anyone who attempted to oppress him in any way. This influenced his choice of friends and his behaviour, and had an adverse effect on his life, as told by his mother:

- He's a very bright kid, but he joined the wrong group of kids ... who we know are not into school work and a problem generally. But they accepted him because he was brighter than they were, so they looked up to him, and thereafter he just went downhill. They looked passed the colour and accepted him for his intelligence. Amongst the blind he was king. And then he took on a white girlfriend from this group – it's all part of it – here's this white girl who loves me even though I'm black. It's being accepted by them when no-one else accepted him, so he did whatever it took to become part of them. .... Now he won't go to university because that group doesn't. They have actually told him, including his girl's father, that he doesn't have to have an education to make money. None of them are educated, you see. In fact, they haven't even completed high school.

### 8.6.7 Feelings of Inferiority

Many pupils and parents, especially those of Indian origin, appeared to have internalised notions of inferiority about themselves that have been projected by Europeans over the centuries. This appeared to have adverse effects on their self-esteem and self-confidence, as indicated by the following comments:

- For a while he was becoming really depressed. .... I remember picking him up from school, and for a whole week he would get into the car at the back and he would lie down and not talk. .... I think it made him feel inferior in a sense and affected his self-esteem because he did not feel accepted. And I think that caused all the problems that he had at high school.
- You feel like an outcast and feel bad about yourself.
- [It made me feel] that I was not good enough to be accepted. I hated going to school.
- Most of the other kids (non-New Zealanders) – their self-esteem was very low. They were scared to speak up.

### 8.6.8 Anxiety

A large number of pupils (26-74%) and many parents (10-42%) reported experiencing anxiety over rejection and intimidation. Some appeared to be visibly upset and perturbed

by their negative experiences which were apparently having a detrimental effect on their mental health as indicated in the following comments:

- You don't feel good, so you can't do your schoolwork. Everyday you're upset and worried, so you can't concentrate. I used to cry a lot and I wanted to change schools.
- I worry because I know that although the 'Kiwis' don't say too much to the Asians, they don't like them. I can see it in their faces.
- On the first day everyone looked strangely at me because they were wondering what kind of person I am. .... I was a bit scared.
- He's become very withdrawn and is not working as hard as he should be.
- It was horrible and it made me very sad about being here. .... I was too afraid. I was also confused, I think, because I couldn't understand why they were doing these things to me.
- I felt unhappy, but I just tried to be normal.

### **8.6.9 Physical Illness**

Physical illness appeared to be an overt expression of an inability to cope. Nine (45%) West Asian and seven (47%) East Asian pupils talked about physical problems, such as headache and stomach ache, suffered as a result of their experiences. These problems are reflected in comments such as the following:

- I used to have a stomach ache all the time. I really did have a stomach ache and that's why I used to stay at home, but the pain was because I didn't want to go to school. I was stressed. I know that now. I missed out on a lot of school and didn't do very well. .... I really learned to hate the Islanders, and I hated school because I was really put down so badly.
- When I picked him up after school, he would lie on the back seat and not talk to me. When I asked him what was wrong, he would say he had a headache. This happened everyday for a long time.

### **8.6.10 Suicidal Tendencies**

One pupil reported observing apparent suicidal tendencies in one of her friends:

- She gets so upset that she sometimes says things like, 'There's no reason to live.' She used to draw pictures of death in her books because she didn't want to live.

## **8.7 CASE STUDIES OF PARENTS AND PUPILS OF EUROPEAN ORIGIN**

The design of the study did not include interviews with local parents and pupils of European origin. However, three such people were interviewed for the following reasons: It was discovered on arrival at a home that a parent of an East Asian pupil was actually a European stepfather who was very keen to be interviewed as arranged. It was assumed when arranging the interview over the telephone that he had a 'Kiwi' accent because he was born in New Zealand as some other parents were. As it was difficult and embarrassing to turn him down on the grounds of 'wrong' skin colour, the interview was conducted. An East Asian pupil asked her best friend who was a local 'Kiwi' of European origin to be present at her interview. The girl appeared keen to participate and implored me to interview her as well. As she had participated in the survey and consented to being interviewed, it was difficult to turn her away on the grounds of her being in the wrong ethnic group. She was thus interviewed. An East Asian pupil of 'Kiwi' and Japanese parentage, who was raised by and lived with his 'Kiwi' mother, chose to be identified as 'Kiwi' at the interview, despite having a Japanese surname and being classified as Asian at school. As he did not consider himself an Asian and wished to be considered as a 'Kiwi', his responses were regarded as from a European.

These three interviews provided illuminating data, and are presented as case studies of 'Kiwi' perceptions. Many of these comments confirmed the thoughts of Asian parents and pupils.

### **8.7.1 'Kiwi' Parent**

This European parent had married an East Asian woman and adopted her child. It is likely that his comments would be representative of 'Kiwis' with positive attitudes. Some of his more significant comments follow: In the last ten years he had 'noticed the Asian problem in a big way.' By Asian he meant 'the people from Hong Kong, Taiwan and so on, but not the Philippines', which suggested that most New Zealanders would possibly understand the word in that way. He said that 'a huge number of them' had come in, and that 'you've just

got to go to the university to see how many of them there are.’ He believed that ‘more than half’ the students were Asian. He said he was ‘not racist and bore no prejudice against people who are different’ and believed that his attitude was inculcated by his parents who ‘thought that everyone was equal’. His travels abroad for almost 30 years when he got to know peoples from different cultures, also contributed to this attitude:

- I think I’ve developed that because of my travelling, because you see all these wonderful people.

He perceived Australia to be ‘much stronger against Asians and foreigners ... although they do seem to accept them’. However, he felt that New Zealanders were ‘similar, but they’re not totally as hard as the Aussies’. He believed that the negative attitude of New Zealanders and Australians toward Asians ‘goes back to the war’ because ‘they had a lot of difficulties’ with the Japanese. People remember the difficulties of the past which are:

- handed down – what happened in Ireland and Israel and all over in the world, and Sri Lanka and all those places.

Now the Asians ‘come [here] and buy property and then they’ve brought their children down so that they can learn English’ and this has affected attitudes further. He felt that New Zealanders are a little better than the Australians ‘probably because there are more Polynesians here’. They have grown accustomed to them over ‘the last 25 years’, when the Maori became more integrated and the Pacific Islanders began entering the country. However, the Maori and Pacific Islanders ‘don’t like each other.... There’s conflict there’.

While he was hopeful that ‘the younger kids are probably mixing and they’ll be all right in one generation’, he was at the same time fearful that ‘it will take quite a few generations for things to get better’. He felt his generation did not share his attitude and were ‘racist’ because:

- They’re probably still in the old ways.... Some of my friends, they’ve been born, brought up and will die in the same place. They haven’t had any exposure to other people, so they still think in the same way.

This confirmed parent suggestions of insularity amongst 'Kiwis'. He believed that people who have a command of the English language are more easily accepted than those who do not:

- I noticed it's quite an advantage if you speak English. I went to South America and I was teaching English even though I'm not an English teacher. I was treated like a Maharajah. That happens all over the world, I noticed.

He felt that it was not only foreigners who speak poor English and are difficult to follow, but also the Kiwis:

- The Kiwis speak slurred, you know, and it's hard to follow them. The Yugoslavs and Islanders have names for the way they speak. People call people names because of the language and colour.

When asked whether his wife and son should retain their ethnicity here in New Zealand or assimilate, he replied:

- I'd like them to retain their ethnicity. I'm very keen on that. I'd like them to do that. ... You don't want to lose your origin. It's something that you have naturally. ... Yes, I think they should all do that or the next generation will lose it.... We've lost that – the European people, and we're isolating ourselves from the family – it's getting worse and worse. I went to Papua New Guinea and there, like the Indians and some others, they're still in big families and that's so nice.

He was strongly against assimilation and felt that people should not give up their cultures and become the same as happened in this country with the Maori who are now trying to reclaim it.

- You see it with the Maori – a lot of them just lost their culture and they're trying to get it back in the last 10-15 years. It took millions of years for the world to become this way, and for all this to develop, and it can't just be lost like that....

He believed that it was the responsibility of schools to teach about the different cultures so that they are preserved and not lost.

- In a few years there'll only be what we protect and the rest will be lost and you'll never get it back.... The school should teach these things like they teach reading and writing. The spiritual and cultural side is just as important and should be taught so that it's not lost.... Kids need more these days with our changing society and things.

Whilst he understood that it is difficult to deal with cultures that are foreign, as he has experienced that himself, he believed that we have 'got to be able to compromise'.

He also talked about his fellow 'Kiwis' who went to Africa with him and were abusive to the black people there.

- They hated the languages there, and used to say things like 'you stupid so and so's, what are you saying?'

He discovered these attitudes amongst his own family when he returned here with an Asian wife and son.

- They didn't accept it – not at all. They hated it and didn't talk to me for years. Some of them still don't. Even my neighbours don't all talk to us. They just say hello to be polite, but you know they don't want to mix with you. Of-course, some are very good about it, but they're very few. But I don't let that worry me – I just feel that's their problem, not mine, and they have to deal with it. They're the losers, actually, not me. They've got to go a long way still, and have a lot to learn. It just hurts me to see how some of them treat my family, you know. They've had to go through a lot. You've heard ...'s story. It hurt me to watch him lose confidence in himself because of his treatment. But he's okay now – I'm helping him.

He had a positive attitude toward immigration and believed that it could only be good for this country as it would enhance its culture:

- I think it's very good. It's given us a blaze of culture – we're not just European anymore. Well, we have been that way for a while with the Maori culture and we're already quite mixed. We've got half caste, quarter caste, one eighth caste "Kiwis", and some who'll never know that they've got Maori in them. It sort of blends everything, so with the Asians and more Polynesians it's going to be really nice. When you travel you realise we live in isolation and we have a slower pace compared to other countries where it's a rat race. We have a lot of space and even more in Australia, so we can take more. But it'll take more than just a small number to be strong. It must be bigger, then the more you'll know about the culture.

When asked why he thought people had negative attitudes toward others, he said he thought it had a lot to do with their state of spirituality. Spiritually minded people are able to look beyond the material, unlike those who lack this.

- They say that just 10% of people have a spiritual background ... I think it goes back to that. Most people are not spiritually minded – they must be materialistic. They're protecting themselves. Everything is what they see with their eyes. They can't go onto a higher level, can they? That's what I've been learning from my wife, and I can see that looking back at these people. So they've got a long way to go. ... And the blacker

you are, the less acceptable you are. ... And then we're isolated too. The more we mix, the freer we will be, and that will be better for the people. It will develop a better people.

### 8.7.2 'Kiwi' Pupil

It is likely that this year 13 pupil's comments would be representative of 'Kiwi' adolescents with positive interethnic attitudes. She talked about how having a non-European friend changed her perspective on life and opened up her world:

- I got to know different kinds of people, even Maori and Niueans because they are ---'s friends. I didn't know people from different cultures before. I developed more cultural understanding and learnt to respect everyone.

Her association with an ethnic minority girl introduced her to culture, which she had not experienced before. Her initial perception of Asians and other groups was that:

- They just kept to themselves, and that's what I knew about them. They didn't want to mix and they didn't speak English. My parents had influenced me in the way I thought. They didn't like Asians and always spoke about them moving into our country and taking over and stuff. So I thought that was what was happening. .... They don't know any Asian people. My Dad is very racist, but my Mum's not so bad. I try to tell them that they're wrong, but they just have their ideas and won't listen.... I don't talk to them much about my views now...because they don't want to hear them.

It was only after meeting this girl that she realised how wrong she and her parents had been about immigrants. They had been misinformed like all other 'Kiwis', and she had since learnt much about them, such as:

- I got to know that we are wrong when we say 'Asian' to everyone. They're all different. Some are Chinese; some are Cambodian, and Malaysian, and Japanese and so on. I got to know and understand them and began to think differently.

As her close friend, she was privy to the racist experiences of her friend, which had a tremendous impact on her. However, she did try to offer what she thought was an explanation for negative attitudes and behaviour:

- It made me feel really bad, you know, that a lot of people hate each other for no reason.... I think it's because for so long we didn't have other people around. We've always had the Maori and a few Chinese from the gold rush, but not like now. There's a

lot of people who have been taken out of their jobs and New Zealanders had to go on the dole, so I think that made them mad.

She realised that not all people wish to change their perceptions and attitudes, even though this is what is needed.

- There'll always be people out there who won't want to change. But I think we have to have a better understanding of each other – learn stuff about each other.... They just think that these people are just sticking to their own groups and they don't want to mix. They can't see what happens.

She believed that schools need to teach about the different cultures now that the nature of their populations had changed, as it is only by learning about each other that understanding will develop and attitudes will change.

- I'm fascinated [with learning about other cultures]. They should start teaching about this at school when we're young because nowadays schools have different cultures. When I was young there were mainly Europeans at school. If they start at primary school they can learn about each culture in their class.... My friend's sister is at primary school and they're learning about the different Asian groups – like who's Japanese and Chinese etc. But they're not learning anything more about them. But I guess that's a start.

She said that whilst her school is trying to do things to encourage ethnic integration, its attempts are insufficient. Not all projects are fully supported by teachers who do not get sufficiently involved with the pupils.

- It (school) does some things, but I think it can do more. Like with the mediation group that helps kids solve problems, I think the teachers need to support it more. They don't – they feel it can't work, but that's not true, because I think it works very well. They also get 7<sup>th</sup> formers to help Asian students. They don't do it themselves. I think if they got involved more it would help them more.

She showed an appreciation of the challenge that foreign pupils face in their new countries, and appeared to understand their predicament and be able to empathise with them.

- My God! I don't know whether I'd do it in practice (emigrate), but I'd try to mix more. But if I did see another white person who could speak English, then I'd probably stick to them. It would be difficult.

### 8.7.3 Bi-ethnic 'Kiwi' Pupil

This young man who is of 'Kiwi' and Japanese parents who separated when he was little, and was raised by his mum who is of European origin, regarded himself as a 'Kiwi' and not Japanese. It is more likely that his comments would be representative of 'Kiwis' with negative attitudes. He said that when he was with his father, he felt Japanese because he had to speak to him in Japanese, as he did not speak much English. His friends were of mixed race too because he identified with such people, and they all perceived themselves as 'Kiwi'. Although his father is a Buddhist, he looked down on that culture and did not like it:

- I don't like the chanting. I've heard them do it in a big group and it sounds like a cult and it's scary.... Because they all look like sheep just copying each other. I don't think most of them even understand what they're doing.

He also 'hated' having to learn about things Maori or any other culture, and did not like having to study Japanese either.

- I hate it when they force us to learn about Maori things.
- I don't see why we should be forced to learn about others.

When asked whether it might be useful to learn about other cultures now that there are so many other cultures here, he responded:

- I think it should be an option. No-one should be forced to do it. We don't need any of that. I don't see the point of it – you know what I mean?

He did not seem to know anything about culture groups at his school, saying:

- I don't really attend things like that. But they sometimes have things at assemblies and I see that.

He did not believe that seeing such things helped him to get to know those people any more because 'they're just dances'. He saw the 'Kiwi' culture as rugby oriented.

Ethnicity did not appear to be important to him either, and respect of ethnicity was equally unimportant, and he regarded everyone as 'the same', an attitude apparently espoused by many 'Kiwis'.

- I just don't notice these things.... I just see everyone the same.

He did not appear to be accepting or understanding of other people.

- We go to class together, so we have to talk to each other.
- It makes me mad to see, say like all the Pacific Islanders and all the Chinese at school, and they stand in separate groups and they don't mix together. I just don't like that. .... If you move to another country you can't just stay in your own group. That's wrong – you have to adapt. .... No-one makes an effort to talk to each other. They don't get along.

When asked if he or the locals made an effort to talk to each other, he replied:

- I've made an effort.... Generally, the locals don't. I think everyone should just get along.

He appeared unhappy about being forced to mix with people because of the limited space when walking through the corridors. He felt the local pupils are the same as the foreign ones and do not mix either.

- I think everyone is the same really. They think they're not doing it, so we're not going to do it, so it carries on. They don't do it, we don't do it. Just a few try.... I don't think we can do any more than we do now.

This pupil's body-language appeared to speak of intolerance, but it was apparent that he was trying to say the right thing. When talking about mixing, however, he surprised me when he looked at me (the Indian researcher) with a twinkle in his eye and a grin on his face and said:

- I'm not trying to be rude or anything, but Indians don't [mix]. They keep to themselves a lot and won't talk to anybody.

When asked why he thought they did this, he said he could not really say because he did not really talk to them, because they did not talk to anyone.

He found the Islanders most threatening because of their size and their ‘gangster-like behaviour’, and believed they did that because:

- Maybe they want to be accepted. If they’re tough maybe people will accept them, I don’t know. Maybe they don’t get accepted. Maybe being accepted by each other is more important.

Even he recognised that more goes on beneath the surface at his school than people are aware of.

- When you’ve been there long you see what goes on, and it has its problems like any other [school].

He appeared to be impatient and unhappy about people speaking in their own language at school.

- They speak their own language. They don’t communicate the way we do.... I guess it’s like if I go to my Dad’s house I have to take my shoes off because it’s his house. So, if they go to another country they should learn the language. Same sort of thing.

When asked why he thought foreign pupils did not communicate with others, his reply was:

- Because they’re too wrapped up in themselves and talking about their own stuff. They just don’t bother. It should be natural that everyone should talk, but it doesn’t happen.

However, he appeared to understand that people stay in their own groups because they may be ‘shy’.

## **8.8 SUMMARY**

The majority of the visible ethnic minority immigrants in this study (24-69%) migrated to New Zealand for political reasons, with a large number (20-57%) coming here to provide their children with better opportunities for tertiary education, and many for both. Japanese, Taiwanese and Indian pupils from India came primarily for educational reasons. As almost all of these immigrants are comparatively financially secure (in terms of ‘usual’ immigrants), their needs and expectations are of a different nature.

Many (13-54%) complained about being bitterly disappointed and disillusioned with their lives in New Zealand, and all, except one year 13 Fijian Indian pupil and the two refugee parents from Laos and Cambodia, felt unaccepted and frustrated. This was exacerbated by apparent racism and discrimination in the workplace where well-qualified parents could not find employment, and in schools where children were often subjected to ethnic intimidation and other forms of prejudice and discrimination from both pupils and teachers. Consequently, many parents and pupils (15-43%) reportedly lacked a sense of belonging here, and some regretted migrating. A larger number of pupils (26-74%) also expressed disappointment, disillusionment and unhappiness with their treatment by their peers. Almost two-thirds of the pupils (23-66%) did not feel accepted initially, but this improved with time. Parents and pupils who had not had negative experiences here (of which there were only a few) were comparatively happy with their lot.

Most parents (21-88%) and pupils (33-94%) displayed a strong sense of ethnicity and pride, and all West Asians and many East Asians (12-80% of East Asian sample) placed importance on their culture and religion, which they wished to retain in their new homeland. Eighteen (90%) West Asian and 13 (87%) East Asian pupils believed that immigrants should retain their identities when they move to another country. The majority of West Asian (17-85%) and a minority of East Asian pupils (3-20%) identified themselves with their own ethnicity only. Most East Asians (12-80%) and a few West Asians (3-15%) perceived themselves as having dual identities, but they believed that the locals did not consider them to be 'Kiwis'. They acknowledged the need to adapt to the New Zealand culture as well as to change with the times, in order to be accepted, and all parents and pupils demonstrated a willingness to do this, and believed that 'Kiwis' should also adapt to immigrant culture to some extent.

They were happy to have their children adopt 'modern ways' and 'the good things' from the New Zealand culture. However, as cultural and religious values, especially the values of family and respect, held significance for all, they were concerned about the erosion of these old values and the effects of peer pressure on their children to indulge in activities

that were culturally unacceptable to them. Both pupils and parents found the lack of respect for other ethnic groups disconcerting, and believed this contributed toward non-acceptance and poor relations.

Respondents reported little social interaction amongst the ethnic groups at school. They expressed a desire to interact with the locals, but some felt that they were not being afforded such opportunities, and some parents admitted not taking the initiative in such matters, as well as in getting involved with their children's education and schools. Parents and pupils suggested that whilst there are many 'Kiwis' who are kind and hospitable to them, there are also those who do not want to mix with them, which generates much uncertainty and even fear in them about taking the initiative. Those who did interact with the locals asserted that it had occurred only because they had initiated it.

Non-acceptance appeared to have a detrimental effect on the self-esteem of a large number of pupils (26-74%) and many parents (10-42%) who complained of psychological and physical problems. It was apparent that a few pupils (7-20%) were also experiencing some conflict about their identities and how they should behave now that they are living in a western country. However, most were certain about their identities and the fact that they could never be something else on account of their distinct physical appearance, which makes blending in with the host population impossible.

There were mixed feelings about language maintenance with some parents (7-29%), and pupils (11-31%), particularly Chinese, feeling that the vernacular should not be spoken at school as this incited local children and created misunderstanding amongst all, but most felt that there was no harm in doing that privately.

All parents and many pupils (19-54%) were disappointed with the standard of education, the lackadaisical atmosphere, lack of motivation and lack of discipline in schools. They felt poor discipline contributed to lack of respect, negative attitudes and ethnic intimidation, and believed that racist teacher attitudes and behaviour contributed to this. Teachers lacked knowledge and awareness of and empathy for the different cultures, therefore pupils did not

trust them, and chose not to seek help from them when intimidated. Fifteen (43%) pupils and all parents felt it is the school's responsibility to educate pupils about their new social environment, and the responsibility of parents and families to teach children not to be racist and to discipline their children and discourage intimidatory behaviour. A large number of pupils (26-74%) found pastoral and academic support for visible ethnic minority pupils to be lacking. Eighteen (51%) ESOL and fee paying pupils were dissatisfied with the assistance they received.

They did acknowledge that their schools were making attempts to foster understanding and acceptance of ethnic minority groups by hosting cultural activities, but generally felt that more could be done to prepare children for the 'real' world which was not as safe and benevolent as school. Parents' and pupils' views on how representative the school is of the wider community, varied with some feeling that it reflects the community and its attitudes, others believing that it is no reflection of the outside which is more hostile, and some feeling that it does partly reflect the community and what goes on there.

All parents and 28 (80%) pupils believed that racist attitudes caused negative attitudes and behaviours. They felt that racism is rife, but that people repress it for fear of repercussions, and that feelings of supremacy, misinformation, fear, envy, insecurity and low self-concepts amongst the locals contributed toward racist attitudes. All complained about being victims of discrimination and prejudice and ethnic intimidation. They did not like being stereotyped and not being given credit for their individuality. They felt the media contributed largely to the adoption and reinforcement of stereotypes. All pupils had experienced ethnic intimidation at some stage of their school lives in the form of name-calling, teasing and put-downs, and some had been bullied into giving money or doing homework for others, because of their physical appearance, language and accents, and high achievement. Seven (20%) children reported experiencing or witnessing physical violence at school. Twenty-five (71%) pupils believed Europeans and 17 (49%) believed Polynesians to be the perpetrators.

The effects of feelings of non-acceptance, rejection and racism on the victims varied according to the nature of their experiences. Those parents who had either not been employed or who had settled for much less and were struggling financially as a result, said they felt highly aggrieved, hurt and unhappy and that their self-esteem had been lowered. Most parents and pupils who had experienced negative episodes appeared to cope reasonably well, while a few did not. A few parents and pupils appeared to employ avoidance strategies in order to cope. Some parents and pupils were grateful for the opportunity to talk as they said that talking about their experiences was cathartic. Those who said they coped reasonably well appeared to gain their strength from religious and spiritual philosophies.

Despite their negative experiences, parents, as well as many pupils, said they realised that most of those who behaved in racist ways did so only because they lacked knowledge about other ethnic groups and were guided by stereotypes, which were usually negative. The two refugee parents interviewed said they were happy with their experiences here, and although there were some negative issues, these did not matter in the light of their pre-emigration trauma. Despite these problems, most parents (19-79%) and pupils (27-77%) were optimistic about the future in which they foresaw positive change, and almost all parents (22-92%) were grateful for the opportunity to have a better life here.

# CHAPTER NINE

## STUDIES OF THE SCHOOL ECOLOGY

*We are all very good at wearing masks*

(European Teacher)

### 9.1 SECTION ONE: CONVERSATIONS WITH TEACHERS

Chapter nine presents the results for the second part of the qualitative data which is the ecological studies of schools. This includes conversations with teachers and observations of pupils in and around the school. The main findings are discussed in relation to the research questions and the proposed model for social interaction within a global society presented in chapter five.

#### 9.1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this section, the data obtained from conversations with teachers is analysed according to the questions asked, and key themes are formulated from their narratives and stories to create a clear description of teachers' perceptions of the social climate within their schools. Conversations were conducted as a follow-up procedure to interviews with pupils and parents in order to enable the processing of the interview data before this stage of the research. This would provide a good sense of the information obtained from pupils and parents, which would secure more effective teacher interviewing. Rather than conducting formal interviews with teachers, it was decided to hold informal conversations with them during observations at schools. This would capture a larger group of respondents on site, which would provide a more spontaneous and richer set of data.

Conversations were held with a total of 85 teachers in the three schools observed. It was hoped that teachers would be self-selected by volunteering to talk to the observer after this

was requested by both the principal and researcher at the staff-brief, and when their classrooms were visited. Unfortunately, this did not occur and teachers had to be approached individually. Most of those asked agreed, although many did so reluctantly. However, some refused on the pretext of being too busy. Of the 85 teachers talked to, only one volunteered to talk to the researcher. This was a foreign teacher of European origin working in New Zealand. Most of these conversations were held during intervals, before and after school in the staff room, while some were conducted in classrooms at the end of lessons when teachers had non-contact time therefore no class.

### **9.1.2 RESPONSES TO MAIN QUESTIONS**

Following is a combined summary of teacher responses to each of the four main questions asked, which were: (1) What are your perceptions of the social climate within this school? (2) What, in your view, are the circumstances that contribute toward this situation? (3) Is there any way in which the social climate in this school can be improved? (4) How do you feel about the ethnic diversity of your school population? Do you see it as advantageous or disadvantageous? The data represents overt views expressed by teachers.

#### **Question 1: What are your perceptions of the social climate within this school?**

##### ***Social Climate***

Twenty-three European teachers (37% of European sample, 27% of total) felt that the social climate in their schools was *comparatively positive* and 'healthy', creating a good atmosphere, and that the school environment was generally accepting. They thought pupils got along well. Some who had taught at other schools described their present schools as comparatively 'wonderful'. They felt that pupils and teachers were more 'tolerant' there than at other schools, so much so that those who felt unaccepted elsewhere chose to attend these schools which were often recommended to them. Many expressed the feeling that because their schools were representative of Auckland, they were a good training ground for their pupils who were learning to adapt to the changing social climate of the city.

However, none of the ethnic minority teachers shared this view. They expressed the belief that circumstances within the school were often contrived and quite different from those in the 'real world'.

Although teachers said that the social climate was generally 'quite good' or 'not bad', and pupils mix 'quite well' considering the diverse cultures in the school, almost half of the total teacher sample (41-48%) believed that there were '*racial problems*' in our schools. This group comprised all the ethnic minority teachers (23-27% of total) and almost one third of the European teachers (18-29% of European sample; 21% of total). They believed that 'racial problems' occurred particularly in the junior school where pupils 'picked on' each other about ethnicity. Some teachers pointed out pupils in their classes who were having 'racial' problems. A European teacher told of a Chinese boy who was picked on openly because he 'smelled bad', and how he just laughed at it and never showed the hurt which this teacher knew he felt. Another told of an Indian boy with his hair in a topknot who was taunted so much in one class that he had to be removed to another. The problem continued in the new class where kids displayed 'a lot of resentment toward him'.

Two of the three Pacific Island (67%) and six of the ten Indian teachers (60%) said that things were not as good as they should be in their schools as there was a great deal of '*prejudice*' amongst the different ethnic groups. A European male teacher at one school also felt that the social climate there was 'not good', and that 'there are tectonic plates rubbing against each other at the school'. Teachers from two of the schools felt that because the atmosphere at their schools was more democratic, friendly and relaxed, there was less tension, so pupils were more 'tolerant'. Two European teachers suggested that in schools where there is strict discipline there is more tension, therefore more confrontations. One of these teachers compared his school with another ethnically diverse school where he believed the style was 'authoritarian and unfriendly', and suggested that if teachers are 'bullies', pupils will be bullies too.

### *Ethnic Relations*

The general view first expressed in all three schools was that ethnic relations were 'not bad' and that most pupils mixed 'pretty well'. However, most teachers went on to qualify this statement by saying that although there was some mixing of ethnic groups, generally pupils remained with their own ethnic groups. They all admitted that *clustering* of pupils in ethnic groups occurs on a large scale in their classrooms and on the grounds, and that there was very little mixing of the different ethnic groups. This was strongly pointed out by ethnic minority teachers, the 16 Asians in particular. However, they felt that compared to other schools, the situation was much better in their schools.

Thirty-five teachers (41%), including 12 European (19%) and all ethnic minority teachers, felt that clustering might perhaps be a *natural human tendency*. They felt that it was perhaps normal for people to seek out and keep with their own groups. A small group of European teachers (4-7%) felt that clustering was inadvertently encouraged amongst senior pupils by the school system. This was because, as they were allowed to choose their subjects freely, pupils of the same ethnic group tended to take the same subjects so found themselves in the same classes. They also felt that a focus on tradition and culture kept children apart, especially the Chinese. Others believed that this did not have to have this effect because Indian children are just as culture focussed and still mix more than the Chinese. They believed that the Chinese did not make enough of an effort to mix and needed to adapt more.

A teacher of Chinese origin explained that Chinese pupils did not mix with others and remained in their own groups because they were such a large group in many schools that they did not need anyone else. They had *strength in numbers* and had their own community with whom to interact, so they did not care about the attitudes of others. They also did not mix as they did not feel comfortable with them, especially the locals, and because they could not communicate with others as they did not understand English. This view was endorsed by European teachers who had themselves experienced living in a foreign culture.

Twelve European teachers (19%) believed that, although there was very little mixing, there was a lot of ‘*tolerance*’ amongst pupils. One teacher was of the opinion that there was ‘so much cohesion on the one hand, and so much division on the other hand’. Nine Europeans, three West Asians and one East Asian (13-15% of total) said that because ethnic problems were not always visible in the class or on the grounds, did not mean that they did not exist. They knew that incidents also occurred that they were not aware of, as children kept things away from teachers, even from deans. However, as some did talk about them, they were aware of them.

Two European teachers talked about *conflict* amongst pupils – between Europeans and others, amongst various East Asian groups, and between Asian and Polynesian groups. They said that when Asians entered the country, Europeans and Polynesians (Maori and Pacific Islanders) banded together against them, when traditionally they would not come together. This conflict was exacerbated by the fact that many of the Asians had good cars and smart clothes. Another European teacher made the observation that Chinese pupils did not accept Korean pupils, Polynesian pupils did not accept Indian pupils, and the few African pupils were treated very differently and not accepted at all in his school. However, as more immigrants moved in, they became more accustomed to having them around, consequently levels of ‘tolerance’ increased. Teachers also talked about *gangs* outside the school to which some of the pupils were affiliated, like the Polynesians and Chinese. There was the threat of reprisal if pupils clashed with one of their members, so they were afraid to do this and suppressed themselves consequently, there were not too many clashes at school.

A European teacher suggested that those who had confrontations with other groups were those who had ‘*personal problems*’ as well. They therefore allowed these issues to ‘get under their skin’. Those who were ‘not too bright’ also got into confrontations with others.

**Question 2: What, in your view, are the circumstances that contribute toward this situation?**

***Ethnic Intimidation***

All 23 ethnic minority teachers (27% of total) and 22 of the 62 (36%) European teachers conversed with (26% of total) acknowledged, sometimes reluctantly, the existence of ethnic intimidation in their schools, and that this contributed to negative interethnic relations and social climates within schools. Most of the others did not appear to be able to recognise this phenomenon for what it really was. They did not appear to understand that bullying included an ethnic element, and did not cite racism as a cause of bullying. Only three European teachers (5%) overtly denied the existence of any ethnic problems in their schools, and said that they had never noticed any.

All ethnic minority teachers and one European teacher recognised *ethnic undertones* to many of the relationship or other problems that pupils experienced at school. Some of the European teachers who were aware of ‘ethnic bullying’, usually noticed it between European and Maori pupils. Only those who had experienced life amongst foreigners appeared to be able to recognise all the ethnic dimensions of bullying. Some teachers acknowledged that there were probably more problems amongst the children than teachers noticed or imagined because not all problems were brought to the notice of teachers, or even the counsellor for that matter.

A few European teachers said that they constantly heard *remarks of a racial nature* being made to pupils. One teacher said it was quite common to see ethnic minority pupils walking or standing around alone because they were not accepted. A European teacher talked about having witnessed some incidents of *racial harassment* in the school, and about a Russian boy in his class who was constantly picked on because he sounded different. Every time this happened he began to stutter. Some teachers believed that there also was a ‘*put-down culture*’ amongst pupils, so they were constantly looking for things about which they could put people down. Consequently, there was a lot of ‘interethnic taunting and

name-calling', and 'racial slurs and putdowns'. Those who were different in any way were soft targets, and were called names and mocked.

Ethnic minority teachers talked about *tension and bullying* amongst the ethnic groups, and were aware that bullying often involved ethnicity. An Indian teacher told of often witnessing ethnic minority pupils, especially Indians, being teased and called names about their ethnicity. A Chinese teacher reported having witnessed pupils having 'fun poked at them because of their race'. Another said that pupils were rude to her because she is Chinese. An Indian teacher told of witnessing Pacific Island pupils bullying Asian and European pupils, and another told of Europeans bullying Indian pupils.

Most teachers said that ethnic intimidation occurred mainly on the *grounds* and not in the classroom, and such confrontations mostly involved name-calling and put-downs. They compared their schools with other schools where ethnic fights were commonplace, and felt that the situation in their schools was comparatively 'not bad'. Pupils knew that these were not tolerated by their schools and principals, so avoided confrontations. Some felt that most of the bullying that occurred at their schools was done by pupils who had come in from other schools where the climate was different and where it was 'cool' to bully. Others insinuated that ethnic minority pupils were always responsible for *provoking* attacks on themselves.

Five European and all Asian teachers believed that intimidation and non-acceptance often forced visible ethnic minority children into negative behaviour. They become *frustrated* with the negative way in which they are treated and are forced into *retaliating* in some way against those who reject them for no apparent reason. Their frustration sometimes also drives them to retaliate against those who do not support them when they are being victimised. A European teacher told of an Indian boy who punched one of his Indian friends because, he believed, he did not support him when he was attacked by some non-Indian boys. Another teacher told of an incident when a European boy complained about being assaulted by three Pacific Island boys. On investigation he found that he had called them 'coconut heads' and they had merely retaliated.

A teacher talked about children retaliating to being bullied and rejected by vandalising the school. Another said she had watched pupils get upset about being bullied about their ethnicity, at first, but then learning later to retaliate against it as that was their only option. These children were often then blamed and punished for causing trouble by teachers who did not care to investigate the incident thoroughly before passing judgement. Teachers felt certain that this frustration also had an adverse effect on pupil performance at school.

### ***Racist Attitudes***

Those teachers who admitted that there were racial problems and ethnic intimidation in their schools, suggested that the main reason for this was the *racist attitudes of many New Zealanders*. Forty-one teachers (48%), including 18 European (29%, 21% of total), and all Indian and Chinese teachers (23-27% of total), acknowledged that although their schools were comparatively accepting, there was still a 'fair amount of racism' and non-acceptance around. Although people at school appeared to get along on the surface, a European male teacher alleged, 'there are definitely undercurrents – we are all very good at wearing masks'.

Some European teachers said they were aware of racism around them, and ten (16%) said that they had witnessed some form of racism at some time at their schools. One teacher compared the situation here with England where there is 'so much racial tension'. She expressed the opinion that although there is 'no overt racism at this school now', such a situation could easily arise here because of the amount of 'forced immigration' (no explanation provided) that occurs here. Some talked of the old days when the problem was between 'whites' and Polynesians. Now it is between 'whites' and Asians, and the focus has fallen away from the Polynesians.

A European dean talked about children picking on each other about their ethnicity, and then *pretending* that they were not being racist or denigrating when questioned, even though it was evident from their body language that this was the case. She cited two such examples: one was of a European boy picking on an Indian girl about her physical appearance, then

pretending that he was just curious when she intervened, even though his tone was obviously denigrating. The other was of a Kenyan girl who was being taunted by European and Polynesian boys about her hair. When she spoke to them they pretended to be 'just asking' because they were interested, but it was obvious to her that they were mocking. She said there were many pupils who were intolerant of other ethnic groups which resulted in *conflict*, of which that school had its fair share. Pupils were having to cope with the new social environment, and she believed, many were not coping well.

Another European dean talked about the *obvious racism* in some children who came to her with a complaint about some foreign child, but began by saying, 'I'm not racist, but ...' When she heard this she always knew that the problem was of a racial nature. She therefore told them that they had to learn to accept differences and learn from each other. A European teacher told of her observation at their International Day concert during which it became evident to her that some pupils were racist. She thought that pupils enjoyed the European and Polynesian items, but not the Indian and Cambodian ones because they were very quiet during those items. Their facial expressions gave her the idea that they did not like them because they were different, and because they did not take well to other ethnic groups.

Ethnic minority teachers appeared to notice racism more easily than teachers from the majority culture, and frequently witnessed visible ethnic minority pupils being *taunted and called racist names*. A Chinese teacher told of hearing a Chinese girl being called a 'yellow bitch'. Another told of having heard pupils call Chinese children 'blackies', which she found strange as they are not black. The explanation offered by the offending boy was that he was 'just joking' and rhyming the word with 'Chinese'. They had also witnessed food and rubbish being thrown at ethnic minority children. Another Chinese teacher suggested that if East Asian children appeared to have fewer problems, it was because they avoided complaining about them as they did not want to 'get a bad name'.

All *ethnic minority teachers* spoken to reported racist experiences with pupils, and even staff, in their first year at the school. They were amazed that pupils did not appear to be

afraid to ridicule them in class and outside about their accents in particular, as well as their appearance. They felt pupils also had a low opinion of foreign teachers and their teaching ability. They found that they had to stand up for themselves and work doubly hard compared to other teachers, and prove themselves to be worthy in order to gain respect and acceptance. Even after this they still experienced the odd taunt as they walked along corridors and on the grounds, but not to their faces anymore. They expressed much distress at having to endure such *insults* purely because they looked and sounded different. They also expressed great concern about the degree of abuse ethnic minority children must endure if they, as teachers, have had such bad experiences.

### ***Denial of Racism***

Four teachers of European origin (7%, 5% of total) expressed the opinion that there were very few, if any, racial problems at school, and three (5%, 4% of total) vehemently denied its existence. They suggested that those incidents that were perceived to be racial by the pupils involved, were not really racial, but merely a *clash of individual personalities*. They felt that the pupils concerned thought that it was racial because there were two cultures involved. One senior teacher reported that they had ‘never had any ethnic problems’ in the school, and that the pupils were ‘very integrated’ there, and that you could see how well they mixed when they played sport. The ethnic minority and European teachers who appeared to understand and accept the perceptions of these pupils, suggested that this view was endorsed by many teachers, including deans and counsellors, who communicated this attitude to aggrieved pupils.

### ***‘White Flight’***

One ethnic minority and five European teachers (6-7%) spoke of *racist attitudes* which gave rise to the ‘white flight’ from two schools in particular, to more ‘prestigious’ schools when large numbers of visible ethnic minority pupils entered. Parents in these areas chose to move out rather than have their children mingle with pupils who were different, and supposedly inferior. They felt that this was evident of racist attitudes amongst many New

Zealanders. They told of how about 10 years ago the schools were middle class white and only an odd brown face was seen, then the Polynesians came in, and the role dropped and the schools became known as second class, and their reputations dropped. In one of the schools, the 'poorer whites' sought to move up the social ladder and moved away to other schools that had a higher social standing, and the 'better Polynesians' moved in to what to them was a better school, higher up the social ladder. As more brown faces appeared tensions and conflicts arose between 'white and black', and white faces began to disappear. At around the same time in the early 1990s Asians began to move in, especially fee paying pupils. Then the 'whites' and Polynesians banded together against the Asians. They forgot their black-white differences in the face of this new 'onslaught'. A European male teacher suggested that the arrival of Asians in the school improved its reputation as well as its social climate.

### ***Insulation***

Six European (10%) and most ethnic minority teachers suggested that the *closed-mindedness* of New Zealanders contributed to racist attitudes. They believed that this was a consequence of this small country's isolation from the rest of the world. Because New Zealanders have been insulated so long, they are unaccustomed to dealing with people who are different. Consequently, they are 'intolerant' and discriminatory', and not very good at forming relationships with those who are different, so choose to keep away from them. They spoke of seeing this attitude in all the schools in which they had worked, especially those that were predominantly Polynesian, where there was 'a lot of racism between black and white'. The European teachers stated that attitudes were very bad in the beginning when foreigners first began to come here, but they were becoming less insular now that they were becoming more accustomed to having foreigners around them.

### ***Fear, Suspicion and Insecurity***

All ethnic minority teachers (23-27%) and one European teacher felt that, on account of insulation, New Zealanders feared other people who were different from themselves, and had developed racist attitudes toward them. They were suspicious of them, and felt

*threatened* by these foreigners who ‘invaded’ their space and ‘stole’ their opportunities. Consequently, they felt insecure about sharing their country with them. A Polynesian teacher felt that children at school were afraid of mixing with other groups for these reasons. He believed they needed to be encouraged to join other ethnic groups in their activities in order to dispel fear about people who are different.

### ***Envy and Resentment***

The ethnic minority, as well as eight European teachers (13%), recognised that there was much envy of *Asians* who were smart and often also wealthy, which created resentment amongst many New Zealanders. Consequently, they often discriminated against the Asians, and some resorted to intimidation. A European teacher on duty at the canteen talked about Polynesian pupils, mainly Pacific Islanders, bullying pupils into giving them their money. They apparently worked in groups and went around targeting pupils from whom they thought they could get money. When questioned, they pretended that the pupils were their friends, and when the target pupils were questioned, they just agreed with them probably because they were afraid. These teachers suggested that both staff and pupils with racist attitudes reacted negatively to ethnic minorities in the school for these reasons. They also told of knowing about *racial fights* that occurred outside school for the same reasons.

### ***‘Culture of Aggression’***

Three European male teachers talked about a ‘culture of aggression’ that they believed New Zealand has, which contributes to racist attitudes and non-acceptance of difference. They suggested that this is displayed on the sports field in rugby and the haka. They believed that children emulated this and carried it through to everything they did. This view was endorsed by all the Asian teachers.

### ***The ‘Tall Poppy Syndrome’***

Two European teachers suggested that New Zealand children suffered from the ‘tall poppy syndrome’. New Zealanders apparently did not believe that anybody should be better than

anyone else, so they did not like people who did well. As one of these teachers said, 'In a culture where being average is okay, people who do well and so stand out, are not acceptable'. Consequently, they were afraid to stand out above the rest, but instead wanted to blend in with everyone else. So, when others came in and performed well at school they found that difficult to accept and responded aggressively, which is the natural response of many New Zealanders, given the culture of aggression in which they have been raised. All Asian teachers endorsed this view.

### ***Search for Identity***

A male European teacher suggested that New Zealanders were discriminatory because they were searching for their identity. They are uncertain about who and what they are, so discriminate against those who have secure identities.

### ***Social Status and Power***

Some European teachers (8-13%) believed that *economics* contributed toward intolerance as well. One teacher said that decile 1 schools with affluent children 'breed intolerance and arrogance', and that these children were intolerant of their teachers who were seen to be doing an inferior job. Lower decile schools with children from all kinds of environments were better places to be in, not only for pupils, but for teachers as well.

Some felt that problems over *status* superseded those of ethnicity, and those who perceived themselves as being from a higher socio-economic group bullied those who were perceived as being from a lower socio-economic group. This occurred mainly amongst girls and continued into the senior levels. Another teacher felt that it was about 10% of the school population that did this, but would not say who. He said there were some pupils who were really 'tolerant', but there were also those who were not at all, for this reason. Another European teacher suggested that what occurred at school was not racial bullying, but '*power games*' played between pupils of different status, mainly boys.

### *Lack of Knowledge and Misunderstanding*

All ethnic minority and some European teachers realised that most New Zealanders lacked knowledge about other cultures, and that this created a lot of *misunderstanding* amongst staff and pupils concerning Asian pupils. A European teacher said that she had witnessed misunderstandings between children of different cultures, which were caused by a lack of knowledge. For example, non-Asians believed that they were being spoken about when they heard children talk in their own languages, and this created a lot of *animosity*. Ethnic minority teachers therefore encouraged Asian children to speak in English in order to avoid misunderstandings. This misunderstanding was confirmed by a European teacher who reported finding one of her classes that was predominantly Chinese, exasperating because the pupils had poor English skills and giggled constantly. She said she found that disconcerting as she did not know why they were doing it, because they spoke in Chinese all the time.

Three European teachers suggested that *clashes* occurred usually because the *value systems* of the different ethnic groups are so different and people do not understand them because they know nothing about them. One teacher gave an example of an Indian boy who joined a year 13 class. He revered his teachers, and every time they walked into the class he would stand up. The pupils found this to be funny and thought he was stupid and laughed at him. This offended him, so he complained to the dean, and when the others heard of this they became antagonistic and this exacerbated the situation and widened the rift. The teacher suggested that this happened more with Indians of India as they appeared to be less confident, so they became easy targets. He said some children set themselves up to be victims because they lack confidence and ‘walk around with their heads lowered’, so people know that they are afraid and target them. He felt that the Indians from Fiji were ‘not so bad’, and the Indians from South Africa were ‘very confident’, so they were not always easy targets.

All the ethnic minority teachers, especially the Asians, expressed the belief that, because New Zealanders lack knowledge about other cultures, they easily resort to popular

*stereotypes* to provide knowledge about others, which creates further misunderstanding. They believed that pupils judged them according to the *negative stereotypes* that they held about their ethnicities, and therefore behaved negatively toward them. This was illustrated by this experience of a young European teacher who came from a small South Island town which was ‘mono-cultural and mono-religious’. She told of how afraid she was to teach in a South Auckland school because of what she had heard about it. However, she was pleasantly surprised by the pupils whom she found to be ‘warm and friendly’, and by the multicultural environment which she found to be ‘exciting’. She realised that the stereotypes that she had allowed to influence her had generated unwarranted fear in her. She said that as a result of her exposure to various cultures she no longer saw people in terms of skin colour as she did in the beginning, but in terms of culture instead. When she saw a different face she thought of the exciting culture behind it, rather than froze with fear and suspicion as she did in the past. Four other European teachers who had come from regions outside Auckland also expressed these sentiments. One was concerned that New Zealanders ‘use stereotypes too quickly, and throw these around at people’ without thinking about what they are saying.

### ***Home/Adult Influence***

Twenty-three teachers (27%), including six European (10%) and all ethnic minority teachers, expressed the view that *negative attitudes* like prejudice ‘go back a long way’. They suggested that these attitudes start at home and progress through pre-school, primary, intermediate and high school, and by the time these children come to high school, such attitudes are well entrenched and there is not much that can be done about it at school. When they find themselves dealing with large groups of different cultures, and not the small ones they experienced previously, they cannot deal with it, so they react negatively to them. Some teachers felt that pupils often did not think about what they were saying when being racist, but that they were merely *following examples* set by stereotypes and by their significant adults.

A discussion amongst school cleaners over morning tea reflected negative home attitudes that are imparted to children. These European and Maori cleaners expressed their annoyance at money being spent on ESOL and one said, 'It makes me so angry when I hear that'. They talked about not being able to get money for things such as help for dyslexic children, and people were having extra money spent on them to learn English. They felt nobody should be allowed into the country if they could not speak English. When they noticed the observer across the room, they changed the topic and then talked about 'white' South Africans and how racist they are. One of them told of his confrontation with one who told him that if that incident had occurred in South Africa, he would have 'taken his gun and shot him'. The New Zealand cleaner thought that such a reaction might sometimes be the only solution.

One teacher suggested that in better parts of Auckland where home environments are better, children have better attitudes and behave better.

### ***Maturity of Pupils***

The general view was that the level of maturity of pupils *determined their attitudes*. One West Asian and six European teachers (7-8%) expressed the opinion that only junior pupils who were 'still immature and [did] not control themselves' had racist attitudes, and that seniors were accepting of all. The more mature the pupils, the more accepting they were, and the less the prejudice and non-acceptance that occurred. A few teachers talked about the intolerance and disruptiveness of juniors that contributes to bullying, and suggested that once they matured into 'sensible adults' they became more co-operative and cohesive and behaved quite differently because they then got over their prejudices.

However, a European teacher told of a 'racist incident' that occurred in a year 12 class between European and Chinese children. Two European boys pulled the chair of a Chinese boy sitting in front of them and he fell to the floor. A Chinese girl sitting behind the European boys, instantly reacted with an expletive and complained that the boys constantly picked on them in some way, and were constantly holding negative conversations about

Chinese, and that she was sick of hearing them denigrate them. The boys denied all of this and said that what they spoke about was their business and private, and she had no right to listen. The teacher said that through all of this the class ‘surprisingly did not bat an eyelid’ and just continued with their work. She said that there used to be a lot of ‘tension and conflict’ in the class at first, but as the pupils from the majority cultures got accustomed to having foreign children around them, the tension decreased.

Some teachers also believed that non-acceptance occurred to a greater extent in lower ability classes where the dynamics were quite different and name-calling and put-downs were the order of the day.

### ***Pupil Values***

Most teachers agreed that pupil values *determined their attitudes*, not only toward school work, but also toward people, and that those with good values naturally had better attitudes and behaved better.

A European teacher compared the values of the different ethnic groups generally, and felt that the *Indian and Chinese* children have good values and work hard, the East Europeans like the Bosnians also have such values, the *New Zealanders* have average aspirations, but the *Polynesians*, unfortunately, ‘seem to have none’. He said he was tired of trying to inculcate some in them and to get them to understand that they were responsible for their own destinies. He wondered whether it was just attitude, or more than that, and suggested that it may be *genetic* as well. They apparently focussed on being macho and displaying ethnic pride rather than work, and carried these attitudes onto the playgrounds where they displayed a lot of intolerance toward others, particularly Indian and Chinese children. Because they are intimidated by them, these children keep to themselves.

Three European teachers (5%) suggested that the school was unsafe because of the presence of ethnic minorities, particularly *Polynesians* who are the perpetrators of problems of theft and bullying, and that racial problems only started when they arrived at the school.

These three teachers also suggested that because of the school system in which pupil promotions are social rather than academic, as well as the tall poppy syndrome, the focus here was on the wrong things. Because they were allowed to move on in the system irrespective of their performance, pupils were too laid back and did not perform at school. This led to *disciplinary problems* and bad attitudes, not only toward school work, but toward their peers as well.

A Maori teacher displayed concern about *Maori* children and their loss of values and language. She said they had *no discipline and respect* for elders, peers or anyone else, and had no motivation to achieve, unlike Maori away from the city. They had no goals and their families did not encourage any. They apparently kept to themselves and did not mix with others because they lacked self-esteem and self-confidence. They knew that their performance was lower than others and so felt *inferior* to them, therefore kept away. She suggested they were aware of this yet would not do anything to improve the situation and to uplift themselves as their home backgrounds were often not conducive to this. She had been into their homes and found that there was no caring and respect there, so they did not know how to do that themselves. Consequently, they had bad attitudes toward others, which resulted in bullying and name calling and such like on the grounds. She said she had witnessed this herself.

Many European teachers in one of the schools where the dominant group was European, followed by Indians ‘who have a very *good work ethic*’, said they found it a pleasure to teach there because some of the old values still existed there. Pupils still had manners and they knew how far they could go.

### ***Religion***

Some ethnic minority teachers felt that religion has a *positive influence on behaviour*, and that pupils who had a religious background generally behaved better and treated others better. A Chinese teacher compared her school with the Christian ethos of some private schools which made pupils more respectful and better behaved. Asian teachers, particularly

West Asians, talked about the positive influence of their religions on the attitudes and behaviour of Asian children, which they felt was evident in the classroom and appreciated by non-Asian teachers.

### ***Teacher Attitudes and Modelling***

Fifteen European, one Pacific Island and four West Asian teachers (20-24%) were of the opinion that the extent of social acceptance in a school depends on the staff and their attitudes as they are role models for their pupils who emulate them. They suggested that it was not only pupils, but also teachers who had *racist attitudes* toward foreign children, and that the staff and their attitudes had a lot to do with what happened amongst the pupils. As one teacher said, teachers were often ‘the barriers when things did not work well, and they [were] the catalysts when things worked well’. Some teachers’ attitudes were negative, while others were *role models for acceptance* and encouraged and promoted respect of all cultures. They suggested that teachers were generally too busy coping with their workload and discipline to notice what went on amongst pupils. There was apparently much going on in the school that teachers did not understand, particularly cultural issues, which added to the complexity of pupil problems. However, there were also some teachers who were respectful and caring, and spent a lot of time with the children, who in turn did the same with each other, creating a positive social climate within the school generally.

A young, female European teacher found the staff in her school to be boring, and did not find the staff room interesting because there was ‘a lot of politics’ going on, and there were lots of ‘mumbles’ in the staff room. She said the staff appeared to be unhappy and some teachers ‘winge’ about everything that is different, and about the changes that are taking place in pupils and workload. She said that the younger teachers felt that these people needed ‘to accept change and get on with life’. She suggested their bad attitudes filter through to the kids who ‘mirror’ their behaviour. Some younger teachers did not participate in social events at school because of this. On the other hand, there were four who found it a lot easier and nicer to work in because of the multicultural nature of the population. They found ‘white’ schools to be ‘arrogant and snobbish’ and the children in

their schools to be 'humble and friendly' and 'much more respectful' and appreciative. Their parents were also supportive and not condescending as in other schools.

All ethnic minority teachers intimated that 'all is not well in the staff room' and that this impacts on relationships amongst the pupils. Some teachers had negative attitudes toward ethnic minority children and pupils picked up on this as they were perceptive. Their attitudes toward others were adversely influenced by teacher attitudes, and they carried this to the grounds where it was seen in their relationships with other children. These were the repercussions of teacher attitudes which, in their opinion, definitely *affected the dynamics* within the school. They suggested that happy teachers with positive attitudes passed this onto their pupils and this influenced pupil relationships.

However, some senior teachers believed that all their teachers were good role models because their schools only employed teachers with positive attitudes who were respectful and caring, so that pupils would have good attitudes to emulate. *Senior management* in all schools generally appeared to believe that most teachers espoused their schools' philosophy on multiculturalism and would not be intolerant themselves or tolerate ethnic conflict of any kind. Some acknowledged that there were teachers who had negative attitudes consequently; they placed new immigrant pupils in classes of teachers whom they knew to be more accepting. They excused this negative behaviour by explaining that teachers were having to cope with the new social environment which was impacting on their teaching. As classes now had a range of language abilities in them, they were having to simplify their teaching and language to cater for everyone. In the past they could move along freely, but now they were having to slow down and find other ways of extending those with better language skills. This was making life more difficult for them. However, they felt that since that was the way things were going to be from now on, they had to accept them.

### ***Discipline and School Support***

Seven European, three Maori and all Asian teachers (26-31%) felt that discipline was *lacking* at their schools, and that this contributed to the high levels of non-acceptance, and

encouraged pupils to behave negatively toward others. Some felt that the dress code also had an effect on discipline. They were of the opinion that untidiness and 'mufti' influenced the behaviour of children negatively, and also affected the whole atmosphere in the school. They believed that when children presented themselves badly and inappropriately, they were *disrespectful* of everything in response to the disrespectful way in which they were treating themselves. This view was supported by two groups of cleaners who were overheard talking about the lack of discipline and too much leniency around schools, which they suggested, encouraged pupils to desecrate school property because there were no consequences for bad behaviour.

Teachers believed that this also encouraged sexist and racist incidents around the school. One example cited was that of two Middle Eastern boys who picked on a European girl who had her midriff and cleavage exposed. To them she 'looked like a slut', so that was what they called her. This European teacher said this would not happen if pupils were appropriately dressed. Some teachers felt that the lack of pupil responsibility in many schools leads to lack of discipline, which leads to lack of respect. A consequence of this is social non-acceptance and tension at schools.

Teachers were of the opinion that these conditions also contributed to the *gang and drug problems* at schools. Gangs and outsiders were able to come in freely as they were not recognisable; therefore there was a tendency for gang related events to occur now and then. Five teachers (5-6%) reported having seen or heard of fights at school. One witnessed a boy threatening someone with a knife the week before, but did not know what it was all about, and did not divulge to what ethnic group the pupils belonged.

A European female teacher talked about the importance of order in children's lives, as order influences discipline, attitudes and behaviour. She believed that children want and need *order* and tidiness in their lives and want to be told what to do, and do not like chaos, contrary to popular belief. However, a large group of teachers (59-69%) felt that there was no problem with discipline, which they believed to be generally good because of the tough policies of their schools.

Two West Asian, one East Asian, two Polynesian and five European teachers (10-12%) intimated that their schools did not offer teachers enough *support* with problem pupils, which exacerbated the situation. Detention did not always serve its purpose as teachers were not always on time when on duty there, and there was a lot of *inconsistency* in the way teachers handled offences. Some teachers ignored offences completely, and others did not follow up 'threats'. Consequently, pupils knew that they could get away with things as they would not always go to the highest level or follow the course they should.

### ***Sport***

One Chinese, one Polynesian and six European teachers (8-9%) expressed the opinion that *sport brought children together*. They had observed that those who played sport mixed better and made friends despite their poor English. A European teacher said that many teachers were of the opinion that sport is a leveller as it makes everyone equal on the sports field where skills are more important than other traits. Consequently, it brings people together. He spoke about Burmese and Kosovar soccer teams that he managed. Initially, they would not talk to each other, but once they saw each other's skills on the field, they began to compliment each other's playing and then began to talk.

However, this view was not supported by all teachers. One felt that even though sport is supposed to bring children together, he found that all the soccer teams in his school were *segregated* and all ethnic groups had their own teams, including East Europeans. Whilst this was nice because it created good competition, it also kept children within their own groups. Another found it difficult to get pupils to form mixed teams because they chose to remain within friendship groups, which were always cultural groups, rather than form teams based on skills. This was because they wished to be with people with whom they could communicate and with whom they felt comfortable. Whilst in the past when there were fewer ethnic minorities, teams were mixed, now that there are larger numbers, Indian pupils are seen playing soccer on their own, and Pacific Islanders rugby, Indian and European girls play hockey separately, etc. Now it is mainly formal school teams that are selected by teachers that are more mixed.

### ***Language Barriers***

Asian teachers and one European teacher understood that it was often language barriers that forced children to keep to their own ethnic groups. Those who did not speak English well or who sounded different were not easily accepted. Consequently, they were forced to associate only with children from their own ethnic groups, but once they learned the language they began to ‘unfold’ and mix more because they then felt less afraid and uncertain.

### ***School Ethos***

Generally, teachers suggested that the school ethos contributes to the social climate within schools. They were of the opinion that the ethos in their schools was *positive* and had a positive influence on social climate and ethnic relations. Their schools promoted multiculturalism and pride in each culture, fostered social acceptance and respect of all peoples and cultures, and celebrated diversity. They believed that the management staff set an example to staff and pupils by accepting, respecting and celebrating all cultures.

Principals were seen to *promote acceptance* and constantly reinforced this concept amongst staff and pupils. They said that pupil well-being was important in their school, and every child was made to feel valued. Pupils had a high profile at assemblies which were often run by them. Because the schools offered a supportive, caring and safe environment, both staff and pupils generally felt comfortable and happy, therefore accepted each other more, consequently, there were fewer conflicts than in other schools. The staff generally offered pupils a lot of pastoral care. A large number of the children were Polynesian from poorer areas who had unstable home environments, and the school offered them a safe place to be in.

Because the schools fostered cultural ‘tolerance’, pupils and teachers knew they had to be accepting and therefore did the right thing at school even though they might have behaved differently outside school. Because of the *zero tolerance policy* of these schools, pupils knew how far they could go, and were quick to apologise if they misbehaved, because they

knew they would be taken care of ‘very smartly’. Some teachers of European origin believed that because of the culture of their schools, there was little, if any, racial problems at the schools. As one counsellor pointed out, they were also fully aware of the *legal implications* to them of such problems, so they were careful about such issues. However, ethnic minority teachers felt there was a lot of racism which was usually covert, and suggested that because their schools were now beginning to acknowledge that there was a racial problem and were dealing with it, social acceptance was improving.

One school based its democratic style of management on its *philosophy of freedom* with responsibility, and provided its staff with facilities that would encourage a better state of mind amongst teachers, which would consequently influence better attitudes and relationships in the school. One European, four West Asian, one East Asian and two Maori teachers (9.4%) of this school viewed the freedom granted to everyone and the casual atmosphere at the school as detrimental to attitudes of pupils. They felt that this focus on the freedom aspect of its philosophy had neglected the responsibility aspect. Consequently, there were no academic standards, and teachers did not drive pupils to perform to their best ability. There appeared to be no motivation and both staff and pupils did the barest minimum. Pupils appeared to be getting the message that that was okay as they were not always reprimanded by their teachers for poor performance.

Twelve European (19.4%) and most ethnic minority teachers thought that, although their schools tried to encourage acceptance of difference, there were still pupils who ‘walk around with their noses up and will not mix’.

**Question 3: Is there any way in which the social climate in this school can be improved?**

#### ***Education for a Multi-Ethnic Society***

One Polynesian (14%), two West Asian (20%) and three European (5%) teachers (6-7% of total) felt that it was the school’s responsibility to educate children formally and make them

aware of the different ethnic groups and cultures. These and all other ethnic minority teachers felt that because the New Zealand society lacked knowledge about the different ethnic groups that make up our society, they made too many assumptions about people and allowed themselves to be guided by popular stereotypes, which are usually negative and lead to misunderstanding. They felt there was not enough cultural awareness amongst pupils, and that children needed to know about others and how they viewed things so they would understand and know how to respond. They believed that if cultural issues were demystified in some way, there would be more understanding and less suspicion amongst pupils. They expressed the view that now that the New Zealand society has become multicultural, all people must learn to adapt to and accept each other. They suggested that it is the responsibility of the school to teach children this as most will not learn it at home, as many parents do not know any better.

These teachers expressed the belief that to encourage cohesion and togetherness, schools needed to provide more opportunities for children to work together and pupils needed to be brought together more in assemblies, despite the administrative problems and other difficulties that this could create. Just celebrating festivals and holding cultural concerts, which was mostly done by the pupils themselves, was not enough, as peoples and cultures are complex and need to be studied in more detail. Teachers needed to be more co-operative about this and needed to do their part in educating pupils about these issues.

This view was not espoused by the majority of European teachers some of whom expressed the view that teachers were too busy to be overburdened with cultural issues. Three European teachers openly displayed a negative attitude toward ethnic minorities and multiculturalism, and complained about the school being difficult to work in because of their presence. They intimated that all 'white' schools were 'easy' to teach in. They complained about the *extra demands* that *multiculturalism* placed on them because they themselves had to adapt to the children, and they also had to adapt their curricula, teaching methods and language to suit the different groups. They were *unhappy* about their schools becoming so multicultural and losing its 'middle class white status'.

### ***Understanding of Immigrant Problems***

It was only the Asian teachers, and the five European teachers, and one Maori teacher (22-26%) who had lived and worked abroad who displayed any understanding of immigrant pupils' problems at school. They realised that there is a lack of understanding of these problems amongst the majority of people, not only teachers, and suggested that people need to be educated about these issues in order to increase understanding and empathy, which would improve interethnic relations and the social climate in schools and elsewhere. Their knowledge gained from their experiences in foreign countries or as immigrants themselves enabled them to empathise with these pupils. One teacher was able to empathise with immigrants as she herself was an immigrant to New Zealand. Despite being of European origin, she had experienced many problems adjusting, which enabled her to understand how much more difficult it must be for immigrants of other ethnicities to adapt to the New Zealand lifestyle. Another had worked in Japan and talked about how she had clung to people like herself to whom she could relate. Surprisingly, although there were English speaking Americans there, she found herself mixing with Europeans who spoke another language because she found she had more in common with them culturally than she had with the Americans. She could therefore relate to children staying in their own groups and wanting to be with people with whom they felt comfortable.

A European American teacher who had previously taught in a predominantly Polynesian school with a predominantly Polynesian staff, and who felt discriminated against there, was able to empathise with ethnic minorities in a predominantly European environment. She understood what racism and its physical and mental consequences felt like, as she was always depressed while there.

### ***Multi-Ethnic Staff***

Three European and all ethnic minority teachers (26-31%) perceived the presence of teachers from other cultures as a positive aspect of their schools. They asserted that more ethnic minority teachers on the staff would reinforce the idea of multiculturalism, equality

and acceptance of all cultures and ethnicities, and encourage pupils to be more accepting. Ethnic minority teachers believed that they served as role models for ethnic minority pupils, and that their presence offered much moral support and a sense of pride and confidence to them. A Pacific Island teacher in one school felt that the school needed to cater more for its Pacific Island community by employing a male Pacific Island teacher to serve as a role model for the Pacific Island boys at the school.

**Question 4: How do you feel about the ethnic diversity of your school population?**

**Do you see it as advantageous or disadvantageous?**

**In what way?**

***Multiculturalism***

Just over half the teachers interviewed (45-53%), felt good about the ethnic diversity of their schools, and were of the opinion that the multicultural nature of their school populations *contributed to better social relations* within their schools, compared to other schools. They were 32 European (49%), three Polynesian (43%) and ten West Asian (100%) teachers. They were of the opinion that multiculturalism had a positive effect on the social climate generally, and on the staff and pupils and placed everyone on an equal footing because, as no one group was visibly in the majority, nobody could perceive themselves as superior to the others. Multiculturalism had exposed them to the various cultures and created awareness and taught pupils and staff to be more 'tolerant' of the different cultures. They suggested that, as a consequence of this, in recent years racism was not so evident.

These teachers believed that pupils were generally much happier in their schools than in others. Some were amazed at how 'remarkably well' the pupils of their schools accepted others. A European teacher said that he believed that no school should be monocultural as it 'breeds intolerance and arrogance' as happens in many of our schools. Another said the school looked 'brown' to her, which she thought was wonderful because it was teaching pupils about different cultures and to accept each other. She felt they need this because this

is what Auckland is about – it is no longer ‘Pakeha’. Teachers believed that in schools where there was an imbalance in the racial composition, there was more tension. Examples cited were Auckland schools where there were more of one ethnic group, such as Polynesians and Arabs, or Europeans or Chinese, where there was much more conflict amongst different cultures who kept to themselves, spoke their own language and did not mix. This created a ‘them and us’ mindset, and perpetuated separateness, rather than encouraged togetherness. Teachers felt that their schools had a more-or-less even spread of cultures, which made pupils aware of everyone.

They believed that their schools were a *reflection of society* and gave children an opportunity to learn to live with different types of people. Teachers wondered how children would learn when they got out into the ‘real world’, if they did not learn to do that at this level. Some also felt that the immigrant children were a *good influence* on the local children who have been too laid back for too long. The high-achieving Asian children around them have made them reconsider their position. Refugee children from Kosovo and Burma and such places who have been through such hardship and can yet settle down and do so well at school, are an excellent example to the local children. A European teacher who also taught evening adult classes talked about the excellent attitude of immigrant adults who were so well-mannered and appreciative, and a good example to locals.

However, two European and three West Asian teachers (5-6%) felt that the presence of so many cultures in one place also created ‘*undercurrents*’, and that both good and bad came from it. While it taught people about the cultures, it also created tensions. These schools had quite suddenly changed from almost monocultural (European) to multicultural in the last decade, consequently, pupils were faced with an unfamiliar situation, and they were having to cope with this. They suggested that not all children, and even adults, were coping successfully. This was confirmed by the complaints of three European and two Maori teachers (5-6%), one of whom said that it was not only difficult for her to teach, but also for European children to learn. She felt too much time was wasted on trying to get ‘the others’ to work which could be used to teach those who wanted to learn. One of the counsellors said she had to find new ways of dealing with situations, learn about the different cultures and their ways, deal with the language problems and find interpreters for parents, which

complicated her life further. Even the nurse needed to find different ways of dealing with illness. A European teacher found it difficult to communicate with pupils and parents from ethnic minority cultures because of cultural differences.

Another European teacher discussed her *personal problems* that had arisen from this new situation. She said that whilst cultural diversity sounded good and could have advantages, it had created a major problem for her and her family. They had never been a 'racist' family, but now, since the influx of immigrants, especially Chinese, her children had become increasingly 'racist'. Their friends felt the same way, and sometimes she herself could not help but feel the same way too. The reason she offered for this was that in the past 'Kiwis' felt they were achieving well, then 'suddenly these immigrants came in and they just overtook them'. What they thought were high standards comparatively became low because the immigrants were doing so much better. And 'to add insult to injury', they began taking all the prizes at school and 'Kiwi' children were left with nothing or just the 'left-overs'. Try as hard as they might, 'Kiwi' children did not seem to be able to overtake them. She said that the Asians also added competition to the equation, something to which 'Kiwi' children were not accustomed. They were not supposed to stand out above the others, but were expected to remain equal to everyone else. Now they suddenly had to compete if they wanted to do well, which made her children very angry. They began to hate the people who came in and upset their 'comfort zone'.

She felt that this might be affecting her children's behaviour as well because they were frustrated at school. They had become much more difficult to manage, and they no longer felt as good as they used to about themselves. She had always tried to be liberal with her children and allowed them freedom of expression, but now this seemed to be turning against her as she had lost control of them. She felt that this was having a strong impact on New Zealanders because they had been isolated for so long from the rest of the world, and just did not know what was going on elsewhere. They thought their standards were the best, but now that they have had the rest of the world brought to them, they realise that they were not what they thought they were. This had discouraged many of them who were even dropping out of school because they felt that they could not compete with the others, and

that getting educated was not going to get them anywhere. They felt that they were not going to make the grade, and they were not going to get jobs because the immigrants would get preference. She said she knew of many teachers who had negative attitudes toward foreign children, and were unhappy about the school becoming so multicultural and having lost its 'middle class white status'.

### ***Inability to Empathise***

Ethnic minority teachers believed that many European teachers who were unable to deal with diversity positively, were also unable to empathise with children from non-European cultures. This apparent inability was demonstrated by three European teachers. One male teacher talked emotionally about East European children from war torn countries who had endured so much hardship, and related how he cried when he read an essay of one of these children. He then continued to talk about Asian children without any apparent empathy, and without appearing to remember that many of them came from similar circumstances. His focus was instead on how 'severely strained' teachers were with having to 'learn and adapt constantly' to teach them. He was annoyed at upper management's attitude of 'climb every mountain and sing', saying that it was not like that in reality.

Another said that the changes that had occurred in the school were sometimes good and sometimes bad. Whilst it was good to have so many different cultures around, it was also bad because these people brought their problems with them. He said that having too many cultures in the school made it difficult to give children the kind of care that they used to get. However, he could not pinpoint what that was. Another female teacher said she was concerned about one of her classes in which there were only two European children, and tried to have the dean move them to another class. She was able to empathise with these children whom she felt were unhappy and withdrawn and could not learn in such an environment, but appeared to have no such understanding of or concern for ethnic minority children in such a situation.

### ***Egalitarianism***

Almost all European, Asian and Polynesian teachers, including counsellors, appeared to espouse the notion that there is no difference amongst people, and that *we are all the same*, so should be treated in the same way. Of these, three European and two Maori teachers (5-6%) expressed strong feelings about this and said they considered all pupils as equal, and saw no difference in them when they looked at them, therefore treated them all equally. They believed that nobody should be treated differently just because they looked different. They treated pupils as individuals, and did not 'allow culture to get in the way'. A particularly negative European male said he did not let ethnic diversity 'bother him' anymore, and dealt with everyone 'equally', and did not allow cultural differences to influence him as 'one Chinese shit is the same as one Maori shit'.

### ***Language Issues***

Teachers' views on language issues differed. Ethnic minority teachers felt that language was an important part of culture; therefore the *vernacular* should be encouraged at school. They suggested that the languages of all minority groups in a school should be included in the curriculum. On the other hand, a European male teacher presented the view that those who could not speak English were *cognitively deficient*. He suggested that the reading and writing level of pupils reflects their ability to think, and that if children could not read and write in English, they could not think in an 'adult way'.

Three European, the four Maori and the ten West Asian teachers (17-20%) expressed an appreciation of the need to *pronounce foreign names correctly*. The European teachers acknowledged that the older generation, like their parents, continued to mispronounce names, particularly Maori names, because 'that was the way they learnt them and always said them'. However, they agreed that it was now time to correct this. Some ethnic minority teachers felt that not all teachers made an effort to pronounce foreign names, which were an integral part of identities, correctly. They perceived this as a sign of disrespect of these cultures and peoples. A European teacher felt that, because names are a part of their identity, Chinese pupils in particular should not adopt English names for the

convenience of others, but should retain their ethnic names. However, some Chinese teachers did not consider this to be important, and did not mind having to change their names for convenience and acceptance.

Several non-Asian teachers appeared *confused* about when the terms 'Asian' and 'Chinese' should be used, as it is customary for New Zealanders to refer only to those of Chinese origin as Asian, and not to include those of Indian origin in this broad category, even though they are also Asian. Teachers were also confused about who actually is called 'Indian' and 'Chinese'. They did not know whether 'Indian' referred to just the people from India, or whether it included the ethnically Indian Indo-Fijians and Indo-South Africans. They were also confused about whether the Chinese were only those from China or included any others from other countries who are ethnically Chinese. It was apparent that these simple terms (as unimportant as they may seem) need clarification, now that these ethnic groups form a significant part of the New Zealand population. Such information would provide knowledge and enable correct identification of people, and avoid having simple uncertainties generate or exacerbate negative attitudes.

### ***Other Information Provided by Teachers***

#### *Other Schools*

Almost all teachers talked about their experiences at other schools and compared them with their experiences at their current schools. Twenty other schools were incidentally discussed by teachers, which inadvertently provided insight into the *social climate* and other occurrences at a range of schools around the country. Schools which were predominantly monocultural, either European or Polynesian, were reported as being most unaccepting. 'White' schools were reported to be 'cold' with 'no cohesion', and communication in some of those schools was supposedly lacking with 'a huge gap between the principal and the staff and the students', and staff at these schools reportedly appeared to be 'unhappy'. Schools that were predominantly Polynesian were reported to have 'lots of fighting and very little work', with pupils being 'rough and unmotivated and hard to manage'. Boys' schools were reported to have 'much racism which is exacerbated by the fact that they're

all boys'. Pupils at schools in affluent areas were reported to be 'arrogant and very ill-mannered'. Schools that were multicultural were reported to be 'much nicer' because of the greater cultural diversity. Respondents believed that other schools had a much bigger 'racism' problem than they had, and regarded themselves to be fortunate to be where they were.

### *Comparisons with Other Countries and People*

A few teachers compared the social situation here with that in other countries with which they were familiar. They found attitudes here to be comparatively good, and expressed the fear that New Zealand could soon become as bad as some other countries if we did not intervene quickly. A European male teacher, who spends a part of each year in Britain, compared attitudes here with those there. He found attitudes there to be 'shocking', and racial incidents there to be 'far from isolated', but commonplace. He felt, comparatively, attitudes in New Zealand were good, and pupils at his school were learning to mix well because of the cultural mix. He was of the opinion that in *Britain* the 'whites' were 'frightfully intimidating toward the non-whites', and they needed to learn to live together harmoniously and recognise and respect the cultures of others. His school provided an environment which encouraged that, however, he hoped that attitudes would not be tainted by 'some immigrants' who were 'importing negative attitudes'. He felt that people need to know what others experience elsewhere in the world so that they understand and appreciate others, and also what they have here, and maintain positive attitudes. He suggested that pupils should be taught this in 'life-skills courses or some such thing'.

A Maori teacher who had travelled a lot said she found *New Zealand* to be such a 'boring' place as it lacked cultural diversity. She felt that it needed immigrants to bring 'vitality' to the place. She appreciated diversity because she had been exposed to it overseas. Immigrant children from other cultures were 'well-mannered and well-behaved', which unfortunately worked against them here because 'Kiwis' are the opposite, and they see good behaviour as a 'weakness' of some sort. She told of ethnic minority children who had been taunted for this reason, and who had now learnt to retaliate instead of getting upset.

She also had Sri Lankan friends who were ‘model people’, and she had seen the lady get abused purely because of the colour of her skin. This annoyed and embarrassed her because she knew the lady to be smart and highly educated, and that she should not have been treated that way. She was amazed that the lady just ignored it and did not get annoyed about it, because if she were in that situation she would have been extremely angry and would have reacted. She suggested that New Zealanders have been too closed for too long, and now need to open up and learn to accept everyone and appreciate their value. She said we could not let this place become like South Africa and Britain with all its racism.

### **9.1.3 ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS TO GUIDANCE COUNSELLORS AND MEDIATORS**

The counsellors and pupil mediators of each school were asked three additional questions to those asked to teachers, which were specific to their roles in the schools. They were: (1) What are the main reasons for pupil visits to you? (2) Have pupils ever complained about ethnic intimidation of any kind? (3) Have you ever recognised ethnic undertones to problems of a general nature presented? If so, how often does this happen, and how have you dealt with it?

#### **Question 1: What are the main reasons for pupil visits to you?**

Counsellors and pupil mediators in one school reported that they were consulted mainly because of relationship issues. They were visited more frequently by the juniors who appeared to experience these problems the most. It was suggested that most of the issues of ethnic conflict brought to them concerned ethnic minorities themselves and did not involve others. They involved conflict ethnic minority pupils were having with their parents about adapting to the new environment, and conflict parents were experiencing about what they should allow because they were concerned about loss of cultural values now that their children were in a new culture with ‘Kiwi’ friends.

**Question 2: Have pupils ever complained about ethnic intimidation of any kind?**

Initially, all three counsellors said that they had very few, if any, ethnic problems brought to them, and that these were encountered ‘very rarely’. However, it was evident, as they discussed their schools, that there was more ethnic intimidation than they realised.

The counsellor at the school with the pupil mediation team said that they did have some pupils come to them about ‘ethnic issues’, but they were in the minority as these were usually dealt with by the mediation team. The other two counsellors did not say directly that pupils had complained about ethnic intimidation, however, they did talk about ‘problems and conflicts in classes’, about those who were less accepting of differences, and about children who were not accepted. One told of an Indian boy who recently came from India, and who was not accepted by his predominantly Polynesian class who called him names and bullied him. When the boy sought help, he was spoken to about his behaviour and about taking responsibility for his own actions. One also talked about children retaliating and not working well because of intimidation. They also said that there was definitely a ‘put-down culture’ amongst pupils who were constantly putting each other down, particularly those who were different, by name-calling and mocking. This sometimes led to physical violence, but comparatively, not too much of this was ethnic. They said ethnic confrontation mostly involved name-calling, racial slurs and put-downs, and that this was endemic in most schools, which could be interpreted as there being lots of ethnic confrontation.

**Question 3: Have you ever recognised ethnic undertones to problems of a general nature presented?**

**If so, how often does this happen?**

**How have you dealt with it?**

Two of the counsellors said they did not recognise underlying ethnic reasons for bullying, and one said that problems did not ‘really’ have ethnic undertones. This counsellor realised that sometimes problems of relationships that were brought to them had underlying ethnic

issues, but said they usually did not delve into it for ‘various reasons, mainly time’. She also realised that ethnic reasons were often the cause when pupils complained of name-calling.

Of the nine mediators interviewed in a group, seven said that they had not dealt with any incidents of harassment that were related to culture or ethnicity. A European girl was surprised at their response and disagreed, saying that ‘the bullying and the fights’ were usually ‘cultural’, and that they were often physical with one cultural group against another. She did not get any support from the others who appeared to look at her disapprovingly, after which she said nothing more. The others explained that they saw people as individuals and not as belonging to a particular cultural group, and that they did not allow culture to play a part in their judgement. The Indian girl who was the only ethnic minority in the group, made no contribution to the discussion. However, her body language and her approving glance at the girl who spoke up suggested that there was more to what was being said. When invited to continue the discussion the next day due to time constraints on that day, nobody turned up.

#### **9.1.4 PRINCIPALS’ COMMENTS**

Principals were asked the following three main questions: (1) What are your perceptions of social acceptance within your school? (2) What is it about your school that creates the kind of social climate that you have? (3) Is there anything that you could or would like to do to improve the social environment of your school for both staff and pupils?

Their responses to these questions follow:

##### **Question 1: What are your perceptions of social acceptance within your school?**

All three principals perceived their schools as having a positive social climate, and their staff and pupils as happy. They thought the philosophy of their schools had an influence on everything that went on there. They suggested the leadership was important because it set the tone. They spoke about the dramatic change, in the last few years, in their school

populations which had experienced a growth of ethnic minority pupils, with an increase in Indian and Chinese pupils in particular. They perceived the change as an advantage to the school as it had a large, positive impact on relationships amongst pupils.

They acknowledged that there were problems of bullying, but intimated that these were mainly to do with usual relationship issues, and not much with different ethnic groups. They were aware that they did have some problems now and then which were mainly about taunting. None of the principals talked about the existence of racism in their schools. They compared their schools with others they had been to and heard about, and found theirs to be by far a more positive environment where stand-downs and suspension rates were comparatively low. They felt that this was so because their pupils were generally well-behaved and orderly both in and outside classrooms. They believed their sports teams were very mixed, and that this was a good reflection of the positive environment.

**Question 2: What is it about your school that creates the kind of social climate that you have?**

Principals suggested that the devolution of power in their schools had contributed to the atmosphere of warmth and acceptance amongst staff as well as pupils, as there was less stress at the top, which filtered through to the bottom. Two principals in particular spoke of being inclusive with management and allowing all teachers to contribute and share responsibilities. They felt empowered by the democratic open door system, although they were aware that some teachers felt that the door was too open or, in the one case, not as open as it should be. Teachers in two schools were given full responsibility and autonomy for their activities, and they supported them. Conflicts sometimes occurred amongst staff, as was witnessed during observations at one school, but this could not always be avoided. When this occurred, they tried to diffuse things without too much incident.

They attempted to improve the social climate by constantly preaching acceptance of all, and endeavoured to create the right environment by modelling with the hope that the staff and pupils would follow. They disclosed that it was not one big thing that they did that

influenced the social climate, but many little things which were incremental. They focussed on the small things which usually tend to be overlooked, like following up suspensions to ensure that pupils are rehabilitated, checking on uniforms and punctuality etc. which they felt was important as it contributed to the tone. Assemblies were kept positive as it was a time to reinforce the cultural identity of the school and promote correct values, and pupils were made aware of expectations. The school environments were also being improved, which would have a positive impact on the children. One principal stated he encouraged his staff to study further and improve themselves because he believed that this would have a spin-off on the school. Informed teachers would provide better education and a better service to all pupils. Announcements of this nature were noted during staff briefs while observing at the school.

All principals welcomed multiculturalism as they believed it enhanced their schools; however, it had brought with it its own social and academic demands. It had increased the need for pastoral care and required the staff to be culturally sensitive and aware so that the different cultures could be appropriately catered for. Teachers have to be made aware of these things too, especially new ones. They expressed the view that multiculturalism has its advantages as it provides the opportunity for their children to live with all ethnicities and get to know them, which other schools in their areas did not offer. They saw their schools as a reflection of the city and the world.

Generally, they did not think the staff minded the extra demands that ethnic diversity brought, but believed it energised them, as it did them. They knew pupils had 'issues' and that there were barriers, especially language ones with the Chinese, consequently, now that their schools had become 'global' in culture and socio-economic status with the presence of immigrants, they had shifted the focus to social acceptance of the different types of pupils in the school population. This was proving to be successful because of the leadership and the structures put in place, i.e. counselling, deans, anti-harassment teams, etc. The philosophy of social acceptance, pastoral care and raising self-esteem and confidence permeated the whole school.

They felt vertical form classes encouraged positive interaction as they were like a family unit. One principal felt that the hierarchical system is an ‘Anglo-Saxon colonial system’ which no longer applies in our social environment. They had meetings with senior pupils to get feedback – both positive and negative - from them, and felt this was a very positive measure. To improve the school spirit they held international days and other cultural functions which are good for raising awareness and appreciation of cultures.

**Question 3: Is there anything that you could or would like to do to improve the social environment of your school for both staff and pupils?**

All three principals divulged that they realised that their schools were not perfect. They knew that there were some teachers on their staff who did not share their philosophy and attitudes, and that this did rub off onto some of the children they taught. However, things were much better than in other schools. There was some discontent sometimes amongst teachers who complained about the changing clientele, but they were trying to encourage them to focus on the positive instead. There were also some children who were not as accepting of others as they would like them to be, however, they felt that there was not much that they could do about that. Principals complained of teachers wanting to cling to the old ways of doing things. Many members had been in their schools for long periods, and it was difficult to get them to change old ways and to introduce new ones to them.

Two principals expressed concern about their dropping academic standards and discipline which was resulting in dropping rolls. In one school, some parents were removing their children because of displeasure with discipline, and others because of dropping academic standards which they attributed to the focus on social issues and adaptation. They suggested that with the influx of different SES pupils academic standards had dropped, and teachers appeared to be focussing on raising these and were perhaps neglecting raising or maintaining overall standards. All principals expressed the desire to see both academic and social aspects at a high standard, and were concerned about how to balance the academic and the social.

Principals expressed the desire to achieve more cohesion amongst staff (both management teams and teachers) that may need more training to deal with 'issues'. Sharing of ideas would provide more assistance and support amongst staff and eliminate resistance to additional work created by the changing school population.

A problem encountered by all three principals was that parents were becoming increasingly difficult to manage as they now support and defend their children, rather than support the school in its efforts to effect positive change. However, there were some very supportive parents, which helped.

#### **9.1.5 TEACHER PERCEPTIONS OF POSITIVE SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS**

Teachers considered the following characteristics to be important for a good school:

The *philosophy* of the school is important as it has an influence on everything that goes on there. Schools that promote multiculturalism and *pride* in each culture, foster *social acceptance* and *recognition* and *respect* of all peoples and cultures, and have an atmosphere of acceptance. There has to be a focus on social acceptance of the different types of pupils in the school population, *pastoral care* and raising self-esteem and confidence of these pupils, as a school that has an atmosphere of family and is nurturing and accepting is a happy school. In order to achieve that, schools need to *acknowledge* that they have a problem of *racism* and then start dealing with it. For this to be successful, there needs to be structures put in place, such as counselling, deans, anti-harassment teams etc. A philosophy of acceptance will then permeate the whole school.

*Leadership* is important because it sets the *tone*. The principal has to be a good leader and very interactive with the staff and pupils. The style has to be *democratic* and include staff in all decision making, which will ensure that they feel happy and appreciated because a positive state of mind in teachers influences positive pupil attitudes. *Respect* has to be a key element in all relationships at school. Management needs to set an example of respect and care. If management respects staff, this will be emulated by staff who will respect pupils, who will in turn respect each other, and the school will have an atmosphere of

inclusion and acceptance, and be a happy place to work and study in. When pupils know that there is respectful interaction and *cohesion* between management, staff and themselves, they continue that culture. Divisions amongst staff will encourage pupils to behave in the same way.

*Discipline* needs to be good, so that pupils know their boundaries and what is expected of them, and do the right thing. However, the staff needs to be authoritative rather than authoritarian, as when teachers are bullies the kids will also bully others. If there is discipline and less stress at the top, that will filter through to the bottom. Staff should be encouraged to improve themselves academically as an *educated staff* will be confident and cope better with challenges, and provide a better service thereby improving the school environment.

The *community* should also be encouraged and invited to *participate* and celebrate their culture at school, and opportunities should be provided for *sharing* of cultures, which will make ethnic minority children feel appreciated, included and accepted.

#### **9.1.6 EXPERIENCES OF FOREIGN TEACHERS**

Eighteen foreign ethnic minority teachers were conversed with. These included two teachers of European origin, South African Indian, Fijian Indian, and Chinese teachers. They spoke of their personal experiences in New Zealand schools, which are illuminating. A summary of their experiences follows:

The *British* female teacher had no unpleasant experiences of racism from pupils or staff. However, she said that she had seen signs of racist attitudes here, and suggested that we need to prevent it from taking hold and becoming like Britain. She felt that the people of Auckland should be more appreciative of their cultural diversity as it has brought them so much variety in things like food etc. She got the feeling that they were not appreciative enough and had too many negative attitudes.

The *Polish* female teacher said she experienced a great deal of racism purely because she sounds different, even though she looks the same as New Zealanders. She reported that this continues to happen, but now she is stronger and fights back. In the beginning she used to be shocked at such attitudes toward a white person. She worked in South Africa, so accepted that this is done to black people, but did not expect to experience it herself. She believed it is as bad here as it is there, but people conceal it well here. They smile at you, but you can read from their body language that they do not like you. 'They're very good at pretending'. Her children had the same experiences at school where 'Kiwi' pupils would not befriend them because they sounded different. Even now at university her son has few friends and they are mostly foreign. She had to do a teaching diploma here as her qualifications were not accepted, and found that to be 'the most humiliating experience of [her] life' because her knowledge and experience were not appreciated here where, she believed, the standards are so much lower than either in Poland or Africa. Pupils would mimic her accent in the beginning and she found this very humiliating. She had observed that there is a tendency amongst New Zealanders to do this to people who are different, and believed that the attitudes of adults are to be seen in the children at school. Because of her experiences she appreciated how much more difficult it would be for people of colour. Even the pupils knew how to pretend about their feelings – she saw that happen all the time. She believed they did this because they were insecure about foreigners coming in and taking their jobs and their space, and they were performing better at schools, so this created a lot of resentment. She was of the opinion that since we cannot change the world and people's attitudes, we must stand up for ourselves and fight back.

A *British Indian* female teacher felt more accepted than other Indian teachers by both staff and pupils because of her 'English' accent and experienced no racism from pupils. However, she had witnessed Asian pupils subjected to ethnic intimidation in her classes.

The *South African Indian* teachers reported experiencing as much racism from their pupils as well as some teachers, as the Polish teacher did. However, due to their distinctively different physical appearance, they were subjected to worse. They found New Zealanders to be judgmental, and to use stereotypes too easily, and European pupils to be arrogant and

ill-mannered toward them, while Polynesians were overtly rude. They were generally abused and made fun of, and pupils were rude and mimicked exaggerated Indian accents when around them, despite the absence of strong accents amongst them. They found that they had to work hard to prove themselves as teachers and be accepted as local pupils apparently assumed that non-European teachers were of a poor standard, and abused them till they proved themselves to be as good as any other. Two teachers who had migrated here in the 1980s told of overt racism from Polynesian pupils. They had both been subjected to expletives from Polynesian pupils, and one was asked which dairy she owned. It was not uncommon to hear racist name-calling which was directed at them as they walked through the school.

The *Fijian Indians* had much the same experiences as the South African Indian teachers, except they were harassed more over their accents which are usually strong. Pupils often mimicked their accents and some even taunted them to their faces and pretended not to be able to understand them. They first believed them, but soon realised that they were just being insolent. This stopped only after they took some form of action against such pupils after which they did it on the grounds and in the corridors when they passed, but not to their faces. One teacher told her pupils that her accent was much easier to follow than the 'Kiwi' accent, and the complaints stopped as this appeared to embarrass them, much to her surprise. A male teacher told of a Polynesian boy who would talk to him in a thick Indian accent and stopped only after he had been given a severe reprimanding and detentions. They were also subjected to racist name-calling, but not to their faces.

The *Chinese* teachers appeared to have equally bad experiences as the Fijian Indian teachers, and were harassed just as much over their accents. Some told of others they knew of who had such a 'horrendous time' being mocked in class that they stopped teaching. They had to work extra hard at proving to pupils that they were good teachers, because, as their English was often poor, they assumed that they were not good teachers. Many felt they were not getting sufficient support from the staff.

Pupils appeared to be more disrespectful to the Fijian Indians and Chinese. All these teachers found pupils to be rude and lacking in respect, and witnessed a lot of 'racism' in their schools with much ethnic intimidation and racist name-calling especially from Polynesians, followed by Europeans. They believed that they did this only because they had negative attitudes toward people of colour, and chose to judge them according to popular negative stereotypes. They found most New Zealand European children to be undisciplined and lacking in work ethic like the Polynesians. They believed that some staff members also did not accept ethnic minority teachers easily. A teacher pointed out to me, as we talked, that we were sitting in a group of only ethnic minority teachers, and that the same thing happened out on the grounds.

These teachers were concerned about how much worse things must be for children, if this was what they as teachers had to endure. They expressed the view that it was time that local teachers and parents were made aware of the attitudes and behaviours of their children toward visible ethnic minority pupils and teachers, and that steps were taken to redress the situation.

### 9.1.7 SUMMARY

Over one quarter of the teacher sample (23-27%), of which all were European, felt that the *social climate* in their schools was *comparatively positive and 'healthy'*. Nearly half of the teachers (41-48%), including all ethnic minority and 18 European teachers, believed that there were '*racial*' *problems*, and ethnic minority teachers (60%), and one European male teacher believed there was a great deal of '*prejudice*' amongst the different ethnic groups.

The general view first expressed in all three schools was that *ethnic relations* were 'not bad'; however, many teachers (41-48%) qualified these statements by saying that *social problems* existed, and that there was *conflict* amongst the different ethnic groups. But, as locals became more accustomed to having immigrants around, levels of 'tolerance' increased. All teachers admitted that *clustering* of pupils in ethnic groups occurs on a large scale, but some felt that this might be *a natural human tendency*.

Most European and all ethnic minority teachers appeared to perceive *ethnic diversity* in a positive light. Just over half the teachers (45-53%), welcomed *multiculturalism* which, they believed, contributed to *better social relations* within their schools. A few felt that the presence of too many cultures in one place created ‘*undercurrents*’, and *conflict*, and believed that not all children, and even adults, were coping successfully with this diversity. Only three European and two Maori teachers (5-6%) openly expressed *negative feelings* about cultural diversity saying it made life ‘unnecessarily difficult’ for them. One European teacher discussed her *personal problems* that have arisen from this new situation.

Over half the teacher sample (45-53%) acknowledged the existence of *ethnic intimidation* in their schools. These teachers appeared to be aware of the *ethnic element of bullying*. Most others did not appear to recognise *ethnic problems*, or that bullying included an ethnic element, and did not cite racism as a cause of bullying. They believed that those incidents that were perceived to be racial by those involved were merely a *clash of individual personalities*.

Ethnic minority teachers reported that they and visible ethnic minority pupils were frequently subjected to ethnic intimidation. Twenty-one teachers (25%), including five European (8%) and all Asian teachers, believed that *intimidation and non-acceptance* often forced visible ethnic minority children into negative behaviour, and had an adverse effect on *pupil performance* at school. Those teachers who accepted that there were social problems in their schools (41-48%), believed that the main reason for this was the *racist attitudes* of many New Zealanders.

*Insulation* was offered as an explanation for racist attitudes of New Zealanders. Some European (8-13%) and all ethnic minority teachers believed that this gave rise to fear, suspicion and insecurity, envy and resentment, the New Zealand culture of aggression, the tall poppy syndrome, and the search for identity by New Zealanders, which contributed to negative attitudes. These teachers believed that *economics* also contributed toward ‘intolerance’, and that problems over *status* superseded those of ethnicity. Asian teachers expressed the belief that New Zealanders *lack knowledge* about other cultures, and easily

resort to popular *stereotypes* to guide their understanding, which exacerbates racist attitudes and creates further *misunderstanding*.

Most teachers agreed that *pupil values and level of maturity* determined their *attitudes*, not only toward school work, but also toward people. About a quarter of teachers (20-24%) suggested that the extent of social acceptance in a school depends on the *attitude of teachers*, some of whom had *racist attitudes* toward foreign children, while others were role models for acceptance and encouraged and promoted respect of all cultures.

About a third of teachers (26-31%), including all Asians, felt that *discipline* was *lacking* at their schools, and that this contributed to the high levels of ‘intolerance’, and that untidiness, lack of order and pupil responsibility leads to lack of discipline, which in turn leads to *lack of respect* and social non-acceptance. However, two-thirds of teachers (59-69%) felt that there was *no problem* with discipline. Some ethnic minority teachers felt that *religion* has a *positive influence* on behaviour. A small group of teachers (8-9%) expressed the opinion that *sport* brought children together.

All teachers interviewed were happy with their schools’ ethos. They believed that their schools promoted *multiculturalism* and pride in each culture, fostered social acceptance and respect of all peoples and cultures, and celebrated diversity. Most teachers suggested that their *schools reflected the city*, and as such, were preparing their pupils for life. Ethnic minority teachers believed that circumstances within schools were different from those in the ‘real world’, however, because schools were beginning to *acknowledge and deal with racism*, social acceptance was improving.

All visible ethnic minority teachers (23-27%) felt that the social climate in schools can be improved by formal *education* about peoples and cultures, which would increase *understanding and empathy*. Only six teachers believed it is the *responsibility of the school* to educate children about this. Twenty-nine teachers (34%), including six European (10%) and all ethnic minorities, expressed the view that racist attitudes are inculcated at *home*, and there is not much that can be done about it at school.

Most teachers believed that an *egalitarian attitude* was what was required when dealing with a diverse ethnic population. On the other hand, a European male teacher presented the view that those who could not speak English were *cognitively deficient*. Ethnic minority teachers felt that language was an important part of culture; therefore the *vernacular* should be encouraged at school.

*Principals* perceived their schools as having a *positive social climate*, and their staff and pupils as happy. They acknowledged that there were problems of bullying, but believed that these were mainly to do with usual relationship issues, and not much with different ethnic groups. They attempted to improve the social climate by constantly preaching acceptance of all, and by *modelling*. They knew that there were some teachers on their staff who did not share their *philosophy and attitudes*, and that this did rub off onto some of the children they taught.

Teachers incidentally discussed twenty *other schools* during these conversations, which were all described negatively. A few teachers found the social situation here to be comparatively more positive than *other countries*.

Despite some concerns, these conversations revealed some positive aspects in terms of teacher openness with their comments about social acceptance within their schools, as well as some of their openness to diversity. This openness has important implications and could be built upon to create positive change.

## **9.2 SECTION TWO: SCHOOL OBSERVATIONS**

### **9.2.1 INTRODUCTION**

This section presents the qualitative data obtained from unobtrusive observations undertaken at the three participating schools. In this analysis, information is processed and interpreted, and themes are formulated and linked together to create a description of attitudes, behaviours and events observed at these schools, which provides a clear image of the school ecology.

The purpose of observations was to explore the social processes within the schools that were thought to influence perceptions of social acceptance and to validate data provided by Asian pupils and parents during interviews, by teachers during conversations, and by pupils from all ethnic groups in the survey. These observations were conducted over a period of one week at each of the schools. Considering the purpose of this observation, and that it was not the only form of data collection, this time was considered adequate to study the range of behaviours reported by pupils and parents, and the schools' social processes. These sessions commenced before the beginning of the school day, and concluded after pupils vacated the premises each day, and were conducted both in and around the school so that pupils could be observed during all forms of interaction. The data is presented in a narrative form according to the themes that emerged from these observations.

#### **Class Allocations**

A total of 33 classes were observed in all three schools. This comprised six year 13, nine year 11 and 18 year 9 classes. As most complaints about 'bullying' and ethnic intimidation involved junior pupils mainly from year 9 classes, it was decided to observe more of those classes and progressively fewer of the senior classes.

In two schools, classes to be observed were allocated in advance by the principals. Apart from one, these were all classes of senior teachers, usually of the management team. In the

third school, the staff was asked by the principal to volunteer their classes for observation. Only deans and heads of departments offered their classes on a day to day basis, and one head of department volunteered a class of one of her 'good' teachers. Only two of the classes observed were taught by junior teachers, and these appeared to be teachers who were considered to have good class management skills. The dynamics in these classrooms are usually quite different from those in other rooms, as deans and heads of departments are in positions of authority, therefore usually command good discipline. Pupils are usually at their best behaviour in these classrooms, and do not display the kinds of behaviour that may be apparent in other rooms.

### **The Problem of Reactivity**

The problem of reactivity is always a concern when observing behaviours of people as they often knowingly or unknowingly manipulate behaviour so that they are presented in a way considered to be desirable by the people involved. Sometimes it may just be impossible to observe the behaviour of interest because it is inaccessible. In the case of deviant interethnic behaviour in schools which is the focus of this observation, it was acknowledged that pupils may deliberately avoid observation of such behaviour, and teachers could also ensure that such behaviour was not available for observation by consciously or unconsciously changing the way they behaved. If this happens, observational accounts of their behaviour will be inaccurate representations of their 'usual' behaviour, and any judgements made will be invalid assessments of normal practice (Foster, 1996: 51). Accordingly, observations were undertaken as one of three methods of data collection so that data could be compared for validation.

Where class allocations are concerned, it is possible that the selection or volunteering of particular classes for observation may have been deliberate or inadvertent attempts to 'manage' the impression of the school received and documented by the researcher. Consequently, it is possible that many undesirable classroom interactions that may occur in other classes were not observed.

It is generally recognised, as has been by Wragg (1999: 15), 'that when someone new comes into a classroom to observe, then the very presence of an additional adult who is not normally present may itself influence what happens.... Teachers and indeed pupils may attempt to provide what they think the visitor expects, and this will vary according to the impression or stereotype they form of the observer concerned'.

Although attempts were made to minimize such reactivity as much as possible, it was clear that the observer's presence in the class did have an influence on the behaviour of the pupils. It was evident from their behaviour that most pupils assumed that the observer was a teacher trainee. In only one year 13 class did a comment from a pupil indicate that they thought that their teacher was being assessed. It is possible that pupils in other classes could have had the same impression, and that this may have tempered behaviour. Pupils appeared to be conscious of the observer's presence and often looked her way, and it was evident from their body language, and even comments, that they were behaving well for her benefit. In one class in particular, reactivity was pronounced. It was clearly evident from their responses to each other that both pupil and teacher behaviour was influenced by the presence of the observer. The teacher frequently (after almost every sentence) asked the class to 'be quiet' or 'shoo', and the pupils expressed surprise in their facial expressions at her evidently unusual behaviour. One pupil asked her why they were not allowed to talk on that day, which clearly annoyed and embarrassed her.

In all three schools, many teachers of classes observed including senior management, reported that their pupils were generally better behaved while being observed than they usually were. Consequently, it was deduced that pupil, and perhaps teacher behaviour was more constrained than usual, and that fewer acts of social deviance were displayed during this time. It was sometimes apparent from their body language that some pupils reacted negatively to the observer's presence. Facial expressions indicated that negative stereotypes were employed to evaluate the Visible Ethnic Minority observer who was apparently regarded with disdain. This attitude appeared to influence their behaviour, and they were sometimes observed to be deliberately playing up for the benefit of the observer. These effects were taken into consideration when interpreting the data.

## Ethnic Composition of Schools and Classes

Although all three schools were multi-ethnic, the size of the different ethnic groups varied in each school. In the information provided below, the School 1 population could only be divided into the four categories of European, Maori, Pacific Island and Asian, as the Asian category provided by the school was nebulous and could not be broken down into clear West Asian and East Asian sub-categories. Also, the number included in this category did not include the pupils from the foreign fee paying category, many of whom would have been Asian, particularly East Asian. In all three schools, the West Asian and East Asian counts could have been larger as some of the pupils categorised as ‘Fijian’, ‘Other’ or ‘Other Asian’ by their schools, could actually have been of Indian and Chinese origin. These additional categories have been combined and shown as ‘Other’ in the table. Following is the table showing the ethnic composition of the participating schools in the year 2001.

Table 9.1: *Ethnic Composition of School Populations in 2001*

<b>Ethnic Categories</b>	<b>School 1 %</b>	<b>School 2 %</b>	<b>School 3 %</b>
<b>European</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>Polynesian</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>32</b>
Maori	10	19	16
Pacific Island	11	22	15
<b>Asian</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>31</b>
West Asian	-	10	19
East Asian	-	17	12
<b>Other</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

In *School 1*, the European population was visibly larger than the Polynesian and Asian populations which were similar. It was clearly noticeable that Maori and Pacific Island pupils were in almost equal numbers. Although numbers are not available for West and East Asian pupils, there appeared to be a larger number of pupils of Chinese origin visible around the school. They were also more visible than the Maori and Pacific Island groups although there were smaller numbers of them. Those of Indian origin were visibly in much smaller numbers. The general ‘colour’ of this school was white with Europeans forming the largest racial group by far.

In *School 2*, the Polynesian population was visibly larger than the European and Asian populations which were similar. Although the Pacific Island population was not much larger than the Maori population, they appeared to be much more visible around the school. East Asians of Chinese origin were visibly in larger numbers than West Asians of Indian origin who were visibly the smallest group. The 'colour' of this school was very brown with Polynesians forming the largest racial group.

In *School 3*, there were almost equal numbers of Europeans, Polynesians and Asians, with those of European origin being in slightly larger numbers. However, this was hardly visible and the school appeared to be brown. There were similar numbers of Maori and Pacific Islanders who were very visible around the school. The West Asian group of Indian origin formed a larger group than the Maori or Pacific Islander groups, and they were equally visible. These West Asian numbers were visibly larger than the East Asians of Chinese origin who were visibly the smallest group in the school. Although the three broad ethnic groups were similar, those of European origin formed the largest visibly similar ethnic group.

The general pattern of class compositions was that there were fewer visible ethnic minorities in the senior classes than the junior classes, with the largest number being found in year 9 classes. It was common to find year 13 classes with only one or two, or even no visible ethnic minorities present. It was equally common to find year 9 classes with European pupils clearly in the minority.

### **Visible Effects of Ethnic Composition on Pupils**

The size of ethnic groups in a school and within the classroom appeared to have a visible effect on the dynamics in the school and classroom, and on the demeanour of most pupils.

In *School 1* where there was a much larger number of European children (48%) than Polynesian or Asian children, these pupils appeared to be very confident and unconcerned

about or affected by the presence of the other groups. As expected of the larger group, they appeared to take control of most situations in the classroom and elsewhere.

In *School 2* where they formed a significantly smaller group (29%), their presence was less obvious amongst the large non-European group, which comprised over two thirds (68%) of the population. Generally, European pupils here appeared to be less audible and confident. In the classroom they usually sat in front and appeared to be much quieter than usual. In a year 9 class of predominantly Polynesians where European pupils were in the minority, a European girl who sat in front appeared to be intimidated by the undisciplined and disruptive Polynesian boys around her. She was visibly uncomfortable and stressed, and constantly turned around and looked at them.

While there was a similar (although slightly larger) number of Europeans to the Polynesian and Asian racial groups in *School 3* (36%), they formed the largest visibly similar ethnic group. However, this did not appear to have any influence on their demeanour. They appeared to blend in with the other ethnic groups and were not any more visible or audible than any of the others. They also appeared to have equal social status to the other groups. There was visibly a large number of West Asians (19%) here, and Hindi was frequently heard around the school, hence these pupils appeared to have much more confidence in themselves. This was evidenced in the unusually unconstrained manner in which they conducted themselves in the classroom and around the school. They willingly participated in lessons, eagerly greeted teachers as they walked by, and appeared to be cheerful all the time. In Schools 1 (figure not available) and 2 (11%) where there were visibly fewer West Asians around the school compared to other groups, these pupils appeared to be much quieter and more withdrawn and hesitant, and did not participate as much in the classroom. It was also unusual to hear their vernacular around the school. In fact, it was not heard during observation in School 1, and very little in School 2.

In Schools 1 (figure not available) and 2 (17%) where there were visibly more East Asian pupils and more 'Chinese' was audible around the school, these pupils appeared to be more confident and less constrained or concerned with issues of acceptance. They also appeared

to be more forceful both in and out the classroom, and generally quite cheerful. In School 3 where they were visibly in the minority (12%), they generally appeared to be more withdrawn, less confident and cheerful, and did not participate much in the classroom.

There were smaller numbers of Polynesians (Maori and Pacific Islanders) in Schools 1 (21%) and 3 (32%), with a much larger group in School 2 (41%), however, in all three schools their presence was felt much more than the other groups. This was because Maori and Pacific Island children were very visible and audible around the school, and much more vocal and demonstrative both in and out the classroom than the other groups. Smaller numbers in a class did not appear to have an adverse effect on their confidence and participation. In School 2 where they comprised the majority, they were obviously overwhelming to the others. They appeared to be undaunted, aggressive and imposing, and most other groups often appeared to be intimidated by their presence. They appeared to grasp at every opportunity to intimidate someone, and were also observed shouting out to teachers as they passed.

## **9.2.2 SOCIAL CLIMATE**

It is the visual impression received by the outsider that determines the perception of the social climate within a school. On looking in from the outside, the first characteristic noticed was the clearly evident divisions amongst pupils. There appeared to be very little interaction amongst them, and the school that appeared to have the most comfortable atmosphere was the one where the most mixing of pupils appeared to occur. This appeared to be School 2, followed by School 1, then School 3. The social climate appeared to coincide with the ethos of these schools as represented by their principals and teachers.

### **Atmosphere in Classrooms**

Usually, in classes that were predominantly European, the atmosphere appeared to be relaxed and friendly, and the class dynamics positive. However, where visible ethnic minorities were in the majority, there appeared to be more tension in the room.

In a year 11 ESL class where pupils were predominantly East Asian, there appeared to be no cohesion amongst the pupils, and the atmosphere was clearly not relaxed. There appeared to be some tension in the way some European and East Asian pupils looked at each other, and also at the teacher who did not appear to have a good relationship with all his pupils. His demeanour suggested exasperation with and dislike of some of the pupils, particularly the East Asians. They appeared to be aware of this attitude and constantly looked at him with expressions that suggested mutual disliking. It was this teacher who later said, 'One Chinese shit is the same as one Maori shit'.

### **9.2.3 ETHNIC RELATIONS**

Superficially, ethnic relations appeared to be conciliatory. However, it was evident that pupils preferred to remain within their own ethnic groups and mixed only when it was necessary. Only occasionally were pupils seen to be voluntarily engaging in ethnically mixed non-school activities.

#### **Segregation and Clustering**

Segregation and clustering of pupils in ethnic groups was evident in all three schools where a walk around the grounds revealed clear patches of colour with very little mixing. Certain areas around the schools appeared to be reserved for particular ethnic groups, and no others were seen around them. There was also clear ethnic segregation in the classrooms where mixing appeared to be the exception rather than the rule. Segregation occurred on two levels, by ethnicity and by gender:

#### ***Ethnicity***

It became clearly apparent on first entering the school and walking through the corridors and grounds that there was a clustering of pupils in ethnic groups with very little mixing. On the first day at one school that was reported to be very accepting by visible ethnic minority pupils and parents as well as teachers, only two mixed groups were seen in the

corridors and on the grounds. They were an East Asian group with one West Asian girl, and a European group with one West Asian, one East Asian, and one Maori pupil. A walk around the school grounds of another school during lunch revealed only one mixed group. They were a group of boys playing ball in a circle comprising of two Europeans, two East Asians, three West Asians, and two Polynesians. On another occasion when pupils grouped around a band playing music on the grounds, pupils stood watching and listening in their own little ethnic groups. Even around the canteen pupils remained in their own ethnic groups, and if mixing occurred, it was usually minorities with other minorities. Only on the odd occasion would ethnic minorities be seen with a European group. On leaving the schools at the end of the day, pupils walked in ethnic groups, and very few mixed groups were seen leaving the school together.

Segregation and clustering was also a common feature of all classrooms in which there was a clear division of ethnic groups. Pupils usually chose to sit in their separate ethnic groups unless seating was arranged by teachers. If ethnic groups were found to be mixed in a class, it was always because the teacher had allocated fixed places to pupils. Mixing usually only occurred when pupils made up a minority of the class, usually one or two, and were therefore forced to sit beside someone of a different ethnicity. However, there were also times when pupils of different ethnicities obviously chose to sit beside each other and communicated amicably through the lesson. This incidence was infrequent. Often pupils, who found themselves to be in the minority, chose to sit by themselves, usually on the periphery of the room or beside another visible ethnic minority pupil. West and East Asians often chose to sit beside each other in the absence of pupils from their own ethnic groups, and usually sat in front of the room. Social interaction in the classroom usually occurred within ethnic groups.

### *Gender*

There was also segregation according to gender. Usually, girls sat in front of the class while boys sat at the back, but even then they remained mostly within ethnic groups. Pupils appeared to prefer same gender groups to same ethnic groups, and would sometimes sit

with pupils of the same gender from other ethnic groups when there was no choice of gender within their own ethnic group. This preference appeared to be stronger amongst the juniors where this was observed to a greater extent. Seniors appeared to be more comfortable in mixed gender groups, although this was not observed as frequently as expected. Usually, pupils sat with their own gender within their own ethnic group.

This tendency is demonstrated by this year 9 class that was asked to get into three self selected groups. The pupils automatically divided themselves into boys and girls before looking for same or similar ethnicity peers. The first two groups were made of same gender members, and the last group that was slow to form, had to take the remaining pupils who were of mixed gender.

### **Interethnic Interaction**

Generally, there appeared to be more interethnic interaction amongst the juniors than the seniors in all three schools. Seniors appeared to be more selective about whom they sat with, and preferred to sit alone rather than with the 'wrong' person. They were also less vocal toward other ethnic groups, compared to juniors, and appeared to keep their thoughts and feelings to themselves. The juniors were much more vocal and expressed their feelings more freely. Consequently, there appeared to be more negative interaction amongst junior pupils such as name-calling, taunting and put-downs.

It appeared that most pupils talked to visible ethnic minority pupils such as East and West Asians when they wanted to know or borrow something from them. Both European and Polynesian pupils appeared to believe that Asian pupils had everything required at school, so automatically turned to one of these pupils when they wanted something, even though there might have been no other form of interaction with them. In a year 11 class a European girl asked an East Asian boy for a pen. He said he did not have the type she wanted, but she insisted that he had to have it, implying that all Asian pupils have everything needed at school. At the end of a lesson in a year 9 class, a Polynesian girl went up to a West Asian boy and asked for something. He shook his head in refusal, after which she tugged at his

bag and became insistent. He walked away without giving her what she wanted, to which she retorted angrily.

They also appeared to believe that Asian pupils had all the answers to everything and frequently copied their work, often without asking. It appeared to be assumed that this could be done even though there was no other form of interaction with these children who quietly allowed this. In a year 9 class, a European girl who sat beside an East Asian boy, copied his work throughout the lesson, but never spoke to him. Another Polynesian boy constantly got answers off two West Asian boys who appeared to oblige willingly. A Maori boy moved away from his friends during the written work segment of the lesson and sat beside an Indian boy from whom he copied answers without saying a word to him, while simultaneously continuing his conversation with his friends across the room.

However, there was also some positive interethnic interaction to be seen from time to time. Indo-Fijians appeared to be comfortable with Pacific Islanders, and some pupils, mainly juniors, were occasionally seen to be sitting beside and communicating with these children in the classrooms.

### **Exclusion**

In all three schools, Asian pupils often appeared to be excluded by other pupils both in the classroom, particularly in classrooms where they were in the minority, and elsewhere in the school. It was not unusual to encounter a visible ethnic minority child, especially of Asian origin, standing or walking alone around the school during every observation episode.

In a year 9 class that worked in the library, the single East Asian girl and West Asian boy in the class were seen to sit and work alone, separately, while the rest of the class of Europeans and Polynesians moved around and interacted freely. In a year 11 art class where seating was arranged around a central display, a European boy who had an Indian boy seated on his right, sat at an angle with his back facing the boy. He faced the European boys on his left and spoke incessantly to them, but ignored the Indian boy completely.

Similarly, in a predominantly European year 13 class, an Indian boy sat alone and worked by himself until another Indian boy arrived. They sat together and talked to each other, and nobody else talked to them and they talked to nobody else although there was much interaction amongst the other pupils.

A small group of six year 13 pupils presented similarly. There was positive interaction amongst them, however, the one East Asian girl sat and worked on her own after the initial greetings, while the three Maori and two European girls sat and worked together.

In an ESOL class of nine visible ethnic minorities, although interaction was controlled by the teacher, pupils still worked predominantly within their ethnic groups, and those who did not have a partner from their own group worked mostly by themselves. An African boy in the class did not communicate with anybody except the teacher and another boy who was asked to help him by the teacher. The only two Asian boys in a year 9 class who sat together at the back of the room beside other pupils, were ignored by the rest who were Polynesian and European. Nobody spoke to them although there was excessive talking in the class. The European girl sitting beside the East Asian boy copied his work without asking, but never spoke to him.

### ***Self-Exclusion***

Sometimes it was apparent that some pupils chose not to sit with those whose behaviour did not meet with their approval, or to whom they could not relate. In a year 9 class with predominantly Polynesian pupils (17 of 24), the two Asian boys (one Indian and one Chinese) sat at the back of the room away from the rest who were boisterous and disruptive throughout the lesson. From their facial expressions it was evident that they disapproved of this behaviour and chose to remove themselves from the group with whom they apparently did not wish to identify.

Sometimes pupils appeared to exclude themselves because they apparently did not feel accepted by the rest of the class. In a year 13 class of 14 Europeans, two Maori, and two East Asians, one East Asian boy was discovered to be working in the back room and was

asked to join the class immediately. He said he wanted to work alone, but reluctantly joined the class and sat on his own in front. His English was good and answers he offered during the lesson indicated that he was an intelligent pupil. The other East Asian boy in the class also sat in front, alone, and worked entirely by himself. He talked to nobody and nobody talked to him.

Whilst it was sometimes quite apparent, it was often not clearly recognisable whether pupils were excluded or chose to exclude themselves from the group. It was also not only visible ethnic minority pupils, but European pupils as well who appeared to impose self-exclusion upon themselves.

### **Maori-‘Pakeha’ Partnership**

A notable observation was that European and Maori children often separated themselves in the classroom and did not always appear to get along well. However, when they were in a class in which they were the minority they appeared to identify with each other and usually sat together rather than with pupils from other ethnic groups.

### **9.2.4 DISCIPLINE**

The general pattern that emerged was that Asian pupils were much better behaved than European and Polynesian pupils who were often noisy, unfocussed and disrespectful. However, when East Asians were in the majority in a room, they were often equally noisy and unfocussed. Usually, both West and East Asian pupils were quiet, respectful and focussed and continued this behaviour even when the teacher left the room and others broke loose, as occurred in two year 9 classes. The others then ran around, teased, shouted out the window, threw things around, pushed and even wrote on each other’s faces, despite my presence, while the Asian pupils continued to work quietly. Good discipline amongst European and Polynesian pupils was the exception rather than the rule, particularly in the junior classes.

In School 1 where it was reported that pupils were constantly talked to about respect, the classes observed were comparatively well-behaved and pupils appeared to be more considerate of their peers and teachers. Pupils generally appeared to respect those around them as this was the expectation at the school. This was also observed on the grounds most of the time.

### 9.2.5 PUPIL ATTITUDES

Observation of body language, especially facial expressions, provided a clear indication of attitudes of pupils toward each other. The general impression first received was that pupils fit into three broad categories. There was a small group of pupils who appeared to be *friendly*, and would make eye contact and smile, and even greet people. There was a large group of pupils who adopted a *neutral* stance, and would not show any expression at all. They were non-committal and would look right through or past a person. Then there was a fairly large group of pupils who looked positively *hostile*. They glared at people nastily and generally turned away when eye contact was made. However, those who were extremely hostile adopted an aggressive stance when eye contact was made and indulged in various forms of intimidatory practices. The simplest and most common form, for which eye contact was not necessary, was laughing in derision at the victim for no apparent reason.

Further observation and reflection revealed, however, that the neutral group apparently belonged with the hostile group, but appeared to choose a neutral stance probably because they did not wish to be identified as hostile. So, there were really only two groups, the friendly and the hostile, the larger number of whom appeared to be covertly hostile. Although these two types could be identified amongst all ethnic groups, hostile attitudes appeared to be prolific amongst Polynesians and Europeans, and each group appeared to direct this hostility to all other ethnic groups.

## **Prejudice and Racism**

When pupils chose to exclude visible ethnic minority pupils from their group, or to exclude themselves from visible ethnic minority pupil groups, it was often suggested by behaviour or body language, if not heard, that the motive behind this was prejudice born of racist attitudes.

When a group of predominantly European and Polynesian boys in a year 9 class who were play acting needed to select two boys who would play girls parts, they all instantly pointed to two Indian boys within the group. It appeared to be assumed by these boys that what they apparently considered to be an inferior role, should be played by those who were subconsciously (or perhaps, consciously) considered inferior. Despite their objections, they were forced to be the girls and were then jeered at by these boys who appeared to relish this legitimate opportunity to put them down without fear of consequence.

In a year 9 class of predominantly visible ethnic minority children, a group of eight European girls who sat together, talked quietly to each other while they constantly glanced disapprovingly at the rest of the class, including the visible ethnic minority observer. From their body language it was evident that they were unhappy about being in a class with nineteen visible ethnic minorities.

## **Lack of Respect**

A lack of respect toward the teacher and pupils was witnessed in many year 9 classes, especially those that were predominantly Polynesian. It was common to witness belligerence to teachers, as seen in one class where a Polynesian girl was confrontational to her European male teacher when asked to settle down. In a year 11 class a European boy was observed being openly defiant to his West Asian male teacher. When the class was asked to sit down and get ready for the lesson, this boy refused to sit and continued to talk. When the teacher directed him to sit and get started, the boy stared at him defiantly, turned around to face the back of the room and continued standing while talking to his friends.

His body language suggested the unasked question, 'Who are you to tell me what to do?' Later in the lesson, the teacher took a trinket off a Maori girl as it was distracting her. She was belligerent and laughed at him saying she would just get it back from the dean.

### **'Put-down' Culture**

There appeared to be a 'put-down' culture amongst pupils, especially juniors who appeared to be all too ready to belittle others. Much of this was interethnic taunting and denigration. Incidents like the following were observed in many classes:

Pupils in a noisy year 9 class in which 17 of 24 pupils were Polynesian, took a long time to enter and settle to work. They laughed at people who either tripped or were tripped, or dropped something, and generally found any excuse to laugh at someone. This behaviour continued intermittently through the lesson. Two European boys in a year 11 class were observed covertly signalling rudely to two West Asian boys across the room when they thought no one was watching. In a year 9 class that waited 15 minutes for their teacher (SMT) to arrive, pupils were observed from outside the classroom while waiting to seek the teacher's permission to enter. They taunted each other, particularly across ethnic groups. A Polynesian girl picked on a West Asian boy's looks and sweater, and everybody laughed. He retorted with a taunt about her appearance, which elicited more laughter. Somebody then shouted 'She's Indian,' referring to the observer outside, following which they looked at me, put their heads together, muttered and laughed.

While waiting to enter a year 9 classroom, an African girl was seen standing aside from the group, looking the other way. A group of European and Polynesian boys whispered and chuckled as they looked at her. She appeared to be aware of this and looked very uncomfortable. Later, the European class teacher reported that the boys constantly picked on her appearance, and when reprimanded by her, pretended to be merely asking about her out of interest. However, the teacher felt that it was clear from their body language and intonation that they were making fun of her.

### **Attitude toward Ethnic Minority Teachers**

Of the 33 classes observed, six were taught by ethnic minority teachers. One was taught by a foreign teacher of European origin, two by Indian teachers from South Africa, one by an Indian teacher from Fiji, one by an Indian teacher from Britain, and one by a Japanese teacher born in New Zealand. Pupil attitudes toward these teachers appeared to vary according to ethnicity and demeanour. The ethnic minority teacher of European origin appeared to be regarded more positively than those of Asian origin. This European teacher was Irish with a very heavy accent that was difficult to follow. Pupils in his predominantly 'white' year 11 class appeared to be quite comfortable with this accent and did not appear to have any trouble understanding him, and were polite and respectful toward him throughout the lesson. He did not greet his class on entering.

The dynamics in the year 13 class of one of the visible ethnic minority teachers from South Africa were good. The teacher, who had a clear accent, greeted the pupils on arrival thereby setting the tone. He appeared to be confident, and remained respectful and relaxed, but firm through the lesson. His pupils who were older and more mature, appeared to have no trouble following him, and responded in the same way. The year 9 class of the second visible ethnic minority teacher from South Africa was much the same. They returned the greeting of the teacher at the beginning of the lesson and settled down quickly as expected. As they were a problem class the teacher was very firm, yet friendly with them and controlled their behaviour throughout the lesson. This ensured that there were no problematic interactions amongst her pupils who were polite and appeared to understand her easily.

The year 11 class of the visible ethnic minority teacher from Fiji responded quite differently. They entered in dribs and drabs and took a while to settle down. The teacher who spoke with a slight accent, waited calmly till they were all in, then politely asked them to sit and get ready for work. Most ignored him, and looked at the visible ethnic minority observer equally disdainfully. A few pupils asked him to repeat himself suggesting that they could not understand him, and a European boy and a Maori girl were defiant,

belligerent and disrespectful during the lesson, but he remained firm, polite and calm through these incidents. The dynamics in the year 9 class of the British Indian female teacher with a British accent were similar. The lesson was not commenced with a greeting and the class took very long to settle. Although nobody complained about not being able to understand her, some European and Polynesian pupils were openly disrespectful and challenging. However, the teacher remained calm and firm, and quietly corrected pupils who were disruptive.

The class taught by the Japanese teacher who was born and educated here and sounded 'Kiwi', was chaotic. They were not greeted and asked to settle down, and there was no order to anything. The pupils never seemed to settle down. They were not directly disrespectful to the teacher, however, they continued with their own activities through the lesson, such as paper dart making and throwing, and shouting across the room. She did not seem to mind this, and said it was acceptable as long as they were getting their work done. She appeared to cope with this quite comfortably.

#### **9.2.6 ETHNIC INTIMIDATION**

Pupils were frequently observed bullying others both in and out the classroom. While much of this occurred within the same ethnic group, it was often observed to be inter-ethnic. While observing pupils vacate a school one afternoon, a voice was heard saying, 'Shut up, you Indian!' This came from a European boy walking beside an Indian boy. As he approached and realised that he was observed and heard, his facial expression changed to shock, and he instantly put his arm around the Indian boy's shoulder and said, 'Just kidding' while smiling at the observer.

As pupils vacated another school one afternoon, a little Indian boy was seen standing against a building with a big Polynesian boy hovering over him. They were out of earshot, so could not be heard. The Indian boy looked anxious, and the Polynesian boy looked intimidating. His friends who were standing a short distance away from them, signalled to him when they realised they were being observed. The boy looked up, then reached out

very quickly and shook the hand of his 'victim'. He then began to walk away with his arm around the boy, apparently pretending to be friends.

### 9.2.7 TEACHER ATTITUDES AND MODELLING

Teacher attitudes toward being observed and conversed with varied. Although most teachers relaxed and talked more freely as the week at each school progressed, some avoided me completely while others appeared to be visibly *uncomfortable* with having to talk to me about ethnic issues in their schools, although they did not say so directly. This was evident in their body language, faces turning red, and some of their eagerness to terminate the conversation as quickly as possible on the pretext of having work to do. One European teacher who did this was seen reading the newspaper at the far end of the staff room immediately after the conversation. Others, more sensibly, hurried out of the staff room. On the other hand, there were some who appeared quite *eager* to discuss such issues. Some arranged to talk to me after school as they did not have time during the course of the day, and were happy to speak at length. Amongst these were those who appeared to find the opportunity to talk, cathartic. Two of these expressed this feeling verbally.

Almost all teachers in classes observed, displayed very *positive attitudes* toward their pupils, and appeared to be good role models. Only three teachers were obviously negative in their classes, and set a negative tone amongst their pupils. These pupils were visibly unhappy in these classes and appeared to glance at their classmates as negatively as their teachers did. Although these classes worked comparatively quietly, there was much tension in the air.

In all three schools, teachers did not greet their classes when they entered, as is common practice in New Zealand schools. These schools reported encouraging respect for all amongst their pupils, but the staff did not set the *tone* with a demonstration of respect by greeting their pupils. Only two teachers greeted their classes on entering, and they were South African Indian teachers with overseas training and experience. They were relaxed

and respectful, and had good control of their classes, and the atmosphere within their rooms was also relaxed and respectful. However, although teachers failed to set the most common example of respect to their pupils, which is greeting them on arrival, almost all of those observed included all pupils in their lessons and were respectful, polite and pleasant to all while they were being observed.

### 9.2.8 ETHNIC AWARENESS

A list of *speech topics* in an English class was noted. This included the following topics: 'Why can't we accept differences in people?' 'Race relations in New Zealand', 'New Zealand needs immigrants', 'No-one dares to be an individual in New Zealand'. These topics which contain an allusion or direct reference to the social problems being experienced here, demonstrated awareness amongst some English teachers, at least, of our social condition.

Note was taken of the *dictionaries in the library* of each school in order to attempt to ascertain the extent of ethnic awareness schools had, and what degree of significance was allocated to the various ethnic groups in the school. It was postulated that if there was awareness of the ethnic groups and concern for their needs, and the various languages and their speakers were considered important, the school would purchase a dictionary in that language for the use of its pupils who spoke the language, and for those who were interested in learning something about it. Attention to seemingly little things could make a vast difference to attitudes and perceptions of pupils who would take their cues from the school. An examination of the dictionaries held in each library revealed that not all language groups in the school were catered for, and that there was an apparent lack of awareness of and concern for the needs of speakers of other languages.

A visit to the library of School 1 showed that only English, French, German, Latin, Japanese, Maori, Pacific Island and Chinese dictionaries were held. The Chinese dictionary had been donated to the school by the Hwa Hsia Society of New Zealand. No other

languages were catered for despite the fact that the school population was comprised of many other ethnic groups, and 19% of the population spoke various Asian languages.

The School 2 library held dictionaries for English, Latin, German, French, Spanish, Chinese (donated by the Hwa Hsia Society of NZ), Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Maori and Samoan. None of the West Asian languages were represented. Between 7% and 10% (many of those classified as Fijian (3%) would have been Indo-Fijian) of pupils in the school were West Asian. 17% were East Asian.

In School 3, dictionaries held were English, French, Japanese, Maori, Tongan and Samoan. None of the other languages of pupils was represented despite Asians comprising almost a third of the school population, with 19% being Indians and 12% being other Asians.

### **9.2.9 THE RESEARCHER'S EXPERIENCES AT THE THREE SCHOOLS**

Generally, the observation experience was a positive one. All three principals were welcoming and co-operative, and most teachers became equally so as the week at each school progressed. Most pupils were either polite or disinterested; however, there were some who were overtly rude.

#### **School 1**

On my first morning, I went into the staff room and sat down at a table that was completely vacant. When what appeared to be an all-European administrative staff arrived for the staff brief, they walked toward me, then moved away to other vacant spaces. I realised that I had been sitting at their table, so sat elsewhere the next morning. They then took their usual places. Some staff members were warm and welcoming, but most would not meet my gaze so that I could greet them. Nobody volunteered to talk to me, except later in the day when a young female teacher who turned out to be American, came up to me, volunteered to talk to me and invited me to her classroom. The rest had to be approached by me.

Initially, teachers body language suggested that many were 'suspicious' of me. They avoided my gaze, and only four teachers allowed me to talk to them on the first day. I arrived early each day and interacted with the teachers in the staff room and made them aware of the purpose of my study. They appeared to feel less threatened thereafter, and more began to allow me to engage them in conversations, which increased as the week progressed. I felt more accepted by a large number thereafter, although there were still many who avoided me. At the end of the week a group of predominantly European teachers invited me to a private lunch they were hosting for their student teachers.

Only a few pupils greeted me, and these were usually those of Indian origin.

The principal thanked me publicly on my last day there, for including their school in my study, and for conducting myself 'in such a professional manner' and being no trouble to anyone.

## **School 2**

I found School 2 to be a much 'lighter' school, and the staff room to be the most relaxed and comfortable. The atmosphere there was possibly influenced by the principal's style, which was very relaxed and friendly and almost fraternising, so the teachers conducted themselves in the same manner. I was drawn into that scenario on the first day by having a tennis ball thrown across the staff room to me by one of the deans, and being expected to return it, which I did. Pupils from all ethnic groups greeted me a lot more than in the other schools, and there was not as much arrogance and disrespect from pupils as experienced at the other schools.

## **School 3**

The senior management was welcoming and my experience there was positive. I had to arrange my own class visits, but deans and heads of department volunteered their classes, so it turned out to be not much of a problem. I had only to ask a couple of teachers and the rest followed. Although teachers were slow to talk to me at first, it later improved. The

principal was friendly, but more formal, and there was no communication with him except during my conversation with him.

Pupils greeted me now and then, and these were mainly pupils of Indian origin.

#### **9.2.10 LIMITATIONS OF OBSERVATIONS**

It is acknowledged that, on account of the human tendency to seek and impose meaning on the world (Foster, 1996: 51), what is observed is simultaneously interpreted by the observer who inevitably filters information according to her existing knowledge, theories, cultural standpoint and values. These observations therefore represent the researcher's interpretation of events observed from a visible ethnic minority perspective. Every effort was made to minimise reactivity and to avoid introducing biases and inaccuracies into this observation process so that as 'valid' a description of events was produced, as possible.

#### **9.2.11 SUMMARY**

Unobtrusive observations were undertaken at the three schools to explore the social processes within the schools that were thought to influence perceptions of social acceptance, and to validate data from interviews and surveys.

The observer's presence in the class had an influence on the behaviour of the pupils, which was mostly positive, but sometimes negative. The size of ethnic groups in a school and within the classroom appeared to have a visible effect on the dynamics in the school and classroom, and on the demeanour of most pupils. When there was a larger number of a particular ethnic group, these pupils appeared to be more confident and less concerned about or affected by the presence of the other groups, and vice versa. However, the size of the group did not appear to have an effect on Polynesian pupils whose presence was felt much more than the other groups in all three schools.

The social climate at all three schools did not appear to be as positive as hoped. There were clear divisions amongst pupils, and there appeared to be very little mixing. Usually, in

classes that were predominantly European the atmosphere appeared to be relaxed and friendly, and the class dynamics, positive. However, where visible ethnic minorities were in the majority, there appeared to be more tension in the room. Superficially, ethnic relations appeared to be conciliatory, however, segregation and clustering of pupils in ethnic groups was evident both in and out the classroom. This occurred by ethnicity and gender. There appeared to be more inter-ethnic interaction amongst the juniors than the seniors in all three schools, with more negative interaction such as name-calling, taunting and put-downs. Most pupils appeared to talk to visible ethnic minority pupils such as East and West Asians when they wanted to know or borrow something from them.

In all three schools, Asian pupils often appeared to be excluded by other pupils, particularly in classrooms where they were in the minority. Sometimes it was apparent that some pupils chose to exclude themselves from those, whose behaviour did not meet with their approval, or to whom they could not relate, or when they did not feel accepted. In classes in which they were the minority, European and Maori children appeared to identify with each other and usually sat together rather than with pupils from other ethnic groups.

Attitudes and behaviour amongst the different ethnic groups varied. Asian pupils were usually quiet, respectful and much better behaved than European and Polynesian pupils who were often noisy, unfocussed and disrespectful. However, when East Asians were in the majority in a room, they were often equally noisy and unfocussed. Friendly and hostile attitudes could be identified amongst all ethnic groups, but hostile attitudes appeared to be prolific amongst Polynesians and Europeans, and each group appeared to direct this hostility to all other ethnic groups.

A lack of respect toward the teacher and pupils was witnessed in many year 9 classes, especially those that were predominantly Polynesian. Pupil attitudes toward ethnic minority teachers appeared to vary according to ethnicity and demeanour of teachers. There appeared to be a 'put-down' culture amongst pupils, especially juniors, and much of this was interethnic taunting and denigration. Pupils were frequently observed 'bullying' others

both in and out the classroom. While much of this occurred within the same ethnic group, it was often observed to be inter-ethnic.

Although most teachers appeared to be uncomfortable with having to talk about ethnic issues in their schools, some appeared quite eager to discuss them. Almost all teachers in classes observed, displayed very positive attitudes toward their pupils and appeared to be good role models. However, they failed to set the most common example of respect to their pupils, which is greeting them on arrival. Only three teachers were obviously negative in their classes, and set a negative tone amongst their pupils. A list of speech topics in an English class demonstrated awareness amongst some English teachers of the social condition in New Zealand. An examination of the dictionaries held in each library revealed that not all language groups in the school were catered for, and that there was an apparent lack of awareness of and concern for the needs of speakers of other languages.

# CHAPTER TEN

## THE STATUS QUO: ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

*'We wear our cloaks well'*

(Parent)

### 10.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapters seven, eight and nine presented a detailed analysis of the research findings for each phase of the study and each form of data collection viz. Surveys, interviews and observations. This chapter provides an integration of this empirical and narrativist evidence, and an overall interpretation, discussion and theoretical elaboration of these results. This involves a cross-perceptual analysis in which the different forms of data are triangulated to verify the findings, and the interpretation of these findings according to the theoretical assumptions that underpin the data. It concludes with implications for future research and limitations of the study.

As the focus of this research is visible ethnic minority perceptions of their social acceptance, this discussion is primarily based on and represents the perceptions and complex and shifting worldviews of the visible ethnic minority community. The data from teachers, surveys and observations triangulates and reinforces these perceptions.

#### 10.1.1 Overarching Themes

In analysing the surveys, interviews and conversations, themes and concepts were discovered that were embedded throughout this data. These were reinforced during

observations made at schools thereafter. In this discussion, these themes and concepts are deciphered through critical readings of colonialism and liberalism, where appropriate.

In order to facilitate comprehension of the copious amounts of this data, this overall discussion is organised according to the overarching themes that emerged from the data. These themes and concepts represent answers to the questions that motivated this investigation and the variables that they tested. The following overarching themes and concepts have been identified: (1) Interethnic attitudes and perceptions of social acceptance of Asian pupils; (2) The impact of colonialism and liberalism on attitudes, behaviours and perceptions in New Zealand; (3) Effects of the school ecology on acceptance; (4) The influence of culture on perceptions of social acceptance; (5) Coping responses to problems, and (6) Consequences of non-acceptance and intimidation.

## **10.2 INTERETHNIC ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS**

### **10.2.1 Direct Perspectives**

Qualitative evidence (see chapter eight: Parent and Pupil Interviews) suggests that Asian pupils of Indian and Chinese origin do not perceive themselves to be socially accepted in their secondary schools. This perception is supported by some quantitative evidence such as results of the social distance scale, the issues inventory and responses to open-ended questions in the survey which suggest a lack of social acceptance amongst the ethnic groups, significant distance between them, and the existence of ethnic intimidation (see chapter seven: Survey Results).

The perceived distance (lack of contact) between the ethnic groups is supported by pupil and parent reports of not having opportunities to interact with locals (see chapter eight, page 244), and observations at schools (see chapter nine, section two: School Observations, pages 332-334, for example). These sources of data suggest that there is little social interaction amongst the ethnic groups at school; that the groups are fragmented, and that none of the groups is particularly close. The greatest division apparently lies between Europeans and the other ethnic groups (see chapter seven, page 160 and Table 7.6). One

possible explanation for this may be that Europeans may not wish to mix with the other groups any more than the others. This finding is supported by a Zimbabwean study (Wilson & Lavelle, 1990) which found that racial insularity was more marked amongst the 'Whites' than the 'Blacks'. Furthermore, evidence from the social distance scale (see Table 7.6 and Figures 7.1-7.5), parent and pupil interviews (see chapter eight, page 243: Contact), teacher interviews (see for example chapter nine, section one, page 280: Ethnic Relations) and observations (see chapter nine, section two, page 330: Ethnic Relations) suggests that the majority of pupils prefer to spend their time at school and out of school with friends from their own ethnic groups, a finding which is consistent with several studies concerning the influence of ethnicity on friendship selection (e.g. Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Clark, 1985; Eshel & Kurman, 1990; Koslin et al, 1972; Tajfel et al, 1971; Wilson & Lavelle, 1990).

Although the results of the interethnic attitude scale in the survey suggest that interethnic attitudes are moderate (i.e. there are average levels of interethnic social acceptance), the significant distance between the groups (see chapter seven, pages 159-164) calls into question the validity of some of these responses. Whilst these responses could be a true reflection of attitudes, it is possible that they could have been consciously or subconsciously tailored conservatively to perceived expectations, and may therefore reflect a desire of pupils to be seen as non-racist and accepting of all. On the other hand, it is also possible that it could reflect an overriding attitude of 'tolerance' rather than acceptance of others. Similarly, the predominant use of positive first adjectives in the stereotype scale may also reflect such attitudes.

This view is supported by responses to the open-ended, descriptive question eliciting perceptions of intimidatory practices, which suggest that Asians, particularly East Asians, feel unaccepted by other pupils who they identified as being mainly Europeans, followed by Pacific Islanders and Maori. It is possible that because Asians are visibly different from Europeans and Polynesians who are in the majority in New Zealand, they are not accepted by these groups as they are seen as not fitting in and as not being 'one of us', but 'them'. Not only do they look different, but also sound and behave differently, and as such, are

possibly perceived as alien. As has been shown in other responses to this survey, in the face of a foreign onslaught, Europeans and Maori apparently identify with and support each other against foreigners. This notion is supported by a Maori commentator on a television programme (Inside New Zealand, TV3, 21.03.02, 'New Zealand in 2050') who said that the Pacific Island and Asian communities are the most disadvantaged as they are 'hated' by everybody – the Maori and the Whites. Similarly, Sullivan (2000) acknowledges that Asians are easy targets and victims of what he calls racist bullying.

However, Europeans and Pacific Islanders apparently perceive themselves to be more socially accepting than they are perceived to be by the other groups (which may be a natural tendency to see oneself in a good light). On the other hand, West and East Asians do not perceive themselves to be more accepting than they are perceived to be by others. This may be explained by the general inclination of Asians toward modesty, which could possibly reflect their internalisation of the notion of inferiority. Contrarily, they are apparently perceived by all other ethnic groups to be much more accepting than Europeans and Polynesians (as suggested by survey results), which may possibly be due to their generally passive and non-confrontational natures, and their eagerness to please their hosts in their new home. Where Indians and Buddhist Chinese (in particular) are concerned, it may also reflect their cultural, religious and spiritual philosophies of Karma (cause and effect) and Ahimsa (non-violence) that encourage respect and acceptance of all.

### ***The Nature of Ethnic Intimidation***

The perception of Asian pupils that they are not socially accepted by their peers, and therefore often suffer adverse psychological and, sometimes, physical consequences, does not appear to be supported by results of the Peer Victimization Index and General Health Questionnaire in the survey. According to these results, Asian pupils do not appear to be victimised any more than the other ethnic groups, neither does their mental and physical well-being appear to be compromised any more. However, while no significant statistical differences were found in these measures, there is a trend evident in other statistically

significant survey data (discussed above) and confirmed by the qualitative data, that supports the perceptions of non-acceptance of these pupils. Qualitative data from interviews suggests visible ethnic minority pupils who are victims of ethnic intimidation experience poorer physical and mental well-being to varying degrees. This inconsistency in the data may be explained by the following: It may be that there is a difference between bullying and ethnic intimidation (see explanation in chapter one, page 9) and between feelings of victimisation and social non-acceptance, and that ethnic intimidation is not as overt as bullying, and feelings of non-acceptance from ethnic intimidation are more subtle than feelings of victimisation from bullying. The instrumentation used to measure this, i.e. the Peer Victimization Index, may therefore not be an adequate measure of ethnic intimidation. This index which was borrowed from an Australian study (Rigby, 1993), may have been devised to measure intra-ethnic bullying within a mono-ethnic environment, and, while adequately measuring victimisation to bullying, may be insensitive to the subtleties of ethnic intimidation and feelings of non-acceptance within a diverse ethnic environment. Accordingly, further research needs to be done to explore the use of more appropriate measures for this purpose. A possible explanation may be that those liberal and colonial discourses that influence attitudes and behaviours of western ethnic groups toward non-western ethnic groups may also be influential in the apparent inability of existing psychometric surveys to measure ethnic intimidation and disclose its effects. Research is required to investigate the links between these discourses and the construction and content of such surveys. Furthermore, research is needed to explore how the qualitative aspect of this study was able to subvert the formative effects of those discourses so as to yield credible information about the negative effects of ethnic intimidation upon members of visible ethnic minority groups.

Where, mental and physical well-being is concerned, it may be that Asian pupils' shame and embarrassment over being intimidated because of their ethnicity, as well as their fear of being seen as ungrateful and causing trouble, attenuates their responses to the General Health Questionnaire. This may also apply to responses to the Peer Victimization Index. Some Indian (West Asian) pupils could either be blocking out memories of such behaviour against them, as parents and ethnic minority teachers reported such victimisation, or they

may possibly be fortified by their religious convictions which encourage them to conquer aggression and violence with kindness and compassion. Interview data suggests that they are victims to a larger extent than shown by these scores. Chinese (East Asians) reportedly perceive themselves to be not accepted the most. One of the adjectives used to describe them is ‘little/small’, which suggests that their size is noticed and probably considered to be advantageous by bullies who are generally known to seek smaller prey (Olweus, 1978). They are also known to possess good things such as clothing and cars that others apparently desire, so may attract envy from some who intimidate and pilfer from them, as suggested by pupils, parents and teachers.

One of the points being made in this thesis is that intimidatory behaviour, specifically bullying, is not just a personal, behavioural construct, but also a *social construct with an ethnic dimension* and that *ethnic intimidation* is a separate issue from bullying, and is much larger and more subtle. The evidence in chapter seven, Tables 7.8, 7.9, 7.11 and 7.13; chapter eight: Parent and Pupil Interviews, page 241: Ethnic Intimidation; and chapter nine, section one: Conversations with Teachers, page 283 – Question 2 to teachers, and page 312 – Questions 2 and 3 to Guidance Counsellors and Mediators strongly suggests this. This behaviour is missed, not only by traditional forms of measurement, but also by many practitioners who are unable to recognise ethnic intimidation as they consider intimidatory practices to be only descriptive in form and not social and interethnic, and therefore perhaps less significant. Consequently, they suggest that those incidents that are perceived to be ‘racial’ by those involved, are not really ‘racial’, but merely a *clash of individual personalities*. The ethnic dimension is therefore not considered to the extent that it should be when dealing with problems of intimidation at schools.

The large proportion of pupils who report feeling unaccepted or rejected because of ethnic intimidation, the equally large number of the sample who report *ethnicity* as the reason for intimidatory behaviour toward them, and the large proportion of these pupils who are visible ethnic minorities, are further evidence of the existence of ethnic intimidation apart from intra-ethnic bullying. That Europeans, Pacific Islanders and Maori are identified as the perpetrators (see Table 7.14), and that a large proportion of Asians report being victims

(see chapter eight, page 241), suggest an ethnic element to this behaviour, and lend further support to this contention. This data also suggests that ethnic intimidation is pervasive in these schools. These results are of concern because even if ethnic biases are unintentional they are still 'real' and hurtful for the recipients (Jones & Derman-Sparks, 1992), and the costs of psychological and emotional endangerment for both the majority and minority ethnic groups in such a situation are high. These authors suggest that those who practice prejudice and discrimination stir and satisfy crude forms of hate and dominance, and those who receive it are oppressed and frustrated.

Ethnic intimidation has its roots outside the school, in wider social relations, the community and the home (see chapter two for a discussion of the history of European and non-European relations). In committing such offences children are reproducing behaviours instigated by and learned from adults. They do it with confidence as they know they are supported, implicitly or explicitly, by the community from which they have learned these behaviours. By failing to distinguish between ethnic intimidation and bullying, we are missing the forest for the trees. We are failing to see the wider and more subtle issue and consequently misread, misunderstand and ignore the complex and racist context of the activity, a view supported by Loach and Bloor (1995). Labelling the phenomenon correctly will facilitate understanding, identification, recognition and effective management of such instances. It is evident from definitions provided by pupils from all ethnic groups in the survey that a significant number recognise and acknowledge ethnic intimidation. It is hoped that their awareness will be increased by school interventions which would subsequently assist in eliminating such behaviour.

Another possible misconception with regard to the Peer Victimization Index concerns the measurement of victimisation. The results suggest that what is being measured as *victimisation* in European and Polynesian pupils (and perhaps others), may actually be *bullying* committed by themselves. When measuring bullying it is usually assumed that those groups with higher means *experience* the type of bullying listed more than other groups. However, it is possible that it may actually be the converse. Interview and survey data suggests that those groups with high means actually *inflict* bullying of that kind on

others, therefore are aware of it. Because the Peer Victimization Index records the self-perceptions of pupils, it may be a clearer reflection of bullies' perceptions of their own behaviour. For example, Pacific Islanders are the group that recognise forcing people to do things that they do not want to do, the most. Interview (see chapter eight, page 243) and survey data (see Table 7.14) indicates that they are the major perpetrators of such intimidatory practices and not victims. Similarly, Europeans list emotional and psychological intimidation more than other groups, but qualitative data suggests that they are perpetrators more than victims of this type of intimidation. It is therefore possible that they recognise such a form of intimidation or bullying because they themselves inflict such intimidation on others. Pupils suggest Europeans and Polynesians (to a slightly lesser extent) are the major perpetrators of intimidatory practices. This therefore suggests that the numbers reporting an aspect of bullying may not necessarily indicate that they are victims of such intimidation, but could also suggest that they are the perpetrators.

### 10.2.2 Meta-Perspectives

It was considered important to investigate the *meta-perspectives* of pupils as observations suggested that what others think of them is important to adolescents, and determines their behaviour toward them, and that in many circumstances they are capable of correctly estimating attitudes of others toward them. This view is supported by other studies that have found that adolescents have a capacity for abstraction and reflection on the self (Bird & Drewery, 2000: 156) and, according to Elkind (1976), focus exceedingly on others' likely view of them as if they were 'on stage'. An examination of meta-perspectives reveals that pupils are generally perceptive and have a fairly good idea of attitudes of the different ethnic groups toward themselves, as well as toward others. While there are some significant misconceptions, congruence of perceptions is much greater.

Results suggest that Europeans and East Asians misconstrue Maori/Pacifika attitudes toward them, thinking that they do not like them, while they say they liked them 'quite a lot'. It is possible that these *misconceptions* occur because these pupils feel intimidated by Polynesian pupils many of whom often appear to be boisterous, which could be

misconstrued as aggressive and confrontational behaviour. Pacific Islanders misinterpret East Asian and West Asian attitudes toward them, believing that they are not accepted by them. Again, it may be that Asians are intimidated by Pacific Island behaviour, and, as many of them often present as passive people, they may instinctively withdraw from behaviour that is foreign to them, inadvertently (perhaps) creating the impression of non-acceptance. This may also explain why Pacific Islanders reportedly reject West and East Asians as much as they do. For the same reasons, West Asians apparently underestimate Maori/Pacifika acceptance of them. Europeans appear to underestimate East Asian acceptance of them, possibly because of their reluctance to communicate with them due to poor English language skills. Pacific Islanders apparently over-estimate European acceptance of them, probably because they interpret the lack of interaction between themselves and Europeans, who reportedly fear them, as acceptance. This perception may also be influenced by the general belief amongst immigrant ethnic minorities in this study who are seeking better political and social conditions that all peoples are equal and should be accepted equally. On the other hand, it could simply mean that attitudes have been misrepresented for fear of being labelled racist, and that pupils' perceptions are correct.

A plausible reason for misconceptions, or correct perceptions if attitudes have been misrepresented, is that perceptions are determined by behaviour. Pupils are interpreting the behaviours of their peers in ways that make sense to them. This view is supported by Mellor and Firth (1983) who say that if the immigrant population believes that the hosts have a negative attitude toward them; it is possible to argue that the hosts are behaving in that way, either at the micro- or macro-level, to project this attitude to the immigrants. It may also be that the extrovertly expressive and vocal behaviour of Polynesian pupils is interpreted negatively by other groups, while the introverted behaviour of Asians is sometimes interpreted as rejection.

The Ethnic Attitude scale (see Table 7.1) indicates that not all Europeans accept the concept of *Colonialism* and *White superiority*, contrary to the expectations of other ethnic groups (except Pacific Islanders). This could indicate either an attitude shift in recent times, or that pupil responses were determined by perceived expectations. Europeans and

East Asians expect Polynesians to be more against White superiority than they actually are, and all groups, including Polynesians themselves, perceive Polynesians as inferior to some extent. This could perhaps explain why they are not as against White superiority as Europeans expect them to be. They appear to perceive themselves as inferior to 'Whites', therefore accept the notion of White superiority to some extent, as Asians also appear to. A reason that may be proposed for this attitude of visible ethnic minorities toward 'White' people, is that they have been conditioned into believing that 'Whites' are superior and they are inferior for so many generations, that they have now internalised it and accept it as a fact.

Maori and Pacific Islanders appear to be less in favour of *Separate ethnic schooling* than East Asians believe. In light of recent developments in favour of separate schools in kaupapa Maori education, this could possibly be interpreted as a difference in adults' and children's attitudes. Although Maori and Pacific Islanders appear to accept each other more than they do others, they do not appear to accept each other as much as Asian immigrants expect them to. Pacific Islanders appear to have a greater dislike of *things Maori* than Asians and Europeans realise. It is not surprising that other groups misconstrue this relationship, as many non-Polynesians (especially Asians) appear to believe that Maori and Pacific Islanders belong to one 'family', therefore must have close bonds and positive feelings for each other. Pupils who feel distant from Pacific Islanders therefore probably feel distant to Maori as well as suggested by the survey, as they perceive them as related groups. However, all the other races are well separated and would therefore appear to be perceived separately.

Pacific Islanders and Asians (West Asians in particular) apparently feel more strongly about *Ethnic pride* than the other groups, possibly because of their stronger religious convictions which usually appear to go hand in hand with strong ethnic awareness (Fazel & Young, 1988; Sprinthall & Collins, 1995). This is also consistent with their attitude toward identity which shows that most of them consider themselves as having one identity despite switching from being Pacific Islander, Chinese or Indian to 'Western' when necessary. It is not surprising that all pupils appear not to be overwhelmingly in favour of *Ethnic minority*

*rights* considering current negative western attitudes toward visible ethnic minorities (which are reflected in more dubiousness about this), and the lack of self-confidence of many ethnic minorities who, over the generations, have come to believe in and accept their inferior social status (in the view of the researcher). All groups are equally dubious about *Mixed relationships*, which could signify a desire to preserve ethnicity and culture on the one hand, or a reluctance to integrate to that extent, on the other.

### **10.3 IMPACT OF COLONIALISM AND LIBERALISM ON ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS: A Visible Ethnic Minority Perspective**

Visible ethnic minority parents of Asian origin are of the opinion that there is an *unwillingness* amongst many Europeans to condescend to *social interaction* with non-Europeans, possibly as a result of their residual colonial sense of superiority over others. Furthermore, anecdotal reports from participants suggests that liberalism taken to the extreme has created a focus on the self amongst many New Zealanders with unpleasant outcomes such as the loss of old values and lack of discipline and respect. These paired with xenophobic attitudes amongst some toward the ethnic 'other' (as suggested by media reports since the early 1990s), inculcated by colonialism, have impacted negatively on their relations with such peoples. Many Asians, on the other hand, have internalised the negative self-concepts imposed on them by their European colonisers over centuries, and consequently consider themselves to be not good enough for social interaction with them.

Such attitudes have created a variety of problems, not only for visible ethnic minorities, but also for Europeans. Some of the more significant effects are discussed below:

#### **10.3.1 Racism, Prejudice and Discrimination**

It would appear that a possible consequence of colonialism may be that many Europeans may, consciously or sub-consciously, have prejudiced attitudes toward non-Europeans and may be discriminatory toward them. Hence, Asian pupils are routinely subjected to such attitudes from both *peers and teachers*. The belief of parents and most pupils that racist

and prejudiced attitudes are the major cause of *negative behaviours* toward them, and that racism and prejudice is rife, but that people repress it for fear of repercussions, is supported by nearly half the teachers, including all ethnic minority and many European teachers, who say there are 'racial' problems and 'a great deal of prejudice' amongst the different ethnic groups, particularly in the junior school.

Prejudice is often expressed and influenced by *stereotypes* which are a powerful element of prejudice (Hall, 1997; Kerlinger, 1984), and which are passed on and reinforced by teachers, parents and other such role models, as well as neighbours, peers, and siblings. The use of adjectives to describe other ethnic groups suggests that *stereotypes* may exert an influence, to varying degrees, on the interactions between pupils, as found by other studies (Ward *et al.*, 2001). For example, some pupils used words such as 'haka', 'hangi' and 'warriors' to describe Maori, and others used 'nerds' and 'bad drivers' to describe Asians. However, the extent to which stereotypes imply that people are liked or disliked more or less, and whether negative or positive words translate into negative or positive feelings, needs to be tested further.

Despite the first of three adjectives used by pupils being predominantly positive, the use of negative stereotypes for the second and third adjectives is high amongst some pupils. From their comparatively high use of negative words to describe other ethnic groups it is apparent that Maori, and European pupils to a lesser extent (see Table 7.16 for first adjectives), are not very accepting of pupils from other ethnic groups. As host groups in New Zealand, they may consider others as intruders, hence reject them. The significantly higher use of negative words to describe Maori and Pacific Islanders suggests that they are accepted socially to a lesser extent by most pupils of the other ethnic groups.

However, *West Asians* (Indians), from their consistently low use of negative words to describe each of the other ethnic groups (see Table 7.16), supported by data from the interethnic attitude and social distance scales, are apparently *more accepting* of the other groups even though they may be unaccepting of them. A similar attitude was found in an Australian study (Marjoribanks & Jordan, 1985) where, despite negative and unfavourable

stereotypes that Anglo-Australians used to describe Aborigines, they expressed favourable stereotypes toward Anglo-Australians. One interpretation of this may be that both groups have internalised notions of superiority about Europeans and inferiority about themselves inculcated during colonial times and sustained in the present. In the Indian sample of this study, it is also possible that positive attitudes toward others are a product of their religious and cultural values, which are based on the Hindu principle of *Ahimsa* which fosters non-injury (both psychological and physical) to all beings. This finding is consistent with those of Fazel and Young (1988) who identified religion as a correlate of psychological well-being, which would exert a positive influence on attitudes.

### **10.3.2 Perceived Causes of Prejudice in 'Kiwis'**

Parents and teachers offered *insulation* as an explanation for prejudiced attitudes of New Zealanders. This was supported by some European and all ethnic minority teachers who suggested that this gave rise to fear, suspicion and insecurity about having people who are unfamiliar around them. These teachers also suggested that low self-concepts amongst the locals, the 'tall poppy' syndrome, and the search for identity by New Zealanders also contribute to negative attitudes. It supposedly helps their self-esteem and self-confidence through the conception of a whole group of people as consistently inferior to themselves (Lambert & Taylor, 1990; Sprinthall & Collins, 1995).

Parents and pupils suggested that *envy and resentment* also made people behave in racist ways. This view was supported by all ethnic minority teachers as well as some Europeans who agreed that the material possessions of Asians, especially those of Chinese origin, made local pupils envious and resentful and encouraged aggressive behaviour toward them. Some European teachers suggested that the apparent New Zealand culture of *aggression*, as evidenced in rugby and the haka, exacerbated this (see chapter nine, section one, page 289). The parent and pupil view that such attitudes are inculcated at home was shared by ethnic minority and a few other teachers, and supported by other authors (Bird & Drewery, 2000; Frydenberg, 1977; Sprinthall & Collins, 1995).

Many European teachers intimate that *economics* contributes toward 'intolerance', and that problems over *status* supersede those of ethnicity. However, this claim is not supported by quantitative data from surveys which shows that *ethnicity* is the major cause of non-acceptance, discrimination and prejudice (see Tables 7.7-7.9 and Figure 7.13). The European belief that it is status rather than ethnicity that causes 'intolerance' may reflect an unawareness in some, or unwillingness to accept or admit the existence of racism, given the widespread belief amongst New Zealanders that theirs is an egalitarian society. It may also confirm the parent and pupil suggestion that they are not accepted because they are considered to be of low status.

#### **10.4 EFFECTS OF THE SCHOOL ECOLOGY ON THE SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE OF VISIBLE ETHNIC MINORITY PUPILS**

Qualitative and quantitative data presented in the previous chapters appears to support the supposition that interpretations of school ground intimidatory practices (so-called 'bullying behaviour') have been dominated by a liberal paradigm that is embedded within colonialist practice. Hence the existence of 'ethnic intimidation' is apparently not recognised by most teachers (see chapter nine, page 282) and pupils (see Table 7.11), and possibly many western researchers. This is perturbing because schools as systems of formal education are amongst the most important institutions involved in the reproduction of contemporary society (Gutmann, 1994; Ward *et al.*, 2001). They are considered to be so influential because they affect the early development of social cognitions, and are also the context (apart from society and the home) for the acquisition and confirmation of ethnic beliefs of the 'white' child about minorities (van Dijk, 1993). If the existence of ethnic intimidation is not acknowledged by teachers, it is highly unlikely that they will attempt to eliminate it.

##### **10.4.1 Social Responsibility**

Along with families, the school as one of the major agents for socialisation has an increasingly significant part to play in improving the physical and psychological well-being of all their pupils (Gutmann, 1994; Sprinthall & Collins, 1995). Those concerned with the

development of policy and practice need to understand the dynamic interrelationship between education and the population of youth which it serves, so that policy and curriculum can have the capacity to respond to emerging requirements. This view is clearly supported by both parents and teachers who suggest that it is also the responsibility of the school to prepare pupils for life.

However, there is ambivalence amongst them about the effectiveness of the school in preparing children for *the 'real' world*. Most European teachers suggest that their schools reflect the city, and as such are preparing their pupils for life, while visible ethnic minority teachers feel that social acceptance in schools could be improved by formal education about the different peoples and their cultures, which would increase understanding and empathy, which they intimate, very few New Zealanders appear to have. This ambivalence suggests that there is much more that can be done to make schools safe and benevolent for all pupils. Asian teachers affirm, however, that because schools are beginning to acknowledge that they have a 'racial problem' and have begun to deal with it, social acceptance is improving. This view is reinforced by parents who acknowledge that their children's schools are making attempts to foster understanding and acceptance of ethnic minority groups, but generally feel that more can be done.

#### **10.4.2 Social Climate within Schools**

The social climate within schools has a huge impact on the social acceptance of ethnic minority pupils, and a positive social climate will nurture positive interethnic relationships. Parent and teacher views on the social climate are contradictory. Although teachers initially reported that *ethnic relations* are conciliatory, many qualified these statements by saying that *social problems* exist, and that there is large scale *segregation* and *conflict* amongst the different ethnic groups. Counsellors initially reported few *ethnic problems*, and contradicted this later by saying that ethnic confrontation mostly involves name-calling, racial slurs and put-downs, which are *endemic* in most schools. Parents and pupils report very little positive interethnic interaction. Observations at the three schools revealed clear divisions amongst pupils and there appeared to be very little mixing. Segregation and

clustering of pupils in ethnic groups was evident both in and out the classroom. More interethnic interaction was evident amongst the juniors than the seniors in all three schools, with more negative interaction such as name-calling, taunting and put-downs, confirming counsellor reports. However, teachers reported that, comparatively, all three schools had a more positive climate than many other schools they had taught at (see chapter nine, section one, page 308).

The apparent *reluctance of teachers* to admit ethnic problems exist and their reported ignoring of such problems in the classroom by Asian pupils, is significant as it is possible that this attitude would impact on pupil attitudes and behaviours. Local pupils could pick up on and emulate this attitude, and feel free to behave negatively toward ethnic minorities because they would expect teachers to either not believe that they were being racist (because they do not admit that such problems exist) or to ignore it.

Some European and Asian teachers suggested that as local pupils and teachers became more accustomed to having visible ethnic minorities around, *levels of 'tolerance'* increased. This is consistent with reports from some parents and pupils who said they felt totally unaccepted initially, but that attitudes toward them improved with time. Other studies also report this effect (Ward *et al.*, 2001). This may indicate that local attitudes are changing positively as they grow accustomed to having large numbers of visible ethnic minorities around, and that they may be correcting initial misconceptions, or it may suggest that difference is merely being tolerated better and not actually accepted. It is also possible that immigrants are merely adapting to the feeling of rejection and learning to accept it, and that there is no change in local attitudes, as all immigrants appear to report that they have initially felt unaccepted, irrespective of how long they have been in the country. Those who have been here for twenty years and those who have come recently all report the same progression of feeling. Accordingly, it is plausible that it is the immigrant who is changing and not the 'Kiwi', as some reports from both immigrants and locals (teachers who are parents as well, the one 'Kiwi' father and 'Kiwi' pupil interviewed, as well as media reports) suggest that some of their attitudes are worsening rather than improving. For visible ethnic minorities who are considered to be in the 'out-group', evidence from this

study shows that schools can be alienating and unpleasant, which could lead to major problems for society.

### **10.4.3 Teacher Attitudes**

In Asian (both Indian and Chinese) cultures the teacher is viewed as a model, authority and parent, as compared to western cultures that view the teacher as a facilitator, organiser and friendly critic. Ward *et al.* (2002) suggest that many educators view these differences in educational traditions of Oriental cultures in a stereotypic and negative fashion. As discussed above, these differing views often result in dissatisfying and unproductive classroom encounters for many Asian children.

Of particular concern is the disconcerting identification by some pupils, albeit a small number, of *teachers as perpetrators* of intimidatory practices. In fact, the interview question on teacher attitudes was inserted into the schedule on the recommendation of pupils participating in the pilot interview who suggested that they were often more unaccepting and racist than pupils. This begs the question of what attitudes teachers have toward ethnic minority pupils, and to what extent they are facilitators or impediments to these pupils. Interview data from parents, pupils and ethnic minority teachers suggests that there is discrimination and prejudice on the part of a significant number of teachers. This finding is supported by Emery *et al.* (1999) who suggest, for example, that teachers applying one rule to all ethnic groups, irrespective of circumstances, is 'racial prejudice'. Moreover, Ward *et al.* (2002) say that in their ordinary classroom interactions teachers often operate on the basis of stereotypes, naïve assumptions and self-fulfilling prophecies. These concerns were confirmed by a few European and Maori teachers who openly expressed negative feelings about cultural diversity, saying it made life unnecessarily difficult for them as it placed more demands on everyone (see chapter nine, section one, page 304); and the view presented by a European male that those who could not speak English were cognitively deficient, and that their reading and writing level reflected their ability (or inability) to think (*ibid*, page 308).

Pupil awareness of these attitudes is reflected in some of their descriptions of their teachers. East Asian pupils described *teachers* negatively, possibly because they apparently perceive them as racist and insensitive to their peculiar circumstances and needs in terms of language proficiency, as reported in interviews. The use of negative stereotypes suggests that some Pacific Islanders and Europeans may also dislike their teachers. From an outsider's perspective this could possibly reflect the apparent lack of value placed on education and educators in New Zealand as suggested by media reports and the dissatisfaction currently being expressed by teachers. Maori described counsellors much more negatively than any other group, followed by East Asians and Pacific Islanders, which could possibly reflect a need for culturally appropriate knowledge for counsellors so that they may provide a service more suited to the needs of these pupils.

Some teachers were of the opinion that the extent of social acceptance in a school depends on the attitude of teachers who are *role models* for their pupils. Interview data suggests that upper management in schools generally have the impression that all their teachers are good role models for their pupils, while many pupils, parents and ethnic minority, as well as a few European teachers, suggested otherwise. However, parents acknowledged that while many teachers have racist attitudes toward foreign children, others are role models for acceptance and encourage and promote respect of all cultures, welcome cultural diversity in their schools and appear to be enthused by Asian pupils.

Parents proposed that teachers may have negative attitudes because they *lack knowledge, awareness and understanding* of the different cultures and empathy for their problems, consequently Asian pupils do not trust them and choose not to seek help from or confide in them when intimidated. This is corroborated by the apparent belief of counsellors and mediators interviewed that there are very few ethnic conflicts at school and the perception of many parents and pupils, and some teachers that only a small group of teachers, including the Asian teachers and others who had lived and worked abroad, displayed any understanding of and concern for immigrant pupils' problems at school.

It is the view of the researcher that bias toward the liberalist assimilationist position, with its *bias* toward Caucasians and antipathy toward Asian pupils, may lead many teachers to ignore their cultural, social and personal aspirations. This view is supported by several other studies which have found that teachers have a positive bias toward European pupils and a negative bias toward visible ethnic minority pupils (Clifton, 1986; Elliot & Argulewicz, 1983; Foster, 1990; Myles & Ratzlaff, 1988; St.George, 1983). It is also corroborated by many pupils, parents and ethnic minority teachers who reported European teachers overlooking racist behaviours toward them, and by the view of a few teachers that the presence of too many cultures in one place is creating 'undercurrents' and conflict. This finding is supported by Wragg's (1999) proposal that teachers often 'observe' what they want to see, such as harmonious relationships and effective practice, and they may ignore or overlook what they do not wish to see.

Consequently, many, often well-meaning, European teachers announced confidently (although perhaps ignorantly) that they treat all pupils 'in the same way' because they see 'no difference' in them. This is considered by the researcher to be a consequence of liberalism, which assimilates cultural diversity in the name of *uniformity*, which in turn presumes impartiality (Tully, 1995: 66). Hence they believe that being *egalitarian* when dealing with a diverse ethnic population means treating people identically rather than equitably and not allowing culture to get in the way as all people are 'the same'. This rationalisation is understood against the background vision of the historical progression of people through various stages toward uniform manners and institutions. They do not appear to realise that different cultures have different needs that must be equally catered for and not ignored in order to be egalitarian, and that to ignore difference is to disregard and affront the very core of humanity. This situation emphasises the need for all aspects of knowledge for teachers, pupils and others from the local community as it is probable that many negative behaviours are the consequence of ignorance. It calls for concern also because teachers are the paid professionals expected in law to act as a thoughtful parent might, to be *in loco parentis* (Wragg, 1999). In order to fulfil what the law calls the 'duty of care', Wragg says that teachers are given certain powers as well as responsibilities which they are expected to perform. Unfortunately, evidence suggests that many teachers may

allow their own background and preferences to adversely influence the service they provide to visible ethnic minority pupils (ibid: 5).

However, many European teachers appeared to perceive ethnic diversity in a positive light and *welcomed multiculturalism* which, they intimated, contributes to better social relations within their schools. Many also recognised the weaknesses of their compatriots and were empathetic and compassionate toward visible ethnic minority pupils, which augurs well for the future.

#### **10.4.4 Standards, Discipline and Ethnic Intimidation**

Parents and pupils expressed disappointment with the general lackadaisical atmosphere, lack of motivation and lack of discipline in schools, which they suggested contributes to lack of respect, negative attitudes and ethnic intimidation. This view was corroborated by many teachers, including all sixteen Asian teachers, who felt that untidiness and the lack of order and pupil responsibility exacerbates the situation. This was borne out further by attitudes and behaviours observed in classes where lack of respect toward teachers and pupils (as exhibited by belligerence, derision and defiance) was witnessed, particularly in year 9 classes; especially those that were predominantly Polynesian, where there appeared to be a ‘put-down’ culture, as reported by some teachers. Those pupils of Indian and Chinese origin who were apparently considered to be ‘softer’ appeared to be treated with greater disrespect (see chapter nine, section two, page 338).

However, two-thirds of teachers (mainly Europeans) maintained that there was no problem with discipline, which they considered to be generally good because of the ‘tough’ policies of their schools. Some suggested that when the atmosphere at schools was more democratic, friendly and relaxed, there was less tension, so pupils were more ‘tolerant’; and in schools where there was strict discipline, there was more tension, therefore more confrontations. However, while that may be the case in some schools, when the atmosphere was too relaxed, discipline problems were observed which appeared to encourage ethnic confrontations (see chapter nine, section two, page 335).

Parent and pupil *disappointment* with the standard of education was supported by ethnic minority teachers. It was evident that this disappointment was having a negative impact on their perceptions of social acceptance as many parents expressed feeling cheated and misled by immigration consultants who, together with other New Zealanders, believe that international students of Chinese origin come here because the education offered is of a high standard. This was corroborated by the education minister (Asia Down Under, 7 April 2002) who suggested that we are providing a 'quality education' therefore it must remain New Zealand in character. Hence, there is a mandatory code of practice that requires institutions to retain this character, which, it is believed; international students appreciate and report when they return to their countries. However, this is not the view expressed by the two international pupils and 33 immigrant interviewees of this study. The impressions of both groups are equally important in terms of New Zealand's education trade, as both groups communicate these to their compatriots. The country earns over a billion dollars from international students each year who come here mainly to learn English. However, they report desiring a good quality education in other areas as well. These fee-paying pupils, who paid over \$8000 per year (in 2001), and several ESOL pupils expressed disappointment with the pastoral and academic support they received.

This may suggest that schools may not be catering adequately for the cultural diversity within their classes, a concern reflected by Gutmann (1994), who says (of America) that schools have come under severe criticism these days for failing to recognise or respect the particular cultural identities of citizens. This is a serious concern as it is widely accepted that the character of the school and the classroom as a social environment for learning influences both educational and social outcomes (Sprinthall & Collins, 1995: 339). Education should feature a broad, trans-cultural perspective that would give credit to major ethnic groups and cultures, and would aim to develop knowledge and anti-racist attitudes needed for harmonious interaction (van Dijk, 1993: 200).

Parent perceptions that poor education standards and discipline, together with negative attitudes amongst some teachers toward ethnic minority pupils, contributes to ethnic intimidation, was corroborated by over half the teacher sample, including over a third of

European teachers (see results in chapter nine, section one, page 295). Asian teachers reinforced the reports of visible ethnic minority pupils that they were frequently subjected to ethnic intimidation at school in the form of name-calling, teasing and put-downs, together with being bullied into giving money or doing homework for others (see chapter eight, page 241). They also supported their perception that they were discriminated against because of their physical appearance, language and accents, and high academic achievement (ibid: 240). Their view that they are easy targets for pupils who are predisposed to bullying because they (Indian and Chinese pupils) are comparatively timid and generally *not liked* by Polynesians and Europeans, was also corroborated by all ethnic minority and a few European teachers, as well as other authors who allege that bullies tend to believe that they have a right to act because they do not like another (Olweus, 1991; Perry *et al.*, 1988). In the view of the researcher, this reflects the subconscious and unacknowledged influence of *liberalist principles*, and in New Zealand, the alleged focus on *human rights* taken to its extreme that often allows offenders to get away with such behaviour. Pupils who are inclined this way are the ones who usually make it their business to know what their rights are, and manipulate these in order to get away with intimidation.

The comparatively high *academic standards* and *achievement* of many visible ethnic minorities also encourages non-acceptance. However, there was ambivalence about this form of discrimination amongst respondents with some reporting rejection by 'Kiwi' pupils because of it, and others reporting more acceptance as a result. The latter finding is supported by Schwarzwald and Hoffman (1993) who found that both academic standing and ethnicity influenced levels of interethnic acceptance, but academic considerations had markedly greater impact. In the New Zealand context, one possible explanation for the rejection of those with high academic achievement by many 'Kiwi' children could be the so-called 'tall poppy' syndrome, which, in the view of the researcher, is a symptom of liberal ideals of uniformity and unity. It may also be attributable to the 'obsession' with sport (as perceived by immigrants) amongst many, to which studies may take second place. These factors may preclude acceptance of those who might stand up above the rest.

This suggestion is supported by an American study (Goodlad, 1984) which also revealed that being *good looking and athletic* ranked much higher than being smart, demonstrating an adolescent pre-occupation with themselves and sport. This is consistent with parent reports suggesting that they are disliked because they are considered to be not good looking by 'Kiwis' and are treated like those with physical disabilities (see chapter eight, page 232). Bird and Drewery (2000: 153) point to the negative consequences for young people with disabilities. The significance of this for visible ethnic minority pupils lies in their perception that they therefore often suffer the negative consequences that the disabled often do, which has an impact on their perceptions of social acceptance. However, some parents were confused about the contradiction they found in this. On the one hand, they felt 'Kiwis' treated their physically disadvantaged comparatively well, but on the other, they sometimes treated visible ethnic minority foreigners as badly as many others often treat such people. They suggested that this may reflect double standards employed by some 'Kiwis' with respect to visible ethnic minorities (ibid.).

#### **10.4.5 Misunderstanding**

Parent and pupil reports of misunderstanding and miscommunication due to limited English language skills and their consequent *inability to communicate* with the locals (see chapter eight, page 248), is supported by other studies that have found that fluency in English may facilitate cross-national relationships, and vice versa (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Milbourne, 2002; Ward *et al.*, 2001). This results in suspicion and misunderstanding at various levels and aggravate interethnic relationships, adaptation and perceptions of social acceptance. For example, ethnic minority pupils speak in their *vernaculars* at school expecting people to understand why they do it, however, the locals (pupils and teachers) apparently believe that they are being gossiped about or laughed at when others speak in their language, as suggested by parents, pupils and European teachers who felt this way (see chapters eight and nine for interviews). Because of their inability to communicate with each other, even when behaviours are innocent of malice, respondents believe they are often considered by both groups to have *ulterior motives*. While it is possible that 'Kiwis' do not initiate communication because they may be racist and may not wish to mix, as many

immigrants feel, it is also possible that they may be just as unsure of immigrants as they are of them, and keep away for those reasons.

Furthermore, results (see Table 7.22) suggest that although West Asians do not feel socially accepted because of ethnic intimidation, they may not be too concerned about being intimidated. If this is the case, one explanation could be that they do not wish to create further misunderstanding by overtly demonstrating such concerns and drawing negative attention to themselves. They also do not want to 'get a bad name' by complaining and appearing to be unappreciative of being here. Interviews with parents indicate such a concern amongst them.

Similarly, teacher queries about terms such as 'Asian' and 'Indian', for example, support parent concerns that lack of knowledge is a problem that is causing misunderstanding therefore needs to be addressed. They identified a need for information for locals and immigrants about each other, better cultural understanding at school, and for gaps in communication to be bridged, so that there is no misunderstanding which creates conflict. These concerns are also reflected in a study by Milbourne (2002), and highlight issues that need to be addressed by schools.

## **10.5 THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE ON PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE**

A strong recurring theme from the present data was characterised by beliefs of Asian pupils and their parents that they are not accepted by many New Zealanders because their worldviews differ, and their cultures are not recognised and respected. They consequently encounter racism, prejudice and discrimination from the locals, which results in a lack of interaction with them. Many of their needs and expectations are also not being met, both in the community and in schools, a finding which is supported by other authors (Ward *et al.*, 2001). These variables mediate their ability to adapt and cope with stresses, which in turn influences and is also influenced by their perceptions of social acceptance. An explanation

of these concepts may assist in understanding visible ethnic minority perceptions of non-acceptance.

### **10.5.1 Worldview and Culture**

The differing worldviews and natures of immigrant and local peoples and cultures influence the degree of acceptance of immigrants, as well as immigrant perceptions of social acceptance. This view is supported by Ward *et al.* (2001). These worldviews, against a history of colonialism and liberalism, produce misunderstanding and conflict. Western cultures are considered to be individualistic and Eastern cultures are considered to be collectivistic, and it is considered inevitable that peoples with such contrasting worldviews will clash when thrown together (Hofstede, 1980; Lambert & Taylor, 1990; Schwartz, 1994; Triandis, 1995). These authors suggest that differences in Individualism-Collectivism can act as barriers to effective interpersonal communication, which can result in feelings of non-acceptance by the participants. This appears to be a plausible explanation that would account for part of the conflict between Asian and local pupils reported by the interviewees, and supported by survey data of this study (see, for example, chapter seven, paragraphs 7.3 and 7.4). These worldviews (I-C) together with power distance (PD), which refers to the distance between peoples of different status (such as pupils and teachers who are respected for their authority by pupils), exert a strong influence on classroom communication and interactions (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1990), and provide interpretive frameworks for cultural difference.

These differences were witnessed in 'Kiwi' and Asian children and supported by their teachers. 'Kiwi' children were observed to be interactive in class, to ask questions, give answers and engage in debate, and Asian pupils appeared to want to 'fit in', were less verbally interactive and usually unwilling to draw attention to themselves, and were respectful to their teachers. One possible explanation may be that it is these differences in cultural values that lead to the numerous misconceptions between local pupils and teachers reported by interviewees, some of which were also observed in classrooms. All reports from parents, pupils and teachers suggest that this problem is serious and is becoming

increasingly common in New Zealand schools. It would appear that some individualistic European teachers may perceive collectivistic Asian pupils as uninterested or withdrawn, and Asian pupils have reported perceiving individualistic 'Kiwi' pupils who interrupt lessons frequently as rude and unmannered. Evidence from this study (see, for example, chapter nine, section one, page 289) suggests that these orientations, together with colonialist and liberalist attitudes, have a negative effect on interethnic relationships in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and on the perceptions of acceptance of visible ethnic minority pupils.

However, some *anomalies* were observed amongst 'Kiwi' and Asian pupils. New Zealand European pupils who appear to want to 'stand out' in class and engage in debate, simultaneously do not appear to want to be competitive as is apparently characteristic of individualists (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1990). This could possibly be attributed to the degree of individualism possessed by them, as individuals within cultures apparently vary on the individualism-collectivism scale (Triandis, 1995). It may also be possible that the degree to which they are influenced by colonialist and liberalist attitudes could contribute to this apparent anomaly. Furthermore, it would appear that their alleged inclination toward the 'tall poppy' syndrome, which is considered in this thesis to be a product of an antipathic liberalist mindset (conscious or unconscious) which dictates uniformity, may also contribute to this. On the one hand, they apparently want to be free to express themselves uninhibitedly, and on the other, they appear to want to be uniform and not stand out above the rest.

A similar anomaly was observed amongst some Indian and Chinese pupils whose cultures are generally collectivistic. Now that they are in a western country, they appear to be enthusiastic about the active learning environment and the freedom to express themselves openly, and some have taken to behaving quite uncharacteristically, much to the surprise of their visible ethnic minority teachers and parents. This finding has also been reported by an American study (Lieberman, 1994), in which ethnic minority pupils are alleged to approve of the critical thinking skills facilitated in individualistic systems.

### **10.5.2 Recognition, Respect and Acceptance of Difference**

An integral part of the essential philosophy of Asians is recognition, respect and equal acceptance of the dignity of every human being, religion and culture. Consequently, Asian immigrants expect to be accepted, valued and respected for who and what they are. This is a natural expectation, supported by writers such as Tully (1995) and Taylor (1994). Moreover, their expectations have been heightened by positive reports of immigration consultants. However, they encounter non-acceptance at school and in the workplace, which, they suggest, are precipitated by their ethnicity and culture. This belief is corroborated by survey findings (see Tables 7.7, 7.8 and 7.9 and Figure 7.13) which show that ethnicity is a significant factor in perceptions of social non-acceptance. Parents' and pupils' perceive demonstrations of acceptance to be mostly superficial and imposed by expectations from those in authority. This is endorsed by teachers who reported that pupils were expected to be respectful of all, so they did what they were supposed to for fear of reprisal. It is also corroborated by concerns of some staff about the legal implications of non-acceptance, and by behaviours of peers and staff observed in schools (see chapter nine, for example, page 300).

A close examination of 'culture' earlier suggested the possibility that many peoples of European origin may consider cultural differences to be cultural deficits. An examination of pupil definitions of 'ethnicity' provided in the survey (Table 7.15) revealed that many European pupils believe that they are not 'ethnic' and that the term refers to the 'other' (as discussed in chapter one). Two thirds of pupils included the element of culture in their definitions. It may possibly be that this 'culture' for some European pupils would be a foreign, non-European one, as some European people reputedly believe that they do not have a culture. For them, 'culture' and 'ethnicity' apparently refer to things non-European (see Table 7.15). Accordingly, they tend to view the traditions and practices of Oriental cultures (including educational ones) in a stereotypic and negative fashion, as suggested by Ward *et al.* (2001).

These attitudes and the conditions they generate have made Asian pupils feel *devalued* and their contact with locals problematic, and have determined the attitudes and behaviours of both pupils and teachers toward these pupils. As children generally learn from their parents and other significant adults, it could suggest that these adults may also hold these beliefs. This is supported by the account of the European pupil interviewee, which described her parents as having negative attitudes toward non-Europeans. That some non-European pupils also believe that ‘ethnicity’ refers to non-white people, demonstrates the extent to which some of them have internalised this definition of the word, and unquestioningly accept western ‘knowledge’ as ‘the truth’.

Parents report concern about the effects of peer pressure on their children to indulge in activities that were culturally unacceptable to them to ensure social acceptance by their peers, many of whom did not appear to recognise and respect their way of doing things. For this reason, they were tailoring themselves to ‘Kiwi’ norms by adopting too many ‘Kiwi ways’ too fast (see chapter eight, page 229). It would appear that these adolescents, who are physically and culturally different from the western ‘norm’ that may reject these differences, feel compelled to compensate for this ‘disadvantage’ by over identifying with their ‘Kiwi’ peers. They are apparently excluded and alienated if they do not do this, which could place their psychological adjustment and their development of competence in the new social and cultural environment at risk, a view shared by other authors (e.g. Bird & Drewery, 2000; Sprinthall & Collins, 1995). Parents’ concerns about the consequent erosion of values were supported by ethnic minority teachers, as well as many European teachers, who agreed that this was a valid concern as pupil values determined attitudes, not only toward school work, but also toward people. European teachers appeared to appreciate the good values of Asian pupils that generated better attitudes and behaviour, hence made them easier to teach, and some suggested that these may be having a positive influence on some ‘Kiwi’ pupils (see chapter nine, section one: Conversations with Teachers, page 292).

Parents felt that recognition and respect of such ethnic differences by the locals would alleviate the need that their children feel to indiscriminately adopt local values as quickly as possible in order to be accepted by their peers. Whilst they were happy to have their

children adopt ‘modern ways’ and ‘the good things’ from the New Zealand culture, and accepted the inevitability of some degree of change to their cultures as a consequence of adaptation, they wished to retain their core philosophies, values, traditions and ethnic identities, as has been found in other studies (e.g. Rex & Moore, 1967). Although some East Asians did not appear to place too much value on culture and appeared to be willing to sacrifice it if it made them more acceptable to the locals, perhaps because of their history of communism which discouraged culture and tradition, they nonetheless wished to retain the core values such as respect and family allegiance, which they reported never to have lost in spite of the cultural revolution in China.

### **10.5.3 What makes people feel accepted?**

Visible ethnic minority pupils in this study considered the following *characteristics* to be determining factors in their friendships with local pupils: intimacy, understanding, empathy, compassion, inclusion, sharing, friendliness, support, respect and sympathy. Both pupils and parents listed the following *behaviours* that made them feel accepted: giving a hug, talking to them in a pleasant tone, treating them ‘nicely’, smiling, and treating them as well as others. These characteristics and behaviours have been recognised by other studies (Furman & Bierman, 1984; Sprinthall & Collins, 1995: 302) that consider them to be the basis of the emotional support that adolescents typically expect from friendships. Studies of Chinese (Sun & Gibson-Cline, 1996) found that they value trustworthiness, and Indians (Kashyap, 1996) cited concern for others as most important.

These perceptions are corroborated by other studies that also show that adolescents are more likely to be empathetic toward friends (Cain & Clark, 1987). Accordingly, the higher adolescents’ skills for understanding the perspectives and feelings of others, the more likely are they to be socially accepted (Buhrmester *et al.*, 1984 in *ibid*: 300). However, these studies also suggest that in turn, they believe their friends are less likely to be competitive, and to behave more equitably toward them than non-friends would be. According to this hypothesis, ‘Kiwi’ pupils would interpret the academically competitive nature of many

Asian children as unfriendly. This could then possibly be one of the reasons why these pupils and locals appear to find it difficult to be friends.

## **10.6 VISIBLE ETHNIC MINORITY COPING RESPONSES TO PROBLEMS**

Qualitative and quantitative data discussed above suggests that the coping responses that ethnic minority immigrants use to eliminate or alleviate the problems created by unfulfilled human needs, non-acceptance and intimidation may vary according to their particular circumstances and their perceptions of their world and the self. This view is supported by other studies as well (Dornbusch, 1997 in Frydenberg, 1997: ix). In this research, a coping scale was not used to measure pupils' levels of coping, however, questions asking them to identify stressful situations and to indicate the ways in which they deal with their stresses were asked in both the survey and interview, and these behaviours were also observed to some degree. These responses provided rich descriptions and examples of their ways of coping.

### **10.6.1 Functional Coping Strategies**

The data discussed above suggests that some visible ethnic minority pupils such as West Asians (Indians) may be coping comparatively well with intimidation and non-acceptance by using functional coping strategies such as turning to religion and maintaining a positive attitude; being grateful for what they have; helping their children to rebuild their self-esteem, to believe in themselves and be strong, and advising them to be philosophical and see the positive side of everything, and to laugh things off rather than allow them to depress them. The most significant of these for Asians would appear to be forming support networks, turning to religion (especially Indians), and being grateful. These are discussed below:

### ***Support Networks***

Evidence from the interethnic attitude and social distance scales (see chapter seven), observations (see chapter nine, section two) and interviews (see chapter eight) suggests that Asian pupils form various support networks to help cope with their social situation. They appear to have different *levels of relationships* that serve different purposes and circumstances, according to which preferences for groups change. Socially, their best friends are from their own ethnic groups to affirm culture-of-origin values, for companionship and emotional support, and to enhance self-esteem and cultural identity. Occupationally, Chinese appear to choose to work with 'Kiwi' and Indian pupils for informational support and providing help with language and academic difficulties. This relationship between Chinese and Indian pupils also serves as mutual social support for both groups. These findings are consistent with studies of friendship patterns of foreign students that show that they tend to belong to three similar networks, each serving the psychological functions mentioned above (Bochner *et al.*, 1977; Searle and Ward, 1990; Ward & Searle, 1991; Ward & Kennedy, 1993b).

### ***Religion and Spirituality***

Data from this study presented above suggests that the religious convictions of the Indian sample may provide a buffer against the traumas of locating within what can sometimes be a hostile western environment (see also chapter eight, page 250). Some Asian pupils, especially Indians, were found to be coping with rejection comparatively well, apparently for this reason. While parents and some pupils talked about this openly, others did not mention it at all, possibly because adolescents do not generally wish to talk about such issues, and Asians are known to be intensely private people who would discuss such intimate matters only with family. As affirmed earlier, the lives of Hindu Indians and Buddhist Chinese are heavily influenced by the ancient Hindu principle of Karma, which maintains that cause and effect is determined by our own actions, i.e. positive actions bring positive effects and vice versa. This mindset facilitates the acceptance of negative phenomena such as ethnic intimidation as part of life, and encourages positive attitudes and

behaviours despite negative circumstances. It is thus possible that Indians may not show much stress because religion helps them to control stress and negative emotions toward others, and to have a positive attitude toward life and other people. A possible explanation for some Chinese not attaching much importance to culture and religion could be the socialist influence since 1949 when many Chinese stopped religious worship (Sun & Gibson-Cline, 1996).

This finding is supported by other authors who found that religion provides a sense of belonging within a supportive religious community of like-minded believers, and gives meaning to life (Fazel & Young, 1988: 230; Piedmont & Leach, 2002; Sprinthall & Collins, 1995); and that religion is significant to problem-solving, and that these problem-solving styles contribute to competence (Pargament *et al.*, 1988). Spirituality is also considered to be a critical factor in maintaining a core identity for many ethnic minority pupils (Sprinthall & Collins, 1995), and it has been found to comprise a unique factor to explain human behaviour above and beyond the heritable features that comprise personality (Piedmont & Leach, 2002). These authors consider religion to be equally significant as psycho-social and economic factors in determining the extent to which immigrants feel satisfaction with life. Asian Americans were also found to cope better than other groups, with suicide being lowest amongst them (Sprinthall & Collins, 1995), possibly due to this phenomenon.

However, these results were inconsistent with an Indian study (Kashyap, 1996), in which one of the least frequently reported coping strategies was religious responses. Explanations offered were that they wish to take personal responsibility for their problems, and that adolescence involves a period of doubt against traditional components of religious beliefs (Newman & Newman, 1986 in *ibid*). While this may be so, it is also possible that they just did not wish to discuss such personal matters with an outsider, as was encountered in this study with some respondents who alluded to it rather than discuss it openly (as discussed above).

Although the Indian and Chinese pupils in this study recorded similar levels of self-esteem as the other ethnic groups (see Table 7.31), behaviours commensurate with lower self-esteem were observed in classrooms and on the playgrounds (see chapter nine, section two), and reported by parents (see chapter eight), visible ethnic minority and a few European teachers (see chapter nine, section one). Similar findings were also found by other researchers (Stephan, 1978; Sprinthall & Collins, 1995). However, despite their reportedly experiencing ethnic intimidation significantly, survey data also suggests that Indian children are least affected by ethnic intimidation (see Table 7.22). It is possible that they are least affected because the internal locus of control that Indian pupils appear to have, which is inculcated by their spirituality and religion, assists in alleviating feelings of victimisation. It is also possible that what these results show, is not that they are least affected, but that they may be coping reasonably well. On the other hand, some of them could just be blocking out negative experiences (as suggested earlier). However, these respondents believe that they have high levels of motivation, concentration and enhanced performance, as found in another study (Dweck *et al.*, 1980, 1982 in *ibid*: 45), for the same spiritual reasons.

### ***Immigrant Gratitude***

Due to this inclination toward spirituality, many Asian immigrants are reportedly able to see the bright side of things and appreciate the advantages that the new country offers them (see chapter eight, page 251). Moreover, because of their pre-migration trauma, many appear to experience a sense of *euphoria* in the first few years after migration, and are prepared to overlook negative encounters which they perceive as trivial in the greater scheme of things. Consequently, despite their negative experiences, parents, as well as many pupils, were able to empathise with the locals and *overlook negative attitudes and behaviours*, saying that they realised that most of those who behaved in racist ways did so only because they lacked knowledge about other ethnic groups and were guided by negative stereotypes. The two refugee parents interviewed expressed joy and gratitude for all they have here and dismissed negative experiences, saying that they did not matter in the light of their pre-migration experiences (see chapter eight for interviews). This attitude was

confirmed by a European dean who talked about the deep appreciation and joy displayed by foreign children (mentioned South Africans of colour) for the facilities they have at school here, which they did not have before.

Due to these feelings of gratitude and euphoria, despite problems experienced, most pupils and all refugee and some immigrant parents, were *optimistic* about the future (for their children at least, if not for themselves) in which they foresaw positive change, and almost all parents were *grateful* for the opportunity to have a better life here (ibid.). This finding is supported by a study of refugees (Dona & Berry, 1994) which characterised them similarly as having positive attitudes toward the country that accepted them. Pupils were generally more optimistic about opportunities to achieve their goals here than parents. One possible explanation for this may be that the problem of not having jobs was not a present 'reality' for them as it was for their parents (which influenced their levels of optimism).

### **10.6.2 Dysfunctional Coping Strategies**

The evidence presented above suggests that many Asian parents and pupils have resorted to dysfunctional ways of coping by employing avoidant and emotion-focussed strategies which are used when problems are perceived as threatening or harmful (Ptacek *et al.*, 1992 in Frydenberg, 1997). These strategies include self-blame and self-exclusion, silence, blocking out, ignoring and pretending, frustration, anger and retaliation, showing off, 'bribery' and escape. Dysfunctional strategies may be creating greater psychological and physical problems, exacerbating perceptions of non-acceptance (Sprinthall & Collins, 1995). These behaviours reflect a serious inability to cope. Some of the more significant strategies are discussed briefly below:

#### ***Self-Blame***

Interview data suggests that when their culture is devalued and they are subjected to abuse of some sort, most Asian pupils blame themselves for inadequacy and then withdraw (see

chapter eight, page 252). This finding is supported by Sprinthall and Collins (1995: 520) who maintain that such self-blame can lead to apathy and depression. It was common to have pupils and parents suggest that they were to blame when things went wrong between themselves and their majority counterparts. It is the view of the researcher that, due to their history of being inferiorised, ethnic minorities often succumb to the belief that they are unworthy to participate equally with their ethnic majority counterparts, therefore are to blame for negative interaction.

### ***Pretence and the 'Personal Fable'***

Interview data (see chapter eight, page 253) suggests that pretending apparently gives some pupils an illusion of coping with difficult situations, and allows them to create the impression, and perhaps even believe themselves, that they are accepted. The rationalisation behind this may possibly be that if they pretended that everything is all right they would not have to deal with it. On the other hand, this behaviour could possibly be explained by the theory of the 'personal fable' (Elkind, 1976 in Bird & Drewery, 2000: 156) which suggests that adolescents perceive themselves as being invulnerable and display risk-prone behaviour and selfishness. It is probable that, due to the effects of this 'personal fable', they do not wish to believe that they could be intimidated, therefore initially deny its existence. This is a concern as it is suggested that this form of suppression would create more serious psychological problems, as pupils who report not being bothered by bullying may experience eventual consequences due to emotional repression or isolation of feelings (Sprinthall & Collins, 1995).

### ***Retaliation***

Evidence (see chapter eight, page 253; chapter nine, section one, page 282) indicates that some pupils, especially Chinese boys, may possibly be resorting to some form of aggression in order to take control of their lives. They choose retaliation as a means of coping possibly because it makes them feel less vulnerable and stronger, and also that they are making some attempt to try to solve the problem themselves, as reflected in other

studies (e.g. Sun & Gibson-Cline, 1996). Some of their apparent affiliations to gangs may also be a retaliatory response (see chapter nine, section, page 280). Evidence from teachers suggests that such a response may be having an adverse effect on their academic performance.

### **10.6.3 The Role of Family in Coping**

Evidence from this study (see chapter eight, page 250, paragraph 8.5.1: Functional Coping) suggests that family cohesion amongst most Indians and Chinese provides support and control, which results in positive academic achievement in school environments which may sometimes be non-facilitating, despite one parent frequently being away from many homes of Chinese respondents. High expectations of parents with respect to appropriate behaviour and family values, especially respect for and duty toward parents and family, educational achievement, and chores at home, and rewards for success have a positive influence on Asian children's demeanour and ability to cope. These factors may enable these children to succeed in spite of the obstacles they encounter here. Studies conducted in the area of the education of minority youths (Lee, 1990 in Frydenberg, 1997: 345; Cooper *et al.*, 1992 in *ibid*: 270), support this view.

### **10.6.4 Self-Concept and Self-Esteem**

There is reciprocity between self-esteem and coping in that self-esteem determines the choice of coping strategies in some respects, and the use of strategies for coping in turn helps to shape self-esteem and self-concept. Frydenberg (1977) suggests that individuals with positive self-concepts and higher levels of self-esteem are likely to suffer fewer negative consequences, and are likely to have positive perceptions of acceptance. Studies also show that self-esteem and prejudice (and rejection) are related in a primary sense and are bi-directional (e.g. Murphy, 1946; Leary, 1990; Rigby, 1996; Rubin, 1967). The picture which people form about themselves provides them with a basis for their conduct in many of their relationships with other people.

This is significant for Asians in New Zealand who reported often being made to feel inferior by their hosts and then being accused of not wanting to foster positive relationships with them. Results of the social distance scale, which are consistent with those of perceptions of intimidatory practices, suggest that Asians, particularly West Asians (Indians) are disliked by both Europeans and Polynesians, particularly Maori. If West Asians are aware of these attitudes (as suggested by interview data), it is to be expected that their self-esteem would be adversely influenced, given the correlation found in this study between peer rejection, bad health and low self esteem (see Table 7.27), which is also consistent with other studies (e.g. Murphy, 1946; Rubin, 1967; Leary, 1990; Rigby, 1996). This correlation suggests that pupils who perceive themselves to be rejected by peers may be more likely to experience bad health and less likely to have high self-esteem. Consequently, in Aotearoa/New Zealand, because visible ethnic minorities are reportedly constantly being denigrated by their Western and Polynesian hosts, many Asian pupils (and parents) appear to have developed inferiority complexes in relation to their hosts, which is borne out by the use of the adjective 'inferior' by some (West Asians) to describe themselves, and 'walking around with their heads lowered' as suggested by some parents and teachers and observed at schools.

No significant difference was found in the levels of self-esteem of the five ethnic groups (see Table 7.31). One explanation for this may be that Asian pupils' self-esteem may differ according to circumstances, a finding which is supported by other research (Spencer & Dornbusch, 1990; Sprinthall & Collins, 1995). In relation to members of their own group they apparently evaluate themselves positively (hence no significant ethnic differences); but when together with majority youths, even when self-esteem is generally higher, Asian youths may possibly feel less positive about themselves. In the view of the researcher, these are the effects of colonial attitudes that have been internalised. Interview evidence (see chapter eight, page 258) suggests that under these conditions some pupils' attitudes may be ambivalent about their own ethnic group, and levels of self-esteem may drop. This may also be influenced by the degree of participation and pride in their cultures. Because of the insecure state of mind these feelings create, they are reportedly often perceived as

'soft' targets for those who need scapegoats on whom to vent their insecurities and feelings of inadequacy.

## 10.7 CONSEQUENCES FOR VISIBLE ETHNIC MINORITIES

It is the view of the researcher that the psychological impact of a long history of racism, prejudice and discrimination on visible ethnic minorities may have left many with complexes of inferiority and impotence that have been internalised and consciously or unconsciously handed down over many generations. Because these attitudes have apparently been concretised by universal consensus, they appear to reflect a 'reality' which has thus far proved to be highly resistant to change, and has been accepted as such by peoples on both sides of the ethnic fence. Children have been socialised (often unconsciously) to believe this, and evidence from this study presented above suggests that they may enact this belief in various ways, even though they outwardly and consciously deny this perception and say they consider themselves as equal. Consequently, it is possible that this image may have become a permanent feature of their psyches with many being unaware of its presence. It is often easily detectable in their demeanour, particularly when in the presence of Europeans (illustrated above), and has impacted on relations with them. As one Chinese representative (Fung, 2002) reported, they have not been able to take their 'rightful place in New Zealand' and have had to 'put [their] heads down waiting for patronizing approval from [their] white neighbours'. Lowered heads has apparently become a characteristic of many a visible ethnic minority immigrant in Aotearoa/New Zealand, as in other western countries. These views are supported by several studies which have shown that failed attempts to cope with racism and its concomitants are capable of causing severe psychological problems which can manifest physically (e.g. Boulton & Smith, 1994; Maynard & Joseph, 1997; O'Moore & Hillary, 1991; Olweus, 1978; Rigby, 1999; Rigby & Slee, 1993; Williams *et al.*, 1996). Interview data suggests that effects of racism and rejection on victims may vary according to the nature of their experiences.

All visible ethnic minority parents, teachers, and pupils (except one) reported feeling rejected by the locals to some extent at some point in their lives here (see chapters eight and nine for interviews). The harm done to children who experience a deep sense of rejection and victimisation is enormous and often not understood, and even trivialised by those who are fortunate not to be subjected to such treatment (Sprinthall & Collins, 1995). As evidenced in this study (see, for example, Figure 7.13), where school populations are multi-ethnic, ethnicity is a salient feature of non-acceptance, hence, just difference in physical appearance is often all that is required for visible ethnic minority pupils to be rejected. Rejected children and adolescents are recognised as the group that is most likely to have behavioural problems and to show mental illness in adulthood (Parker & Asher, 1987). While most ethnic minority children appear to cope with non-acceptance without any visible consequences, it is possible that many could suffer serious psychological, and even physical, harm that is undetected and carried into adulthood, as suggested by Sprinthall and Collins (1995). This highlights the need for awareness amongst parents and teachers of the circumstances of these children so that symptoms may be recognised timeously and interventions appropriately implemented. The more significant psychological, physical and educational consequences apparent amongst this sample are discussed below:

### **10.7.1 Conflict and the Question of Identity**

Interview reports (see chapter eight, page 257) suggest that pupils and parents may be experiencing conflict at various levels due to feelings of non-acceptance and their consequent feelings of disillusionment about their lives here. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, as in other western countries that espouse the pluralistic ideal, immigrants are in reality expected to assimilate, and those who appear to be more assimilated are accepted more easily (e.g. Bourhis *et al.*, 1997; Ward *et al.*, 2001). For this reason, it is possible that immigrant children who are anxious about their social status feel compelled to assimilate and consequently cause much conflict within their families and themselves, as reported in this study. This outcome is consistent with other studies which have found that there appears to be greater conflict in families with assimilated children (Rosenthal, 1984).

### ***Visible Ethnic Minority Identity***

This data suggests that the greatest conflict may be experienced in the area of identity. It would appear that when visible ethnic minority children come into a western society, many become *confused* about who and what they should be. It is suggested that people's understanding of their defining characteristics as human beings is partly shaped by recognition or its absence and by negative reinforcement by others (Taylor, 1994). It has also been suggested in chapter three that non-European cultural identities (as ethnic minorities believe they are perceived in the west) have been historically constructed around the interests and worldviews of western colonisers through the force of conquest, which has imposed a contemptuous image on them, inflicting psychological harm, and often a crippling self-hatred (Taylor, 1994: 26). This effect is evident in some Asians, particularly Indians, in whom the apparent internalisation of this inferior image has possibly led to lower self-esteem when amongst westerners.

### ***Sense of Crisis***

This dilemma appears to be exacerbated for some visible ethnic minority pupils as suggested by the data presented above. On the one hand, they wish to preserve their cultural identities as desired by their parents, a concern identified by other studies as well (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Kashyap, 1996; Sun & Gibson-Cline, 1996; Ward *et al.*, 2001), and on the other, they wish to blend in with their peers as much as their difference allows. Because their cultural identities are often openly and directly devalued by practices such as name-calling and other forms of ethnic intimidation both in the wider community and in schools by their peers (e.g. Bagley, 1982; Verma, 1986; Bullivant, 1987; Smith & Sharp, 1994), they appear to want to conceal it from them, hence the dilemma of what they should be. This problem was also identified by other studies of Indian and Chinese youth (Kashyap, 1996; Sun & Gibson-Cline, 1996) and of other youth in other countries (Furnham and Bochner, 1986; Ward *et al.*, 2001). It is suggested that such blatant racism places an extra burden on these adolescents during identity-formation phases. They have

fewer resources and face greater psychological conflicts, which act as a barrier to identity achievement, even though they need more time and support to sift through two sets of cultural values and identity options (Sprinthall & Collins, 1995: 177). This may increase the sense of crisis and conflict which can in some cases lead to increased risk of joining cults, gangs, or other extremist groups, consequences which have been reported above.

Experiences with and observations of local New Zealanders show that many differentiate very little, if at all, between international and immigrant pupils, which probably contributes to the similar experiences of these two groups here. This poses a peculiar problem for visible ethnic minorities who were born and have lived their whole lives here. It is apparent from interview evidence that a few of these pupils may be experiencing significant problems (see chapter eight, page 258). These ‘old’ (born here) Chinese respondents of this study reported experiencing conflict with their identities to a much larger extent than other pupils. One of these respondents appeared to be in *crisis* over her identity. These children have ‘assimilated’ into the New Zealand culture and consider themselves to be ‘Kiwis’, however, they are not accepted by the locals, and they are also not accepted by the ‘new’ Chinese (recent immigrants) because they are different from them due to their westernisation and inability to speak the vernacular. Because they experience problematic identification with both groups, they are *marginalized* and feel culturally *alienated*. This alienation – ‘anomie’ (Bourhis *et al.*, 1997) – may be affecting their self-esteem negatively as these authors have warned. The realisation of Asian pupils that they could never be something else on account of their distinct physical appearance (which makes blending in with the host population impossible) may also be exacerbating this identity dilemma.

Views on the question of whether there can be an identity ‘crisis’ differ. However, it is generally agreed that how we see ourselves and how we perceive others to see us provides us with a ‘sense of self’ which forms the foundation of our adult personality (Sprinthall & Collins, 1995; Tully, 1995). Some post-structural theorists like Tully (1995) and Hall and du Gay (1996) believe that there can be no identity ‘crisis’ because identities are active and always changing (as discussed earlier). As change is a characteristic of identity, they believe no change should create any form of crisis.

However, evidence from this study (see chapter eight) suggests that in the case of visible ethnic minorities in a western cultural environment where, they believe, attitudes toward their culture are negative, it is possible that they may experience some form of crisis for some period. An explanation for this may be that the perception of enforced identity change within a short space of time creates a feeling of duress about having to become something else or behave in ways that are not necessarily desired by themselves. This results in a feeling of crisis, a kind of panic about the possibility of losing one's sense of self under these circumstances. However, it would appear that once the need for partial adaptation is accepted and successfully implemented, this change is incorporated into the cultural framework. When the sense of self, which is considered by most people to be culturally constant and already established (although erroneously so), is challenged, the spontaneous reaction appears to be one of temporary crisis. The duration of this feeling of crisis would depend on the individual's ability to accept the prospect of change and adapt to the new cultural environment. This ability would be influenced by the individual's experiences in the new environment.

### ***Dual Identities***

To cope with this dilemma of which identity to favour while living in two cultural worlds, most East Asian and a few West Asian interviewees reported developing dual identities (see chapter eight, page 230). They have become bi-cultural, that is, behave according to 'white' norms when at school, and then switch to their own traditions when with family and peers from their own ethnic group. While older pupils appeared to manage this roll switching quite effectively, having mastered it over a longer period of time, some younger pupils at year 9 level reported experiencing some difficulties with constantly moving from one ethno-cultural space to another. Sprinthall and Collins (1995) agree that this is a difficult balancing act because it can easily become a personal dilemma. They also agree that when ethnic-minority adolescents are provided with the psychological and social support to resolve the dual identity questions, the outcomes can be unusually positive, as witnessed in many respondents in this study, some of whom slipped easily from one language to another as they spoke to the researcher and translated to parents during

interviews. The view that, having learned to withstand the negative peer pressure as well as some negative influence by community adults, these teenagers often reach more advanced levels of psychological development than their majority-culture peers (Sprinthall & Collins, 1995: 190) is borne out by some of the respondents of this study. It is clear from some of their progress that their significant adults have compensated for the lack of support, acknowledgement and affirmation by some teachers and schools.

Most West Asian and a minority of East Asian pupils identified only with their own ethnicity (see chapter eight, page 230). One explanation that may be offered for West Asians is that this may be an effect of the importance of religion and culture which are entwined with their identities. Consequently, it may be that a western identity still seems incongruous to many of them. The apparent desire of East Asians to be accepted here at any cost, and their evident anxiety about toppling the applecart and drawing attention to themselves (see chapter eight, page 209; chapter nine, section one, page 284), may contribute to their willingness to identify with New Zealanders. This may also be linked to their problems with English proficiency which possibly engenders insecurity concerning their status here, a problem which is not experienced by most Indians.

### ***Acceptance and Identity***

There are also other aspects of identity formation that differ for visible ethnic minority adolescents in a western environment. For majority youth achievement has been found to be a concern, apart from relationships and altruism (Frydenberg, 1997: 12). Achievement includes success in exams, finding a good job and finding a suitable marriage partner. For visible ethnic minorities, qualitative data from parents and pupils (see, for example, chapter eight, pages 200 and 203) suggests that achievement in their new country would include acquiring equal status and acceptance within the new community. Lack of such achievement may possibly have negative psychological consequences as witnessed in some pupils. Furthermore, visible ethnic minority pupils see on a daily basis that being 'white' is more highly valued, and this creates more conflict. The process of identity formation may

therefore be different for these pupils within a western environment. For this reason, the school environment needs to be modified to become positive and facilitating for all pupils, and educationalists need to be aware of these problems so that they may be able to provide appropriate intervention.

### **10.7.2 Poor Mental and Physical Well-being**

Recent investigations have supported earlier research findings linking migration to poor physical and mental health (Dona & Berry, 1994; Slee & Rigby, 1993), however, some have shown that immigrant groups display fewer symptoms of psychopathology (Ward *et al.*, 2001). A plausible explanation for this apparent contradiction is that the extent to which immigrants experience psychopathology would depend on their reason for migration. Data from the present study (see chapter eight, pages 223 and 251) suggests that if the reasons are economic and/or are related to safety and violence issues, these immigrants appear to be prepared to overlook incidents of non-acceptance as these are outweighed by the positive economic and safety outcomes of migration, and they consequently appear to experience better mental well-being – a condition referred to as *immigrant gratitude* above. As in the case of West Asians, it may also be that religious support provides a buffer against psychopathology.

Some Asian immigrant pupils, especially East Asians, have reported experiencing poor mental well-being (see chapter eight, paragraph 8.5.2: Dysfunctional Coping, and 8.6: Consequences of Non-acceptance and Intimidation). A possible explanation for this could be the high expectations these pupils and parents have of their new country about which they have received exaggerated positive reports from immigration consultants. Consequently they do not anticipate the adverse acculturative experiences and the problems of adjustment, as suggested by other researchers (Berry *et al.*, 1987; Kim, 1988 in Dona & Berry, 1994), therefore suffer higher stress. They are also known to display extreme positive attitudes toward their culture and countries, which could possibly lead to greater psychological and somatic stress due to home-sickness, according to these authors. Two pupils reported high levels of anxiety and depression due to intimidation and non-

acceptance, which had manifested as headaches and stomach cramps; and one of these pupils consequently changed schools, as found in other studies (Rigby, 1996; Slee & Rigby, 1993). If the desired outcome is positive adaptation for immigrants, the apparent poor mental health of these pupils is cause for concern, as there is a relationship between mental health and acceptance, and acculturation (Dona & Berry, 1994; Slee & Rigby, 1993).

### **10.7.3 Disappointment, Disillusionment and Depression**

Evidence indicates that feelings of disappointment and disillusionment with their lives in New Zealand are common amongst parents and pupils (see chapter eight, page 256). This is exacerbated by apparent racism and discrimination in the workplace and in schools, consequently, many parents and pupils reportedly lack a sense of belonging here (ibid: 201). Those parents who were disillusioned due to not been employed, or who had settled for much less and were struggling financially as a result, appeared to display symptoms similar to those of *depression*, as did several pupils who had suffered ethnic intimidation (ibid: 261). They reported feeling highly aggrieved, hurt and unhappy and that their self-esteem had been adversely affected, as predicted by Sprinthall and Collins (1995) for those who respond with sadness. Perceptions of non-acceptance and feelings of disappointment, disillusionment and unhappiness have long-term negative consequences for successful adaptation, interethnic relations and national well-being (Ward *et al.*, 2001); therefore steps need to be taken to eliminate circumstances that engender such feelings.

### **10.7.4 Exclusion, Isolation and Alienation**

Researchers acknowledge that many young people behave in very unfriendly ways to outsiders due to the dominance of bullying in schools and the closed nature of many friendship groups; that those from different cultures could be excluded, and that these exclusions are 'a source of much suffering' for young people (Bird & Drewery, 2000: 172). A large number of parents and pupils reported feeling excluded, isolated and alienated because of racism, intimidation and non-acceptance (see chapter eight, paragraph 8.6:

Consequences of Non-acceptance and Intimidation). This was corroborated by teacher reports and observations (see chapter nine), and supported by other studies that showed that ethnic minority pupils experience being socially isolated and excluded most intensely (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Konopka, 1966; Ward *et al.*, 2001). These authors suggest that the blatant racism displayed by some pupils increases their sense of isolation from the rest of their peers. That most teachers (according to a European teacher) dismiss this kind of behaviour as adolescent jest thereby allowing it to burgeon, is of great concern.

Evidence from this study suggests that even when Asian pupils are informed about, and prepared for, the norms, values and expectations that predominate in the school community, they still experience alienation due to negative prejudice and discrimination on the part of teachers and classmates (see chapter eight, paragraph 8.4). They reported that many teachers have lower expectations of them due to assumptions guided by stereotypes (see chapter eight, pages 213, 235 and 249); consequently they interact with them in intellectually limiting ways, a view supported by Bennet (1984). Research has shown that pupils who are isolated may be more vulnerable to being bullied through a lack of supporters. The effect of bullying on victims is a deepening in isolation from others, and being vulnerable and unable to gain support may also lead to feelings of depression (Rigby, 1996: 51). It is for this very reason that Asian pupils choose to 'stick' with their own ethnic groups.

The qualitative data also suggests that, due to their feelings of alienation, pupils lack a *sense of belonging* here (see chapter eight, page 201), which may be detrimental to 'normal' development as acknowledged by developmental theorists (e.g. Bosma & Jackson, 1990; Frydenberg, 1997; Gibson-Cline, 1996; Lambert & Taylor, 1990; Sprinthall & Collins, 1995; Seiffge-Krenke, 1990; Sorensen, 1993). Having a supportive peer group has been found to be linked to a positive self-concept, appropriate classroom behaviour and scholastic competence, as well as other psychological, social and academic benefits (Hartup, 1983; Ward *et al.*, 2001). Furthermore, it is suggested that for many 'Kiwi' children, adolescence turns out to be a turbulent period due to social difficulties (Bird & Drewery, 2000: 150). Consequently, it is possible that when they are suddenly confronted

with the additional burden of having to deal with visible ethnic minorities, whom they have been socialised to believe are inferior and unacceptable, they may react toward them with irritation, at the least, with possible psychological consequences for both groups.

#### **10.7.5 ‘Deviant’ Social Behaviour**

A few European teachers complained that Chinese and Pacific Island boys had formed gangs and were bringing this activity into school (see chapter nine, section one, page 280). They blamed this on their home cultures in which gang activity was apparently acceptable, such as the Triads in China. While this may be so, one possible explanation for this is that this behaviour may be a response to racism and alienation (as suggested above), and a search for social support for adjusting to the new setting. It may also reflect a need to regain self-respect and increase a sense of belonging in a negative social environment that is unaccepting, as reflected in other studies (Gibson-Cline, 1996; Sprinthall & Collins, 1995; Tajfel, 1978). The alleged idea on the part of many European pupils that cultural difference is synonymous with cultural deficit increases the shared experience of racism and devaluation, which often creates bonding within the ethnic minority pupil body for mutual support (Sprinthall & Collins, 1995: 520), sometimes in the form of gang membership, as reported in this study.

#### **10.7.6 Academic Risk**

Parent reports of children who were under achieving academically in order to be accepted (see chapter eight, for example, page 261), reflect the desperation that some children feel to be accepted by their peers, and the lengths to which some may go in order to be accepted. This, together with the report of a pupil dropping out of school because of intimidation (*ibid.*), also suggests that social non-acceptance may impinge on their academic development.

Similar experiences and consequences have been reported by the media. A European boy interviewed on television said he coped with being bullied for achieving by ‘slipping to

mediocrity' before sinking into a deep depression, making three attempts to commit suicide, and leaving school. His parents had no idea of these occurrences. A German boy reported being called a 'nazi' at school; an allegation that was denied by the principal, possibly to avoid having to accept responsibility for it and take action against it, as was suggested by some interviewees in this study (see, for example, chapter eight, page 217).

The concern for visible ethnic minorities is that if 'white' children experience such ethnic intimidation, how much worse must it be for brown children? It would appear that intimidation and rejection have become so commonplace that they now seem 'normal' to the Asian sample of this study. If rejection is a 'normal' part of their lives, in light of these consequences, the future may look bleak for them.

#### **10.7.7 Suicidal Tendencies**

Fortunately, none of the respondents displayed such a tendency. However, one pupil's concern about her friend who apparently displayed such tendencies and anecdotal evidence about an Asian immigrant adolescent who committed suicide recently, which suggested an inability to cope with conflicting parental and peer pressures to be the cause, illustrate the need for awareness on the part of parents, teachers and counsellors of the immense conflict and trauma to which some ethnic minority adolescents may be subjected when in a foreign western environment. It also underlines the responsibility of these adults to provide sensitive and appropriate intervention.

### **10.8 CONSEQUENCES FOR OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS**

Generally, all adolescents are confronted with a host of physiological, psychological and emotional challenges with which they have to cope. Additional pressures of unemployment and family instability, which appears to be a common experience for some New Zealanders, exacerbate these pressures and make coping more difficult for some '*Kiwi*' children, as what happens in the family is critical in determining how adolescents traverse the period through to adulthood (Frydenberg, 1997: 20; Jackson & Bosma, 1990).

Consequently, they are unable to cope with challenges as effectively as they should, hence they easily blame others for their problems. Moreover, such examples are frequently set for children by their significant adults, e.g. it is quite usual to have the rugby or netball coach sacked when the team does not win a match – somebody else is always to blame. Hence, such a response may be an easy option for some children. The additional burden of adjusting to a social environment that has suddenly changed over a relatively short period of time from the known to the unknown may possibly prove to be the last straw for many an already overburdened child. Given these circumstances, it is not surprising that many allegedly react negatively to immigrants who they perceive to be rocking the boat. Their inability to succeed at school is then blamed on them, especially visible ethnic minorities who are apparently begrudged for their success and for outshining and displacing them in their schools (reported above). The increasing numbers of visible ethnic minorities may also be challenging old notions of European supremacy with adverse effects on these pupils.

### ***European Identity***

European identities have also been constructed by colonialism, which has bequeathed to them a sense of superiority in relation to the colonised ‘other’ (Tully, 1995), with devastating psychological consequences for themselves and ethnic minorities. These consequences are becoming more evident in the present times (as discussed in chapter three). In the view of the researcher, their identities have simultaneously been shaped by narrow interpretations of liberalism which has resulted in egotistical and disrespectful attitudes amongst some toward others.

Globalisation and large scale migration is now changing these old notions of identity. Interaction amongst various cultures has rendered identity negotiable and fluid, and citizens have become members of more than one dynamic culture, and the experience of ‘crossing’ cultures has become normal activity (Tully, 1995: 11). Such a fluid view of identity may be posing problems for some western peoples who have long been ‘cosmopolitan spectators

in the central tower' and have enjoyed the security of a 'superior' and constant identity appropriated in the past (ibid.: 14). It is possible that they may now be faced with the undesirable prospect of having to refashion themselves in the light of the cultures and identities of ethnic 'others' who (they must now realise) are not the inferior beings that they have been socialised into believing they are. For many New Zealanders this would mean having to constantly contest, re-imagine and renegotiate their cultural identities, and losing the privilege of basking in the reflected glory of colonialism. The negative impact of such a realisation on their self-concepts is already evident according to some 'Kiwi' parents and teachers (see chapter nine, section one, page 304).

In the past, ethnicity has never been an issue for European pupils from socially favoured ethnic backgrounds, because little exclusionary prejudice is directed toward them. However, now that they are sharing 'their' space with unfamiliar others, Bird and Drewery (2000: 161) suggest it would be desirable for them to develop a sense of their own ethnicity. This would help them to develop an understanding of themselves and a sense of security. Moreover, Bird and Drewery (2000: 158) suggest, as paid employment is significant for the move from childhood to adulthood identity formation, New Zealand youth, who are currently experiencing difficulty in finding jobs, may be experiencing difficulty in forming an identity. In the view of the researcher, it is also possible that adding to this situation the belief that jobs are being taken from them by ethnic minority immigrants, may fuel aggression toward such people. Data provided by 'Kiwi' interviewees (see previous paragraph) suggests that many may be experiencing conflict now that they are confronted with so many different peoples.

Information concerning other '*invisible*' ethnic minority groups incidentally obtained during the course of this study suggests that they too may be experiencing many of the problems encountered by Asians, despite their ability to blend in physically, supporting the claim that the situation is exacerbated for visible ethnic minorities. To ensure that the re-evaluation of identities is positive for both local and immigrant children, it is necessary that their social environment is made as problem free as possible. In the interim, the question of

identity for both visible ethnic minority and majority adolescents in this global society remains a dilemma.

## 10.9 IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The change to the analytical tools through which the phenomenon of bullying is interpreted, would impact upon the methods used to investigate this problem. Up until the present, surveys have proved adequate for investigating the issue, given that it was understood in behavioural terms, bracketed off from the social and ethnic relations within which perpetrators are embedded. Conversely, sole reliance on the survey method becomes problematic when identities and perceptions are analyzed in terms of the social and ethnic relations within which people live. Those identities and perceptions then become public affairs, seen to manifest each time they get reiterated in the rituals and practices of everyday life.

- Studies of intimidatory practices, therefore, need to adopt a more inclusive research perspective that is *multi-dimensional* and recognizes the possible contribution of different perspectives.

To this end, studies need to be *empirical* (objective, quantitative), *interpretive* (qualitative), dealing with the inter-subjective nature of meaning as well as its personalised, subjective dimension (Soltis: 1984: 5), and *normative*. As Soltis observes regarding the experiences of children, occurrences at school are filled with both ‘meaning’ and ‘meaningfulness’ and any attempt to represent them in their fullness requires a range of investigatory procedures (ibid.: 7). The expanded range of research devices that are advocated will include the collection of narratives that document the stories of perpetrators and victims, the deployment of surveys and observation devices that identify the ethnic components of bullying, and the development of theoretical frameworks in a manner that gestures towards alternative bases for social life.

The discussion thus far indicates, however, that attention needs to be given to more than data-collection tools. In any human encounter there are always *principles and values* at work that shape the manner in which social life is interpreted. These values and principles

are determined by the ‘historical-ideological moment we live in’ (ibid.: 7). As such, the beliefs that prevail at any one time and place regarding truth and the means for discovering truth will influence the manner in which lived experience is understood in that space/time. An opposite view tends to prevail, however, and is closely associated with the liberalism discussed above. It suggests that behaviours such as bullying originate within *attitudes* that stem from family values and principles, from school and community cultures. As stated earlier, such approaches do not critically examine the consensual assumptions upon which contemporary understandings of ‘family’, ‘education’, and ‘community’ are predicated, and on the manner in which these influence attitudes and behaviours toward an acceptance of existing patterns of domination and power.

A critical orientation toward the study of intimidatory practices would have the potential to remedy this deficit, through its ability to highlight the ideologies and ‘most fundamental embodiments of power’ that are at play at any time and place (Soltis 1984: 9). To this end, research into the problem of bullying has to *deconstruct the discourses of liberalism and colonialism* as much as it goes out with its survey forms and dictaphones to ‘find what’s happening’ within the play-grounds and corridors of schools. As a consequence:

- Research into the ‘bullying’ phenomenon must be done from a *trans-disciplinary* position and needs to be informed by literature from sociology, educational psychology, human development and philosophy.

The data gained from surveys, observations, and interviews will not ‘speak for itself’ but, rather, will only gain significance as it gets interpreted through frameworks that take seriously the effects of liberalism and colonialism upon social behaviour. Only through that wider contextualisation can the socio-cultural and ethnic dimensions of the phenomenon emerge; the complexity of the interactions that occur within it, illuminated, and a more expansive set of responses envisioned. Accordingly:

- There is a particular need at present to focus on *ethnic intimidation* as this occurs within the increasingly multi-ethnic fabric of schools and communities within Aotearoa/New Zealand, in order to develop prospects for the peaceful transformation and reconstitution of social relations into less oppressive forms.

This view is only recently beginning to gain support from a few researchers such as Rigby (2002), who acknowledges in his current work that bullying is only now being recognised as ‘a massive and enduring social problem’ (ibid.: 14), and that ‘ethnic groups in many parts of the world are still disadvantaged and suitable candidates for the most overt and atrocious bullying’ (ibid.: 185). He also acknowledges that bullying is the means by which we sometimes protect ourselves from ‘outsiders’ and preserve the purity of our group (ibid.: 22), therefore ‘community and cultural factors’ must be investigated.

Given the increasing diversity of the ethnic composition of pupils in Aotearoa/New Zealand schools,

- Future research needs to focus on methods for creating greater *acceptance and valuing of differences*, and strategies that will ensure the development of more positive and inclusive school cultures.

There is a need to investigate promising practices within schools that promote understanding between and amongst different ethnic groups. The immediate need is to acknowledge that difference does not suggest deficiency, and that differences must be accepted and valued as positive attributes of multi-ethnicity. Simultaneously, similarities amongst ethnic groups should be focussed on, rather than a negative focus on differences. Furthermore:

- There is urgent need for research that re-evaluates and investigates methods of restructuring *teacher training*.

Teachers need to be equipped with knowledge about all cultures, as well as counselling strategies for pupils of all ethnic groups. More visible ethnic minority teachers need to be included to a greater extent so that they may be role models for their children and assist in developing curricula that are more inclusive of their needs. Moreover:

- More research is required that investigates the acceptance and needs of all *other ethnic groups* in New Zealand, including those of European origin.

A clearer picture is required of the social situation within our schools, so that a service may be tailored that is more suitable to the needs of all our pupils.

## 10.10 LIMITATIONS

It has been pointed out (Foster, 1996) that knowledge claims can never be established with absolute certainty because there will always be doubts about their validity, so we can never discover *the truth* about the world. Moreover, sense data is inevitably processed by researchers in the light of their existing knowledge, conceptual schemata, theories and values, hence, it is impossible for them to apply scientific methods in a fully objective manner (Foster, 1996: 85). However, although we can never discover the truth about the world we can move towards a position where there is a high probability of truth (ibid: 87).

In view of this fact that no inquiry is value-free, the idiosyncratic values, beliefs and assumptions of the researcher associated with this study are recognised and acknowledged, and the claims made in this research are not presented as the truth about the world. However, they do attempt to provide a *probable truth* which corresponds to the 'reality' of the participants, a 'reality' to which the researcher, as an insider, has access and knowledge.

This thesis acknowledges that no social group consists of individuals who will all react in the same way to conditions in which they live; therefore generalisations cannot be applied to all. Specifically, the results of this study are based on an analysis of selected high schools with relatively high proportions of minority pupils, and the small size of the sample precludes any claim to *national representativeness*, nevertheless the responses provide an intriguing picture of the perceptions of social acceptance of a group of immigrant and some local pupils, parents and teachers.

*Interviews* were conducted primarily with parents and pupils of *Asian origin* and inadvertently included two of other ethnic groups in New Zealand (explained in chapter eight). There were two reasons for this decision. Firstly, an open-ended, semi-structured technique was used for interviews which required a basis of trust between the interviewer and respondent. As it was possible that non-Asian respondents might not have felt comfortable with and trusted an Asian interviewer, it was decided not to interview non-

Asian pupils and parents. A probable lack of this trust in pupils and parents of non-Asian origin due to lack of knowledge about the genuine understanding and empathy felt for non-Asian respondents, might have resulted in failed interviews and inaccurate data. Secondly, concern expressed by some Maori professionals about possible cultural insensitivity if Maori people were interviewed, also contributed to the decision not to include persons of non-Asian heritage in the interviews. Data gathered in interviews with parents and pupils therefore includes primarily the perspectives of pupils and parents of Asian origin.

Responses to an *interview* conducted by a stranger, however relaxed and friendly, can never provide a valid picture of the way of life of the subject of the interview. There can be problems with the validity of the findings because of interview effect, interviewer effect, untruthfulness etc. (McNeill, 1990). Such *self-reports* are also subject to distortions of memory and motive, and do not provide the opportunity to check the validity of responses (Rutledge, 1993). Attempts were made to balance both these effects by triangulation with survey and observation data.

It is probable that most pupils and parents who agreed to participate in the survey and interviews were those who felt that they had nothing or little to hide, therefore it is likely that the information from interviews is *selected*, and that findings *underestimate* the actual levels of non-acceptance. Similarly, teachers self-selected to participate in discussions, possibly with similar effects. Likewise, as discussed in chapter nine, pupil and teacher interactions may have been influenced by the researcher's presence.

Furthermore, this study is a single, *exploratory* investigation only, and demonstrates that the concept of social acceptance is clearly complex, affected by many variables for which this single study cannot provide all the answers. Clearly, the issues it addresses deserve more substantive work to understand the complexity of this topic. However, it does provide a lead for other researchers who may wish to attempt to answer the many questions produced by this study.

## **10.11 SUMMARY**

This chapter has provided an integration of the empirical and narrativist data, and an overall interpretation, discussion and theoretical elaboration of these results according to the themes and concepts produced by the data, from a visible ethnic minority perspective. These themes included: interethnic attitudes and perceptions; impact of colonialism and liberalism on attitudes and perceptions; effects of the school ecology on the social acceptance of visible ethnic minority pupils; influence of culture on perceptions of social acceptance; visible ethnic minority coping responses to problems; consequences for visible ethnic minorities, and consequences for other ethnic groups. It concluded with implications for future research and limitations of the study.

# CHAPTER ELEVEN

## CREATING FUTURES: SPECULATIONS ON IMPROVING THE SOCIAL WORLD OF RESPONDENTS

*Acceptance, respect, interaction, adaptation, sharing and learning are the keys to a  
successful global society*

### 11.1 INTRODUCTION

In this study I have attempted to undertake an analysis of the complex issue of social acceptance within a diverse ethnic society. I have tried to attend to a range of constructs around acceptance and to provide a systemic analysis of the many dimensions associated with this topic. The process has been a challenging one that has produced a complex analysis. However, it was not possible to provide definitive answers to the many perplexing questions that I have attempted to answer. Although there are, consequently, many outstanding questions, the instrumentation used in this study and the theories proposed may contribute to further studies. Moreover, the findings of this study may have implications for understanding and improving the social world of the respondents in New Zealand, and for existing theory and policymaking.

This chapter considers these implications and the role of language in producing attitudes. It also proposes a model of social interaction within a global society, which suggests how relationships amongst different ethnic groups in an ethnically and culturally diverse global society might instead be and, indeed, are preferred by the visible ethnic minority respondents in this study.

## 11.2 LANGUAGE FOR HARMONY

The Structural Equation Model for Perceptions of Social Acceptance developed from the data confirms the results obtained in this study. These results draw a disconcerting picture of the social climate in some New Zealand schools, suggesting that there is non-acceptance of other ethnic groups, and that ethnicity strongly influences perceptions of social acceptance and has a negative effect on interethnic relations.

These results are reinforced by recent *media portrayals* of the situation. A discussion of the media in chapters three and four suggested that, through its language it influences attitudes of people, and also reflects these attitudes and the issues they consider important. An article in the New Zealand Herald (9 November 2002, A11) about New Zealanders' attitudes toward Asian immigration reveals the extent to which this issue concerns them and the nature of feeling about it. Results of a National Business Review-HP Invent poll published in this article (margin of error = plus or minus 3.6 percent) found that 45 percent of the people polled (including 54 percent of Aucklanders) thought that there were too many Asian immigrants in New Zealand. This number had risen since last year, and increased 16 percent since 2000, suggesting that those who claim that attitudes of New Zealanders are improving may be wrong.

Moreover, New Zealand's ever changing *stance on immigration* (three times since June in 2002) (New Zealand Herald, 9 November 2002, B1), suggests insecurity and negative attitudes amongst New Zealanders toward immigrants who are by far, visible ethnic minorities of Asian origin, and bolsters the results of this study. Despite the demand for such skills and a call from the business sector for the momentum of immigration to be kept up to maintain business growth, the doors appear to be shutting on Asian immigrants. On the one hand, says New Zealand Pan Asian Congress spokeswoman Mai Chen (New Zealand Herald, 9 November 2002, A11), there is a desire for skills, for entrepreneurship, more tourists and full fee-paying international students, and on the other, Asians who provide this are not wanted in the country. This ambivalence is disclosed further in 'Kiwi' love for so called 'ethnic' food and clothing, but their apparent dislike of the people who

provide it. This evidence (albeit anecdotal – there is a dearth of other published evidence on this topic), together with the evidence from this study, suggests that attitudes are worsening rather than improving and highlights the need for intervention if positive change and harmonious co-existence is desired.

One possibility for such intervention could lie in the *language* we use. It has been suggested in chapter three that attitudes of New Zealanders toward visible ethnic minorities and their perceptions of acceptance are strongly influenced by the language of social control devised by colonisers that continues to be used today. Discussion of the following three concepts as apparently understood by locals (according to survey results) will illustrate that this is highly possible because words are always linked to feelings and have a power of their own. They have a vast range of meanings which are already embedded in our language and cultural systems, and ‘always carry echoes of other meanings which they trigger off, despite one’s best efforts to close meaning down (Zheng & Berry, 1991: 288). On the one hand, they can elucidate concepts, intentions and feelings, and on the other, they can conceal them as revealed by the use of these concepts:

### **11.2.1 ‘Acceptance’ versus ‘Tolerance’**

During interviews, teachers, parents and pupils all spoke in terms of ‘tolerance’, rather than ‘acceptance’. After teachers and parents were introduced to the concept of ‘acceptance’ by the researcher, some chose to use the word. However, even after being exposed to it on the information sheet and having heard it used frequently by the researcher, some continued to use the word ‘tolerance’ instead. Contemplation revealed two possible explanations for this: researchers and teachers were unaccustomed to the word ‘acceptance’, so continued with the one they felt comfortable with; or they were not thinking in terms of acceptance, but just of ‘tolerating’ a situation that they were forced to put up with. Judging from the evidence provided by this study, the latter is likely, and may explain why there appears to be so much superficiality and non-acceptance in interethnic interactions, as reported by respondents. It is possible that their choice of words may suggest their attitudes toward the people being discussed.

Where the use of the word ‘tolerate’ by visible ethnic minority parents is concerned, apart from the possibilities above, it is probable that they merely continue to emulate ‘White’ people who, they have been socialized to believe, know better, further supporting the notion that language influences attitudes.

The use of the word ‘tolerate’ in relation to ethnic minorities compels the following questions: Are the locals becoming more accepting or are they just tolerating others because they are expected to? Are they perhaps just concealing their non-acceptance better because of these expectations, and because they are aware of the legal consequences, as suggested by staff? Results of the interethnic attitude scale suggest that overall attitudes of pupils are moderate, however, the media report on immigration mentioned above (ibid: A11) says that people under the age of 30 appear to be more anti-Asian than those aged 45 to 49. This gives us all cause for concern. It calls to question the ‘moderate’ interethnic attitudes suggested by survey results, and the extent to which pupils may have concealed ‘real’ attitudes and provided answers according to expectations. It also suggests that young people’s attitudes toward Asians are worsening rather than improving, and confirms Asian parents’ suspicions that displays of acceptance may be superficial. It also supports the perception amongst visible ethnic minorities that, because ethnic diversity is very new to Aotearoa/New Zealand, the situation here may worsen for a while before it shows any signs of improvement.

### **11.2.2 ‘Masks’ and ‘Cloaks’**

A European teacher used the metaphor of a mask to describe the attitudes of his colleagues (see chapter nine, section one, page 283). He said ‘Kiwis’ are good at wearing them, and that what one sees on the surface or hears is not always indicative of what is going on beneath. Despite being the opinion of one person of a small sample of 85 teachers, it provides further confirmation of parent suspicions. Similarly, an ethnic minority parent used the metaphor of a cloak to describe the same attitudes perceived amongst New Zealanders, saying they wore their cloaks well (see chapter eight, page 238). This perceptive use of language draws our attention to what might really be going on where

interethnic relations are concerned, and begs questions of how much we see or hear is mere *appearance* and how much is *'reality'* (in terms of perceptions). Do 'Kiwis' create a semblance of acceptance because of political correctness? Is egalitarianism genuine or just a smokescreen?

### **11.2.3 A Foundation for Positive Interethnic Relations**

It has been suggested that the language of colonialism that has created the social status quo has become stable and has itself developed the power to exclude and assimilate (Tully, 1995). This language has been inadvertently corroborated by visible ethnic minorities themselves through their silent acceptance of it for centuries. For example, they have accepted the superiority of terms such as 'subjects' of the 'commonwealth' of 'Great' Britain to describe their situation, together with the notions of inferiority and impotence that these terms imply. The habitual and unchallenged use of this language has served to validate it and keep it alive. It has also been argued in chapter three that if it is possible for language to function as a foundation for negative interethnic relations, it can also function as a foundation for positive interethnic relations.

The evidence presented above suggests that interethnic attitudes may be deteriorating and that the language we use may reinforce these attitudes. In order to impede further deterioration of attitudes and perhaps even reverse them, this thesis suggests that the use of language that has thus far served to misrepresent the social 'realities' of the peoples of the world, be reconsidered and reconceptualised. Terminology that intimates and perpetuates an imbalance of power in relationships amongst the various ethnic groups has a negative effect on attitudes and behaviours, as users of the terms appear to unconsciously expect unbalanced social exchanges. Language is therefore required that could eliminate negative connotations and introduce the notion of equality amongst ethnic groups. It is possible that modification of our language to that which suggests and encourages positive evaluations of all peoples, could lead to the modification of our worldviews, attitudes and behaviours, which in turn could produce favourable interethnic attitudes and interaction. If there is even the smallest possibility that simple changes in diction could facilitate changes in

attitudes, should it not be promoted? This time of globalisation is opportune to effect such changes.

### **11.3 INTO THE FUTURE: GLOBALISATION AND MULTI-ETHNICITY IN NEW ZEALAND**

Globalisation has forever changed the nature of the world and its population (Hall, 1992), and it is likely that this momentum will continue and western countries will become increasingly multi-ethnic in the future with multiple implications for everyone. The findings of this study draw attention to the need for all to adapt to the changing social environment so that we are all assured of peaceful and harmonious interaction within a globalised world. For this to occur, social, political and educational systems need to take into consideration the phenomenon of cultural and social diversity and devise system level interventions to promote the creation of prosocial and inclusive community cultures and environments.

#### **11.3.1 Implications for New Zealand**

New Zealand still considers itself to be a bicultural nation (as outlined in chapter two), and has emphasised biculturalism since the 1980s (Wilson & Yeatman, 1995). It is possible that this emphasis on biculturalism may have an influence on the attitudes of the locals toward other ethnic groups who are not considered to be a part of this binary. The growing multi-ethnic nature of the country suggests that multiculturalism should, as a consequence of evolution, become both a policy and an ideal for New Zealand. Multiculturalism as a policy is based on the principle that openness to novelty in the environment is increased to the extent that the individual feels a sense of confidence and security. It is when a people are secure in their own ethnic identities that they can feel open and charitable toward others thereby contributing to a broad national sense of unity as several studies have shown (Lambert & Taylor, 1990; Ward *et al.*, 2001).

Multiculturalism is increasingly becoming a descriptive fact of New Zealand. Its lifestyle, from accommodation to fashion and to food, amongst other things, has been greatly improved by the presence of multi-ethnic immigrants. Despite recent attempts to stem the flow of non-European immigrants, it is probable that this will continue in the future as the younger generation is likely to be more proficient in attributes considered desirable for immigrants. Hence, rather than expend negative energy on shutting doors on them, it would be beneficial for all to find ways in which barriers can be broken and positive attitudes instilled so that there may be understanding, positive interaction and harmony.

### **11.3.2 Personal Intervention**

#### ***Self-Reflection***

To facilitate attitudinal change at the personal level, self-reflection may assist in preparing the human psyche. One of the consequences of globalisation is a feeling of dislocation and confusion amongst peoples about identities and the new social spaces that confront us. To be able to demystify all of this, we may need to first take stock of ourselves. Self-reflection may enable us to discover ourselves and to distinguish between the authentic self and the fictional self that has been created by external forces. The authentic self is the real self which is the core of who we really are, and contains our own feelings, meanings, purposes and talents (Zukav, 1990). Because most of us live with the fictional self, which has been created by events of the past over which we might have had no control, our self-concepts may be distorted and our psyches disfigured.

Major events of the past that may have caused this possible distortion are colonialism and liberalism. The effects of these conditions are seen in the ways in which we have been raised and the messages we have been given by our significant adults. We need to examine these external influences that shape who we are, recognise them for what they are, and reinvent ourselves so that we are no longer burdened with our fictional selves that have proved to be soul destroying for many. Openness to ethnic diversity would be possible only after an individual has developed a strong sense of self-awareness and acceptance

(Banks, 1979). Three little questions could lead us to that road of self-understanding: Who am I? What am I? Why am I what I am? Only after the authentic self has been discovered, would it be possible to see the authentic being in others.

### ***Temporal Relevance***

Human beings, like all other living organisms, are dynamic and constantly evolving to adapt to their environments that are also evolving in accordance with time. As such, nothing is static and without change. Similarly, all human conditions also evolve with time, discarding what is no longer temporally relevant and adapting, rejuvenating and retaining that which is appropriate for successful living in the present, while fortifying core ideals and values. Consequently, all people, not only those who migrate, need to constantly reconsider and reconceptualise their worldviews and lifestyles in accordance with time and relevance. For example, it may be beneficial for traditionally collectivistic societies to include some aspects of individualism into their worldviews to facilitate life in the twenty first century, and for individualistic societies to include some aspects of collectivism into their worldviews to support and protect their cultures against disintegration. Furthermore, traditions and rituals that were necessary in the past, but redundant in the present, should also be dispensed with and temporally appropriate ones adopted. Similarly, attitudes of the past that are no longer relevant in the present need to be discarded in favour of new ones that will foster interethnic harmony and global peace.

There is evidence of such evolution amongst many immigrant families who appreciate the need to modify aspects of their worldviews and modes of living in order to adapt successfully, and have demonstrated a willingness to enter into and adapt to the political and social culture of New Zealand. They understand and accept that this means changing parts of their culture and adopting some of the host culture, and are happy to do this as it embodies their vision for the future as outlined in the notion of complementalism, which is based on the belief of the inherent goodness of all people. In turn, their theory suggests, New Zealanders too should learn about and perhaps adapt to them to some extent so that there may be mutual understanding, respect and acceptance. They also need to accept that

migration may be a natural part of evolution, and may change the character of their community to some degree in the long run. But, as Habermas (1994: 140) states, it would not leave the community without any character. In fact, it will enhance it. For those who may find this challenging, there is hope in the knowledge that it can possibly be achieved with simple self-reflection and an open mind.

### **11.3.3 School Intervention**

The results presented above suggest that pupils are conflicting with, and possibly antagonizing each other to a significant extent, due to misunderstandings and/or negative attitudes. A concerted effort is required on the part of schools to foster understanding and complementary interaction by restructuring their policies and practices so that they respond to the diversity of the pupils in their locality (Ainscow, 2001). The first step in this direction would be to get pupils to *know each other*. This would involve a lot more than just the token, superficial kind of knowledge that appears to be currently imparted to them. In-depth knowledge about peoples, their cultures and their values that demystifies them (not just song and dance) needs to be provided.

Opportunities need to be created, and children need to be encouraged to *integrate*, not just in the classroom, but also in the community. This by no means involves forcing them to break up ethnic groups which occur naturally, or to mix with people they do not wish to be with, but showing them the positive aspects of different peoples and focusing on similarities while acknowledging differences. It involves awakening a healthy curiosity about those who are different and allowing them to discover that difference can be positive and that it should be celebrated and not spurned.

This research is in itself an intervention in that it has already led some of those involved in this study to engage in dialogue and open discussion about social acceptance and its implications for building a more caring environment, and to implement some of these recommendations.

Presently, the *motivation to change* the culture of local schools appears to be the funds being brought into them by overseas fee-paying pupils. International education now provides the country with over a billion dollars in foreign exchange, and because schools wish to capture this market on which many have become dependent for revenue, they need to improve customer service (Ward et al, 2001). It is hoped that this attitude will soon extend to all foreign pupils, irrespective of their monetary value.

### ***Rethinking 'Bullying'***

Evidence presented in this thesis suggests that the literature on 'bullying' has been operating through a liberal paradigm that is embedded within colonialist practice. This colonial mindset and concomitant liberal philosophy has exerted a powerful influence on the cognition and behaviour of researchers and lay observers alike. A primary effect of that 'common-sense' framework is that violent and intimidatory behaviour against visible ethnic minorities has been labelled with the socio-culturally benign term of 'bullying'.

A principal *recommendation* of this thesis, in light of the evidence and discussion presented, is that the concepts of *ethnicity*, *bullying* and *ethnic intimidation* are reconceptualised. The effect of this, for present purposes, would be the addition of *ethnic context* to the study of the 'bullying' phenomenon. 'Bullies' would be understood in terms of their ethnic dimensions, dimensions that cannot be detached from the social, cultural and ethnic relations through which their identities form. Clearly, this would re-cast bullying as something more than children violating each other in accordance with their idiosyncratic pathologies. It would become accepted that bullying episodes involve practices of intimidation and the engendering of fear, both intra- and inter-ethnically. To this end, when such behaviours are interethnic, they could be re-presented as instantiations of *ethnic intimidation*. As such, it would become accepted that the contours of those intimidatory practices reflect, in part at least, the shape of interethnic relations.

#### 11.3.4 Systemic Intervention

For acceptance of foreign immigrants to occur, there should be political and social recognition of the multicultural status of the nation. This does not imply that the special status of the Tangata Whenua, the indigenous Maori population, must be sacrificed or minimized, but that the status of other residents and citizens is officially recognized and accepted as an integral part of the country. For the psychological adaptation of locals to immigrants to occur, it is necessary for them to know that immigrants of other ethnicities are also woven into the political fabric of the nation. This would facilitate positive adaptations to their worldviews concerning other peoples, and impinge positively on various aspects of their lives, their mental health in particular. Evidence indicates that peoples of European origin are willing to accept multiculturalism only if other ethnic groups involved are similar to themselves (Lambert & Taylor, 1990). This suggests that when westerners talk of multiculturalism, this rhetoric is not inclusive of non-Europeans. If disintegration of racist attitudes and development of harmonious interethnic interaction is to occur, governments need to provide positive models for their citizens that encourage positive attitudes.

The models adopted by western governments thus far, have been based on various approaches to acculturation. '*Acculturation*' refers to cultural (Redfield, Linton and Herskovits, 1936; Berry, 1990, 1994, 1997, 1999) as well as psychological changes (Berry, 1999) that take place as a result of continuous first-hand contact between individuals of different cultural origins. '*Acculturation orientation*' refers to the attitude held in terms of the adaptation required by immigrants to a western country. Anthropologists coined the term acculturation to describe the process of *bidirectional change* that takes place when two ethnocultural groups come into contact with one another (Bourhis *et al.*, 1997: 369). However, all acculturation models are biased in favour of the dominant group, which in the context of globalization and current migration trends is a western group, and in reality it is the immigrant group that must change to become more like the dominant group.

Two major approaches of acculturation have emerged, one emphasising assimilation and the other, cultural pluralism.

### *Assimilation*

Many western countries have attempted to solve the problem of cultural distance by reducing or eradicating the differences that separated the participants (Bochner, 1986), usually by encouraging new settlers to assimilate to their host culture. In practice this meant abandoning minority culture values and customs that differed from mainstream traditions and behaviours.

In more modern times, Ronald Taft (1953, 1963) considered this problem in the context of the Australian problem of social interaction. He identified three types of 'assimilation orientations' or contact outcomes which are *monism*, *pluralism* and *interactionism*. The *monistic orientation* of assimilation implied a positive evaluation of the values of the majority group, and a negative evaluation of the minority group, and a 'swallowing up' of that group so that it lost all identity and became indistinguishable from the majority group. A weakness in the values underlying this orientation was the ethnocentrism implicit in it, and the presupposition of an evaluation of cultures in a hierarchical order. This bias was also accompanied by overt evidence of prejudice and discrimination, which in turn established resistance on the part of the minority groups to participating in this process which meant diluting their cultural identities.

A *pluralistic orientation* to assimilation was introduced as an improvement on the monistic approach (Taft, 1953, 1963). This orientation saw two or more cultural groups forming part of the same community while living side by side and 'keeping to their own ways of thinking and acting'. The underlying values of the pluralistic bias were that each group was entitled to retain its culture, and that 'tolerance' toward each group was accepted in order to establish and maintain a supra-ordinate loyalty to the national community-at-large.

As ethnic minorities became increasingly concerned that cultural identification may be lost if their adolescents became assimilated into European traditions, they rejected assimilation in favour of cultural pluralism. This system is now espoused by most democratic countries that regard it as the solution to problems of intercultural contact. However, to those who have experienced living under some form of segregation (as witnessed in its extreme form in South Africa) cultural pluralism is far from ideal as it appears to be no different from 'apartheid' or separatism, and encourages conflict as evidenced around the world today.

Taft (ibid) suggested that when one group, usually the majority culture, holds a monistic bias and the other, the minority, a pluralistic bias (as appears to be the case in most situations of contact between majority and minority groups, including Aotearoa/New Zealand), such a situation is fraught with danger that the groups will manifest hostility to each other. As a solution to this, he introduced the *interactionist approach* to acculturation which is a two-way interaction with resulting group norms emerging from the interaction of the original norms of the members of both groups. Immigrants and hosts would think and act like each other in some ways 'so that eventually the *difference* between them would *disappear*' (my italics - Taft, 1963). Clearly, the eventual outcome would be total assimilation of both hosts and immigrants with a loss of original cultures and identities in favour of something new. It does not offer protection and maintenance of original cultures, but instead suggests the creation of a grey culture and society. As such, interactionism is not considered to be a viable proposition in this thesis.

Other researchers have also identified similar orientations or outcomes in their quest for a suitable solution. Tajfel (1978) listed four kinds of assimilation, the first of which coincides with Taft's monism. The second is when the minority is not fully accepted by the majority, and are regarded as typifying the unpleasant characteristics attributed to the group, and at the same time as 'exceptions' to the rule if they were different from the rest of the minority group. An effect of this is leaning over backwards by the minority in the acceptance of the majority's derogatory views about the minority, which could result in 'self-hatred'. The third is an 'illegitimate' kind of assimilation where one's origins are hidden in order to 'pass'. This leads to identification with the new group and a rejection of

the old one. Because of the constant danger of being unmasked, these members of the minority proclaim their dislike of the 'inferior' minority. The fourth kind is called 'accommodation' or 'social competition', and consists of the minority's attempts to retain their own identity and separateness while at the same time becoming more like the majority (achieving parity) (ibid: 14-16). There is stress on a separate cultural identity, traditions and roots, and also the rejection of negative value judgements (like the negative connotations of blackness) by reversing them to preserve or regain self-respect – a movement toward 'equal but different'. None of these outcomes is regarded as acceptable to immigrants and researchers as they still imply separatism to some extent (e.g. Lyman, 1984; Harvey, 1988).

Berry (1990, 1994, 1997, and 1999) classified responses of individuals to intercultural contact into four similar categories of *Integration*, *Assimilation*, *Separation* and *Marginalisation*. The additional fourth category refers to people who are neither in one culture nor the other. Bochner (1976, 1981, and 1994) also identified four similar categories. Ward et al. (2001) described four types of response styles identified by other researchers: '*passing*' (Stonequist, 1937) when individuals reject the original culture and adopt the new higher status culture; *chauvinist* (Tajfel & Dawson, 1965), when individuals reject a second culture as alien, retreat back into the culture of origin and become militant nationalists and chauvinists; *marginal* (Park, 1928), when individuals vacillate between their two cultures, feeling at home in neither; and *mediating* (Bochner, 1982), when persons are able to synthesise their various cultural identities and acquire bicultural or multicultural personalities. Ward et al. (2001), like Berry (1999) suggested a contact model which considered integration to be the most suitable outcome of cross-cultural relations.

None of these is considered to be appropriate, as the expectation is that only the immigrant must adapt to the host society. Moreover, these models implicitly situate immigrant groups within the lower echelons of the social hierarchy (Bourhis *et al.*, 1997).

Bourhis *et al.* (1997) describe two types of *hosts*, which are 'individualists' and 'exclusionists'. Individualists reject group aspirations per se and prefer to treat others as

individual persons rather than as members of group categories. They downgrade the importance of maintaining immigrant culture or adopting host culture. Exclusionists do not tolerate the maintenance of the immigrant culture, and also refuse to allow immigrants to adopt features of the host culture. They believe that immigrants can never be incorporated culturally and socially into the host society, and want immigration to stop. From a visible ethnic minority immigrant perspective, both types of hosts are to be found in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

### ***State Ideologies***

It has been suggested that state integration policies have a decisive impact on the acculturation orientation of both immigrants and hosts (Bourhis *et al.*, 1997). These authors distinguish four state ideologies which shape immigration policies. The *pluralism* ideology reflects the expectation that immigrants will adopt the public values of the country, and private values of citizens are not regulated by the state, but may be supported financially. The *civic* ideology shares common assumptions with cultural pluralism, but does not fund activities. The *assimilation* ideology implicitly assumes that immigrants should abandon their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness. The *ethnist* ideology requires immigrants to adopt the public values of their hosts, and the state holds the right to regulate immigration policies and aspects of private ethnic values.

All these ideologies are considered to be inadequate as (like with all other orientations) they place the onus of adaptation on immigrants and do not consider or offer financial support for the multicultural education of hosts and immigrants for mutual adaptation. This view is supported by Tully (1995) who alleges that it has been the traditional nationalist attitude to recognise one culture at the expense of all others, either by exclusion or assimilation.

Studies indicate that the ease with which integration is achieved is strongly influenced by the acculturation orientations of members of the host culture and their state ideology (Ward *et al.*, 2001; Bourhis *et al.*, 1997; Goldenberg and Saxe, 1996; Tyson & Duckitt, 1989;

Dona & Berry, 1994; Berry, 1999; Horenczyk, 1996; Cheung, 1995). Dissimilar attitudes result in problematic or conflictual outcomes. While the state ideology of pluralism and the acculturation orientation of integration are an improvement on previous orientations, they still ultimately encourage separate development within a broader structure. Moreover, (as stressed above) all these theories appear to be considered from the majority perspective, and focus on the changes that minorities must make when residing within a foreign culture. Whilst a few consider the *possibility* of reciprocal adaptation by the host population (e.g. Bochner, 1982; Ward *et al.*, 2001), none recognises the need for hosts to also adapt to immigrants in a changing social structure within the context of globalisation.

### ***Immigrant Acculturation Orientations***

These state ideologies and acculturation policies have been rejected by immigrants as they place the responsibility for acculturation squarely on the shoulders of the immigrant, and do not include the host. While they sometimes recognise that relational outcomes are the product of the acculturation orientations of both the host majority and immigrant groups, the expectation is always that immigrants should adapt to the hosts (e.g. Bourhis *et al.*, 1997; Tully, 1995).

In order to avoid diluting their cultural identities, ethnic minorities have chosen biculturalism, which is a mastering of both cultures, above assimilation. This has been evidenced in ethnic minorities around the world, particularly those living under segregated conditions. For example, African-American parents in areas with large numbers of African-Americans typically tried to prepare their children to function in the majority culture by mastering both cultures in order to minimise prejudice and discrimination (Thornton *et al.*, 1990 in Sprinthall & Collins, 1995). Similarly, most ethnic minority parents in apartheid South Africa, especially those of Indian origin, chose biculturalism for their children while living under enforced segregation. Similar attitudes against assimilation and for biculturalism were found amongst American groups except working-class 'white' Americans (Lambert & Taylor, 1990).

Whilst biculturalism is the best option from those available to immigrants, it requires immigrants to move from one supposedly inferior culture to the other which is supposedly superior, constantly switching roles. This could possibly cause psychological conflict as suggested by the qualitative data presented in the preceding chapters, therefore cannot be ideal. What is required in this new era of globalisation is an orientation that is not divisive, but encourages mutual acceptance, respect, sharing and togetherness.

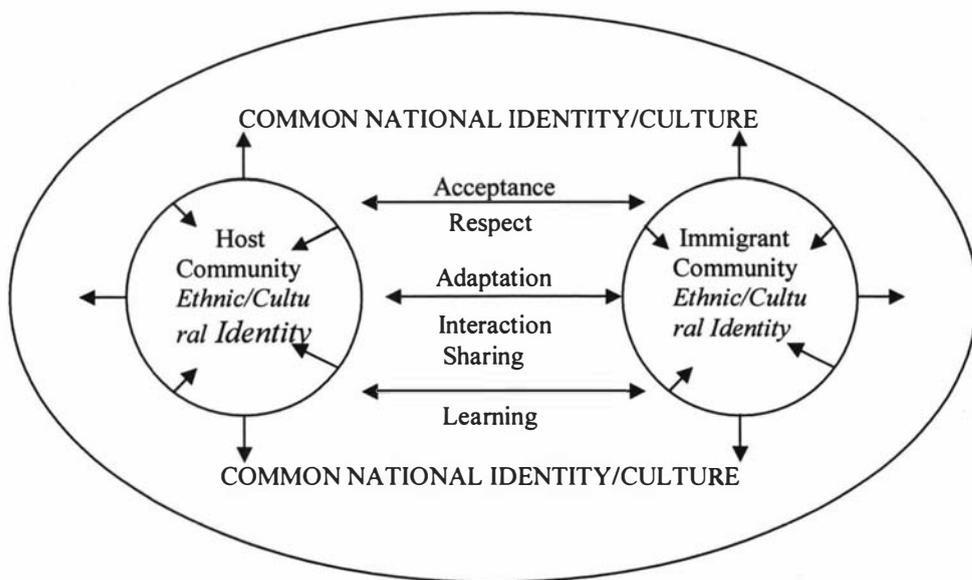
#### **11.4 COMPLEMENTALISM: A PROPOSED MODEL OF SOCIAL INTERACTION WITHIN A GLOBAL SOCIETY**

To encourage harmonious integration within a world that is rapidly changing culturally and socially, it would be psychologically salubrious to all citizens to adapt to each other to some extent, and for state integration policies to be reflective of this, as they have a decisive impact on the acculturation orientations of both immigrants and hosts (Bourhis *et al.*, 1997; Berry, 1999). Berry (1999) suggests that national policies in the dominant society may provide encouragement for one or the other strategy for acculturation, while the multicultural ideology encountered in daily interactions with members of the dominant society may reinforce certain preferences. Compatible state ideologies and acculturation orientations would encourage positive and consensual social relations amongst citizens. A policy that reflects mutual adaptation and acceptance would encourage a mindset that tells us that *we are all different, but equal in our difference*, and that entertains the possibility of a co-existence with mutual sharing that enhances and complements all cultures.

In order to have understanding, peace and harmony within a global community, there needs to be more than just token interaction within that community. Interaction per *sē*, as suggested by evidence presented in the preceding chapters, often results in groups having a negative effect on each other. What is required to ensure positive outcomes is a milieu that complements rather than threatens the co-existence of diverse ethnic groups. To this end, the notion of *complementalism* is proposed as a useful framework for increasing social acceptance of ethnic minority groups. This orientation of acculturation espouses the notion of mutual equality, and perceives hosts and immigrants complementing each other's

cultures through interaction with each other which produces acceptance, respect, sharing, learning and mutual adaptation. Simultaneously, they interact within their own communities retaining and reinforcing their own ethnic identities while incorporating into their own cultures the ‘good’ aspects of other cultures that they regard as complementary to their own. It is a dynamic concept in which the national identity and culture evolves with its communities within a framework of temporal relevance. In this framework, concepts from the past that are no longer relevant for the present are discarded in favour of that which is relevant to the evolving community.

The following model of complementary co-existence within a culturally diverse global society is proposed:



*Figure 11.1:* Complementalism - A proposed model of social interaction within a global community.

#### 11.4.1 Justification for the Theory of Complementalism

The present time is characterised by global ethnic struggles. On the one hand, oppressed ethnic and cultural minorities are struggling for the recognition of their collective identities and the overcoming of an illegitimate division of society. But majority cultures do not feel

that the revised interpretation of the achievements and interests of others necessarily alters their own role (Habermas, 1994: 117). On the other hand, Eurocentrism and the hegemony of western culture is struggling for European recognition on the international level (ibid: 119).

All recent global developments such as globalisation, the erosion of national identities, the growth of cultural homogenisation, the strengthening of particularistic identities and the birth of hybrid identities (Hall, 1992), point to the need for a new orientation to acculturation. This notion of sharing and complementing is espoused by many theorists such as Tully, (1995), Hall (1992), McGrew (1992), and Giddens (1990), and is in keeping with the notion of identity as 'aspectival' (Tully, 1995), a 'project' (Habermas, 1992), and as 'strategic and positional' (Hall, 1996). These theorists agree that cultures preserve their vitality only through an unrestrained revisionism, by sketching out alternatives to the status quo or by integrating alien impulses (Habermas, 1994: 119). Hall (1992: 310) states that globalization has given rise to cultures that are in 'transition' and drawing on different cultural traditions at the same time, and that these 'complicated cross-overs and cultural mixes' are becoming increasingly common in a 'globalised world'. He does not consider that cultures will disappear through assimilation or return to their 'roots', but will 'translate', i.e. cut across cultures while retaining strong links with their own traditions and coming to terms with their 'cultures of hybridity'. Complementalism is an orientation to acculturation which espouses the notion of 'hybridity', and which allows for all ethnic groups to imbibe from other cultures while accepting that there will always be large groups that remain 'pure' (not fundamental).

Habermas proposes a kind of post-national and universalistic type of cultural identity in his theory of communicative action. He views identity as not just a construction from the past, but a *project* (Habermas, 1992: 243). This allows the process of selection that all versions of cultural identity perform, to decide how to continue with a certain tradition, which ideological elements to root out, which valuable elements to keep and which elements from other traditions to adopt (Larrain, 1994: 5). It is not so much what one is as what one wants to be, and in the construction of the future not all of one's own historical traditions are

equally valid (such as racism which is deeply rooted and emerging again in Europe). The notion of complementalism articulates and facilitates an awareness and acceptance of such a process of selection. It is an orientation to acculturation that could lend itself to the philosophy of a global 'society' that consists of 'overlapping and intersecting sociospatial networks of power' (Mann, 1986 in McGrew, 1992: 97). It could also facilitate the preparation of individual and national psyches for the global change rapidly taking place.

At the core of modern liberalism is the tendency to be oneself, and simultaneously, modern liberalism emphasises harmony, integration and interconnectedness, and modern liberals are drawn to some notion of affective ties among members of a community (Gaus, 1983). As such, it lends itself to the notion of complementalism, which all respondents in this study and other researchers appear to be asking for in various ways. Such an orientation to acculturation would support all equally, and place responsibility for harmonious living on both immigrants and hosts, rather than just immigrants. It would encourage both groups to acquire knowledge about each other, which would contribute to mutual understanding. This would develop a sense of security about one's own culture, which would then facilitate mutual acceptance and respect. Studies have found (Lambert & Taylor, 1990) that groups that are the most open and charitable in their views of other ethnic groups, are those that experience a sense of security about their own group. The assumption is that increasing a sense of ethnic security for all groups would generate an appreciation for other groups. This assumption is supported by Ward *et al.* (2001) who assert that acculturation orientations which encompass both heritage and host cultural identities are related to psychological well-being and satisfaction.

Lambert and Taylor's (1990) American study (referred to above) appears to inadvertently corroborate this concept of complementalism. Banks' (1979) fifth stage of ethnic identity, which he calls multi-ethnicity and envisages as the idealised goal within an ethnically pluralistic nation, coincides with this orientation. People in general already appear to be engaging in it through art, food and dress, *inter alia*. It is a dynamic relationship that gives and takes and adds to the original, enhancing it. Vaclav Havel (1994, in Tully, 1995) calls for a spirit of multicultural co-existence in which different peoples, religions and cultures

learn to respect each other, and honour each other's differences. Not only do we need to respect and honour, but also to accept, because without acceptance there can be no sharing, which is what brings people together. The orientation of complementalism would allow cultures to co-exist harmoniously while respecting and honouring each other's differences. Like the colours of a rainbow merge at the interface to create secondary colours, some peripheral change will occur as cultures influence each other, but the essential core of the primary cultures will remain.

In the survey, 'Kiwi' pupils displayed a refreshingly positive attitude toward the acculturation of immigrants, despite the negative influence of colonialism and liberalism on attitudes of many New Zealanders toward visible ethnic minorities. Most disagreed with the notions of assimilation and separatism, and the majority, like the visible ethnic minority pupils, overwhelmingly supported the theory of complementalism. These results suggest that our present youth is highly in favour of this proposed model of social interaction within a global society. They also imply that most pupils either have a positive attitude toward social interaction, or at least know how things should be in a multi-ethnic society. The choice of complementalism may indicate a changing mindset in a positive direction concerning interethnic relationships, amongst our adolescents, and may suggest a desire for such a form of social interaction, as well as intuition about right and wrong. These responses also demonstrate the large extent of support that the *theory of complementalism* proposed in this thesis has from both 'Kiwi' and ethnic minority pupils.

Discussions with parents and pupils suggest that all ethnic minorities are also of the view that it is possible for peoples of different ethnicities to live side by side in acceptance of each other, mixing harmoniously and sharing and learning from each other's cultures, while maintaining the validity of each. In so doing, they would *complement* each other's cultures rather than impose one on the other, or discard both to create something new, as suggested by interactionism. However, parents disclose fears that adult New Zealanders would not be in favour of such an orientation and would not 'complement' other cultures. These concerns are confirmed by attitudes of some European teachers, and the report of the 'Kiwi' pupil interviewed, who suggested that her parents are not willing to change their negative

attitudes. However, even though the older generation may find it difficult to accept such novel ideas about interethnic social interaction, it is possible (if this evidence is a true reflection of attitudes and not a response to social expectations and a desire to be seen as non-racist) that the younger generation may espouse such a concept more easily.

Moreover, studies have identified acculturation and integration (e.g. Dona & Berry, 1994; Berry *et al.*, 1987; Kim, 1988 in *ibid*) or peer acceptance (Rigby, 1999) as a predictor of good physical and mental health. This is corroborated by the results of this research which suggest that pupils who feel more rejected by peers (therefore experience acculturative stress) are more likely to experience bad *health* and less likely to have high *self esteem*. A suitable orientation to acculturation is therefore vital to the psychological adaptation of immigrants to their host country, and of hosts to their immigrants. This will ensure harmonious interaction and good mental health for all members of a community. Such *mutual adaptation* would be facilitated by a mindset that embraces a concept that is designed for and promotes such interaction.

Accordingly, consideration should be given to adjusting the *national self-understanding* to accommodate the integration of alien cultures in these changing times. The orientation of interactionism, the popular '*melting pot*', is currently espoused by most people, including a large number of pupils in this study, as it presently offers the best option to acculturation. However, it is not the best, as its final outcome (many generations from now) would be a grey race with a grey culture, which would hardly be considered a desirable situation by anyone. To this end the proposed acculturation orientation of complementalism could be introduced to the social psyche of New Zealanders. Within such an orientation cultures would complement rather than conflict with each other. If the concept of complementalism is promoted as one that will foster social harmony amongst the ethnic groups, it is possible that it would be espoused by all who desire such a social outcome, as demonstrated by this adolescent sample. A utopian idea such as this may sound unrealistic, given the ordinary human weaknesses resulting from our essential fallibility. But, if we do not entertain such dreams, we will have no chance of realising them.

## 11.5 NO 'MAN' IS AN ISLAND

Colonialism and liberalism have impacted on the lives of Europeans and non-Europeans in ways that are much more cataclysmic than many realise. Those who are acquainted with the facts of our colonial history often choose to exile them to the dark recesses of their minds because they are too harrowing to remember, either for the indelible suffering they may inflict, or for the heavy burden of guilt they may impose. Despite this, we all need to reflect on them if we are to gain any insight into their effects and attempt to redress them, so that there may be harmonious co-existence of peoples.

It is human nature that no matter how highly developed we might be, we need our fellows, not so much to 'complete' our lives as suggested by theorists (Gaus, 1983; Tajfel, 1978), but to *complement* them (as every individual is complete in herself). The very nature of our individuality impels us into a cooperative, mutually enriching social life. The liberalist, John Rawls' theory of social interest (Gaus, 1983) suggests that a sense of self-esteem depends upon having a satisfying plan of life and finding our person and deeds appreciated and confirmed by others who are likewise esteemed and their association enjoyed. The evidence presented in these chapters suggests that visible ethnic minorities in western countries have yet a long road to travel before they get there. The historical relationship between the Occident and Orient continues to bear the marks of a denial of recognition and acceptance of Orientals (Habermas, 1994: 119). These peoples need to know that they are not to blame for the situation they are presently in, and that they are worthy. They need to have this affirmed and reaffirmed to ensure that they do not remain emotional prisoners forever. Not only are they to be rescued from such a fate, but also the Occidentals. They too have been prisoners of fallacies from the past.

Although the results paint quite a disconcerting picture of the acceptance of difference in New Zealand, some of these results, such as those of acculturation, present a promising picture for our youth, and suggest that if guided in the right direction by an orientation such as complementalism, there is hope for a brighter future. All we need to do, is challenge the

old, champion the new, and change our thinking, and we *will* be able to break this vicious cycle.

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## APPENDICES

1. Opinion Questionnaire
2. Interview Schedule: Questions to Pupils
3. Interview Schedule: Questions to Parents
4. Interview Schedule: Questions to Teachers, Counsellors and Principals
5. Information Sheet for Boards of Trustees and Principals
6. Information Sheet for Teachers
7. Information Sheet for Parents and Pupils
8. Consent Form for Boards of Trustees, Principals and Teachers
9. Consent Form for Teachers
10. Consent Form Pupils
11. Consent Form for Parents
12. Structural Equation Model for Perceptions of Social Acceptance

# OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE

## SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE

This questionnaire asks for your **opinions**. There are no right or wrong answers. Everything you write on this questionnaire is **confidential**. Your name is not required and nobody will know who you are and what you have written. You do not have to answer questions that you do not wish to answer, however, your full cooperation will be highly appreciated.

There are **ten questions – A to J**

You have approximately one hour to answer these questions.

**Question A** refers to the three major groups of people living in New Zealand. They are Europeans, Maori/Pacifika and Asians.

**Europeans** are all people whose ancestors originally came from countries and cultures of Europe and Britain.

**Maori/Pacifika** are the Maori and other Polynesian people of the Pacific Islands.

**Asians** are the people whose ancestors originally came from countries and cultures of Asia. For the purposes of this survey Asia has been divided into two parts which are West Asia and East Asia.

**West Asia** will include all West Asian countries such as India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nepal etc. as well as Middle Eastern countries such as Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Turkey etc.

**East Asia** will include all East Asian countries such as China, Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia, Cambodia, Taiwan, Indonesia, Philippines etc. and Japan.

Here are the **meanings** of some words you may not understand:

‘Colonialism’ means taking over a country that already belongs to someone else.

‘Superiority’ means being better than others.

‘Inferiority’ means being not as good as others.

‘Social acceptance’ means accepting people for who and what they are.

**A (1)**

Answer this as you think **Europeans** would answer it. In other words, what answers would a European give? If you are a European, then you will answer it for yourself. (Europeans are people of European origin. It does not matter which country they were born in. Check explanation on front page.)

**Tick** one of the columns for each item.

		Like very much	Like quite a lot	Like sometimes	Like very little	Do not like at all
1	Europeans					
2	Highly civilized Asians					
3	Colonialism					
4	Asian immigration					
5	White superiority					
6	Maori					
7	Kiwi morals and values					
8	Polynesian inferiority					
9	Ethnic minority rights					
10	Pacific Islanders					
11	Equal opportunity for all					
12	Schools without Asians					
13	Ethnic pride					
14	Asian neighbours					
15	Multicultural education					
16	East Asians					
17	Equality of races					
18	Asian languages					
19	Mixed relationships					
20	European immigration					
21	Exotic Asian culture					
22	Maori tradition					
23	West Asians					
24	Separate schools for ethnic groups					
25	Sending Asians back to their country					

**A (2)**

Answer this as you think **Maori/Pacifika** would answer it. In other words, what answers would a Maori or Pacific Islander give? If you are a Maori or Pacific Islander, then you will answer it for yourself. (Maori/Pacifika are people of Polynesian origin. It does not matter which country they were born in. Check explanation on front page.)

**Tick** one of the columns for each item.

		Like very much	Like quite a lot	Like sometimes	Like very little	Do not like at all
1	Europeans					
2	Highly civilized Asians					
3	Colonialism					
4	Asian immigration					
5	White superiority					
6	Maori					
7	Kiwi morals and values					
8	Polynesian inferiority					
9	Ethnic minority rights					
10	Pacific Islanders					
11	Equal opportunity for all					
12	Schools without Asians					
13	Ethnic pride					
14	Asian neighbours					
15	Multicultural education					
16	East Asians					
17	Equality of races					
18	Asian languages					
19	Mixed relationships					
20	European immigration					
21	Exotic Asian culture					
22	Maori tradition					
23	West Asians					
24	Separate schools for ethnic groups					
25	Sending Asians back to their country					

**A (3)**

Answer this as you think **Asians** would answer it. In other words, what answers would a West Asian or East Asian give? If you are a West Asian or East Asian, then you will answer it for yourself. (Asians are people of West Asian or East Asian origin. It does not matter which country they were born in. Check explanation on front page.)

**Tick** one of the columns for each item.

		Like very much	Like quite a lot	Like sometimes	Like very little	Do not like at all
1	Europeans					
2	Highly civilized Asians					
3	Colonialism					
4	Asian immigration					
5	White superiority					
6	Maori					
7	Kiwi morals and values					
8	Polynesian inferiority					
9	Ethnic minority rights					
10	Pacific Islanders					
11	Equal opportunity for all					
12	Schools without Asians					
13	Ethnic pride					
14	Asian neighbours					
15	Multicultural education					
16	East Asians					
17	Equality of races					
18	Asian languages					
19	Mixed relationships					
20	European immigration					
21	Exotic Asian culture					
22	Maori tradition					
23	West Asians					
24	Separate schools for ethnic groups					
25	Sending Asians back to their country					

**Question B**

**Write** as much as you can about the following:

1. What do you understand by the word **'bullying'**? (What does it mean for you?)

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2. What do you understand by the word **'ethnic'**? (What does it mean for you?)

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3. Have you ever felt that you were not accepted by your schoolmates?      YES/NO

4. List some of the things that have happened to you at school that have made you feel unaccepted?

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5. How often have these things happened?

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6. Why, do you think, have these things happened to you?

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7. Who are the people who have done these things to you?

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8. When have they done these things to you?

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9. Where have these things happened?

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10. What have you done about this? Why?

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11. How does this make you feel?

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12. Has your school helped you with this in any way?

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13. What do you see as a strong point about your school with regard to social acceptance?

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14. How do you feel about, and cope with, having people from countries you may not like in your school?

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### Question C

How much do you **agree** or **disagree** with the following statements? **Tick** one of the columns for each item.

		Agree Strongly	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Disagree strongly
1	Immigrant students should try to become “Kiwi” when they come to New Zealand, and forget about their past					
2	New Zealanders and immigrants should remain who they are and keep with their own groups					
3	New Zealanders and immigrants should mix and, in time, become one big family with no differences					
4	New Zealanders and immigrants should live side by side, learn the good things from each other and not lose their individual cultures and identities					

### Question D

**Write three adjectives** (describing words) eg. good, hard-working, unfriendly, etc. which you think best describe each of the following groups of people in New Zealand:

**Bullies** \_\_\_\_\_  
(This means people who intimidate other people)

**Europeans** \_\_\_\_\_  
(This means people of European origin living in New Zealand, irrespective of country of birth)

**Students** \_\_\_\_\_  
(This means girls and boys attending an educational institution)

**Pacific Islanders** \_\_\_\_\_  
(This means people of Polynesian origin living in New Zealand, irrespective of country of birth)

**West Asians** \_\_\_\_\_  
(This means people of West Asian origin living in New Zealand, irrespective of country of birth)

**Maori**

(This means the indigenous people of New Zealand)

**Teachers**

(This means men and women who teach students at educational institutions)

**East Asian**

(This means people of East Asian origin living in New Zealand, irrespective of country of birth)

**Counsellors**

(This means people who help others with their problems at school and elsewhere)

**Question E**

Tick **the columns that are right for you**. You may have more than one tick per line.

		People from other cultures	Chinese	Boys	Pacific-Islanders	Girls	Indians	People from my own culture	Students my age	Europeans	Maori
1	I spend most of my leisure time with										
2	I do my homework with										
3	I eat my lunch with										
4	I play sport at school with										
5	I sit in class with										
6	I do not mix with										
7	I do not wish to know any										
8	I enjoy speaking to										
9	I often talk to										
10	I sometimes talk to										
11	I would like to talk to										
12	I am forced to talk to										
13	I never speak to										
14	I don't ever wish to speak to										

### Question F

How often are the following statements **true** of you? To show this **tick** one of the columns for each statement.

		Never	Once in a while	Pretty often	Very often
1	I like playing sport				
2	I get good marks in class				
3	I get called names by others				
4	I give soft kids a hard time				
5	I like to make friends				
6	I play up in class				
7	I feel I can't trust others				
8	I get picked on by others				
9	I am part of a group that goes round teasing others				
10	I like to help people are being harassed				
11	I like to make others scared of me				
12	Others leave me out of things on purpose				
13	I get into fights at school				
14	I like to show others that I'm the boss				
15	I share things with others				
16	I enjoy upsetting wimps				
17	I like to get into a fight with someone I can easily beat				
18	Others make fun of me				
19	I get hit and pushed around by others				
20	I enjoy helping others				

## Question G

How has your **health** been over the past few weeks. Answer this by **ticking** the column that you think most nearly applies to you.

	Have you recently	Better than usual	Same as usual	Worse than usual	Much worse than usual
1	Been feeling perfectly well and in good health?				
2	Been feeling in need of some good medicine?				
3	Been feeling run down and out of sorts?				
4	Felt that you are ill?				
5	Been getting any pains in your head?				
6	Been getting a feeling of tightness or pressure in your head?				
7	Been having hot or cold spells?				
8	Lost much sleep over worry?				
9	Had difficulty in staying asleep once you are off?				
10	Felt constantly under strain?				
11	Been getting edgy and bad tempered?				
12	Been getting scared or panicky for no good reason?				
13	Found everything getting on top of you?				
14	Been feeling nervous and strung-up all the time?				
15	Been managing to keep yourself busy and occupied?				
16	Been taking longer over the things you do?				
17	Felt on the whole you were doing things well?				
18	Been satisfied with the way you've carried out your task?				
19	Felt that you are playing a useful part in things?				
20	Felt capable of making decisions about things?				
21	Been able to enjoy your normal day-to-day activities?				
22	Been thinking of yourself as a worthless person?				
23	Felt that life is entirely hopeless?				
24	Felt that life isn't worth living?				
25	Found at times you couldn't do anything because your nerves were too bad?				
26	Thought of the possibility that you might do away with yourself?				
27	Found yourself wishing you were dead and away from it all?				
28	Found that the idea of taking your own life kept coming into your mind?				

### Question H

The following statements are about **yourself**. Tick the column that you feel is **true of yourself**.

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	On the whole, I am satisfied with myself				
2	At times I think I am no good at all				
3	I feel that I have a number of good qualities				
4	I am able to do things as well as most other people				
5	I feel I do not have much to be proud of				
6	I certainly feel useless at times				
7	I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others				
8	I wish I could have more respect for myself				
9	All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure				
10	I take a positive attitude toward myself				

### Question I

Circle the items that refer to **issues** that you feel should be dealt with at school.

bullying      violence      name-calling      sexual harassment      ignoring

excluding      disobedience      discrimination      rudeness      noise

making fun of others      speaking foreign languages      pushing in corridors

prejudice      wearing make-up      talking in class      disrespect of teachers

wagging      racial harassment      verbal abuse      foul language      theft

wearing mufti      smoking      disrespect of students      tale-telling      drugs

disrespect of property      alcohol      vandalism

Others \_\_\_\_\_

## Question J

Fill in the gaps or delete the incorrect information.

I am \_\_\_\_\_ years old.

I am a female / male.

I am in form \_\_\_\_\_

I am European / Maori / Pacific Islander / West Asian / East Asian.

Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

My country of birth is \_\_\_\_\_

I have lived in New Zealand for \_\_\_\_\_ years.

I live with my mother / father / both parents.

My mother works as a \_\_\_\_\_

My father works as a \_\_\_\_\_

10. My first language is \_\_\_\_\_

## THANK YOU FOR ANSWERING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

If you are being hurt by someone at school or somewhere else, and you would like to tell an adult and get help, please contact the guidance counsellor at your school.

## **INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

### **QUESTIONS TO PUPILS**

Examples of questions covering the main variables.

These questions will ascertain:

1. The extent to which these variables exert influence on individuals
2. The extent to which these influences impact on perceptions of social acceptance

### **PERSONAL VARIABLES**

#### **Expectations:**

What is your country of origin?

Why has your family chosen to come to New Zealand?

How long have you been living here?

Are you performing well at school? Why?

How does this compare with previous levels of achievement?

Do you think that you have the opportunity to achieve everything you want to in this country?

#### **Needs:**

Do you have any particular educational needs? (Anything you want done for you at school?)

Are they being taken care of at school? How? Why?

What are your social needs?

Are they being taken care of at school? How? Why?

Do you think the school can do anything about this? What? Why?

**Self-esteem:**

Are you happy at your school? Why?

Are you happy in this country? What makes you feel this way?

Do you feel good about the way your life is going here? Why?

How does this make you feel? (Has it created any problems for you – psychological /physical?)

**SOCIO-CULTURAL VARIABLES**

**Ethnicity:**

What ethnic group do you belong to?

Is your ethnic origin important to you? Why?

Would you like to retain your ethnicity in this country? Why?

How much does your ethnicity influence your perception of yourself? Why?

Is it important to you that other people respect your ethnicity? Why?

**Culture:**

Does your culture play an important role in your life? In what way?

What effect do your cultural values have on your attitudes and behaviour?

How do these values influence your perceptions of other students?

How, do you think, do these values influence their perception of you?

**Religion:**

Is religion important to you?

How much influence does religion have on your lifestyle?

How much influence does religion have on your way of thinking?

**Social Identity:**

Now that you are living in New Zealand, what group of people do you identify with? (i.e. Do you think of yourself as a Kiwi or an Indian / Chinese?) Why?

Does living in a new country create identity problems for you? Why? How?

Do you think immigrants should retain their identities after having settled in a new country? Why?

How important is it to you to retain your identity? Why?

Do you think local “Kiwi” kids consider you to be a Kiwi? Why?

How do you want to be seen by other groups? Why?

**SITUATIONAL VARIABLES**

**Behaviour:**

Do you perceive yourself as being socially accepted by your schoolmates?

What makes you feel this way?

Have you ever experienced any negative behaviour toward yourself? What?

When do these behaviours occur / what situations?

What have you done about this?

What response did you receive?

Do you feel socially accepted by your teachers? What makes you feel this way?

Why, do you think, do people behave negatively toward others?

Is there anything that you may be doing to elicit such behaviour toward yourself?

Do you think that there is anything you could do to change behaviours and attitudes toward yourself?

**Contact:**

Who are your closest friends at school? Why do you choose them as your friends?

Who are your closest friends outside school? Why?

Do you have much contact with students from other ethnic groups at school? Who with? Why?

Do you have much contact with students from other ethnic groups outside school? Who with? Why?

What kinds of activities do you engage in with other students at school? Why?

What kinds of activities do you engage in with other students outside school? Why?

**Communication:**

When meeting other students, do they attempt to communicate with you or do you have to initiate communication? Why?

How, do you think, do other students feel about you? (European, Maori, Pacific Island, Indian/Chinese) Why?

How do these students communicate these attitudes to you? ( language, behaviour, body language)

**Language:**

Do you speak your own language at school? Why?

How, do you think, do others feel about this? Why?

How do you feel about others speaking their own language at school? Why?

## **INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

### **QUESTIONS TO PARENTS**

These questions will ascertain to what extent shared cultural expectations within the community influence perceptions of social acceptance of visible ethnic minority pupils.

Are you happy with your child's school-life?  
Why?

Do you think your educational expectations for your child are being met?  
How? Why?

Are your social expectations for your child being met?  
How? Why?

How important are religion, ethnicity and culture to you and your family?  
Why?

How much influence does this have on the lives of your children?

How important is it that your children retain these in New Zealand?  
Why?

What are your views about attitudes at school toward your children?

Is there anything that you think the school can do to improve the social environment at school, for your child?

Is there anything that you think you and your child can do to improve the social environment at school, for your child?

## **INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

### **QUESTIONS TO TEACHERS, COUNSELLORS AND PRINCIPALS**

#### **Questions to Teachers**

1. These questions will ascertain to what extent teacher perceptions, attitudes, expectations and behaviours within the school community influence perceptions of social acceptance of visible ethnic minority pupils.
2. What are your perceptions of the social climate within this school?
3. What, in your view, are the circumstances that contribute toward this situation? (either positive or negative)
4. Is there any way in which the social climate in this school can be improved?
5. How do you feel about the ethnic diversity of your school population?  
Do you see it as advantageous or disadvantageous?  
In what way?

#### **Additional questions to Guidance Counsellors and Mediators**

1. What are the main reasons for pupil visits to you?
2. Have pupils ever complained about ethnic/racial harassment of any kind?
3. Have you ever recognised ethnic/racial undertones to problems of a general nature presented?
4. If so, how often does this happen? How have you dealt with it?

#### **Questions to Principals**

1. What are your perceptions of social acceptance within your school?
2. What is it about your school that creates the kind of social climate that you have?
3. Is there anything that you could or would like to do to improve the social environment of your school for both staff and pupils?

## Appendix 5

### **INFORMATION SHEET FOR BOARDS OF TRUSTEES AND PRINCIPALS**

#### **Survey of Social Acceptance of Students from Minority Cultures**

My name is Amritha Sobrun-Maharaj and I am both a school teacher and a graduate student at Massey University, Albany. I am undertaking a research project towards a PhD in Educational and Social Psychology. My consultant is Associate Professor Ken Ryba of the School of Educational Psychology, and my supervisor is Dr. Warwick Tie of the School of Sociology and Women's Studies.

My research will investigate pupils' feelings of social acceptance and bullying at secondary schools, and will seek the opinions of Forms 3,5 and 7 pupils, their teachers and their parents. This project has been approved by the Ethics Committee of Massey University.

My interest in this area has been generated by the apparent increase in intimidatory behaviour amongst pupils in schools in recent years. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, there has been traditional acceptance that "bullying" between children is a "natural" part of growing up, an aspect that does not warrant great concern. Only in the last decade has "bullying" begun to be recognized as a serious problem in New Zealand schools. There is a pressing need, however, for current information on such intimidatory behaviour and for new thinking about how bullying in schools can be eliminated and the overall safety and acceptance of pupils enhanced. This research is a response to this need and focuses on the phenomenon of school-level bullying in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Participation in this research is voluntary. I wish to encourage you to participate, however, as this study cannot be carried out without the assistance of people such as yourselves. Your participation is invaluable as you will be providing important information that will enable us to understand and improve the situation in our schools for our children.

#### **The Nature of the Study**

Approximately 150 pupils from each school who physically appear to belong to, and who consider themselves as belonging to the ethnic groups of New Zealand European, Maori, Pacific Island, West Asian and East Asian, with 50 from each level, comprising of 10 from each ethnic group, will be selected from all respondents in each of the 3 schools to answer the questionnaire. Selection will be randomly made, but guided by the procuring of equal numbers of both sexes in each ethnic group. A sample of approximately 30 pupils of West Asian and East Asian origin, approximately 15 each, with equal numbers of males and females, who consented to being interviewed will then be randomly selected from this group for interviews, to provide information on their perceptions of their social acceptance.

The school participants in this study will give their opinions about social acceptance and bullying on a questionnaire, at school, during school time. This will take approximately forty-five minutes. A sample of pupils will then be asked to participate in interviews to provide further information on the topic. Parents of pupils and teachers will also be invited to participate in interviews. These interviews will be recorded to ensure that no information is lost, and I shall transcribe the

recordings. All recordings and other material will be safely stored in a research archive until it is finally destroyed after the completion of the project. Interviews will take no more than one hour and will be conducted at a venue selected by the participant.

All participants are guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity to the extent allowed by law during the research and in the writing of the final research report and other publications arising from the research. Any information that parents provide will be confidential to the research team. Neither the parent nor the child will be identifiable in any reports. Two sets of consent forms will be sent to parents so that they might retain a copy for their own information. It will be explained to parents that a code number is stamped on the consent form to allow researchers to confidentially sort the questionnaire and consent forms. The code number will be used only for administrative purposes and will not be used for identifying individual responses. Identities will only be known to the researcher, and will only be disclosed to appropriate school personnel if concerns about the safety of the students arise. Permission will first be obtained from the pupils concerned and appropriate action taken for their safety. Pupils will not be required to write their names on the questionnaire.

Each participant has the following rights:

to decline participation

to withdraw from the study at any time during its progress. However, once data has been provided, that is, after questionnaires have been answered and interviews conducted, it may not be withdrawn. Participants are assured that withdrawal from the study will not prejudice them in any way.

to ask any questions about the study at any time during participation

to provide information on the understanding that their name will not be used unless they give permission to the researcher

to turn off the recorder at any time

to be given access to a summary of the findings of the study when it is concluded. Copies of this will be deposited with the school and will be available on request.

For further information on the study please feel free to contact me or my supervisors at the university:

**Amritha Sobrun-Maharaj**  
**Educational Psychology Training programme**  
**Massey University (Albany)**  
**Telephone: (09) 4439606**

**Associate Professor Ken Ryba**  
**Educational Psychology Training**  
**Massey University (Albany)**  
**Telephone: (09) 4439606**

**Dr. Warwick Tie**  
**Sociology and Women's Studies**  
**Massey University (Albany)**  
**Telephone: (09) 4439700 Ext. 9843**

\*If you would like to participate in this study, please fill in, sign and return the attached consent form

## Appendix 6

### INFORMATION SHEET FOR TEACHERS

#### Survey of Social Acceptance of Pupils from Minority Cultures

My name is Amritha Sobrun-Maharaj and I am both a school teacher and a doctoral candidate at Massey University, Albany. I am undertaking a research project towards a PhD in Educational and Social Psychology. My consultant is Associate Professor Ken Ryba of the School of Educational Psychology, and my supervisor is Dr. Warwick Tie of the School of Social Sciences.

My research is investigating pupils' feelings of social acceptance and bullying at secondary schools, and is seeking the opinions of Forms 3,5 and 7 pupils, their teachers and their parents. This project has been approved by the Ethics Committee of Massey University.

My interest in this area has been generated by the apparent increase in intimidatory behaviour amongst pupils in schools in recent years. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, there has been traditional acceptance that "bullying" between children is a "natural" part of growing up, an aspect that does not warrant great concern. Only in the last decade has "bullying" begun to be recognized as a serious problem in New Zealand schools. There is a pressing need, however, for current information on such intimidatory behaviour and for new thinking about how bullying in schools can be eliminated and the overall safety and acceptance of pupils enhanced. This research is a response to this need and focuses on the phenomenon of school-level bullying in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Participation in this research is voluntary. I wish to encourage you to participate, however, as this study cannot be carried out without the assistance of people such as yourselves. Your participation is invaluable as you will be providing important information that will enable us to understand and improve the situation in our schools for our children.

#### **The Nature of the Study**

209 pupils from three schools who physically appear to belong to, and who consider themselves as belonging to the ethnic groups of New Zealand European, Maori, Pacific Island, West Asian and East Asian, with approximately equal numbers from each level and each ethnic group, answered a questionnaire. Selection was randomly made, but guided by the procuring of equal numbers of both sexes in each ethnic group. The school participants gave their opinions about social acceptance and bullying on the questionnaire, at school, during school time. This took approximately forty-five minutes. A sample of 35 pupils of West Asian and East Asian origin, approximately 18 each, with equal numbers of males and females, who consented to being interviewed were then randomly selected from this group for interviews, to provide information on their perceptions of their social acceptance. Their parents were also asked to participate in formal interviews to provide further information on the topic.

Teachers are now being invited to participate in informal interviews which will be conducted during an on-site study of the school environment, during which interactions between people would be observed in each setting. You will be invited to talk to the researcher if you wish to participate, and your willingness to engage in a discussion will imply your informed consent to participate in the study. Informal comments and views on the issue of social acceptance will be noted to ensure that

no information is lost. All transcriptions and other material will be safely stored in a research archive until it is finally destroyed after the completion of the project.

All participants are guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity to the extent allowed by law during the research and in the writing of the final research report and other publications arising from the research. Any information provided will be confidential to the research team and no participant will be identifiable in any reports.

Each participant has the following rights:

to decline participation

to withdraw from the study at any time during its progress. However, once data has been provided, that is, after questionnaires have been answered and interviews conducted, it may not be withdrawn. Participants are assured that withdrawal from the study will not prejudice them in any way.

to ask any questions about the study at any time during participation

to provide information on the understanding that their name will not be used unless they give permission to the researcher

to turn off the recorder at any time

to be given access to a summary of the findings of the study when it is concluded. Copies of this will be deposited with the school and will be available on request.

For further information on the study please feel free to contact me or my supervisors at the university:

**Amritha Sobrun-Maharaj**  
**Educational Psychology Training**  
**Massey University (Albany)**  
**Telephone: (09) 4439606**  
**Home: (09) 5344329**

**Associate Professor Ken Ryba**  
**Educational Psychology Training**  
**Massey University (Albany)**  
**Telephone: (09) 4439606**

**Dr. Warwick Tie**  
**Social Sciences**  
**Massey University (Albany)**  
**Telephone: (09) 4439700 Ext. 9843**

\*If you would like to participate in this study, please fill in, sign and return the attached consent form

## Appendix 7

\*If you require a translation of this sheet in another language, please inform your school.

### **INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARENTS AND PUPILS**

#### **Survey of Social Acceptance of Pupils from Minority Cultures**

My name is Amritha Sobrun-Maharaj and I am both a school teacher and a graduate student at Massey University, Albany. I am undertaking a research project towards a PhD in Educational and Social Psychology. My consultant is Associate Professor Ken Ryba of the School of Educational Psychology, and my supervisor is Dr. Warwick Tie of the School of Sociology and Women's Studies.

My research will investigate pupils' feelings of social acceptance and views on bullying at secondary schools, and will seek the opinions of Forms 3, 5 and 7 pupils, their teachers and their parents. This project has been approved by the Ethics Committee of Massey University.

A recent feature of New Zealand schools is that they are catering for an increasing range of pupils from different backgrounds and from different parts of the world. Consequently, it has become an important issue to find out how people are viewed by others in the community, and the extent to which they are accepted. The purpose of this study is to gain information on pupils' views about people from other cultures and the way in which they are accepted within the school environment.

Participation in this research is voluntary. I wish to encourage you to participate, however, as this study cannot be carried out without the assistance of people such as yourselves. Your participation is invaluable as you will be providing important information that will enable us to understand and improve the situation in our schools for our children.

#### **The Nature of the Study**

Approximately 150 pupils from each school who physically appear to belong to, and who consider themselves as belonging to the ethnic groups of New Zealand European, Maori, Pacific Island, West Asian and East Asian, with 50 from each level, comprising of 10 from each ethnic group, will be selected from all respondents in each of the 3 schools to answer the questionnaire. Selection will be randomly made, but guided by the procuring of equal numbers of both sexes in each ethnic group. A sample of approximately 30 pupils of West Asian and East Asian origin, approximately 15 each, with equal numbers of males and females, who consented to being interviewed will then be randomly selected from this group for interviews, to provide information on their perceptions of their social acceptance.

The school participants in this study will give their opinions about acceptance and bullying, on a questionnaire. They will do this at school, during school time. This will take approximately forty-five minutes. A sample of pupils will then be asked to participate in interviews to provide further information on the topic. Parents of pupils and teachers will also be invited to participate in interviews. These interviews will be recorded to ensure that no information is lost, and I shall transcribe the recordings. All recordings and other material will be safely stored in a research

archive till it is finally destroyed after the completion of the project. Interviews will take no more than one hour and will be conducted at a venue selected by the participant.

All participants are guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity (to the extent allowed by law) both during the research and the writing of the final research report and other publications arising from the research. Any information that you provide will be confidential to the research team. Neither the parent nor the child will be identifiable in any reports. A code number will be stamped on the consent form to allow researchers to confidentially sort the questionnaire and consent forms. The code number will be used only for administrative purposes and will not be used for identifying individual responses.

I am the only one that will know who the participants are. Their identities will only be disclosed to appropriate school personnel if concerns about their safety arise. Permission will first be obtained from the pupils concerned and appropriate action taken for their safety. Pupils will not be asked to write their names on the questionnaire. As participants, you will have the following rights:

to decline participation

to withdraw from the study at any time during its progress. However, once data has been provided, that is, after questionnaires have been answered and interviews conducted, it may not be withdrawn. I wish to assure you that withdrawal from the study will not prejudice you in any way.

to ask any questions about the study at any time during participation

to provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher

to turn off the recorder at any time

to be given access to a summary of the findings of the study when it is concluded. Copies of this will be deposited with the school and will be available on request.

For further information on the study please feel free to contact me or my supervisors at the university:

**Amritha Sobrun-Maharaj**  
**Educational Psychology Training Programme**  
**Massey University (Albany)**  
**Telephone: (09) 4439700 Ext. 9688**

**Associate Professor Ken Ryba**  
**Educational Psychology Training**  
**Massey University (Albany)**  
**Telephone: (09) 4439606**

**Dr. Warwick Tie**  
**Sociology and Women's Studies**  
**Massey University (Albany)**  
**Telephone: (09) 4439700 Ext. 9843**

\*If you would like to participate in this study, please fill in, sign and return the attached consent form.

Appendix 8

**CONSENT FORM FOR BOARDS OF TRUSTEES AND PRINCIPALS**

*Survey of Social Acceptance*

We have read the information sheet and have had the details of the study explained to us. Our questions have been answered to our satisfaction, and we understand that we may ask further questions at any time.

We understand that we have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions.

We understand that any information provided by us will be kept confidential and be used only for this research and publications arising from this research project.

We agree/do not agree to participate in the study.

Signature of Chairperson  
Of Board of Trustees: .....

Name of Chairperson: .....

Contact phone number: .....

Signature of Principal: .....

Name of Principal: .....

Contact Phone Number: .....

Date: .....

Appendix 9

**CONSENT FORM FOR TEACHERS**

*Survey of Social Acceptance*

I have read the information sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I understand that any information provided by me will be kept confidential and be used only for this research and publications arising from this research project.

I understand that I have the right to ask for the audio-tape to be turned off at any time during the interview

You may retain the first part of this form for your own information.  
Please sign and return the section below to school.

---

**CONSENT**

I agree / do not agree to participate in the interview. (Delete one)

I agree / do not agree to the interview being audio-taped. (Delete one)

Signature of Participant: .....

Name of Participant: .....

Date: .....

Contact Phone Number: .....

Appendix 10

\*If you require a translation of this form in another language, please inform your school.

**CONSENT FORM FOR PUPILS**

*Survey of Social Acceptance*

I have read the information sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I understand that any information provided by me will be kept confidential and be used only for this research and publications arising from this research project.

I understand that I have the right to ask for the audio-tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

You may retain the first part of this form for your own information.  
Please sign and return the section below to school.

---

**CONSENT**

I agree / do not agree to answer the questionnaire. (Delete one)

I agree / do not agree to participate in the interview. (Delete one)

I agree / do not agree to the interview being audio-taped. (Delete one)

Signature of Participant: .....

Name of Participant: .....

I consent to my child's/ward's participation in this project if s/he chooses to participate.

Signature of Parent/Guardian: .....

Name of Parent/Guardian: .....

Date: .....

Contact Phone Number: .....

Appendix 11

\*If you require a translation of this form in another language, please inform your school.

**CONSENT FORM FOR PARENTS**

*Survey of Social Acceptance*

I have read the information sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I understand that any information provided by me will be kept confidential and be used only for this research and publications arising from this research project.

I understand that I have the right to ask for the audio-tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

You may retain the first part of this form for your own information.

Please sign and return the section below to school.



**CONSENT**

I agree / do not agree to participate in the interview. (Delete one)

I agree / do not agree to the interview being audio-taped. (Delete one)

Signature of Participant: .....

Name of Participant: .....

Date: .....

Contact Phone Number: .....

## Appendix 12

### STRUCTURAL EQUATION MODEL FOR PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE

AMOS Version 4 was used to fit the Structural Equation Model above to the data. Missing values were estimated using Full Information Maximum Likelihood, making an assumption of multivariate normality.

**Normality Tests:** According to the Shapiro-Wilk test normality must be rejected for the Peer rejection and Health scales. All the scales are reasonably symmetric in distribution except for the Peer Rejection scale. Kurtosis is high only for the Peer rejection and Health scales. In these circumstances it would probably be better to estimate the structural equation model using the Asymptotic Distribution Free Method rather than the Maximum Likelihood Method, however the small sample size does not permit this. For this reason the estimates obtained from the structural equation model relating to the Peer Rejection and Health scales should be treated with caution. However, all the critical ratios associated with these two scales exceed 4 in absolute value, more than double the value required for significance. This suggests that the model is sound.

(Absolute(CR)>2 is significant when data is normally distributed. Absolute(CR)>4 can be considered significant even when data is not normally distributed. All the PEERREJ and HEALTH estimates have absolute(CR)>4.)

**Tests of Normality**

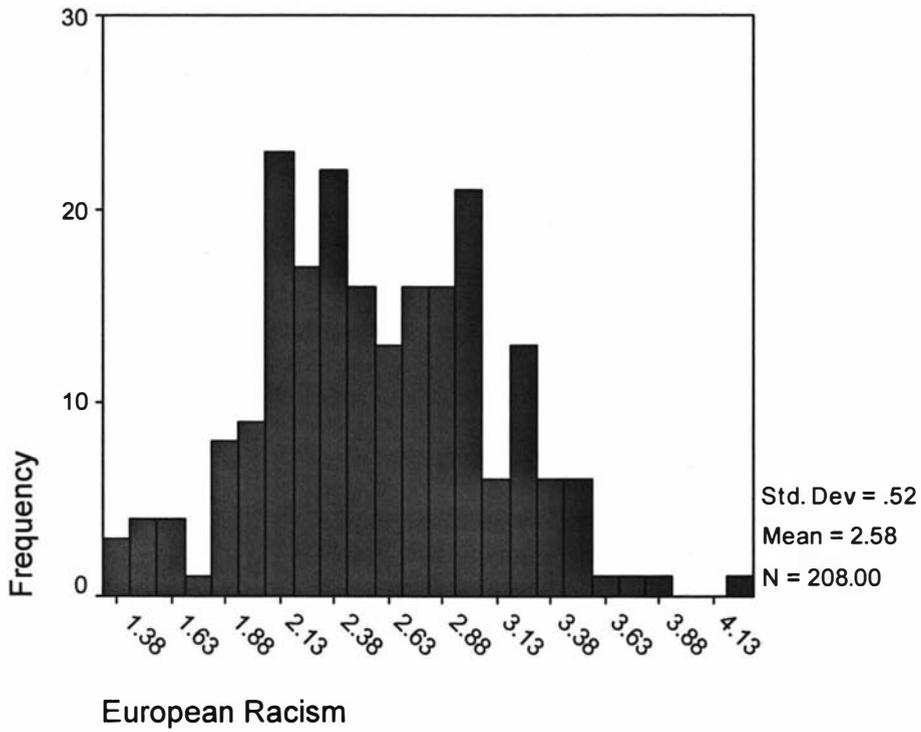
	Kolmogorov-Smirnov <sup>a</sup>			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
European Racism	.061	208	.056	.992	208	.356
Polynesian Racism	.058	208	.084	.992	208	.296
Asian Racism	.058	208	.088	.987	208	.057
Peer rejection	.102	208	.000	.950	208	.000
Bad Health	.079	208	.003	.976	208	.001
Self Esteem	.084	208	.001	.990	208	.142

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

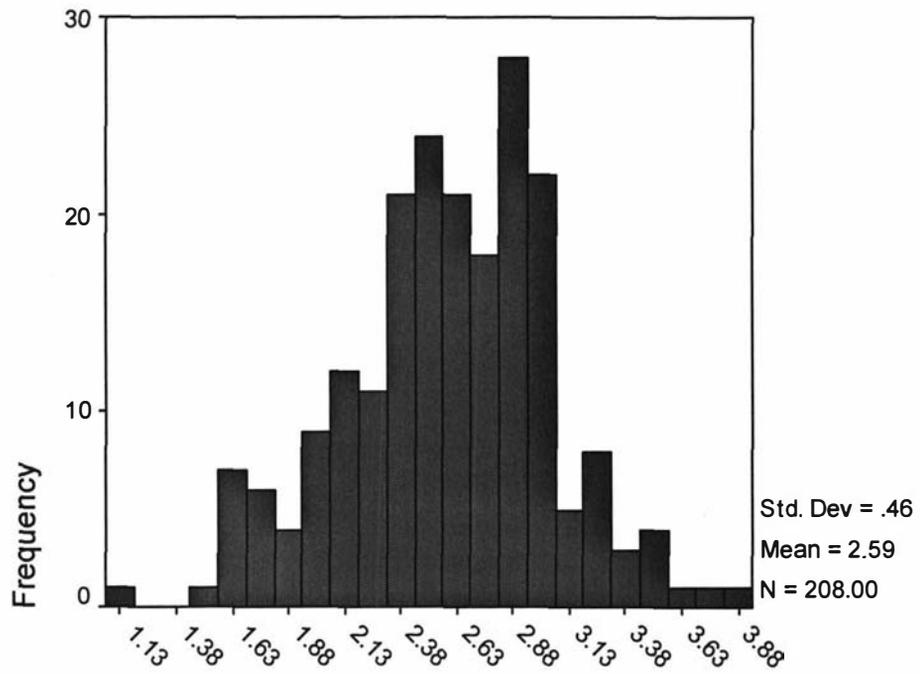
### Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std.	Skewness		Kurtosis	
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Std. Error
European Racism	208	2.5759	.51910	.084	.169	-.110	.336
Polynesian Racism	208	2.5877	.46285	-.187	.169	.090	.336
Asian Racism	208	2.2091	.43988	.419	.169	.137	.336
Peer rejection	208	1.6530	.30744	.923	.169	1.137	.336
Bad Health	208	2.0565	.52333	.359	.169	.547	.336
Self Esteem	208	2.8939	.46943	.093	.169	.066	.336
Valid N (listwise)	208						

### Histogram

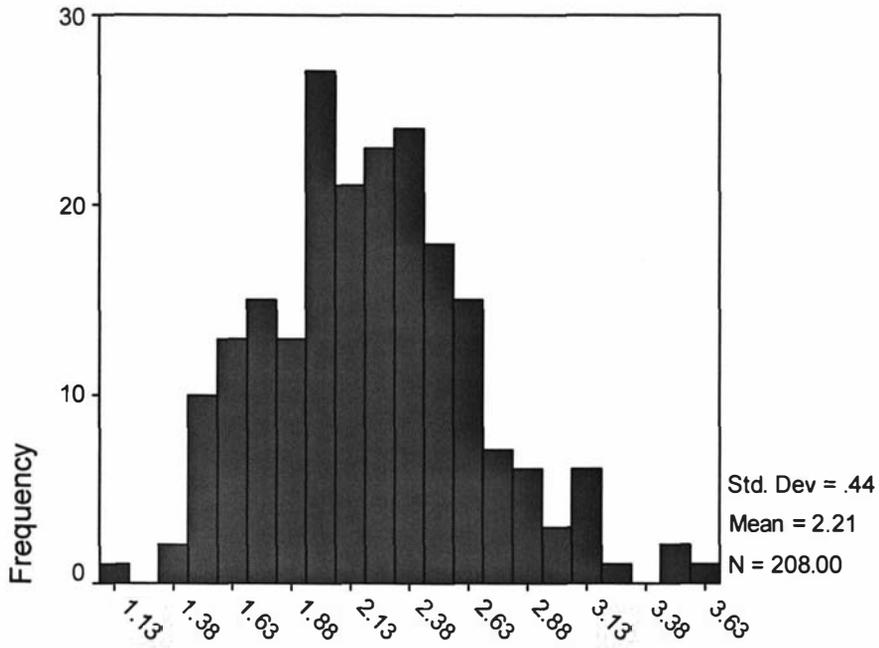


# Histogram



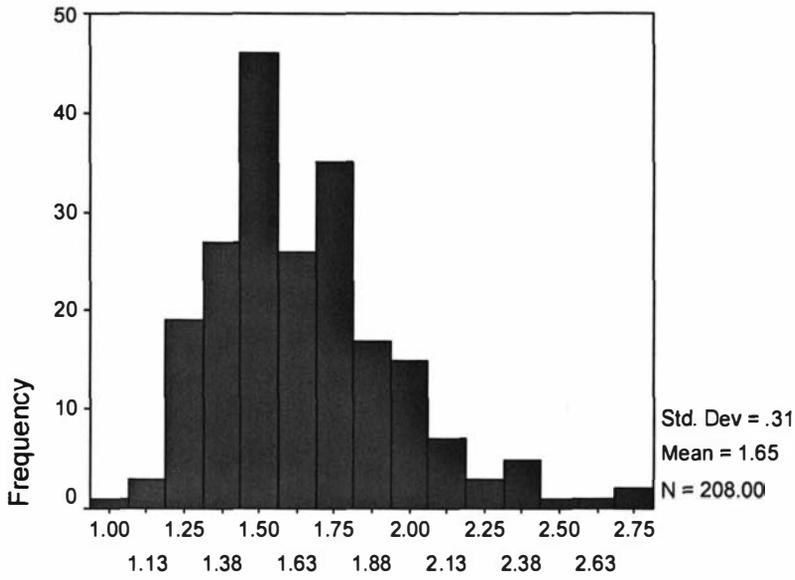
Polynesian Racism

### Histogram



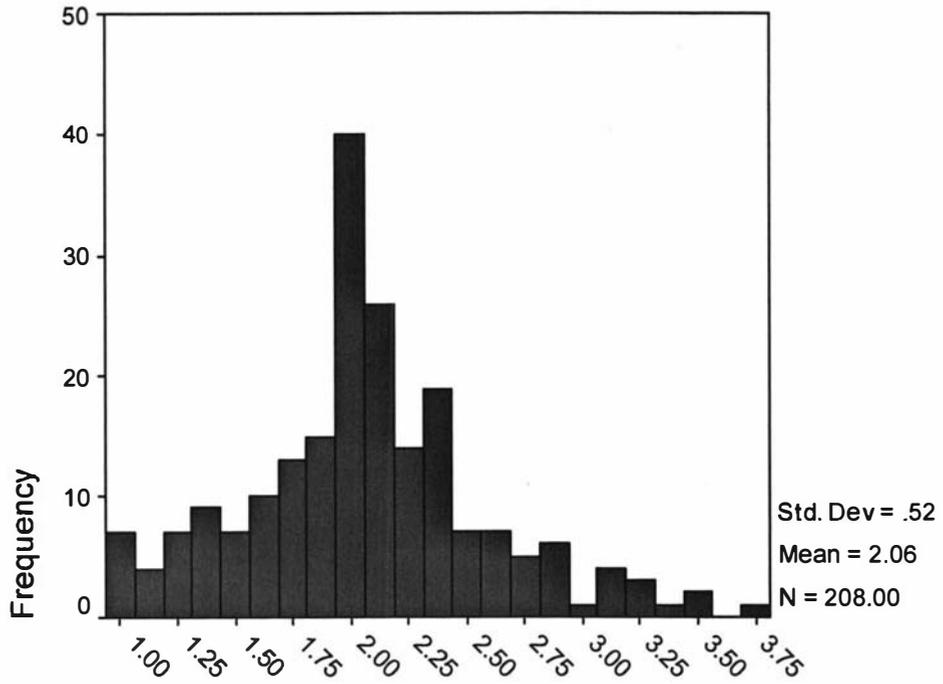
Asian Racism

### Histogram



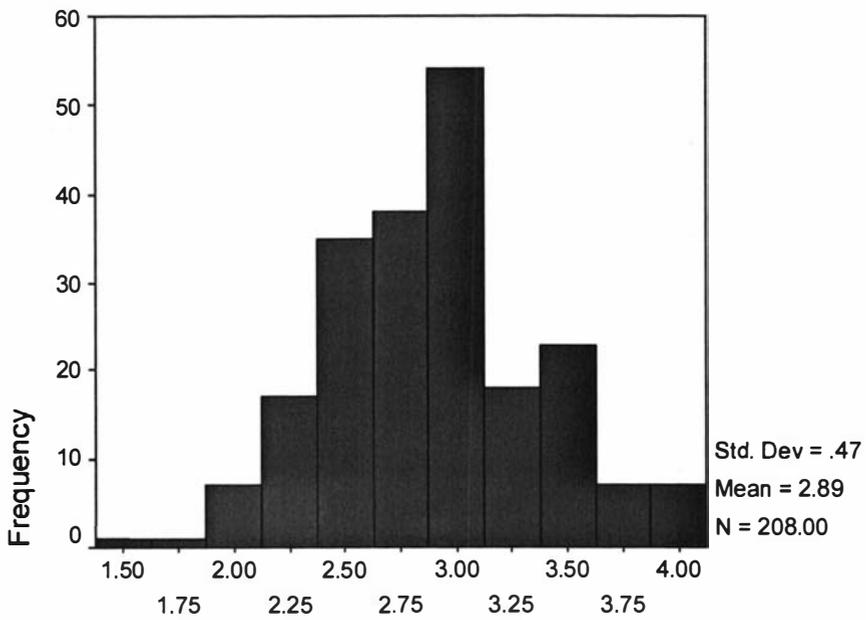
Peer rejection

### Histogram



Bad Health

### Histogram



Self Esteem

## Maximum Likelihood Estimates

Regression Weights:	Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	Label
PERCNONACC <-----PEERREJ	0.364	0.087	4.167	
PINONACC <----- PI	-0.176	0.074	-2.392	
PINONACC <----- MAORI	-0.267	0.084	-3.198	
Eurnonacc <----- WASIAN	0.295	0.099	2.989	
Asianonacc <----- PERCNON	1.098	0.219	5.013	
PINONACC <----- PERCNON	1.000			
Asianonacc <----- EASIAN	-0.107	0.070	-1.524	
Asianonacc <----- WASIAN	-0.130	0.067	-1.929	
Eurnonacc <----- AORI	0.361	0.112	3.214	
Eurnonacc <----- PI	0.192	0.102	1.883	
Eurnonacc <----- PERCNON	0.669	0.156	4.292	
Eurnonacc <----- EASIAN	0.342	0.102	3.357	

All the C.R. (Estimate divided by Standard Error) values are reasonably significant (absolute(C.R.)>2 in 8 cases and >1.5 in all cases) indicating that all these coefficients are worth retaining in the model.

The ethnic coefficients indicate that Pacific Islanders, Maori, East Asians and West Asians consider themselves to be more accepting than is the perception of other ethnic groups. At the same time these groups perceive Europeans to be less accepting than Europeans perceive themselves to be.

In addition to ethnicity, feelings of peer rejection strongly influence perceptions of acceptance/non-acceptance. (C.R. = 4.167)

Perceptions of (overall) non-acceptance are a combination of non-acceptance perceptions in Maori/PI, Asians and Europeans and feelings of peer rejection. The above standardised

estimates for PERCNONACC give the greatest weight (0.734) to perception of non-acceptance in Asians, the second highest weight (0.631) to perception of non-acceptance in Maori/PI and lowest weight (0.382) to perception of non-acceptance in Europeans. Feelings of peer rejection have a similar weighting (0.388). This suggests that ethnicity is more important than peer rejection as a source of perceptions of non-acceptance.

Covariances:	Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	Label
PI <-----> MAORI	-0.027	0.006	-4.768	
PI <-----> WASIAN	-0.044	0.007	-6.272	
PI <-----> EASIAN	-0.039	0.007	-5.847	
MAORI <-----> WASIAN	-0.031	0.006	-5.200	
MAORI <-----> EASIAN	-0.028	0.006	-4.841	
WASIAN <-----> EASIAN	-0.045	0.007	-6.372	
HEALTH <-----> PEERREJ	0.045	0.011	4.211	
MALE <-----> PEERREJ	0.065	0.011	5.917	
SELFEST <-----> PEERREJ	-0.053	0.010	-5.298	
HEALTH <-----> SELFEST	-0.104	0.018	-5.644	

All the above covariances are highly significant (Absolute(C.R.)>2). The ethnic correlations are caused by the fact that pupils were classified into only one ethnic group, consequently being excluded from all others. The strongest correlation with Peer Rejection occurs for gender (0.416) with males being much more likely to experience peer rejection than females. Peer Rejection also has a strong correlation with Self Esteem (-0.360), indicating that pupils with low self esteem are more likely to experience peer rejection. The correlation between (Bad) Health and Peer Rejection is lower (0.278), but there is also an indirect effect because Self Esteem and (Bad) Health are strongly correlated (-0.426).

Squared Multiple Correlations:	Estimate
PERCNONACC	0.151
Asiaraci	0.558
Eurracis	0.216
PINONACC	0.448

The table above indicates that only 15.1% of the variation in (Overall) Perceptions of social acceptance can be explained by ethnicity and Peer Rejection. However 55.8% of the variation in perceptions of Asian social acceptance, 44.8% of the variation in perceptions of Maori/PI social acceptance and 21.6% of the variation in perceptions of European social acceptance can be explained by ethnicity.

### Summary of Models

Model	NPAR	CMIN	DF	P	CMIN/DF
Default model	44	38.139	33	0.247	1.156
Saturated model	77	0.000	0		
Independence model	11	5740.045	66	0.000	86.970

The Default Model is the model described above. The Saturated Model allows all correlations to be non-zero while the Independence Model assumes that all correlations are zero. The p-values for the chi-square (CMIN) test indicate that the Default model cannot be rejected ( $P > 0.10$ ) and that the independence model must be rejected ( $P < 0.000$ ).

The chi-square test is regarded as being too sensitive to sample size. When the sample size exceeds 200 this test will tend to always reject fitted models. When sample sizes are less than 100 this test will tend to always accept fitted models. Only for sample sizes of between 100 and 200 is this test appropriate. Our sample size is 208, so we can be reasonably confident that the chi-squared tests are reliable.

The degrees of freedom for the chi-square test measures the simplicity of the model by deducting the number of model parameters from the total number of covariance terms ( $s_{ij}$ ). A simpler model obviously has fewer parameters and therefore more degrees of freedom.

As a result of the imperfections of the chi-square test other measures for goodness of fit have been developed (Bentley, 1990). The Goodness of Fit Index (GFI) has a range of zero

to one with higher values indicating a better fit. However, this measure does nothing to encourage simpler, more parsimonious models. The adjusted goodness of fit measure uses the degrees of freedom to penalise less parsimonious models. Ideally both these indices should exceed 0.90. The null model is a model with no parameters. By comparing the chi-square values for the default and independence models additional goodness of fit measures are obtained, such as the Tucker-Lewis and Normed Fit indices. Ideally these indices should also exceed 0.90.

	DELTA1	RHO1	DELTA2	RHO2	
Model	NFI	RFI	IFI	TLI	CFI
Default model	0.993	0.987	0.999	0.998	0.999

The above goodness of fit statistics all exceed 0.95 confirming that the data supports the default model well (AMOS Help).

Model	RMSEA	LO 90	HI 90	PCLOSE
Default model	0.016	0.000	0.035	1.000
Independence model	0.371	0.363	0.380	0.000

The RMSEA is probably the most popular goodness of fit measure, with values of less than 0.05 considered good and values less than 0.10 considered acceptable.

The RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error Approximate for correlations) and its upper limit are both less than 0.05 again confirming that this model is appropriate (AMOS Help).

## STEREOTYPES

### **Perceptions of Own Group (Self-Perceptions)**

In providing descriptors for each ethnic group, pupils also provided their perceptions of their own ethnic groups. The inclusion of negative words to describe themselves suggests a degree of veracity in these responses. Pupils' own descriptors are listed below:

#### ***European Self-Perceptions***

Europeans perceive themselves as being friendly, hardworking, good, intelligent, nice, accepting, kind, interesting and smart people. Other descriptors used were civilised, awesome, polite, proud, cool, satisfied, wise, funny, controlled, fair, simple, good-looking, emotional, all right, healthy, interested, different, educated, confident, enjoyable, over-indulged, cheerful and outgoing. Only six pupils listed negative characteristics, which were snobbish, passive, bad, boring and arrogant.

#### ***Maori Self-Perceptions***

Most Maori perceive themselves as being good and friendly, with many feeling that they are hardworking, cultural, nice, kind, traditional, and easy-going people. Other descriptors used were: respected, willing, accepting, outgoing, strong-minded, knowledgeable, polite (sometimes), excellent, okay, caring, loving, strong, exciting, cheerful, sociable, sporty, 'historical', and 'we're the best'. Only eleven pupils listed any negative characteristics, which were stubborn, free-loaders, lazy, loud, brash, abusive, unfriendly and mean.

#### ***Pacific Island Self-Perceptions***

Most Pacific Islanders perceive themselves as predominantly friendly, good, hardworking, cool, happy, big, tough, caring, kind, religious and funny people. Some see themselves as relaxed, sociable, strict, honest/open, great, simple, respectful, rich (some), normal, warm, loving, helpful, strong, active and sporty. They also perceive themselves as having the

following negative characteristics: lazy, underachievers and cliquish, as well as unkind, unfriendly, off-loaders, uneducated, mean, aggressive, violent, selfish, inferior and prejudiced.

### ***West Asian Self-Perceptions***

West Asians (Indian) perceive their group as being predominantly hardworking, very good, friendly, quiet, kind, smart and helpful people, as well as powerful, respectful, realists, cool, ambitious, clever, shy, nice and rich, to some extent. Some used the following eleven negative descriptors: money-centred, not frank, inferior, demanding, cliquish, greedy, inquisitive, abused, misunderstood, unfriendly and unsociable.

### ***East Asian Self-Perceptions***

The Chinese perceive themselves to be predominantly hardworking, friendly, good, nice, kind, studious, religious and spiritual people. Some perceive themselves as also being cool, helpful, traditional, happy, fun, intelligent, shy, honest, reliable, courteous, serious, cultural, technological and quiet. Negatively, they perceive themselves as being easily intimidated, insecure, naughty, scared, low self-esteem, unapproachable and rude, and they make a point of saying that while many may be rich, some of them are 'poor'.

### **Perceptions of Other Groups**

Predominant attitudes of each group toward each of the other groups, as well as other descriptors used are presented below in order of salience. It must be noted that some of these 'other descriptors' have been used only once by one pupil. Positive and negative descriptors are separated.

### ***European Perceptions***

Europeans perceive *Maori* to be predominantly friendly, good, nice and hardworking, but also see some as equally lazy. They also see them as cultural, traditional, okay, normal, lots to offer, intelligent, religious, proud, strong, interesting, accepting, funny, happy, lovable, big, emotional, different, hard-done-by, sporty and also associate the word 'hangi'

with them. Negative descriptors are mean, bad/nasty, demanding, stubborn, racist, unappreciative/ungrateful, dumb/simple-minded, written off, hurt, disrespectful, unhealthy, criminal, loud, unsociable, arrogant, rude, impolite, ignorant, selfish, unfriendly, can't speak English, unrealistic and unemployed.

They see *Pacific Islanders* as predominantly friendly, good, hardworking and lazy. Other descriptors used were sporty, nice, all right, tough/strong, easy-going, kind, religious, cultural, normal, big/large, numerous, polite, great, cool, caring, different, traditional, beautiful, intelligent, accepting, funky, non-judgemental, funny, interesting, emotional, happy, and mean, unfriendly, two-faced, stubborn, talkative, bad, hard, rude, unhealthy, unaccepting, greedy, poor, uneducated, fobs and bullies.

*West Asians (Indians)* are seen predominantly as hardworking, friendly, good and clever/intelligent/nerds. Other characteristics listed are nice, kind, quiet, proud, different, focussed, accepting, private, honest, normal, polite, cool, studious, clean, dedicated, self-obtained, civilised, great, okay, formal, stylish, strong, cultural, interesting, rich, fair, fine, shy, happy, disciplined, and unfriendly, grouped/cliqish, aggressive, unemotional, weird, snobbish, uncivilised, poor, annoying, cheap and bad drivers.

They see *East Asians* as predominantly hardworking, friendly and clever/intelligent. They also list nice, good, kind, rich, cool, cultural, spiritual/religious, interesting, normal, funny, giving/generous, all right, polite, studious, quiet, equal, accepting, fair, private, honest, sporty, smart, perfectionist, shy, private, different, exclusive, satisfied, disciplined and unfriendly, arrogant, self-centred, cold, aggressive, talkative, lonely, bad, poor, cliqish, cheap, bad drivers, and 'can't speak English'.

### ***Maori Perceptions***

Maori perceive *Europeans* as predominantly good, hardworking, and friendly. They are also seen as clever, kind, nice, smart, fun, posh, polite, helpful, rich, accepting, cool and approachable (some of these were qualified with 'sometimes'). Negative words used are snobbish, arrogant, land-takers, opinionated, bossy, two-faced, ignorant, racist, judgemental, intimidating, unfriendly and 'go back home'.

They see *Pacific Islanders* as predominantly friendly, and also describe them as hardworking, big, cultural, strong, religious, big-eaters, kind, willing, energetic, funny, all right, proud, likeable, traditional, cool, caring, nice, good, well-mannered, tough, respectful, calm, sharing, happy, 'historical' and 'rugby'. Negative notions include lazy, bullies, unfriendly, immoral, over-stayers, selfish, mean, ruthless, aggressive, rough, rude, lost, intimidating, 'bungas', and they want them to 'go back home'. (15)

*West Asians (Indians)* are seen predominantly as very hardworking. They are also seen as friendly, nice, good, intelligent, rich, well-organised, smart, clever, willing, shy, likeable, cultural, traditional, overachievers, tough, kind, helpful, and negatively as unfriendly, mean, bad drivers, selfish, disrespectful, terrorists, hard, rude, and want them to 'go back home'.

They see *East Asians (Chinese)* predominantly as friendly and very hardworking, also as good, nice, okay, traditional, smart, rich, small, normal, well-dressed, likeable, cultural, overachievers, strong-willed, motivated, posh, accurate, sharing, cool and observant. Negative notions are unfriendly, ching-chongs, dominating, mean, lost, and they want them to 'go back home' as well.

### ***Pacific Island Perceptions***

Pacific Islanders perceive *Europeans* predominantly as good and friendly, and also as kind, hardworking, cool, all right, smart, wealthy, funny, happy, nice, unselfish, posh, helpful, sociable, outspoken, exclusive, pretty, proper, caring, intelligent and talented. Negative descriptors include selfish, snobbish, cruel, supremacists, over-excited, demanding, rigid, noisy, unfair, mean, arrogant, weak, ungrateful, prejudiced, bad and closed-minded.

They see *Maori* as predominantly good, friendly and cool, as well as relaxed, okay, hardworking, helpful, cultural, proud, respectful, deserving, traditional, tough, intelligent, welcoming, kind and outgoing. Negative aspects are unfriendly, snobbish, lazy/laidback, mean, gang-affiliated, unsophisticated, scruffy, unkind, ignorant, loud-mouthed, annoying, rude, narrow-minded, hypocrites, stupid, cruel, jealous, superstitious, over-zealous, and they believe they 'muck-around'.

*West Asians (Indians)* are perceived predominantly as hardworking, good and friendly, and also see them as being quiet, caring, nice, kind, rich, cool, cheerful, intelligent, smart, shy, empowering, respectful, good-looking, polite, educated, helpful, alert, all right, motivated, civilised and highly respected. Negative words used are snobbish, ignorant, gullible, afraid, immature, selfish, unsociable and biased.

They see *East Asians (Chinese)* as predominantly hardworking and good, and also list smart, cool, kind, helpful, happy, little, caring, rich, nice, respectful, quiet, intelligent, studious, educated, polite, mature and 'individuals' to describe them. Negative words include snobbish, unfriendly, talkative, misunderstanding, easily provoked, racist.

### ***West Asian Perceptions***

West Asians (Indians) perceive *Europeans* predominantly as good, friendly and hardworking, and include helpful, kind, carefree, polite, nice, civilised, okay/all right, fine, proud, outgoing, sensible, decent, observant, fun, respectful, educated, fair, clean and superior in their descriptors. Negative notions include racist, arrogant, stubborn, mean, unfriendly, idiots (some), domineering, stereotyped mindset and challenged.

They perceive *Maori* predominantly as friendly and good, also as equally unfriendly. They list cool, caring, hardworking, helpful, nice, funny, proud, straightforward/frank, outgoing, cultural, interesting, free-spirited, okay, superior, kind and big as other characteristics, and associate haka, hangi and warriors with them. Negative words include demanding, stubborn, lazy, rude, outrageous, slow, racist, violent, morose, immoral, intimidating, prejudiced, mistreated and scary.

Most *Pacific Islanders* are seen as being predominantly friendly, good and cool, and some as equally unfriendly. They also see them as hardworking, helpful, funny, sporting, happy, tough, kind, harmonious, all right, proud, outgoing, cultural, colourful, smart, pretty, nice, big, strong and religious. Negatively, they are seen as greedy, coconuts, staunch, frustrated, stubborn, loud, mean, violent, egotistical, immoral, lazy, intimidating, show-offs, racist, bullies, monkeys (some), destructive, misleading.

*East Asians (Chinese)* are perceived as being predominantly good, hardworking and friendly, and they are also seen as smart, quiet, nice, kind, cool, helpful, intelligent, funny, rich, shy, respectful, realists and dependable. Negative words used are reserved/withdrawn, unfriendly, greedy, bad drivers, unpredictable and isolated.

### ***East Asian Perceptions***

East Asians (Chinese) perceive *Europeans* as being predominantly friendly, hardworking, good and kind, and also see them as nice, cool, well-mannered, happy, all right/okay, settled, easy-going/relaxed, trusting, caring, fun, accepting (some), grateful, intelligent, generous, different, British, likeable, helpful, 'long term thinking', and as having high self-esteem. Negative words include snobbish, unfriendly, mean, frustrated, racist, prejudiced, domineering, controlling and bad-tempered.

Many *Maori* are perceived as being predominantly friendly, while some are seen as equally unfriendly. They are also perceived as hardworking, kind, big, traditional, good, nice, all right, funny, excellent, fun, energetic, interesting, tough, cool, lively, cultural and casual. Negative notions are lazy, angry, bad, intimidating, mean, loud, under-educated, annoying, violent, greedy (for land), backward, poor, disadvantaged and fierce-looking. They also see them as forgotten, and associate them with 'black power'.

*Pacific Islanders* are perceived predominantly as friendly by some and unfriendly by others. They are also perceived as big, nice, good, strong, hardworking, easy-going, kind, cool, cheerful/happy, funny, excellent, interesting, all right, tough, athletic, extrovert, proud, respectful and confident. Negative descriptors are bad, greedy, mean, lazy/laid-back, racist, poor, rude, disillusioned, overweight, stubborn, ill-mannered, selfish, disrespectful, angry, loud, possessive and snobbish.

They perceive *West Asians (Indians)* as being predominantly hardworking, good and friendly, and also as kind, nice, all right, confident, quiet, cultural, religious, excellent, shy, smart, respectful, rich, helpful, serious and funny. Negatively, they see them as unfriendly, excluded, angry, lazy, strange, cliquish, unaware, smelly, loud, selfish and opinionated, with one referring to them as 'bitch', and another saying that they 'don't like them'.