Happiness, ethnic discrimination and human rights in post-colonial / multicultural New Zealand

An exploration of ethnic discrimination as a barrier to the fulfilment of human rights in New Zealand, through a study of the impact of ethnic discrimination from state institutions on the ability of ethnic minorities to pursue their versions of happiness.

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Abstract

The impact of ethnic discrimination on the ability of ethnic minorities to pursue their own versions of happiness has not been explored, especially in a New Zealand context. The pursuing of the primary sources of happiness has an impact on how people live their daily lives. When these primary sources are either hindered or threatened this can have an adverse effect on happiness. This research is positioned in the post-colonial / multicultural setting that is 21st New Zealand. From a viewpoint of liberal multiculturalism, the relationship between *recognition of identity* and *distribution of resources* is examined through an investigation of ethnic discrimination. This relationship is explored by positioning happiness as both an object at stake in its navigation and as a pivot point in debate on the status of multiculturalism.

This research draws its data from an online survey of 1878 participants in Auckland, New Zealand, with each identifying primarily with one of six ethnic identities (Chinese, Filipino, Indian, Māori, Pākehā and Samoan). The survey asked respondents about their primary sources of happiness and their experiences of ethnic discrimination from state institutions. Survey findings show that ethnic discrimination has a negative impact on the happiness of ethnic minorities when that discrimination puts barriers in place that prevent them from meeting their basic needs, and, therefore their access to primary sources of happiness. The survey findings identify family as the primary and shared source of happiness across ethnic groups. Furthermore, the survey data indicate that it is the state institutions responsible for meeting basic needs, or at least not hindering them, (Work and Income, Ministry of Health and Department of Corrections) that have the highest frequency of reported experiences of ethnic discrimination. Contextualised in a human rights framework, these results raise suggest a possible role for group rights (as compared to individual) in the both the negotiation of the relationship between recognition and distribution and the eradication of discrimination by New Zealand state institutions.

Preface

I am under no illusion about the benefits I have enjoyed from my position as an educated male Pākehā (European), and am becoming increasingly aware of the disadvantages others experience because they do not fit a similar profile. I start with this statement to express my declaration of 'white privilege' at the earliest opportunity. While considerable debate might emerge around me defining my experiences as 'white privilege', at the very least I know I have not been discriminated against because of the ethnic group with which I identify. Equally, I am aware of a tension in my work. I criticise the system from which I personally benefit, one that allows me to submit this thesis, and that will differentiate me from my peers in accordance with the grade that will be allocated.

As a citizen of New Zealand I seek to scrutinise the system in terms of an abiding social-cultural value associated with our history as a nation. I seek to analyse the fundamental structures that shape and control our society in terms of the normative concept of social equality, including the social welfare and justice systems. As well as those fundamental structures, this study inquires of those ancillary structures that are intended to provide equal opportunity and service to all members of New Zealand society, including state institutions such as Work and Income. Not only do I not support systems that discriminate on the basis of social difference, but I wholeheartedly reject any notion of inequality that results from social difference, whether that be based on ethnicity, religion, age, sexuality or any number of the unique aspects that make humanity so diverse. Regardless of the seemingly countless number of atrocities of the past, I believe we are at a point in humanity's existence where knowledge is shared instantly and vastly so that we know enough to, and have the ability to, eradicate racism, sexism, ageism, and generally all of the 'isms' that manifest through prejudice and discrimination. Regardless of the privileges I have experienced and still receive as I write this thesis, I care about social injustices both in a broad sense and in their specific manifestations.

It is my personal experiences that have lead me to the topic of this thesis. I can trace my academic opportunities and position to one single decision as a starting point.

This decision was not made by me, but rather by someone within a position of power and with authority over myself and others. This person was an employee of a state institution and responsible for performing their role with a view to the equal treatment of others and without discrimination. This person's decision gave me the opportunity to attend a course. This was an opportunity that was not given to others who had been on the waiting list for that particular course for much longer than I had been and had, arguably, a higher level of need to attend. It was my completion of this course that had huge knock-on benefits and eventually gave me the opportunity to undertake tertiary education for a second time, and to do so at a specific juncture in my life journey that has lead me to this point. I was given preference over one specific individual who certainly should have, all other things being equal, been accepted onto this course before I was. At a similar time when I was starting to experience benefits from completing this course, this individual was still experiencing barriers on their path towards further opportunities. The primary difference between this other individual and myself was our ethnic identity. This individual identified as Māori. The decision maker identified with the same ethnicity as myself, as Pākehā.

Further university education has enabled me to understand what happened that day. Once I possessed the words to understand that situation, I became increasingly outraged when discovering the frequency of situations like that, which I had experienced. At the same time, I am immensely grateful for the opportunities open to me and am motivated to not only avoid squandering these, but also to not consume them for only my personal gain.

My experiences and academic journey have taught me not only about the type of researcher I want to be, but also about the kind of person to which I aspire. More specifically, I understand the person I do *not* want to be. I do *not* want to be someone who knows of injustices yet does not speak up. I want to be someone who uses my 'white privilege' in spite of it, and to call out the hypocrisy, injustice and inequality of it.

I am an educated male Pākehā, and this thesis is my first formal attempt at challenging the system from which I have benefited immensely.

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Finally, to my family and friends for putting up with my almost obsessive discussion of this thesis and of the ideas contained within, and for their support. Most notably, I thank my parents and sister for their continued and steadfast support, tolerance and encouragement. Their faith in my potential motivates me to push forward at times when I doubt myself.

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Chapter One: Introduction

"Our whānau (family) knows we won't get treated the same as Pākehā…we know that by now…can't do much about it…so we just play the game"

Research participant, Māori, female aged 24 to 34.

The above quotation is representative of the feelings of many Māori and Samoan participants in this research. Amongst the reported experiences of ethnic discrimination sits a common theme of expecting inequality and expecting to be treated differently by state institutions - differently to how the same institutions treat members of the ethnic majority, Pākehā (European). This study seeks to understand the experiences of ethnic minorities in their interactions with New Zealand state institutions and to ascertain whether or not any perceived experiences of ethnic discrimination have an impact on the ability of such individuals to pursue their versions of happiness. This study, therefore, interprets participant's experiences through their definitions of happiness and their reported experiences of ethnic discrimination from state institutions. The resulting findings are then contextualised within the state's human rights obligations, within which the New Zealand government is located as a member of the international community and as a state that has ratified articles of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (hereafter referred to as UNDHR). Moreover, these findings are explored from the position of the post-colonial / multicultural setting that is New Zealand.

This study is being written from a liberal multiculturalism perspective, drawing on a form of multiculturalism that is inspired by liberal values of freedom, equality and democracy (Kymlicka, 2007). This study also sits in a post-colonial setting: Auckland, New Zealand. As one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the world, with 220 ethnicities currently residing in the city and in a country with a quarter (25.1%) of residents born overseas (Stats NZ, 2016), Auckland provides a societal setting indicative of the impact of globalisation and the increased immigration seen worldwide in the past few decades. Additionally, as New Zealand's most populated city, the socio-economic and political structures of the city are heavily influenced by the overarching post-colonial structure that is 21st century New Zealand. This level of

diversity presents challenges for the formulation of policies for a generalised recognition of ethnic difference, and of policies that distribute resources appropriately based on that recognition.

This opening chapter explores the state of the debate regarding multiculturalism and the relevance of multiculturalist policies in attempts to achieve current goals and aims in the fields of equality and human rights. Additionally, the significance of a human rights framework in relation to the intention of multiculturalist policies is explored, with a view to being discussed throughout this work. However, before I can explore these debates it is prudent first to understand what is meant by the, at times contentious, term 'multiculturalism'.

1.1 Defining Multiculturalism

Overall, the term 'multiculturalism' refers to a field of work and theory that seeks to understand the ethnic and religious diversity within the nation-state (Colombo, 2015). It can also refer to the area of public policy that includes, but is not limited to issues of integration, welfare, legal, immigration, recognition, and anti-discrimination law. As a field of theoretically-informed inquiry, multicultural study aims to generate policy that ultimately allows people with different customs, traditions, values and languages to have their difference recognised so that they may live together in the same social space (Colombo, 2015). Multiculturalism is essentially "…ideas about the legal and political accommodation of ethnic diversity" (Kymlicka, 2013, p.68).

Multiculturalism is complicated when working in a post-colonial society like New Zealand. The term is thereby required to address the issues of cultural assimilation and social inequality that resulted from the political colonisation of the country in question. In this context, the purpose of multiculturalist policies is to give recognition to indigenous peoples, and to other minority ethnic groups, without affiliation being required of their members to the majority group. Examples of these policies include those that aim to support cultural differences and maintain traditions, such as policies aimed at the preservation of indigenous languages (Colombo, 2015). One

example of such a policy in New Zealand is the recognition of Te Reo Māori as an official language. Some definitions and aims of multiculturalism relate specifically to indigenous groups and some to immigrant communities. Others include both, as is the case with the major multiculturalism debates in North America (Colombo, 2015). Will Kymlicka (1995) explains that policies may refer to claims by native or sub-state national groups. The term 'native' refers to indigenous groups, like Māori in New Zealand, and includes land rights and recognition of traditional laws. Sub-state national groups refer to groups within a state that have different interests to the majority, and policies may include language status.

In New Zealand, multiculturalism refers to both indigenous, Māori, and sub-state national groups, meaning those who have immigrated here. New Zealand is formally bicultural, and legally recognises Māori and non-Māori, or Pākehā, as equal partners (Sibley and Liu, 2007). This partnership is intended to refer to not only guardianship of resources, but also the contribution made to New Zealand's identity. This form of biculturalism took shape in the 1980s when a shift occurred in the Pākehā narrative; a shift from Pākehā seeing themselves as colonised by Britain to an awareness that they were colonisers of Māori (Spoonley, 1995). This shift resulted in altered perceptions of nationalism so as to include the increasing use of bicultural language, as opposed to the monocultural tone that preceded it (Simpson, 1992 as cited in Spoonley, 1995). Moreover, Spoonley notes that this shift was also influenced by the post-colonial politics that took form around the 1970s, after language around issues of biculturalism emerged in the post-World War Two era. This emergence gave a new language to existing struggles for recognition of indigenous rights and of resource allocation to meet the specific needs of Māori. To further understand the formation of biculturalism in New Zealand, and the effect that this has had on multiculturalism, it is worth considering a brief history of immigration in New Zealand.

Historically, migration to New Zealand was predominately 'white', as early immigration policies favoured European settlers, and immigrants from other countries, mainly Asian, were restricted (Ward and Masgoret, 2008). This attitude towards immigration policy changed in the years following World War Two when labour shortages resulted in an increase in immigration from Pacific countries. Attitudes changed again in the 1970s when Pacifica 'overstayers' were removed

from the country, in what many say were discriminatory policies given that European overstayers were not subject to the same treatment (Ward and Masgoret, 2008). In 1986, the New Zealand government loosened policies, and this resulted in immigration being more accessible to non-traditional sources of immigrants. In the 1990s, New Zealand thereby experienced a boom of migration from Asian countries, specifically China and India, due to the government actively seeking skilled and entrepreneurial immigrants irrespective of origin; the boom has continued into this century (Ward and Masgoret, 2008). The increased immigration from non-European countries in the past three decades has resulted in increased attention towards the potential need for multiculturalist policies. This increased need occurs amidst the formal recognition of New Zealand as a bicultural nation.

Andrew Sharp (1995) notes that conversations about multiculturalism in the 1980s were subdued in New Zealand by the formal recognition of the country as a bicultural nation, along with a rejuvenation in the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi during that period. Ward and Masgoret (2008) note that the shift in analytic register, from that of 'a bicultural society' to a 'multicultural' one, has occurred relatively quickly when compared to other countries. In part, this is because New Zealand has a significantly higher percentage of overseas-born residents than many other countries, (for example three times that of the Netherlands, and six times that of Finland) (p.240). The positioning of minority rights as a legal standing and based on a human rights framework also appears to have advanced the debate between biculturalism and multiculturalism in New Zealand (Sharp, 1995). The motivations of each movement, specifically the legal recognition of indigenous and minority cultures, are similar to a level where a seemingly endless debate about which is the most appropriate for New Zealand may be missing the point - that equality in a legal human rights framework is what is at stake. The situation in New Zealand highlights the point that, while fields such as multiculturalism and biculturalism take different forms, they share fundamental similarities in seeking recognition for two or more groups.

Colombo (2015, p.803) notes that, regardless of their concern with the status of indigenous, immigrant or otherwise discriminated groups, there are some significant similarities found in most versions of multiculturalism, including the following:

- An aim to promote democratic inclusion;
- Motivation to overcome previous and existing relationships deemed to be undemocratic;
- To give minorities a voice;
- Recognition of difference without discrimination based on that difference; and
- Cultural and group related rights.

Furthermore, Colombo notes that this type of work is not new to multiculturalism having been previously referred to as 'multinational' and 'multi-ethnic' analysis, as two examples (2015, p.807). Kymlicka (2013) explains that multiculturalism emerged to replace the concept of 'racial hierarchy' with that of 'democratic citizenship' (p.68), and differs from previous theories on ethnic relations in that it goes beyond the recognition of ethnic differences so as to consider the distribution of resources between groups. Moreover, the term multiculturalism also now hosts inquiry into how the meanings of 'diversity' and 'difference' have changed. Furthermore, where multiculturalism differs from concepts like the multinationalism of the past, is in the context of the discussions being had, such as multiculturalist discussions being positioned within other debates like human rights (Colombo, 2015). Most notably, debates around multiculturalism play out as debates about the application of human rights, and in social movements seeking the recognition of ethnic diversity (Baumann, 1999; Kymlicka, 2013).

The inclusion of context and of attention being placed on shifts in the meaning of terms like diversity and difference has seen the concept of multiculturalism encompassing a wider range of socio-political issues than its predecessors. This enlargement also widened the political aims that had been emerging, including the enhancing of social inclusion, with the recognition of differences (Colombo, 2015). Kymlicka (2013) notes that this shift paralleled human rights movements which gained traction after World Word Two, in response to the actions of Hitler and the Nazi party, among others. These human rights movements saw attitudes change from support for an apparently naturalised racial hierarchy to a quest for equality for all people, regardless of their ethnic affiliation.

Kymlicka (2013) categorises these human rights movements into the following three periods of struggles: for decolonisation between 1948 and 1965; for an end to racial segregation between 1955 and 1965; and for indigenous and minority rights from the 1960s onward. Each struggle was influenced and framed, at least partly and specifically in the United States, by the emergence of human rights ideals as a framework and as the language to engage politically with the increasing multicultural populations in the post-war era. The influence of the human rights movement during the above periods not only motivated each struggle, but it also provided structure for the goals of each struggle (Kymlicka, 2013). Groups struggling against discrimination also had to eradicate their hierarchical systems as well. These processes sought to frame differences through a human rights framework, positively adjusting not only vertical relationships but also horizontal - the relationships within groups. These adjustments of relations lead to, what Kymlicka calls, a 'democratic citizenization' (p.74); herein lies a primary motivation of multiculturalist policies: the formulation of "…democratic citizenship, grounded in human rights ideals, to replace earlier uncivil and undemocratic relations…" (p.76). In New Zealand, especially during the 1960s and into the 1970s, the post-colonial language that was emerging in politics resulted in Māori community seeking recognition for their indigenous standing based on a human rights framework, and on a basis of equality. Each of these periods included struggles against concepts and policies of cultural universalism and struggles for recognition of difference as a human right (Kymlicka, 2013).

Multiculturalism argues against the principle of cultural universalism and contends that cultural difference is important at both the philosophical and political levels (Colombo, 2015). The support of cultural universalism is seen to promote the exploitation of minority groups through its claims of universal values and practices, which are based on majority values and practices (Weiviorka as cited in Colombo, 2015). Group difference is of particular importance in a post-colonial setting in that it challenges any homogeneity expected of indigenous and minority groups. Through the recognition of difference, the debate becomes constructionist in kind, insofar as cultures are seen to be influenced more by contingent dimensions of the social, like history and power relationships, than by material elements such as place of birth (Hall, 2000). This is the situation in post-colonial New Zealand, where the

understanding of cultural difference has been influenced by the country's colonial history and by the political dominance exerted by the Pākehā majority.

No agreed upon universal definition of multiculturalism exists (Colombo, 2015). Regardless, from the outset, any exploration into the field of multiculturalism needs to work within these different interpretations to gauge an understanding of the criticism of multiculturalist policies and how they have shaped today's political debates and policy directions. The debate about the increasingly multicultural populations of post-colonial societies, like New Zealand, have predominately occurred in legal terms through discussions and actions under human rights frameworks and ideals. The significance of the influence of human rights on these debates is that the frameworks offer justification for both the support and the critique of multiculturalist policies, as will become evident in the following section. That section explores criticisms of multiculturalism and their implications for this thesis.

1.2 Criticisms of Multiculturalism

Attitudes towards multiculturalism started to shift around the turn of the century, with concerns that policies oriented toward the recognition of cultural difference had resulted in social fragmentation (Colombo, 2015). Moreover, the effect of multiculturalist policies was seen, by some critics, to weaken social cohesion. Proponents of these criticisms argue that policies that recognise difference to the point at which minority groups are enabled to maintain their own identity, is a form of separatism (Joppke, 2004 as cited in Colombo, 2015). Furthermore, multiculturalism policies have not only failed, but they have also promoted a separation of lives, and this is what has resulted in the weakening of social cohesion within nations. Based on this, critics of multiculturalism maintain that states must prioritise the values and practices of the majority and accordingly, minorities must be expected to accept this (Goodman, 2010). As discussed by Goodman, one idea championed by these critics is to adjust integration policies in relation to social welfare entitlement, increasing stand-down periods for benefits and the introduction of specific requirements upon migrants before they can receive support. Kymlicka (2013) positions these types of

requirements in a 'rights vs. duties' debate (p.87). He notes that some countries have implemented policies within which integration becomes a requirement, through mandatory programs, before access to social rights is granted. This type of requirement means that migrants must fulfil certain 'duties' before they can enjoy 'rights'.

The criticism of multiculturalism most relevant to this discussion goes by the label of "progressive criticism" (Colombo, 2015, p.811). This position claims that multiculturalism policies have failed to correct socio-economic inequalities. This specific criticism argues that a disproportionate focus on cultural differences in the past has resulted in a diluted criticism of the economic means by which ethnic minorities are discriminated against. Fraser (2003) contends that the eradication of discrimination requires both a recognition of cultural identities and a redistribution of resources and that an over-emphasis on the recognition of social differences does not, in itself, reduce levels of social inequality. Or, as Colombo (2015) states, the recognition of culture alone does not result in members of that culture being empowered: it takes more.

In an extension of the arguments of progressive criticism, a point is made by Colombo (2015) that social policies need to protect minority groups from discrimination while also promoting social cohesion. A focus on 'bridging social capital' is one mechanism that is seen to perform this task, and this is based on a belief that an over-emphasis on cultural differences alienates minorities and limits both their political and economic participation. Putnam (2001) explains that multiculturalist policies seek to bond social capital, rather than bridge it. Bonding social capital refers to policies that protect minority cultures and promote cohesion within the groups only. This contrasts with 'bridging' policies, which promote cohesion between groups and seek social cohesion for the nation (as cited in Colombo, 2015). According to Colombo, as an example, policies intending to support the preservation of languages are ones that bond social capital, and policies that encourage the learning of the communication skills required to function fully in the community are ones that bridge social capital. Therefore, it is policies that both preserve cultures while promoting social cohesion, through the bridging rather than

bonding of social capital, for which proponents of progressive criticism call (Colombo, 2015).

A critique of multiculturalism that is similar to progressive criticism argues that the over-emphasis on cultural aspects of minorities, as can occur with multiculturalist policies, has threatened national identities. This argument has led to a range of policies that require new immigrants to adjust to the cultural practices, if not beliefs, of the ethnic majority. An example of this is the banning of the burqa being worn in public places in France (Murphy, 2012). In this same vein, Huntington (2004) argues that a liberal immigration stance in the United States of America towards Latinos risks "…national disintegration through the introduction of diverse cultural differences". This threatens the national identity of the United States (as cited in Murphy, 2012, p.3). In New Zealand, policy reactions have been more muted. The 1995 changes to immigration policy, which initially required a higher level of English proficiency - only to then be softened in 1998 - indicates a state of ambivalence towards this matter. Clarke (2006) further contends, in the New Zealand context, that emphasis on the recognition of culture has limited the understanding of Islam: Islam has been represented as a homogenous religion, rendering invisible its internal diversity. This simplistic use of 'culture' in the interpretation of religion results in a stark form of differentiation, "…between 'tolerable' aspects of the religion that are to be encouraged, and 'intolerable' aspects that are to be suppressed" (p.71). Furthermore, this view of Islam has reduced it to a set of characteristics. It is now seen along with 'Muslim', as an ethnic identity. This over-simplification disregards the multiple ethnicities that practice the religion, all with their own set of characteristics seeking recognition. This example given by Clarke relates to the progressive criticism argument that an over-emphasis on diversity can threaten national identity.

Kymlicka (2013) argues that multiculturalist policies that give legal recognition to ethnic minorities are most needed when established groups see immigration as a threat to national identity. That is because these policies work effectively when the relationship between the state and ethnic minorities is mediated by social policies, rather than those concerned with security. Within this context, the implementation of appropriate policies can alleviate perceived threats from immigration. Furthermore, the support for immigration and cultural diversity drops when increased levels of

immigration and diversity are treated as a threat by incumbent governments and other politicians. Kymlicka gives the treatment of Arabs in North America post-9/11 as an example.

In New Zealand, the 'one law for all' speech given in 2004 by then National party leader, Don Brash, is a case of both a reaction to attitudes towards recognition and immigration and as an incident that fuelled reaction. Championing the elimination of Māori focussed rights in favour of 'one law for all' and of the recognition of needs over rights, Brash received positive support from the public that resulted in a more than doubling of support for the National party in nationwide polls (O'Sullivan, 2008, p.973). Brash's tone was partially fuelled, by a belief, that was held in some segments of New Zealand society at least, that Māori claims for autonomy, and other recognition, had conflicted with the principles of democracy and threatened the nation's unity (O'Sullivan, 2008). At a similar time, positive attitudes towards immigration in New Zealand also decreased.

Notwithstanding the sporadic expressions of opposition toward immigration, New Zealand appears to have a more positive attitude to immigration than many other countries, including Australia and countries in the European Union (Ward and Masgoret, 2008). Ward and Masgoret (2008) argue that New Zealanders' generally positive attitude to immigration has two sources. One is the percentage of people living in the country who were born overseas, and the other is the level of interaction between people of different cultures on a daily basis. They note that Aucklanders have the most positive attitude towards immigration, and this correlates with this being the most ethnically diverse city in the country. Johnston, Gendall, Trlin and Spoonley (2010) concur, noting that Aucklanders are less likely to be opposed to multiculturalist policies. Moreover, Ward and Masgoret (2008) found that almost four-times as many New Zealanders support integration policies than support policies aimed at assimilation and separation.

The criticisms of multiculturalism outlined here, which form around an increased discomfort within the western world with levels of immigration, have resulted in a retreat from multiculturalism into new forms of managing diversity. As Murphy (2012) surmised, 15 years ago, the debates around multiculturalism focused upon the

contribution that immigration policies could make to social equality; today they are more concerned with perceived failures of those policies and with establishing what might succeed the language of multiculturalism.

1.3 Currents of the Multiculturalism Debate

Recent years have seen a shift away from the language of multiculturalism as a means by which to analyse the composition of western societies. Kymlicka (2013) notes the emergence, instead, of the concept of 'post-multiculturalism', and calls the discussion of the "rise and fall" of multiculturalism today's "master narrative" (p.70). Moreover, he explains that the believers in this master narrative contend that increased diversity, as championed between the 1970s and into the 1990s, has given way to a belief that recognition of diversity has "gone too far" (p.71). According to Kymlicka, 'post-multiculturalism' is now being used to signal a preference for policies of civic integration that focus on goals of national cohesion and unified identity, rather than on group difference. The commonly held belief that multiculturalism has failed exists even amidst a lack of consensus as to what comes next.

Kymlicka (2013) responds to the master narrative that multiculturalism has failed with three main points. The first is that it "mischaracterises the nature of experiments…" (p.70), that have been undertaken under the umbrella of multiculturalism. Most notably, multiculturalist policies are about more than just a celebration of key markers of difference as critics claim: they also consider political, historical and economic determinates of social relations. The second is that the notion of post-multiculturalism overstates the degree of policy abandonment by governments: they exaggerate the fall of multiculturalism as a policy discourse. Kymlicka claims that, with a few exceptions, the number of multiculturalist policies across western countries has increased over the past 30 years, and cites the Multiculturalism Policy Index as evidence of this (p.68). The third is that the narrative fails to recognise the "genuine difficulties and limitations..." (p70) of the issues addressed by

multiculturalism policies. Kymlicka's main disagreement with the critics is that they mistake multiculturalism as not addressing difficult economic and political structures.

Regardless of the success or failure of multiculturalist policies in various countries, the terms used vary from country to country. Kymlicka (2007) notes that the term 'multiculturalism' has not been used universally in international documents because of the different meanings used in various countries and contexts. As an example, he points out that New Zealand uses the term only in relation to immigrant groups, not indigenous. In some Latin American countries, it is the opposite, with the term used predominately in relation to indigenous groups. Today, as a result of the increased desire for a shift away from multiculturalism policies, the use of the term has decreased further with some countries, including Australia, opting for words like 'diversity' instead (Kymlicka, 2007). However, the same increased level of retreat from multiculturalism has had less of an impact on policy itself. Vertovec and Wessendorf (2010) contend that this retreat has resulted in changes to the terminology used, yet not significantly to the policies it relates to (as cited in Kymlicka, 2013).

The belief that multiculturalist policies have failed in their intention to help groups discriminated against has resulted in a shift towards movements of 'social cohesion' and 'common values' in Europe (p.71), and towards policies of 'civic integration' (p.85) at the public policy level. The most common instances of these occur at the entry stage of immigration and take the form of requirements such as language proficiency tests (Kymlicka, 2013). Kymlicka sums up the current trend as moving towards a "modest strengthening of multiculturalist policies", regardless of the misinformed criticisms, and a "dramatic increase in civic integration" (p.85). He appears to find hope in this potential synergy between the ideas of civic integration and multiculturalism.

The work that remains to be done, as indicated by these discussions around the language of multiculturalism and recognition, and by the debates around future forms, relates to the role of human rights frameworks and ideals. Specifically, further

understanding is required as to the role of human rights in the formation and implementation of policies that impact on relationships between, and within, groups in an ethnically diverse country like New Zealand, and on the relationship between the recognition of identity and the distribution of resources between groups. It is towards the enlargement of this understanding that the present work is directed.

1.4 Chapter Outline

In this opening chapter, I have discussed the state of the debate around the relevance of multiculturalist policies in relation to movements towards equality, within a human rights framework. I have positioned this study from the perspective of liberal multiculturalism, specifically the three principles of freedom, equality and democracy (Kymlicka, 2013). Moreover, and most revelant to this liberal multiculturalist positioning, this discussion finds foundations in Kymlicka's assertion that this form of multiculturalism seeks movement beyond simply protecting human rights and towards an expansion of human freedoms, a deepening of democracy, and a diminishing of ethnic and race-based hierarchies (Kymlicka, 2007).

The challenge of navigating through the debate of multiculturalism in order to understand the complexity of ethnic relations in a country as diverse as New Zealand is operationalised in this thesis through the notions of happiness, struggles for recognition and distribution, and human rights. These three notions form an ideal analytic strategy for an inquiry into the impact of ethnic discrimination from New Zealand state institutions because of the relationship between the three. This discussion argues that the ability to express ethnic identity influences happiness, and that recognition of a person's identity must be given before the resources required to attain happiness are available. Moreover, following the line of thought that has developed within some multiculturalist analysis, the most suitable framework within which to seek equal resource distribution opportunities is a human rights one. This discussion is presented through a series of chapters, as follows.

Chapter two considers the most relevant existing research on happiness. This includes the most common definitions of what it means to be happy and how happiness is measured. Additionally, the influences of both ethnic identity and income on a person's happiness are detailed. Within this chapter a paradox of happiness is explored, in that different people may be talking about the same thing - happiness - yet they speak and think about it in a variety of ways. I contend that a universal definition of happiness is impossible, and the only commonality across cultures is that most people generally desire happiness.

Chapter three summarises existing literature on human rights and starts to position the universal principle of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights as the ideal regulatory framework in the context of this discussion. The relationship between collective and individual rights is explored, as are the implications for ethnic minorities of governments not meeting the rights-based obligations to 'respect', 'protect' and 'fulfil'.

Chapter four explores the idea that politics is the struggle for recognition. This includes an exploration of what recognition means and some common forms within which struggles for recognition appear. An argument is made that struggles for resource distribution are struggles for recognition, and when resource distribution is unequal, then the associated failure of recognition is a form of social injustice.

Chapter five outlines the research design and methodology by which this set of ideas is operationalised as an inquiry into experiences of racial discrimination. The rationale behind each major decision is presented. This includes firstly, the decision for this to be a quantitative study through the use of an online survey, and the rationale motivating the selection of the six participant groups and target number of respondents. Additionally, the rationale behind the choice of analytic techniques is discussed.

Chapter six presents the key findings from the survey, including the levels of happiness expressed by participants, and the primary sources of happiness for each ethnic group, as well as the sample as a whole. The frequency of ethnic discrimination experienced from state institutions, and those state institutions that

rated the poorest from the perspective of respondents in the areas of service, fairness and the absence of ethnic discrimination, is also discussed.

Chapter seven discusses the key findings from the survey. Specifically, the happiness levels of participants and their sources of happiness are outlined, which relates participants' primary sources of happiness to their everyday lives.

Chapter eight discusses the reported frequency of ethnic discrimination experienced by each group and talks through various experiences, as told by participants. Specifically, participants' experiences are described with three New Zealand state institutions in relation to which they reported having most frequently experienced ethnic discrimination, namely Work and Income, the Ministry of Health and related hospitals, and the Department of Corrections

Chapter nine concludes this discussion by contending that the New Zealand state is in breach of its human rights obligations, specifically by failing to fulfil the rights of some members of ethnic minorities. Finally, the potential is considered of the debate around collective versus individual rights, to address the ethnic discrimination reported in these findings of New Zealand state institutions.

Chapter Two: Happiness: Meanings and Definitions

The multiculturalism debate in New Zealand provides a context in which experiences of ethnic discrimination can be productively explored. This is due to this debate encompassing questions as to the relationship between the recognition of ethnic identity and the distribution of resources. Moreover, this debate supports inquiry into the role that human rights law might play in the negotiation of that relationship. In exploring these questions, there are various indicators of what is at stake in the process of resource allocation, with one such indicator being the happiness of members of society. More specifically, the ability of those affiliating with ethnic minorities to pursue their versions of happiness without interference from the state, and with access to appropriate resource allocation to do so.

A city as culturally diverse as Auckland contains within it a range of culturally-specific approaches to the interpretation of common concepts. The discussion of how to recognise different perceptions of the same 'thing' in a fair and equal societal structure fits within the multiculturalism debate. One of these concepts, which first appears to be the same 'thing' in different cultures, is happiness, a subjective state whereby the only thing that can be considered common across all ethnic identities is the term used to describe it. As such, to understand the impact of societal structures on the ability to pursue different perceptions of happiness, this work explores the meaning of this concept for members of the six participating ethnic groups. However, before considering what happiness means to participants in this research, it is first prudent to consider the issues and debates that emerge in its use within existing research on the subject. This chapter discusses common definitions of what it means to be happy, why a universal definition is impossible, the relationship between wealth, money, income and happiness and the influence of ethnic identity on how a person identifies, pursues and measures their happiness. In doing so, this chapter discusses the paradox contained in a discussion of what it means to be happy - that the conversation is focusing on the same state yet those defining it have different perceptions and measurements of it.

2.1 Happiness: Meanings and Definitions

Until the 1980s, the role of exploring the field of happiness fell predominately to researchers and theorists in the disciplines of psychology and philosophy. In psychology, studies of happiness were undertaken as part of a reaction towards what some perceived as an over-emphasis on the negative sides of human personalities, including mental illness (Bartram, 2012). In philosophy, explorations of happiness date back to the time of Aristotle (Graham, 2009). Since the 1980s, interest in the field of happiness has expanded so that now, literature is enlarging with contributions from disciplines including economics, sociology, history and business studies (Bremmer, 2008; Graham, 2009). Graham partly attributes this shift as a reaction to the emergence of the 'me' generation and to the identification of paradoxes of increasing wealth but decreasing happiness within individuals, and within countries overall. She also suggests that adventurous researchers in the social sciences have had an impact on the growth in happiness studies, as have discussions about the impact of happiness on social policy and economic evaluation. Regardless of the reasons for the expansion, one benefit of the interest from various disciplines is that the questions being asked by researchers about happiness have expanded. These questions have gone beyond a focus on understanding what it means to be happy, to investigations of the aspects that primarily impact a person's happiness in certain and specific economic, social and political environments. It is this set of dimensions that is explored: the connect between an ethnic group's struggle for recognition and for distribution of resources, with their ability to pursue their versions of happiness.

Of most relevance to this discussion is the increased interest and contribution from cultural studies, sociology, and economics. From cultural studies and sociology has come a deeper understanding of the influence a person's ethnic identity has on the way they perceive and define their own happiness, on how they pursue that definition for themselves and their family, and on how they measure attainment of happiness (Pflug, 2008). The areas of most interest for economists, and of most relevance to this discussion from this discipline, explores the relationship between happiness, income, and the economy (Bartram, 2012), along with the impact of this relationship in various socio-economic and political settings (Graham, 2009).

2.2 The Challenge of Defining Happiness

There is no one single universally applicable definition of happiness. The 'thing' that is happiness cannot be expressed normatively and takes on different forms, depending on a number of factors: the individual or group describing it; the setting they are describing it from within; and the societal structures by which individuals may be constrained. Herein lies a paradox: the experience of happiness exists only through differing versions of itself and not as a single definition of a social phenomenon. Yet, at the same time, it is referred to by people with different impressions of it by the same name: 'happiness'. The thing itself, happiness, cannot be given a singular universally applicable definition, yet the experience of happiness and the desire for it are universally experienced. All people can share is the act of speaking about happiness, as the way it is defined differs beyond any common trait that might be attributed to it.

A general definition of happiness is unobtainable due to the complex nature of happiness itself and the abundance of factors influencing how an individual perceives their happiness (Graham, 2009). Researchers, including psychologists Lu and Gilmour (2004), have ascertained that overall happiness and the well-being of an individual are influenced by both internal and external characteristics. They reached this conclusion through an exploration of the relationship between well-being and perceptions of happiness between Asian and North American cultures. They hypothesise that the common aspects of happiness are that it is desired by most people and that most consider it to be a positive thing. While their findings and this hypothesis are relevant to this overall discussion, it is worth noting that their investigations of the two cultures were across different countries, and not within a diverse city like Auckland. This sort of approach is likely to intensify any differences, as the societal structures of the different countries have an influence on how members of each society view happiness.

Psychological researchers Uchida, Norasakkunkit and Kitayama (2004) discuss a similar point, and ascertain that while there may be commonalities across cultures in that the majority of people are pursuing some form of happiness, it is the definition of happiness held by groups and individuals, and the traits they attribute to it, that differ.

They note that the similarities arise from people being likely to prefer the 'pleasant' over the 'unpleasant', and the differences occur within what fits under those two terms - what individuals consider being pleasant and unpleasant, and the impact of each on their happiness. They reached this conclusion after a review of existing research and literature on cross-cultural variations of happiness, and, similar to Lu and Gilmour, they explored cultures from different countries rather than from within one country or city. As a result, neither piece of research considered the political or social repercussions of various perceptions of happiness existing in one society or location, which points to a gap in existing research. Notwithstanding differences between these findings, they illustrate the paradox, in that research participants were pursuing an experience that they described in differing forms to one another, while sharing the common desire for the attainment of it. This further suggests that a description of happiness cannot be normative, yet the normative aspects of the personal experience that is happiness are its desirability, and that it is generally perceived to be positive overall.

Bartram (2012) compares sociological research on happiness to the type of psychological research that motivated the trend towards studying happiness initially. This influence was the perceived disproportionate focus on negative elements, and he sites alienation and inequality as examples. He contends that an over-emphasis on negative states can risk illustrating that society, overall, is not a place where happiness can thrive. Bartram cites Veenhoven and Ehrhardt (1995) in disputing that society is like this, and contends that modern societies are liveable to the point where happiness can be pursued (as cited in Bartram, 2012). This conjecture appears to highlight an aspect of happiness research that sociologists may find worth investigating: the impact of happiness on social policy. Duncan (2010), contends that it is not the role of government to provide happiness for its citizens, yet Bartram (2012) suggests that it may be the role of sociological research to question what governments are already doing and what the impact of such is on the levels of happiness experienced within its borders. He also suggests that a deeper sociological exploration of happiness than already exists may lead to an understanding of how people talk about and act upon happiness, and how this relates to their perceptions of other areas of sociological interest, including inequality. The relevance of Bartram's suggestions to this discussion overall are

then, firstly, the proposition of whether or not a government is responsible for the happiness of its citizens; secondly, the way it operates, and thirdly, whether the policies government promotes have an impact on happiness. Furthermore, this impact occurs whether or not governments' actions are motivated towards the enhancement of happiness. A deeper sociological understanding of what it means to be happy and what constitutes the attainment of happiness may lead to a more comprehensive understanding of the impact of the state on the happiness of those whom they govern.

While a universal definition of happiness is impossible, the majority of researchers agree that a person's perception of happiness, how they pursue their happiness, and how they measure achievement of their happiness is influenced by various internal and external aspects, and that these aspects differ between individuals and groups. People may be speaking of the same concept, yet they define it in different ways. While a more specific definition of happiness may be considered by some to be an ambition for the future, it is unlikely to be achieved. This is not only due to the variability that exists in its conditions of possibility, it is also due to the experience of happiness being a personal one. Even though groups like those formed by ethnic identity share similar definitions, the personal nature of pursuing and attaining happiness leads to changing definitions, even for the individual. This is one of the reasons why many researchers agree that a person's happiness is influenced by both internal and external aspects.

The external aspects influencing a person's happiness, and the ability to satisfy the internal, are influenced by various factors including the socio-economic and political environment, and the structures that contribute to determining and organising how people live (Graham, 2009; Bartram, 2012). As such, the level to which an individual, or a group with similar perceptions of happiness, can achieve experiences of the kind to which their respective definitions of happiness might point, is dependent on their version of happiness being one that, at least partly, fits within what is allowed, or at least not prevented by the socio-economic and political structures of their environment. If an aspect of a group's definition of happiness fits outside the social norm or outside of the social expectations that form the basis of the social policy and

societal structures they live within, then they are presented with a struggle to pursue and achieve their desired state of happiness.

Happiness can only be defined for the individual by the individual, yet the potential for that individual to pursue their version of happiness is dependent on them living within structures that do not put barriers in place preventing the pursuing of that definition. If barriers do exist as a result of institutional structures that have been formed favouring the values and behaviours of one group over another, whether intentional or not, then this brings into question the discriminatory nature of these structures and the impact of this discrimination on the happiness of specific groups that share similar definitions.

One attribute that has an influence on perceptions of happiness is a person's ethnic identity. If it is the case that contrasts exist between different ethnic groups in how happiness is defined, pursued and obtained, and if the socio-economic and political structures in which they find themselves thwart achievement of happiness, then the matter of discrimination becomes relevant. Moreover, when struggles for recognition and distribution in a multiculturalist setting are playing out through ethnic affiliations (as invariably is the situation), the importance of the influence ethnic identity has on a group member's interpretation of indicators such as happiness increases. The ability of group members to pursue the attainment of such an indicator hinges strongly on appropriate recognition from the state, and this recognition is of their ethnic identity.

2.3 Ethnicity and Happiness

Researchers from different fields of study, most notably cultural studies and sociology, have stated that ethnic identities and cultural affiliations are one of the strongest influences on how an individual defines happiness and on the well-being they seek, and that an understanding of this assertion is fundamental to comprehending happiness. Pflug (2008) and Williams (1976) both state that the influence of ethnic identity stems from the way that it testifies to how individuals as

members of groups live their lives, to the values, morals and qualities important to them, and to their aspirations and motivations in daily life. Diener, Suh, Lucas, and Smith (1999) suggest that culturally developed definitions of happiness are the socially constructed ways a group meets the basic human needs of its members, such as food and shelter.

These findings give rise to a set of questions relating to the themes of discrimination, multiculturalism, and happiness. What does it mean for the general happiness of members of a society in an ethnically diverse city like Auckland, if each of the ethnicities represented within the city brings something different to the task of defining happiness? Moreover, what impact does this degree of diversity, both in ethnic characteristics and definitions of happiness, have on the role the state has to play in encouraging, or at least not limiting, happiness? These questions are further complicated when considering that the impact of ethnicity on happiness is also not direct or straightforward, even when a person is firm about their ethnic identity.

Diener et. al. (1999) contend that the impact of internal factors on happiness depend on the personality and the culture of the individual, and as such the degree of influence these factors have on happiness is not universal, guaranteed, nor to be expected. As an example, they discuss the impact of marriage, living in relationships, and divorce on happiness, and surmise that while marriage and divorce appear to have similar impacts on happiness across cultures, the effects of living in a relationship unmarried differ. In citing their research, they discuss findings from a study that included participants from 40 different countries that indicated that those living within collectivist countries were less likely to be happy if living with a partner unmarried than those in more individualist countries. They attribute this finding to cultural differences around traditional values towards living situations (Diener et. al., 1998 as cited in Diener et. al., 1999). Their research differentiates participants across countries to ascertain the impact of different cultures on attitudes towards living in unmarried relationships. In Auckland, an array of opinions on this choice of living situation will be found within the city, due in part to the diverse ethnic population. Therefore, the differences that Diener et. al. found through their exploration of cultures from different countries, have relevance when considering

how these diverse values impact attitudes within Auckland. Other researchers have also found that definitions of happiness differ across cultures and ethnic identities.

In a 2004 publication on their review of happiness within various cultures, Uchida et. al. found that not only do meanings of happiness differ across cultures, so do the motivations behind these definitions and the measurements and indicators of a person's happiness. They ascertained that in Western societies, such as North America, happiness is defined by personal achievement and the measurement of happiness includes assessments of self-esteem and of the realisation of aspirations. In contrast, in societies in East Asia, definitions of happiness appear to emphasise elements of personal connectedness and, as a consequence, individuals' sense of their happiness is based on their relationships and social connections. This suggestion, that the 'West' and the 'East' have fundamentally different perceptions of how happiness is measured, highlights an important question for Auckland. In a city with 220 ethnic identities, many have come to this Western country from an Eastern one, no doubt bringing with them values and ideas that may clash with Western norms. As a result, some of these migrants could find themselves pursuing a collective form of happiness in a society that functions under individual structures. The impact of differing determinants of happiness on the lives of those whose perceptions of happiness lie outside the prevailing norm is an important one.

In contrast, Graham (2009) disagrees with the suggestion that countries in the West and countries in the East are so different, and claims that the determinants of happiness are similar across cultures. Moreover, she states, the level of happiness experienced does differ as a result of socio-economic variables and the available access to resources. This perhaps suggests that levels of happiness attained by members of different ethnic groups can be influenced by the political environment and economic structure in which they find themselves living.

Lu and Gilmour (2004) determined that members of different ethnic groups often hold contrary definitions of happiness and that the way in which they live their daily lives is determined in part by their negotiation of these competing perceptions. Moreover, they found that further influence comes from interactions between cultures, noting that different cultures and ethnic identities can influence other's

views on happiness to the point of strengthening existing definitions and practices, or introducing new ones. This finding is relevant in the context of this thesis as a consequence of the considerable ethnic diversity within the Auckland population. As a multicultural city, the population of Auckland sees multiple ethnic identities interacting with each other daily. According to Lu and Gilmour, this is likely to result in individuals having their values, aspirations, ways of life, and their definitions of happiness, influenced by those around them with an ethnic identity different to their own. In seeking to understand the influence of a multicultural society on the happiness of its residents, it is prudent to, at the very least, consider the historical aspects and influences behind competing definitions of happiness.

Uchida, Norasakkunkit and Kitayama (2004) contend that happiness is not purely emotional, and a person's definition of happiness needs to be considered in context with their ethnic identity and the historical basis and formation of the values and beliefs held by the ethnic group as a whole. As a result, the emotional aspect of happiness is strongly influenced and embedded within cultural meanings and definitions, and can only be investigated fully by considering the historical context. They conclude by stating that this implies that what it means to be happy differs between different cultures. Most notably, they discuss the importance of definitions of self, and how different definitions and contrasting viewpoints on personal identity result in contradictory impressions of happiness, both for the individual and for the collective. In New Zealand, the shared history of colonialism not only has an impact on majority-minority relations but is sure to have an impact on perceptions of happiness due to the influence of historical context. This is due to the influence of not only the Pākehā settlement of New Zealand on the ability of Māori to continue to pursue their practices and traditions, but also of the high level of immigration seen since World War Two.

It can, therefore, be concluded that there can be no one universal definition of happiness, and a person's ethnic identity has a strong influence on how an individual defines both their happiness and that of those close to them. However, while cultural and ethnic influences on happiness are two of the most commonly explored areas of this field of research, another, in the discipline of economics, is the impact of money and material possessions on overall happiness.

2.4 Income, Money and Happiness

Due to the increased study of happiness in the field of economics, the body of literature on the relationship between money and happiness has expanded over the past few decades. Irrespective of this expansion it appears that an agreement on the impact of income on a person's happiness is less forthcoming than in the past (Graham, 2009). While this lack of accord indicates that a combination of factors influences happiness and that a consensus cannot be reached on the causal priority of one aspect over another, it is worth considering prominent research and discussion on the relationship between money and happiness.

Research by economist Richard Easterlin gave rise to the 'Easterlin Paradox', which states that, generally, wealthier countries are happier than poorer ones overall, yet within countries the wealthy are not generally happier than those in poverty (Easterlin, 1974). This paradox, coupled with a finding by Frank (2001) that income is not the biggest influence on happiness once a person's basic needs have been met, indicates the need to explore further influences on a person's happiness and not to give disproportionate credit to one specific aspect. Similarly, Alesina, Tella and MacCulloch (2004) state that the impact of income inequality on happiness is different across countries, suggesting that external factors other than income are strong once basic needs have been met (see also Deaton, 2008).

Graham (2009) notes that there have been various studies aimed at both confirming and debunking the Easterlin paradox, and that a number of these studies have either proven the paradox or shown similar results to Easterlin's 1974 findings, suggesting that average happiness does not increase as income does. Furthermore, Blanchflower and Oswald (2004) found that as income increases a person's happiness does not increase at the same level, to the point where at certain levels a person with a much lower income can be expected to be happier, generally, in comparison with someone with a much larger income. The suggestion that once a person's basic needs have been met then money does not have an impact on their relationship is a particularly relevant one to this study. It suggests that if a person's basic needs are not being met then their happiness is negatively impacted by the relative absence of money and income. This then suggests that if it is the role of the

state to ensure basic needs are being met, and they are not fulfilling that role for whatever reason, then the actions of the state are having an impact on a person's happiness, regardless of their own financial status. This idea, that a state's actions has an impact on happiness, is increasingly relevant if the Easterlin paradox is accurate, especially if this paradox does play out in Auckland. However, not all researchers have agreed with the Easterlin paradox or found the same relationships between money and happiness.

Deaton (2008) argues that there is a clear relationship between money and happiness, and provides data that shows happiness increases with income, in similar countries to those used by Easterlin in his work. He argues that the paradox does not exist and attributes this to wealthier people, in wealthier countries, being able to enjoy a higher quality of life. Moreover, it is the wealthy's quality of life that influences their happiness, a quality of life that would not be possible without a certain level of income. In contrast, Frey (2008) proposed that personality traits have a much larger impact on a person's happiness and it can be the impact of these personalities traits that is mistakenly attributed to an influence of a higher income. As an example, Frey suggests that a person's attraction to material possessions may increase their own personal happiness and even though they need a certain level of income to fulfil that aspiration it is the attainment of the possession itself that increases their happiness, not the money they had, and spent, in order to attain it (see also Matz, Gladstone & Stillwell, 2016).

Graham and Pettinato (2002) found that happiness is generally higher in more developed countries than the undeveloped or developing ones, but that there was less of a clear correlation between a higher income and happiness within the countries themselves. They attribute the discrepancy to two primary factors. The first of these factors is the wording of the questions used to inquire of the issue, noting that some researchers have used open-ended questions, others using closed questions, and others using only existing data to support their findings. The second of these factors is the selection of countries used in making comparisons, and they contend that the selection of specific countries can bias the findings. As an example, they note that if undeveloped poor countries are selected, where residents are struggling to meet basic needs, then lower happiness can be expected in most

situations (with some notable exceptions, including Nigeria). In noting the influence of methodology on findings, the research design of this study focusses on the perspective of respondents, and not on existing research, in order to ascertain what happiness means to participants and what influences their happiness. Graham and Penttinato argue that most researchers can agree that there is some correlation between money and happiness, yet that it is not consistent across different countries and cultures, and that the impact varies. They note that this likely indicates the significance of other factors on a person's happiness, even when exploring the relationships between money, income and wealth on happiness.

2.5 Happiness: A Summary of Definitions

A universal definition of happiness is unattainable due to the vast list of potential aspects that may influence how a person defines their happiness and that of their families, and how they seek to pursue these versions of happiness. What is clearer is that happiness is influenced by both internal and external factors, and no one factor has an overwhelming influence on a person's happiness relative to another; there is no one single standalone aspect that holds across people's perceptions. It is also clear that debate surrounds the impact of money and income on happiness, and that the majority of researchers agree that many factors influence how a person defines their own happiness and how they pursue it, yet they disagree on where the impact of money ranks on a level of influence scale. This is most likely because of the differential effects between individuals and groups of ethnic identity and their cultural socialisation. While academic evidence exists to support the contention that once a person's basic needs have been met a higher income will not see their happiness increase proportionately, it appears that when assessing a person's happiness this measurement should not be taken independently of other external drivers. Rather, factors including their ethnic identity and environmental surroundings should also be considered.

The focus of this discussion now turns to the possible role of human rights in the interplay between ethnic discrimination, the debates of multiculturalism and

happiness. While this chapter has argued that a person's ethnic identity has an influence on their perceptions of happiness, the following one discusses the human rights framework relevant to a debate on multiculturalism. In Chapter Three I argue that for ethnic minorities to be able to pursue their versions of happiness human rights must be afforded free from discrimination. In the context of this overall discussion, the positioning of human rights ideals in the multiculturalism debate raises questions of ethnic minorities having appropriate access to the distribution of resource to attain what is required for happiness to come into play. Most notably, this refers to the obligations of the state towards the human rights of their members: to respect, protect and fulfil.

Chapter Three: Putting the 'Human' in Human Rights

Due to the array of external influences on how members of groups define and measure happiness, particular social conditions must exist for those versions of happiness to be pursued. To achieve happiness, individuals and groups of individuals need a specific set of circumstances in place to be able to follow their versions of happiness. The legal mechanism of 'human rights' has become a favoured means across a range of jurisdictions for ensuring access to those conditions deemed necessary for a reasonable life. This chapter discusses what is meant by 'human rights', introduces the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, and discusses the relationship between individual and collective rights. This discussion opens the possibility that states may be in breach of human rights obligations, which they have ratified, when ethnic discrimination blocks access to the material conditions required by communities to experience happiness as their members understand the term.

3.1 Defining Human Rights

"Human rights are literally the rights that one has simply because one is a human being" (Donnelly, 2013 p.10).

The above quotation from the legal theorist Jack Donnelly sums up the prevailing orthodox view on the meaning of human rights, simply that each and every human is entitled to them. Human rights are considered to be a starting point for the prevention of avoidable suffering and a commitment to human rights is a commitment to ridding the world of that suffering (Fagan, 2009). Fagan cites James Nickel's description of human rights as a means for securing the conditions that are required for a minimally good life, as a clear explanation of the purpose that rights should serve (Nickels, 1987 as cited in Fagan, 2009). Donnelly (2013) explains that human rights are equally distributed, inalienable and universal. Rights are equal in the sense that they are afforded to all human beings without discrimination based on any aspect of identification, and with the only requirement being that of membership

of the category 'human'. They are inalienable in that no human being can stop being a human and, finally, universal because all humans are holders of human rights. Both writers note that the most commonly accepted human rights are those that seek a minimum quality of life and ensure human dignity for all humans. In that sense, Fagan (2009) distinguishes between human rights and social privileges in a similar way to a distinction that Donnelly makes between acts that deny somebody access to something to which they are entitled (their right) and acts that prevent them from attaining something that would be enjoyable for them. Human rights are about humans having access to resources and services that meet the basic requirements of achieving human dignity, and should not be confused with other culturally-prescribed goods.

Donnelly (2013) cautions against confusing human rights with other concepts including elements associated with social justice and aspects of moral duty. He notes that there are good things humans should do but that are not human rights, giving love and compassion as examples. Individuals do not have a human right to loving and supportive parents, yet it can be argued that it is the moral duty of parents to be loving and supportive. By Donnelly's definition, human rights are the minimum "goods, services opportunities and protections" (p.11) vital for a life of dignity and are the practices which ensure these minimums are realised. Human rights are 'inherently normative', in they exist not to ensure human life but to protect and promote a certain quality of life for all and to ensure human dignity (Fagan, 2009). While the exact meaning of 'human dignity' is somewhat open to interpretation, Donnelly cites Schachter in surmising that a breach of human dignity will be recognised regardless of the lack of precise definition (Schachter, 1983 as cited in Donnelly, 2013).

Furthermore, Donnelly (2013) notes that rights are not a benefit, they are an empowerment. Those whose obligation it is to provide the rights, are not entitled to excuse themselves from this obligation. Rather, it is only the person, or group, which is entitled to receive the right who can do this. He explains this as one party accessing their right, being an activation of the obligation of the other.

In pondering the purpose of human rights, Fagan (2009) notes that the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights was partly motivated by a wish to restrict the ability of a state to destroy entire populations of people. This purpose arose in reaction to the Holocaust. In discussing the scope of human rights, he cites protection from genocide as one extreme, yet wonders how far the scope extends by questioning what can be legitimately claimed as a human right, and what can be classed as a right vital for being a human being. Donnelly (2013) explains that what the majority of people today consider to be 'human rights' came about after the end of the second world war and is to be understood in this context. Moreover, the term 'human rights' is scarcely seen before this period, even in documents and discussions addressing the same or similar principles, such as what is needed for an individual to lead a dignified life. The insight offered by Fagan and Donnelly can be understood as positioning the declaration as a foundation document for the human rights discussed and thought of in the light of genocidal atrocities.

3.2 The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights

For Donnelly (2013) the UNDHR "…specifies minimum conditions for a dignified life" (p.16) and provides a "…remarkable international normative consensus" (p.18) on human rights. This declaration can be considered an ideal foundational document when considering which rights are essential for being human, through its provision of a list of rights that are both morally and politically practical.

The United Nations charter lists four objectives, with two being relevant to this discussion (United Nations, 2015). The first is "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and woman and of nations large and small". The second is "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". In addition to these objectives, one of the primary purposes of the United Nations relates to promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and freedoms without distinction. From the outset, these statements identify the commitment of the United Nations to not only the establishment of universally applicable human rights, but also to identifying the

specific rights vital for ensuring every human can lead a dignified life to at least a minimum standard. An exploration of the 30 articles in the declaration show that these human rights are rooted in the notion of human dignity, and recognition of such a state is a fundamental intention behind the declaration. This appears in the objectives of the United Nations, has been reaffirmed in subsequent decades through documents like the Vienna Declaration of 1993, and has appeared as a motivation throughout the lifetime of the United Nations and the UNDHR (see appendix 1 for full declaration).

It is the human rights outlined in the declaration that provide the vehicle, or at least do so in an ideal sense, for the recognition and provision of conditions required for a human to live in a state of dignity; and, for a human to be afforded the forms of social respect that are implied by the positioning of this dignity as fundamental in human rights (Donnelly, 2013). As a result of the declaration, and of states ratifying and legislating all or some of the articles and subsequent declarations and agreements, human rights have been internationalised. However, the responsibility for the implementation and protection of these rights remains in the hand of national authorities; with the state.

3.3 The State and Human Rights

As previously indicated, it is the individual who has the human right and it is the state that has the duty or obligation to ensure those rights are available to its members (Fagan, 2009). The form that this duty takes has been debated, and it is now generally accepted that the state has three obligations when it comes to the human rights: to respect, to protect and to fulfil (Donnelly, 2013).

Donnelly (2013) explains that 'respect' refers to not only a respect of the right itself but also to an absence of deprivation of enjoyment of the right; the state must refrain from putting barriers in place that prevent this enjoyment. 'Protect' means to protect the right from deprivations as might be caused by others, and for the state to protect its members from human rights abuses. 'Fulfil' includes taking positive action to

ensure members can enjoy basic human rights (Donnelly, 2013). These obligations, to respect, protect and fulfil, are the manifestation of the universal human rights discussed here (Donnelly, 2013). These three obligations are the responsibility of the New Zealand state, as a signatory to the UNDHR, and indicate that a breach of any or all of these implications potentially constitute abuses of peoples' human rights. The most likely form in which these obligations might manifest is in the form of social security because this is how a life lived to minimal standard can be achieved.

It is the obligation of the state to ensure that members are afforded a reasonable system of social security. The primary purpose of this right is to ensure that individuals have the necessary access to financial and relevant resources that are required to lead a minimally dignified life. How this is accomplished is not defined, and different states have different approaches. Yet, it is the state's obligation to ensure that it is accomplished. The demand of a human right and the resources required for an individual to enjoy a human right are not fixed. Rather, it is situationally and environmentally specific (Donnelly, 2013). However, what is clear, is that in whatever form the state is attempting to meet this obligation, it must be providing its form of social security with an absence of discrimination. This means that all members of society should have equal access to the social security system of their state and not be disadvantaged based on any identification such as ethnicity, sexuality or gender.

3.4 Human Rights in New Zealand

It is clear that the New Zealand state has committed, wholeheartedly, to the fundamental principles of the UNDHR. Most notably these include the principles of human dignity, minimum quality of life and the idea that human rights are non-discriminatory. This commitment is evidenced through the legislation that has been passed, namely the Human Rights Act 1993, and updated, and through the literature published by, as well as actions from, the Human Rights Commission.

The New Zealand Human Rights Commission website displays the following on its homepage:

> The Commission's purpose is to promote and protect the human rights of all people in Aotearoa New Zealand. We work for a free, fair, safe and just New Zealand, where diversity is valued, and human dignity and rights are respected. (New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 2016)

From the outset, this quotation implies the New Zealand state's commitment to the principle of human dignity underpinning the UNDHR and its articles. Furthermore, the website outlines the primary pieces of New Zealand legislation relevant to human rights in this country, most notably the Human Rights Act 1993, the 2001 Amendment to that Act, and the Bill of Rights 1990. In summarising the key points of the 1993 Act, the Human Rights Commission offers the following:

> The Human Rights Act 1993 protects people in New Zealand from discrimination in a number of areas of life. Discrimination occurs when a person is treated unfairly or less favourably than another person in the same or similar circumstances. (New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 2016)

The possibility exists that states, for a range of reasons, might act in ways that undermine the ideas thus presented. Harris, Tobias, Jeffreys, Waldegrave, Karlsen and Nazroo (2006) present such an argument about the New Zealand health system. They contend that the gap in health standards provided to Europeans when compared to Māori is a result of ethnic discrimination and manifests as a breach of basic human rights. Furthermore, they suggest that socio-economic factors do not explain the widening gaps in health and insist that the institutionalised racism in the New Zealand health system has had a heavy influence on these deficiencies. Not only does this breach the state's obligation under basic universal human rights, Harris et. al. argue that this is also a breach of Māori rights as indigenous New Zealanders.

In the act of addressing breaches of the rights of minority ethnic groups, as can characterise post-colonial settings in particular, a tension becomes apparent within

human rights discourse regarding the identity of the bearer of such rights. The tension lies between the bearer as an individual and as a cultural community.

3.5 Individual and Collective Rights

Donnelly (2013) notes that 29 of the 30 rights listed in the Declaration are individual, with the right to self-determination being the only exception. Even when it would be a fair assumption that a right applies to a group, such as the right to religion, the right still refers to the individual members of the group, not to the group as a whole. This is still the situation even when affiliation to a group is a prerequisite for having the right, as the right itself is still an entitlement of the individual, not the group or the collective of individuals. Donnelly gives worker rights as an example and notes that it is the individual employee who has the right, not employees as a collective even though the individual must be part of that group to enjoy the right. As another example, and of more relevance to this discussion, are the rights afforded to members of indigenous groups in that an individual must identify as a member of that group, and in many situations prove that they are entitled to be a member, to enjoy any rights affiliated to that group. It is their group membership that gives them access to the right, but they still benefit from the right as an individual. This is because the idea of human rights has been framed as being for individual humans, not for groups of humans.

Donnelly (2013) explains the individualistic nature of human rights further in noting that they are only for humans, and one must be a human to be entitled to them. A group of humans together is not a human, it is a collective, and are not therefore entitled to human rights as a group. Rather, the members of the group are entitled to rights on an individual basis. This does not mean that collectives do not have rights, it simply means that the rights they do have are not 'human rights', they are more akin to 'group rights'. The fact that human rights are for individuals, and not groups, highlights a potential limit point within the human rights framework, which can condition debates over the recognition of identities and distribution of resources.

Donnelly (2013) identifies a common criticism of human rights in that they are excessively individualistic. In response to this criticism, Donnelly contends that individual rights are often an effective solution for group suffering (when the suffering is legitimate). When these rights are not capable of alleviating suffering then, according to Donnelly, it is also unlikely that group specific rights would remedy the injustices. He argues that a fundamental aspect of human rights, wherein they are non-discriminatory and are available to all regardless of affiliation, means that they protect difference of both individuals and collectives and that further protection in the form of group rights cannot go any further than this. Because of this protection, he suggests that offering rights by group may go against the non-discriminatory tenet of human rights discourse. Individuals are entitled to freedom of association (article 20) and this enables them to enjoy dignity and quality of life either alone or as part of their chosen groups. Furthermore, Donnelly believes that by freedom of association, individuals are not forced into group affiliation to enjoy their rights: it is voluntary. Herein lay two potential weaknesses in Donnelly's response to the call for group rights, specifically in relation to a multicultural society like New Zealand: material inequality, and the failure of states to meet their obligations. In the context of this overall discussion, the effect of ethnic discrimination as viewed through the relation between recognition and distribution, on the delivery of human rights to ethnic minorities without prejudice, raises a question about the appropriate form rights must take to be non-discriminatory. If the most frequent levels of discrimination are being experienced at the level of ethnic identity then the success of individualising rights is questioned. Furthermore, if the delivery of rights in an individualistic form hinders the ability of ethnic minorities to pursue their perceptions of happiness, then the true universality of human rights can also be questioned.

A limitation exists in Donnelly's negative response to the suggestion that group rights should be increased. That limitation matters in relation to the context within which this thesis sits, of a persistent ethnic discrimination within a deadlocked debate over 'recognition' versus 'distribution'. While it is unclear whether or not the delivery of material resources necessary for a dignified life in a collective format would reduce inequality, it may be that the current individualistic model excludes those ethnic minorities that hold strong collective values from receiving equal opportunity and equal access to state services. In an associated manner, this privileging of individual

over collective forms of right may achieve the needs of groups in relation to the state's duty to respect and to protect, but it potentially falls short when considering the third obligation, to fulfil. It is this shortfall in the reply that opens up the space in which this research exists.

3.6 Putting the 'Human' in Human Rights: Summary

Human rights are universal in that all humans are entitled to them, regardless of their ethnicity, gender, sexuality or any other identification. The UNDHR sets out the basic human rights that are expected to be afforded universally and it has generally been accepted that the role of the state is to respect, protect and fulfil these rights.

In the multiculturalism debate, a human rights framework has emerged as a favoured means by which objects (happiness in this discussion) are allocated the appropriate level of resources so they can be attained. The fundamental principles of human rights discourse, that rights are universal and that they provide what is required for a life of dignity, indicate that what is provided by the fulfilment principle is an insurance that members of all groups can meet their basic needs. This plays out in the state's obligation to fulfil the human rights of its members, and a failure to ensure these human rights are fulfilled without discrimination is a breach of that obligation. However, while human rights are inherently universal, the question of whether or not ethnic minorities are being treated fairly and equally brings into this discussion the need for those minorities first to be recognised, and to have their values and needs recognised by the state. The following chapter outlines struggles for recognition. This discussion is positioned in the overall context of the impact of misrecognition and disproportionate resource allocation, in the form of ethnic discrimination, on the ability of those affiliated to ethnic minorities to pursue their versions of happiness.

Chapter Four: Struggling for Recognition

Struggles for recognition and resource distribution are coordinates of ethnic discrimination. In the context of multiculturalist debate, the struggles by ethnic minorities for the recognition of their ethnic identity from the state is influenced by what it means to be recognised and what form that recognition takes. Furthermore, when those responsible for resource allocation are also those with power and authority over members of the state, ethnic discrimination can occur, and the struggles that play out in a multicultural setting sit as indicators of that discrimination. However, before any group can be afforded any rights, in whatever form those rights may take within their environment, and before that group can have their rights respected, protected and fulfilled by the state, they must first be recognised as members of the state from which they are claiming rights. A need thereby arises for ethnic minorities to be fully recognised by the state before they can receive just and equal treatment from all state institutions, and from the New Zealand law overall.

In the New Zealand context, Māori hold a distinct status owing to the Treaty of Waitangi, yet migrant groups are in a constant state of struggle to find recognition in a formally bicultural country. Therefore, struggles for recognition and distribution in New Zealand play out in complex forms, depending on whether recognition is sought for the indigenous group or any of the vast number of migrant groups, or a combination of both. It is clear that an overarching and fully encompassing definition of recognition is out of reach. However, what is generally accepted is that the struggle for recognition includes more than a desire for an end goal, such as resource allocation, and instead includes struggles over what it means to recognise and what it means to be recognised (Kompridis, 2007). This highlights how, in an extremely ethnically diverse country like New Zealand, it is impossible, and perhaps even narrow-sighted, to seek an overall definition of recognition. It may be more useful to address how the country is governed, and the relationship of that governance with resource allocation and how needs are met.

This chapter first explores what is currently meant by 'recognition'. I then go on to explore the concept of 'a struggle for recognition', including a critical appraisal of the

most developed exposition of this concept, that of James Tully. This leads to an outline of the form(s) that such recognition could take.

4.1 The Challenge of Defining Recognition

An exploration of what is meant by recognition and a struggle for recognition highlights that, to date, there is no single agreed upon definition of recognition. Furthermore, there is no agreement on the form(s) which recognition might take nor for whom the term is intended (Kompridis, 2007). Moreover, no agreement exists on what a struggle for recognition might necessarily involve. This absence of agreement most likely exists because each struggle for recognition is formed by a set of circumstances that are specific to that scenario. Any overarching definition of the term or process would, undoubtedly, exclude some scenarios that would otherwise be identified as a struggle, and exclude some needs that would otherwise be defined as requiring recognition. The difference between the struggle for recognition of Tino Rangatiratanga (self-determination) and those of migrant-worker communities in New Zealand illustrates well this difference. As a result of this lack of consensus, this section explores some relevant attempts at defining recognition, at outlining struggles for recognition, and at exploring the results of and remedies for, misrecognition and indifference.

Fraser and Honneth (2003) debate competing ideas of what recognition means and the forms it should take. They do so from two different philosophical perspectives on whether recognition is about justice or self-actualization. For Honneth, recognition is more than a desire: it is a 'vital human need'. He cites political respect, forms of social esteem and family requirements as not only needs, but psycho-social states that are affected by a lack of recognition. He claims that if an individual does not obtain these essential forms of recognition, then they experience barriers obstructing them from becoming whom they seek to be and from reaching full self-realization. The absence of sufficient recognition, according to Honneth, prevents someone from developing complete identities. Thus, in this account, recognition takes the form of identity. He proposes that when non-recognition occurs, it is the worst form of social injustice. Fraser, however, disagrees with Honneth's ascertain that recognition is

vital, and contends that while important, recognition plays only a role in seeking equality. Rather, she argues that recognition is about social status, and achieving recognition is only part of attaining the status of a full partner (in social interaction). Fraser states that focus should instead be directed to those groups holding values and practices by which some groups come to be treated as inferior in societal structures when compared to other groups within the same structure. She labels these as 'misrecognitions' and suggests the 'deinstitutionalisation' of "patterns of cultural value which foster misrecognition" (as cited in Kompridis, 2007, p.478). In her mind, this would lead to a restoration of the status of full partners. Thus, for Fraser, recognition is about justice, because misrecognition prevents an individual, or group, from achieving an equal partnership within their society, and misrecognition is an injustice. Both impressions of recognition, Fraser's and Honneth's, appear to be idealistic for different reasons.

With regard to the idealism of Honneth's work, the idea of self-actualization and complete identities almost appears ethnocentric, and may be indicative of the position within which this work sits – that of 'white privilege', in that an assumption that complete individual identities and self-actualization are goals for all who seek recognition. In this description, it appears that those who are from collective cultures do not exist. This conjecture appears idealistic in that Honneth attempts to define recognition in a form that includes all ethnicities, seemingly without any awareness of the debate between collective and individualistic positions on the meaning of human rights. Recognition cannot be given a definition that encompasses all ethnicities, and attempts to do so risk alienating those groups that seek recognition beyond the scope of the definition attempted. Furthermore, the argument that the individualisation of rights may not be suitable in relation to resource distribution and delivery for all ethnic identities, further raises questions about the risk of idealising a form of recognition.

Fraser's defining of recognition also appears idealistic in assuming that those seeking recognition are looking for a state of full partnership in social interaction, (as compared to a condition of autonomy that would simply allow them to honour and maintain the traditions and practices particular to their communities). This form of recognition also appears to be ethnocentric insofar as it assumes that the form of

social interaction used by the majority is a form that is suitable for all ethnicities. This assumption contradicts the goals of recognition in attempting to define a form of social interaction that includes all groups but is based on majoritarian values and principles. However, it is Fraser's suggestion of deinstitutionalisation that is most relevant to the context of struggles for recognition in New Zealand.

In noting that misrecognition exists when one group is treated as inferior to another as a result of their values, Fraser is describing a situation like that which currently exists in New Zealand. State institutions operate under a system that is based on European values (notwithstanding formal recognition of bi-culturalism) and, as a result extends privilege to those groups that fit within the norms of Pākehā culture. According to Fraser, the result of misrecognition of this kind is that individuals within the marginalised groups do not achieve a status of a full partner. In the case of New Zealand and other post-colonial societies, this barrier to achieving status as a full partner potentially increases the disadvantage for indigenous and migrant groups in access to service delivery. However, regardless of how Fraser's arguments can be placed in a New Zealand setting, the argument contains a set of shortcomings. The most relevant of these to this discussion is that she appears to be arguing that both recognition and the remedies for misrecognition can be positioned as all-encompassing, in that achievement of the status of a full partner will give satisfactory recognition to all needs of minorities. Furthermore, she almost appears to be presenting a form of recognition and a remedy that she believes to be suitable for all struggles.

Kompridis (2007) critiques the discussions of recognition offered by Fraser and Honneth. Both arguments present narrow perceptions of a 'recognition', a concept that cannot be defined so specifically. Moreover, Kompridis asserts that both positions appear to assume that recognition is a means to an end, not an end in itself. Kompridis critiques in this tone because he claims, that by Fraser and Honneth presenting recognition in these ways, they are simplifying something that cannot be simplified. On Fraser's version of recognition, Kompridis argues that she must assume that claims for recognition are "fully explicit and determinate" (p.285), and states that recognition claims are never a matter of justice alone. Struggles are indeterminate because they each contain specific and unique aspects, as well as

diverse claims of identity and resource needs. Therefore, struggles for recognition cannot be categorised into one set of circumstances or needs. As an alternative to the perceptions of recognition offered by Frasier and Honneth, Kompridis contends that recognition must be focused more on the ways that members of society are governed, rather than about justice or identity. He labels recognition of this kind a 'freedom' in that misrecognition creates barriers to the freedom of individuals governing themselves. The work of James Tully further engages with this discussion through an exploration of the objects in respect of which struggle occurs.

Tully (2007) defines a struggle for recognition as a struggle over 'intersubjective norms', such as laws, rules and customs, and contends that these norms are the vehicle by which a state both recognises members and coordinates actions. This, according to Tully, means that the struggle *for* recognition is actually a struggle *over* recognition, or over the intersubjective norms by which a state is governing members and coordinating action and interaction with and between members. He states that the struggle over political and legal recognition is the struggle for the recognition of difference *per se.* By way of illustration, he notes differences of indigenous, national, and religious kinds, and of most relevance to this discussion, ethnic difference. Tully labels the norms by which members of a state are recognised as members, as the "intersubjective norms of mutual recognition" (p.22), and it is their form that can become the object of political contest. Norms of mutual recognition are a feature of any situation or structure within which rules exist to govern actions by members, and that govern the coordination of actions between the governing body and members, and between members themselves (Foucault 1988, as cited in Tully, 2007). It is also these norms that influence everyday lives for members of the society or structure being governed by them.

Tully (2007) argues that it is the intersubjective norms (and not formal laws alone) by which members recognise each other as members, by which the governing authority interacts with members, and by which members interact among themselves. Furthermore, it is these intersubjective norms, rather than the norms associated with governance, that give members their identity as members. A norm affects the behaviour of members, and this behaviour is how members internalise their self-awareness as members of a collective. This, according to Tully, means that a

change in how one group is recognised will cause a change in the recognition of other groups, and in how other groups recognise each other. This is because the struggle for recognition for ethnic minorities always involves more than two actors, and herein lies the relevance of Tully's work to this discussion, in that more than the group seeking recognition and the authority that can acknowledge it, the state, is involved in these struggles. This means that a struggle for recognition that results in recognition being granted invariably means that other groups are affected in some form by any new allocation of resources that results from the formal granting of recognition. It is the inclusion of actors other than members of the ethnic minority involved in an immediate struggle for recognition and the state that make discussion around struggles for recognition relevant to a post-colonial / multicultural country like New Zealand, due to the extreme levels of diversity, and to the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi.

4.2 Struggles, Power and Distribution

Struggles for recognition have an impact on not only the distribution of the power to represent ethnic identity but also on the distribution of resources. More specifically, according to Tully (2007), struggles over the distribution of resources are struggles for recognition. While the idea that there is a relationship between recognition and the distribution of resources is generally accepted (Kompridis, 2007), it is the form that this relationship takes that is debated. Honneth (2003) believes that distribution comes about as a result of recognition, and that redistribution cannot occur unless recognition is first attained. He positions the concept of recognition as being moral in kind, and as the overarching concept from which aspects like distribution come. In contrast, Fraser (2003) contends that the two categories are connected and mutually-dependent, and that neither sits above the other. Instead, they sit as "mutually irreducible dimensions of justice" (p.3).

In noting that struggles for distribution and struggles for recognition are a similar dynamic, Tully (2007) contends that the achievement of recognition automatically has an influence on the balance of political power, and cites workers gaining a voice in the governance of the means of production as an example. Returning to the New

Zealand context, an argument can be made, supported by Tully's perception of the relationship between recognition and distribution, that the achievement of equality in the provision of needs in a form that results in all basic needs being met regardless of ethnic difference, could result in a shift in power with the majority losing some of its control over their authority in resource allocation and distribution. Or, as O'Brien and Ouden (2013) put it, the achievement of recognition can result in new struggles and the reigniting of struggles from the past.

This influence of history on today's struggles is a situation seen in New Zealand through debates around Treaty settlements and the formal recognition of biculturalism, and relates to struggles for recognition by the indigenous group, Māori. Struggles for recognition by indigenous peoples are heavily influenced by historical events and by struggles that have taken place in the past. They are also influenced by existing policies, and by law and policy changes that have come about due to previous struggles or that have been formulated for other reasons (O'Brien and Ouden, 2013). This is relevant in the New Zealand context due to its colonial history and historical claims by Māori upon the Crown. Walker (2004) discusses the colonial history of New Zealand, specifically in reference to the ongoing struggles for justice, for equality and for self-determination, and notes that treatment of Māori in the past still has an impact on struggles for recognition today. In this context, it is likely that the resolution of historical struggles has led, at least in part, to a continuation of the inequality that still exists today.

4.3 Struggling for Recognition: Summary

It is impossible to formulate an all-encompassing definition of what a struggle for recognition is and, similarly, it is impossible to define what form recognition should take if obtained. Struggles for recognition and the desired form of recognition that a struggle should achieve, are specific to each situation and set of needs. As a result, not only is it impossible to create finite definitions, perhaps it is damaging to do so as any specific definition would surely exclude something worthy of inclusion. Instead, discussions by Tully (2007) and Kompridis (2007), in which a focus on how

individuals and groups are being governed is advocated, are perhaps a more inclusive way of approaching what is meant by a struggle for recognition.

The first portion of this discussion has highlighted what is at stake in the debate of the state of multiculturalism: the recognition of ethnic identity and the resulting appropriate distribution of resources, and the impact of both on the happiness of ethnic minorities. If recognition of ethnic identity remains unattainable, then the risk of ethnic discrimination increases and with it, the likelihood of discrimination from state institutions causing inequitable patterns of resource distribution also increases. In the struggle for recognition and resource distribution, the happiness of ethnic minorities is at stake. In the follow chapter I lay out the methodology used to explore the multiculturalism debate through the components of happiness and experiences of ethnic discrimination, and the relationships between recognition and distribution.

Chapter Five: Methodology

The context in which this thesis sits is in one of an ethnically diverse country, that requires recognition of a vast number of ethnic identities in order to facilitate appropriate resource distribution. The ability of the state to meet obligations to respect, provide and fulfil the human rights of members hinges on recognition of all ethnic identities in respect of which the state is responsible. This context raises a set of questions, most notably around the frequency of experiences of ethnic discrimination that may occur owing to inadequate recognition of ethnic identities, and the impact this has on the distribution of resources provided to those who affiliate with identities given sufficient recognition. Furthermore, it asks if struggles for the recognition of rights impacts adversely on the happiness of those disadvantaged by misrecognition. This chapter outlines the research design through which these questions are operationalised, and through which the impact of ethnic discrimination on the happiness of the participating ethnic groups is established.

5.1 Research Questions

This project explores ethnic discrimination from the perspective of both those who are most likely to be negatively impacted by it (ethnic minorities), and from members of the majority culture. It explores individual's perceptions of their primary sources of happiness. Moreover, it ascertains whether or not people's perceptions of prejudice and discrimination from state institutions put barriers in place that are preventing them from pursuing these sources.

A set of questions formulated to frame the context of this study are as follows:

1. What are the primary sources of happiness for ethnic groups living in Auckland, New Zealand?

2. From their perspectives, have people of different ethnic groups experienced ethnic discrimination from any state institutions? If yes, have their experiences

put barriers in place that prevent the pursuit and / or fulfilment of their primary sources of happiness?

3. Which state institutions in New Zealand have the highest reported frequency of experiences of ethnic discrimination, and in what form does this discrimination appear?

5.2 Research Design and Rationale

The research design is a cross-sectional survey, targeted at respondents aged over the age of 18, living in Auckland, and who primarily identify with one of the following six ethnic groups:

Table 1	
Participating ethnic groups and reasons for selection	
Ethnic Group	**Reason for Selection**
Chinese	Largest ethnic group amongst those born outside of Auckland.
Filipino	Tripled in population between the 2006 census and the 2013 census.
Indian	The fifth largest ethnic group in Auckland, with a growing population.
Māori	Auckland's indigenous ethnic identity and historically the largest recipients of institutionalised racism.
Pākehā/European	Auckland's majoritarian ethnic identity, providing a comparison for minority groups.
Samoan	Highest population amongst Tagata Pacifica residents in Auckland.

A survey was chosen as the research method for four key reasons. Firstly, a survey enables a significant number of respondents to be attracted from each ethnic group. Secondly, a survey was selected because of the focus of this research on ascertaining how respondents feel, and a survey is one effective way to do that due

to the cloak of invisibility respondents can feel when participating. Thirdly, due to the motivation of exploring ethnic discrimination from the perspective of members of ethnic minorities, a survey provides an appropriate platform for research participants to report their experiences. Fourthly, I felt that a survey would provide potential respondents with the safety of anonymity to tell their stories about any perceived ethnic discrimination or prejudice they felt they had experienced. As opposed to face-to-face interviews, focus groups, or other predominately qualitative methods, this chosen method allowed for a larger number of respondents and presented an opportunity to share stories, perspectives and opinions without any identification of respondents.

A target number of 300 respondents per ethnic group was set to ensure the resulting data could be extrapolated across the Auckland populations of each ethnic group over the age of 18, to a confidence level of 95% with a margin of error of +/- 5%. This calculation was based on the larger population size of the Pākehā/European group, with all other ethnic groups set at 300 to ensure equality, regardless of this number exceeding the required level to achieve the same statistical representation for the groups with smaller populations. These sample sizes ensure that findings can be generalised across Auckland. However, even though respondents were asked for their perceptions of state institutions nationally, no assumption is made that these perceptions reflect those of members of ethnic groups in other parts of New Zealand.

5.3 Data Collection and Rationale

The survey was run online to ensure a larger number of responses could be attracted in a short period. This methodology is supported by the large internet penetration in New Zealand, ensuring that each ethnic group was widely and equally represented throughout this process. Due to a primary motivation behind this research design being the exploration of perspectives of respondents, a significant number of responses was vital and for that reason, an online survey was considered superior to a paper or an in-person format. Various common criticisms of online surveys were considered during the research design stage. Including that

participating excludes those who do not use computers; that repeat participating is a risk; and that participants can misrepresent themselves. However, these concerns were not considered to be significant due to the large sample size ensuring representation of the population; the data validity checks utilised (see 5.5); and that a misrepresentation can occur in any research format, but is less likely to be significant amongst a large sample.

Respondents were attracted to the survey via advertisements placed on social media websites Facebook, LinkedIn and Twitter, through personal contacts and networks, and by approaching local community groups either in person or through intermediary contacts. All targets were achieved using these platforms, with the target number of Pākehā respondents received earliest, and Filipino last. The Filipino group provided some challenges with slow responses in the early stages of the survey, and extra contacts were made with additional advertisements placed to ensure that this target was also achieved.

Once potential respondents had shown interest in participating in this research, they clicked a link and the first contact with them came about via a homepage on www.happinessresearch.co.nz. Immediately, respondents had the opportunity to select from six language options (English, Māori, Samoan, Hindi, Tagalog, Chinese). Once respondents had made this selection they were presented with the information page (appendix 2) and introduced to the necessary information needed before entering the survey. If they accepted this information and the terms of survey completion they then entered the first page of the survey, hosted by SurveyGizmo, and were asked three qualifying questions. These qualifying questions ensured they were residents of Auckland, aged 18 or over, and identified with one of the target ethnic groups as their primary ethnic identity. If potential respondents fitted the target profile, based on their answers to these qualifying questions, then they entered the survey proper. Upon completion of the survey respondents were offered the chance to enter a prize draw to win one of four $50 Amazon gift cards.

5.4 Profile of Participants

An essential element of the research design is that all survey findings are explorations of the perspectives and opinions of survey participants; the findings express the voices of those respondents. This section summarises the profile of participants who provided complete survey responses, that were then taken to the analysis stage of this process.

Ethnic Identity

Table 2		
Number and percentage of respondents from each ethnic group		
Ethnicity	**# of Respondents**	**% of All Respondents**
Indian	333	17.7%
Chinese	319	17.0%
Samoan	313	16.7%
Māori	308	16.4%
Pākehā	304	16.2%
Filipino	301	16.0%
Total	**1878**	

Table 2 shows that each ethnic group reached the target number of 300 responses, and, once data cleaning and validation had been performed, a relatively similar representative sample size for each of the target ethnic groups was achieved. It also shows that 1878 responses were received in total, and this combination of all respondents is presented on charts and graphs as 'overall'.

Age Groups

Table 3 shows the percentage of respondents who fitted within each age group and is shown both overall and regarding the six ethnic identities:

Table 3

Age groups of respondents overall and by ethnic group

Group	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Overall	17.0%	21.4%	22.2%	17.9%	14.5%	7.0%
Indian	17.4%	26.4%	15.9%	10.2%	18.6%	11.4%
Chinese	21.0%	28.5%	25.1%	9.7%	12.5%	3.1%
Samoan	14.1%	14.4%	22.4%	27.8%	16.6%	4.8%
Māori	20.8%	22.1%	21.4%	17.9%	11.7%	6.2%
Pākehā	12.2%	17.4%	22.7%	20.7%	18.1%	8.9%
Filipino	16.3%	18.9%	26.2%	21.9%	9.3%	7.3%

Respondent Segmentation

In addition to segmentation based on respondents' primary ethnic identification, the additional primary segmentation discussed in the findings chapter is New Zealand born compared to overseas born. Table 4 shows the results of this segmentation.

Table 4

Percentage of New Zealand born and overseas born participants - overall and by ethnic group

Group	Born New Zealand	Born Overseas
Overall	50.1%	49.9%
Chinese	24.1%	75.9%
Filipino	29.2%	70.8%
Indian	36.9%	63.1%
Māori*	99.0%	1.0%
Pākehā	71.1%	28.9%
Samoan	41.2%	58.8%

5.5 Questionnaire Design and Rationale

To gather data that could potentially answer the research questions, a questionnaire with 50 questions was designed (appendix 3). Respondents could take multiple pathways through this survey depending on answers they gave and selections they made, resulting in no respondent being asked more than 35 questions. Questions were formulated using Bhutan's Gross Domestic Happiness Survey as an early guideline, the New Zealand well-being survey as an intermediate guideline, and my own ideas about the questions I felt would provide the most robust data to answer the research questions and meet the objectives. The Bhutan model was used as a guideline because it presents as a complete exploration of all the areas I aimed to explore in the happiness portion of this survey. The New Zealand well-being survey was used as a guideline to provide some data that could potentially be compared to relevant New Zealand statistics in the future. Finally, my ideas were based on over five years of survey formulation and quantitative research experience.

The survey was formulated in English and then translated into five additional languages using a professional service (Māori, Samoan, Hindi, Tagalog and Mandarin). These translations were done to provide equal access and opportunity to all respondents regardless of their level of English literacy.

The finished survey included multiple question types, including the following:

- Individual rating questions;
- Multiple selection and single selection – categorical, dichotomous, ordinal and interval;
- Demographics; and
- Open-ended/qualitative questions.

The rationale behind the primary question format decisions is as follows:

- 11-point scales (0-10) were used in all rating based questions to ensure that any increasing or decreasing rating differences within data could be deeply explored. I felt that an 11-point scale provided more opportunity than the traditional likert 5-point scale, or an extended 7-point scale would do.

- Using an 11-point scale throughout the entire survey allowed for questions to be grouped together, where appropriate, and for a direct comparison between related questions. This consistency allowed for patterns within the data to be identified.

- A combination of categorical, dichotomous, ordinal and interval single and multiple selection questions were used to ensure the appropriate measurement and statistical analysis methods could be used on the resulting data.

Before potential participants were attracted to the survey, a testing phase was entered into, with all languages and potential survey pathways tested by a total of 32 friends, family members, associates and academics. This process resulted in a small number of corrections to translations, but no changes to questions or the format of the survey.

5.6 Data Analysis and Rationale

The data resulting from the survey was analysed using a combination of Microsoft Excel, SPSS, and NVivo, and was explored both overall and in relevant data segments, primarily by the six target ethnic groups. This section outlines the data analysis process that was followed, including data cleaning and assessment of validity.

Sample assessment: an assessment was made of whether or not the target sample and sub-samples were met and the overall target population reached (Balnaves and

Caputi, 2001). This was undertaken primarily to ensure the target participants were attracted to this survey, and that each group had a relatively similar sample size.

Exploratory analysis: this included a real-time analysis of survey responses as they were completed, to gauge the developing data-set before engagement would begin on analysis of each question (Balnaves and Caputi, 2001).

Data cleaning and validation: survey responses with the following aspects were removed from the data analysis stage of this process to avoid selection bias, and to ensure the responses included in the analysis were legitimate and of the highest possible quality:

- Responses completed more than 25% faster than the average completion time.
- Consistent straight lining (e.g. where respondents give the same rating for each question on a matrix of questions).
- Consistent gibberish and/or one word answers for open-ended questions.
- Consistent selection of only one option for multiple-selection questions.
- Consistent selection of all options for multiple-selection questions.
- Duplicate responses from the same respondent.

Thematic analysis: building on Braun and Clarke's (2006) model of thematic analysis, key themes were identified within the data, with commonalities and contrasts identified between the primary data segments and across different questions within each group. The coding and theming of all open-ended responses quantified the qualitative data that had been received from the open-ended responses.

The analysis was undertaken of each question using methods appropriate to the formats of the respective questions. These included, but were not limited to mean ratings, percentages, spreads and distributions. Specifically, the 11-point scale and rating based questions were both averaged and grouped together as follows:

- Ratings of 9 or 10:   Extremely, Strongly for etc.
- Ratings of 7 or 8:   Somewhat
- Ratings of 4, 5, 6:   Neutral, Average etc.
- Ratings of 3 or less: Unlikely, Strongly against etc.

5.7 Ethical Considerations

The ethical issues arising from the research design pertained to the inclusion of a prize draw, confidentiality and the gaining of informed consent. These considerations are outlined here.

The survey prize draw was not considered a financial inducement because of the small value involved, and it being unlikely to encourage participation if respondents were not interested in the first instance, as may occur with a larger prize.

This research claims confidentiality due to the only possible identifying feature of those surveyed, that being the email address given for the prize draw, being kept separate from all other answers given, and not compared to any answers given under any circumstances. Additionally, data has been, and will continue to be kept on a secure, password-protected laptop and one back-up on a password protected external hard-drive. Data (in its original form) has only been, and will only ever be seen by the researcher and two supervisors. Furthermore, respondents to the survey were able to skip any question that they did not wish to answer.

Informed consent was sought from participants after they were first shown an information sheet that appeared in the form of a page on the website. At the bottom of this page, respondents were informed that moving forward into the survey proper acted as them giving their informed consent, and they could not move forward without agreeing to this. A total of 55 potential respondents left the survey after viewing this first page, with just five of these clicking that they did not agree with the informed consent statement before doing so.

5.8 Methodology: Summary

The research design of this study gives members of ethnic minorities a voice in this exploration of happiness and ethnic discrimination.

The statistical representativeness of the sample sizes ensures that the findings discussed in the following chapter can be presented as not only a representation of the perceptions of research participants, but also as a strong indication of how other members of their groups feel. The following chapter explores the key findings from this survey in relation to the research questions, starting with an exploration of the happiness levels expressed by respondents.

Chapter Six: Survey Findings

This survey canvassed 1878 participants on their perceptions of happiness and their experiences of ethnic discrimination from state institutions. This chapter outlines the most relevant findings resulting from the survey in relation to the socio-political context in which the study sits. These results are presented from the whole sample ('overall'), by ethnic group, and by other relevant data segments (including New Zealand and overseas birth). The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the key findings that will be discussed in the chapters that follow. Firstly, levels of happiness as expressed by respondents are outlined, both on the day they completed the survey and generally. Secondly, respondents' primary sources of happiness are identified. Thirdly, the relationship between participants' financial statuses and their expressed levels of happiness is described. Fourthly, the frequency of reported experiences of ethnic discrimination per ethnic group is outlined. Finally, respondents' impressions of state institutions based on their rating of various metrics is presented.

6.1 Levels of Happiness

Participants were asked to rate their level of happiness on the day they completed the survey and their 'general happiness' overall. They made this determination using the same 11-point scale (0-10) for each question, with a rating of 10 indicating that they were 'extremely happy', a five that they were 'neutral' and a 0 that they were 'extremely unhappy'. This section explores mean ratings given to each question, both overall and by ethnic groups.

Happiness on Day of Survey Completion

Overall, respondents gave a mean rating of 6.72, indicating that they tend be at least somewhat happy. Figure 1 presents the mean ratings provided by each ethnic group and shows that the Filipino group rated their happiness on the day of survey completion higher than any of the other groups, with 8.02, the only group to give a mean rating of above 7. In contrast, the Chinese group gave the lowest mean rating,

with 5.19, the only group to give a mean rating below 6. There was a 2.83-point difference between the mean rating given by the happiest group, Filipino, and that given by the least happy group, Chinese. The remaining four groups gave mean ratings ranging from 6.61 (Indian) to 6.98 (Samoan).
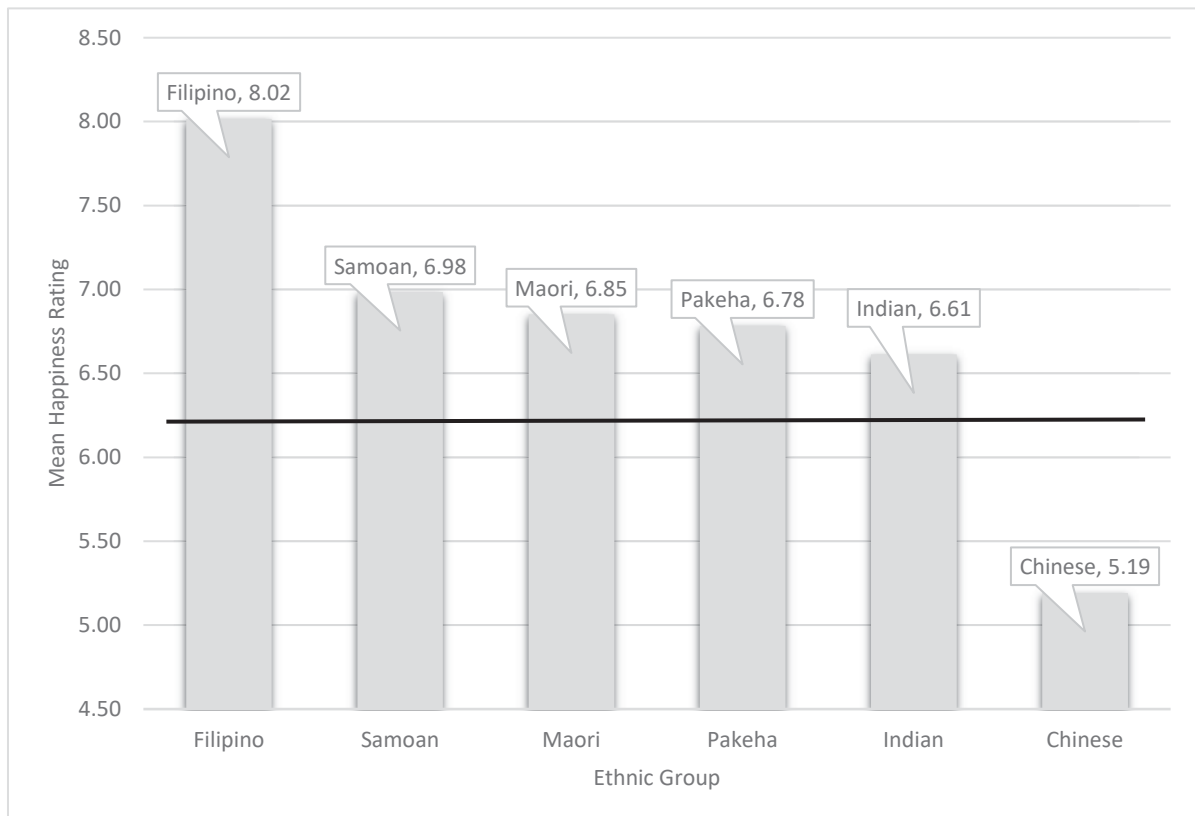

Figure 1: Mean ratings provided by each group of respondents to indicate how happy they were at the time of survey completion.

Furthermore, ratings given by respondents were grouped into levels of happiness, and table 5 shows the percentage of respondents from each group who rated their happiness on the day of survey completion at each level.

Table 5 shows that the Filipino group was the most likely to give at least a rating of 7 to indicate at least some happiness on the day of survey completion, and this correlates with the high mean rating.

Table 5

Levels of happiness on the day of survey completion as expressed by each group (ratings in brackets)

Level of Happiness	Overall	Chinese	Filipino	Indian	Māori	Pākehā	Samoan
Extremely Happy (9,10)	26.7%	12.2%	48.2%	25.8%	24.4%	20.1%	30.4%
Somewhat Happy (7,8)	30.4%	15.0%	34.6%	23.4%	33.4%	48.7%	28.4%
Neutral / Average (4,5,6)	32.0%	44.5%	10.6%	42.6%	39.0%	23.4%	30.0%
Unhappy (0,1,2,3)	11.0%	28.2%	6.6%	8.1%	3.2%	7.9%	11.2%

Amongst all ethnic groups where segmentations by New Zealand born and overseas born were possible (excluding Māori), those born overseas gave a higher mean rating for their happiness on the day of survey completion (see table 6). The contrast was highest between the two segments of Indian respondents with overseas-born Indian participations giving a mean rating of 7.55 and New Zealand-born providing a mean of 5.01. For the other four ethnic groups, the contrast between New Zealand and overseas-born was smaller, with no other comparison exceeding 1 full point.

Table 6
Mean ratings given by respondents to indicate their happiness at survey completion - by ethnic group and place of birth (out of a possible 10).

Ethnicity	All	Born NZ	Born Overseas
Overall	6.72	6.51	6.94
Filipino	8.02	8.23	7.50
Samoan	6.98	6.92	7.07
Māori*	6.85	-	-
Pākehā	6.78	6.65	7.10
Indian	6.61	5.01	7.55
Chinese	5.19	5.07	5.22
* = not enough overseas born Māori respondents were received to form segments.			

General Happiness

Overall, respondents gave a mean rating of 7.20. Figure 2 presents the mean ratings provided by each ethnic group and shows that the Filipino group rated their general happiness higher than any of the other groups, with 7.96. In contrast, the Chinese group gave the lowest mean rating, with 6.29. There was a 1.67-point difference between the mean rating given by the happiest group, Filipino, and that given by the least happy group, Chinese. The remaining four groups gave mean ratings ranging from 7.51 (Samoan) to 6.90 (Māori).
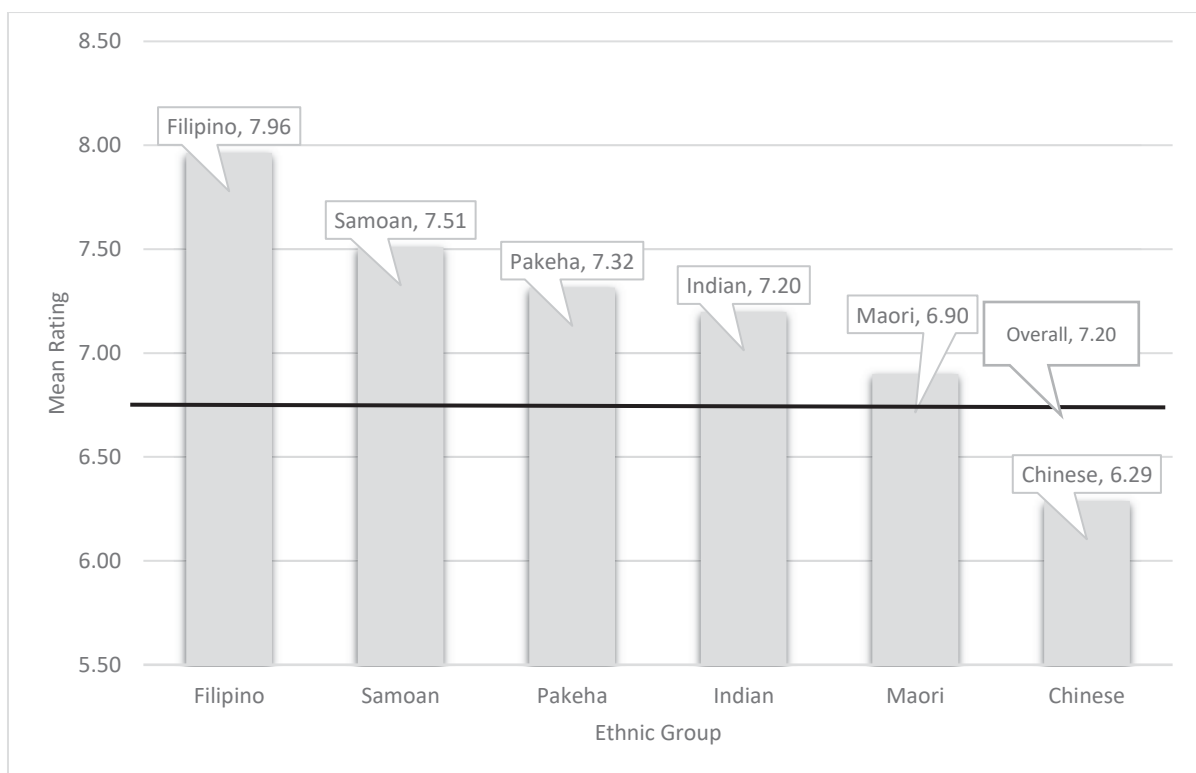

Figure 2: Mean ratings provided by each group of respondents to indicate how happy they were at the time of survey completion.

Furthermore, ratings provided by respondents were segmented into levels of happiness. See table 7 for the percentage of respondents from each group who rated their general happiness at each level.

Table 7

Levels of general happiness as expressed by each group (ratings in brackets)

Level of Happiness	Overall	Chinese	Filipino	Indian	Māori	Pākehā	Samoan
Extremely Happy (9,10)	29.9%	15.7%	48.2%	27.3%	27.6%	26.3%	35.5%
Somewhat Happy (7,8)	37.2%	32.9%	31.2%	45.6%	33.4%	46.1%	33.2%
Neutral / Average (4,5,6)	24.8%	37.9%	16.3%	21.0%	29.2%	16.8%	27.2%
Unhappy (0,1,2,3)	7.6%	12.2%	4.3%	6.0%	9.7%	9.2%	4.2%

Table 7 shows a similar finding to the levels of happiness on the day of survey completion, in that the Filipino group were the most likely to have given a rating of 7 or higher to indicate at least some general happiness.

Amongst all ethnic groups where segmentations by New Zealand born and overseas born were possible (excluding Māori), those born overseas gave a higher mean rating for their general happiness (see table 8). The contrast was highest between the two segments of Indian respondents with overseas-born Indian participations giving a mean rating of 7.87 and New Zealand-born a mean of 6.05. For the other four ethnic groups, the contrast between New Zealand and overseas born was smaller, with no other comparison exceeding 1 full point.

Table 8

Mean ratings provided by respondents to indicate their 'general' happiness - by ethnic group and place of birth (out of a possible 10).

Ethnicity	All	Born NZ	Born Overseas
Overall	7.20	6.90	7.48
Filipino	7.96	7.81	8.03
Samoan	7.51	7.27	7.68
Pākehā	7.32	7.22	7.55
Indian	7.20	6.05	7.87
Māori*	6.90	-	-

Chinese	6.29	5.73	6.47

* = not enough overseas born Māori respondents were received to form segments.

Upon ascertaining the levels of happiness expressed by participants their sources of that happiness were then explored.

6.2 Sources of Happiness

Via three questions, participants were asked to identify what had the largest impact on their happiness. The first question asked them to identify the primary reason for the rating they gave to indicate their level of happiness on the day of survey completion. The second asked them to identify the primary reason motivating the rating they gave for their general happiness. The third asked them to identify what they believe to be their primary sources of happiness. All three questions were open-ended and were coded using thematic analysis, tables 9 and 10 show the most ten common positive and the ten most common negative aspects that impact upon happiness.

Table 9							
Most common themes contained in answers given by respondents to indicate what has positive impact on their happiness (percentage of all sources).							
Aspect Theme	**Overall**	**Chinese**	**Filipino**	**Indian**	**Māori**	**Pākehā**	**Samoan**
Family	49.0%	41.2%	49.0%	49.7%	40.6%	50.7%	63.1%
Positive Relationships	26.8%	25.5%	22.3%	28.5%	18.3%	28.3%	24.9%
Health / Well-being	25.2%	23.5%	16.8%	30.8%	30.0%	24.3%	25.1%
Positive Environment	24.2%	23.5%	32.1%	28.4%	15.9%	12.3%	32.7%
Religion / Spirituality	19.9%	19.1%	22.1%	17.4%	19.5%	17.8%	23.8%
Love	18.0%	16.6%	18.1%	23.0%	19.8%	11.7%	18.4%
Financial / Employment Security	18.5%	24.6%	11.5%	15.6%	21.8%	23.8%	13.6%
Optimistic / Positive Attitude	11.6%	14.1%	7.6%	9.5%	13.3%	15.5%	9.7%

Contentment	10.9%	20.1%	6.5%	10.4%	7.5%	14.6%	6.2%
Material Possessions	8.1%	8.9%	11.3%	9.2%	7.8%	4.3%	7.2%

Table 10

Most common themes contained in answers given by respondents to indicate what has negative impact on their happiness (percentage of all sources)

Aspect Theme	Overall	Chinese	Filipino	Indian	Māori	Pākehā	Samoan
Financial Stress / Unemployment	15.2%	10.8%	11.6%	16.4%	17.9%	13.5%	21.1%
Negative Environment	13.0%	16.1%	12.8%	8.9%	15.6%	12.8%	11.8%
Negative Relationships	9.2%	8.8%	9.3%	8.6%	8.1%	14.8%	5.9%
Health Problems / Concerns	9.4%	8.8%	8.6%	8.4%	9.4%	13.5%	7.8%
Unequal / Unfair Society	7.8%	12.4%	9.5%	3.5%	7.6%	7.6%	6.5%
Study / Work Stress	6.7%	9.4%	5.5%	7.2%	5.0%	6.1%	6.5%
Specific Challenges / Concerns	6.4%	4.1%	8.5%	6.9%	2.6%	9.4%	7.0%
No Purpose	4.8%	9.9%	3.7%	3.0%	1.5%	7.2%	3.7%
Grief / Loss	3.1%	6.7%	1.7%	2.1%	1.1%	1.8%	4.8%
Substances	2.1%	0.0%	5.0%	0.9%	2.6%	2.6%	1.9%

Tables 9 and 10 illustrate, overwhelmingly, that the primary source of happiness for all ethnic groups is their families, with 49% of all respondents giving this as one of their sources. Furthermore, between 40.6% (Māori) and 63.1% (Samoan) of each group mentioned it as one of their sources. 'Family' was followed by a similar finding of 'positive relationships', and was given by 26.8% of all respondents. Therefore, over three-quarters (75.8%) of all survey participants gave either family or positive relationships as at least one of their primary sources of happiness.

In contrast, financial stress and/or unemployed is the most common negative impact on happiness, as mentioned by 15.2% of all respondents. This negative influence was stronger for the Samoan group (21.1%) and the least for Chinese (10.8%).

Respondents then rated a series of aspects that could potentially have an impact on their happiness based on how much of an influence they felt it had on their personal happiness (see table 11).

Table 11

Mean ratings provided by respondents to indicate how much of an influence each aspect is on their personal happiness (ratings out of a possible 10, with 10 indicating an extreme influence and 0 no influence at all).

Aspect	Overall	Chinese	Filipino	Indian	Māori	Pākehā	Samoan
Good Health	8.85	9.10	9.06	9.08	8.14	8.83	8.89
Positive Relationships	8.67	7.49	9.37	8.21	8.91	9.14	9.00
Financial Security	8.38	8.82	9.07	8.55	6.99	8.24	8.59
Good Standard of Living	8.01	8.16	7.91	8.55	7.14	7.76	8.49
Quality of Local Natural Environment	7.49	7.19	7.13	7.32	7.97	7.43	7.89
Work/Life Balance	7.13	6.89	6.62	7.35	5.93	8.24	7.73

Table 11 shows the importance of health for all respondents, with this aspect receiving the highest mean rating of importance overall, with 8.85. However, this was not the highest rating aspect for all ethnic groups. Positive relationships featured strongly again in this question and was rated the highest for Pākehā (9.14), Māori (8.91), Filipino (9.06) and Samoan (9.00).

6.3 Income and Happiness

Respondents were asked about their income, and then requested to describe their financial statuses by selecting from four levels. These responses were compared to the mean happiness ratings (see table 12).

Table 12

Percentage of respondents identifying their financial status at each level compared to mean happiness ratings.

Financial Status	%	Mean Happiness: General	Mean Happiness: Survey Completion
Struggling	23.4%	6.97	6.30
Meeting Basic Needs Only	35.4%	7.37	7.02
Comfortable	37.5%	7.23	6.84
Extremely Comfortable	3.7%	7.07	6.34

Table 12 shows that happiness was the lowest, both on the day of survey completion and in general, for those respondents who indicated that they were struggling financially. On the day of survey completion, this group was the only group to give a mean rating of less than 7. In contrast, the group to give the highest mean ratings, for both ratings, were those who indicated that they were meeting basic financial needs.

6.4 Experiences of Ethnic Discrimination

Respondents were asked if they had experienced 'ethnic discrimination' from a state institution using a simple yes/no question. The meaning of discrimination was left to the respondents and was not qualified by any definition given in the survey (see figure 3).
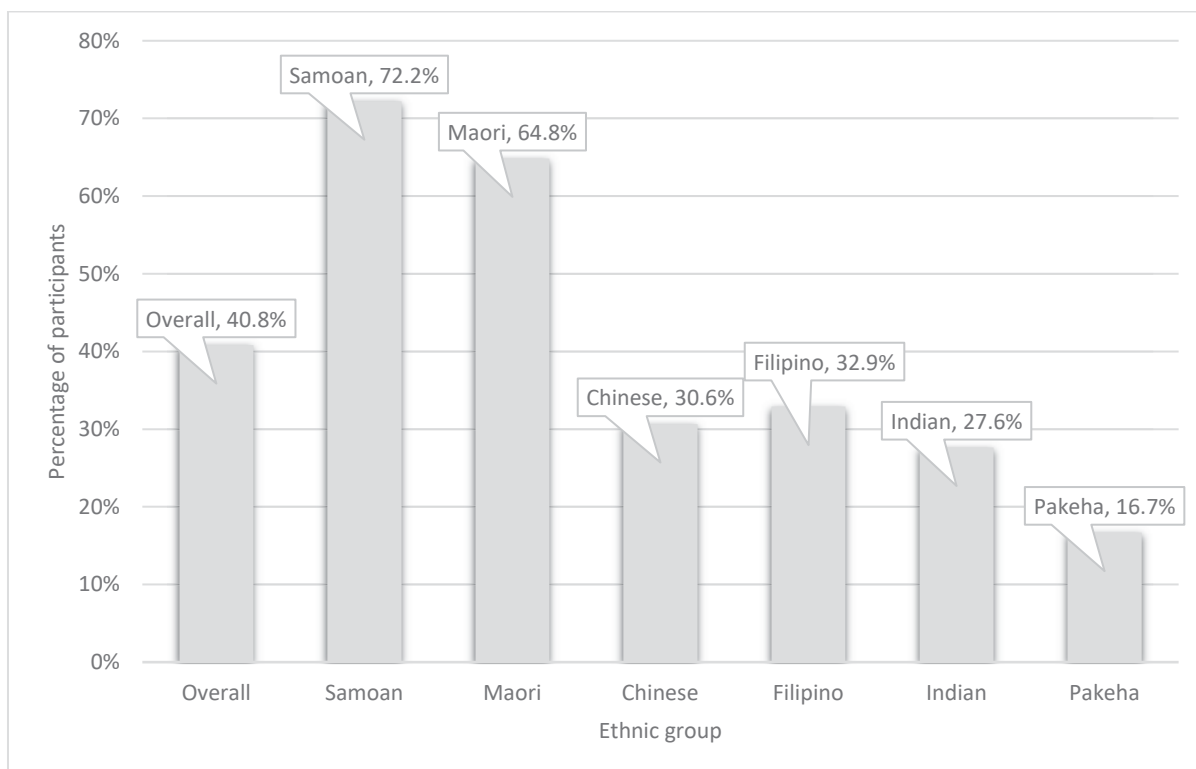
Figure 3: Percentage of participants who reported at least one experience of ethnic discrimination from a New Zealand state institution.

Figure 3 shows that overall, 40.8% of all participants reported at least one experience of ethnic discrimination from a New Zealand state institution. When the majority, Pākehā, are removed from this calculation and only ethnic minorities considered, this percentage increases to 45.1%.

Samoan participants were more likely to have experienced ethnic discrimination at 72.2%, followed by Māori at 64.8%, and all other groups 34.7% (Filipino) or less. An example from the Samoan and Māori groups are as follows:

"Any sort of communication and interaction with work and income in person has been mostly negative which has been opposite to my experience with the call centre over the phone. The workers I have come across in two offices in South Auckland have always left me feeling deflated, judged and unworthy of assistance. Before I have given my story, I am already given information based on assumptions. "I am brown therefore I must not have qualifications. I am brown so this must mean I have never had a job and am looking for a handout." I felt the same way every time I would take my grandmother to her appointments as she is a widow. Always a

disrespectful atmosphere where I felt they did not have my grandmothers best interests at heart. No genuine service was given... Ever."

Samoan participant, female aged 25 to 34 (on Work and Income)

"If you're a brown brother and you go to court wear extra undies and socks cause you going inside"

Māori participant, male aged 45 to 54 (on New Zealand courts)

Furthermore, the frequency of reported experiences of ethnic discrimination from the same groups was explored by NZ or overseas born (see table 13).

Table 13		
Percentage of each group of respondents who indicated that they had experienced ethnic discrimination from a New Zealand state institution		
Ethnicity	**All**	**Born NZ**	**Born Overseas**
Overall	40.8%	45.7%	36.1%
Chinese	30.6%	44.1%	26.9%
Indian	27.6%	30.9%	25.7%
Filipino	32.9%	28.4%	34.7%
Māori*	64.8%	-	-
Pākehā	16.7%	15.4%	20.0%
Samoan	72.2%	77.5%	68.5%
* = not enough overseas born Māori respondents were received to form segments.		

Table 13 shows that overseas born reported fewer experiences of ethnic discrimination for Samoan, Chinese and Indian groups. Pākehā and Filipino saw the opposite. With examples of reported experiences as follows:

"We're not all here to buy houses"

Chinese participant, female aged 45 to 54 (on New Zealand immigration)

"I've wondered why they don't just make parole for white fellas automatic cause you know they gonna get it on their first time up, we aint"

Māori participant, male aged 18 to 24 (on Department of Corrections)

"I was in hospital once and had my whole family with me. At the end of visiting hours they had to leave but instead of being reminded of this one of the nurses loudly said to one of the other nurses *that she gets sick of having to remind people like us about the rules"*

Samoan participant, female, aged 45 to 54 (on Ministry of Health)

The above quotations are a first identification of the feelings experienced by respondents when they perceive they have been discriminated against because of their ethnic identity. These feelings indicate not only a level of expectation, but also instances of previous experiences; themes that are explored further as this discussion builds.

6.5 Impressions of State Institutions

Respondents were first asked to select up to five state institutions with which they have interacted with recently. They were then requested to rate these selections based on 'Service Availability', 'Service Quality', 'Fairness and Equality' and 'Absence of Ethnic Discrimination'. These ratings resulted in a mean rating in each category for all state institutions with which interaction had occurred.

Service Availability

The following table shows the mean ratings given by respondents for each institution under each aspect (table 14 is shown in alphabetical order - only those institutions rated by at least 5% of respondents are shown):

Table 14

Mean ratings provided by respondents to indicate their level of satisfaction with each aspect of New Zealand state institutions

State Institution	Service Availability	Service Quality	Fairness and Equality	Absence of ethnic discrimination
ACC	6.89	6.73	7.02	7.10

Auckland Council	5.36	5.33	5.73	5.37
Auckland District Health Board (including hospitals)	4.65	5.33	5.79	4.11
Child, Youth and Family	5.97	5.29	5.41	5.48
Companies Office	8.71	8.64	8.42	8.42
Counties-Manukau District Health Board (including hospitals)	6.21	6.08	5.85	5.85
Department of Conservation	9.00	9.12	8.52	8.88
Department of Corrections	4.18	3.35	3.87	2.78
Department of Internal Affairs	7.75	7.53	7.12	6.86
Disputes Tribunal	7.50	7.12	7.24	7.13
District Court in Auckland	4.76	5.98	5.13	4.66
Employment Relations Authority	5.49	7.74	5.49	6.05
Family Court	7.12	4.74	5.01	3.07
High Court in Auckland	6.21	7.09	6.79	5.72
Human Rights Commission	6.66	7.88	8.49	8.56
Immigration New Zealand	6.77	5.78	6.25	6.21
Inland Revenue Department (IRD)	6.14	6.70	6.74	6.84
Ministry of Education	6.20	6.76	5.02	5.20
Ministry of Health	3.35	4.73	4.94	5.60
Ministry of Social Development	3.77	2.35	2.36	3.03
New Zealand Customs Service	8.00	5.80	5.03	4.75
New Zealand Parole Board	5.89	6.21	5.12	6.00
New Zealand Police	7.01	6.08	6.01	6.12
Public School - Primary	7.40	8.69	8.27	8.48
Public School - Secondary	5.73	6.64	6.37	7.07
Public School - Tertiary	4.63	6.12	5.15	5.71
Studylink	4.20	5.21	5.48	6.02

Work and Income	3.28	3.27	3.38	2.99

Table 15

New Zealand state institutions that received the highest mean ratings for each aspect

Service Availability		Service Quality	
Department of Conservation	9.00	Department of Conservation	9.12
Companies Office	8.71	Public School - Primary	8.69
New Zealand Customs Service	8.00	Companies Office	8.64
Department of Internal Affairs	7.75	Human Rights Commission	7.88
Disputes Tribunal	7.50	Employment Relations Authority	7.74

Fairness and Equality		Absence of Ethnic Discrimination	
Department of Conservation	8.52	Department of Conservation	8.88
Human Rights Commission	8.49	Human Rights Commission	8.56
Companies Office	8.42	Public School - Primary	8.48
Public School - Primary	8.27	Companies Office	8.42
Department of Internal Affairs	7.12	ACC	7.10

Table 15 shows that the Department of Conservation is considered by respondents to be the best state institution in New Zealand in all four categories. Furthermore, across all categories the Department of Conservation achieved a mean rating of 8.88 (see table 14). The Companies Office was the only other institution to feature in the top five for all categories, and also achieved an overall mean rating of 8.55 (table 14). Furthermore, the Human Rights Commission and Public School - Primary appeared in top five for three out of the four categories, with overall mean ratings of 7.90 and 8.21 respectively (table 14). The only other institution to receive a combined mean rating of over 7 was the Department of Internal Affairs - 7.21 (table 14).

Table 16

New Zealand state institutions that received the lowest mean ratings for each aspect

Service Availability		Service Quality	
Work and Income	3.28	Ministry of Social Development	2.35
Ministry of Health	3.35	Work and Income	3.27
Ministry of Social Development	3.77	Department of Corrections	3.35
Department of Corrections	4.18	Ministry of Health	4.73
Studylink	4.20	Family Court	4.74

Fairness and Equality		Absence of Ethnic Discrimination	
Ministry of Social Development	2.36	Department of Corrections	2.78
Work and Income	3.38	Work and Income	2.99
Department of Corrections	3.87	Ministry of Social Development	3.03
Ministry of Health	4.94	Family Court	3.07
Family Court	5.01	Auckland District Health Board	4.11

Table 16 shows that three state institutions ranked in the lowest five for all categories: Work and Income (with an overall mean rating of 3.23 - see table 14), Ministry of Social Development (2.88), and Department Corrections (3.55). No other institution had an overall mean rating under 4.

Those state institutions primarily responsible for ensuring basic social needs are met: Work and Income, Ministry of Social Development and Ministry of Health were in the lowest five rated institutions (all with mean ratings under 5) in both the 'fairness and equality' and the 'service availability' categories. Furthermore, also in the lowest five institutions for 'fairness and equality' was the Department of Corrections, an institution responsible for justice that also rated the lowest in the 'absence of ethnic discrimination' category.

Further to Work and Income, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Social Development and Department of Corrections receiving low ratings across all aspects overall, tables 17 to 20 show mean ratings provided by each ethnic group for these institutions in each

category (each aspect was rated by a minimum of 5% of each group and a minimum of 5% of respondents overall):

Table 17							
Work and Income - mean ratings given by ethnic groups for each aspect							
Aspect	**Overall**	**Chinese**	**Filipino**	**Indian**	**Māori**	**Pākehā**	**Samoan**
Service Availability	3.28	5.15	4.23	3.12	1.88	5.75	1.65
Fairness and Equality	3.38	5.55	4.20	3.20	1.76	5.60	1.60
Service Quality	3.27	4.95	3.76	2.98	1.84	4.95	1.46
Absence of Ethnic Discrimination	2.99	4.22	4.00	2.56	1.50	5.60	1.35

Table 18							
Ministry of Social Development - mean ratings given by ethnic groups for each aspect							
Aspect	**Overall**	**Chinese**	**Filipino**	**Indian**	**Māori**	**Pākehā**	**Samoan**
Service Availability	3.77	5.02	4.85	3.75	2.04	5.45	2.01
Fairness and Equality	2.36	4.28	3.28	2.65	1.65	4.90	1.52
Service Quality	2.35	4.60	3.63	2.77	1.68	4.65	1.45
Absence of Ethnic Discrimination	3.03	3.97	4.12	2.41	1.42	5.02	1.51

Table 19							
Ministry Health - mean ratings given by ethnic groups for each aspect							
Aspect	**Overall**	**Chinese**	**Filipino**	**Indian**	**Māori**	**Pākehā**	**Samoan**
Service Availability	3.35	4.78	5.02	3.12	2.60	4.89	2.02
Fairness and Equality	4.94	6.12	6.78	4.54	2.65	6.54	3.12

Service Quality	4.73	6.24	6.67	4.12	2.72	6.87	3.02
Absence of Ethnic Discrimination	5.60	7.12	7.89	5.62	2.98	8.04	2.65

Table 20
Department of Corrections - mean ratings given by ethnic groups for each aspect

Aspect	Overall	Chinese	Filipino	Indian	Māori	Pākehā	Samoan
Service Availability	4.18	6.48	6.78	5.21	2.78	4.74	2.28
Fairness and Equality	3.87	5.45	6.12	4.12	1.67	4.55	1.65
Service Quality	3.35	5.37	5.99	4.34	1.45	3.95	1.54
Absence of Ethnic Discrimination	2.78	4.90	5.35	4.05	1.42	3.78	1.26

Tables 17 to 20 show that when segmented based on ethnic identity, it is the ethnic groups which reported the highest levels of ethnic discrimination from New Zealand state institutions, Samoan and Māori, who gave the lowest mean ratings to each of the lowest rated institutions.

6.6 Survey Findings: Summary

Both generally, and at the time of survey completion, Filipino participants rated themselves happier than any other group. In contrast, Chinese participants rated their happiness lowest on both scales. The primary sources of happiness for all groups exhibited some commonalities, with approximately half of all respondents indicating family to be one of their primary sources, and this being the most common source for all ethnic groups. This source of happiness not only exceeds all others but has an influence on some of the other common sources as well, including relationships and the environments in which participants find themselves. Beyond family, the primary drivers of happiness and unhappiness, for respondents and from

their perspectives, are contrasting perceptions of relationships, health, financial security and the environment which surrounds them. These aspects appear on both the lists of the primary sources of happiness and those aspects most likely to negatively impact happiness. Additionally, while money has a significant impact on primary sources and drivers such as financial security and financial stress, it is worth noting that 'material possessions' appeared on either list just a single time. This appeareance was as the 10th most mentioned positive source of happiness. Furthermore, the lack of material possessions did not feature as a driver of unhappiness.

When levels of happiness, both at survey completion and in general, are compared to participant's perceptions of their financial status, the group that rates their happiness highest at both points in time, are those who perceive that they are meeting basic needs only. As perceptions of financial status increase, both of the mean ratings of happiness decrease.

Overall, 40.8% of all participants indicated that they felt they had experienced some form of ethnic discrimination from a New Zealand state institution. Samoan and Māori respondents were most likely to have reported an experience, while Indian and Chinese reported the lowest frequency amongst the five ethnic minorities, yet over one quarter of each group nonetheless still reported having experienced ethnic discrimination. Similar to levels of happiness, a contrast between those born overseas and those born in New Zealand emerged. For the Samoan, Indian and Chinese groups, those born in New Zealand were more likely to have perceived an experience of ethnic discrimination, with Filipino participants the only ethnic minority to indicate the opposite. Reported experiences appeared to include a combination of racism and prejudice from individual actors and discrimination at a systemic level. Additionally, 16.7% of Pākehā participants indicated that they had experienced ethnic discrimination from a New Zealand state institution with their perceived experience being defined as discrimination.

Those New Zealand state institutions that are responsible for providing services that ensure members of society can meet their basic needs (WINZ, Ministry of Social Development and Ministry of Health) rated in the lowest five for both the availability

of their service and the fairness and equality they show. Additionally, the institution responsible for the security of domestic New Zealand in a form that does not breach human rights, the Department of Corrections, also rated consistently low. The appearance of the same institutions in the bottom group across metrics indicates a systemic block of resources for ethnic minorities and a lack of adequate protection of intrusion into freedoms. The relevance of this finding in relation to this overall discussion is in the relationship between recognition and distribution, as it appears that the manifestation and perpetuation of ethnic discrimination is a misrecognition of the ethnic minorities who participated in this research. Moreover, this misrecognition is resulting in a barrier to appropriate resource allocation and distribution, and potentially a breach of the state's human rights obligation. The state's positionality in the multiculturalism debate plays out further in the following chapters.

Chapter Seven: Happiness of Participants

"My children, seeing them grow into the awesome adults I always knew they would be."

Research participant, Pākehā, female aged 45 to 54

This quotation, given by a research participant with respect to their primary source of happiness, is indicative of the most common sources of happiness across all ethnic groups represented in this study: family and relationships. In this discussion, happiness is positioned as one object at stake in the struggles for recognition and distribution, that play out in multicultural New Zealand amongst the ethnic discrimination perpetuated by state institutions, and as perceived by participants. This positionality is highlighted due to the influence ethnic affiliation has on a person's happiness and, owing to that degree of influence, the potential impact misrecognition can have on the ability of ethnic minorities to pursue their happiness, and that of their families.

Survey findings have shown that there are both commonalities and differences in definitions of happiness between participating ethnic groups. Findings have also shown that a person's happiness can be negatively impacted by a failure to meet their basic needs. Ethnic discrimination, as reported by participants in respect of the insitutions of Work and Income and Health most notably, hinders the ability of ethnic minorities to meet their basic needs and can have a detrimental impact on their happiness. This impact most likely occurs through a threat to their primary source of happiness: the material existence of family life. As a result of these findings, this discussion of happiness provides insight into something far more complex than peoples' subjective states: It creates insight into the relationship between experiences of ethnic discrimination and the complex relation between recognition and distribution, as characterises ethnically-diverse countries like New Zealand. The following discussions further explores the survey findings relating to happiness and experiences of ethnic discrimination, and places these findings within this overall discussion of the struggles for recognition. Tully (2007) claimed that struggles for resource distribution are struggles for recognition. The survey findings both support this conjecture and add a layer of complexity to it, from this New Zealand context.

Are Aucklanders happy? From the results of this research, it appears that they generally are - at least, the members of the six ethnic groups who participated indicated that they tend to be. Of all participants, over two-thirds (67.1%) gave a rating to indicate that they were at least 'somewhat happy' in general, and over half (57%) were happy on the day they completed the survey. These findings are an important foundation for this discussion, as the study was designed to gather the perspectives and perceptions of respondents, and how they felt about their happiness and experiences. Therefore, it is prudent first to understand the degrees to which participants considered themselves to be happy before exploring their primary sources of happiness and any potential barriers to happiness.

7.1 Sources of Happiness

The paradox of happiness features in how participants expressed their levels of happiness, and more so in how they explained their sources of happiness. Individuals, and groups of individuals are discussing the same 'thing' when they speak of, and try to define happiness. The thing that is happiness is the object of the conversation, yet the way it is spoken of and the definitions given to it differ across groups. Because happiness is a subjective state open to interpretation, all we can have in common is the ability to speak of it. Not only is it spoken of in different ways, individuals are seeking the same thing, happiness, yet they seek it by various definitions and through different experiences as well. This paradox, and the overall subjectivity of happiness means it is difficult to include elements of happiness in political decisions and to consider the implications for happiness of political decisions and actions, as this discussion suggests is important. Specifically, it is important when considering interactions between state institutions and members of ethnic minorities through resource distribution. However, regardless of this paradox and the subjective character of the thing that is happiness, this discussion argues that there are some commonalities across different ethnic groups in not only definitions of happiness, but also in how happiness is pursued and how it is measured. These commonalities sit within the primary sources of happiness as expressed by participants. Moreover, it is these commonalities that position happiness and

perceptions of happiness as politically significant and as aspects of the human existence that must be considered during policy formation. Most notably, the commonalities count in the act of recognising the identities of ethnic minorities and in the task of ensuring that each group has an equal opportunity to access the services and resources required to meet basic needs and to live a life to a minimal standard (as is expected by the ideals of human rights law).

7.2 Primary Sources of Happiness

Survey findings outlined in the previous chapter show that every ethnic group that participated in this research identified 'family' in some form, as their most common primary source of happiness. This primary source was followed by 'positive relationships' as the second most common source overall, and was second for three out of the six groups (Pākehā, Samoan and Chinese). A response under either of these themes was given by 75.8% of participants, with the frequency being the highest for the Samoan participants (88.0%) and lowest for Māori (58.9%). Remembering that participants were able to cite more than one source of happiness, this means that over three-quarters of all participants consider family and/or positive relationships to be at least one of their primary sources of happiness. This finding clearly demonstrates a commonality across all six ethnic groups, regardless of what form 'family' takes or what type of positive personal relationship is being referred to; the most common primary source of happiness for all six ethnic groups was the same: family, in whatever form this may take. Coupled with the highest ranking source related directly to income, 'material possessions', ranking only 10th overall, the frequency of 'family' and relationships strongly indicates that happiness, for participants, is influenced the most by social connectedness and personal relationships, not by money, income, wealth and/or possessions. These commonalities raise a question about what impact threats to the family unit can have on happiness. In the context of this discussion, if the state institutions responsible for ensuring the basic needs of a family are putting barriers in place through ethnic discrimination that prevents basic needs from being met, then it appears that the primary source of happiness is under threat. This possibility is explored further as discussion unfolds.

7.3 Income, Wealth and Happiness

While survey findings show that income, wealth, possessions and money are not a primary source of happiness for participants, through an exploration of the examples given by participants and in considering the other ten most common sources of happiness, it becomes clear that these aspects can have both a direct and an indirect impact on the primary sources of family and relationships, and on the sources that include these personal relationships. The third and fourth most common sources of happiness overall, were 'health / well-being' and being in a 'positive environment'. For three ethnic groups (Māori, Indian and Filipino) 'health / well-being' was the second most common primary source, ranking above the 'positive relationships', that ranked second overall. While there are potentially many indicators of each of these themes, the influence of income on each cannot be ignored.

Starting with 'health / well-being', the impact of money on health extends from the prevention of illness and health concerns through to including a healthy living environment and good food, and the ability to access care and treatment for any illnesses that develop. While New Zealand does have a public health system, money can ensure a higher level of prevention and treatment for those able to pay for it. As a result, not having an appropriate standard of income to ensure a family unit has suitable prevention and care, and positive 'health / well-being' overall, may have an adverse impact on the primary source of happiness, the family. In considering a 'positive environment', a healthy home in a safe neighbourhood requires some degree of income, and the absence of that income can have a detrimental effect on the environment in which a family is situated, potentially impacting on happiness. The following quotations offer examples of this:

*"*Knowing my family is safe at home at night when I'm at work*"*

Māori, male aged 35 to 44 (on sources of happiness).

"I don't care how much I earn only if its enough to pay for what we need"

Samoan, female aged 45 to 54 (general comment).

"My boy is sick and I can't afford the doctor until next week"

Māori, female aged 35 to 44 (reason for happiness on day of survey completion).

In addition to these comments on the impact income has on various aspects of the health and well-being of individuals and their families, and on the environment in which they are living, the impact of income and wealth on the ability to meet basic needs also has a bearing on levels of happiness. Not being able to meet basic needs has a negative impact on happiness, as indicated by both Frank (2001) and the findings of this research. Those participants who stated that their financial status was 'struggling' gave the lowest happiness ratings (see table 12). In contrast, those who stated that their financial position was 'meeting basic needs only' gave the highest mean ratings in both categories. These findings appear to support Frank's findings outlined in Chapter 2, that state that once an individual's basic needs are met, money and wealth are not the primary impactor on happiness. However, Frank's conjecture and the findings discussed here strongly indicate that not being able to meet basic needs does have an adverse impact on not only an individual's happiness directly, but also on their happiness indirectly as not being able to meet the needs of their family members has a negative impact on their primary source of happiness - that family unit. Furthermore, this strengthens other findings discussed here, in that because family and relationships are the primary sources of happiness, it follows that if an individual is unable to ensure the basic needs of their family are being met then not only does that have a negative impact on the health and well-being of their family members, but it also has a negative impact on their own happiness. These findings, again, raise the question of the impact that not being able to meet basic needs has on the family as a primary source of happiness, and the detrimental impact ethnic discrimination from state institutions like Work and Income can have on happiness, if it hinders the ability to meet those basic needs.

7.4 Happiness of Participants: Summary

While it was previously noted in 2.1 that a general definition of happiness is impossible (Graham, 2009), it becomes clear through the results of this survey that sources of happiness can be generalised without an overall definition being required. While a universal definition of happiness may then be impossible, an understanding

that the majority of people consider happiness to be a good thing (Lu & Gilmour, 2004), and that there are common influences on the attainment of happiness, leads back to Bartram's (2012) discussion regarding sociology's place in the debate on the government's role in happiness. Bartram makes the point that the place of sociology in this debate may be in looking at what the government is already doing, and not at what it should be doing.

Taking a lead from Bartram, the role of sociology in the study of happiness may be best positioned in an exploration of the impact of existing social policy on both the happiness of society's members and on their ability to pursue and fulfil their primary sources of happiness. Central to questions about social policy is the debate, as has come to characterise the field of multiculturalism, of the relationship between the recognition of identity and the distribution of resources. This most notably comes to the fore when the distribution of resources is essential in attempts to meet basic needs, but misrecognition and disproportionate distribution prevent the ability of ethnic minorities to meet the basic needs of their family members. This could in turn then have an adverse impact on their happiness.

Exploration of the question of the relationship between recognition and distribution, and the impact of ethnic discrimination, continues in the following chapter. This discussion will include looking at participants' perceptions of their interactions with New Zealand state institutions, and examining whether any of those interactions have had an adverse impact on their happiness through reported experiences of ethnic discrimination. The experiences of ethnic discrimination reported by participants speaks to a central dimension in the struggle for the recognition required to receive appropriate resource distribution. It also further raises questions not only about how resources are distributed, but also about the role of the state in meeting legal obligations to fulfil the human rights of its members in a non-discriminatory manner.

Chapter Eight: Perceptions of Ethnic Discrimination

"Before I was married both my first name and last name were English. Talking to government institutions on the phone were good experiences and I always felt that the person would go out of their way to be helpful to me. Once I got married, I acquired a Samoan surname and now when I deal with government agencies over the phone I have definitely noticed a difference in the service that I am given".

Research participant, Samoan, female aged 35 to 44

This quotation is indicative of how many respondents felt about their interactions with New Zealand state institutions. An expectation that they will be treated differently to the majority was a common feeling expressed by participants, and many of these expectations were based on prior experiences of ethnic discrimination from organisations like Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ).

What does it mean when a significant percentage of the members of a specific group feel as if New Zealand state institutions are not performing their duties in a form that is free from ethnic discrimination? Of the 1574 participants in this research who identified primarily with an ethnic minority, 45.3% answered that they had experienced some form of ethnic discrimination from a state institution in New Zealand. The form that these experiences took varied, as is discussed in this chapter, and ranged from discrimination experienced as a sign of misrecognition to a lack of the provision of resources needed to live life to a minimal standard.

As a further exploration of the question of the relationship between recognition and resource distribution, a key finding of this survey is that the state institutions that caused the most distress for participants, were those whose purpose is to ensure the basic needs of members of society can be met (WINZ, Ministry of Health), or at the very least were not intruded upon (Department of Corrections). This chapter explores specific experiences of ethnic discrimination as reported by participants, and discusses these from the perspective of the overall context of this discussion: the relationship between recognition and distribution.

8.1 Reported Experiences of Discrimination

When asked about the institution/s survey respondents believed they had experienced discrimination from, 533 participants (34.5%) gave more than one institution as an example. The most common institution mentioned was WINZ, followed by the Ministry of Social Development, the Ministry of Health (including local and regional hospitals) and the Department of Corrections. Further still, when rating their level of satisfaction with various aspects of the state institutions they had interacted with in the past five years, it was the same institutions that received the lowest mean ratings for both the 'absence of ethnic discrimination' and 'fairness and equality' categories.

It is two of these state institutions (WINZ and Ministry of Health), that are responsible for providing some of the services that ensure New Zealanders can meet at least some of their basic needs. They not only rated the lowest by participants in relevant categories, but they were also the most frequently mentioned in stories and examples of ethnic discrimination given by participants. As discussed in the previous section, when a participant's basic needs are not being met, or when the basic needs of their family are threatened, then that is likely to have an adverse impact on their happiness. Therefore, it emerges from these findings that ethnic discrimination from state institutions can have an adverse impact on the happiness of members of ethnic minorities when it threatens or hinders their ability to meet their basic needs, or those of their families. Not only is this form of discrimination potentially detrimental to the well-being of members of ethnic minorities in the Auckland community, it also brings into question the relationship between recognition and distribution in a multicultural setting. Specifically, the issue of a non-discriminatory allocation of resources is highlighted when two specific groups - Māori and Samoan – repeatedly report high levels of ethnic discrimination in comparison to the other participating groups.

A further exploration of the impact of ethnic discrimination on the happiness of ethnic minorities is shown in figure 4 which illustrates the mean general happiness ratings given by each ethnic group, which is segmented based on if they reported an experience of ethnic discrimination or not:
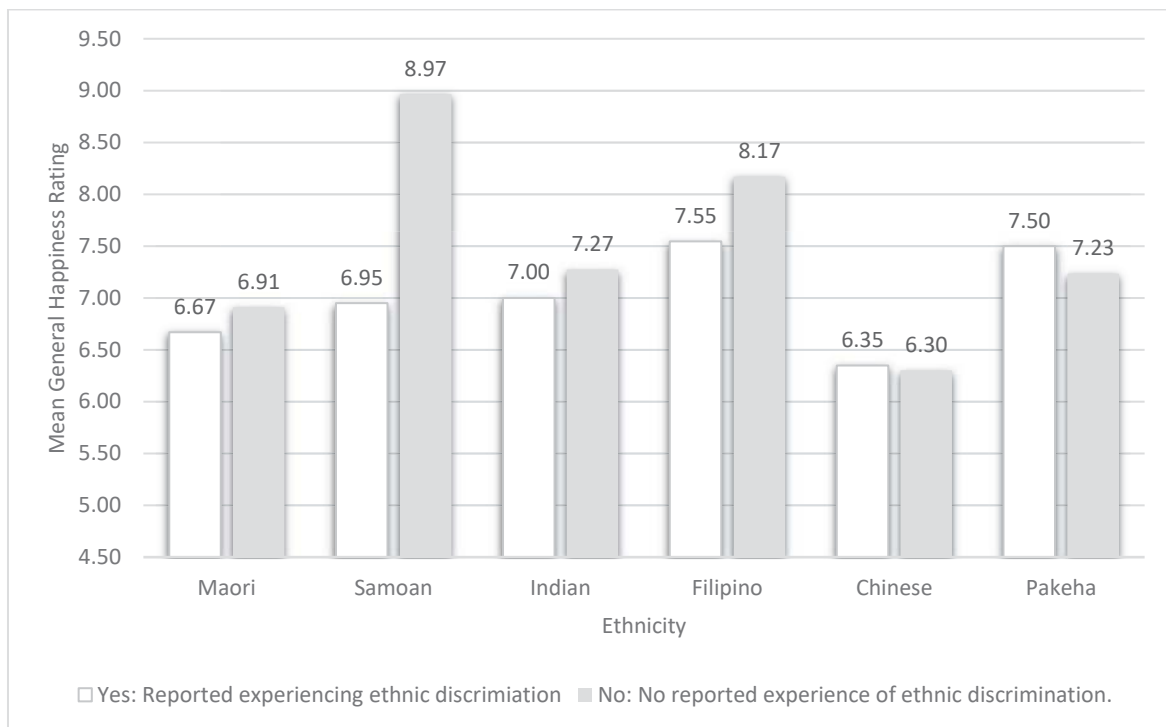
Figure 4: Mean 'General Happiness' Ratings by ethnic groups and comparison of reported ethnic discrimination.

This segmentation (figure 4) shows that the Samoan group that had reported an experience of ethnic discrimination gave a much lower mean general happiness rating, with 6.95 compared to 8.97 from the group that did not report such an experience. Māori, Indian and Filipino also showed similar findings, but with much smaller gaps, and with each 'no' group showing higher happiness. The Chinese and Pākehā groups were the only ones to not show this finding.

While multiple sources influence happiness, as demonstrated by the survey findings and the previous research discussed, the large gap (see figure 4) between the two Samoan groups is illustrative of the fact that experiences of ethnic discrimination correlate negatively with measures of reported happiness, for members of some ethnic minorities. Experiences of this impact, and its relationship to the recognition and distribution debate is further illustrated and understood when experiences of individual participants are explored.

The Samoan and Māori groups reporting a significantly higher frequency of ethnic discrimination could indicate that there is something about the Samoan and Māori

value systems or ways of life that make their needs, at least partially, incompatible with structural and systemic arrangements by which New Zealand state institutions provide their services. It could also indicate that these institutions have not fully recognised either or both the material needs of Samoan and Māori members of New Zealand society, or that the most appropriate forms of communication with those identifying with either ethnic identity have not been established. This shortcoming appears to manifest as misrecognition and a disproportionate allocation of resources. Perhaps, it is a combination of the policies and procedures employed by these institutions and the behaviour of individual actors, such as government employees, that results in the high level of experienced discrimination. Further insight into what these significantly greater frequencies indicate, and a deeper understanding of the forms by which this discrimination is manifest, are provided in the stories told by participants. An exploration of these stories, and some of the commonalities within them furthers this discussion by specifically looking at participant's perceptions of their interactions with organisations like WINZ.

One Samoan participant, female and aged between 35 and 44, told of her experiences of feeling patronised when visiting WINZ. She commented that not only did she feel spoken down to by those on the front desk, but she has witnessed Pākehā being treated with more respect than her, making her feel as if the Pākehā person on the reception felt they were "racially superior" to her. She noted that these experiences have made her apprehensive when visiting WINZ. From the perspective of this particular participant, racism appeared to be an effect of the individual employee with whom she was interacting as she made no comment about WINZ as an organisation.

Another Samoan participant, female and aged 45 to 54, indicated that she believes that WINZ does not understand cultural differences and that they stereotype clients as a result. The following explains part of her frustration: "…their staff think that surely being Pacific Islanders you must have extended family or a village (church) at your beck and call to help you when you're struggling…". She went on to express her wish that she be treated the same as the "Palagis" (European). This experience, as described by this participant and in her own words, appears to be a combination of both her perception of the behaviour of the WINZ employees with whom she has

engaged and of the overall WINZ culture. Her comments though, appear to attribute the discrimination to the organisational culture of WINZ.

Additionally, various other Samoan participants commented that they had felt stereotyped by WINZ employees and/or WINZ policies without giving specific examples. From a Pākehā perspective, one respondent told of a situation when she was able to access "grants and services" that her Māori friend could not. Her perception as to the reason was their different ethnic identities, something she evidenced by explaining her experiences with her case worker and witnessing her friend treated disrespectfully and questioned in a harsher tone by their's. These examples involving WINZ, told from the perspective of participants, appear to be caused by combinations of racism and bias from individual actors and discrimination as a result of the policies, procedures and culture of WINZ overall – or institutionalised racism. Furthermore, the way that participants describe these experiences appears as if they are identifying that their attempts to access material resources must first pass through them being adequately recognised, before access to resources is attained. Respondents' interpretations of their experiences are based on ethnic identity, and they attribute any perceived barriers experienced from state institutions to be a consequence of their ethnicity, and that this identity hinders their access to resources. This appears to indicate a relationship between recognition and distribution, whereby recognition needs to come first. A deeper exploration of reported experiences with the Ministry of Health, including hospitals, show a similar outcome.

A Samoan male, aged 25 to 34 commented that he felt like European doctors assume he is not fluent in English at first contact and "dumb down" their language as a result. He noted that he was born in New Zealand and is university educated, yet has experienced this multiple times from both New Zealand-born and overseas born doctors at the Auckland hospital. He made no comment about the hospital or the Ministry of Health overall, but as he mentioned that this has happened to him more than once and he mentioned the Auckland hospital by name, he appeared to be referring to both the behaviour of the individual doctors and to the culture of the hospital overall.

A Māori participant, male and aged between 34 and 45, told of one experience at a local hospital where he was asked multiple times if he was an illegal drug user. He commented that: "I get being asked once but I was asked 4 times! Twice by the same person! Could only be because I'm brown…". While it is unclear if this participant was being stereotyped or not, it is important to note that this research is from the perspective of respondents, and this particular respondent felt as if he was being stereotyped based on his ethnic identity. This perception could be for multiple reasons, with one such reason being that he expected this to occur because of his knowledge of the system, or because of previous experiences. Another Māori male of the same age group had the following to say: "I only go into a hospital if I have no other choice cause I know I'll be treated like shit by the white doctors…", indicating that past experiences of ethnic discrimination may have an adverse impact on his health in the future if it prevents him from feeling safe and protected in a public hospital environment. Similar to those associated with WINZ, the experiences described by these participants also indicate that participants feel as if they must first pass through a ritual of recognition before they can access the resources, that should be provided to them regardless of their ethnic identity. Again, similar findings can be found in an exploration of respondent's stories about their experiences with the Department of Corrections.

Over one-quarter of Māori male participants who reported an experience of ethnic discrimination told of experiences with various departments within the New Zealand justice system, where they felt like they were being treated as guilty without any presumption of innocence. One young Māori, aged 18 to 24, told of being held in remand at a prison run by the Department of Corrections and asking to be placed in segregation owing to it being his first time in custody and his fear of mainstream. In particular, he was fearful of the gang culture within prisons, and the stories he had heard about what happens to a "neutral" (no gang affiliation) like himself. He outlined this discussion in some detail, and told of being spoken down to and told that "segs" (segregation) was mainly for "pussy white boys", and that he should get used to a "long lag" (sentence) because of what he had done. The correctional officer who spoke to him was identified by this participant as a white South African. The participant noted that he was ultimately found innocent and has not been arrested or held in custody since. While this is clearly racism from this individual actor, the

guard, the behaviour involved raises issue about the kind of culture in which discrimination is normalised. The wide-ranging stories of racism and discrimination shared by Māori and Samoan participants supports this contention.

A Pākehā respondent spoke of the ethnic discrimination they had witnessed in their role as an advocate in the justice system, specifically in prisons, and related this to what they described as a consistent level of unfairness towards members of specific ethnic groups. The comments by these specific respondents show similarities to those noted in respect of WINZ and the Ministry of Health, in that participants perceive their experiences of ethnic discrimination as if they are required to go through a period of recognition before being allowed access to resources due to them from state institutions. If this is the case, then the already complex relationship between recognition and distribution gains further complexity in the New Zealand context. If passing some form of recognition assessment is a precursor to obtaining access to resources provided by state institutions, then the ethnic discrimination that occurs as a result of stereotypical identifications appears to be structurally imbedded in the institutions perpetuating these discriminations.

In addition to the stories of discrimination experienced from someone of a different ethnic identity to that of the participant sharing the story, a total of 29 participants (16 Samoan, 11 Māori and 2 Chinese) described situations where they felt they were treated stereotypically by an employee of a state institution who identified with the same ethnic group as themselves. Of these stories, 16 of them involved WINZ, 12 involved the Department of Corrections, and one involved Immigration NZ. These stories involved situations where Samoan participants visited WINZ to apply for support and experienced assumptions that their family could support them from Samoan case workers; perceived discrimination from Māori prison guards and Māori probation officers to Māori offenders; and, an assumption from a New Zealand-born Chinese immigration officer that their overseas-born Chinese student was here to work illegally. These experiences appear to point to a more complex form of the relationship between struggles for recognition and distribution than the one described by Tully (2007) (that struggles for distribution are struggles for recognition). These instances of experiences of ethnic discrimination from a state employee affiliated to the same ethnic identity as the participant reporting the

experience points to the dialectical relation of recognition and distribution, and that recognition can also come second to struggles for resources, in these situations. This complexity is an area that requires further research: it appears to indicate that the relationship between struggles for recognition and struggles for distribution are not linear.

In contrast to the ethnic minorities, 16.7% of Pākehā reported an experience of ethnic discrimination from state institutions. Due to the strong focus on the perspective of participants in this research, it is important to note these findings. While members of the majority cannot by definition experience institutionalised racism (as this only applies to minorities within a given nation), if 16.7% of Pākehā nonetheless perceive an experience of ethnic discrimination, then it is important to note that there is something about the delivery of service from these state institutions, or about participants preconceived notions and expectations, that leads to these perceptions. Further exploration of this goes beyond the objectives of this research, yet would be worthy topic for future investigation.

8.3 Perceptions of Ethnic Discrimination: Summary

The survey findings indicate that the relationships between recognition and distribution in the New Zealand context are complex. The misrecognition and disproportionate resource distribution that occurs amongst that complexity is manifesting in ethnic discrimination from state institutions. Within the terms by which the debate occurs around multiculturalism, this discrimination illustrates the importance of the recognition of ethnic identities in establishing equal access and opportunity for resources, especially those that ensure basic needs can be met and by which a minimum quality of life can be maintained.

Locally, the survey findings again raise the issue as to the better terms by which ethnic relations might be understood in New Zealand, of biculturalism or multiculturalism. Formally, the country is still bicultural and that is recognised in New Zealand law. Yet policies seeking ethnic equality in an extremely ethnically diverse country fit more within a multiculturalist framework. Moreover, multiculturalism in a

post-colonial society is generally motivated to address the assimilation and inequality that still exists as a result of colonialism (Colombo, 2015). In New Zealand, that directly relates to Māori. This seems to suggest that even multiculturalist policies may benefit Māori (New Zealand's indigenous group), over other ethnic minorities. This appears to risk an ethnic hierarchy in New Zealand that sees the majority - Pākehā - at the very top, followed by Māori and then all other ethnic minorities. Furthermore, these other ethnic minorities may be further disadvantaged if their values do not fit within the individualistic social norms of a western society like New Zealand. This suggests that maintaining a status of biculturalism (or a form of multiculturalism that favours indigenous over other ethnic minorities to the point of perpetuating inequality) may risk a return to a societal structure that bodies of work like multiculturalism first intended to eradicate. Owing to a founding motivation of multiculturalism being the eradication of racial hierarchies, and the replacement of these with democratic citizenship (Kymlicka, 2013), it appears that an insistence on a multi-ethnic country like New Zealand remaining within the terms of bi-cultural discourse potentially perpetuates inequality and racial hierarchy. As difficult as that contention might be to consider, it needs be engaged if solutions are to be found to the fraught relationship, as haunts biculturalism as much as multiculturalism, between the recognition of identity and the equitable distribution of resources.

Another question raised by the survey findings relates to the reasons participants born overseas being less likely to have experienced ethnic discrimination from a New Zealand state institution than those born in New Zealand. While survey findings did not indicate a reason for this, two possibilities sit within discussions had throughout this thesis. The first concerns expectations, in that recent migrants' expectations of receiving discriminatory service-delivery may be amplified relative to New Zealand born participants' stories of their experiences. It may be that previous experiences of discrimination and knowledge of family member's experiences heightens sensitivity to such incidents, and increases the expectation that discrimination will occur. If these reasons do influence expectation, then those born overseas are less likely to have been prejudiced by them. The second, relates to the relationship between recognition and distribution. It may be that new migrants do not expect full recognition until they reach a certain stage of their settlement and, accordingly, they perceive experiences of discrimination as indicators of a state of

misrecognition associated with themselves, rather than as discrimination. Further research is needed to understand experiences and perceptions of ethnic minorities born outside of New Zealand to identify reasons influencing the lower likelihood of perceiving experiences of ethnic discrimination. However, what is clear from the survey findings is the level of experiences of perceived ethnic discrimination as reported by ethnic minorities.

When considering that Samoan participants in this research reported a higher frequency of experiences of ethnic discrimination from New Zealand state institutions than Māori (approximately three-quarters to two-thirds), then the work that multiculturalist policies do towards achieving ethnic equality in New Zealand needs to be addressed. Most notably, this applies to the work these policies do in meeting the state's obligation to fulfil the human rights of members of the New Zealand society, and where this obligation seems to be lacking in the delivery of services such as social welfare entitlements and the provision of basic needs. The New Zealand state institutions that not only rated the poorest for service delivery and the absence of ethnic discrimination amongst respondents, but also had the highest frequency of report experiences of ethnic discrimination, were those institutions responsible for ensuring members of New Zealand society are able to meet their basic needs. This suggests not only the potential breach of the state's human rights obligations already discussed, but it also suggests a need for further research into how the rights of New Zealand residents are being recognised in law and in practice. In this context, the findings of the survey raise an issue as to what might comprise the better form of human rights for the meeting of shared needs, between individual and collective conceptions of rights. Moreover, it raises an even more difficult matter as to how both might be recognised in New Zealand law.

Chapter Nine: A 'Rightful' Way Forward

The findings of this survey on the perceptions of ethnic minorities on happiness and their experiences of ethnic discrimination indicate that the debate encompassed by multiculturalism, on the relation between the struggle for recognition and a struggle over the distribution of resources, is best understood in terms of the impact these struggles have on families and relationships. Survey participants clearly indicated that family and relationships are the two primary sources of their happiness, and a threat to these sources would indicate a threat to their happiness. Taking happiness as an object that is attainable through appropriate recognition and resource allocation, due to the negative impact the absence or misrepresentation of these coordinates creates, the concept of happiness has been used in this discussion to contextualise the everyday impact misrecognition and disproportionate resource allocation has on ethnic minorities. Furthermore, through reported experiences of ethnic discrimination from New Zealand state institutions, this everyday impact has been illustrated through the perceptions of participants and has shown that these experiences do have an adverse impact on the happiness of ethnic minorities.

A question emerges from this research as to how a simultaneous recognition of ethnic identity and distribution of resources for the meeting of basic needs irrespective of ethnicity might be given a governing form. Consideration is given here to the role of human rights discourse (as part of New Zealand's constitutional framework) for the task of operationalising such an outcome. Specifically, consideration of human rights as a vehicle opens up a further question, already rehearsed in the opening chapters of this work, on the relation between individual and collective conceptions of rights and where each may sit in the construction of solutions for the struggles by ethnic minorities for recognition and over distribution.

When 45.3% of ethnic minorities surveyed report that they have experienced at least one instance of ethnic discrimination from a state institution, and when the same state institutions are putting barriers in place preventing members of society from meeting their basic needs, then the societal structures allowing this to perpetuate need to be addressed. Furthermore, the state responsible for the governance of

those structures is in breach of its human rights obligation to fulfil the rights of its members.

The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR), and the New Zealand government's ratification of the articles of this declaration, gives good reason for an expectation that state institutions will provide their services not only free from discrimination, but with full equality of access and opportunity. In the terms of human rights principles, this element refers to the obligation to 'fulfil' rights. The attention given to the declaration by the New Zealand Human Rights Commission (as outlined in 5.4) indicates that past New Zealand governments have considered the declaration and the articles contained within it to be significant. This indication is evidenced most notably by the Human Rights Act 1993 and the 2001 amendment to this Act. This raises a question as to why it is then, that one of the fundamental principles motivating the declaration, that rights should be fulfilled free from discrimination, appears not to be enacted by the New Zealand government through state institutions like WINZ.

The majority of interactions with state institutions require completion of forms, whether on paper or online. These forms include various identification markers including age and gender, and of course, ethnicity. A potential paradox between this requirement for an individual to identify with a group to access their individual rights, and then potentially be treated under stereotypical assumptions due to that affiliation, is evident. In order for individuals to gain access to the rights afforded to them within New Zealand law, they are assessed individually through measurements such as income and means testing, and this occurs regardless of their affiliation to any specific group such as their ethnic identity. However, upon interaction with a state institution responsible for fulfilling these rights, a person who affiliates to an ethnic minority can be judged by stereotypical biases attributed to that ethnicity identity, as evidenced by participants' reported experiences. This paradox, that a person is classed as an individual by law but judged by their group affiliation by state institutions, further highlights the ethnic discrimination occurring with organisations like WINZ, bodies overseen by the Ministry of Health, and within institutions run by the Department of Corrections. It appears that, even though an individual is supposedly an individual on paper, the level of access they receive to the rights they

are afforded on paper is dependent and influenced by the group affiliations they identify and disclose. This suggests that individuals in New Zealand are equal on paper and in law, but in reality, they are not always treated as equal when engaging with state institutions.

The state's obligation to respect, protect and fulfil the human rights of its members is generally considered to be the minimum requirement of the state when it comes to these rights (Donnelly, 2013). Fundamentally, a state should refrain from any action, or inaction, that prohibits any member from the enjoyment of their rights. As noted in the preceding paragraphs, it appears that at least the three institutions discussed here are each acting in a way which, at least partially, is preventing some members of ethnic minorities from the full enjoyment of the rights they are not only afforded under the UNDHR, but also under New Zealand law. This particular failure by the state is in the form of ethnic discrimination. While it is occurring most frequently for participants in interactions with the three discussed institutions, it also occurs across the entire New Zealand system, as evidenced by other stories told by participants and through over one-third of ethnic minorities indicating that they had experienced this form of discrimination from more than one state institution.

At its worst, this breach of the state's human rights obligations occurs at the 'respect' and 'fulfil' aspects of the state's obligation. To respect means that it is the state's obligation to refrain from putting any barriers to enjoyment in place, and fulfil means the state is obliged to take positive action to ensure right fulfilment (Donnelly, 2013). The ethnic discrimination perpetuated by New Zealand state institutions puts barriers in place that prevent the enjoyment of rights. One example of this is the participant who noted that he avoids going to a public hospital because of his fear that he will be discriminated against because of his ethnic identity. This is a failure by the Ministry of Health, and the state, to remove the barrier of ethnic discrimination that is preventing this man from receiving the healthcare he is legally, and morally, entitled to.

As Fagan (2009) explains, human rights are not social privileges; they are the basic provisions needed to ensure an individual can lead a dignified life to a minimum standard. Donnelly agrees in stating that human rights "…specify minimum

conditions for a dignified life" (2013, p.16). If human rights are intended to fulfil this purpose, then it appears that ethnic discrimination is preventing some members of ethnic minorities from not only leading a dignified life, but from also living their lives to a standard that allows their full engagement in New Zealand society.

Not only does the state's failure to adequately address and eradicate the ethnic discrimination within its systems seemingly represent a breach of human rights obligations, it is also a social injustice and a failure to recognise the needs of the groups experiencing this discrimination. Tully (2007) contends that the struggle for resources is a struggle for recognition. Tully attributes a struggle for resource allocation like this, at least in part, to the authority held by the majority and the power held by those who can make and influence decisions about resource allocation. In the New Zealand context, this authority plays out in decisions about policies and procedures as they impact on the culture of statutory organisations. As a post-colonial society, the New Zealand public services have been established on European values and it appears that when three-quarters of Samoans and two-thirds of Māori are reporting experiences of discrimination, a system based on European values is not recognising the needs of minorities like these two groups. This is a barrier to equal resource allocation owing to, as argued by Tully (2007), Honneth (2003), and Fraser (2003), recognition and resource allocation being interconnected in various forms.

This breach by the New Zealand state of their obligation to fulfil the human rights of their members, and how this breach is manifesting in the shape of a failed service delivery, raises a question as to whether or not a greater affording of group rights may lessen the impact of ethnic discrimination in New Zealand. The recognition of collective rights, in theory at least, might address the inequality experienced by members of ethnic minorities when compared to the majority. This becomes a question of governance and how a state can ensure equality in a post-colonial / multi-cultural society.

Debates about the status of multiculturalism often include comparisons to biculturalism (especially in the New Zealand context) and, most recently, to post-multiculturalism (Kymlicka, 2013; Colombo, 2015). However, biculturalism,

multiculturalism and post-multiculturalism share a common aspect: their positionality within the law and the influence of a human rights framework for the recognition of ethnic minority identities and the associated allocation of material resources. A potential pathway forward from here, is toward a debate about which form of rights is most suited towards achieving ethnic equality and an allocation of resources free from discrimination.

With a primary source of happiness for most of the minority participants in this research constituting a form of relationship, predominately family, the importance comes to the fore of membership of a collective. A question might then be asked about the excessive focus on individual rights, over group or collective rights. The importance of this question is strengthened when noting that two groups, Samoan and Māori, reported a significantly higher level of ethnic discrimination, indicating that there is something in the values, culture and practices of these two groups that is not being adequately recognised by New Zealand state institutions. The research findings appear to support an argument for a collective form of right, which raises a tension in my work. An overall premise of this discussion is that the state must deliver its services in a non-discriminatory way, yet the approach discussed in this chapter is suggesting that the widespread experience of ethnic discrimination by state agencies charged with ensuring health and welfare of marginalised groups suggests the creation of group rights as a solution. The tension arises as a consequence of the inequality that can occur were group rights to be used as a vehicle to address ethnic discrimination against minorities. I wholeheartedly reject discrimination based on ethnic identity when it hinders the ability of ethnic minorities to access the services that meet basic human rights, yet support the allocation of resources to groups based on ethnic identity if those allocations would either ensure that basic human needs are being met, and/or existing inequalities alleviated.

A system of governance in a multi-cultural society like New Zealand that focuses on human rights alone (that are fundamentally individualistic by nature), instead of a combination of individual and collective rights, may be perpetuating prejudice and discrimination as a consequence of how members of ethnic minorities live their lives and pursue their versions of happiness. Moreover, inequalities cannot be alleviated until the barriers of ethnic discrimination are removed, and the failure of the state to

meet its human rights obligations is addressed and rectified. A debate about the provision of special measures under an umbrella of group rights, and in some areas the expansion of existing group rights, is a positive place to start in the search for a way forward towards complete ethnic equality, and towards the ability of all ethnic minorities to meet their basic needs and pursue their own versions of happiness.

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Appendices

Appendix One: United Nations Declaration of Human Rights

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore,

The General Assembly,

Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article I

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. Article 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country.

3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

Source: http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights

Appendix Two: Information Page

Note: this information appeared as the first page on the website research participants visited in order to take part in this survey.

Happiness in Auckland, New Zealand.

INFORMATION PAGE

Thank you for visiting this page!

My Name is Kalym Lipsey. I am currently enrolled in a Master of Arts: Sociology, through Massey University. The purpose of this survey is to gather relevant data for the thesis portion of this qualification. I am being supervised by Dr Corrina Tucker and Dr Warwick Tie throughout this process.

What is this research about?

This research seeks to find out what happiness means to people who identify with six (6) ethnic groups in Auckland, New Zealand, and if members of these groups feel they are able to pursue their own version of happiness. Basically, I'm interested in finding out what makes people happy, and what people value when considering their quality of life. Additionally, I would like to know whether or not people feel like they are adequately able to incorporate what they value most into their lives.

I would like to invite you to take part in this research via completing the survey that follows the information on this page.

Why am I inviting you?

You qualify to take part in this survey if you live in Auckland, New Zealand, are aged 18 or older, and identify with one of the following groups as your main ethnic identity: European/Pākehā, Màori, Chinese, Samoan, Indian or Filipino.

If you do not fit within this criteria then your responses are not needed at this time, thank you for your interest.

What's in it for you?

By completing this survey you will be providing valuable information that could potentially influence social policy in Auckland in the future. Additionally, if you do decide to participate

you will be offered the chance to enter a prize draw for 1 of 4 $NZ50 Amazon gift cards at the end of the survey.

What do you need to do?

The survey will take you around 10 - 15 minutes to complete. Please answer all of the questions you are comfortable with, and give as much thought to your answers as possible.

You have rights!

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation even though you have visited this page.

If you do decide to complete this survey you have the following rights:

- You can skip any question you do not wish to answer.
- You have until August 31st, 2015 to request that your responses be removed by emailing kalym.lipsey.1@uni.massey.ac.nz and quoting the unique number you will be given once you have completed the survey.
- Request a summary of project findings when it is concluded (expected July 2016).

All information provided in the survey will be confidential, and will be securely stored.

Contacts

Please contact myself or my supervisors if you have any questions:

Researcher: Kalym Lipsey, kalym.lipsey.1@uni.massey.ac.nz

Supervisors: Dr Corrina Tucker, c.tucker@massey.ac.nz

Dr Warwick Tie, w.j.tie@massey.ac.nz

Moving forward onto the next page and into the survey implies that you have read all of the above information and give your consent to take part in this research as described. Thank you!

Appendix Three: Copy of Questionnaire (English)

Note: Respondents could take multiple pathways through this survey depending on answers they gave and selections they made, resulting in no respondent being asked more than 35 questions. All possible questions are shown here.

Happiness Survey 2015

Qualifying Questions

Thank you for entering the survey, please answer the following questions to continue...

1) In which area of Auckland do you currently live?

( ) Rodney District
( ) North Shore
( ) Waitakere
( ) Auckland Central
( ) Manukau District
( ) Papakura District
( ) Franklin District
( ) Outside of Auckland

2) Which of the following do you consider to be your main ethnic identity?

Please select regardless of which country you were born in. If you identify with more than one of the following as your main ethnic identity then please select one, there will be an opportunity further into the survey to make additional selections.

( ) Pākehā / European
( ) Māori
( ) Samoan
( ) Chinese
( ) Indian
( ) Filipino
( ) Other

3) Which age group do you currently fit within?

( ) under 18

( ) 18-24

( ) 25-34

( ) 35-44

( ) 45-54

( ) 55-64

( ) 65+

Happiness

4) What does 'being happy' mean to you?

_____

_____

5) Based on your answer on the previous question, how happy are you today?

Please use the following scale to rate how happy you are today, with 10 = extremely happy, 5 = neutral, and 0 = extremely unhappy

( ) 0 - Extremely Unhappy   ( ) 1   ( ) 2   ( ) 3   ( ) 4   ( ) 5 - Neutral ( ) 6   ( ) 7
( ) 8   ( ) 9   ( ) 10 - Extremely Happy

6) ...and what was your primary reason for that rating?

_____

_____

7) Still based on the answer you gave on question 4, how happy are you with your life in general?

Please use the following scale to rate how happy you are today, with 10 = extremely happy, 5 = neutral, and 0 = extremely unhappy

( ) 0 - Extremely Unhappy   ( ) 1   ( ) 2   ( ) 3   ( ) 4   ( ) 5 - Neutral ( ) 6   ( ) 7

( ) 8   ( ) 9   ( ) 10 - Extremely Happy

8) ...and what was your primary reason for that rating?

_____

_____

9) Do you expect your happiness to increase, decrease, or stay about the same over the next 6 months?

( ) Increase a lot

( ) Increase a little

( ) Stay about the same

( ) Decrease a little

( ) Decrease a lot

10) ...and what is your primary reason for that expectation?

_____

_____

11) Which of the following values and qualities do you consider most important for your own personal happiness?

Please select up to five (5).

[ ] Family	[ ] Physical Beauty
[ ] Relationships	[ ] Creativity
[ ] Financial Security	[ ] Community Involvement
[ ] Accomplishment	[ ] Tradition
[ ] Honesty	[ ] Respect for Elders
[ ] Integrity	[ ] Respect for all
[ ] Successful Career	[ ] Health
[ ] Personal Growth	[ ] Education
[ ] Compassion / Empathy	[ ] Tolerance
[ ] Wealth	[ ] Peaceful Environment
[ ] Discipline	[ ] Natural Environment
[ ] Fairness	[ ] Other (please specify): _____

[ ] Spirituality

12) Have you experienced any of the following events in the past 12 months?

Please select all which you have experienced.

[ ] Death of a spouse	[ ] Change in responsibilities at work
[ ] Divorce	[ ] Child leaving home
[ ] Marital Separation	[ ] Trouble with in-laws
[ ] Imprisonment	[ ] Outstanding personal achievement
[ ] Death of a close family member	[ ] Spouse starting or stopping work
[ ] Personal injury or illness	[ ] Beginning or ending school
[ ] Marriage	[ ] Change in living conditions
[ ] Dismissal from work	[ ] Change in working hours or conditions
[ ] Marital reconciliation	[ ] Change in residence
[ ] Retirement	[ ] Change in schools
[ ] Change in health of a family member	[ ] Change in recreation
[ ] Pregnancy	[ ] Change in church activities
[ ] Sexual difficulties	[ ] Change in social activities
[ ] Gain a new family member	[ ] Minor mortgage of loan
[ ] Business readjustment	[ ] Change in sleeping habits
[ ] Change in financial situation	[ ] Change in number of family reunions
[ ] Death of a close friend	[ ] Change in eating habits
[ ] Change to different line of work	[ ] Vacation
[ ] Change in frequency of arguments	[ ] Major holiday
[ ] Major mortgage	[ ] Minor violation of the law
[ ] Foreclosure of mortgage of loan	

Life Satisfaction

13) Please rate how important each of the following aspects are for you to have a happy life...

	0 - Extremely	1	2	3	4	5 -	6	7	8	9	10- Extremely

	Unimportant					Neutral					Important
Good Health											
Good Standard of Living											
Positive Relationships											
Quality of Local Natural Environment											
Work/Life Balance											
Financial Security											

14) ...and now please rate how satisfied you are with each aspect in your life currently...

	0 - Extremely Dissatisfied	1	2	3	4	5 - Neutral	6	7	8	9	10- Extremely Satisfied
Health											
Standard of Living											
Relationships											
Local Environment											

Work/Life Balance											
Financial Situation											

15) Looking at the life aspects you rated on the previous question. What rating would *any one* of these aspects have to fall to in order for it to negatively affect your happiness?

( ) 0   ( ) 1   ( ) 2

( ) 3   ( ) 4   ( ) 5

( ) 6   ( ) 7   ( ) 8

( ) 9

16) Similarly, what rating would *any one* of these aspects have to rise to in order for it to positively affect your happiness?

( ) 1   ( ) 2   ( ) 3

( ) 4   ( ) 5   ( ) 6

( ) 7   ( ) 8   ( ) 9

( ) 10

17) What are your main sources of happiness?

_____

_____

Auckland, State Institutions & You

18) Please rate your level of agreement with each of the following statements...

	0 - Strongly	1	2	3	4	5 - Neutral	6	7	8	9	10 - Strongly Agree

	Disagree									
I feel a sense of belonging in Auckland										
I am able to maintain my cultural traditions in Auckland										
While living in Auckland I have been able to hold onto the values and qualities which are important to me										
I have experienced racism from New Zealand Government departments										
Auckland is a harmonious city										
I experience fair and equal treatment when I engage with Government institutions										

and agencies in Auckland											

19) What is the main reason you feel you are unable to maintain your cultural traditions in Auckland?

_____

_____

20) Which values do you feel you have been unable to hold onto while living in Auckland?

_____

_____

21) Which of the following Government departments, institutions or agencies have you interacted with in the past five (5) years?

Select up to five (5). Please select those which you have interacted with the most.

[ ] None

[ ] ACC

[ ] Auckland Council

[ ] Auckland District Health Board (including hospitals)

[ ] Child, Youth and Family

[ ] Commerce Commission

[ ] Companies Office

[ ] Counties-Manukau District Health Board (including hospitals)

[ ] Department of Conservation

[ ] Department of Corrections

[ ] Department of Internal Affairs

[ ] Disputes Tribunal

[ ] District Court in Auckland

[ ] Employment Relations Authority

[ ] Family Court

[ ] High Court in Auckland

[ ] Immigration New Zealand

[ ] Inland Revenue Department (IRD)

[ ] Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment

[ ] Ministry of Defence

[ ] Ministry of Education

[ ] Ministry of Health

[ ] Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs

[ ] Ministry of Social Development

[ ] New Zealand Customs Service

[ ] New Zealand Parole Board

[ ] New Zealand Police

[ ] Public School - Primary

[ ] Public School - Secondary

[ ] Public School - Tertiary

[ ] Studylink

[ ] Work and Income

[ ] Other (please specify): _____

[ ] Human Rights Commission

State Institutions & You

22) Thinking about the Government run institutions and agencies you indicated you have interacted with most frequently in the past five (5) years, please rate each based on how satisfied you were with the **Service Availability**...

	0 - Extremely Dissatisfied	1	2	3	4	5 - Neutral	6	7	8	9	10 - Extremely Satisfied	N/A
Selection 1												
Selection 2												
Selection 3												
Selection 4												
Selection 5												

23) …and with the **Service Quality**...

	0 - Extremely Dissatisfied	1	2	3	4	5 - Neutral	6	7	8	9	10 - Extremely Satisfied	N/A
Selection 1												

Selection 2											
Selection 3											
Selection 4											
Selection 5											

24) Now please rate your level of satisfaction with each institution or agency based on the Lack of Ethnic Discrimination...

	0 - Extremely Dissatisfied	1	2	3	4	5 - Neutral	6	7	8	9	10 - Extremely Satisfied	N/A
Selection 1												
Selection 2												
Selection 3												
Selection 4												
Selection 5												

25)...and on the **Overall Fairness and Equality**...

	0 - Extremely Dissatisfied	1	2	3	4	5 - Neutral	6	7	8	9	10 - Extremely Satisfied	N/A
Selection 1												

Selection 2													
Selection 3													
Selection 4													
Selection 5													

26) Have you ever experienced any ethnic discrimination from a Government run institution or agency?

A reminder than anything you tell me in this survey is confidential!

( ) No, never.

( ) Yes (please tell me what organisation it was): _____

27) If you feel comfortable doing so, please tell me about that experience. If you have had multiple experiences please list these, and then talk about the experience which was the most negative for you.

_____

_____

28) Do you have any further comments about your interaction with Government institutions and agencies since you have lived in Auckland?

_____

_____

Emotions

29) Which of these emotions do you experience the most often?

Please select up to three (3).

[ ] Anger

[ ] Fear

[ ] Disgust

[ ] Happiness

[ ] Sadness

[ ] Contempt

[ ] Surprise

[ ] Contentment

[ ] Other (please specify): _____

30) Thinking about a typical day in your life, how stressed do you generally feel?

( ) 0 - Extremely Relaxed   ( ) 1   ( ) 2   ( ) 3   ( ) 4   ( ) 5 - Neutral   ( ) 6
( ) 7   ( ) 8   ( ) 9   ( ) 10 - Extremely Stressed

About You

31) Were you born in Auckland?

( ) Yes
( ) No - elsewhere in NZ
( ) No - another country

32) Where in New Zealand were you born?

( ) Northland
( ) Waikato
( ) Bay of Plenty
( ) Gisborne / Poverty Bay
( ) Hawke's Bay
( ) Taranaki
( ) Manawatu - Wanganui
( ) Wellington
( ) Tasman
( ) Nelson
( ) Marlborough

( ) West Coast

( ) Canterbury

( ) Otago

( ) Southland

( ) Chatham Islands

33) In which country were you born?

( ) Afghanistan

( ) Albania

( ) Algeria

( ) Andorra

( ) Angola

( ) Antigua and Barbuda

( ) Argentina

( ) Armenia

( ) Australia

( ) Austria

( ) Azerbaijan

( ) Bahamas, The

( ) Bahrain

( ) Bangladesh

( ) Barbados

( ) Belarus

( ) Belgium

( ) Belize

( ) Benin

( ) Bhutan

( ) Bolivia

( ) Bosnia and Herzegovina

( ) Botswana

( ) Brazil

( ) Brunei

( ) Bulgaria

( ) Burkina Faso

( ) Dominica

( ) Dominican Republic

( ) East Timor (see Timor-Leste)

( ) Ecuador

( ) Egypt

( ) El Salvador

( ) Equatorial Guinea

( ) Eritrea

( ) Estonia

( ) Ethiopia

( ) Fiji

( ) Finland

( ) France

( ) Gabon

( ) Gambia, The

( ) Georgia

( ) Germany

( ) Ghana

( ) Greece

( ) Grenada

( ) Guatemala

( ) Guinea

( ) Guinea-Bissau

( ) Guyana

( ) Haiti

( ) Holy See

( ) Honduras

( ) Mauritius

( ) Malaysia

( ) Maldives

( ) Mali

( ) Malta

( ) Marshall Islands

( ) Mauritania

( ) Lesotho

( ) Liberia

( ) Libya

( ) Liechtenstein

( ) Lithuania

( ) Luxembourg

( ) Macau

( ) Macedonia

( ) Mexico

( ) Micronesia

( ) Moldova

( ) Monaco

( ) Mongolia

( ) Montenegro

( ) Morocco

( ) Mozambique

( ) Myanmar

( ) Namibia

( ) Nauru

( ) Nepal

( ) Netherlands

( ) Netherlands

( ) Saint Lucia

( ) Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

( ) Samoa

( ) San Marino

( ) Sao Tome and Principe

( ) Saudi Arabia

( ) Senegal

( ) Serbia

( ) Seychelles

( ) Sierra Leone

( ) Singapore

( ) Slovakia

( ) Slovenia

( ) Solomon Islands

( ) Somalia

( ) South Africa

( ) South Korea

( ) South Sudan

( ) Spain

( ) Sri Lanka

( ) Sudan

( ) Suriname

( ) Swaziland

( ) Sweden

( ) Switzerland

( ) Syria

( ) Taiwan

( ) Burundi
( ) Cambodia
( ) Cameroon
( ) Canada
( ) Cape Verde
( ) Central African Republic
( ) Chad
( ) Chile
( ) China
( ) Colombia
( ) Comoros
( ) Congo, Democratic Republic of the
( ) Congo, Republic of the
( ) Costa Rica
( ) Cote d'Ivoire
( ) Croatia
( ) Cuba
( ) Curacao
( ) Cyprus
( ) Czech Republic
( ) Denmark
( ) Djibouti

( ) Hong Kong
( ) Hungary
( ) Iceland
( ) India
( ) Indonesia
( ) Iran
( ) Iraq
( ) Ireland
( ) Israel
( ) Italy
( ) Jamaica
( ) Japan
( ) Jordan
( ) Kazakhstan
( ) Kenya
( ) Kiribati
( ) Kosovo
( ) Kuwait
( ) Kyrgyzstan
( ) Laos
( ) Latvia
( ) Lebanon
( ) Madagascar
( ) Malawi

Antilles
( ) Nicaragua
( ) Niger
( ) Nigeria
( ) North Korea
( ) Norway
( ) Oman
( ) Pakistan
( ) Palau
( ) Palestinian Territories
( ) Panama
( ) Papua New Guinea
( ) Paraguay
( ) Peru
( ) Philippines
( ) Poland
( ) Portugal
( ) Qatar
( ) Romania
( ) Russia
( ) Rwanda
( ) Saint Kitts and Nevis

( ) Tajikistan
( ) Tanzania
( ) Thailand
( ) Timor-Leste
( ) Togo
( ) Tonga
( ) Trinidad and Tobago
( ) Tunisia
( ) Turkey
( ) Turkmenistan
( ) Tuvalu
( ) Uganda
( ) Ukraine
( ) United Arab Emirates
( ) United Kingdom
( ) United States
( ) Uruguay
( ) Uzbekistan
( ) Vanuatu
( ) Venezuela
( ) Vietnam
( ) Yemen
( ) Zambia
( ) Zimbabwe

34) What was your primary reason for moving to New Zealand?
_____
_____

35) Please rate your level of agreement with the following statement..."living in New Zealand has met my expectations"...

With 0 = strongly disagree, 5 = neutral, 10 = strongly agree

( ) 0 - Strongly Disagree   ( ) 1   ( ) 2   ( ) 3   ( ) 4   ( ) 5 - Neutral ( ) 6   ( ) 7

( ) 8   ( ) 9   ( ) 10 - Strongly Agree

36) ...and what was your primary reason for giving that rating?

_____

_____

37) Please rate your level of agreement with the following statement, "living in Auckland has met my expectations"...

With 0 = strongly disagree, 5 = neutral, 10 = strongly agree

( ) 0 - Strongly Disagree   ( ) 1   ( ) 2   ( ) 3   ( ) 4   ( ) 5 - Neutral ( ) 6   ( ) 7
( ) 8   ( ) 9   ( ) 10 - Strongly Agree

38) ...and what was your primary reason for giving that rating?

_____

_____

39) How long have you lived in Auckland?

( ) Less than one year
( ) One to two years
( ) Two to five years
( ) Five to ten years
( ) Longer than ten years

40) You previously answered that you consider [question("value"), id="3"] to be the ethnicity you identify with primarily. Do also you identify with any other ethnicities?

Please select as many as you identify with.

[ ] No Others	[ ] Cambodian	[ ] Afghan
[ ] Pākehā / European	[ ] Tokelauan	[ ] Greek
[ ] Māori	[ ] Thai	[ ] Somali
[ ] Chinese	[ ] Fijian Indian	[ ] Swiss
[ ] Samoan	[ ] Taiwanese	[ ] Pakistani
[ ] Indian	[ ] Russian	[ ] Polish

[ ] Cool Islands Māori	[ ] Vietnamese	[ ] Danish
[ ] Tongan	[ ] African	[ ] Spanish
[ ] Korean	[ ] French	[ ] Middle Eastern
[ ] Dutch	[ ] Welsh	[ ] Israeli
[ ] Niuean	[ ] Malay	[ ] Romanian
[ ] South African	[ ] Indonesian	[ ] Celtic
[ ] Filipino	[ ] Iraqi	[ ] Bangladeshi
[ ] Scottish	[ ] Zimbabwean	[ ] Brazilian
[ ] Irish	[ ] Iranian	[ ] Rarotongan
[ ] Japanese	[ ] Tuvaluan	[ ] Swedish
[ ] German	[ ] Arab	[ ] Other (please specify):
[ ] Fijian	[ ] Croatian	_____
[ ] Sri Lankan		

41) What is your gender?

( ) Male
( ) Female
( ) Third Gender

42) What is your current relationship status?

( ) Married / Living in a relationship
( ) Committed, living apart
( ) Single
( ) Separated / Divorced
( ) Widowed
( ) Prefer not to answer

43) How many adults and children under the age of 18 live in your home? Please include yourself.

	0	1	2	3	4	5+
Adults (including you):						

Children under 18:						

44) What is your current employment status?

( ) Employed Full-time

( ) Employed Part-time

( ) Self-Employed

( ) Contract Worker / Casual Worker

( ) Student

( ) Full-time Parent

( ) Retired

( ) Unemployed

( ) Prefer not to answer

( ) Other (please specify): _____

45)   ...and   what   is   your   current   level   of   income?

New Zealand Dollars ($), before tax.

( ) Less than $25,000

( ) $25,000 to $34,999

( ) $35,000 to $49,999

( ) $50,000 to $74,999

( ) $75,000 to $99,999

( ) $100,000 to $124,999

( ) $125,000 to $149,999

( ) $150,000 or more

( ) Prefer not to answer.

46) Which of the following best describes your current financial situation?

( ) Struggling

( ) Meeting Basic Needs only

( ) Comfortable

( ) Extremely Comfortable

( ) Prefer not to answer

( ) Other (please specify): _____

47) Are you affiliated with any of the following religions?

If you affiliate with more than one religion please select which one you consider to be your main.

( ) None   ( ) Adventist
( ) Anglican   ( ) Evangelical
( ) Catholic   ( ) Orthodox Christianity
( ) Buddhist   ( ) Salvation Army
( ) Roman Catholic   ( ) Other Christian
( ) Presbyterian   ( ) Ratana
( ) Christian   ( ) Ringatu
( ) Methodist   ( ) Hindu
( ) Pentecostal   ( ) Muslim
( ) Baptist   ( ) Sikh
( ) Latter-day Saints   ( ) Jewish
( ) Brethren   ( ) Other (please specify): _____
( ) Jehovah's Witness

48) Please rate your level of agreement with the following statement; "I am able to freely practice my chosen religion in Auckland"...

With 0 = strongly disagree, 5 = neutral, 10 = strongly agree

( ) 0 - Strongly Disagree   ( ) 1   ( ) 2   ( ) 3   ( ) 4   ( ) 5 - Neutral   ( ) 6   ( ) 7
( ) 8   ( ) 9   ( ) 10 - Strongly Agree

49) ...and what was your primary reason for giving that rating?
_____
_____
_____
_____

50) Have you done any of the following in the past 12 months?

Please select all which apply.

[ ] Volunteered Time

[ ] Donated Money

[ ] Donated Items

[ ] Performed a random act of kindness

[ ] Participated in a community event

51) Do you have any further comments about this survey, happiness, or your interaction with Government institutions/agencies?

_____

_____

52) Thank you for your time. Please enter your email address to enter the prize draw for 1 of 4 $50 Amazon gift cards.

A reminder that your email address will be kept separately from the responses you have given, and once the 4 prizes have been claimed all email addresses will be deleted.

_____

Thank You!

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey.

If you change your mind before August 31st, 2015 and would like your response removed, please email kalym.lipsey.1@massey.ac.nz with the following code: [survey("counter"), safer="true"]

If you have any questions you can also email to the above address.