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Ethnic Minority World Travellers & Arrogant Perceptions:

An Aotearoa New Zealand Employment Narrative

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ABSTRACT

Currently, there remains a gap within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, whereby a single study has explored multiple ethnic minority group experiences, focusing specifically on the interaction of their ethnic identity with their employment experience and how these are shaped through their interactions with their dominant group counterparts. This narrative research aimed to fractionally address such a gap by creating an understanding of how tertiary qualified ethnic minority individuals experience the world of employment in Zealand. To contextualise understandings, the research also focused on constructing an understanding of how ethnic minority individuals establish their ethnic minority identity within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand. Additionally, the significance of having a tertiary qualification for ethnic minority individuals was also explored. The current study was motivated by higher levels of workplace discrimination reported by ethnic minority groups and their high uptake of tertiary qualification. Ten participants were engaged in this narrative inquiry via semi-structured interviews. Maria Lugones' theory of world travelling, particularly the notion of 'arrogant perception,' was utilised to mobilise subsequent understandings. The ethnic minority participants in this research experienced the world of employment as an object of their 'dominant other's arrogant perception. Such objectification was perpetrated by the participants' 'dominant other' and often involved the separation of the participants' ethnic minority lived experience from their ethnic minority body and the dismissal of the former. The ethnic minority lived experience of the participants was disregarded by their 'dominant other,' and as such, only their ethnic minority body was seen and taken into consideration. Subsequently, the 'dominant other' came to see the ethnic minority body of the participants as having a vacuum; hence they then filled it with constructions of how they perceived the ethnic minority person to be. For the participants, such acts of their 'dominant other' were typically experienced in two ways, the constant racialisation of their ethnic minority bodies and being constructed as a perpetual foreigner, despite their civic efforts. Both experiences were unwelcomed by the participants and often left their ethnic minority body falsely constructed and thus distorted. The invisible nature of interactions and its deep-seated connections to sociocultural and historical legacies, contributed to the complexity of meanings and navigations within this space. While the arrogant perceptions of the 'dominant other' went largely unchallenged. Participants in this research emerged as resilient and skilled ethnic minority world travellers through their narratives, who held out hope and fondness for Aotearoa New Zealand. Findings within such spaces could be particularly of interest to agencies monitoring

equitable employment conditions and outcomes for ethnic minority communities in Aotearoa New Zealand. As well as agencies looking to inform workplace diversity and inclusiveness strategies.

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1 INTRODUCTION

It is a commonly researched phenomenon that ethnic minority individuals experience the employment setting differently, both economically and psychologically, in comparison to their dominant group counterparts (Catney & Sabater, 2015; Emerson & Murphy, 2014; Fearfull & Kamenou, 2010; Stevenson & Wolfers, 2012). Historical and sociocultural legacies mean ethnic minorities must contend with a host of challenges to be accepted and achieve equality and success within the workplace (Kray & Shirako, 2011; Moya & Markus; Roberson & Kulik, 2007). They are also more likely to experience ethnicity related stressors such as worrying about potential negative perceptions of their ethnicity and how this may implicate their sense of belonging, inclusion and access to equality within settings such as employment (Emerson & Murphy, 2014; Freeman, 2017; Lee et al., 2009; Murphy & Taylor, 2012; Shelton, 2003; Steele & Aronson, 1995).

Hence the ethnic identity of workers, especially that of minority group members, is a crucial contributing factor to the experiences they build within the employment setting (Van Laer & Janssens, 2017). For example, social acceptance within the workplace, especially from the viewpoint of one's ethnicity, is a key determinant of outcomes such as team productivity, job success, employee wellbeing and job satisfaction (Brimhall & Mor Barak, 2018; Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007).

International studies in the last decade have shown that ethnic minority groups, such as African Americans at the 90th percentile of their household income distribution, earned as much as their dominant counterparts in the 75th percentile of their income distribution (Emerson & Murphy, 2014; Stevenson & Wolfers, 2012). Furthermore, even more, troubling was that their median happiness was lower than that of their dominant counterparts with income at the 50th percentile (Stevenson & Wolfers, 2012). Therefore, it is not surprising that ethnic minorities are also more likely to report discrimination, exclusion, and lower job satisfaction within the workplace (Emerson & Murphy, 2014; Huynh et al., 2011; Madera et al., 2012; Parsons et al., 2018; StatisticsNewZealand, 2012). This is particularly problematic because employment is a crucial space of social mobility for ethnic minorities whereby they strive to live out their life success (Carter, 2003; Fearfull & Kamenou, 2010; Hasmath, 2012a; Hu, 2019). Facing barriers of exclusion and prejudice within a setting such as employment can prove particularly detrimental for ethnic minorities, who owing to their

ethnicity, face a host of discrimination and challenges across their wider milieu (Bleich et al., 2019; Carrim, 2019; Carter, 2003; Catney & Sabater, 2015; Mocerri, 2014).

1.1 THE NEW ZEALAND CONTEXT

The existence of ethnic bias and prevalence of stereotypes has seen ethnic minorities experience significant challenges within the Aotearoa New Zealand employment setting, such as hardships securing employment and hostile ethnic relations while on the job (Coates & Carr, 2005; Gardner et al., 2013; Ho, 2015; Lewin et al., 2011; Pio, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Wilson & Parker, 2007). Lewin et al. (2011), in exploring the settlement experiences of Indian immigrants, found the majority of the reported experiences of discrimination to be employment based. Such experiences of discrimination typically took the form of being denied jobs despite appropriate qualifications and experience, lack of recognition on the job and verbal abuse, to name a few (Lewin et al., 2011).

Gardner et al. (2013) found Pacific Island and Asian/ Indian groups reported higher experiences of workplace bullying than the majority European group. Furthermore, perceived occupational disadvantage has also seen some ethnic minority groups in Aotearoa New Zealand pursue self-employment as opposed to being employed (Meares et al., 2010).

Currently, in Aotearoa New Zealand the employment rates for the ethnic minority community is comparable to that of the general population (Ministry for Ethnic Communities, 2021). However, this representation is not replicated across occupations and individual income levels, especially at the higher end of the spectrum (Ministry for Ethnic Communities, 2021). Statistical modelling shows that numerical minority group members are more likely to report experiencing ethnicity-based discrimination within employment settings than the majority group members, namely Europeans (Leathley, 2013; Ministry of Social Development, 2019; StatisticsNewZealand, 2012). Moreover, while a higher percentage of the ethnic minority population hold an undergraduate or post graduate qualification in comparison to the general population (Ministry for Ethnic Communities, 2021). Those who possess a formal tertiary qualification are also more likely to report discrimination within employment spaces (StatisticsNewZealand, 2012). Discrimination based on factors such as ethnicity is the most prevalent form of discrimination reported by ethnic minority individuals, with the highest levels reported as occurring within employment settings (Development, 2016; Leathley, 2013; StatisticsNewZealand, 2012, 2019b).

Furthermore, migrants are more likely to experience ethnicity-based discrimination in the workplace than people born in Aotearoa New Zealand (Development, 2016; StatisticsNewZealand, 2012). Hence ethnicity-based discrimination is not only related to an individual's ethnic group but is also associated with their place of birth, that is, if they were born in Aotearoa New Zealand or overseas (Ministry of Social Development, 2019; StatisticsNewZealand, 2012). This is particularly worrisome because 87 percent of the ethnic minority community engaged in Aotearoa New Zealand's labour force are born overseas (Ministry for Ethnic Communities, 2021; Ministry of Social Development, 2019; StatisticsNewZealand, 2017, 2019a, 2021). Moreover, the minority community is set to increase significantly over the next decade (Manch, 2019; Spoonley, 2017, 2020b).

The above statistics paint a grim and concerning picture for numerous reasons. Firstly employers are obliged under the Employment Relations Act 2000 and the Human Rights Act 1993 to provide a safe employment environment to all employees, including those undergoing job selection processes (Rudman, 2019).

Secondly, Aotearoa New Zealand's ethnic minority cohort has burgeoned over the past decade as the country holds the fourth highest proportion of foreign-born nationals amongst the OECD countries, partly owing to high migration rates (Manch, 2019; McAuliffe & Ruhs, 2017; Ministry of Social Development, 2019; StatisticsNewZealand, 2017, 2021).

Approximately 20 percent of Aotearoa New Zealand's population identify with ethnicities beyond the indigenous population of Māori and the numerical majority of Pākehā (MEC, 2021). Furthermore, the minority community is set to increase significantly and at a much faster rate, compared to the broad European group, over the next decade (EHINZ, 2018; Manch, 2019; Spoonley, 2020a; Spoonley & Didham, 2019; StatsNZ, 2019). It is therefore undeniable that Aotearoa New Zealand, having opened the doorway to super-diversity some time ago must actively seek out ways to connect its worlds, of the past, present and future, in order to succeed as a nation of five million (Spoonley, 2014, 2020b).

TABLE 1

The six major ethnic groups in Aotearoa New Zealand, 2006, 2013, and 2018 Censuses

Ethnicity	2006 %	2013%	2018%
European	67.6	74.0	70.2
Māori	14.6	14.9	16.5
Pacific peoples	6.9	7.4	8.1
Asian	9.2	11.8	15.1
Middle Eastern / Latin American / African	0.9	1.2	1.5
Other ethnicity	11.2	1.7	1.2
Total	998	908	90

Source: StatsNZ, 2018 Census

Spoonley poignantly captured the double edges of a super diverse population when he wrote, “Superdiversity can lead to positive social and economic benefits for welcoming communities and economies. However, the benefits can be compromised by the anxieties and hostility of some community members” (2014, p. 1). Superdiversity “refers to having a large number or percentage of immigrants and people of different ethnicities in a society or area” and can also be associated “to religious or linguistic diversity, especially as these have implications for a shared civic culture” (Spoonley, 2014, p. 2). Spoonley’s words flesh out two crucial facts; firstly, that there are benefits to be reaped from having a diverse population and secondly, that diversity requires nurturing (2014). He, therefore, highlights the dichotomous servings of a super diverse nation, that is, the differences in diversity that breed growth and change, if employed negatively, can also breed separatism (Spoonley). The latter is substantiated to some degree by the aforementioned ethnic minority statistics in relation to workplace discrimination (Spoonley, 2014; StatisticsNewZealand, 2012). However, while such statistics do bring to light the pressing concerns of cross-ethnic relations in Aotearoa New Zealand, they do little by means of revealing deeper insights about the issues that may be driving such surface outcomes. To grasp a deeper understanding, it would prove beneficial to explore the complexity of ethnic identity, as this is the very place that individuals from all ethnic backgrounds establish a sense of self and belonging (Phinney, 1996).

1.2 ETHNIC MINORITY IDENTITY: AN EXPERIENCE NOT A CONSTRUCT

Ethnic identity provides valuable insights into the fabric of current day society. Especially in historically colonised countries such as Aotearoa New Zealand, whereby historic power imbalances continue to play out in often subconscious and subtle ways (Rocha & Webber, 2017). “World-views of the majority settler populations are often privileged in practice over indigenous or minority views” (Bhambra, 2014; Cross, 1978; Loomba, 2015; Rocha & Webber, 2017, p. 32; Spoonley, 2015). Hence ethnic identity can be seen as having an important hand in determining how individuals, especially those belonging to ethnic minority groups, are received in society (Phinney, 1996; Rocha & Webber, 2017; Umaña-Taylor, 2011).

A significant historic misconception regarding ethnic identity has been its appraisal as a pre-determined, fixed and austere racial construct (Fenton, 1999; Spoonley, 2017). There are numerous occasions in our daily lives whereby formal identification of ethnicity is required, particularly within employment and health settings, such as when completing occupational or medical registration forms (Spoonley, 2017, 2020a, 2020b). How an individual determines their ethnicity across these settings may vary on numerous personal and environmental factors, such as identity saliency, the nature of the setting and inquiries at hand (Carrim, 2019; Klein et al., 2007; Merino & Tileagă, 2010; Spears, 2011; Spoonley, 2017, 2020b). As such ethnic identity becomes a by-product of conscious or subconscious negotiations, influenced by both an individual’s perception of their ethnicities and that of others’, specific to the worlds in which they reside (Dewart et al., 2020 Clandinin, & Caine, 2020; Didham, 2017; Fenton, 1999; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Phinney, 1996). Hence although the outcomes of such an identification process may become public information, the actual process of ethnic identification itself, remains a relatively complex and private experience driven by both internal and external factors (Kim-ju & Liem, 2003; Merino & Tileagă, 2010; Umaña-Taylor, 2011). Ethnic identity is, therefore, better understood as a malleable phenomenon that is driven by the manner in which an individual experiences a multitude of contextual and personal factors (Brickell et al., 2019; Phinney, 1996; Spoonley, 2017, 2020b; Tajfel & Turner, 2004; Umaña-Taylor, 2011).

Statistics Aotearoa New Zealand recognises the personal aspect of ethnic identification in their definition of ethnicity as “the ethnic group or groups a person identifies with or has a sense of belonging to. It is a measure of cultural affiliation (in contrast to race, ancestry,

nationality, or citizenship)” (StatisticsNewZealand, 2020). By way of definition, an individual, therefore, has the liberty to identify with multiple ethnicities as guided by their belonging. The point being elucidated here is that ethnic identity is a complex and subjective experience, as opposed to a fixed construct (Umaña-Taylor, 2011). Viewed in this manner, ethnic identity is no longer a measured and studied construct but rather a personal experience connected to a wider network of experiences and historical legacies. Therefore, to say that one knows in its entirety the ethnic identity of another person and to draw generalised conclusions based on such assumptions of membership would seem somewhat inefficacious and remiss. In relevance to the aforementioned employment statistics of ethnic minorities, this could possibly be a good interface to begin explorations of why ethnic minorities experience the employment setting in such a manner.

1.3 EMPLOYMENT AND THE ETHNIC PENALTY

It quickly becomes apparent that ethnic minorities navigate a wide range of challenges within the employment realm. Hasmath (2012b) claims such ethnicity owing disadvantage as being the ethnic penalty, which, if reviewed within the employment setting, can be seen as impeding the occupational success of ethnic minority groups. Therefore despite numerous efforts by ethnic minority groups, such as high educational uptake, ethnic minorities still “have a lower income, higher unemployment and a general failure to convert their high educational attainments into comparable occupational outcomes” (Hasmath, 2012b, p. 67).

As mentioned previously, such penalties suffered within the employment setting is particularly troublesome as one of the main impetuses of the ethnic minority existence is to counter perceived effects of ethnic penalty through social mobilisation in settings such as employment (Carter, 2003; Hasmath, 2016; Hasmath & Kay-Reid, 2021). Employment is a key setting whereby ethnic minorities hope to play out their life successes (Carter, 2003). It is not to say that only ethnic minority groups face disadvantages within workplaces. However, disproportionate levels of discrimination faced across their wider milieu intensify the negative outcomes faced within such key settings (Carter, 2003; Hasmath, 2012b; Hasmath & Kay-Reid, 2021; Heath & Cheung, 2006).

Globalisation and migration efforts of ethnic minorities means penalties suffered within the employment setting, discredits both individual and generational perseverance across the broader ethnic minority milieu (Avola & Piccitto, 2020; Carter, 2003; Hasmath, 2012b; Hasmath & Kay-Reid, 2021; Heath & Cheung, 2006; Ho, 2015). Hence the consequential

harm for ethnic minority group members is much more far-reaching than the majority dominant group members often realise (Hasmath & Kay-Reid, 2021). That is, the drivers and subsequent consequences of the ethnic penalty suffered by ethnic minorities within the employment setting is far more complex than measurable outcomes such as on the job discrimination. To acquire a better grasp on such deep drivers of the ethnic penalty, one could turn to explore the exclusionary practices that stem from cues of “foreignness” and “low social trust between dominant and ethnic minority group members” (Hasmath, 2012b, p. 84; Heath & Cheung, 2006; Heath & Ridge, 1983; Huynh et al., 2011; Spoonley & Bedford, 2012). This is particularly relevant in countries such as Aotearoa New Zealand, with a burgeoning ethnic minority population (Goldberg, 2004; Parna et al., 2020; Spoonley, 2014; StatisticsNewZealand, 2021). The need to explore employment experiences from an ethnic identity lens is made even more relevant by findings such as that of the 2020 Aotearoa New Zealand Workplace Diversity Survey (Parna et al., 2020). The report showed an increase in workers not knowing how ethnicity is addressed as a diversity issue within their places of employment (Parna et al., 2020). The report also highlighted an increase in workplaces lacking diversity, acceptance and understanding of cultural diversity (Parna et al., 2020).

1.4 THE OFTEN UNSEEN ETHNIC PENALTY -EXPERIENCES OF EXCLUSION

Typically in western societies such as Aotearoa New Zealand, “anxieties and hostility” amongst ethnic groups, stem from the void of inter group differences, which is often fed by subconscious legacies of colonisation and oppression (Andreassen & Ahmed-Andresen, 2013; Bhambra, 2014; Goldberg, 2004; Spoonley, 2020b; Spoonley & Bedford, 2012). Exclusion and marginalisation thus come to be perceived as protective behaviours, through which group order and hierarchy can be maintained by dominant group members (Rohleder, 2014; Tajfel & Turner, 2001, 2004).

Carter, in his exploration of ethnic minority groups and their exclusion from the workplace, states that “such harmful realities [...] and consequences are all too often driven by the dominant group’s notion of ‘not one of us’ ” (Carter, 2003, p. 3). Such a notion whereby dominant societies appraise ethnic minorities as being foreign, both to their sense of self and their world, consequently leads to the exclusion of ethnic minority groups from the “worlds of dominant society”, particularly in western dominated societies (Campbell, 2020; Carter, 2003, p. 11; Powell & Menendian, 2016; Said, 1979; Uda, 2018; Uda & Singh, 2019).

Hence for ethnic minorities, both their sense of ethnic identity and subsequent life prospect such as employment, are greatly influenced by the fact that they are posited as the foreigner who does not belong to the mainstream order of life (Jones et al., 2020; Powell & Menendian, 2016; Said, 1979; Sears et al., 2021). Although such acts are often understood in terms of outcomes such as discrimination, they could also be deeply investigated as different ethnic groups, failing to bridge their gaps of everyday cross-ethnic relations. That is while there is much said and documented about the consequences of cross-ethnic lacking, and rightfully so. There also could be more said and documented about the complex fissures that run deep, often owing to historic legacies, that divide human relations in such a manner.

1.5 JUSTIFICATION FOR RESEARCH

Based on the above literature review, it is, therefore, timely and appropriate that this research focuses not only on employment experiences of ethnic minority individuals in Aotearoa New Zealand but that it does so in a manner that uncovers the deeper meanings behind such experiences. It is believed that such an approach will help unearth some of the deeper drivers of disadvantages faced by ethnic minorities within the Aotearoa New Zealand employment setting.

As noted, current Aotearoa New Zealand literature about employment experiences of ethnic minorities has predominantly focused on practices and outcomes of discrimination, bullying and employment barriers (Coates & Carr, 2005; Gardner et al., 2013; Ho, 2015; Lewin et al., 2011; Meares et al., 2010; Pio, 2006, 2007a, 2007b). At the time of writing, there seemed a gap in recent Aotearoa New Zealand literature about the discourse of ethnic minority employment experiences, as experienced in the presence of dominant majority group members. A further literature aperture was also noted, whereby employment experiences of multiple ethnic minority groups, from the viewpoint of their ethnic identity, had not been explored in a single study. It is acknowledged that owing to the malleability of ethnic identity, individuals belonging to different ethnicities can experience similar settings in profoundly distinct ways (Brown & Pinel, 2003; Emerson & Murphy, 2014; Steele, 1997; Steele et al., 2002; Tajfel & Forgas, 2000). Hence the rationality of avoiding a collective ethnic group sample in a single study is realised. However, it is believed that there is value in bringing together minority group narratives where possible, without oversimplification, to elucidate common experiences. This could prove a valuable place to progress difficult dialogues with greater ease. Facilitating dialogues on otherwise complex topics such as

ethnicity within the workplace has been reported to increase awareness of biases, empathy and the power of privilege and oppression, as well as the desire to engage in otherwise challenging workplace dialogues (Sue et al., 2011).

Findings within such spaces could be particularly of interest to agencies monitoring equitable employment conditions and outcomes for ethnic minority communities in Aotearoa New Zealand. As well as agencies looking to inform workplace diversity and inclusiveness strategies. This research travels to the heart of concepts such as identity acceptance, inclusion, and cross-ethnic relations, to frame employment experiences of ethnic minority group members in a deep, meaningful, and rich manner.

It is to be noted that this narrative research acknowledges and therefore respects meaning and meaning-making processes as being intangible and variable (Clandinin, 1995, 2000, 2013). Therefore, the meanings and interpretations elicited in this research intend to be insightful and not prescriptive in any manner of all ethnic minority experiences. It is hoped the narrative dialogues highlighted in this study will help progress topical discussions instead of providing a summative conclusion.

1.6 EXPLAINING THE EMBEDDED LENS OF TERTIARY EDUCATION

In Aotearoa New Zealand there is greater uptake of tertiary education amongst the ethnic minority population in comparison to the general population (Ministry for Ethnic Communities, 2021). However, those with a formal qualification such as tertiary education are also more likely to report workplace discrimination (StatisticsNewZealand, 2012). To gain better insights into such statistics, one could explore the significance tertiary education may hold for ethnic minority individuals.

Universally tertiary education has been associated with ethnic minorities as a tool for social agency (Hasmath, 2012a; Myers, 2009). Owing to historic oppression and ongoing discrimination across their wider milieu, ethnic minority groups tend to employ education as means of negotiating new identities and securing access to both current and future social and economic equity (Hasmath, 2012a; Myers, 2009). Similar to Aotearoa New Zealand, countries such as Canada also report high educational uptake within ethnic minority groups, which is either on par or above that of the dominant group (Hasmath, 2012a; Myers, 2009; Parsons et al., 2018; Ryu, 2009). Furthermore, minority groups often have legacies of migration journeys, therefore in a sense are prepared to travel and seek out equitable and

prosperous opportunities in other worlds if necessary (Hasmath, 2012a; Lugones, 2003; Ryu, 2009). Hence the portability of education as an asset makes it an ideal investment for minority group members (Benjamin et al., 2010; Chiswick, 1983; Hasmath, 2012a; Ryu, 2009; Walton & Cohen, 2007).

While the dynamics of tertiary education and ethnic minority mobilisation have been widely published overseas, there is a lack of such research within the locale of Aotearoa New Zealand (Bates et al., 2018 2018; Bengte, 1997; Constant et al., 2009; Fang, 2019; Hällgren, 2005; Hasmath, 2012a; Kalavite, 2010). Ethnic minority identity and tertiary education, therefore, could be collectively employed to produce deep and rich understandings of ethnic minority employment experiences. Particularly how the two elements may collude to colour the perceptions and experiences of ethnic minority individuals within the Aotearoa New Zealand employment setting. It is believed that such understandings will add a valuable dynamic to the overall insight of the ethnic minority population in Aotearoa New Zealand.

1.7 FOCUSING THE RESEARCH LENS

The current research applies Lugones' (1987, 2003) theory of world travelling in particular her notion of 'arrogant perception', to mobilise narrative understandings of the perceptions and experiences of tertiary qualified ethnic minorities within the Aotearoa New Zealand employment setting. Specifically, within the presence of their dominant group counterpart, referred to as their 'dominant other.' The following sections establish the theoretical scene of world travelling and other supplementary theories, which contribute to the construction of the 'self' in world travelling. The 'dominant other's arrogant perception is then explored in detail as experienced by the ethnic minority traveller. Finally, two commonly experienced forms of arrogant perception are visited to support the subsequent findings and discussion section. These are the racialisation and distortion of ethnic minority bodies and the perpetuation of the ethnic minority body as a foreigner. The main research question addressed in this thesis is: How do tertiary qualified ethnic minority individuals experience the world of employment in Aotearoa New Zealand? To contextualise understandings, two further questions were embedded within the main research question; how do ethnic minority individuals establish their ethnic minority identity within the context of New Zealand? What significance does having a tertiary qualification hold for ethnic minority individuals?

1.8 WORLD TRAVELLING AND THE ETHNIC MINORITY TRAVELLER

María Lugones is an Argentinian feminist philosopher and activist whose conceptualisation of the world travelling theory, provides a means of understanding and articulating the experiences of minorities as outsiders to the dominant mainstream organisation of life (Elenes, 2020, p. 198; Lugones, 1987, 2003). Lugones “stresses a particular feature of the outsider’s existence” whereby the outsider “has acquired flexibility in shifting from mainstream constructions of life” where “they are constructed as outsiders”, to other constructions they are genuinely ‘in completeness’ with (Lugones, 1987, p. 3; 2003). She calls this “multiplicity of the self,” world travelling, which is upheld by plurality, the ability to see multiple experiences and worlds (Lugones, 1987, p. 3; 2003).

The outsider to mainstream existence is understood as being the ethnic minority world traveller, and the dominant mainstream organisation of life is understood as being upheld by the ‘dominant other’ of the minority traveller (Elenes, 2020, p. 198; Lugones, 1987, 2003).

World travelling is posited to be a necessity for most minorities, who must often world travel out of necessity to potentially unhealthy worlds, whereby their dominant counterpart, thus their ‘dominant other’ makes them an object of their arrogant perception and as such obscures the value of the ethnic minority traveller’s existence (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

The key to cross-cultural love and relations is embedded within the realisation of “understand[ing] and affirm[ing] the plurality” in others and coming to see the act of loving them as being compatible with the differences that lay between (Lugones, 1987, p. 3; 2003). There is an encouragement for one to grow comfortable with the void of difference that may separate one from another and to see such a difference in a new light. That is, the void seen in a new light should appear no longer as an abyss but rather a free space to creatively fill with new shared meanings. Just as the traveller is open to finding beauty, in that which they may not have seen before and thus happily welcomes the absurdities of the new landscape. So too does Lugones urge those who engage with her theory to see differences as an opportunity as opposed to a threat (1987, 2003). For example, Kramer utilises world travelling “to make the case that humor “[sic]” can facilitate an openness and cooperative attitude among an otherwise closed, even adversarial audience” (Kramer, 2017, p. 93).

Note the traveller is not suggestive of a tourist; they are not collecting mementos for their self-purpose, they are not engaging in commodification (Kramer, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003;

Sullivan, 2006). Rather the traveller travels through spaces “open to learning, understanding, and perceiving differently, seeking out with interest and curiosity the benign tensions that accompany a novel world” (Kramer, 2017, p. 96; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Sullivan, 2006). Hence although the ethnic minority traveller may be world travelling out of necessity to unhealthy worlds, they come to seek out the tensions and view it as opportunities for survival; after all, it is in this very world that they have their “best shot at recognition” (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Lugones not only recommends world travelling be done with a playful attitude, where one is a creative being and thus open to creating loving cross-cultural connections (1987, 2003). However, she also makes real the connection between the arrogant perception of the ‘dominant other’ and their “failure to identify with persons that one views arrogantly or has come to see as the [...] [objects] of [their] arrogant perception” (Lugones, 1987, p. 4; 2003).

1.9 ‘OTHERNESS’ AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN ETHNIC MINORITY SELF

A definition of ‘Otherness’ is typically driven by difference, an awareness of those who are different from us, thus the conceptualisation of “‘Us’ and ‘Them,’ ‘I’ and ‘You,’ ‘Self’ and ‘Other’” (Bauman, 1991; Canales, 2000; Johnson et al., 2004; Powell & Menendian, 2016; Uda, 2018; Uda & Singh, 2019, p. 846). One knows who they are because they know of the ‘Other’ who is different from them (Campbell, 2020; Cooley, 1902; Gould & Howson, 2021; Uda & Singh, 2019). One cannot establish a sense of self without simultaneously establishing a sense of ‘Other’; hence there must exist an ‘Other’ if the self is to exist and vice versa (De Beauvoir, 1952; Johnson et al., 2004; Uda & Singh, 2019) This is suggestive of the co-dependency that Lugones highlights in world travelling, whereby the ethnic minority traveller and the ‘dominant other’ need each other in order to remain as real and complete beings (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Despite their polarity, both are two parts of but the one equation because neither can know themselves without knowing of their ‘Other’ (Cooley, 1902; Gould & Howson, 2021; Lugones, 1987, 2003).

As Charles Horton Cooley explains through the ‘looking-glass self’ theory, it is through the lens of the ‘Other’ that one establishes a view of the self (Cooley, 1902, 1983). “Each to each a looking-glass reflects the other that doth pass” famously implies there is no sense of ‘I’ “without its correlative sense of you, or he, or they” (Cooley, 1902, p. 126; 1983; Scheff, 2005; Watkins-Goffman, 2001). From this viewpoint, it can be understood that not only is the

ethnic minority self-realised in the presence of their ‘dominant other’ but that the construction an ethnic minority individual holds of their ethnic minority self may also be embodied through the eyes of their ‘Other.’ Therefore the concept of ‘Otherness’ combined with the ‘Looking-glass self’ theory mobilises an understanding of the construction of the ethnic minority self, both in the presence of, and through the eyes of, their ‘dominant other’ (Cooley, 1902; Gould & Howson, 2021; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Scheff, 2005).

‘Othering’ operates on an underlying ethos of power and exclusion, which can be particularly problematic for minority groups, who already suffer inequitable social conditions across their milieu (Augen, 2009; Culea, 2014; Uda & Singh, 2019). In his infamous writing of ‘Orientalism’, Said portrayed the colonial master’s view of the ‘Orient’ as exotic yet uncivilised ‘Other’ (Said, 1979). In the modern-day, such imbalanced constructions give rise to racist discourse, which, although subtle, can nevertheless constitute a significant threat and harm to the identity and wellbeing of ethnic minority individuals (Fenton, 1999; Freeman, 2017; Gray, 2019; Mellor, 2003; Middlemiss, 2017; van Dijk, 1993). This notion is valuable in understanding how being and feeling ‘different’ can lead to distinct experiences amongst minority and dominant group members within any given setting.

It is therefore helpful to employ theories such as ‘Otherness’ and ‘Looking-glass self’ in this research because it highlights the crucial ethos of polarity, which divides much of the ethnic minority and dominant group identification and existence, as well as that which keeps it connected to each other. As such, it is well-positioned to provide valuable understandings at this junction of the ethnic minority person and their ‘dominant other.’ In this research, the above theories are utilised specifically to explore the processes which ethnic minority individuals engage in, to establish a sense of ‘self’ relative to their ‘Other.’ ‘Otherness’ is valuable in this regard, as it helps construct an understanding of how ethnic minority individuals may be constructing their ethnic minority self in the presence, as well through the eyes of their ‘Other,’ and how such experiences maybe colouring their future interactions.

1.10 ARROGANT PERCEPTION AND THE OBJECTIFICATION OF THE ETHNIC MINORITY TRAVELLER

Arrogant perception, simply understood, is the failure to identify with another and an act of objectifying another with a dismissive and oppressive gaze, without “any sense of loss” to the self (Dewart et al., 2020; Frye, 1983; Lugones, 1987, p. 5; 2003). Sadly, the objectification of

the ethnic minority body is often perpetuated by white dominant group members (Constantine et al., 2008; DeCuir-Gunby et al., 2020; Kim et al., 2019; Louis et al., 2016; Sue et al., 2011).

In relevance to this research, the act of arrogant perception involves separating the ethnic minority traveller's lived experience, from their physical ethnic minority body (Lugones, 1987, 2003; Freeman, 2017). Thus moving them from the being subject of their 'dominant other's arrogant perception to the object of their arrogant perception instead (Freeman, 2017; Frye, 1983; Lugones, 2003). This act of separation can be understood in many ways; the two most common understandings employed in this research are as follows.

It is possible that the 'dominant other' is unaware or unwilling (or perhaps both) to learn about the ethnic minority traveller's world travels. Hence be it through choice or limited perceptions, or possibly both, the 'dominant other' is unable to include both the lived experience of the ethnic minority traveller with the body of the ethnic minority traveller in their perceptions (Freeman, 2017). Note Lugones believes such an act is possible if one looks at the other with loving perception and as such is open to learning about them, is open to travelling to their world and seeing them as they are constructed in those worlds where they are both equals and dependent on each for a shared understanding (Frye, 1983; Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Another partially connected logic is that to animate the ethnic minority traveller with their preconceived construction, the 'dominant other' must first find a vacuum to fill. That is, they must hollow the ethnic minority body if they are to fill it with their construction. It could be that the 'dominant other' comes across an ethnic minority traveller, and because they cannot see their lived experience, they may mistake the ethnic minority traveller not having one, thus attempting to fill the minority body with a construction. Lugones acknowledges this as the pain she knows her 'dominant other' feels because her 'dominant other' "have expressed a *general* sense of being pained at their failure of love" for her (1987, p. 7). Contrarily it could also be that the 'dominant other' finds it ridiculous that the ethnic minority body will be filled with anything but the constructions which they fill it with, hence returning once again to a place of arrogant perception (Lugones, 2003).

Arrogant perceptions lead to the "failure of love" and an attitude of 'agnostic play' which, in contrast to 'loving playfulness', is rule-bound, viciously competitive and "marked by a sense of superiority" (Dewart et al., 2020, p. 370; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Frye, 1983). Those who attempt to world travel with an agnostic sense of play not only fail to do so but can "kill other

worlds” with such a “deadly construction of playfulness, because one arrives with the preconceived notion of arrogance and superiority” (Lugones, 1987, p. 16). That is, one arrives upon the other, with an attitude that implies they know everything there is to know about the other (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Hence there can be no more or no less to the construction of the ethnic minority world traveller, beyond that which is assigned to them by their ‘dominant other’ (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Colonialism was marked by such an attitude where travels to far worlds, was underpinned by intentions of conquering and civilising the foreigner, which stemmed from a firm sense of superiority (Said, 1979). There was no meaning before or after of the exotic foreigner; their beauty was dependent not on them but on the coloniser’s gaze (Bhambra, 2014; Loomba, 2015; Lugones, 2003). Thus, the coloniser was both the creator and destroyer of the foreigner’s constructions, the edges of the foreigner’s construction was decided by the coloniser (Ahmed, 2002; Lugones, 2003; Said, 1979, 1994). In this sense, the arrogant perceiver does not perceive their object of arrogant perception as existing beyond their construction (Ahmed, 2002; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Said, 1994). Just as the tourist takes a picture and thus, when looking back, only recalls the breadth of the landscape, as being confined to the scope of their camera’s lens.

1.11 RACIALISATION & DISTORTION OF ETHNIC MINORITY BODIES

The ethnic minority body is “caught by the [dismissive and oppressive] gaze” of the ‘dominant other’ and thus becomes a site of social stress (Ahmed, 2002; Fanon, 1967). As the arrogant perceiver works on the ethnic minority body, attempting to fill it with constructions, the perceiver finds true; the ethnic minority body is stressed, contorted, and often left distorted (Ahmed, 2002; Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 2003; Said, 2008). The ethnic minority traveller that receives their body after it has passed the arrogant dismissive, and oppressive gaze of their ‘dominant other’, doesn’t recognise their ethnic minority body (Fanon; Lugones, 2003).

A common example in such a space is the racialisation of the ethnic minority body, whereby the ethnic minority body is produced as a racial body “through knowledge, as well as the constitution of both social and bodily space” in everyday encounters (Ahmed, 2002, p. 47). The constant racialisation of ethnic minority travellers, in ways that are unwelcomed by them and in ways that can prove problematic for their ethnic minority existence, is a violating experience (Ahmed, 2002; Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 2003; Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007;

Yancy, 2016). For example, it is a well-documented phenomenon that dominant group members have a tendency to, be it intentionally or unintentionally, utilise acts such as everyday racial microaggressions to make salient the racial identity of ethnic minority individuals (Sue, Bucceri, et al., 2007; Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007; Sue et al., 2011). This could involve commentary such as introducing an ethnic colleague at work, by making reference to their race or ethnicity for them, without them doing so themselves or having requested it (Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007; Sue et al., 2011). Race, therefore, becomes a consequence of the ethnic minority body, even though the ‘dominant other’ may only perceive it to be the origin (Ahmed, 2002; Lugones, 2003).

1.12 PERPETUATION OF THE ETHNIC MINORITY BODY AS A FOREIGNER

Colonial discourse posits the foreigner’s body as being the site of curiosity and threat; that the foreigner is novel and exotic but also different, hence potentially threatening (Bhabra, 2014; Lugones, 2003; Said, 1979, 1994). “Through the desire to know the ‘truth’ about the bodies of others who were marked as different,” the ‘dominant other’ establishes it as a site of inquisition (Ahmed, 2002, p. 49). The ‘dominant other,’ therefore, attempts to bring the ethnic minority body “into its field of knowledge” by questioning and closely inspecting their responses (Ahmed, 2002; Lugones, 2003; Said, 1994). Especially if the answers seem ‘counterfeit,’ that is, if the answers don’t fit with the perceptions of the ‘dominant other’ (Ahmed, 2002, 2007b; Lugones, 2003).

The perpetual foreigner stereotype is an example of the ‘dominant other’s inquisitory arrogant gaze, whereby the ethnic minority traveller, often owing to their ethnic appearance, come to be constructed as a foreigner (Do et al., 2019; Huynh et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2009). Even if “one’s movements, ways, use of speech, [are] very much of the place [...] they are constantly taken to be counterfeit” (Lugones, 2003, p. 151). Therefore the arrogant perceiver constructs the ethnic minority traveller as a perpetual foreigner, an exotic but subordinate being, incapable of achieving a nationalist status (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Do et al., 2019; Huynh et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2009; Lugones, 1987, 2003).

The perpetual foreigner or forever foreigner concept was initially utilised to frame the experiences of American Asians, who despite their generational presence in America, continue to be viewed as foreigners, incapable of change and integration (Do et al., 2019; Huynh et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2009; Tuan, 1998). However, since its initial

conceptualisation, the concept has been broadly applied to capture minority experiences of foreignism, invalidation and exclusion across many countries (Do, Wang, & Atwal, 2019; Huynh et al., 2011; S. Y. Kim, Wang, Deng, Alvarez, & Li, 2011; Lee et al., 2009; Ng Jennifer, Lee Sharon, & Pak Yoon, 2007).

Similar to the racialisation of bodies, the perpetual foreigner stereotype is also often perpetuated through racial microaggressions such as asking an ethnic minority, “Where are you really from?” or complimenting minorities on their command of the English language or intelligence (Sue, Bucci, et al., 2007; Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007; Sue et al., 2011). Such inquisitions stemming from the ‘dominant other’s arrogant perception, communicate foreignism, subordination and exclusion (Sue, Bucci, et al., 2007; Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007; Sue et al., 2011). Such hostilities minimise the rich and diverse experiences of the ethnic minority world traveller because it “obscures the complexity” of minority experience by rendering their struggles and civic contributions as being invisible (Freeman, 2017; Lee et al., 2009, p. 79). It could be that blinded by their arrogant perception, the ‘dominant other’ cannot understand the true depth and breadth of the ethnic minority travellers existence, or that they simply don’t find it meets their arrogant standards (Huynh et al., 2011; Kim et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2009; Lugones, 2003; Wildman, 2005).

1.13 COLLECTING THEORETICAL STRANDS

The above literature aimed to guide the reader’s understanding through the key concepts of Maria Lugones’ theory of world travelling (1987, 2003). This included constructing an understanding of plurality as being a central concept of world travelling and recognising the ability of the ethnic minority world traveller to travel across worlds, animating various constructions and retaining memories of them (1987, 2003).

The ‘dominant other’s arrogant perception was also visited in detail, and subsequently, two experiences of the arrogant perception were fleshed out in the process. These were the racialisation and distortion of the ethnic minority world traveller and the perpetuation of the ethnic minority body as a foreigner.

FIGURE 1

The Arrogant Perceptions That Lay Between the 'dominant other' and the Ethnic Minority World Traveller.

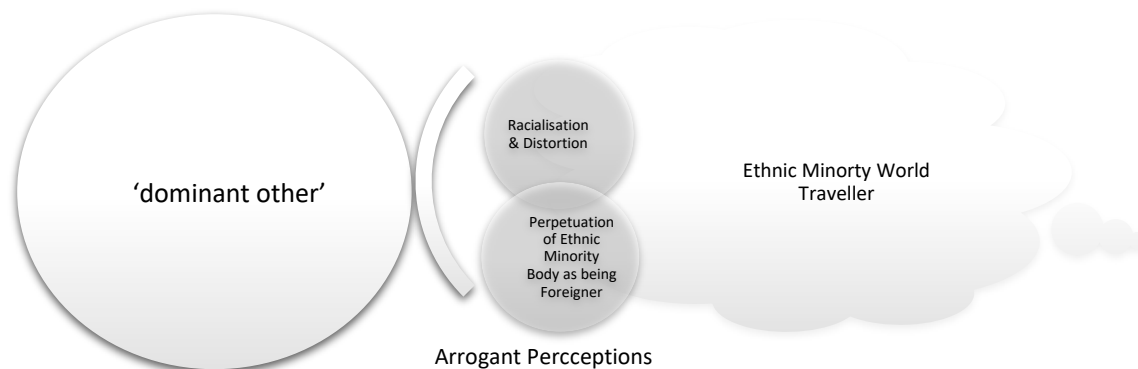


Figure 1 illustrates how I will be bringing together elements visited thus far to support my interpretation of the findings in this research. The 'dominant other' and the ethnic minority world traveller are separated by the arrogant perception of the 'dominant other.' The 'dominant other' is solid and impermeable, while the ethnic minority traveller's edges remain hidden, flexible, and somewhat ambiguous. The latter is because the ethnic minority world traveller is plural and therefore ambiguous being, capable of taking shape and animating constructions, as necessary. Furthermore, the arrogant perception of the 'dominant other' separates the experiential reality of both beings and hinders the ability of the 'dominant other' to see the true existence of the ethnic minority world traveller. It also catches the ethnic minority world traveller and draws it in to the void as the object of its arrogant perception. It is in this space that the ethnic minority body is worked hence filled with constructions as perceived to be true and real by the 'dominant other.' As such, it is often distorted in the process.

1.14 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF WORLD TRAVELLING

This research aimed to find out how tertiary qualified ethnic minority individuals experience the world of employment in Aotearoa New Zealand. The research question was modelled on the ideas of world travelling, whereby the Aotearoa New Zealand employment setting was viewed as a world within which the ethnic minority participant was the ethnic minority world traveller and their majority, dominant counterpart, was the 'dominant other.' The word dominant was reflective of numerical and existential domination.

The term ethnic minority self in this research is utilised to reflect the genuine embodiment of the ethnic minority construction, as held by the ethnic minority individual. This includes their lived ethnic minority experience, which includes their embodied consciousness of their ethnic minority identity. Relative to the theory of world travelling, this is the genuine construction an ethnic minority world traveller holds of themselves.

The use of the term ethnic minority body in this research reflects the separation of the lived ethnic minority experience of an ethnic minority person from their physical body. Hence the inference drawn is that only the physical body is seen and taken into consideration by the 'dominant other,' while the embodiment of the ethnic minority existence is dismissed. The genuine construction an ethnic minority person may hold of themselves is dismissed, while only the body, which is the vessel of such constructions, is seen and dealt with. As such, the ethnic minority body is much like an empty shell. This, in many aspects, is the lack of world travelling; thus, the inability, especially of the 'dominant other', to world travel and see the constructions of the ethnic minority world traveller, as they are constructed in their worlds (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

The 'dominant other' is constructed in polarity to the ethnic minority world traveller, therefore is the upholder of the dominant 'mainstream' organisation of western life (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Their presence and structure of life and their worlds dominates the ethnic minority world traveller (Lugones, 1987, 2003). The above terminologies also establish the dismissive and oppressive aspects of the 'dominant other's arrogant perception (Dewart et al., 2020; Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Lugones' ideas were found to be particularly suited for engagement with the research topic at hand, because world travelling provides an open, relational, and creative engagement with an otherwise difficult topic of discussion (Akdoğan, 2020; Dewart et al., 2020; Elenes, 2020; Kramer, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003). It also acknowledges the relational space in which both the researcher and participant meet to mark their collaborative effort of creating shared meanings (Lugones, 1987, 2003; Dewart et al., 2020). This was important because I didn't want to graft the substance of my participants without offering my own experiences and understanding (Lugones, 1987, 2003). It was also important that my participants saw who I was as I was seeking their permission to access their worlds. Such a neutral space was necessary for such an exchange to occur in an ethical manner. Furthermore, this research looked to engage ethnic minority individuals who often battle inequality across their wider

milieu. Hence it was important that the space between myself as the researcher and the participants was an open space of creative opportunities, whereby the participants were free to exist in loving playfulness (Dewart et al., 2020; Elenes, 2020; Lugones, 2003). Such an approach facilitated “an openness to multiple ways of sense-making and to creating texts”; thus, there was a welcomed absence of rigid fixed edges in subsequent meanings created (Dewart et al., 2020, p. 369; Elenes, 2020; Lugones, 2003).

The above should not be mistaken as implying the absence of a structured approach but rather that the discipline stemmed from a place of ethical respect for narratives as opposed to rigid rule-bound and clinical separation. It is noted that Dewart et al. (2020) heeds caution in being led astray by the metaphorical fluidity and vastness of world travelling. That is, “metaphors present the possibility of misrepresentation”; hence the researcher travelling with a theoretical framework of world travelling is cautioned to remain close “to the experiences of researchers and participants” while playing creatively at the same time (Dewart et al., 2020, p. 377). Playing creatively in this research was understood as taking the interpretive leap while elucidating meanings from the research findings. Most qualitative studies urge the researcher to take such a leap of faith during interpretation, so long as the researcher is then able to leap back to their participant narratives in a frequent manner (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Clandinin, 2000; Kim, 2016). Such cautious but creative leaps of interpretation in this research were kept at the forefront through back-and-forth travels between data and context (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Travelling back and forth, in and out, and in between field texts, ensured the researcher remained close to the participant narratives (Clandinin, 2000; Dewart et al., 2020; Elenes, 2020; Lugones, 2003). Lugones labels such methodological ‘goings of back and forth’ as the act of ‘zoom’, which proves particularly helpful in managing leaps back and forth between participant narratives and co-created meanings (Elenes, 2020; Lugones, 2003). Zooming allows the researcher to shift in and out and in between field texts, much like a traveller zooms in and out on their camera lens, to capture both the broader strokes of the horizon along with finer details of it (Elenes, 2020; Lugones, 2003).

2 METHODOLOGY

This research employed a narrative method to create an understanding of how tertiary qualified ethnic minority individuals experience the world of employment in Aotearoa New Zealand. To contextualise the findings of the main research question, two sub-questions were added as follows; how do ethnic minority individuals construct their ethnic minority identity within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand? What is the significance of having a tertiary qualification for ethnic minority individuals? The study focused specifically on ethnic minority individuals who held tertiary qualifications in order to gain potential insights into the higher uptake of tertiary education by the ethnic minority community in Aotearoa New Zealand (Ministry for Ethnic Communities, 2021).

A narrative inquiry approach was adopted for this research, as it is particularly suited to “understanding human experience through stories”; not only at a personal level but within the larger socio-historic and institutional context across time and place (Clandinin, 2000, 2013, 2016; Clandinin & Caine, 2013; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; J.-H. Kim, 2016, p. 190). Ethnic minority experience is widely acknowledged as playing out within the context of wider sociocultural and historical legacies (Carrim, 2019; Carter, 2003; Catney & Sabater, 2015; Kray & Shirako, 2011; Moya & Markus). Therefore, narrative inquiry provided a balanced method of inquiry whereby the personal narratives of participants could be respectfully acknowledged within its wider context (Clandinin, 2013; Clandinin & Caine, 2013; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Kim, 2016).

Given the sensitive nature of the research topic, it was crucial to employ a research approach such as narrative inquiry, as it honoured the lived experiences of the participants by placing them at the forefront of the research discussion and thus making them the central source of knowledge (Clandinin, 2013). As a narrative inquirer, my ethical “commitments are not first and foremost to the inquiry puzzle but to the lives of the people involved” in my research (Clandinin et al., 2015, p. 23). As such, the ethical relationship between myself as the researcher and the participants is infinite, similar to the meanings we constructed together. I deemed this to be a respectful approach given my personal understanding of the sensitivity of this research topic to peoples’ lives.

Managing the relational aspect of the research can be a challenging and complex process (Dewart et al., 2020). Unlike some research approaches whereby the researcher is clinically removed from the research scene, the narrative method allowed me, as the researcher, to

remain present in the midst of my participant's narrative journey (Clandinin, 2000, 2013; Clandinin & Caine, 2013). This enabled an element of human touch to enter the research journey; hence the ethics of care could be made apparent in a relational manner (Clandinin & Caine, 2013; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Clandinin et al., 2009). I found this to be particularly important because while researching the lived experiences of my participants allowed me to travel alongside them in their narrative travels (Clandinin, 2013; Clandinin & Caine, 2013; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Dewart et al., 2020).

It made me reflect on my own perceptive lens and be mindful of it through the research journey. Working in this relational manner with my participants was important as it enabled me to provide a high level of ethical engagement with my participants. It was also an honour to be given a chance by my participants to travel to their worlds and see their constructions (Lugones, 1987).

The dimensions of temporality, sociality and place employed within the narrative inquiry made way for deep and contextualised understandings to arise in this research (Clandinin, 2016; Puplampu et al., 2020). This was important given the concepts included in this research, such as the construction of the ethnic identity, is an ongoing process unfolding across social conditions, time, and place (Clandinin, 2000, 2016; Clandinin & Caine, 2013; Lugones, 1987; Phinney, 1993, 1996). As such, the meaning-seeking and meaning-making process of narrative inquiry never ends (Clandinin & Caine, 2013; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Polkinghorne, 2010). Therefore the meaningful life experiences and understandings created as part of this narrative research journey are recognised as being narrative portals, through which the worlds created by the researcher and the participant can be accessed by those willing to world travel (Clandinin, 2016; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Dewart et al., 2020). Such worlds aren't temporary; they are not collapsed at the end of the research journey and stored away. Contrarily once created, such narrative portals and worlds exist in time and place forever and remain open to travels from anyone who arrives there with a creative attitude (Dewart et al., 2020; Lugones, 1987, 2003). Therefore, while as a researcher, I may have parted ways with my participants, for now, I acknowledge my narrative and ethical journey with them to be ongoing in the narrative worlds that we have created. In Lugones words, "While playful, we have not abandoned ourselves to, nor are we stuck in any particular 'world.' We are there creatively" (1987, p. 16).

2.1 PROCEDURE

Before commencing the research, full ethics approval was successfully sought from the Massey University Human Ethics Northern Committee. Key ethical considerations for this research involved thorough analysis of the risks and benefits, safeguarding participants from harm, ensuring my participant selection criteria was clear and didn't mislead participants regarding their eligibility for participation and the focus of the research.

Semi-structured open-ended interview questions were utilised to prepare an interview schedule (refer to Appendix A) to allow participants to tell their stories as per their preference, enabling them more control and choice on how to shape their stories and what they deemed to be important to include (Järvinen & Mik-Meyer, 2020). Broad opening questions were utilised to prompt conversations and steer them in a meaningful direction as per the research topic. However, it was ultimately the participants that chose where to begin their stories. All participants were genuinely forthcoming about their experiences from the beginning. Where participants struggled to answer questions, I allowed a few minutes to pass before asking them if they would like me to further explain the question or provide a personal example. It was my role as a researcher to ensure participants felt comfortable throughout the interview process. Therefore, I tried my very best to gauge their behavioural cues. Whenever participants seemed distressed, I would promptly and politely offer to cease audio recording and take a momentary break. I would then offer to defer the interview if necessary. The participant and I would often carry-on conversing, provided they were comfortable doing so, until such a time the participant felt comfortable to continue with the interview and audio recording. While there were a few instances of distress, no participant felt they needed to abandon the interview, and all participants decided to forego the wellbeing check post-interview. The option of a wellbeing contact was offered to participants at the beginning of the interview and followed up at the end.

Questions for the interview schedule were constructed in line with the research questions and from insights gained while conducting background research for the research topic at hand. My personal experiences and curiosities also influenced the interview question. That is, being an ethnic minority individual myself, I was curious as to how others like myself, maybe experiencing the Aotearoa New Zealand employment setting.

2.2 PILOTING

The interview schedule was piloted on two individuals personally known to the researcher who met the research participant criteria. The feedback gained from the piloting exercise proved highly valuable in further refining the interview schedule. For example, asking for specific examples of experiences seemed to make the interview respondents anxious during the piloting process; subsequently, such questions were removed from the questionnaire. The piloting process also prepared the researcher for the interview scenario with participants.

2.3 RECRUITMENT

Following the piloting and final refinement of the interview schedule, the Office for Ethnic Communities (OfEC) was contacted via their website to seek assistance with research participant recruitment. The Research poster (Refer to Appendix B) was generated for promotional research purposes, which was sent to OfEC along with the research information sheet and a detailed email outlining the purpose of the contact and research. The OfEC kindly offered to promote the research via their Facebook and LinkedIn platforms. A Google document link was provided in the social media promotions, which navigated participants to a Google form created by the researcher to capture participant expressions of interest. The success of the recruitment campaign by large is attributed to the support of the Office for Ethnic Communities.

Before the interview, participants were sent a brief email introducing the researcher and her interest in the research topic. The email also provided a projected research timeline. Attached to the email was the research information sheet detailing information about the research and a consent form.

2.4 INTERVIEW APPROACH

Upon collecting the consent forms, ten semi-structured interviews over a two-and-a-half-week period were scheduled and conducted as per the availability of the participants. Before conducting the interview, consent forms were checked and discussed with participants, as were the ethical relations of the research. Nine interviews were conducted virtually via Zoom as per the participants' preference and were audio-recorded, as consented by the participants, utilising an audio recorder. The participants were advised when the recording had commenced and when it was ended. Virtual meetings provided efficiency in mitigating the

geographical dispersion of the participants, who were located in regions across the North and South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. One interview was conducted in person, at a local community library meeting room, hired by the researcher and as per the preference of the candidate. The interviews lasted typically between 60 to 90 minutes, and with the exception of questions to prompt conversations, the participants were free to guide their stories as per their liking. The open-ended nature of the interview provided rich insights into the experiences and perceptions of the ethnic minority participants that would have otherwise gone unexpressed had a survey of fixed questions been utilised (Patton, 2014; Udah & Singh, 2019).

It is to be noted that Zoom interviews were not originally included in the ethics application for this research. This was because in-person interviews were deemed as being more suitable for engaging in conversation regarding difficult topics. However, given the geographical dispersion of participants across Aotearoa New Zealand and ongoing pandemic restrictions, it became apparent that virtual interviews would provide a more practical platform for data collection. Furthermore, participants also showed a stronger preference for virtual interviews as opposed to in-person interviews. Subsequently, the Massey University Human Ethics Northern Committee was reapproached to request an amendment to the conditions of ethics approval. Following due consideration, an amendment was accordingly granted.

2.5 PARTICIPANTS

The inclusion criteria for participation in this research required individuals to be a) residing in Aotearoa New Zealand at the time of the research and b) been employed in Aotearoa New Zealand for any period in the past five years. This was to ensure participants experiences were of relevance to the current employment setting in Aotearoa New Zealand. Surplus to the aforementioned criteria, participants were also required to identify as an ethnic minority person or from an ‘ethnic minority background’ and possess a tertiary qualification achieved in Aotearoa New Zealand or overseas.

This research recognises ethnic minority identity as being a malleable concept, evolving over time and place and a possible product of self-perception (Brickell et al., 2019; Caliendo & McIlwain, 2020; Romanucci-Ross et al., 2006). Moreover, individuals are acknowledged as possessing multiple ethnic identities with saliency being guided by environmental cues (Spears, 2011; StatisticsNewZealand, 2020). Therefore, with this in mind, participants in the research were requested to self-identify their ethnicity and their ethnic minority identity. This

was considered an open and respectful manner in which to welcome participants and their identities. Therefore, this research acknowledged the ethnic minority identities of its participants, as perceived and experienced by them. As an ethnic minority person, myself, I recognise that individuals such as myself that identify as ethnic minorities are often aware of their identity without having it defined for them. Therefore, it was not the intention nor privilege of this research to predefine such terms of belonging and identification. Instead, the intention was to explore the ethnic minority identities of the participants without interrogation or judgement.

Furthermore, as opposed to the use of predetermined ethnic categories, self-identification of ethnicity was seen as enabling participants to identify with ethnicities with which they strongly affiliate (Didham, 2017; Spoonley, 2020a, 2020b). It was believed such an approach would highlight closer reflections of the participants' socio-cultural lived realities and also increase the relevance of the findings to Aotearoa New Zealand's current social setting (Didham, 2017; Spoonley, 2017, 2020a, 2020b).

Participants were recruited from OfEC's social media advertising platforms and subsequent word of mouth referrals. Seventy-three expressions of interest were received in response to the research promotion via OfEC's social media platform over a period of two weeks. Such a high level of interest was not anticipated and was well outside the scope of this research. Ethics approval had been granted for five to eight participants only. Furthermore, while seventy-three expressions of interest were received, the majority were only inquiring to learn more about the research scope. Many of the expressions received were only interested in participating in doctorate level research. Approximately ten-fifteen expressions of interest were individuals and groups registering their interest for a summary of findings.

Fifteen females and three males completed and returned consent forms in the first two weeks. I could only confirm the first eight participants as I didn't have ethics approval to recruit a larger sample group. I thanked the remaining five participants and advised them that I would establish prompt contact following ethics approval to increase my sample group size. Therefore, while applying for amendments to my ethics approval for purposes of facilitating virtual interviews. I also applied for an increase to my sample size from five to eight participants to fourteen participants. Given the scope of this master's research and timeframes involved, this was deemed a reasonable sample size.

Unfortunately, over the two-week period, as I was awaiting approval for the amendments to my ethics approval, seven participants withdrew from the study. Three participants cited personal reasons relating to the covid pandemic, and four had experienced changes to their schedule. One participant was released from the participant group due to ethical concerns. Therefore, the final participant group consisted of ten ethnic minority females who self-identified their ethnicities as outlined in Table 2 below.

Three participants were in the twenty years to thirty years age bracket, six participants were in the thirty years to forty years age bracket, and one participant was in the forty years to fifty years age bracket. Seven out of ten participants had permanently resided in Aotearoa New Zealand, between ten years – thirty years at the time of the research and eight out of ten participants held postgraduate degrees, while two participants held undergraduate degrees. All participants had gained their highest tertiary qualification in Aotearoa New Zealand. The names of participants and places of employment have been anonymised and replaced with pseudonyms to maintain privacy and protect the identities of the participants.

TABLE 2*Participant Demographics*

PARTICIPANT NAME (PSEUDONYM)	ETHNIC IDENTITY	LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND	AGE GROUP	TERTIARY QUALIFICATION
MAY	Vietnamese Asian	18 years +	30's	Postgraduate
AIMEE	Aotearoa New Zealand Chinese	20 years +	20's	Masters
CYNTHIA	Chinese	11 years +	30's	Masters
AYSHA	Indian	3 years +	20's	Masters
GRACIE	Chinese Indonesian	7 years +	30's	Postgraduate
ZARA	Afghani Hazara	15 years +	30's	Bachelor's degree
VALENTINA	Italian	8 years +	30's	Doctorate
ALISI	Samoan Tongan Niuean	20 years +	20's	Undergraduate
TARA	Fiji Indian	30 years +	40's	Undergraduate
LEILA	New Zealand Fijian Indian	25 years +	30's	Doctorate

2.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Narrative analysis is a transitional and reiterative performance much like the zooming described by Lugones in world travelling, whereby the researcher moves in and out and in

between field texts to ensure narratives themes are rich, meaningful and representative of the participants' narratives (Clandinin, 2000; Clandinin & Caine, 2013; Clandinin & Rosiek, 2019; Elenes, 2020; Lugones, 2003). This is particularly true when engaging with abstract notions such as feelings, values, and perceptions, which are present in this research. During analysis, such abstract notions often give rise to complexity and ambiguity, which, with the help of world travelling and narrative inquiry, could be met with flexibility and openness, especially when searching for patterns and tensions within and across data sets in this research (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Lugones, 1987; Polkinghorne, 1995). There was an engagement of 'loving playfulness' with the data, as I too engaged in world travelling as part of the data collection and analytical process (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

This research employs a narrative, thematic mode of analysis, which enables close engagement with the 'what' of human experience, that is, the content of the data, while enabling a more comprehensive view of the themes across participant narratives (Clandinin, 2000, 2016; Clarke & Braun, 2017). Common features and salient constructs within the storied data was identified by undertaking manual coding of data, which was then arranged into categories to form broader themes (Clarke & Braun, 2017; J.-H. Kim, 2016; Polkinghorne, 1995). By identifying commonalities and themes, I could reduce ambiguity and thus emphasise the meaningfulness of the research findings (Clandinin & Caine, 2013; Elenes, 2020; Kim, 2016; Lugones, 1987).

This analysis was undertaken in an iterative manner by moving back forth between participant stories and focusing on the content of participant stories while preserving sequence and uniqueness (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Clarke & Braun, 2017; Järvinen & Mik-Meyer, 2020). Hence engaging in methodological zooming as mentioned by Lugones (2003). As new codes emerged, old codes were collapsed, following which field texts were once again consulted, and this was done numerous times until final codes were arranged into themes (Clarke & Braun, 2017; J.-H. Kim, 2016; Polkinghorne, 1995, 2010).

The themes were then arranged in relevance to the research question, which involved revisiting the categorisation of themes once again. Narrative research requires the researcher to remain "interpretive at every stage"; with priority at all times remaining firmly with the participants, their stories and assigned meanings (Josselson, 2006, p. 4).

The formation of concepts in this research is derived from the data itself but also influenced by logical possibilities, my interpretive lens as a researcher and the "predetermined foci" of

the research(J.-H. Kim, 2016, p. 196; Polkinghorne, 1995). My diary of interpretive reflections ensured an ethical engagement with the data, especially during the data analysis phase (Chase, 2003a, 2003b).

The transition of interim field texts to research texts was carried out by employing Connolly and Clandinin's analytical tools of broadening, burrowing, storying, and restoring (2000). In broadening, the broader context of the data, such as the participant's background, was established. Burrowing involved a thorough engagement with the data through careful construction of embedded meanings. The storying and restoring process was folded into the interpretation of the data whereby the "significance of the lived experience of the participants" was animated through the theoretical lens of world travelling. The interpretation of research findings was seen as an act of bringing the research data to life (Sutton & Austin, 2015). The current research acknowledges participants stories as always having a life of its own, even outside the researcher's interpretive efforts. Therefore, interpretation in this research is seen as taking the pre-existing essence of life as bestowed by the participants to the research data and making them anew through applying the theoretical lens of world travelling. Hence as a narrative researcher, I acknowledge my place as a storyteller of the stories told to me.

However, it is noted that a narrative journey is perpetual in the sense that no story is ever fully understood nor definitively told; much therefore remains open to the observer's interpretation, and as such, the present narrative analysis did not make way for a prescriptive method of analysis (Clandinin & Caine, 2013; Polkinghorne, 2010). Final research texts were understood as travelling forward "into different and imagined 'worlds' and as such would always be in motion" (Dewart et al., 2020, p. 377). That is, having arrived in a narrative space, as a researcher, I was mindful that the meanings created in this research would set them in motion for other future narrative spaces (Dewart et al., 2020; Elenes, 2020; Lugones, 1987, 2003).

2.7 RACE/ETHNICITY DIVIDE

Race and ethnicity have been utilised to interpret aspects of participant experiences, particularly those relative to the notion of arrogant perceptions. It is not within the scope of this research to enter discussions regarding the ethnicity and race divide, nor is it believed to shackle the interpretations of this research. Rather the weaving together of both narrative concepts allowed the current day depoliticised and neutral concept of ethnicity to be

interpreted within the context of historical legacies of racial appropriation and oppression (Ahmed, 2002; Yancy, 2016).

2.8 ETHNIC MINORITY SELF, ETHNIC BODY, ETHNICITY AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

In this research, the term ‘ethnic minority self’ is understood as being the consciousness an ethnic minority individual harbours, of being an ethnic person, who holds the ethnic entanglements, which they deem to be true to their ethnic belonging/s and affiliation/s. As such, ‘ethnic minority self’ is a subjective term, fully realised by one that has constructed such a ‘way of being’ (Lugones, 1987, 2003). The ethnic minority self is the consciousness an ethnic minority individual harbours of being an ethnic person; it is often the way they experience their ethnicity. Contrarily the ethnic minority body is often what is seen by others and as such is the vessel, the physical body, which is visible to others looking in at the ethnic minority person. Therefore, ethnic minority body is the dismissal of the ethnic minority person’s lived ethnic minority existence.

Ethnicity and ethnic identity are used interchangeably in places, and this is because the participants themselves at times engaged in such interchangeable use of terms. Furthermore, owing to the subjective and converging nature of both phenomena, it can be difficult to separate the two (Didham, 2017; Phinney, 1996; Spoonley, 2017; Umaña-Taylor, 2011). Therefore, to maintain the richness of the data, both terms have been engaged with in an open and playful manner as suggested by the theoretical framework of world travelling in this research (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

The importance of contextual factors that commonly guide the saliency of ethnic identity is recognised, and therefore owing to such fluidity. It was crucial that this study didn’t define ethnic identity as a fixed construct for participants (Umaña-Taylor, 2011 2002). Rather that it allowed participants to bring forth their ethnic minority identity as it applied to them and, as such, bring forth both their identity and the meanings it holds for them. Such an approach was crucial, seeing that this study aimed to understand how ethnic minority individuals experience the world of employment from the viewpoint of their ethnic minority identity. Hence to construct deep and meaningful understandings afforded by such a viewpoint, it was important to understand the meaning of such a lens, first-hand from the participants themselves. They were furthermore given the historic legacies commonly endured by ethnic minority

individuals and the relational and open theoretical approach of this research. It would be somewhat futile and ethically irresponsible to enforce a fixed construct of identity on the participants.

However, while this research has remained open to creating understandings as narrated by the participants, two vast aspects of the ethnic minority identity were acknowledged to guide understandings at the outset of this study. Therefore while there has been much deliberation surrounding Aotearoa New Zealand's official categorisation of ethnicities, the following factors are recognised in this research (Spoonley, 2017; StatisticsNewZealand, 2020).

Firstly that the term ethnic minority is commonly reserved for minority groups that migrated to Aotearoa New Zealand, at some point and those that continue to do so (Brickell et al., 2019; McLennan, & Spoonley, 2019). Hence Asians and Indians have been commonly inferred as ethnic minorities in previous literature (Spoonley, 2017). Māori at times have also been inferred as indigenous national minorities but with constitutional rights and Pākehā are commonly inferred as the majority (dominant) group, who do not experience the same disproportionate disadvantage, as indigenous and ethnic minorities do (Brickell et al., 2019; Caliendo & McIlwain, 2020; Fleras & Spoonley, 1999).

As such, the term 'minority' tends to include 'minoritisation', whereby a minority group identification is synonymous with social, political, and economic subordination by the majority (dominant) group in a locale (Brickell et al., 2019; Spoonley, 2017, 2020a, 2020b). The extension of ethnic minority identification to include minoritisation, through definition, allows the inclusion of future generations of Aotearoa New Zealand's historic migrants, who, despite possessing hybrid identities, may continue to identify as ethnic minorities, owing to ongoing experiences of minoritisation (Romanucci-Ross et al., 2006). Therefore, numerical minority need not necessarily be the sole determinant of minority status and vice versa.

2.9 'DOMINANT OTHER'

In the current research, the 'dominant other' is utilised to frame the ethnic minority participant's reference of their 'Other' (Campbell, 2020; Canales, 2000; Carrim, 2019). The 'dominant other' is constructed in polarity to the ethnic minority world traveller, therefore is the upholder of the dominant 'mainstream' organisation of the western world (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Such a reference is valuable as it captures the historic power imbalances that continue to imbue most western dominated countries such as Aotearoa New Zealand.

2.10 DATA ANALYSIS STEPS

1. I consulted Braun & Clarke's (2017) text on thematic analysis and also Clandinin's text on conducting narrative inquiry (2016)
2. I printed participant interview transcripts on different coloured paper, and each participant had their own colour
3. I wrote the research questions on an A4 paper and visually located it at the top of the data being coded
4. As data was being coded, I kept reflecting on the research questions, trying to find meanings and meaningful data
5. I brainstormed and recorded ideas & concepts as they arose in my mind while I was coding. This was particularly helpful because often, when I revisited these notes, I discovered narrative connections that I wasn't necessarily seeing while engrossed in previous engagements of coding
6. I read each transcript and reflected on narrative notes taken at the end of each interview
7. I highlighted meaningful codes as they stood out and created a short label for each code
8. As each transcript was being coded, I returned to previously coded transcripts as urged by data and creative flow of mind
9. As codes emerged, they were written on a large sheet of paper
10. At the end of each analysis session, it was helpful to see what codes had emerged thus far. At times this is where some codes were collapsed together
11. For this research, the above steps were carried out four times; that is, all transcripts were coded, then recoded, then recoded four times again. This was because each time, I would return to the coded data and find more meaningful ways of engaging with it in relevance to the research questions
12. The final codes were then printed and cut out and laid out on the floor to create a visual map
13. Codes were then moved around on the floor, and the clusters were given names
14. At this point, the themes were also considered against the main focus areas of the research, which was more or less categorised as per the research questions and also various aspects of the world travelling theory such as arrogant perception and plurality.
15. Once the themes were clear, they were renamed meaningfully, and analysis was commenced

2.11 ACKNOWLEDGING THE AUTHORS PRESENCE

Owing to the narrative nature of this inquiry and the theoretical lens of world travelling, I acknowledge my presence amidst my participant's narrative and my travels alongside them as a researcher (Clandinin, 2000, 2013; Clandinin et al., 2015; Kim, 2016; Lugones, 1987).

Narratives fulfil a social function by providing a window of understanding of how people appraise themselves and those around them, much like world travelling where one views the worlds into which they travel, from their sense of being (Clandinin, 2013; Kim, 2016; Lugones, 1987).

I acknowledge my ethnic minority background that drove my curiosities which led me to this research engagement. I identify as a New Zealand Fijian Indian and celebrate my Pasifika Indian heritage with pride. I bring with me my experiences as an ethnic minority and that of minoritisation both in Aotearoa New Zealand and overseas. I acknowledge the migration journey of my family from Fiji to New Zealand.

I also acknowledge the storytellers I have engaged with in my life beyond this research, which has allowed me to bring their narratives from past worlds. My grandmother was perhaps is the most influential storyteller in my world, and I acknowledge the hardships her parents endured as indentured labourers. Colonialism fractured her parents' world in more ways than one. It severed familial ties that have never been recovered, and it killed worlds that were never rebuilt. My grandmother spoke of her parent's journey from India to Africa to Fiji as forced labourers and the extreme hardships they endured under the veil of colonialism. I hesitate to call them salves because they were bound in physical form but certainly not in spirit and never at heart. She spoke of a lack in 'our' sense of belonging but also held great fondness for Fiji. It was her home, where she was born and raised and subsequently raised her own family prior to migrating to Aotearoa New Zealand. Perhaps the most valuable world travel I share with my grandmother was that she instilled in me a spirit of freedom by showing me the worlds she knew of where freedom wasn't given; rather, it was fought for. I acknowledge the ease with which I can navigate much of my present world travels because those who have gone before me persevered to provide me with such pathways. They sacrificed their hopes and dreams because they could see a world such as mine that hadn't even manifested at that time. Nevertheless they could see me before I could see me. They knew me, they knew of my travels, and they wanted me to be at ease. As such our worlds are

connected forever, as are our travels, hopes and dreams. I am because they were. We are at ease, in loving playfulness and loving perception with each other.

2.12 TRUSTWORTHINESS

I kept a research journal throughout the research journey to record personal reflections and emerging ideas. At the close of each participant interview, I recorded narrative notes to assist with analysis (Clandinin, 2013). I also provided the transcripts to participants for member checking.

As a researcher, I was prepared to unravel my current knowledge and, in the process, prepare myself to be challenged and surprised while remaining mindful of the ever-unfolding essence of my participant's life stories (Clandinin, 2000; Clandinin & Rosiek, 2019; Elenes, 2020; Kim, 2016; Lugones, 1987). “In attempting to take hold of oneself and of one's relation to others in a particular ‘world,’ one may study, examine and come to understand oneself. One may then see what the possibilities for play are” (Lugones, 1987, p. 17). I was mindful of my views and experiences as an ethnic minority person and reflected on these frequently during analysis to ensure the meanings I was bringing forward were grounded in participant narratives.

It is noted that none of the participants chose to dramatically alter the content of their interview transcripts. Amendments typically involved minor grammatical changes made by the participants to their transcript. This did not compromise the data, because firstly, as mentioned, they were minor amendments. Secondly, my data analysis was more focused on content, thus what was said, as opposed to how it was said.

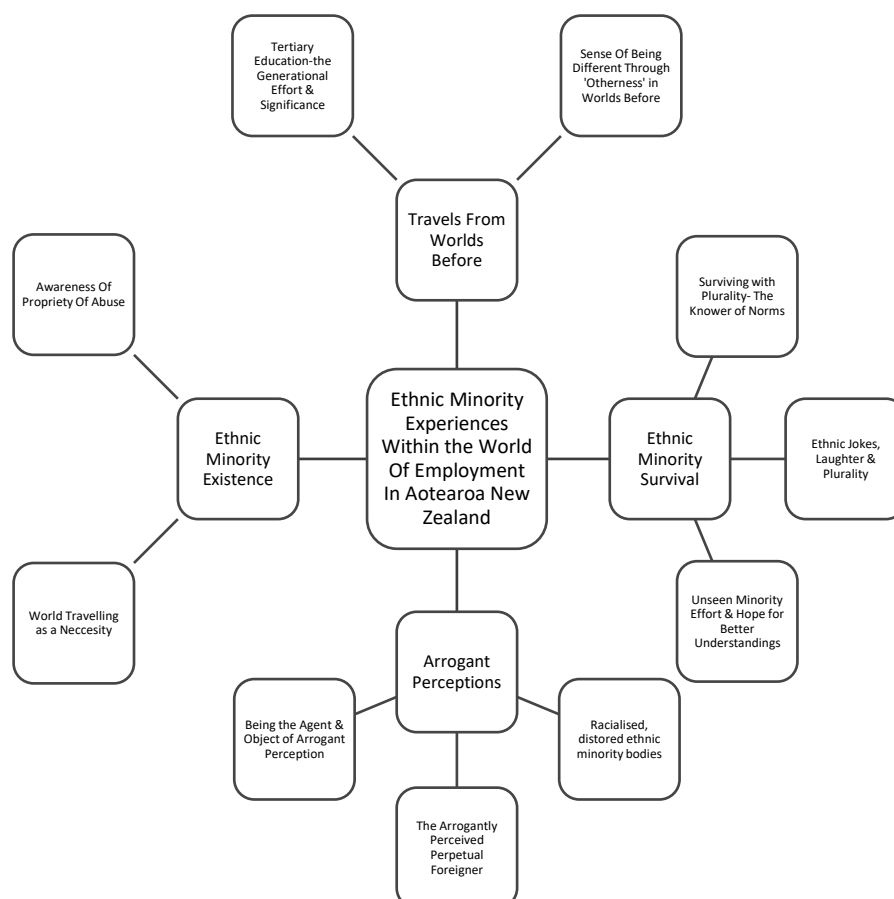
Sometimes during analysis, the findings gave way for further creative opportunities for learning (Clandinin, 2016; Dewart et al., 2020). These were welcomed as creative and playful opportunities and were in line with my theoretical framework of world travelling (Lugones, 1987, 2003). In such instances, notes were made, and participants were contacted via email to further explore meanings. Participants were consulted about such correspondence beforehand and were only contacted in this manner if they had consented to it. Responses from participants were then coded and included in the analysis. The interview transcripts, member checking and my research journal helped promote the triangulation and credibility of the research findings (Puplampu et al., 2020).

3 FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

This research employed a narrative approach to create an understanding of how tertiary qualified ethnic minority individuals experience the world of employment in Aotearoa New Zealand. The purpose of the research was to understand how ethnic minority individuals experience the Aotearoa New Zealand employment setting through the lens of their ethnic identity and their subsequent interactions with their ‘dominant other.’ To contextualise understandings sought by the main research question, this research also aimed to understand how the ethnic minority participants in this study constructed their ethnic minority identity within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand. As well as the significance of having a tertiary qualification held for them as ethnic minority individuals. Subsequently, an understanding was constructed through the following narrative themes, as represented in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2

Narrative Themes



World travelling theory as conceptualised by María Lugones (1987) will be utilised as the key theoretical lens to articulate the important cross-cultural viewpoints, interactions, and relevant identity factors of the participants in the current study. Narrative themes will be woven together with the theory of world travelling to facilitate a novel understanding of the meanings co-created by the researcher and participants from the viewpoint of arrogant perception of the participants 'dominant other.' Understandings will be animated by the 'ethnic minority self' and 'ethnic minority body,' whereby the former is reflective of the lived ethnic minority experience and the latter is the removal of the lived experience from the body. Lugones posits the term travel in world travelling to "the shift from being one person to being a different person" (Lugones, 1987, p. 11). However for the purposes of analysis, this research understands the term travel to be 'the exercise of plurality' (Lugones, 1987). That is 'travel' is understood in its wider context, as being the ability of one to see more than one possibility. As such it is the ability to see and animate different constructions of the self. It is the ability to see other worlds and see other constructions of the other person as well. Such an open understanding of 'travel' encourages an open and creative engagement with the concept; therefore readers are encouraged to be guided by their loving playfulness (Lugones, 1987, 2003). "Playfulness is, in part, an openness to being a fool, which is a combination of not worrying about competence, not being self-important, not taking norms as sacred and finding ambiguity and double edges a source of wisdom and delight" (Lugones, 1987, p. 18).

The discussion of findings will be divided into three distinct sections: contextualising understandings- memories of travels from worlds before, ethnic minority world traveller- an object of arrogant perception and recognising the skilled plural survivor. The discussion sections have been divided as per the flow of narrative themes to a fluid mobilisation of meanings and understandings being articulated. The subsequent sections and descriptions are illustrated in Table 3.

TABLE 3*Structure of Findings & Discussion*

Section	Section Description	Narrative Themes
<i>Contextualising Understandings - Memories of Travels from Worlds Before</i>	Creates an understanding of participants' ethnic minority identity and the generationally imbued significance of education. Participant experiences in their worlds prior to that of employment will be explored, and an understanding will be created of how such experiences have prepared the participants as ethnic minority individuals for their travels in the world of employment in Aotearoa New Zealand.	Sense of Being Different Through 'Otherness' in Worlds Before Tertiary Education-The Generational Effort & Significance
<i>Ethnic Minority World Traveller- An Object of Arrogant Perception</i>	Explores the act of world travelling for ethnic minority individuals and objectification of the ethnic minority body by the 'dominant other's arrogant perception. Such an arrogant perception is analysed along common experiences of racialised ethnic minority bodies and the perpetual foreigner stereotype. Interpretations are supported by the four narrative themes in this section.	World Travelling a Necessity for the Ethnic Minority World traveller Awareness of Propriety of Abuse Racialised, Distorted Ethnic Minority Bodies The Arrogantly Perceived Perpetual Foreigner
<i>Recognising the Skilled Plural Survivor</i>	Provides insights into how the ethnic minority participants survive and thrive in the world of employment by employing the notion of 'plurality' from the theory of world travelling to promote interpretations.	Being The Agent and Object of Arrogant Perception Surviving with Plurality – the Knower of Norms Ethnic Jokes, Laughter & Plurality Unseen Minority Effort & Hope for Better Understandings

3.1 CONTEXTUALISING UNDERSTANDINGS- MEMORIES OF TRAVELS FROM WORLDS BEFORE

This section focuses on the experiences of the ethnic minority participants in their previous worlds, which have prepared their ethnic minority self for its journey in worlds to come, such as that of the world of employment in Aotearoa New Zealand. It highlights the embodiment of such experiences and its contribution to the lens through which the participants experience both their ethnic minority self and their ongoing world travels (Freeman, 2017). Discussions in this section will include the narrative themes of ‘Sense of being different through ‘Otherness’ in worlds before’ and ‘Tertiary education-the generational effort & significance.’ The former narrative theme will contextualise participant experiences by providing insights into how they realised their ethnic minority identity through experiences of ‘Otherness’ with their ‘dominant other’ prior to entering the world of employment in Aotearoa New Zealand. As well as the meanings such experiences yielded for them. The latter narrative theme will discuss the significance tertiary education holds for the participants by bringing to light the shared meanings and generationally imbued significance of educational aspirations. The significance of tertiary education in preparing the ethnic minority self as a knowledgeable traveller in the world of employment will also be discussed.

3.2 *SENSE OF BEING DIFFERENT THROUGH ‘OTHERNESS’ IN WORLDS BEFORE*

One of the questions pursued as part of this research was how participants in this research constructed their ethnic minority identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. In response, this research found that ‘Otherness’ formed a central aspect of the participants’ ethnic minority identity construction. The realisation of participants’ ethnic minority identity was typically driven through a realisation of the difference between themselves and those who were understood as being different from them (Bauman, 1991; Canales, 2000; Powell & Menendian, 2016). They knew of their ethnic minority self because they knew of their ‘dominant other’ who was different from them, and they knew of the difference that defined both (Bauman, 1991; Canales, 2000; Johnson et al., 2004; Powell & Menendian, 2016; Udah & Singh, 2019). This was exemplified at the simplest level through categorical boundaries such as physical appearance, name, language, cultural attire, and diet, which were frequently employed as markers of ethnic minority identification by participants (Antony, 2016; Jensen et al., 2011;

Umaña-Taylor, 2011). They knew their ‘dominant other’ was different from them in one or many of these ways, as shared below by participants:

We hold different values of things, and we see the world quite differently when it comes to different subjects- (Cynthia).

I think ethnic minority means that there are not really many people, who look like me, who share the same frame of references and speak the same language or share the same cultural background – (May).

I look very different. I have my dark hair. Apart from physical appearance, I think it’s the confidence in the English language and speaking the language – (Gracie).

All participants are referring to the lack of shared meaning in a world which sets them apart from their ‘dominant other;’ they refer to looking different, having a different operating lens of their world around them, as well as lacking a shared sense of culture and language. Lugones (1987, 2003) believes the presence of such shared meanings in a world is what makes individuals at ease within their worlds. Thus, the lack of it makes a world traveller uneasy in the world and can make the world unhealthy. Through the lens of world travelling participants can be observed as implying a deeper sense of void created by the lack of valuable shared meanings between themselves and their ‘dominant other’, that can genuinely weave together both group’s cross-cultural meanings and experiences (Dewart et al., 2020; Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Some participant narratives delved further into such realisations of difference, often recalling vulnerable memories from their childhood and their experiences which shaped their awareness of being an ethnic minority person. Alisi knew she was different because her surname was different, and she looked different.

I think when I was younger living in a small South Island town there wasn’t much diversity, so I didn’t like identifying as a Pacific Islander. I didn’t like that my last name was different from the kids in the classroom. At one point in time, I think I was probably five or six and that’s when I noticed my last name

was different and I would get asked, “What’s your last name?” and I hated saying it, I was so embarrassed because it was different. For me, I think it’s just anyone that’s not European – (Alisi).

When asked what Alisi meant by “*there wasn’t much diversity*,” Alisi explained that her childhood was spent in a “*predominantly Pākehā*” occupied space. Alisi can be observed as imaging her Pasifika-self, as a numerical ethnic minority, in a Pākehā dominated world. As early as her childhood, Alisi had already developed a sense of her world, one that was not dominated by her, but instead by her ‘Other’; she had therefore developed a sense of her ‘dominant other’ (Bauman, 1991; Cooley, 1902, 1983; Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Alisi did not like saying her surname because she was embarrassed by it. Not only had she realised that her ethnic minority body was different and a numerical minority, but she also embodied it as being an object of shame through the eyes of her ‘dominant other’ (Cooley, 1902, 1983; Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987). This embodiment of shame is harmful to the image of her ethnic minority self, which then becomes a background lens through which she views the rest of her edges and her world (Cooley, 1902, 1983; Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987). Lugones (1987) finds such a view to be lacking love and completeness, both for oneself, the ‘Other’ and the world they collectively occupy. Such an embodiment of shame is harmful, because it then becomes a background lens through which Alisi views herself and the worlds which she travels to (Cooley, 1902, 1983; Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987).

Other participants such as Leila and Aimee also reported similar realisations of their ethnic minority self during their childhood in Aotearoa New Zealand. Aimee spoke of her awareness and experiences as an ethnic minority child growing up in a western dominated town of Aotearoa New Zealand.

When I was quite young, we grew up in a really, really poor area in [refers to a New Zealand town], and I went to a school that was decile one, so it was very, very poor. And I was one of maybe two or three Chinese kids in the whole school, and I got bullied really, really badly! I was physically beaten up a bit and I just got called a lot of names. So I just think from a really young age it's just something I knew that made me different, that was something that people picked on me for and was like the biggest marker of my difference ... I

do believe the lighter in skin colour you are, generally the more privileges you are granted. So the more white passing you are, you are able to pick up on aspects of white privilege. I would definitely say I identify as an ethnic minority, because I'm just so physically not white it's just very obvious – (Aimee).

Aimee speaks of shame that stigmatised her ethnic minority body from an early age. Aimee finds her non-white passing body to be lacking privilege which is different from her 'dominant other', whom she depicts as white-passing individuals with a marked bodily privilege (Henry-Waring, 2008; Uda & Singh, 2018, 2019). Therefore, not only has Aimee realised her ethnic minority self and her 'dominant other,' but she has also become well versed with the dominance and privilege of her 'dominant other's' white-passing body. She is aware of the harm, the privilege laden body of her 'dominant other' can inflict on her ethnic minority body and her world (Lugones, 1987, 2003). By linking her 'dominant other's' white-passing body with privilege, Aimee is also implying the status quo, that privilege will most likely, always rest with her 'dominant other,' in all the worlds they are present in. Her 'dominant other's' white-passing body has power and privilege, and her ethnic minority self is lacking because the sheer presence of her 'dominant other' robs Aimee's ethnic minority body of her privilege and solidarity (Lugones, 1987). Aimee's ethnic minority body, therefore, is open to 'propriety of abuse' by her 'dominant other' (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Aimee is aware of the harmful causality between her ethnic minority self, which is appraised as being the biggest marker of her very existence, and the 'propriety of abuse' of it by her 'dominant other' (Lugones, 1987, p. 5). That which defines Aimee also disposes her to her 'dominant other's' arrogant perception. As such Aimee becomes both an agent and object of her ethnic existence in her worlds with her 'dominant other.' There is a plurality to her ethnic minority existence which she has become familiar with from a very young age.

Leila also recounted similar experiences from her childhood while growing up in Auckland and how she realised her difference through racism and the embodiment of hurt and shame.

I just knew I was different, from a very young age, and like I said, that wasn't a very beautiful different, that I was made to feel. I just know when I turn up to places that I'm different. When I was really young, someone called me a nigger. That was sort of like the first time I realised was different, and that my

difference was not something that was beautiful. It was something derogatory and to be ashamed of- (Leila).

Much like Aimee, Leila, too from a young age, has come to realise her ethnic minority self through hostile interactions with her 'dominant other,' she knows of the agnostic nature of her 'dominant other' who has shown Leila her place of inferiority in her world. Similar to Aimee, Leila also notes the internalisation of a harmful causality between her ethnic minority self and 'propriety of abuse' by her 'dominant other'(Lugones, 1987, p. 5). She is aware of the deficiencies assigned to her ethnic minority body in the presence of her 'dominant other;' she embodies the harm their presence causes her.

Leila is aware that her 'dominant other' will objectify her, render her worthless "without any sense of loss" to themselves and thus remain unimplicated in their dominant worlds (Lugones, 1987, p. 7). Such an embodied harm, at an early age, has somehow groomed Leila for further harmful interactions, she is to experience in the presence of her 'dominant other'.

Like Aimee and Alisi, Leila too has developed a sense of normality in this type of love and abuse because it has happened in her worlds before and therefore will most likely continue to happen. Love in this sense can be understood as the participants' desire to travel to a world and experience that world with love and ease, much like their 'dominant other.' However, their experiences have taught them otherwise (Lugones, 2003). The love they are groomed for instead is synonymous with 'propriety of abuse' by their 'dominant other'(Frye, 1983; Lugones, 1987, p. 5). Lugones warns against such a form of love through self-abnegation, where one comes to see love and abuse as two parts of the same equation (Frye, 1983; Lugones, 1987, 2003). She notes there to be something fundamentally wrong with such a type of love that is normalised for both minority world travellers to endure and their dominant counterparts to perpetrate (Lugones, 1987, 2003). It is at this very place that world travelling is made impossible because there lacks a genuine manifestation of cross-cultural love (Frye, 1983; Lugones, 1987, 2003). That is, Lugones believes one cannot genuinely look at the other with loving perception if they find it acceptable to also be able to abuse them at the same time (1987, 2003). To graft, someone in such a manner leaves them incomplete, which is not a symptom of genuine loving perception(Lugones, 1987, 2003). Loving someone is about contributing to each other's wholeness, as opposed to robbing someone of their solidity and walking away (Lugones, 1987, 2003). It is also particularly wrong that the

minority traveller has come to accept such an “equation of servitude with love” (Frye, 1983; Lugones, 1987, p. 6; 2003). Hence one can say they are caged and thus partially being held captive by their own misconceptions (Frye, 1983; Lugones, 1987, p. 6; 2003).

The above-discussed form of embodied harm was a resonating theme amongst all participant narratives. They all knew they were different from a very young age; they were aware of the implications their difference would have on their existence across their worlds, and they had internalised such a ‘propriety of abuse’ of their ‘dominant other’ as the status-quo (Lugones, 1987, p. 5).

Participants who were born overseas brought a further unique dynamic to the identity-making process in Aotearoa New Zealand, which is their ethnic minority identification process in Aotearoa New Zealand was also informed by experiences of minoritisation and being a minority in other worlds. This aligns with previous literature that ethnic identities are not fixed constructs; rather a fluid process of becoming rather than being, shaped through interactions both with the ‘Other’ and the broader context of the world occupied by one at any given time (Hall, 1996; Phinney, 1996; Spoonley, 2017; Umaña-Taylor, 2011). It also reflects the plurality of minority individuals, which Lugones describes as the ability of minority world travellers to recall previous worlds and experiences, whilst navigating their travels in their present world (Lugones, 1987, 2003). This was exemplary in Zara and Gracie’s narratives. When asked how they construct their ethnic minority identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, Zara responded as follows.

So, I’m originally from Afghanistan, I can say that, from the Hazara minority...I am a minority group in my own country and now I’m here I’m again minority. I’m happy to say that I’m a minority ethnic, from a minority ethnic group. When I first arrived here in South Island there was probably two hundred of us from Afghanistan, from the Hazara ethnic minority. Now, we probably have about fifteen hundred, or even more. So if I had changed, if I had lost my identity, others who have come after me, they would have done the same. They would have changed their identity- (Zara).

Zara recalls her ethnic minority identity across time and place and, by doing so, links her experiences as an ethnic minority in Afghanistan to her identity within the context of

Aotearoa New Zealand. She recalls who she is in her other world. Notable is the verb tense Zara uses to describe her ethnic minority identity in Afghanistan and Aotearoa New Zealand “*I am a minority group in my own country and now I'm here I'm again minority.*” She does not refer to her identity in Afghanistan in the past tense rather uses the present tense to express her identity in both countries. Zara is exemplifying her presence in both worlds simultaneously, which Lugones describes as one of the many skills of a minority world traveller, they “can ‘travel’ between these ‘worlds’, and one can inhabit more than one of these ‘worlds’ at the very same time” (1987, pp. 10-11; 2003). While Lugones does not explicitly link this to plurality, it is obvious that such a link exists. That is, Zara is able to recall and occupy more than one world simultaneously. Hence like other participants, Zara too is displaying her world travel through plurality, her ability to recall other worlds and experiences whilst navigating her current world. Zara then goes on to express that she is happy identifying as an ethnic minority in both worlds, and unlike other participants, she does not attach the stigma to her ethnic minority identity. Interestingly she follows this expression with an explanation that she did not change her identity; she did not find any reason of shame in it because she wanted to provide a beacon of strength and hope to those who followed her. Therefore, while Zara’s minority experiences in Afghanistan may have prepared her for her experiences in Aotearoa New Zealand. Zara too, has been preparing her world for others who are to travel similar routes and experience similar worlds much like Zara has (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Therefore, Zara’s ethnic minority identity and identity-making process in her worlds are not only about preparing and mapping out her own travels. They are also preparing worlds for others similar to her, so they can perhaps be at ease within such worlds (Lugones, 1987). Exemplary here is the shared love and concern for one another that Lugones believes both minority and dominant group members are capable of (Lugones, 1987, 2003). That is provided both are able to relate to each other’s experiences by travelling to each other’s worlds (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Gracie also linked her ethnic minority identity construction and experiences across her worlds of Indonesia and Aotearoa New Zealand. However, she provided a further unique understanding of her experience.

When I was back home, I felt like that I couldn't really say, what my identity was because we say "Oh, I'm Chinese" because back home, we don't normally say Chinese Indonesian. We just say we Chinese, but I don't really know, the

Chinese tradition, I can't speak Chinese, so I sort of felt I was a little bit lost in that. I feel like I'm a bit more Indonesian than Chinese. But I think Indonesian people look at me as Chinese and that's not how I view myself... I guess I took it as my chance to be an Indonesian when I was in Aotearoa New Zealand because when people asked me, I would say that I'm an Indonesia...I'm taking the opportunity to try to explain it...I'm a fifth generation Chinese Indonesian, I can't speak Chinese... Chinese Indonesian is a minority in Indonesia. People who identify as Chinese Indonesian can't work in the government agency and they can't get scholarships from the country – (Gracie).

Gracie recounts historical narratives of minoritisation and migration across her worlds. She hints that her migration to Aotearoa New Zealand may have provided Gracie with an opportunity to escape explicit marginalisation in Indonesia, where she was a minority. Unique to Gracie's narrative was the denial of her right to identify as an Indonesian in Indonesia, which Gracie expresses a hidden absurdity about. She expresses that her family have resided in Indonesia for many generations, and she is unable to speak Chinese. Yet Gracie is forced to identify as a Chinese in Indonesia; hence in this world, Gracie does not “understand or hold the particular construction” of herself that constructs her in that world (Lugones, 1987, p. 10). She does not “accept it as an account” of herself, yet she finds little choice but to animate such a construction (Lugones, 1987, p. 10). Therefore, Gracie explains her migration to Aotearoa New Zealand, as affording her with the opportunity to explain her identity as an Indonesian and, most importantly, to finally embrace her identity that she finds true. Gracie is not only able to recall two constructions across two worlds, but she is also able to reconstruct her identity in one world and affirm the right she had lost to do so, in another world (Lugones, 1987, 2003). By doing so, Gracie can be seen as reconstructing perhaps a better version of her past world in Indonesia, through her present world in Aotearoa New Zealand while recalling and holding experiences of all worlds. Thus perfectly substantiating the notion of plurality (Lugones, 2003).

The above participant narratives also support previous expressions that ethnic minority identification can be driven through numerical markers as well as through experiences of minoritisation (Brickell et al., 2019; Fleras & Spoonley, 1999; Spoonley, 2015, 2020b). Aysha concisely confirmed this when she said:

Ethnic minorities are those who are a smaller population that don't really match up with the majority ethnicity in numbers or in privileges. Right now in Aotearoa New Zealand, it would be Pākehā or Europeans who are the majority - (Aysha).

Aysha explains elements of numerical minority and lack of privileges that she finds true of an ethnic minority identity, as well as that which identifies the dominant group in Aotearoa New Zealand. By doing so Aysha indirectly provides a construction of her own ethnic minority identity. By defining her 'dominant other', Aysha has defined herself, by defining what her ethnic minority identity is lacking, she has described the privileges of her 'dominant other' (Bauman, 1991; Canales, 2000; Cooley, 1902; Uda & Singh, 2019; Weis, 1995). Aysha has therefore provided an insight into constructions of herself by describing her world and her 'dominant other', and in doing so, she has painted a powerful image of the key constructions of her world as well as her travels and experiences (Dewart et al., 2020; Lugones, 1987, 2003).

It is evident that the above experiences of 'Otherness' have not only informed participants' identity-making process pertinent to their ethnic minority self. They have also prepared the participants for what they are likely to experience in their world travels hence been embodied as a background lens through which they are likely to view other worlds. Participants have prepared their worlds for other inhabitants such as themselves, so future travellers may have the necessary tools to be at ease within worlds, the participants may have struggled to be at ease within themselves (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Seeing that the current study aimed to understand the employment experiences of the participants through the lens of their ethnic minority identity. It was crucial to gain an understanding of the meaning and meaning-making processes, which have informed such a lens. Just as a photographer must first familiarise themselves with their viewing apparatus, prior to taking a photograph. So too, must one understand the meanings and experiences of ethnic minority individuals in their 'worlds before', if they are to grasp a genuine understanding of their experiences across their worlds.

3.3 ***TERTIARY EDUCATION-THE GENERATIONAL EFFORT & SIGNIFICANCE***

Part of the current research focus was exploring the significance of tertiary qualification for ethnic minority individuals and their families. In response, participant narratives highlighted the shared meaning and significance of tertiary education, which was often imbued with generational sacrifice and aspiration.

Participant narratives highlighted the strong presence of their parents during the early stages of their tertiary education journey.

I think in our culture and particularly in my family, a tertiary qualification is a necessity. There was never any question whether I'm gonna have one; it's a given. You better have one, that's just that! - (May).

I feel like a tertiary qualification is something that you are just expected to do. You are expected to go to school, and then go to university and get some sort of tertiary qualification... I come from what I would say is quite an educated family, so it was just a given that I would go off to university - (Leila).

I think education is something quite big in Chinese culture. So it's something that I never thought I had an option with, I had to go to uni. So it was something that I think my parents pushed on me initially - (Aimee).

I grew up in a very educated family and all of my family have higher education. So I grew up with the same, that my parents always say that you will have to have a university degree no matter what! Doesn't matter what it is, but it has to be a minimum of tertiary qualification – (Gracie).

For the above participants acquiring a tertiary education was an implicit expectation of their parents, hence an unspoken but widely shared norm of their ethnic minority world shared with their parents (Lugones, 2003). As Aimee mentions, education has great significance in her culture. Aimee shares her awareness of education being a norm in her world that is shared with those similar to her (Jensen et al., 2011; Lugones, 1987, 2003). Aimee is, therefore, aware of the expectations for her to uphold such norms, and more importantly, she

understands the implicit significance of doing so (Dervin, 2012; Jensen et al., 2011; Lugones, 2003).

Gracie and Leila both share that they come from educated families and the implication this has on their own educational pursuance. Gracie and Leila are also aware of their families' journeys; they too know the paths travelled by their parents; they are aware that they too must travel similar paths. Similar to Aimee, both Leila and Gracie hold knowledge of the norms in their cultural worlds; they are aware of their parents' world travels and thus are able to share their parent's experiences and meanings (Jensen et al., 2011; Lugones, 2003; Schwartz et al., 2011). All participants, therefore, can be seen as displaying plurality, in that they are able to recall the worlds and world travels of their parents while simultaneously recalling their own journeys of tertiary education (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Interestingly participants did not express absurdity in the norm of education enforced by their parents. They did not question such expectations of their parents because participants were able to travel to their parent's worlds and see their parents as they are constructed in those worlds and the meanings and experiences embedded in such constructions (Lugones, 1987). Therefore by world travelling to their parents' worlds, participants were also able to construct shared meanings of their parents' experiences, which afforded them with an understanding of the significance of education as constructed by their parents (Lugones, 1987).

It is crucial at this point to stop and admire the loving possibility of world travelling as purported by Lugones (1987, 2003). Lugones posits that to world travel, one must see the other person with loving perception; they must be able to travel to their world and see them as they are constructed in their world in a loving, playful manner (Dewart et al., 2020; Lugones, 1987, 2003). It could be said that the participants' love for their parents enabled them to world travel to their parents' worlds and see them as they are constructed in such worlds in a loving, playful manner without judgement (Lugones, 1987). Participants were then able to return to their own worlds with not only an understanding of their parents' constructions but also a shared meaning of such constructions, education being one of them (Dewart et al., 2020; Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Through world travelling, participants were aware of the hardships and sacrifices that constructed the ethnic minority existence of their parents in their worlds (Lugones, 1987,

2003). Some participants also recalled constructions of their grandparents' worlds. As such, all participants showed an understanding of the minoritised existence of those who had travelled before them (Kim-ju & Liem, 2003; Lugones, 1987, 2003; May et al., 2004).

My grandparents were not educated, and they always said to me, you have to get an education. For them it was a highly prized resource that they didn't have access to. They worked hard to get us where we are today, racism, slavery whatever you name it. They did it for us, so I did this for them and me. When we graduate know that yes, I grew up in Aotearoa New Zealand but behind that are generations of hardship, inhumane treatment, and crap. I can't let them down – (Leila).

In my family no one has their masters, so it just meant a lot to them when I wanted to do my masters. It's definitely something that comes from my parents who grew up in unfortunate settings and weren't able to probably make it as far as they would have liked to, themselves - (Aimee).

If you were in Fiji, it's very hard, particularly for my parents' generation, you know, a degree was a big thing for them. Whereas it's pretty easy in Aotearoa New Zealand to get a degree if you just do the work. You've got the student allowance and student loan scheme here, back then you wouldn't have that. And also, you've got the resources to be able to study and work full time having extra-mural ability. Things are online, you can go for workshops, so be able to work and study at the same time – (Tara).

There are responsibilities and when my dad noticed that his dad was struggling providing food for the family, he decided to drop out of school, I think probably in high school, Year 9. He dropped out and went with my grandad to the plantation and just went sold things at the market; went fishing with my grandad; any jobs that my grandad needed help with, my dad would go. The same with my Mum, she's the eldest of twelve kids and being the eldest girl, she also gave up her education to help out with the family. For them, education was something that they had missed out on and that they wanted, sorry I always get emotional, my parents always pushed me to do well in

school because they didn't get that. I think that's why my degree means so much to me because it was dedicated to my parents and to my grandparents. Having an opportunity in Aotearoa New Zealand to do well in school, is something that is not always available for the kids back home in the Islands. I think I'm the first in my dad's family to have a degree, it's very important to me. I think that was a responsibility that I took on as the eldest child of four. I went to school; I became head girl and then in high school I was in the leadership team and then I went to uni. I did it for my parents because they couldn't do it - (Alisi).

Tara, Aimee, Leila and Alisi all touch on tertiary education being a privilege, a “highly prized resource,” as mentioned by Leila, which couldn't be accessed by their previous generations. Aimee recognises the unrealised aspirations of her parents and their sacrifice in order to provide Aimee with better opportunities. Aimee is able to construct meanings of her achievements through connections with her parents' world travels (Lugones, 1987).

Tara mentions Aotearoa New Zealand's social support schemes and technology, which make tertiary education a fairly accessible resource for her, compared to the resources or the lack of, as experienced by her parents in Fiji. Being able to earn and study is a privilege for Tara in her world, one that her parents could not afford in their worlds. Interestingly although Tara and other participants have grown up in Aotearoa New Zealand, a country where student loan schemes and extramural study make tertiary education a fairly accessible resource. They still recognise tertiary education as being a privilege, this is perhaps owing to the scarcity of such a resource in the worlds of their parents. Participants are therefore able to transport shared meanings of constructs such as education to their own worlds (Lugones, 1987, 2003). That which was a privilege for those who have gone before them, remains a privilege for those who travel after.

For Leila, although her parents are educated, she can relate to the hardships and sacrifices of her grandparents. Therefore the generational effort of ethnic minorities seems to transcend time and worlds (Rocha & Webber, 2017). Younger generations are able to transport historical experiences of minoritisation and efforts of their predecessors from past worlds to construct their own ethnic minority existence and world travels in their current worlds (Fenton, 1999; Hasmath, 2012a; Osborne et al., 2020; Wise & Rothenberg, 2002). This

further contextualises participant narratives in this current study because it highlights the complexities which shape and give meaning to their ethnic minority existence and experiences.

Through plurality, participants are able to create meanings from past worlds of their predecessors, which informs their current ethnic minority existence, hence their worlds travelling lens in their current worlds (Lugones, 1987). Therefore, the attainment of tertiary education bears a sense of collective fulfilment for participants in the current study, whereby the efforts of their parents and grandparents are highlighted before their own. “I did it for my parents because they couldn’t do it,” says Alisi. Her tertiary education journey can be understood as being a celebration and redemption of the generational effort of her parents. “I can’t let them down,” says Leila, who also quotes racism, slavery and inhumane treatment survived by her predecessors. For Leila, much like other participants, attaining a tertiary education is seen as a duty to those who travelled before them.

Graduating with a tertiary qualification is an expression and celebration of upward social mobility (Jenkins, 2008; Klein et al., 2007; Spears, 2011; Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Some participants narratives explicitly highlighted the connection of tertiary education as a driver of social status within their cultural spheres (Dervin, 2012; Jensen et al., 2011; Spears, 2011; Tajfel & Turner, 2004).

Being very well educated is a very important value for the entire family and for the culture as well... That will lead you to a good life and will help you with your social status. Having a good education you will be seen as someone who’s smart and someone who has jumped up a ladder level in the society and that that’s really important as part of the Chinese culture because it’s a very hierarchical culture in China- (Cynthia).

Cynthia clearly links tertiary education to social status and therefore links tertiary education as being a necessary tool for maintaining a favourable space in her cultural world. Tertiary education can therefore be understood as being an asset necessary for success not only in worlds dominated by the ‘dominant other’s but also within ethnic minority worlds themselves. In line with minority intragroup behaviour, this can be understood as being the desire for certain minority groups to mobilise or maintain the status of their minority identity

(Spears, 2011; Tajfel & Turner, 2004). In world travelling, this can be understood as the desire of minority world travellers to become equipped with the norms and 'game play' of their 'dominant other'. The ethnic minority world traveller is aware of the rule-bound play of their 'dominant other' (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Such learning and experiences begin in the worlds of ethnic minority world travellers well before they enter western worlds of employment, dominated by their dominant 'Other.' Silos and hierarchies present within the minority world itself bring to light the various forms of 'dominant other' encountered by ethnic minority world travellers (Lugones, 1987, 2003; Spears, 2011; Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Although the current study does not specifically focus on these other conceptualisations of 'dominant other' encountered by the participants. It is useful to understand that some participants have experienced different versions of their 'dominant other'.

Tertiary education can simultaneously mobilise an ethnic minority individual's status and opportunities in both worlds (Lugones, 1987, 2003). In this sense, Lugones' notion of plurality in world travelling is animated with a further dynamic. That is participants are able to utilise a construct such as tertiary education to navigate their world travels across two different worlds at the same time (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Zara's narrative exemplified this as she shared the gender restrictions she faced as a young girl in Afghanistan prior to traveling to Aotearoa New Zealand.

There's a limit unfortunately, in my village, in my country when you reach certain age. You should not go to school; you're not allowed to study...I guess some of the elderlies in the community asking, "Why is she going to school? She should be home and doing like, some housework or getting ready for marriage". Which I think it's absolutely nonsense! But it's because growing up in a male dominated country, females should not study, they should just stay home, be a housewife. So when I came here, I said that "So yep, I was not allowed to study back home. I know my English is not there, I know it's not going to be easy for me!" But because I had that goals and dreams of being someone different, being someone who can change, who can make a change...My parents were educated, it makes a huge difference to be honest. I did go to school and then Taliban, they were trying to stop us but because we were in a remote area, where we were not near the city, where the Taliban was...So it was challenging, but we wouldn't give up! Because we were eager

to study, in that hostage situation, we were still going to school...but then we have the bombings which last night, unfortunately I heard that there was a bombing, at one of the schools. So we've lost so many young in brain and educated young women again- (Zara).

Zara's cites her parents' education as being a source of strength for her. Zara is able to draw strength and inspiration by world travelling to her parents' world (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Zara is also able to recall the hostile world she encountered in Afghanistan, the minoritisation she faced in that world and her determination to utilise education to be different and catalyse change. The language barriers Zara faced in Aotearoa New Zealand are overcome with greater ease in comparison to the oppression enforced by the Taliban in Afghanistan. Zara is able to world travel and displays plurality with great skill in her narrative as she switches back and forth between Aotearoa New Zealand and Afghanistan. She weaves experiences and meanings together of all her worlds and never confuses them (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Lugones captures such skill of "going back and forth between different communities [...] half-jokingly as schizophrenia"(Lugones, 1987, p. 9).

It is interesting that Zara is able to overcome minoritisation faced as a child in Afghanistan through her achievements of tertiary education in her current world of Aotearoa New Zealand. As such she is once again able to reconnect her achievements in her current world to other girls who continue to face a harsh fate in Afghanistan. In this sense, tertiary education can be seen as an asset that aides the survival of the ethnic minority self in more than one world and amongst more than one type of dominant 'Other.'

Other participant narratives also expanded on the notion of tertiary education as being an asset to better equip them for their ethnic minority existence in worlds amongst their 'dominant other', especially those in the western world (Lugones, 1987).

My grandmother often said, "Get an education because it's not going to be easy for you". She never explained it in detail but interestingly enough, now I know what she meant. I'm brown skinned, therefore things are going to be hard for me! So education is something that helps me I guess take away some of those barriers and fight those or overcome those barriers. It meant I would be better prepared for life - (Leila).

They definitely migrated to Aotearoa New Zealand to give me a better life, and education is part of improving your chances of having a better life - (Aimee).

Leila quotes her skin colour as disposing her to inequalities and thus implies the role her tertiary education plays in overcoming such inequalities. Aimee links her parents' migration journey and education to a better life in Aotearoa New Zealand. Both participants are implying the significance of education, as a must-have asset that guarantees their success in their worlds. Owing to historical colonisation, Lugones explains that minorities "have to work among White/Anglo folk" and their "best shot at recognition" is often within the western world and in the presence of their 'dominant other' (Heller & McElhinny, 2017; Hook, 2005; 1987, p. 7; 2003).

In conclusion, it can be understood that tertiary education holds a shared sense of significance and meaning for ethnic minority participants in this study. One that is shared with and celebrates foremost the generational efforts of their parents and grandparents. Such shared meanings were often made possible through world travelling and plurality (Lugones, 1987). The latter often provided the means for ethnic minority participants in this study to mobilise social status, meanings, efforts, and barriers, in more than one world simultaneously (Lugones, 1987, 2003). At times these worlds were not spaces the participants had inhabited themselves, but they were nevertheless able to co-construct meanings and travel in between them (Lugones, 1987).

Education was appraised as a preparatory tool, crucial for the successful world travels of the participants' ethnic minority self, often across numerous worlds (Bradley, 2008; Carrim, 2019; Hasmath, 2012a; May et al., 2004). Tertiary education was therefore seen as an investment, the returns of which were believed to arm the ethnic minority self with a better chance of success in the presence of their 'dominant other' (Lugones, 1987).

It can also be understood that owing to historical colonisation and the western influence on current day society, having a western institutionalised tertiary education could be interpreted as educating the foreigner in ways of the western world (Said, 2000). Thus increasing the ethnic minority travellers value in the eyes of their 'dominant other' in western worlds (Lugones, 1987, 2003). The ethnic minority traveller is therefore seen as a being familiar

with the norms of their ‘dominant other’ and capable of adapting to the civilised western worldly ways (Lugones, 1987, 2003; Said, 1979, 1994, 2000; Verkuyten, 1997).

3.4 ETHNIC MINORITY WORLD TRAVELLER- AN OBJECT OF ARROGANT PERCEPTION

The main research question pursued in this research was how tertiary qualified ethnic minority individuals experienced the world of employment in Aotearoa New Zealand. This section sets out to answer this question by providing insights into how the ethnic minority participants in the current study experienced the world of employment as the object of their ‘dominant other’s arrogant perception. The two common ways in which participants experienced the arrogant perception of their dominant ‘Other,’ namely the racialisation of their ethnic minority bodies and the construction of it as a perpetual foreigner, will be discussed. Contributing factors that make the employment world unhealthy and lacking, for the ethnic minority self of the participants will also be visited.

They ignore us, ostracize us, render us invisible, stereotype us, leave us completely alone, interpret us as crazy. All of this while we are in their midst. The more independent I am the more independent I am left to be. Their world and their integrity do not require me at all. (Lugones, 1987, p. 7)

In world travelling Lugones frames arrogant perception as a “dismissive and oppressive gaze” which the ‘dominant other’ uses to objectify the ethnic minority world traveller (Dewart et al., 2020, p. 371; Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Yancy, 2016). In this research, participants reported experiencing the arrogant perception of their ‘dominant other’ in two notable ways. Firstly, the objectification of their ethnic minority self was often experienced in the form of having their identity continuously racialised in ways that were not deemed appropriate by the participants. Secondly, the participants reported experiencing the arrogant perception of their ‘dominant other’ most commonly in the form of the perpetual foreigner stereotype, constructed the participants as foreigners, regardless of their New Zealand nationalist identity and civic efforts (Huynh et al., 2011; Kim et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2009). Prior to exploring such participant experiences, it is imperative to understand the two basic departure points from which most ethnic minority experiences stem. The necessitation of world travelling as an act of survival for ethnic minority individuals and the awareness of ethnic minority world travellers have of their ‘dominant other’s propriety of abuse, (Lugones,

1987, 2003). That is the tendency of the 'dominant other' to objectify, thus abuse their ethnic minority body (Lugones, 1987).

3.5 **WORLD TRAVELLING A NECESSITY**

Participants in this research were aware that the majority of their ethnic minority existence was played out in western dominated worlds and that this was not a choice but rather a way of existing. While all participants expressed such a notion in different ways, one participant poignantly captured her thoughts on living as an ethnic minority person in Aotearoa New Zealand.

That's what I bring it down to, it's always proving your worth because you spend all your life in a world that is predominantly white, it's a western way of life. We live in a society that still to a large extent is a by-product of colonialism in Aotearoa New Zealand and you will never be able to erase that fully, maybe pick away at the painful bits, but you can't get rid of it. Simply because it's history, it happened, its intertwined in the strands of time, you can't dismiss it. I don't think white people or even people like me, we don't think about it, but for the brown person you still live with it. I say this nicely but white folks they don't have to think about how they will have to fight oppression during their life by other ethnicities. But we brown or coloured whatever they call us, we try and not think about it, even though we do! Its crazy confusing right but we find ways to live with it, I guess. You know like someone said it's a white man's world, its changing but yea I have to live in a white man's world most of the time and I have to find a way through it right. And a way to be successful too! Wow the pressure! – (Leila).

As Leila mentions, much of the ethnic minority person's existence is played out in western dominated worlds. Which by design is largely a product of historical colonisation, whereby the historic power imbalances tend to favour persons of Anglo-Saxon heritage (Cross, 1978; Hook, 2005; Loomba, 2015). Therefore Leila can be seen as exercising her ability as a world traveller to travel to past worlds of colonialism, ones that she has not experienced in real-time, but nevertheless is familiar of and thus can draw knowledge from (Lugones, 1987, 2003). She does not believe the colonially inherited power imbalances in her current worlds

can ever be truly corrected, but she holds hope for what she believes to be the countering of the “painful bits.” Leila is therefore exercising her plurality in that she can borrow understandings from colonialist worlds to make sense of her present-day world and experiences (Bhambra, 2014, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Wetherell & Potter, 1993). She utilises such post-colonial discourse to highlight the western dominated structure and oppressions of her current day world, which she has little choice in avoiding (Bhambra, 2014). In doing so, Leila confirms Lugones’ notion that world travelling is a necessity for individuals of minority denominations (Lugones, 1987, 2003). It is a matter of survival in worlds that may be hostile, where the ethnic minority traveller is both aware and trying not to be aware of such a state of marginalised existence (Dervin, 2012; 1987, 2003). “I have appreciated the survival and resistant quality [and] [...] have tended to think it unhealthy for oppressed peoples to obsess over the oppressors’ perception of their subjectivity. One becomes both fascinated by it and overwhelmed by its power. Understanding the extent to which we have internalized it paralyzes one” (Lugones, 2003, p. 154). Leila expresses the dichotomy of such an existence by quoting it to be “crazy confusing” and that she must learn to live with it, nevertheless. She tries to disregard the oppressions she might face because she is aware of the necessity to continue travelling to what she candidly labels “a white man’s world.” She acknowledges that world travelling is an act of survival for her and acknowledges the pressure on her ethnic minority body to not only navigate such worlds but to also thrive in them (Lugones, 1987). Leila can see the plurality in the situation; she knows of the schizophrenic experience, which “is part and parcel” of her ethnic minority existence and situation (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Leila also refers to the colour of both her and her ‘dominant other’s skin when talking about oppression. As such she highlights racialised identities that continue to mark the ethnic minority existence and separate it from the experiences of her ‘dominant other’ (Ahmed, 2002; Bhambra, 2014; Perry et al., 2016; Simon & Azzarito, 2019; Snyder, 2016). Although dominant and minority group individuals often coexist exist in the same worlds, their experiences are but worlds apart. Such differences is often at the expense of the minority group individual who must exist in a world that by design, is unhealthy for them because they are only partially complete in such worlds (Lugones, 2003). The minority world traveller lacks genuine constructions in worlds dominated by their dominated ‘Other’; they are not complete genuine beings (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Their playfulness is constructed out of

them, and their skill is obscured by the arrogant perception of their ‘dominant other’, in such worlds (Lugones, 1987).

Hostility of these ‘worlds’ and the compulsory nature of the ‘travelling’ have obscured for us the enormous value of this aspect of our living and its connection to loving. [...] racism has a vested interest in obscuring and devaluing the complex skills involved in it. (Lugones, 1987, p. 3)

Hence such worlds are lacking, incomplete and unhealthy because the ethnic minority world traveller themselves is left feeling incomplete, lacking and thus unhealthy in such worlds (Lugones, 1987, 2003). It is at this very junction that world travelling, as conceptualised by Lugones, subtly but poignantly affirms its place (1987). World travelling attributes such deficiencies of completeness and health to a lack of love and deep cross-cultural understandings between dominant and minority world travellers (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Lugones faults the “failure of love” between dominant and minority world travellers as being the culprit, that leaves both beings incomplete in their worlds (Dewart et al., 2020; Lugones, 1987, p. 4; 2003). Although the former may not necessarily recognise it to be this way because they are the upholders of the dominant mainstream way of life (Lugones, 1987).

Love in the world travelling is understood as the ability of dominant and minority world travellers to identify with each other, to see each other’s true constructions in each other’s worlds and thus welcome each other’s worlds (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

But there are ‘worlds’ that we can travel to lovingly and travelling to them is part of loving at least some of their inhabitants. The reason why I think that travelling to someone’s “world” is a way of identifying with them is because by travelling to their ‘world’ we can understand what it is to be them and what it is to be ourselves in their eyes [...]. (Lugones, 1987, p. 17)

Hence a failure of such a sense of love impedes genuine cross-cultural understandings in world travelling and is believed to be commonly brought about through the “arrogant perception” of the ‘dominant other’ (Dewart et al., 2020; Lugones, 1987, 2003).

3.6 AWARENESS OF PROPRIETY OF ABUSE

Lugones notes that dominant group members often objectify minority individuals, as products of their arrogant perception, through their “propriety of abuse without identification” (1987, p. 5). For ethnic minorities, travelling to worlds and existing in the presence of their ‘dominant other’ is synonymous with living with an awareness of such objectification. That is, ethnic minority individuals are aware that their ‘dominant other’ will most likely objectify them, render them invisible and construct them as they wish “without any sense of loss” to themselves and thus remain unimplicated in their dominant worlds (Lugones, 1987, p. 7). Such objectification is made possible by the ‘dominant other’ separating the ethnic minority world traveller’s lived experience from their body (Ahmed, 2007a; Freeman, 2017; Yancy, 2016). Hence, they can graft the ethnic minority traveller in any way possible, the ethnic minority body was at the ‘dominant other’s disposal (Lugones, 2003).

The ‘dominant other’ blinded by their arrogant perception, dismisses the lived experience of an ethnic minority traveller, and only sees an empty ethnic minority body, which they then fill with constructions and graft as per their will (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Regardless of whether the ‘dominant other’ is aware of their acts, the ethnic minority world traveller experiences their ‘dominant other’s dominant position, their privilege, and their arrogance gaze, in a violent manner.

May questioned why her dominant counterparts should care about their lack of love and understanding for ethnic minorities? While such deficiencies could be problematising her ethnic minority existence, she knew it didn’t implicate her ‘dominant other’s existence in any way (Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987).

What I am seeing is that those workshops are aimed at educating Kiwis how to treat their ethnic minority colleagues better. Well, that’s not gonna work because why should they care?!- (May).

May did not feel her ‘dominant other’ would feel implicated in any way if the status-quo were to remain unchallenged. The differences that had robbed May of her solidity weren’t troubling for her ‘dominant other’ because she felt “they could afford such indifferences” (Lugones, 1987, p. 7). “Their world and their integrity” therefore did not require May, and as

such, she perceived her 'dominant other' as rendering themselves independent from the existence and challenges of her ethnic minority existence (Lugones, 1987, p.7). While ethnic minorities did exist within the margins of their 'dominant other's' worlds, May felt that her 'dominant other' did not necessarily see ethnic minority individuals as an integral construction of their dominant world (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Leaving ethnic minorities independent of a shared meaning, was inconsequential to the 'dominant other' (Lugones, 2003).

Other participants narratives also expressed an awareness of their 'dominant other's' tendencies to objectify them. When speaking about their thoughts and experiences of racial microaggressions within the employment setting, participants expressed a sense of expectancy. Whereby numerous exposures of subtle racism, both within and beyond the world of employment, meant they were used to being such objectification by their dominant 'Other.' "Racist/colonialist perception is narcissistic; it denies independence to the seen, it constructs its object imaginatively as a reflection of the seer. It robs the seen of a separate identity" (Lugones, 2003, p. 155).

I think to a huge extent, I'm used to, it doesn't mean I like it, but I'm very used to it, and I think I've just grown to become quite numb to it-(Aimee).

The three of us just laughed about it, because, again, we were so used to it!...It was funny, because that was not the first time, I've heard of it! I've experienced that before and I guess there was a little bit of that feeling where I was like, "Ah, okay, so there we go again!" This is actually still happening and in my cynical kind of mind, some people say that people in Aotearoa New Zealand are pretty racist, but they don't really want to say it. They don't want to admit it. But actually, we could see it- (Gracie).

I'm so used to it, and I know it's not right to admit that, but it's happened a lot of times, and people say oh move on you can't fixate on the past, you can't fixate on a few racist experiences in your life, don't be so catastrophic! And hey I agree you can't have a pessimistic view in life. But then again even a few experiences are a few too many right? But I guess people that are racist don't lose anything, they say don't give anything to racism well people who are

racist don't give anything do they, they certainly don't lose anything over it! -
(Leila).

All three participants have grown to expect objectification at the hands of their dominant 'Other.' Aimee notes that although she is used to the feeling of her 'dominant other's' dismissive and oppressive gaze on her ethnic minority body, it does not mean she has grown to enjoy the experience. Instead, she has grown a tolerance to it and copes by being numb; she doesn't feel the depths of her 'dominant other's' dismissive and oppressive glare this way (Dewart et al., 2020; Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Leila also expresses being used to the arrogant antics of her 'dominant other' and that she has been "interpreted as being crazy", encouraged by others to move on from what they deem to be petty feelings and experiences (Lugones, 1987, p. 7; 2003; Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007). However, Leila can see the plurality in her thoughts and experiences (Lugones, 1987, 2003). She knows, on the one hand, she can't afford to maintain a pessimist view of her worlds, but on the other hand, Leila questions the integrity of her 'dominant other' for grafting her ethnic body (Lugones, 1987, 2003). For robbing it of its solidity without any loss to their own sense of self (Lugones, 1987, 2003). She questions the integrity of her feelings as well. As a ethnic minority world traveller, Leila like other participants, feels schizophrenic in her sense of plurality (Lugones, 1987, 2003). She can see both the vulnerabilities of the pain inflicted on her ethnic minority body and also the need to disregard such wounds and establish a sense of numbness and resilience (Lugones, 1987, 2003; Yancy, 2016). Gracie finds her experiences of everyday racism within her workplace as being proof of her 'dominant other's' dismissive and oppressive arrogant gaze (Dewart et al., 2020; Lugones, 1987, 2003). Like other participants, she too is used to the arrogant perception of her dominant 'Other,' but she utilises such experiences first and foremost to prove her sanity. Gracie's experiences are proof to her that although her 'dominant other' claims not to have an arrogant perception, Gracie's experiences prove otherwise to her. Hence although Gracie's 'dominant other' may interpret her as being crazy for embodying harm to her ethnic minority body, Gracie's plurality affirms Gracie's experiences, it makes visible to her the harms endured to her ethnic minority body that despite being perpetrated by her 'dominant other' are nevertheless remain invisible to them (Dewart et al., 2020; Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Yancy, 2016). "Two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder" (Du Bois, 1903, p. 2).

It is apparent from participant narratives thus far that ongoing experiences of harm involving participants' ethnic minority bodies have been internalised as an expectation of harm, therefore a form of embodied harm (Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 2003). Ongoing experiences of harm to participants' ethnic minority self, have been embodied and, as such, carried with them in their travels across their worlds (Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 2003). Operating as a background lens through which they experience their ongoing worlds and travels (Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003).

It is not to say that participants had embraced such tendencies of their 'dominant other' but rather that at times they felt a sense of hopelessness. It was simply too self-depleting and onerous to combat such historical and complex entrenchments of race-related issues on an individual level. One becomes both fascinated by it and overwhelmed by its power. Understanding the extent to which we have internalized it paralyzes one. "Unraveling "[sic]" the logic of the oppressor's gaze requires that we pay great attention to it, that we become fascinated by it, but even when we discover its irrationality, we are not on our way towards a resistant subjectivity" (Lugones, 2003, p. 154-155). Leila mentions, she simply felt trapped, because most of the worlds she travels to are occupied by her 'dominant other.' Hence Leila feels she must alter her mindset of her 'dominant other,' because she cannot alter the perception of her 'dominant other.' She must do so if she is to survive and have a chance to thrive in her world travels, it is a coping mechanism for her (Lugones, 2003).

It is noted that all participant narratives commonly spoke about being "used to" experiencing racial microaggressions and subordination at the hands of their dominant counterparts. Accepting these as a historical and a 'likely to continue' phenomena was "part and parcel of [...] [their] experience and [...] situation" (Lugones, 1987, p. 11). As evident in all participant narratives, the choice to move on from such negative experiences and invest their energy elsewhere was deemed a matter of survival by participants. They did not want to invest all their energy realising the shattered constructions of their ethnic minority body, as appropriated by their dominant 'Other.'

Although experiences of exclusion and disadvantage obscured the skill and creativity pertaining to 'world travelling,' participants were nevertheless actively seeking ways to survive their worlds to the best of their ability. Therefore, although they were being faced with otherwise rigid forces of minoritisation, they were nimble and fluid beings.

I have tended to think it unhealthy for oppressed peoples to obsess over the oppressors' perception of their subjectivity. One becomes both fascinated by it and overwhelmed by its power. Understanding the extent to which we have internalized it paralyzes one. (Lugones, 2003, p. 154).

3.7 RACIALISED AND DISTORTED ETHNIC MINORITY BODIES

It is a widely published phenomenon that inequitable societal norms have historically afforded dominant group members, with certain hierarchical privileges that are not shared by passing ethnic minorities in their worlds (Ahmed, 2002, 2007b; Halley et al., 2011; Kendall, 2012; McIntosh, 2008; Wildman, 2005). For ethnic minorities, to exist with their 'dominant other', is synonymous to existing with an awareness of their 'dominant other's' privileges and the lack of it on their part (Halley et al., 2011; Jocelyn, 2018; Kendall, 2012; Lugones, 2003; McIntosh, 2008; Wildman, 2005).

In world travelling such privileges or the lack of, manifests in numerous ways, such as the lack of privilege discussed in earlier sections which necessitates ethnic minorities to travel to otherwise hostile worlds "as a matter of necessity and of survival"(Lugones, 1987, p. 11).

Additionally, there exists the privilege of choice amongst dominant group members to not have their identity constantly racialised, in ways that are unwelcomed or that may problematise their existence (Ahmed, 2002, 2007b; Freeman, 2017; Wildman, 2005).

Participants in the current study were constantly forced to take stock of their ethnic minority self, by means of having their ethnicity frequently brought up, by those who lacked a shared history with them, and in ways which were often unwelcomed and inappropriate (Ahmed, 2002; Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987; Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007; Yancy, 2016).

Someone introduces you to somebody, "Oh she's Tara, she's In-di-an!" ... I say to her, "Look, they don't need to know, I'm Indian, they can see". But it makes a point of difference, which sort of rarks me up a little bit. It's like I don't introduce you to someone and say, "She's a 75-year-old Kiwi lady or Pākehā lady". So give me that respect. The best conversations for me, are when I walk into a room, and they talk to you about things, you're just having a

conversation about stuff and your ethnicity just doesn't become a topic at all – (Tara).

I was temping once, and my manager introduced me as their new Indian girl. I was the new Indian girl for my three months there! You know what I don't even identify as Indian, there's more to me than that, I haven't been to India, I wasn't born there but yea sure I have some Indian heritage in me but even my grandmother wasn't born in India you know. The amount of times I have been introduced and my ethnicity is conveniently dropped in the opening lines, like come on I'm more than 'the Indian'. Then I have to explain like there's this need to explain my ethnicity and I don't know why I have to get into all that! I just met someone for the first time! You don't see a white person and say hey meet John he's white or English British whatever! No its just meet John but for me its meet the Indian girl. John has the choice to get out of bed and not have his race made obvious to him, but I don't get that choice. I don't get a say in that and its pretty stink – (Leila).

I was thinking about this recently and I think in a lot of ways it's made me quite cold and defensive as a person when my ethnicity is brought up. Because it just really honestly, just pisses me off, that this point of difference is just brought up about me, without me bringing it up. As though it's something quite significant that defines me as a person. I'd say I'm quite bitter about it, I'm quite cynical about it...What I want most is for it to not be weird, that I'm Chinese, for it to not have to be this interesting and novel point of conversation. It's like, no it doesn't matter you're from there, we're all just people, we're all from Aotearoa New Zealand. I would like it to be normalized and I think that's like, the ultimate goal for me, and what would make me feel the most comfortable...I definitely don't mind talking about my ethnicity. But I think when it is brought up as almost an exotic quality, that's what sets me off! It's like I really don't mind talking about it and when it comes from me and or another ethnic minority, I'm more open to it –(Aimee).

While all participants expressed concern and absurdity over the normalisation of racialised identities in their worlds, they still felt violated by such experiences (Ahmed, 2002, 2007b;

Lugones, 2003). Race has become an origin and consequence for their ethnic minority bodies, the beginning and the end (Ahmed, 2002; Lugones, 2003). Leila knows there is more to her than being 'the Indian girl'; she is frustrated that the edges of her ethnic minority body have been distorted in such a manner (Ahmed, 2002; Lugones, 2003; Yancy, 2016). The participants don't agree with their ethnic minority bodies being worked on and distorted in this manner by the 'dominant other.' It is violent intrusive and uncomfortable. "To have one's dark body penetrated by the white gaze and then to have that body returned as distorted is a powerfully violating experience" (Yancy, 2016, p. 56).

Participants know their 'dominant other' is blinded by their arrogant perception and have failed to see and recognise their lived experiences. They feel their 'dominant other's' arrogant perception drawing them into a void, where their ethnic minority bodies are filled with the constructions their 'dominant other' finds real (Ahmed, 2002). They don't agree with such constructions their 'dominant other' has filled their ethnic minority bodies with (Ahmed, 2002; Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 2003; Said, 1994; Yancy, 2016). "I'm more than 'the Indian'" says Leila. She doesn't like the way her existence has been racialised and distorted.

Leila explicitly notes the privilege of choice, which allows her 'dominant other' to frequently rob her ethnic minority body of its solidity, to distort it, yet walk away unimplicated themselves (Ahmed, 2002; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Yancy, 2016). Leila, therefore, implies the power imbalances which leaves her ethnic body facing inequitable conditions in her world and problematises her existence, but not the existence of her 'dominant other' (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Leila vividly points out that her 'dominant other' gets a choice when they get out of bed to not have their identity racialised for them, but that she doesn't get that same choice (Yancy, 2016; Ahmed 2002).

Interestingly while participants were not comfortable with being forced to 'take stock' of their ethnic minority self by their 'dominant other'. They were comfortable with their ethnicity being discussed under other worldly conditions. Aimee noted she was comfortable discussing her ethnicity with other ethnic minorities, with whom she may be at ease with because they hold a shared history and are humanly bonded (Lugones, 1987, 2003). This way there are more chances that Aimee's ethnic minority self will not be objectified and distorted because she expects other ethnic minority world travellers will understand her plight. "Another way of being at ease in a 'world' is by being humanly bonded. I am with those I

love and they love me too [...] one may be at ease because one has a history with others that is shared” (Lugones, 1987, p. 12). Hence it isn’t that participants were averse to discussions about her ethnicity, but that they would rather engage in such discussions on their terms and when deemed appropriate by them.

Aimee and Tara also candidly shared the need for a world where their ethnic minority body would be free from the dismissive and oppressive gaze of their ‘dominant other’, where they wouldn’t be forced to take stock of their ethnic minority self on the terms of their ‘dominant other’ (Ahmed, 2002, 2007b; Dewart et al., 2020; Freeman, 2017; Yancy, 2016). Both participants are able to exercise their plurality and envisage another world. Whereby their ethnic minority selves are not objectified, racialised and distorted therefore robbed of its beauty and wholeness (Ahmed, 2002, 2007b; Dewart et al., 2020; Lugones, 1987, 2003). They are able to envisage another world where they are complete beings, able to turn into their ethnic minority existence with pride as opposed to becoming an object “extended by the same contours of the world” that diminish them as the “bodily extensions” of their ‘dominant other’ (Ahmed, 2002; 2007b, p. 161; Du Bois, 1903; Lugones, 2003; Yancy, 2016).

Becoming the “bodily extension” of the ‘dominant other’ is not a novel concept (Ahmed, 2002; 2007a, p. 161; Lugones, 1987, 2003). World travelling posits that minority world travellers are often confronted with constructions of them, which aren’t necessarily true (Ahmed, 2002, 2007b; Lugones, 1987, 2003). Participants shared the sense of having their ethnic minority body “sealed into that crushing objecthood” whereby they are forced to experience themselves through the perceptions and stereotypes of their ‘dominant other’ (Fanon, 1967, p. 109; Freeman, 2017).

There's another person who said to me, "Ah, are you this photographer's nanny?!" Just because I was at that dinner and the photographer had a young child, and I was Asian, and I got asked, "Are you the nanny?!" – (Gracie).

There was a project we were looking at, and we were researching different ethnic groups and we needed to look at some Chinese people. And I remember, one of my colleagues was like, "Oh Aimee, you should do this". And I was like "Oh you know, I actually feel kind of uncomfortable, because my Mandarin isn't great...she's like "No, no, no, no, we need you there". So

that also frustrated me because they kind of like made me do that. Even though I'd expressed that I didn't want to, but it was just because of the way I looked and my ethnicity that I was kind of forced to do it...So I think there's just like, these subtle ways that assumptions were made, I was pushed into roles, purely because of my ethnicity. And it wasn't brought up by me, either – (Aimee).

Someone who is quite high up in my workplace, came to our branch and it was myself, there was a lady from China and there was another Chinese Kiwi...So we were just accidentally sitting there in the corner. And then this big manager came and said, "Oh, this is the Asian corner!"...it was funny, because someone who was quite high up in the company still could say something like that – (Gracie).

The stereotypes and subtle racial microaggressions experienced by participants had forced them to take stock of their ethnic minority self, through the perceptions of their ‘dominant other’ (Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003). They were forced to look in the mirror but through the eyes of their ‘dominant other’, to find but a distorted reflection of themselves that they didn’t recognise (Ahmed, 2002; Cooley, 1902; Fanon, 1967; Freeman, 2017; Yancy, 2016).

Other participants encountered the arrogant perception of their ‘dominant other’ in more hostile ways, which distorted their ethnic minority body and their prospects in a violent manner (Inzlicht & Schmader, 2011; Steele & Aronson, 1995). It was a “powerfully violating experience” that left participants questioning who they truly were and why they must rebuild only to be broken again (Dewart et al., 2020; Freeman, 2017; Yancy, 2016, p. 56).

I've had bosses that come up to you, in front of a group, and they would like, start faking an Indian accent 'Hey you bloody bood, bood, bood'...One boss would say to me, he'd come in, he was a really good boss, he was a good guy, he said he wasn't racist, his father was really racist. But he'd always say to me, "Good morning, black bitch!" This is a leading freight company, he's still there! He's not a bad guy, but they had this major flaw, which was that they, they made fun of you as an ethnic person. To my white colleagues, they were

just wonderful god sent managers that would help them and lead them. But at the same token, he also made fun of my ethnicity, you know "Good morning black bitch!" And he thinks, in his brain, he thinks he's being funny, but bile just rises to your mouth, because you think how dare you?! There's been lots and lots of times, I felt very angry, very, very angry in the workplace because of these sorts of little things that would go along -(Tara).

Tara was openly addressed in a grossly inappropriate manner by her manager at work, which both angered and hurt her. It is an absolute breach of workplace conduct as established by the employment legislation in Aotearoa New Zealand. Even more alarming is that such inappropriate conduct was perpetrated by management who are expected to be the very gatekeepers of professional conduct within the workplace. Tara felt grossly violated by such interactions, *"bile just rises to your mouth, because you think how dare you?!"* said Tara of her frustrations. Her ethnic minority self had been devalued and distorted and returned to her with no remorse from her 'dominant other.' For Tara being the victim of her 'dominant other's' arrogant perception involved having her ethnic minority self, pierced by the arrogant, dismissive and oppressive gaze of her 'dominant other' (Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987; Yancy, 2016). Her ethnic minority body had been distorted and returned in fragments to her and Tara felt violated and helpless (Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987; Yancy, 2016).

The interesting feature of Tara's narrative is the protection of her manager's virtue by means of separating and excusing his racially antagonistic behaviour as acts of naivety. Tara's manager openly and frequently vilified her in front of her work colleagues, when he should have been the very gatekeeper of professionalism. Yet despite such antagonistic treatment and her subsequent frustrations, Tara still saw this as a secondary and almost naïve manifestation of her manager's personality. Tara's skill of plurality as an ethnic minority world traveller offered her the ability to look at her manager with loving perception, even in such hostile circumstances (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Tara is able to travel to her manager's world and see the constructions he holds true of himself (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Tara's manager doesn't believe he is racist, and even though his actions might speak otherwise, Tara sees this construction of his and thus empathises with him (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Tara's manager may construct himself as a humorous character; he thinks he is being funny and thus playful (Kramer, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003). However,

Lugones cautions that “western civilization has been interpreted by a white western man as play in the agonistic sense of play” that is a “western man’s construction of playfulness, is not healthy” instead “an arrogant western man’s construction of playfulness is deadly (1987, p. 16; 2003). “One cannot travel across ‘worlds, though one can kill other ‘worlds’ with it” (Lugones, 1987, p. 16; 2003). Hence Tara’s manager is approaching her world with a deadly sense of agnostic play, which is killing her world and destroying her ethnic minority self (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Tara can’t be a playful creature in return because she isn’t “there creatively”, she can’t find the creative possibilities she needs, and thus she is passive to her manager’s sense of harmful playfulness (Lugones, 1987, p. 16; 2003).

One may then begin to wonder what leads Tara to engage in such a dichotomous interpretation of her manager, where he is both her perpetrator and a sympathetic prisoner of his own vices (Freeman, 2017; Kramer, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003). Especially when Tara’s world is being destroyed by her manager’s agnostic play, she still seems to retain a loving perception of him. Indeed, it is her skill of plurality that affords Tara with the lens to view her manager’s double edges (Kramer, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Meer, 2019).

However another logic is that as Tara’s world is crumbling, her lens of loving perception for her manager remains intact because Tara is as an ethnic minority world traveller, is accustomed to being “taken in by this equation of servitude with love” (Frye, 1983, p. 73; Lugones, 1987, 2003). There is something obviously wrong with Tara “having been taught that love is consistent with abuse, consistent with arrogant perception” where she serves her ‘dominant other’ with love (Frye, 1983; Lugones, 1987, p. 6; 2003). Even if it means becoming the subject of his arrogant perception without expecting his love back.

Undeniably such a conceptualisation and practice of love is wrong and also dangerous because Tara as an ethnic minority world traveller has been “coaxed, seduced into abnegation not through analysis but through emotive persuasion” (Frye, 1983; Lugones, 1987, p. 6). The connection between such a deceptive form of loving and abuse is not necessarily obvious unless it is unveiled (Frye, 1983; Lugones, 1987, 2003). As such both Tara and her manager remain “victim[s] of enslavement” until they unveil their individual vices (Lugones, 1987, p. 6; 2003). Tara remains the victim because she continues to afford her ‘dominant other’ perpetrator with her learned definition of self-abnegated love and sympathy (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Tara’s manager remains the victim of his own arrogant perception and deadly sense of

agnostic play, not because it kills his world but because he isn't aware of his own constructions (Lugones, 1987, 2003). While Tara's manager is trying to be funny, he has contrarily constructed the fun out of himself (Frye, 1983; Lugones, 1987, 2003). Hence unbeknownst to Tara and her manager, they both remain "victims of enslavement" of their vices in their own ways (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

The difference is that Tara being an ethnic minority world traveller, has come to learn such a form of self-abnegated love as a survival-rich engagement (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Like other ethnic minority world travellers, Tara has had little choice in loving and simultaneously "being diminished as an effect of the bodily extensions" of her dominant Other' (Ahmed, 2007b, p. 161; Freeman, 2017; Frye, 1983; Lugones, 1987, 2003). For Tara surviving her 'dominant other's arrogant perception and letting them graft, her substance has been "part and parcel of [her] experience and [...] [her] situation" (Lugones, 1987, p. 11; 2003). Therefore for Tara alone to overcome her "servitude with love" is impossible; she requires her 'dominant other' to recognise his vices, so they can both be free (Frye, 1983, p. 73; Lugones, 1987, 2003). "Once the connection between this loving and abuse has been unveiled, there is something obviously wrong with the loving given that it is obvious that it is wrong to abuse others" (Frye, 1983; Lugones, 1987, p. 6; 2003).

Leila also touched on her views about being giving her 'dominant other' a chance because she can see their double edges (Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Meer, 2019). She knows they are capable of loving; she can see their two-ness, thus their double constructions (Du Bois, 1903; Freeman, 2017; Frye, 1983; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Meer, 2019).

A lot of my minority friends excuse their racist interactions like the subtle ones and yes, I do this myself. I say things like oh maybe they don't mean that, I know she's my friend, she's actually like a nice person, she didn't mean to like hurt me with that subtle racist remark. But also, I think it's nice in a way to be able to find a positive side of things like I could get upset but maybe I can just be a bigger person and forgive and forget you know. I'm sure they don't mean to hurt me maybe they can't help it, its unintentional. I strongly believe there's more hope in giving people a chance than in damning them. – (Leila).

Leila believes in giving her 'dominant other' a chance because she finds this to be a noble deed and perhaps the right thing to do. She knows of others like herself who use their learned definition of self-abnegated love to excuse their 'dominant other's arrogant perception (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Interestingly one can argue at this point that all is not doomed when ethnic minorities are "taken in by this equation of servitude with love" because there is indeed something "noble and beautiful" about this love, for it carries a glimmer of hope (Frye, 1983, p. 73; Lugones, 1987).

Hope goes a long way for an ethnic minority body that otherwise seems to be constantly drained of its true existence (Ahmed, 2002, 2007b; Freeman, 2017; Yancy, 2016). To be an ethnic minority in a world dominated by another means to have the life drawn from one's ethnic minority self and thus be reduced to an object, an empty ethnic minority body that struggles with its ability to "exist as a full living being" (Ahmed, 2002, 2007b; Fanon, 1967; Freeman, 2017, p. 653; Lugones, 1987, 2003). Such embodiment of harm hinders the ability of ethnic minorities to world travel with ease, as playful beings, free of deficiencies (Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003). Valentina is a successful woman with a doctorate but notes the struggles she faced in Pākehā male-dominated workplaces, which she attributes to her ethnic minority status as a woman of Italian descent in Aotearoa New Zealand.

They see me that I'm an extroverted person and they see that I have a different mother language. They tell me we are inclusive, we are diverse, but I'm surrounded by all these introverted, white men, I'm actually asked to become like them. And that makes me suffer a lot, a lot of time. I had a couple of years ago gone for a work experience. It really, affected tremendously my mental health. I had for the first time, I had suicidal thoughts and I had started hurting myself, because of the way I was treated at work. Luckily, I have met really good counsellors, who really, I owe them my life. And I've learned a lot, I still go to the counsellor fortnightly basis. I've learned a lot from them. But I do find it hard as a woman and as a foreign woman to work in a corporate environment, where there are mostly men, and most of them are introverted...I collect money for charity, and some people criticize my choice of charities ...it's like "Again This crazy Italian! Always wanting to make noise, we are here just for work, I don't wanna hear anything else!" My manager organised for me a meeting with HR, where I've been told that I cannot express my

emotion, especially in front of Kiwi men, because they are stoic, and I make them nervous. And I felt then that was unfair... They even recommended me to stab my leg with a pen or to distract myself from crying. This is HR advice! And it's like, what is wrong with me? – (Valentina).

Valentina is frustrated that employers suggest they are diverse, yet once employed, she finds they force her to conform to the social norms of 'white men.' She, therefore, speaks of being regarded as a foreigner from the intersection of her ethnic identity and her gender. She also recalls being called "this crazy Italian," which she finds hurtful and offensive, and despite such hurtful behaviour, she is unable to express her sadness, which she finds unfair.

Valentina feels excluded, dejected and disposed at work, so much so that she starts viewing herself through the harmful lens of her older Pākehā male colleagues (Cooley, 1902; Gould & Howson, 2021; Scheff, 2005). She deems her male colleagues her oppressors, questioning "what is wrong with me?" and therefore yielding herself no "true self-consciousness" (Du Bois, 1903, p. 7; Freeman, 2017). Valentina was confused with the distorted body she had been returned, she didn't recognise it and finds no value in it (Ahmed, 2002, 2007b; Yancy, 2016). Her 'dominant other' had objectified her as a crazy and emotionally vulnerable object; they weren't willing to travel to Valentina's world to see how she is constructed as a successful, educated woman (Lugones, 1987, 2003). They can't practice plurality and see that Valentina can be a successful work colleague and a woman who shows emotions. Instead, they had shaken the constructions of Valentina and tried contorting her body with their constructions, until it was distorted (Ahmed, 2002, 2007a; Du Bois, 1903; Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Yancy, 2016). Valentina didn't identify with the distorted body that had been returned to her and felt violated and hurt as a result (Ahmed, 2002, 2007b; Du Bois, 1903; Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Yancy, 2016). Being constructed in this manner had proven detrimental to Valentina's psychological adjustment (Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007). She reported experiencing self-doubt, which manifested into self-destructive activities such as self-harm and suicidal ideation because her body had now become a site of extreme social stress (Ahmed, 2007b; Yancy, 2016). Fortunately, owing to Valentina's tenacity & ongoing support of her counsellors, she was able to reverse such harmful internalisations. She speaks proudly of her newfound strength of embracing her true self without the need for validation from her 'dominant other.' Valentina has been through the arrogant, oppressive gaze of her 'dominant other', she felt the distortions to her ethnic minority body, she felt the orifices of it and recovered from it all (Ahmed, 2002).

Valentina's 'dominant other' had made her a victim of their agnostic play, they had come with intention to conquer her world (Lugones, 1987, 2003). "Agonistic travellers fail consistently in their attempt to travel because what they do is to try to conquer the other world" (Lugones, 1987, p. 16).

Notice that given the agonistic attitude one cannot travel across 'worlds,' though one can kill other 'worlds' with it. So for people who are interested in crossing racial and ethnic boundaries, an arrogant western man's construction of playfulness is deadly. One cannot cross the boundaries with it. One needs to give up such an attitude if one wants to travel. (Lugones, 1987, p.16)

Valentina had felt the "two-ness" of her ethnic minority self; one was as she constructed it to be and the other as her 'dominant other' constructed it to be; an Italian woman who didn't conform to the norms of the 'dominant other's world (Du Bois, 1903, p. 7; Lugones, 1987). There was no sense of loss on the part of Valentina's 'dominant other'; they didn't see the need to change, nor did they seem to show concern for the change they were enforcing on Valentina to play by their rules of agnostic play (Lugones, 1987). They weren't interested in welcoming Valentina's world or seeing how she is constructed in her worlds, and their agnostic play was an act of supremacy. They were out to conquer Valentina's world and her constructions of herself (Lugones, 1987). They were "imbued with self importance" (Lugones, 1987).

The door to an untroubled identity always closed. Having learned in their eyes that one's claim is not solid. Taken from group to group by the need for solidarity, belonging, for understanding the damages of racialization, for understanding the puzzle of one's identity. (Lugones, 2003, p. 151)

Lugones speaks to the experience of the ethnic minority body, which is objectified and grafted (2003). In dire need of solidity, the ethnic minority body is then taken door to door, but rarely ever, to the one that reveals the untroubled, genuine identity of the ethnic minority world traveller (Lugones, 2003). Just as a puzzle, the identity of the world traveller is fragmented and must be pieced together. It is also a puzzle because there is confusion, there is a need to be understood, and the desire to understand and explain that which is complex, fascinating and also irrational (Lugones, 2003). "Unraveling "[sic]" the logic of the

oppressor's gaze requires that we pay great attention to it, that we become fascinated by it" despite the irrationalities (Lugones, 2003, p. 154).

Participant narratives thus far have highlighted the inability of participants to move through their worlds without having their ethnic minority bodies made salient to them by their 'dominant other', "in ways which problematized" their existence and distorted the image of their ethnic minority self (Ahmed, 2002, 2007b; Freeman, 2017, p. 647; Lugones, 1987). The lack of shared meaning and cross-cultural understandings meant the 'dominant other' often walked away unimplicated from such interactions with no real loss to their integrity or self (Ahmed, 2002, 2007b; Lugones, 1987, 2003). The ethnic minority world traveller was left incomplete, distorted, and thus lacking after having their substance grafted, their bodies emptied of its true constructions (Lugones, 1987, 2003). There was very little of their true ethnic minority construction that remained after having their ethnic minority body measured "by the tape" of their 'dominant other' (Du Bois, 1903; Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003). Although Lugones finds ethnic minority world travellers to be skilled with plurality, such a sense of twoness, of one's self "can be confusing if one is not on one's guard" (Du Bois, 1903; Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987, p. 11; 2003; Meer, 2019).

So much of my life I was a lost person, like with a lost identity and just trying to figure myself out...I definitely spent a lot of my life growing up in New Zealand trying to hide my identity, my ethnic identity, because I just wanted to blend in. Because I knew from a very young age, that I was different, and it wasn't a beautiful difference. So I just behaved in a way which I could just maybe just do away with my ethnic identity and just try and assimilate into whatever I thought the dominant culture was or my perception of it anyway - (Leila).

I find myself in between two worlds, because I also grew up in a western country. So it's, in many ways, I'm not Chinese enough to be Chinese, but I'm not white, I'm not Western... I think for a long time my ethnicity, I was very, like, ashamed of it, I didn't want to be associated with it. And it wasn't until I came to uni, and you learn about race and racism and othering and stuff and after that I started to then embrace my ethnicity a lot more. And it's something I've learned to be quite proud of -(Aimee).

Both Leila and Aimee grew up in Aotearoa New Zealand and expressed a sense of embodied harm stemming from ongoing experiences of ‘othering’ experienced as an ethnic minority (Campbell, 2020; Powell & Menendian, 2016; Uda & Singh, 2019). They were constantly faced with having to make sense of their ethnic minority self not only in the presence of their ‘dominant other’ but also through the eyes of their ‘dominant other’ as well (Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003). They were stuck between two worlds; they felt their twoness, an Aotearoa New Zealander, and an ethnic minority person. “Two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals” in one ethnic minority body, “whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder” (Du Bois, 1903, p. 2; Freeman, 2017; Hooker, 2017; Meer, 2019; Rudwick, 2017). In world travelling, such a sense of twoness stems from the void of shared meanings, love, and understandings, which can leave all beings separate, independent and incomplete in a world (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Lugones warns against such independence and deems it problematic for the existence of both majority and minority individuals (1987, 2003). The more independent both groups become of each other, the more depleted their shared meaning of existence becomes (Lugones, 1987). Hence their co-dependency to identify and love each other is left lacking, and as such, both halves are left “incomplete and unreal” in such independencies (Dewart et al., 2020; Lugones, 1987, 2003).

They ignore us, ostracize us, render us invisible, stereotype us, leave us completely alone, interpret us as crazy. All of this while we are in their midst. The more independent I am, the more independent I am left to be. Their world and their integrity do not require me at all. (Lugones, 1987, p. 7)

Such a separation in experience and existence can lead to a state of deindividuation, which is known to further conduce unhealthy and hostile worldly conditions such as stereotypes and racism (Augen, 2009; Barnes, 2013; Bleich et al., 2019; Fluehr-Lobban, 2018; Spoonley, 1993; Temple et al., 2020).

3.8 ***THE ARROGANTLY PERCEIVED PERPETUAL FOREIGNER***

In this research, participants shared their common experiences with the ‘perpetual foreigner’ stereotype imposed on them by their ‘dominant other’ (Huynh et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2009). Once again, their ethnic minority lived experience was removed from their ethnic minority body through the arrogant perception of their ‘dominant other.’ It was then filled instead

with the constructions of a perpetual foreigner, and often the ethnic minority world traveller was firmly expected to animate such constructions.

One's voice, the accent in one's voice, the culture in one's speech, deeds, ways inspected, over and over by those one would like to call one's own, or—alternatively conceived—those one has reason to think might be one's own people (as when an adopted child has reason to think she has found her real, blood mother). (Lugones, 2003, p. 151)

The 'perpetual foreigner' stereotype represents a more subtle form of discrimination and postulates that ethnic minorities will always be observed as the outsider in predominantly white Anglo-Saxon societies and therefore denied a true nationalist identity (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Huynh et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2009). Such experiences resonated across all participant narratives whereby participants reported experiences of 'othering', perpetuated by their dominant 'Other,' in the worlds of employment in Aotearoa New Zealand (Huynh et al., 2011; Lugones, 1987; Uda & Singh, 2019).

The 'perpetual foreigner' stereotype fed numerous everyday racial microaggressions experienced by participants. For the purposes of this research, racial microaggressions can be understood as brief every day, intentional or unintentional, verbal and nonverbal acts of racial indignities that prove hostile and hurtful for minority group individuals (Ong et al., 2013; Pérez Huber & Solorzano, 2015; Sue, Bucceri, et al., 2007; Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007).

Owing to its very nature, racial microaggressions can be difficult to identify and address, as there can be "seemingly nonbiased and valid reasons" for such acts, which all too often leaves the recipient wondering "whether it really happened" (Crocker & Major, 1989; Sue, 2005; Sue, Bucceri, et al., 2007, p. 275). It is widely documented that "perpetrators of racial microaggressions are often unaware that they engage" in such behaviours when interacting with ethnic minorities (Ong et al., 2013; Pérez Huber & Solorzano, 2015; Solorzano et al., 2001; Sue, Bucceri, et al., 2007; Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007, p. 271). Seemingly subtle commentary, although invisible to the 'dominant other' perpetrator, can nonetheless prove hurtful and harmful to an ethnic minority person (Lugones, 2003; Ong et al., 2013). May shared such an interaction with her manager.

I was asked to take annual leave so I said, “I will take annual leave and I want to take annual leave, I’m very tired but I need to make sure that all the work is delegated so that even when I’m off it still gets done and portfolio clients still have the support.” One of my Managers got a little irritated about that and he said, “You must take annual leave. If you don’t take it then we’ll take it for you, this is the law of the land!” I understand that workers have to take annual leave and by law we are given 14 days’ notice to get that sorted. I wasn’t planning to not take it, but it was the “law of the land” comment that got me thinking, what did he mean by that? It could be me being stressed and over sensitive so I didn’t really get too upset after that...Comments like that should never have been made in the first place. To me, that’s a sign of unprofessionalism. Then it also makes me feel like I don’t know whether it was intentional or unintentional, but it definitively made me feel like I’ve been contributing to this country, this community, and it seems like all my effort has just been discounted, very undervalued. It makes me lose motivation to work and to contribute – (May).

The expression ‘law of the land’ used by May’s manager conveyed a message of microinvalidation for her. It invalidated May’s efforts as an ethnic minority person but more importantly as a New Zealander. Typically, characteristic of racial microaggressions, May, as the subject, questions if she is being oversensitive and if the microaggression has really happened (Sue, Bucci, et al., 2007; Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007). May understood such a reference as connotating that she was foreign in her understanding of the law and the land. May’s genuine efforts of integration and identification with the Aotearoa New Zealand nationalist identity had been undermined; her civic efforts had been invalidated, resulting in feelings of exclusion and indifference (Huynh et al., 2011; Sidanius et al., 1997). May’s ethnic minority body was fractured; her lived experience had been separated and dismissed (Lugones, 1987, 2003; Ahmed, 2002; Yancy, 2016). Instead, her ethnic minority body was arrogantly filled with the constructions of a foreigner to the land and law of Aotearoa New Zealand. May felt a deficiency of love; her manager did not identify with May, he did not welcome May’s world as there was no consideration of May’s migration journey to Aotearoa New Zealand, nor a genuine understanding of her efforts of integration (Lugones, 1987). May’s manager had not travelled to May’s world to see how May is constructed in the worlds she has been to and that which she is currently in (Lugones, 1987). Had May’s manager

chosen to world travel in such a sense, then perhaps he would have realised the sensitivities such microinvalidations could stir and the subsequent harm it was causing May. Instead her manager remained blinded by his arrogant perception to May's efforts and lived experiences (Lugones, 1987, 2003). He only chose to see May as a foreigner because he could not conceive her ethnic minority body's edges to extend beyond the foreigner constructions he held of her (Lugones, 1987, 2003; Ahmed, 2002; Yancy, 2016).

Participants who had grown up in Aotearoa New Zealand, such as Aimee and Leila, also highlighted the overwhelming propensity of her 'dominant other' to ascribe ethnic minorities as foreigners. Despite them clearly permeating many 'foreigner' traits at times, such as speaking with a local accent, their identities were still up for investigation by their 'dominant other.'

It is the assumption that I could speak Chinese and I'm not from here. But I think again, it is something that quickly goes away as soon as you hear my Aotearoa New Zealand accent, there's always that assumption of like, where are you really from? Where are you born? Then I am just again, I'm just not from here, whereas you know, everything I know is like all Aotearoa New Zealand is home. So yeah, I would say that's the stereotype that I battle against most...I went early for work, because I had to make some calls and I remember, I got off the phone and then a colleague came in and was like "Oh, you're here early!" And I was like, "Yeah, I'm just making some calls". He was like "Oh, yeah, I heard you on the phone, I thought you're calling your relatives in China". And I was just like, where the heck did that come from? That's so random! Yeah, like that really threw me like, it was just very random. I had never talked to him about being Chinese. I've never mentioned relatives in China, like for all he knew I could have been third generation Aotearoa New Zealand born, you know, like, it just came out of nowhere – (Aimee).

Aimee, who transcends numerous foreigner traits owing to her generational presence in Aotearoa New Zealand, was assumed to have come in early to work to call her family in China. In earlier shared narratives, Aimee was also assumed to be proficient in her command of the Mandarin language and forced to undertake a work project owing to such an

assumption. In the eyes of Aimee's 'dominant other', Aimee was a perpetual foreigner, she didn't have to mention her familial connections in China or her proficiency of Mandarin; her 'dominant other' had already attributed these traits to her (Huynh et al., 2011; Kim et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2009; Lugones, 2003; Tuan, 1998).

In the eyes of Aimee's 'dominant other' Aimee's ethnic minority body had no meaning nor construction beyond that which her 'dominant other' could assign her (Carrim, 2019; Huynh et al., 2011; Jensen et al., 2011; Lugones, 2003; Umaña-Taylor, 2011; Verkuyten, 1997).

Furthermore, Aimee had realised herself in the arrogant, dominant gaze of her 'dominant other', who had labelled her as a foreigner; she even expresses absurdity over such an interpretation of her (Dewart et al., 2020; Huynh et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2009; Lugones, 1987, 2003). Aimee can see the plurality in the situation where she is being constructed as someone she does not recognise, but her 'dominant other' is unable to practice such plurality (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Aimee's 'dominant other' cannot see the plurality in Aimee's identity, in that Aimee is an individual who identifies as a person of Chinese heritage but is also a local, a New Zealander (Lugones, 1987). "One's voice, the accent in one's voice, the culture in one's speech, deeds, ways inspected, over and over by those one would like to call one's own" (Lugones, 2003, p. 151). Aimee belongs to her present world just like her 'dominant other' but the latter struggles with this concept because only they belong to this world (Lugones, 1987, 2003; Ahmed, 2002; Huynh et al., 2011).

Aimee's Chinese heritage is an aspect of her complete identity, not the sole definition of her, there is more to Aimee's constructions in her worlds (Lugones, 1987, 2003). However Aimee's 'dominant other' is unable to see the double edges of Aimee's ethnic minority body, they can't see her constructions with loving perception (Lugones, 1987, 2003). In labelling Aimee a foreigner, her 'dominant other' has undermined her civic and integrational efforts and also that of her family (Huynh et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2009). Her colleague may not have spared a thought before acting on his or her assumptions, and while their utterance may have been momentary, the implications of their act have been far more detrimental for Aimee's ethnic minority self.

An often-innocuous question directed at the participant's was "Where are you really from?" Although this often gave way to interesting social interactions, answers with geographical

reference to Aotearoa New Zealand was often insufficient for the inquisitor and led to further questioning (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Huynh et al., 2011; Raj, 2003; Sue, Bucceri, et al., 2007).

I used to get asked that a lot, "Where are you really from?" and then I was like "I come from Christchurch". Then they'll be like, "No, originally?!" So I say, "I already told you, I'm from Christchurch!" and then they will say, "Oh, okay, what about your parents?". I mean, yeah, that's why in terms of losing identity, sometimes I tell my friends, no matter how far you go, you will still be asked those questions. What's the point of losing your identity? It's not going to make any changes; it's not going to change anything. Even if you're born here, because of that skin, because of that look, you will still be asked that question... They will obviously refer to you as not a New Zealander, someone who does not belong here– (Zara).

Zara felt no matter how hard she worked to integrate; she would always be denied a true nationalist identity because of her skin colour (Huynh et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2009; Raj, 2003). She was aware of ‘dominant other’s’ propensity of ascribing the Aotearoa New Zealand nationalist identity more readily to other numerical majority group members as opposed to ethnic minority individuals like herself (Devos & Ma, 2008; Do et al., 2019; Huynh et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2009; Lugones, 2003). Zara cites the colour of her skin as being central to being labelled a perpetual foreigner; she knows it’s absurd to think one can escape their skin colour. Zara acknowledges that regardless of her efforts, she will not be able to overcome her ‘dominant other’s’ agnostic play (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Zara knows her skin colour is a trigger for inquisition by her ‘dominant other,’ because as Lugones notes “one’s body, its color “[sic]”, features, its movement, and the culture expressed in its movements and clothes, all up for mistrust and inspection” (2003, p. 151). Thus Zara is aware that her skin colour problematises her ethnic minority existence (Ahmed, 2002; Freeman, 2017). It must be noted that this was a resonant theme across all participant narratives, whereby all participants in variable ways, acknowledged that their ethnic minority identity problematised their ethnic minority existence.

Zara sees no way out of her ‘dominant other’s’ unhealthy play that is attempting to conquer her constructions, and forcibly replace it with constructions of a foreigner (Lugones, 1987,

2003). Zara feels the twoness of the situation; she knows as an ethnic minority world traveller, she is being forced “to turn back towards” herself to “become an object” of her ‘dominant other’s constructions (Ahmed, 2007b, p. 161; Du Bois, 1903; Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 2003). Zara experiences such an experience of plurality with pain (Lugones, 1987, 2003). She embodies it as a hurtful act of exclusion and employs it to justify her reluctance to assimilate into the mainstream western dominated culture of Aotearoa New Zealand. Zara’s explanation evokes both a sense of resilience and capitulation; by encouraging others not to lose their identity and thus be genuine, she can be interpreted as expressing and sharing resilience. Yet, at the same time, she is also cognizant of the potential inability of ethnic minority individuals to wholly escape the ‘perpetual foreigner’ stereotype. She expresses such capitulation in a poignant manner by drawing attention to one’s skin colour and drawing similarities between the skin colour that cannot be changed and thus the ‘perpetual foreigner’ stereotype that cannot be escaped.

The ‘perpetual foreigner’ stereotype fed numerous other everyday racial microaggressions, such as “You speak good English” and “What’s your real name?” which were interpreted by participants as conveying messages of foreignism, inferiority and exclusion (Ong et al., 2013; Solórzano et al., 2001; Sue, Bucci, et al., 2007; Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007). Leila, in reality, has a name of European origin; she explained this was picked by her mother’s love for her favourite author. Leila shared stories of how her name and her Aotearoa New Zealand accent, despite seemingly local, became the very targets of her ‘dominant other’s arrogant inquisitions.

I don't have a very Indian first name. So I feel like when I have applied for jobs and things like that, or had conversations over the phone, that people might expect me to be white. Also because my accent sounds local and so when I eventually meet people, I always, not always, I sometimes have reflected about this afterwards. I wonder if they meet me and feel like "Oh, she's not white!" Like if that's one of the first things and I know I'm not white, but I wonder if that's their first thought. Some people have even asked me "What's your real name?" I always say this is my real name or they will meet me and have a little moment of surprise, like oh I'm not who they expected. I wonder if they thought by my name not being ethnic, that I'm not ethnic? And then it's almost like, I feel like I'm letting them down because being white is in

my mind perceived as being superior in this country...I went in once for an interview and someone said to me, "Oh, wow, you speak just like a Aotearoa New Zealander" and I'm thinking well I am a Aotearoa New Zealander, I've grown up here, what do you mean I speak like a Aotearoa New Zealander, why are you so surprised? I write a lot for my work, and I constantly get told I write well for an ethnic person like "Oh she can help you draft that policy she's Indian, but she writes well" and I'm like right there with them when this is being said, I guess I just take it as a compliment because in some ways I'll always be foreign to them – Leila.

Such experiences led Leila to embody a sense of vigilance. She was conscious of her name and accent when interacting with her 'dominant other' even though they were both local. At times felt she was letting them down because, in the absence of physical cues such as during telephone conversations, Leila could be interpreted as being "white." Leila infers that being "white" is being superior and the ultimate definition of a nationalist (Kim et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2009).

Interestingly non-native accents have been known to make individuals conscious of their interactions within host cultures, however in Leila's case, despite her local accent, she still felt like an imposter (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010; Iheduru-Anderson, 2020; Kim et al., 2011; Sears et al., 2021).

From cultural specificity to larger and larger rings of solidarity always inspected, mistrusted, found wanting or not, but always in need of legitimation [...] the sense of faking it or of being perceived as a fake not in one's experience [...] one's abilities are constantly taken to be counterfeit by white/Anglos (Lugones, 2003, p. 151)

There was a need for Leila to prove she wasn't counterfeit, that she was being genuine with her 'dominant other,' that "her movements, ways, use of speech, [were] very much of the place" (Lugones, 2003, p.151). She expected her 'dominant other's arrogant perception to inspect her travelling ethnic minority self. "One's voice, the accent in one's voice, the culture in one's speech, deeds, ways inspected, over and over" (Lugones, 2003, p. 151).

Similar to other participants, Leila felt confused in the plurality of her constructions; she felt the void of her belonging widen and consume her ethnic minority existence in her world (Lugones, 2003; Powell & Menendian, 2016; Uda & Singh, 2019; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Leila didn't want to appear as an imposter to her 'dominant other'; therefore, her world and integrity seemed to need her 'dominant other' (Lugones, 1987, 2003). She wanted to be true in her constructions with them, despite knowing the feeling wasn't necessarily mutual from her 'dominant other's' end (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Leila saw herself as "incomplete and unreal without" her 'dominant other' hence she was open to creating shared meanings "without having to be their subordinate" (Lugones, 1987, p. 8). However she also felt her true identity had been rendered "invisible" and hence felt "completely alone" despite being in their midst (Lugones, 1987, p. 8).

It must be noted that many of the participants expressed absurdity at being appraised as foreigners, such as when Aimee expressed, "Where the heck did that come from?" They were aware that their identity was being painted with a brush that did not wholly and firmly rest in their own hands, but in those of their 'dominant other' (Scheff, 2005). Yet they must animate these constructions "as a matter of necessity and of survival" (Lugones, 1987, p. 11; Scheff, 2005). Leila confirms such a notion when she mentions that she takes her 'dominant other's' racial microaggression relating to her proficiency of the English language, as being a compliment as opposed to an insult. By not challenging her 'dominant other's' action, Leila, like other participants, can be understood as animating her 'dominant other's' foreigner constructions. That is, Leila is willing to be painted as a foreigner skilled in the English language because questioning such a construction isn't in Leila's favour (Emerson & Murphy, 2014; Klein et al., 2007; Lugones, 1987, 2003). She does so to escape further objectification of her ethnic minority self. Leila wants to escape the arrogant perception of her 'dominant other' because she feels she already carries so many other markers of foreignism, she doesn't want to make matters worse for her ethnic minority self (Do et al., 2019; Huynh et al., 2011; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Tuan, 1998).

While Leila's name was not of an ethnic background, she still didn't manage to escape the arrogant gaze of her 'dominant other', and a similar fate seemed to be shared by participants with ethnic names (Dewart et al., 2020). Those who had an ethnic name felt it acted as a trigger for their 'dominant other's' arrogant gaze, which proved destructive for their ethnic minority self (Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987; Yancy, 2016).

A colleague of mine asked if I had a nickname... I said no. Later I remember receiving an email and the header had [a nickname] and I thought it was a typo, only to realise she wanted that to be my nickname because [my real name] was hard to pronounce. I just remember feeling like a minority because I was bestowed a nickname that I didn't ask for – (Alisi)

It's really interesting that there are so many articles online about why we should keep our identity, why every Chinese has an English name and stuff, that actually for me, I have an English name and I just found it's easier for me to use and not that I want to get rid of my identity. I don't think anyone intentionally wants to change their name or change their identity but when you are in that stage, desperately need a job, need to seek your future, you would go for anything. I do have some colleagues that they've completely changed their name because otherwise they can't find a job and they didn't even get an interview but then the moment they changed their name to English, they got an interview and two months later they found a job. –(Cynthia).

The very first experience that I had was after I graduated and I was starting to look for a job so I was building my CV and one of the first advice that I received about my CV was, "Your name is kind of hard to pronounce" ...The advice I was given that, "You should change it because if they find it hard to pronounce your name they might assume that it would be hard to work with you"- (May).

Participants who had an ethnic name often reported feeling more vulnerable to the arrogant perception of their 'dominant other' (Dewart et al., 2020; Lugones, 1987, 2003). That is, having an ethnic name increased the likelihood of participants being interpreted as foreigners, uncivilised in the ways of the western world and incapable of change by their 'dominant other' (Lugones, 1987, 2003; Said, 1979, 2000). Such implications often manifested in negative job-seeking experiences and unhealthy indignities within employment spaces, which proved harmful for the participant awareness of their ethnic minority self. Alisi's 'dominant other' had viewed her name with their arrogant perception and decided to dismiss it; they had rendered her ethnic minority self as being too difficult and unacceptable to their world (Lugones, 1987, 2003). By bestowing Alisi with a nickname that was easier to pronounce,

Alisi's 'dominant other' had unwelcomed Alisi's ethnic minority self at work (Ahmed, 2002, 2007b; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007). Instead they took her ethnic minority body and contorted it to fit with their norms and their constructions, which was easier for their dominant world to digest (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Alisi's ethnic minority body had been shown its place and put on notice, she better play by their rules (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Alisi was in a world dominated by 'dominant other'; she was to play by their rules and animate the constructions they gave her (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

As discussed in this section, participants experienced the world of employment as an object of their 'dominant other's arrogant perception, which painted them with constructions that weren't necessarily true or complete (Lugones, 1987, 2003). There was an apparent lack of cross-cultural understandings between participants and their 'dominant other,' which often problematised the existence of the ethnic minority world travellers whilst their dominant counterparts remained unimplicated (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Participants felt misunderstood as their ethnic minority bodies were frequently penetrated by their 'dominant other's dismissive and oppressive gaze, leaving it fragmented and distorted (Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Yancy, 2016). They were stereotyped as foreigners, and in the process, their true identity was invalidated, replaced with constructions yielded by their 'dominant other' (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Yet participants often felt they had little choice but to animate such constructions (Klein et al., 2007; Lugones, 1987, 2003). Doomed for oppression in its travels and robbed of solidity, the incomplete ethnic minority body appears to be all but destined for abolition (Lugones, 2003).

You know in one way if you think about it, we minorities have suffered a lot and it's sad, but I don't think my kids will fully escape this either. If you're like us you will carry this burden in some way for a long time, we'll always be broken down in some way, misjudged, pushed aside, all of that crap, probably forever. So its sobering to say but we will probably never see the end of this. I read this placard at a feminist protest, and it said something like "I can't believe I'm still here protesting about this bullshit!" I think that pretty much sums up how a lot of us feel. We're tired but hey we won't get anywhere sitting here feeling sorry for ourselves so up we get and on we move! – (Leila).

Leila vividly captures the contours of participant narratives thus far, in that there is an awareness of reality and the harm it inflicts (Freeman, 2017). There is also a moment of sobriety, as the penny drops. Leila acknowledges that the lack of cross-cultural understandings that have transpired thus far are likely to continue forever and be endured by future ethnic minority world travellers such as her own children (Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003). There is a moment of reflection of the hurt, frustration and harm that has been endured by participants' ethnic minority self and by other ethnic minority world travellers of the past (Lugones, 1987, 2003). However, Leila's narrative then promptly transcends into a space of resilience, perseverance, survival, and hope. Just as when begins to think there is no more to an ethnic minority world traveller than being a passive subject of their 'dominant other's arrogant perception. There appears a realisation of the brilliance and resilience of ethnic minority worlds travellers "up we get on we move", says Leila. Suddenly the small strands of light that has been intermittently revealing itself through participant narratives thus far, comes to be collected. As such it is in this very space that the ethnic minority world traveller is revealed in a new light, no longer as a passive victim but instead as a skilled survivor.

3.9 RECOGNISING THE SKILLED SURVIVOR

The former section engaged in discussions about participant experiences within the world of employment, as an object of their 'dominant other's arrogant perception (Lugones, 1987, 2003). However, to abruptly end the journey of narrative understandings here would be somewhat unjust and incomplete. As it would fail to highlight the skill with which participants in this research survived and thrived in their world travels as ethnic minority individuals.

Therefore participant narratives in this section will substantiate the ethnic minority world traveller as a skilled survivor armed with the skill of plurality (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Enabling them to not only view the double edges of their minority existence in the presence of their 'dominant other' but also to find the double edges of their 'dominant other's arrogant perception (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Furthermore the ability of ethnic minority world travellers to be both objects and agent of arrogant perception will also be discussed in this section. They are also able to hold "two

incompatible and parallels perceptions at once” (Lugones, 2003, p. 154). They know of their ‘dominant other’s arrogant perception, they have worn it before (Lugones, 2003). They also know of their own arrogant perception, which they can deploy to replenish their otherwise hollowed distorted ethnic minority bodies.

Through plurality, participants are able to “inhabit ‘worlds’ and travel across them and keep all the memories”; hence they are able to learn the norms of different worlds, animate different constructions, travel to various worlds simultaneously, see the various pieces of their ethnic minority body fall apart and come back together without necessarily “being torn asunder” (Du Bois, 1903, p. 2; Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987, p. 14; 2003; Meer, 2019). There is a display of an innate ‘survival-rich’ ability to flow in and out of worlds, and the constructions and norms within those worlds, without losing bearing of their truth (Hooker, 2017; Lugones, 1987, p. 14; 2003; Meer, 2019).

3.10 BEING THE AGENT AND OBJECT OF ARROGANT PERCEPTION

Interestingly while participant narratives centred around the arrogant perception of their ‘dominant other,’ they also touched on the arrogant perception that minority group members sometimes view each other with. For the purposes of this research, such a notion is understood as an act of survival by the ethnic minority travellers. Hence has been analysed as part of the survivor narrative of ethnic minority participants. It is believed the ethnic minority traveller, having been robbed of its own solidity, may seek substance to graft to its own ethnic minority body in order to survive (Lugones, 1987, 2003; Ahmed 2002). Owing to power imbalances made apparent thus far, it is apparent the ethnic minority traveller cannot graft substance in return from their ‘dominant other’, but that such an act may be possible within the echelons of the minority worlds (Lugones, 2003).

Tara spoke about the hypocrisy of some minority group members who condemn racist ideologies of their ‘dominant other’ yet simultaneously perpetrate such racist ideologies towards other minority group members. She spoke about silos within minority groups which can lead to intergroup hostilities (Tajfel & Turner, 2004).

We haven't learned how to get along with each other. And we haven't learned within the minority community...When I was growing up, the local Indians

didn't like us, we were Fijian Indians. But if there was a racist attack in Christchurch, the dairy owners who would diss each other, the Punjabis, or the Fijian Indians or the Gujaratis, they're all standing together saying these people are being racist to us. But then there'll be racist to each other as well...So I think there's like, two parts to this – (Tara)

Tara refers to the “two parts” of arrogant perception that she, as an ethnic minority traveller, has come to know of (Lugones, 1987). “It is clear to me that I can understand both my childhood training as an arrogant perceiver and my having been the object of arrogant perception” (Lugones, 1987, p. 4; 2003). Tara speaks of internalised racism that ethnic minorities are capable of subjecting on each other. As such, minorities can but temporarily assume the position of a ‘dominant other.’ However, such a position of domination is quickly relinquished when their collective ‘dominant other’ enters their world.

Zara spoke about her struggles with elders within her community and their negative perceptions of her achievements and ambitions at times. Despite actively advocating for the rights of Hazara women and vowing not to abandon her culture, Zara at times finds herself the very subject of her community elders’ arrogant perception. The orthodox views of the elders within Zara’s community had led them to view Zara’s ambitions to work, gain success, and adorn her headscarf differently, as cues that she did not possess shared meanings with her community. Therefore, they rendered her independent from themselves because Zara’s aspirations and advocacy for female education and change were viewed as anti-normative behaviour (Lugones, 1987).

Zara was viewed arrogantly as a female driven by selfishly by her individualistic ambitions, as opposed to those otherwise orthodoxically embedded within the normative expectations of her community.

The dominant gaze of the elders within Zara’s community had distorted the construction that Zara held of herself; they could not see Zara as she had chosen to construct herself. Despite being of Zara’s ethnic background, they were unable to travel to Zara’s worlds and see Zara for herself. Nevertheless, Zara still needed her community; she needed them to feel complete and real (Lugones, 1987, 2003). As such while the elders within Zara’s community could not see her with loving perception, Zara was not failing in her love for them (Lugones, 1987).

A possible explanation afforded by world travelling is that dominant group members are taught to perceive others arrogantly, as means of asserting and preserving their primacy in their social hierarchies (Hook, 2005; Lugones, 1987; Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Minority group members are taught to view other minority group members arrogantly as this is part of being taught to be a minority group member “of a certain class” (Lugones, 1987, p. 5). Zara’s community elders are higher and more devout keepers of the norm in their world; therefore, they see themselves as somewhat above Zara.

Minority group members, having been suppressed and subjugated within the western dominated worlds of their ‘dominant other’, also come to desire the boomerang effect of the arrogant perception, which involves seeing the other and returning right back to the self (Spelman, 1988; Lugones, 1987, 2003). They know this because they have seen the boomerang effect with their ‘dominant other’. Zara’s elders especially the females themselves had been subjects of arrogant perception in Afghanistan, yet they are viewing Zara arrogantly while also seeing her as one of them who should follow their worldly norms (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Where do you go to be seen? To be seen as something other than a more-or-less monstrous imitation, an imaginary being. Where do you go to be seen apart from tests of legitimacy that turn you into an imaginary being? (Lugones, 2003, p. 151).

The arrogant perceiver departs from themselves with arrogant perception and returns with the very product of their arrogant perception; the arrogantly perceived traveller never enters such an equation (Spelman, 1988; Frye, 1983; Lugones, 1987, 2003). Zara’s community elders set out to help Zara find who they believe she should be, they believe she has strayed. However because they cannot see Zara’s true constructions, they return having only confirmed their own biases, their own views of Zara.

“We were told by well-meaning white adults that Black people were just like us-never, however, that we were just like Blacks” (Spelman, 1988, p. 12). Spelman poignantly raises that even good intentions can be clouded by arrogance, because the ‘other’ exists only in relevance to the ‘self’ (Campbell, 2020; Cooley, 1902; Scheff, 2005). Zara’s elders could have good intentions, but they are blinded and thus their love isn’t expressed nor felt in a genuine manner. Instead they are grafting Zara for their own lacking bodies. They are

familiar with such grafting because they too have been grafted by their 'dominant other', they have come to learn of love and abuse as being two parts of the same equation (Lugones, 1987, 2003). They can love someone and view them arrogantly at the same time too. Hence be both object and agent of arrogant perception (Lugones, 1987, 2003). It is not to say that all ethnic minority world travellers are arrogant perceivers, but that the potential to exercise such plurality does exist.

Hence while the ethnic minority body remains vulnerable to the grafting of their substance by their dominant 'Other.' In order to replenish some of their solidity, they too have learnt subtle ways to graft substance from others. Zara speaks of women of her cultural community and the extreme gender restrictions many of them have faced in Afghanistan, yet on the same note, many of them are capable in subtle ways of viewing Zara with arrogant perceptions too.

This could also be understood as an attempt by the ethnic minority traveller to socially mobilise and counter their oppressions in some of their worlds (Lugones, 1987). A 'feel good' exercise. Worthy of mention is that class boundaries are much more easily permeated than ethnic boundaries (Spears, 2011). Therefore it may prove much easier to mobilise class ranks in an effort to gain upward social mobility (Tajfel & Forgas, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 2001). Arrogant perception within ethnic minority groups can be understood as equipping certain group members to achieve a higher class within what is an otherwise lower status group in the eyes of the dominant society (Spears, 2011; Tajfel & Forgas, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 2001). Such moves are made to win not only within the ethnic minority world but also to arrive in western dominated worlds as an ethnic minority body who isn't totally devoid of class and power (Lugones, 1987).

Hence minority group members can be understood as "being both the agent and object of arrogant perception" (Lugones, 1987, p. 5). However, there is a profound distinguishing factor between the arrogant perception of dominant majority group members and minority group members. That is owing to historical and systemic power imbalances; the latter group disproportionately experience that harm caused by the arrogant perceptions of the former. It is not to say one makes the other better, because Lugones urges "disloyalty to [all] arrogant perceivers, including the arrogant perceiver in ourselves, and to their constructions" (Lugones, 1987, p. 18).

3.11 SURVIVING WITH PLURALITY-THE KNOWER OF NORMS

Although globalisation has made otherwise inaccessible cultural cuisine readily accessible far from their unique locales (Jensen et al., 2011; Mendez & Popkin, 2004; Tomlinson, 1999), ethnic food and dietary habits continue to be employed in the genesis of numerous cultural stereotypes & racial aggressions (Andreassen & Ahmed-Andresen, 2013; Bell, Kerr, & Young, 2019; Hook, 2005; Jensen et al., 2011; Warbrick, Came, & Dickson, 2019). This has led ethnic minorities to being conscious of their dietary habits, especially in the presence of their dominant ‘Other.’ Alisi has two jobs and explains her primary job as being in a Pākehā dominated environment. She explains the implications this had on her ability to engage in Pasifika dietary practices.

It's not that Pasifika love food, it's an integral part of our culture and when we come together, we share food, laughs, smiles, and jokes. With that being said I don't think I could ever share my food at my first job because they don't embrace different cultures very well at the office. When we as Pasifika families and friends come together, we share food with love and reciprocate that love by enjoying the food. I don't think that atmosphere of love would be present at my first job if I was to take my ethnic food to work. Why put myself in a more vulnerable position when I already feel it with just the colour of my skin...From [mentions afternoon working hours] I work as a [mentions job title] with a Pasifika outcome focused group, and food there we all share. There's fried rice, today I had kumara with leftover food from Mother's Day yesterday. My true self would be at that place of work because they're all like my aunties, they make jokes, they make me laugh and we share food and its food that I eat. I would never take pork and kumara to my other job because that's just not what we eat. When we have lunches it's little sandwiches, it's fruits and little savouries which are different from what I would bring if I was with my second job. It'd be sweet potato or taro, chicken, big portions of food as well, because you wanna share, whereas here it's, no, just small plates – (Alisi).

Alisi feels her numerical minority status and the colour of her skin makes her more susceptible to her ‘dominant other’s arrogant perception (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Hence, she is

vigilant of their dismissive and oppressive gaze (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Alisi contrasts such an employment space to her secondary place of employment, whereby majority of her colleagues are of Pasifika descent like her, and she much more at ease in their midst. Alisi relates the difference across her two worlds of employment through the act of sharing of food, which is an important aspect of bonding and coming together in her culture. Alisi deems her secondary place of employment as a healthy space for her ethnic minority self where she feels better understood and welcomed, thus enabling her to comfortably celebrate herself and her cultural dietary practices. She shares her sentiments through the sharing of food, as this is central to the celebration of love and her Pasifika identity. Although Alisi acknowledges that she isn't able to share food in the same manner in her primary job, she does nevertheless conform to the dietary expectations of this world. She acknowledges sharing finger foods and fruits at her primary job, which is different from what she would take to her Pasifika place of employment. By not sharing Pasifika food at her primary place of employment, Alisi is animating the construction assigned to her by her dominant 'Other.' Alisi doesn't necessarily agree with such a construction, that construct the fun out of her, but she animates it regardless (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Feeling as if one does and does not belong in the public; feeling chameleon-like if one blurs the colors "[sic]" and the cultures out of one's own self-perception. Fidgety in the presence of community folk, as if one could cover one's lacks with self-consciousness. (Lugones, 2003, p. 152).

Alisi feels the need to suppress her true Pasifika identity because she knows it will be viewed with arrogant perception and returned to her distorted and untrue (Ahmed, 2007a; Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Yancy, 2016). Outside her primary job, Alisi is an otherwise proud Pasifika person who is confident and free to celebrate her cultural (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Alisi can therefore be viewed as animating plural constructions and holding plural memories of both, her existence amongst and that beyond, the presence of her 'dominant other' (Lugones, 1987, 2003). She does so knowing which version of herself she holds true, hence skilfully masters her plurality, because she has "distinct experiences of being different in different worlds" and has the capacity to remember and animate both (Lugones, 1987). Alisi has seen herself through the eyes of her 'dominant other', and she knows it may be better to

animate their constructions to survive such a world while not losing sight of who she truly is (Cooley, 1902, 1983; Lugones, 1987). Alisi has learnt the norms of her different worlds; she can see the plurality in the norms that she plays to (Lugones, 1987, 2003). She is aware of the arrogant perceptions of her dominant 'Other,' and she is ready to animate such norms to survive the worlds where they are present (Lugones, 1987, 2003). There is trickery and foolery by Alisi; she knows "truths that only the fool can speak and only the trickster can play out without harm" because only she knows the true constructions of herself while her 'dominant other' remains none the wiser (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Furthermore Alisi is aware of the 'loving playfulness' that she is able to carry out amongst those she is bonded with and loves in her other worlds (Lugones, 1987). Therefore while Alisi does find worlds such as her primary place of employment to be unhealthy for her ethnic minority self. She nevertheless feels the need to exert effort to survive in such a world, as it is a necessary space for her to play out some of her life's successes (Carter, 2003; Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Other participant narratives also highlighted the added effort participants invested in learning the norms of their 'dominant other' and their dominant worlds (Lugones, 1987). Such knowledge was crucial if they were they were to gain recognition and succeed in their worlds and in the midst of their dominant 'Other.' Moreover, knowing the norms and rules of the worlds that participants shared with their 'dominant other', would help them 'be at ease' within such spaces (Lugones, 1987). They wouldn't feel the threat of being seen as a foreigner. Instead, they would be seen as someone who is civilised in their knowledge and thus capable of change and integration, as opposed to a 'perpetual foreigner' (Lee et al., 2009; Ng Jennifer et al., 2007; Said, 1979). Cynthia spoke about learning the social norms of her workplace so she could build a sense of inclusion and belonging.

Monday morning when I go back to work, the first thing you don't talk about work straight away; you talk about your weekend and sometimes they suddenly start talking about super rugby and me sitting here and no idea about anything but that's the norm and that's the culture and I think, for me, I need to learn about it and to be involved in. As always, can't engage in the conversation and you'll be forgotten...I'm still very proud to be Chinese and I

*don't wanna see my country or my people being seen as having a bad cloud
[gestures to over her head]. – (Cynthia).*

Cynthia had learnt that recapping about the latest super rugby scores was a social norm at her office. So she had to quickly build both a passion for and knowledge of super rugby in order to be accepted as a good team player by her dominant counterparts. She wanted to create a sense of belonging; she wanted to be included because being excluded would make her a victim of her 'dominant other's' arrogant gaze (Lugones, 1987, 2003; Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2010). Cynthia's efforts were crucial to gaining buy-in from her colleagues, which would also put her in good stead to succeed within her role. Cynthia, therefore, learnt the "norms that are to be followed" in that world because knowing "all the words that are to be spoken" would make Cynthia a "fluent speaker in that world" (Lugones, 1987, p. 12). She would know "all the moves", which would provide her with confidence, to overcome potential threats to her ethnic minority self (Lugones, 1987, p. 12, 2003). Not only would this make Cynthia be at ease within such a world but also help her succeed in it (Lugones, 1987, 2003). It is important to note that while Cynthia did learn the norms of her new world, she still held memories of the norms in her other worlds and herself within those worlds. She spoke of being a proud Chinese and knowing the norms of her society. She also felt that being regarded as a fluent speaker by her dominant 'Other,' may create inroads for other world travellers such as herself (Lugones, 1987, 2003; Yuval-Davis, 2006). That is, her 'dominant other' may also view other Chinese as being fluent speakers and thus capable of integration (Lugones, 1987, 2003; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Hence Cynthia was extending potential inroads of inclusion and acceptance, to other travellers like her.

Zara also shared a similar sentiment about changing the way she adorned her headscarf because she didn't want her 'dominant other' to construct her as a foreigner and an oppressed being.

I've changed my style a little bit. I know I shouldn't be wearing my scarf like this. But if you want to succeed, I hate to say this and it's true, unfortunately you have to make some changes, in how you appear to other people. I mean when I arrived here, my parents said that, as long as you respect both cultures, by both cultures I mean my culture and the Kiwi culture. So that's why I stuck with my scarf but the way I dressed up I changed it. I wear a

smaller scarf and I'm wearing it loose. I didn't lose my own culture, I said to myself I'm going to stick with my own culture, but I will make some changes so that I don't struggle... Sad to say this, but I know some of the friends from other communities, they dress up the way they used to dress up back home, and then wear the hijab the way they used to live at home. And I know quite a few of them are struggling finding jobs. I noticed when I made the changes, I used to get jobs and I was accepted as a team member...I wouldn't shake the opposite sex's hands before, but now I do...It's my choice and I said, it's not going to do any damage. – (Zara).

Zara speaks of breaking cultural taboos by adorning her headscarf differently and shaking hands with the opposite gender. She has come to learn the norms of her 'dominant other's world; this is the way she must be if she is to avoid struggles (Lugones, 1987). She knows of her 'dominant other's arrogant perceptions that will construct her as a foreign being and thus exclude, if she doesn't play by their norms (Huynh et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2009; Lugones, 1987, 2003). Zara is aware she is breaching the traditional cultural norms of her ethnic minority world by altering her appearance. Nevertheless, she knows resisting such changes will only problematise her ethnic minority existence in the presence of her 'dominant other' (Lugones, 1987, 2003). She needs to adapt to survive in this space because this is the very place where much of her life's success can be played out (Carter, 2003; Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Yancy, 2016). Zara substantiates her decision by contrasting it to the struggles of her fellow ethnic woman who have chosen not to integrate themselves in a manner such as Zara and are subsequently struggling to secure employment. Interestingly Zara spoke of not changing herself and staying true to her cultural identity and that altering the manner in which she adorned her headscarf, was an act of integration and not assimilation (Berry, 1997). The former was seen as combining her original cultural identity with aspects of the Aotearoa New Zealand culture, as opposed to completely shedding her culture as implied by the latter (Berry, 1997; Jensen et al., 2011). Zara, therefore, did not see herself as changing or pretending to be someone different; rather she saw herself as someone who uses "space and language differently" in different worlds (Lugones, 1987, p. 11).

Even though the shift can be done willfully, it is not a matter of acting. One does not pose as someone else, one does not pretend to be, for example, someone of a different personality or character or someone who uses space or language differently than the

other person. Rather one is someone who has that personality or character or uses space and language in that particular way. (Lugones, 1987, p. 11)

Lugones' above explanation makes way for confusion, as one begins to seek clarity about the constructions that ethnic minority world travellers animate (1987, 2003). Especially the constructions that are thrust within their ethnic minority bodies, that they do not agree with, but nevertheless must animate to survive unhealthy worlds (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Are such animations to be regarded as performances, by the pretentious skilled ethnic minority traveller who is pretending to be someone they are not? Lugones' does not find this to be the case as she says "Those of us who are 'world'-travellers have the distinct experience of being different in different 'worlds' and of having the capacity to remember other 'worlds' and ourselves in them. We can say 'That is me there' (Lugones, 1987, p. 11).

Here Lugones infers that although ethnic minority world travellers may animate different constructions, be it wilfully or unwilfully, they don't see this as a pretentious act, that is they are not pretending to be someone completely different (1987, 2003). Instead one can think of it as the traveller wearing different clothes that suit the locale, they are in. That which is adorns the clothes, always remains the same, but it is the exterior that now makes the traveller appear differently. When the traveller looks back at pictures they can say "that is me, I don't usually wear those clothes, but I wore it that day and that's how I looked." As such the traveller looks back and says, "that is me there" but also says "that is not me because I don't usually do that." Such is the capacity of the plurality within world travellers, that they can animate different constructions and wear them all as being different aspects of them (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Therefore Zara having changed the way she adorns her scarf, can say she has changed but not changed at the same time. This is because to Zara she can animate and embody different constructions of herself without confusing them (Lugones, 1987, 2003). "The way of traversing space less steady, [...] as if one were wearing someone else's clothes" (Lugones, 2003, p. 152).

It must also be noted that on multiple occasions, Zara expressed her free choice in changing her appearance. That is, while Zara didn't want to be constructed as a foreigner by her dominant 'Other,' it was of equal importance to her that they didn't construct her as a victim of gender suppression either.

They will obviously refer to you as not a New Zealander, someone who does not belong here. And especially this gender imbalance in other countries, People will think, okay, she's probably forced to dress up like that – (Zara).

Zara didn't want her 'dominant other' to think she was being forced to dress in traditional attire because her free will was of great importance to her. Such an understating is perhaps best constructed by travelling to Zara's worlds before in Afghanistan, where she faced extreme gender restrictions by the Taliban. Zara didn't want to be constructed as an oppressed being by her 'dominant other' (Lugones, 1987, 2003). She didn't want such constructions to prevail in her current world, because not only were they untrue, but they were also results of an "agnostic attitude" which has the ability to "kill other 'worlds' with it" (Lugones, 1987, p. 16; 2003).

Therefore for Zara it may be easier for her to change the way she adorns her headscarf; she finds it easier to animate such a construction than the construction of being a gender oppressed female. She may not fully be at ease within her current world because she still feels her 'dominant other's' arrogant perception but she prioritises this world over the one she experienced in her past world in Afghanistan.

One may be at ease in it only in some of these respects and not in others. To say of some 'world' that it is 'my world' is to make an evaluation. One may privilege one or more 'worlds' in this way for a variety of reasons: for example because one experiences oneself as an agent in a fuller sense than one experiences 'oneself' in other worlds.' (Lugones, 1987, p. 12)

Zara prioritises her world in Aotearoa New Zealand because she is at ease in it, in some ways more than her past worlds (Lugones, 1987, 2003). She is "an agent in a fuller sense" within her former world. As such Zara's prior experiences of minoritisation are being used to construct her travels and subsequent meanings in her current world, she is displaying her fine skills of an apt ethnic minority world traveller.

Zara can be seen as having disowned parts of her past world where she felt completely dominated.

One may disown a 'world' because one has first person memories of a person who is so thoroughly dominated that she has no sense of exercising her own will or has a sense of having serious difficulties in performing actions that are willed by herself. (Lugones, 1987, p. 12)

It must be noted that world travelling, and plurality are "survival-rich" exercises for ethnic minorities (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Therefore, while Zara may have disowned some of her past worlds, she still retains memories of them and, therefore, can travel to them (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Furthermore, she may not necessarily be at ease in the presence of her 'dominant other' in her current world where she is constructed as a foreigner, but she can still choose to exist in that world because she is "at ease in it [...] in some of these respects and not in others" (Lugones, 1987, p. 12; 2003). Such is the art of plurality acquired and mastered over time by ethnic minority world traveller (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

3.12 ETHNIC JOKES, LAUGHTER & PLURALITY

The employment world of Aotearoa New Zealand, is guided by employment legislation that forbids discrimination, harassment and racism (Rudman, 2019). Such norms have been created to ensure fair and equitable working conditions for all; that is, they have been put in place to ensure that such worlds are spaces whereby all can be at 'at ease' (Lugones, 1987, 2003). This makes way for a safe and healthy world which is especially appealing for the ethnic minority world traveller, who is otherwise subjugated and thus seeks to be 'at ease' in their worlds by being "normatively happy" (Lugones, 1987, p. 12). Being normatively happy involves agreeing with all the norms because they align with the needs and beliefs of the world traveller (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Ethnic minority world travellers agree with the employment legislation norms because they feel it safeguards their travels within the world of employment. They uphold compliance of these norms because they are important for them. The norms provide them a way of being at ease within the world of employment and for this reason they are happy with these norms, they are "normatively happy" (Lugones, 1987, p. 12).

It is to be noted that Lugones posits that one does not need to be "normatively happy" to comply with norms, one can comply with norms they don't agree with as a matter of survival. However, they will not be at ease in that world through such norms (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

To be normatively happy with a norm only to find it being violated can be a confusing and violating experience for ethnic minority travellers (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Participants shared the dichotomous experience of when norms of professionalism, that they agreed with, were violated by their ‘dominant other’ in the name of humour (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

All participants reported experiencing some form of ‘ethnically charged joke’ within their employment settings, and while they weren’t always comfortable sharing what was said, they shared how they reacted and coped.

I just laugh but inside I’m like, what does that have to do with me? I just laugh and then I get mmm hmm but really deep inside I’m just like, that wasn’t necessary. There is a joke among Pasifika’s, that we laugh at jokes even if it hurts and it’s become part of how I deal with hurtful or inappropriate words.
– (Alisi)

There’s obviously a level of professionalism, you need to maintain, you awkwardly laugh, you shrug it off, I have a more like autopilot kind of response. I wouldn’t really say anything, I don’t want to rock the boat. –
(Aimee).

I felt like at that point in time, if I didn’t laugh about it, that the joke could be turned around on me. So I laugh so they don’t put me in the same basket as others they are making fun of. If I’m not with them then I’m against you know. It sucks I feel guilty at times, deep down I don’t find it appropriate but if I say something then they will say I need to relax, then it gets awkward and if it’s like my manager or someone higher up the hierarchy then what I can say? Who can I go to? Nothing will be done about it, just be burning my bridges. I also don’t think it’s professional or respectful to get into an argument at work about things like that, especially with your manager and even then, I don’t have the energy so best avoid all that drama. - (Leila).

Participants laughed off ‘ethnically charged’ microaggressions at work because challenging such interactions at work would be seen as breaching the norms of professionalism.

Therefore, although participants were victims of inappropriate conduct themselves, they were

still mindful of the professional boundaries which must be maintained. Leila cited her professionally grounded respect for her colleagues, which led her to believe it was inappropriate to challenge their behaviour (Lugones, 1987, 2003). She also referenced the power imbalance within workplaces that comes to play when such interactions are perpetrated by management. Managers are expected to be the very gatekeepers of professionalism themselves; hence Leila feels helpless in such situations (Sears et al., 2021; Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007). Leila, Aimee and Alisi all share commonly reported reactions of racial microaggressions, whereby the victim is “usually placed in a catch-22”, situation, questioning “whether a microaggression has occurred” and if they would be gaslit for challenging it (Sears et al., 2021; Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007, p. 279). However, regardless of how participants chose to react to such microaggressions, they were still able to see the double edges of workplace norms. They were “normatively happy” with such norms of professionalism within the workplace, and they could see their ‘dominant other’ violating them but they still felt the need to uphold such norms from their end (Lugones, 1987, p. 12; 2003). They could see the plurality in the situation; the norms of professionalism existed and didn’t exist, at the same time, in their world (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

They laughed off such interactions not because they found them humorous rather, on the contrary, they laughed because they saw the absurdity in such interactions (Kramer, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003). They could see the harm in such ethnically charged jokes but also the naivety of their ‘dominant other’ who animated them as acts of subtle humour (Kramer, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003) .

They could also see the plurality in the norms of professionalism, which led them to respect their employment setting and their ‘dominant other’ even when their ‘dominant other’ wasn’t affording them with such respect (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Alisi chose to ‘laugh off’ such experiences because doing so was a culturally embedded coping behaviour while maintaining love and respect for others. Hence similar to other participants, Alisi’s laughter was a survival-rich behaviour because, like other participants, she knows the norms she must play to survive such worlds (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Through travelling to other people's ‘worlds’ we discover that there are ‘worlds’ in which those who are the victims of arrogant perception are really subjects, lively beings, resistors, constructors of visions even though in the mainstream construction

they are animated only by the arrogant perceiver and are pliable, foldable, file-awayable, classifiable. (Lugones, 1987, p. 18).

Furthermore, participants can see the plurality in their dominant ‘Other,’ who genuinely believes themselves to be humorous beings (Lugones, 1987, 2003). When in fact, the joke in some way is on them, because the ethnic minority world traveller can see the double edges of their ‘dominant other’ (Lugones, 1987, 2003). They can see their ‘dominant other’ falling prey to their own vices of unconscious predispositions without being aware of it themselves (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Ethnic minority world travellers can, therefore “make the picture of those who dominate” them “funny precisely because” they “can see them doubly constructed” and “the plurality in them”, hence the laughter (Lugones, 1987, p. 14; 2003).

It is important to note that while participants laugh off ethnically charged jokes, this can be seen as an avoidance coping technique; one that isn’t considered “maladaptive but rather protective” in nature by participants (DeCuir-Gunby et al., 2020, p. 503). Hence it remains a survival rich behaviour as opposed to an unhealthy coping behaviour, as perceived by the participants (Lugones, 1987, 2003). This is apparent in Leila’s narrative when she explains she laughs at ethnically charged jokes out of fear of potentially offending her ‘dominant other’ and, in turn, becoming the very object of their arrogantly perceived humour (DeCuir-Gunby et al., 2020; Lugones, 1987, 2003). She laughed because she didn’t want the joke to be played on her.

Leila didn’t want to be constructed as a serious person either; she believed humour can be an efficient tool in facilitating discussions about otherwise seemingly sensitive topics (Kramer, 2017). However, she felt such humour needed to be executed effectively and preferably by those who held the experiences they were speaking to.

I’m not a hypocrite like I know I watch Dave Chapelle, Kevin Hart, Russell Peters. They are hilarious and all make racial jokes and I laugh! Because humour sometimes lets us talk about really sinister stuff. But there’s a time, and place and way you do it, like within an appropriate setting. I don’t want my white mates to walk around on eggshells around me I’m not a stuck-up person. But don’t pull the race joke card out when you can’t speak to that experience and like at work in front of people that I have a professional

relationship with. No my parents don't own a dairy, never have, get over it because it's just not funny right. Like I might not know you that well so no it's not cool for you to say stuff at work in front of everybody! - (Leila)

Aimee also agrees that her ethnicity is not off the discussion topic, but it needs to be done in an appropriate manner that is acceptable for her as opposed to being sprung on her.

I definitely don't mind talking about my ethnicity. But I think when it is brought up as almost an exotic quality, that's what sets me off! It's like I really don't mind talking about it and when it comes from me and or another ethnic minority, I'm more open to it. – (Aimee)

Kramer posits that “subversive humour”, “that which is employed by or on behalf of those who have been continually marginalised” if utilised effectively “can facilitate an openness and cooperative attitude among an otherwise closed audience” (2017, p. 93). Such a form of humour is in line with Leila and Aimee’s narrative that they don’t mind ethnic related jokes or conversations, provided it comes from someone who knows of the experiences they speak to. This ensures that the jokes aren’t “oppressive laughter from above” where the joke teller and joke receiver are not only from different worlds, but there exists a gross imbalance of privilege amongst the two (Kramer, 2017). Such humour does not set out to create creative opportunities for openness; it is not loving playfulness (Kramer, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003). Contrarily it is agnostic play because it constructs the fun out of both the joke teller and receiver, as well as the humorous intentions of the interaction (Kramer, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003). Leila admits she doesn’t want to be interpreted as a serious being who has had the fun constructed out of her (Lugones, 1987). She cites her fondness for comedy and comedians and thus can be seen as constructing herself as a playful being (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Leila doesn’t want her friends to lose their playfulness either and separates such playful experiences from inappropriate jokes at work, perpetuated by those with whom she lacks history with and thus is not at ease with (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Instead, she finds such humour agnostic and dominating, whereby the “laughter of the powerful often reveals a presumptuousness of privileged access on their part that they possess knowledge” about the unprivileged ethnic minority traveller (Kramer, 2017, p. 105).

The ethnic minority world traveller in this sense is constructed as someone that the ‘dominant other’ joke teller knows everything about, hence there exists a dangerous and unhealthy “presumed ignorance, naiveté, or what might be worse, simply the lack of a sense of humour” (Kramer, 2017, p. 105). The ethnic minority world traveller can see these double edges hence the plurality of the situation, but their dominant ‘Other,’ blinded by their own arrogant perception, sadly remains oblivious (Lugones, 1987, 2003). “Subversive humourists let us see how extraordinary civilized oppression really is; not because it so rarely happens, but because it happens so much, affects so many people, and in so many everyday situations”(Kramer, 2017, p. 117).

*No my parents don't own a dairy, never have, get over it because it's just not funny
- (Leila).*

3.13 UNSEEN MINORITY EFFORT AND HOPE FOR BETTER UNDERSTANDINGS

There was a consensus amongst participant narratives that their ‘dominant other’ was unable to see and understand the added effort minority group members invest as part of their daily ethnic minority existence.

I don't think they realise it's hard for us, takes so much more work for us. Like in subtle ways from putting up with racial slights to like worrying if your ethnicity is being judged in a bad way. Am I being professionally held back because my managers may have some form of unconscious bias that even they don't know about? How can I know when they don't know? Then it's like we can't even talk about it because they will be like what are you about? I don't blame them for not understanding because they don't know what it's like to be me, but I do think we can practice empathy by being open and trying to at least understand. But you got to care for that to happen right, some care and some don't, I guess - (Leila).

Gracie also advocates for the recognition of her ethnic minority efforts:

I guess first thing is recognition when we're doing something, it's about being recognized for what we do. And understanding when we achieve something,

that it is not easy! I think recognizing that it's not easy for us to do that. I think even having something like your research published somewhere, will help because like this kind of conversation, won't happen with someone that is the dominant majority. They probably won't understand, well I think it is very hard for them to understand, how I have to work harder, like especially if they don't experience it themselves – (Gracie).

Both Leila and Gracie touch on the notion of having to work harder as an ethnic minority individual. They cite their ethnic minority body as problematising their existence in the presence of their 'dominant other'. They feel their 'dominant other' is unable to see and understand the gravity of their situation because they are blinded by their arrogant perception (Lugones, 1987, 2003). They can't share their experiences with her dominant 'Other' because they won't understand.

Their 'dominant other' isn't deemed as being capable of world travelling because they are blinded by their arrogant perception. Hence, they are unable to see the ethnic minority world traveller and their lived experiences with loving perception (Lugones, 1987, 2003). They can't seem to travel to the ethnic minority traveller's world and see them as they are constructed (Lugones, 1987, 2003). As such they are both left lacking which Lugones believes is the result of an unhealthy independence (1987). Lugones warns against such independence and deems it problematic for the existence of both majority and minority individuals (1987, 2003). The more independent both groups become independent from each other, the more depleted their shared meaning of existence becomes (Lugones, 1987). Hence their co-dependency to identify and love each other is left lacking, and as such, both halves are left "in-complete and unreal" in such independencies (Dewart et al., 2020; Lugones, 1987, p. 8, 2003). However, such a co-dependency must not be mistaken with subordination, especially on the part of ethnic minority individuals. Instead, it should be understood as an equal and genuine dependency on each other (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Leila calls for such elements of care and empathy in her narrative. She believes by being open one can attempt to understand and empathise with the other, but this can only happen if one cares. Such a co-dependency through love and identification leaves both groups genuinely complete and real and their worlds healthy and complete (Lugones, 1987).

It could be that blinded by their arrogant perception; the ‘dominant other’ cannot understand the true depth and breadth of the ethnic minority travellers effort, they cannot see their lived experiences hence cannot understand them (Huynh et al., 2011; Kim et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2009; Lugones, 2003; Wildman, 2005). It could also be that the minority effort is not a necessary construction for the ‘dominant other’; their worlds seems to exist perfectly without the need to understand the minority traveller’s effort (Lugones, 1987). However, Lugones posits that some ‘dominant other’ are pained at their failure of love, in which case she suggests they revisit the act of world travelling with an attitude of loving perception (Lugones, 1987, 2003). “Many of them have expressed a general sense of being pained at their failure of love” (Lugones, 1987, p. 7).

To see the travels of the minority traveller Lugones urges one to abandon their rigid preconception and instead enter a relational space with the other, through openness, creativity, and loving playfulness and perception (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Hence in suggesting ways to overcome arrogant perception, Lugones can be understood as holding out hope (1987, 2003). “Love has to be rethought, made anew” (Lugones, 1987, p. 7). Lugones believes there is a possibility that love can be made anew, hence in this is possibility is hope for better cross ethnic relations (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

The participants in this research shared such a feeling of Lugones (1987, 2003). Sometimes hope stemmed from the healing of other worlds, similar to that of the participants but worlds that had not physically occupied but knew of.

Aotearoa New Zealand is a beautiful country, it's home. I love it! I would say that Aotearoa New Zealand is home and it's a beautiful country, and it's much more accepting than most other parts of the world anyway. But there are these subtle forms of stereotypes and racism and those nasty type of ethnic relations, that go on in Aotearoa New Zealand too. That I think is unhealthy for Aotearoa New Zealand as a country, it's holding us back from reaching our full potential. And I think some parts of the world, no matter how much you try and wash away your past, which is filled with stigma and racism. I think Aotearoa New Zealand can and does still have a chance to try and mend some of those broken experiences. You know, there's great work being done around Treaty of Waitangi, in Aotearoa New Zealand. There's lots of positive work

now I see and read that is coming to the forefront with great momentum, about dual partnership, and governance for Aotearoa New Zealand with Māori. And it's great to see because I can see that there's some restorative efforts there and I think that we've just got to make sure that we work with that –(Leila).

Leila's fondness for Aotearoa New Zealand and her hope for its future is beautifully posited on the progressions of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. She considers other ethnic groups who have suffered historical minoritisation and draws inspiration from their success and advancements. Her actions can also be interpreted as unifying people's experiences and successes, and in doing so, she is transcending ethnical boundaries to construct hope for a better future. Leila cites the progress made around Te Tiriti o Waitangi and draws inspiration from such acts of love and acceptance for the greater ethnic minority group in Aotearoa New Zealand. Therefore, Leila seems to recall worlds that she only knows of but has not travelled to herself (Lugones, 1987, 2003). By doing so, she begins to build a shared sense of meaning and history with others, from other worlds in the past, present and future (Lugones, 1987).

Tara cites the need to recognise the indigenous place of Māori and that assimilation into mainstream Aotearoa New Zealand also means learning TiKānaga Māori and celebrating Māoritanga. She believes even though she is a minority, there are worlds that have been invisible to her because she has been blinded by her own arrogant perception.

This morning on Stuff, there was an article about a Hindu community over in Rotorua, and they formed an alliance with the Marae. And they take, you know, groups of Hindus into. I have lived in Aotearoa New Zealand for thirty years I've never been on marae, and I've never had a hongi, you know. And that's embarrassing! - (Tara).

Tara speaks of recognising the place of Māori worlds embedded within the construction of Aotearoa New Zealand's collective landscape and how often such an important aspect of Aotearoa New Zealand's cultural identity is overlooked. Tara is being creatively open and curious about a world that she has not travelled to and is not a part of in a meaningful way, but nevertheless would like to identify with and travel to (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

Zara spoke of the Christchurch masjidah shootings and how from such an unfortunate tragedy, arose better understandings of love and acceptance for each other.

There will be let's say, one percent, or two percent, that will not change, will never change. But majority, yes, they have changed. Unfortunately, it's sad to say that yes, a tragedy happened it was sad. But again, at the same time, it made a lot of changes – (Zara).

Zara's narrative is proof of how hostile, arrogant perceptions can destroy the worlds of ethnic minorities, but it also bears witness to the fact that Aotearoa New Zealand, as a collective world, is capable of embracing its differences with loving perceptions (Lugones, 1987, 2003). The void of cross-ethnic lacking can be overcome in such a nation, and worlds can be made anew and healthy once again (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Differences can be made healthy by pledging "disloyalty to the arrogant perceivers, including the arrogant perceiver in ourselves" (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

4 CONCLUSION

This research aimed to build an understanding of how tertiary qualified ethnic minority individuals experience the world of employment in Aotearoa New Zealand, from the lens of their ethnic minority identity. To contextualise understandings, the research also focused on constructing an understanding of how ethnic minority individuals establish their ethnic minority identity within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand. Additionally, the significance of having a tertiary qualification for ethnic minority individuals was also explored. The latter exploration was motivated by the higher uptake of tertiary education by the ethnic minority population in comparison to Aotearoa New Zealand's general population (MfEC, 2021).

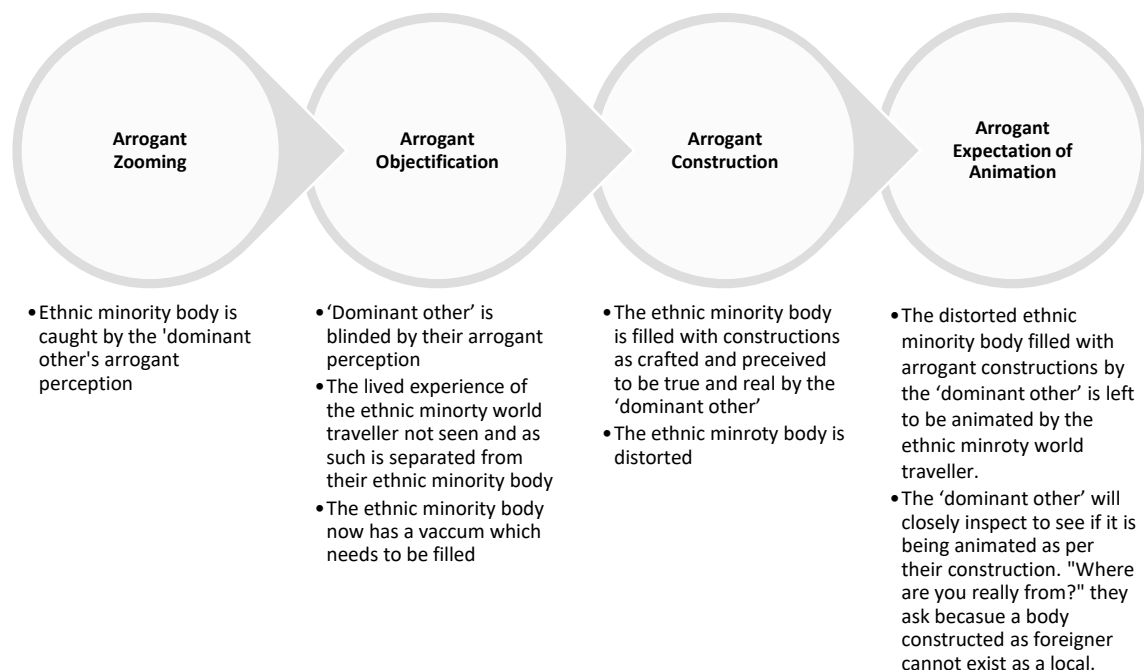
The ethnic minority participants in this research experienced the world of employment as an object of their 'dominant other's' arrogant perception. Such objectification was perpetrated by the participants' 'dominant other' and often involved the separation of the participants' ethnic minority lived experience from their ethnic minority body and the dismissal of the former. The ethnic minority lived experience of the participants was disregarded by their 'dominant other,' and as such only, their ethnic minority body was seen and taken into consideration. Subsequently, the 'dominant other' came to see the ethnic minority body of the participants as having a vacuum; hence they then filled it with constructions of how they perceived the ethnic minority person to be. For the participants, such acts of their 'dominant other' were typically experienced in two ways, the constant racialisation of their ethnic minority bodies and being constructed as a perpetual foreigner, despite their civic efforts. Both experiences were unwelcomed by the participants and often left their ethnic minority body falsely constructed and thus distorted (Ahmed, 2002; Freeman, 2017; Meer, 2019; Yancy, 2016). The participants' genuine and complete constructions of themselves had been dismissed, and their ethnic minority body that remained was subsequently oppressed (Dewart et al., 2020; Lugones, 1987, 2003). As such, the 'dominant other's' arrogant perception, which is their dismissive and oppressive gaze, was substantiated (Dewart et al., 2020). Participants did not recognise nor agree with the body they had been returned to them after it had been pierced by the arrogant, dismissive and oppressive gaze of their 'dominant other' (Dewart et al., 2020; Freeman, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Yancy, 2016). However, owing to the historical legacies and ongoing power imbalances within worlds, participants as ethnic minority individuals often felt they had little choice but to animate, to varying degrees, such false and incomplete constructions of them (Lugones, 1987, 2003). This was an act of survival by the

skilled ethnic minority world traveller (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Hence while the arrogant perceptions of the ‘dominant other’ went largely unchallenged in this research. Participants emerged as resilient and skilled ethnic minority world travellers through their narratives, who held out hope and fondness for Aotearoa New Zealand.

The below illustration shows how the arrogant perception of the ‘dominant other’ has come to be understood as a result of this research. It is to be noted that such an understanding could be unique to this research and while based on the ideas of Lugones’ theory of world travelling, it is not a summative reflection of her work on arrogant perception (1987, 2003). It is noted that such an illustrative conceptualisation of Lugones’ arrogant perception has not appeared in other texts thus far.

FIGURE 3

Process of Arrogant Perception



Participants were aware of the physical markers of difference that set them apart from their ‘dominant other.’ Hence their conceptualisation of their ethnic minority ‘self’ was often carried out through the eyes of their ‘dominant other.’ That is, the participants realised their ethnic minority identity, through the reflections of their ethnic minority body, as held in the eyes of their ‘dominant other.’ The ethnic minority not only looked different to the body of the ‘dominant other’ but it also had a marked absence of privilege. Racially charged acts substantiated such privilege and left participants with a sense of subordination. Not only were they different from the ‘dominant other’ but they were also their subordinate. Participants knew who they were and their place in their worlds because they knew of their ‘dominant other’ and their dominant place. As such, participant narratives supported the pivotal role the ‘Other’ plays in identity construction, whereby the construction of the self includes the relational construction of the ‘Other’ (Campbell, 2020; Canales, 2000; Cooley, 1902; Gould & Howson, 2021; Scheff, 2005; Uda & Singh, 2019). As Lugones’ mentions, there is an unacknowledged dependency between individuals to be complete and real beings because to define one’s ‘self,’ they must define their ‘Other’ (1987, 2003). As such, a misguided understanding of the other is anticipated to lead to a misconstruction of the self and vice versa (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Moreover for participants that had lived overseas, their ethnic minority identification within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, was related to their identification as a minority group member and experiences of minoritisation in other worlds. Collectively participants’ ethnic minority identity making processes established their ‘sense of place in their worlds’ which seemed to prepare them of their future world travels. The combined understandings constructed in this space is of growing importance to Aotearoa New Zealand’s rapidly evolving population. This is because it highlights the crucial role individuals play, in not only the construction of each other’s identities, but also how such identities are lived out. Hence for those who haven’t revisited historical constructions of both the ‘self’ and ‘other’ within the context of current-day Aotearoa New Zealand, there is a pressing need to do so. o them. “In attempting to take a hold of oneself and of one's relation to others in a particular ‘world,’ one may study, examine and come to under-stand oneself [...]. All of this is just self-reflection, and it is quite different from resigning or abandoning one” (Lugones, 1987, p. 17). To ensure the longevity of the worlds that construct current day Aotearoa New Zealand, constructions of the ‘self’ and the ‘other’ must be made anew. By doing so Aotearoa New Zealand can be made a healthy world where all individuals strive to find creative ways of existing with each other (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

The significance of tertiary education for the ethnic minority participants in this study was imbued with generational effort. Participants engaged in tertiary education because they understood the value of such an asset. Such value often stemmed from the fact that education was as a privilege that their parents and grandparents could not access. Hence despite education being a fairly accessible resource in Aotearoa New Zealand, it is still appraised as a privilege by ethnic minorities because of its privilege laden status, in prior worlds of former minority generations. As such attainment of a tertiary qualification is a celebration on many levels, not only of individual effort but also of generational effort and perseverance. It is evidence of the upward social mobility of ethnic minority world travellers. It also an asset that is expected to translate into future success across key settings such as employment (Hasmath, 2012a). Therefore for ethnic minority individuals, tertiary education is not just about acquiring skills for a particular occupation. It is about generational effort and sacrifice and becoming a ‘norm knower’, one who knows the norms of their ‘dominant other’s worlds. It is also a means of arming the ethnic minority world travelling for resistance of minoritisation.

Participant narratives highlighted the widely documented phenomenon of privilege, which the ethnic minority bodies lacked in comparison to their ‘dominant other’ (Kendall, 2012; Leonardo, 2004; McIntosh, 2008; Wildman, 2005; Wise & Rothenberg, 2002). In this research, such a phenomenon manifested in the form of the privilege of choice, which saw the participants world travel to unhealthy and hostile worlds, not as a matter of choice rather as a matter of necessity and survival. Owing to historic colonisation, participants had little choice in travelling to and existing within such unhealthy worlds, because many of their life successes were often played out in western worlds shared with their ‘dominant other.’ Long-standing and repetitive exposure to ongoing unhealthy conditions and experiences, further normalised such behaviours and thus became part and parcel of the participants’ ethnic minority experience. Notable is that the world of employment in Aotearoa New Zealand, is perceived as a world belonging to and thus dominated by, the participants ‘dominant other.’ This provides particularly valuable insights into the fabric of current day Aotearoa New Zealand, as it highlights the persistence of historic power imbalances whereby “world-views of the majority settler populations are often privileged in practice over indigenous or minority views” (Bhambra, 2014; Heller & McElhinny, 2017; Rocha & Webber, 2017, p. 32; Spoonley, 2015, 2020b).

There was an awareness of the ‘dominant other’s “propriety of abuse without identification” with them (Lugones, 1987, p. 5; 2003). Participants had grown to expect their ethnic minority body to be robbed of its solidity and grafted while their ‘dominant other’s privileged laden body, remained unimplicated because they could afford such indifferences, “which sometimes seem[ed] studied” (Lugones, 1987, p. 7; 2003). Such an awareness was often embodied from the identity-making experiences of participants. That is, participants knew of the power imbalances of their worlds because they recognised it from their identity-making processes (Ahmed, 2007b; Kim-ju & Liem, 2003; Umaña-Taylor, 2011). Hence, they had grown to expect that their ‘dominant other’ would dismiss their lived experience and only take their ethnic minority body into their sight. Participants knew of their ‘dominant other’s propensity to fill their ethnic minority bodies with their arrogantly perceived constructions; they had become familiar with the edges of their ‘dominant other’ and the edges of the constructions that were being thrust upon them (Ahmed, 2002; Lugones, 1987, 2003; Yancy, 2016).

The ‘dominant other’s perceived inability to world travel was attributed to their arrogant perceptions. It could be that the ‘dominant other’ was unaware of their own shortcomings hence could not world travel or that they simply saw no need nor any desire to world travel (Kramer, 2017; McIntosh, 2008; Wildman, 2005). Regardless, the blinded perceptions of the ‘dominant other’ contributed to their lack of world travelling, which subsequently created more distance between them and the ethnic minority world traveller (Kramer, 2017; Lugones, 1987, 2003).

The ethnic minority bodies of the participants were also filled with constructions of a perpetual foreigner, despite the participant's identification with the Aotearoa New Zealand nationalist identity and their civic efforts (Huynh et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2009; Lugones, 1987, 2003). As such, participants in this research were “taken to be counterfeit”, and thus continuously inspected by the dominant Other’ by means of racial microaggressions such as “where are you really from?” (DeCuir-Gunby & Gunby Jr, 2016; Huynh et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2009; Sue, Bucceri, et al., 2007; Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007). Consequently, participants felt they were “always in need of legitimation” and that their ethnic identity was always up for inquisition (Lugones, 1987, 2003). The ‘dominant other’ was therefore constructed by the participants as being unable to process the plurality of the ethnic minority world traveller. That is, the ‘dominant other’ could not see the participants as being Aotearoa

New Zealand nationals, hence New Zealanders who also happen to be ethnic minority individuals. There was more to the participants' identity and existence than just the often untrue and incomplete constructions with which their 'dominant other' filled their ethnic minority bodies.

Notable was the 'dominant other's propensity to continuously construct the participant's ethnic identity for them, be it by means of racializing it or by rendering it an exotic but incapable of integration, perpetual foreigner (Ahmed, 2002, 2007b; Huynh et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2009; Yancy, 2016). Such constructions were usually enforced upon participants, who had little choice but to animate them. Therefore although participants did not necessarily agree with their 'dominant other's constructions of them or the fact that they were being crushed into such an objecthood (Fanon, 1967). Owing to their privilege lacking status, participants often found little choice but to animate such constructions. Such animations, although driven through a lack of choice, can also be seen as acts of survival by the ethnic minority participants. As such, the ethnic minority world traveller becomes a master of 'trickery and foolery;' they animate constructions filled in their ethnic minority body by their 'dominant other,' while maintaining a plural vision of who they truly are (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

It is crucial to view this as a survival-rich behaviour by the ethnic minority travelling participants, whereby they could be plural beings in plural worlds without necessarily confusing the differences (Lugones, 1987, 2003). That is, participants could view their worlds with double edges and see the absurdity in them; hence they knew the constructions they had to inhabit across their worlds. Although there were moments of confusion in some participant narratives, as Lugones cautions, one must be on guard when animating plural constructions (1987, 2003). Materialising as ambiguous beings, participants animated both their own constructions and the constructions thrust within their ethnic minority bodies by their 'dominant other' in their employment world. Hence, they could see the two-ness within themselves and within their 'dominant other,' while the latter often remained none the wiser. Such a naivety of the 'dominant other' sometimes led participants to excuse their 'dominant other's arrogant perceptions, because they could see the ways in which their 'dominant other' was a victim of their own blinded perceptions. Therefore while ethnic minorities are often the victim of their 'dominant other's arrogant perceptions, they can also see the victim hidden within their 'dominant other'. Hence it can be said that participants in this research were able

to world travel to their 'dominant other's' worlds and see them as they are constructed, even though their 'dominant other' could not see truly see them in return. The difference could perhaps be explained by the notion of looking at the 'other' with loving perception, as described by Lugones (1987, 2003). The ethnic minority world traveller looks at their 'dominant other' both as the perpetrator of arrogant perceptions and with loving eyes (Frye, 1983; Lugones, 1987, 2003). As such a dependency comes to light, whereby the participants want to identify with their 'dominant other' so they both can exist harmoniously, as 'complete and real' beings in their worlds. However, such a dependency is not necessary for their 'dominant other,' who is happy to maintain status-quo. Their world and their integrity don't require the ethnic minority participants.

One could argue there is an element of self-abnegated love, whereby participants were "taken in by this equation of servitude with love" (Frye, 1983, p. 73; Lugones, 1987, 2003). This was often a learned form of love, whereby participants were able to simultaneously experience the polarity of situations, such as love and abuse, hardship, and hope. In fact, despite their trials and tribulations and crushing of their ethnic minority bodies, participants were still able to salvage the remains and continue world travelling with hope for a better future.

Thus through their narratives, participants evolved from being passive victims of their 'dominant other's' arrogant perception, to skilled survivors, armed with plurality and thus the ability to world travel. They came to be seen as capable beings, competent in finding creative opportunities in unhealthy and hostile environments in order to survive and thrive (Lugones, 1987; 2003). Findings revealed participants worked hard to learn norms of their different worlds. This is possibly because they were desperately searching for ways to be at ease, in some form, within worlds that were otherwise unhealthy for their ethnic minority self. They learnt the norms of their 'dominant other's' worlds so they could be confident and "fluent speakers in that 'world' (Lugones, 1987, p. 12; 2003).

Participants also invested additional effort to survive and thrive in their employment worlds, such as laughing off offensive commentary to maintain professional norms within the workplace and adapting their appearance and diet to build a sense of belonging. It is important to note that while participants may have chosen to suppress their embodied experiences and detach themselves from ethnicity related stressors, such behaviours aren't

necessarily seen as problem avoidance strategies by them; rather, they are appraised as protective coping mechanisms (DeCuir-Gunby et al., 2020; Mellor, 2004; Thomas et al., 2008). Unhealthy ethnicity related interactions were often suppressed, avoided, or ignored by participants. This is because such unhealthy perpetrations were classified as being persistent therefore challenging them would be exhaustive and open them to further penalisations by their ‘dominant other’ (Constant, 2014; DeCuir-Gunby et al., 2020; Lugones, 1987, 2003). Hence such efforts are once again displays of survival rich behaviour by the participants (Lugones, 1987, 2003).

It was clear through participants practice of plurality that they could see the double edges of their world and their travels, as well as that of their ‘dominant other’ (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Participants knew “truths that only the fool can speak and only the trickster can play” (Lugones, 1987, p. 13; 2003). Yet their ‘dominant other’ could not see their own double edges; they could not feel it, they could not world travel because they were blinded by their arrogant perception. Instead, they often travelled with an attitude of agnostic play, thinking they were being playful (Lugones, 1987, 2003). This was especially the case when participants reported that their ‘dominant other’ found the citation of ethnically charged jokes to be humorous, when in fact, they were grossly inappropriate. The blinded ‘dominant other’ often believed they were being humorous or engaging in casual banter, but the participants could see the absurdity in the situation.

The ‘dominant other’s agnostic attitude of play and their arrogant perception caused harm to the participant worlds and often left them distorted, fragmented and confused. The ‘dominant other,’ however, seemed to walkway unimplicated leaving the participants to salvage their broken fragments and rebuild, only to be broken again.

Blinded by their arrogant perception, the ‘dominant other’ could not see the ethnic minority effort of the participants; they could not see the lived ethnic minority experience. The void of cross-cultural understanding, created by arrogant perceptions, meant there was a lack of love and identification (Lugones, 1987, 2003). Owing to such deficiencies, participants felt their ‘dominant other’ could not see their ethnic minority burden and subsequent efforts. This was embedded in the rationale that blinded by their arrogant perception; the ‘dominant other’ could not world travel and see the participants and their genuine constructions (Lugones, 1987, 2003). As such, both being remained independent of each other while in each other’s

midst, and the more independent they become, the more they leave each other alone (Lugones, 1987, 2003). “Without knowing the other's ‘world,’ one does not know the other, and without knowing the other one is really alone in the other's presence because the other is only dimly present to one” (Lugones, 1987, p. 18).

However, even in such independence and loneliness, there remained a glimmer of hope for better cross-cultural relations and identification in Aotearoa New Zealand. Although at times such hope stemmed from a place of “servitude with love,” there remained an opportunity for a co-dependency, free of subordination and enslavement (Frye, 1983, p. 73; Lugones, 1987, 2003). Participants envisaged this as being possible if the ‘dominant other’ could be rescued from their own arrogant perception so that their agnostic play could be replaced with loving playfulness, where everyone can creatively and openly explore each other’s constructions and thus build positive cross-cultural understandings.

Such playfulness requires “an openness to being a fool”, which is a combination of not worrying about competence, not being self-important [...]and finding ambiguity and double edges as a source of wisdom and delight” (Lugones, 1987, p. 17; 2003). Participants felt such loving perception and loving playfulness was possible because they drew inspiration from Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Te Ao Māori perspectives and the Māori-Crown relationship in Aotearoa New Zealand and thus unified all worlds whereby progress for one was seen as hope for all (Awatere, 1984; Goldberg, 2004; Radhakrishnan & Fafoi, 2021; Rocha & Webber, 2017).

4.1 FUTURE WORLDS AND TRAVELS- LOOKING AHEAD

Aotearoa New Zealand employers can promote better cross-cultural understandings by ensuring management are well trained and capable of not fostering healthy cross-cultural interactions within the workplace. They must also be capable role models of such initiatives. Participant narratives in this research painted a concerning picture of management who, despite being the very gatekeepers of professional conduct within the workplace, were often the very perpetrators of racial microaggressions. The guardianship role of Aotearoa New Zealand’s employment legislation against racist conduct within the workplace must be made explicit to all workers. The relationship between racial microaggressions and breach of employment legislation must be made explicit. There must an increased awareness of racial microaggressions and how seemingly innocuous commentary can infer racial hurt and harm.

These can be unintentional acts whereby the perpetrator is often unaware of their inflictions, and while the uptake of unconscious bias training by Aotearoa New Zealand is recognised. A one-off training session targeting specific groups may not prove sufficient in addressing the issue at hand. It is proposed that Aotearoa New Zealand employers firstly reach out and engage their workforce and take their cultural pulse prior to investing in cross-cultural awareness training. A one-size-fits-all approach may not suit all workplaces. This is a crucial step because every workplace differs in its workforce demographic; thus, for training to prove efficient, it must be recognised as being necessary in the first place. Secondly, workplace policies and strategies must translate into practice as opposed to remaining ‘paper bound’. Shell policies that are written but not seen as being practiced can further conduce unhealthy cross-cultural relations at work. Working groups formed to promote better cross-cultural understanding should be open and well resourced. Workers should not be coerced into joining working groups, instead they should be provided with information and supported to make their decisions. Changes and decisions regarding minority group members must be conducted in consultation with members of minority groups. Changes should ideally be spear headed by individuals who hold a shared history with those who likely to be influenced by such changes. Better ethnic minority representation within leadership roles is a profoundly valuable tool for empowering minority group members. Finally, cultural competency training sessions should ideally be delivered in shorter sessions over a longer period of time. Attending a one-off session may not translate into long term behavioural changes. As this research has highlighted, it is often the subtle yet persistent daily racial microaggressions that inflict the most harm. The arrogant perception of dominant group members blinds them to the lived experiences of ethnic minority group members, therefore, to counter such perceptions, the matter must be approached in an open and creative manner. While it is a powerful and deeply moving experience to recognise personal privileges, how such privileges may be colouring the day-to-day interactions of individuals with others around them, must be identified and discussed. Both dominant and ethnic minority group members must be included in such a dialogue, at appropriate places, to ensure the facilitation of a progressive discourse. Future research regarding ethnic minority employment experiences could focus on experiences of all genders and or perhaps how the intersection of gender and ethnicity plays out within Aotearoa New Zealand employment places. The significance of tertiary education highlighted in this study could be further researched by exploring if and how tertiary education translates into occupational success for ethnic minority individuals in Aotearoa New Zealand. “So, in recommending ‘world’-travelling and identification through ‘world’-

travelling as part of loving other[s] [...] I am suggesting disloyalty to arrogant perceivers, including the arrogant perceiver in ourselves, and to their constructions” (Lugones, 1987, p. 18).

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6 APPENDICIES

6.1 APPENDIX A

ETHNIC Minority IDENTITIES & NZ EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES – INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Opening Rapport

- Go over consent form
- I would like to reassure you that your name and names of employment settings will be anonymised, and pseudonyms (fake names) will be used in their place.
- For your wellbeing - I would like to remind you of the contact details for counselling services should you need these. These are ‘Need to Talk’ – text or call 1737 anytime, ‘Lifeline’- 0800 543 354 & ‘Samaritans’ -0800 72 66 66 (as listed on the NZ Ministry of Health Manatū Hauora website). I can write these down for you if you would like.
- If you would like, I can do a follow up contact with you a few days after our interview, to ensure you are keeping well. This is absolutely your choice; you can opt to forego this contact. I will follow your preference.

I will be running an audio recording only of our interview today as well as taking notes. I will let you know before I start recording. We can pause the recording at any time if you wish. If you have requested a copy of your interview transcript in your consent form, then I will arrange for this to happen. This is the only interview that will be taking place, however if require clarity on what we have discussed today I may contact you to ensure I have accurately captured what you said.

Do you have any questions before we start with the questions?

Background Questions

I am going to start off with some basic background questions and as mentioned earlier, you can simply say pass for the questions you don’t wish to answer.

What gender do you identify with? _____

Which of the following age groups apply to you? *20’s age group / 30’s age group / 40’s age group / 40+*

What is your highest tertiary qualification achieved?

Undergraduate: Certificate / Diploma / Bachelor’s Degree

Postgraduate: Honours Degree / Master's Degree /Doctorate Degree

Other: (please list) _____

Where was the above qualification achieved: *NZ or Overseas?*

What is your current field of work (for e.g. I would answer this question by either saying I work in Human Resources, or I could state my actual job title of Group HR Consultant. It is up to you how you wish to answer this question. If not currently employed, you can refer to your most recent employment)? _____

How long has Aotearoa New Zealand been your home? _____

Please list the ethnicity or ethnicities that you identify with (you can identify with a single ethnicity or multiple ethnicities and this could be based on what ethnicity/ies you identify with and what identifying with an ethnicity or multiple ethnicities, means to you)

I will now start the recording. Start recording.

Opening Question

I would like to start off by getting to know a little bit more about you so please tell me a little about yourself and what has led you to be part of this research and here with me today?

Education- meaning for ethnic minorities.

I noticed that you have a tertiary qualification, and, in my research, I am quite interested to know how qualified people who identify as ethnic minorities, experience workplace settings. So, can you please tell me what significance does having a tertiary qualification hold for you and your family?

Ethnicity- Meaning & Saliency

I identify as an ethnic minority and believe being an ethnic minority can take on different meanings for different people.

In your own words can you please tell me what the term ethnic minority means to you and what leads you to identify yourself as an ethnic minority individual?

(An example of meaning: ethnic minority affiliations can be guided by numerical minority representation within a population and/or 'minoritisation' i.e., socio-political & economical).

If ethnic identity is not disclosed: I respect that you do not wish to disclose your ethnicity/ies. Would you be comfortable sharing with me why you may have chosen to do so?

* Only ask the next question if participant seems comfortable talking about their ethnicity/ies and did not seem distressed answering the previous question.

How do you think others that may identify with your ethnicity/ies think and feel about their ethnic background?

Ethnicity & Employment Experiences

There has been significant research overseas regarding people's ethnicities and how it may be interacting with their perceptions and experiences within the employment settings. So, with this in mind, can you tell me a little about your employment experiences in Aotearoa New Zealand so far, so what have they been like, have they met your expectations, have they been fulfilling?

Probe: if ethnicity is not brought up already

- Do you believe any of your employment experiences have been influenced by your ethnic identity and how so?

Ethnic Stereotypes

- Define Stereotype.
- I have had varying degrees of experiences in this space.

Are you aware of any stereotypes about your ethnicity/ies, operating within NZ employment settings, have you experienced them and what are your thoughts on this?

If not -*are you aware of stereotypes operating about ethnic minorities or other ethnicities in NZ? What do you think about these? How do you think such stereotypes might be affecting others?*

Future Direction

In your perspective, how should people of ethnic minority backgrounds be supported within employment settings of Aotearoa New Zealand? What is being done well and what can be done better?

That brings us to the end of my questions.

Is there anything you would like to add?

I will now stop the recording-*End Interview & Cease recording*

Thank participant for their time and sharing their stories. Outline timeframes and research contact to follow such as transcripts.

I understand that an overwhelming amount of information has been covered in our meeting today. If a question comes to your mind after you leave today, then feel free to approach me via email or phone-call and I will gladly answer them for you.

Wellbeing check- Would you prefer a follow up contact in a couple of days, from me, to ensure you are keeping well? This is absolutely your decision, and I am happy with whatever you are comfortable with.

Distress Guidelines

At the first sign of discomfort the interviewer will change the topic of discussion or offer the opportunity to take a break

If the interview is clearly causing distress, then it will be discontinued.

Participant will be given the opportunity to regroup their thoughts.

Participant will be provided contact details for counselling services these are 'Need to Talk' – text or call 1737 anytime, 'Lifeline' - 0800 543 354 & 'Samaritans' -0800 72 66 66 (as listed on the NZ Ministry of Health Manatū Hauora website)

A follow up will be done with the participant to ensure they are keeping well.

6.2 APPENDIX B

Research Poster



A research looking at how tertiary qualified, ethnic minority individuals perceive and experience the Aotearoa New Zealand employment setting.

This research forms part of a Massey University post graduate thesis and may also lead to publication in academic journals, industry magazines, media and/or conference presentations. Names of participants and employment settings will be anonymised. Research is led by Massey University's post graduate student, Doreen Joshi.

Location & Time

- Auckland, New Zealand during March – June 2021
 - At a time and place convenient for the participants
- Two interviews 3-4 weeks apart

For more information please contact

Doreen Joshi

Ph: [REDACTED]

Email: doreen.joshi.2@uni.massey.ac.nz

Are you eligible?

Selection criteria

- Individuals who:
 - currently reside in NZ
 - have been employed in NZ, for any period of time, in the past 5 years
 - identify as an 'ethnic minority' person or from an 'ethnic minority' background
 - hold a tertiary qualification (achieved in NZ or overseas)

Ethnic Minority Self Identification:

Ethnic minority identification is about people's perceptions of their ethnic identity/ies, to which they relate. Participants are welcome to determine what such identification means and if it relates to them. A person may identify with a single or multiple ethnic background/s. Ethnic minority affiliations can be guided by numerical minority representation within a population and/or 'minoritisation' i.e., socio-political & economical subordination by a majority (dominant) group.

Research supervisors: Dr. Kate Bone, Massey School of Management, K.Bone@massey.ac.nz & Dr. Kate Blackwood, Massey School of Management, K.Blackwood@massey.ac.nz. **Full Ethics Approval granted by Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application NOR 21/06.**