

South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police: An exploratory study

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South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police: An exploratory study

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ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

AUTHOR SIGNATURE: .....

DATE: .....

ETHICS APPROVAL

Ethics approval for this research was granted by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 13th August 2012, approval number **12/198**.

ABSTRACT

Ethnicity has been found to be one of the most significant dimensions in order to predict people's attitude towards the police. Yet to date, no research has investigated South Asian immigrants in a host country. This study is specially designed to fill that gap. Targeting South Asian immigrants in Auckland, New Zealand, this study investigates South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police. Wu's (2009) theoretical model is adopted for this study, which takes into account three main characteristics to predict people's attitudes toward the police: individual, contextual, and immigrant group characteristics.

This study entails three main research questions: 1) what are the perceptions of South Asian immigrants toward the New Zealand Police? 2) What are the salient dimensions that are significant in shaping and explaining the perceptions of South Asian immigrants? 3) How often and in relation to what type of events have the participants had contact with the New Zealand Police in the last six-months? This study used a snowball sampling method, with data being obtained through in-depth face-to-face interviews with 16 members of the South Asian immigrant community in Auckland.

The findings suggest that the general experiences with, and opinions about, the New Zealand Police were positive compared to those in regards to the police in their country of origin. Age tended to be an influential element, as the older participants had more positive attitudes toward the New Zealand Police than the younger ones. Gender generally did not appear to have any effect on perceptions of the police; however, the impact of the portrayal of the police by the media seemed to have more of an effect on females rather than males. Overall, participants reported that their perceptions of the New Zealand Police were heavily influenced by the portrayal of the police in the media. All participants, especially those of the Muslim faith, felt safe in New Zealand and had never been profiled by the police due to their religious affiliation. On the other hand, participants reported they had felt subject to profiling by the New Zealand Police due to their ethnicity. Overall, the nature of police contact tended to have a substantial influence on the perceptions of

police. A recurrent theme emerged around the issues of culture and communication, with many participants perceiving that there was a need for greater cultural awareness and South Asian representation in the New Zealand Police force, as well as the police being more closely involved in South Asian community activities. All participants tended to be reluctant to apply to join the New Zealand Police and substantially criticised the current recruitment policies, which need to be changed. The current lengthy recruitment timeframe was a significant element discovered in this research.

Future research could employ the use of a survey methodology supplemented with in-depth face-to-face interviews to enrich the data. Future research could include illegal South Asian immigrants and Muslim immigrants in New Zealand to measure and predict these two unique social groups. The findings of this study suggest several practical implications in order to improve the New Zealand Police's relationship with South Asian immigrants. The New Zealand Police need to be proactive in approaching South Asian immigrants and learning about their unique needs and expectations. It is important that the New Zealand Police attend South Asian community-based functions on a regular basis. These community-police meetings could play an important role in elevating public confidence in the New Zealand Police, and decreasing the social distance between the public and the police. Furthermore, the New Zealand Police need to introduce cultural diversity training programmes for the staff who deal with or patrol primarily in South Asian neighbourhoods. As the South Asian immigrant community in the Auckland area is growing rapidly, it would be beneficial for the police to reflect the same trend in their workforce.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the background of, and reasons for, this study and includes definitions of the terminology used, an explanation of the choice of South Asian immigrants as the focal point, along with a brief description of the ethnic profile of New Zealand and the status of South Asian immigrants. This is followed by an articulation of the research questions and objectives, which guide the study, and their significance. In conclusion, an overview of the chapters in this dissertation is presented.

1.2 Background of the Study

The last two decades have witnessed significant research work conducted to investigate public perceptions and attitudes towards the police in Anglo-American countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United States, and the United Kingdom (Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996; Chu & Hung, 2010; Ho, Cooper, & Rauschmay, 2006; Meredyth, McKernan, & Evans, 2010; Pogrebin & Poole, 1990; Schafer, Huebner, & Bynum, 2003). These studies are vital because the way people perceive and evaluate the police can directly influence the public response and support that the police require in order to keep crime under control. Negative public perceptions of the police can reduce public support and diminish the ability of the police to prevent crimes (Cao & Zhao, 2005). Negative perceptions can also weaken the overall legitimacy of the police department and even the whole government (Cao & Zhao, 2005).

Understanding the underlying causes of how ethnic minorities perceive the police is important because ethnicity is considered a significant element in explaining attitudes toward the police. As Scaglion and Condon (2006) argue, ethnic minorities are generally less likely than the majority ethnic group to hold a favourable attitude toward the different aspects of policing. Particularly in the United States, patterns relating to ethnicity and perceptions of policing have emerged during incidents of police misconduct, such as an incident involving a Mexican immigrant being beaten in

Pennsylvania (Michael, 2008). Such incidents drastically reduce the confidence that ethnic minorities have in the police (Weitzer, Tuch, & Skogan, 2008). Sometimes the tense relationship between ethnic minorities and the police can escalate into high profile incidents, which can have devastating effects, such as hostile conflicts and confrontations between the police and the public (Sharp & Atherton, 2007). The few studies that have attempted to explore South East Asian immigrants' (Chinese, Vietnamese, Korean) opinions and views of the police have mainly been conducted in Australia, Canada, and the United States (e.g., Chu & Song, 2008; Chu & Hung, 2010; Meredyth, McKernan, & Evans, 2010).

Despite the significant role that ethnicity plays in determining attitudes toward the police, little or no attention has been given to the perceptions of South Asian immigrants. South Asian immigrants are the most under-researched ethnic group in the area of ethnicity and policing (Abbas, 2004).

Searching the online databases (Google Scholar, ProQuest Central, Scopus) as part of this study to find peer reviewed journal articles from 1980-2012 supported the claim that there are no studies that focus solely on South Asian immigrants and the police. Using the key-terms "Asian immigrant" and "police" resulted in 76 relevant journal articles; however, the same databases when used to search for "South Asian immigrant" and "police" returned zero relevant articles. Hence, more research on South Asian immigrants and policing is necessary.

1.3 Terminology and Definitions

The term '**South Asian immigrant**' includes people from the countries of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Maldives, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka (NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, n.d.). This includes both New Zealand Citizens and New Zealand Permanent Residents from South Asia. However, for this research study, people from Bhutan and Maldives were excluded due to their small population (15 and 90 people, respectively), and hence difficulty of access.

An '**apprehension'** means that the police in some manner have dealt with an individual in order to resolve a reported or observed offence (Department of Corrections, 2007). However, some situations dealt with by the police may result in no

further action being taken other than recording the offence (Department of Corrections, 2007).

The '**New Zealand Police**' is the leading law enforcement agency responsible for enforcing criminal law, maintaining public order, and enhancing community safety (New Zealand Police, n.d.). The New Zealand Police consists of a staff of approximately 11,000 officers, both sworn (9,000) and non-sworn (2,000) employees (New Zealand Police, 2012). The sworn police officers are the major part of the New Zealand Police workforce, with the responsibility to enforce law and order (New Zealand Police, n.d.). The non-sworn officers provide a wide range of supportive services to the New Zealand Police (New Zealand Police, n.d.).

According to Daniel (2011), '**perception**' is a psychological term, which involves organising, representing, and interpreting particular social information in order to reach a specific viewpoint about that information. In this study, the words 'perception', 'attitude', 'opinion', 'view', and 'evaluation' are used interchangeably. In the literature review chapter, different researchers use the above terms, but for the purpose of this study these terms will be regarded as having a similar meaning and will be referred by the general term 'perception'.

1.4 South Asian Immigrants as a Focal Point

The focus of this study is to explore South Asian immigrant's perceptions of the New Zealand Police. The South Asian immigrants population has increased rapidly since significant changes to the New Zealand immigration policy were introduced in 1991, which increased the influx of immigrants from non-traditional source countries (Pio, 2005) such as China and India, as a result of implementation of the Skilled Immigration Policy (Bedford, Ho, & Lidgard, 2001). The number of South Asian immigrants in New Zealand has increased more than fourteen-fold since the mid-1980s (Bedford & Ho, 2008), and based on the most recent 2006 census, constituted approximately 2.9 per cent of the total New Zealand population of 4,184,600 people (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

Kochel (2012) has found, people with different cultural backgrounds have different opinions on appropriate practices of the police. However, these practices could be

ineffective if they are incompatible with culturally bound attitudes toward the police. South Asian immigrants, with their different languages and diverse cultural traditions, might face unique difficulties during their encounters with the New Zealand Police; they might show different attitudes toward the police compared to other ethnic groups in New Zealand.

South Asian immigrants were chosen for this study for three reasons. Firstly, South Asian immigrants are one of the fastest-growing ethnic groups amongst Asians in New Zealand, with a population of 117, 225 people which constitutes 2.9 per cent of the total New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). In 2006, immigrants from South Asian countries (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Maldives, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka) made up about 29.0 per cent of the total New Zealand Asian population of 404,400 people (Bedford & Ho, 2008; Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Table 1.1 below shows the population of the eight largest Asian ethnic groups in New Zealand with a population of more than 5,000 people, in descending order of numbers, according to the 2006 Census.

Table 1.1 Populations of the eight largest Asian ethnic groups in New Zealand, 2006

Eight largest Asian ethnic groups in New Zealand with more than 5000 people			
Country	**Census 2001 Total NZ population 3,880,500**	**Census 2006 Total NZ population 4,184,600**	**% Increase 2001-2006**
China	100,680	147,570	**46.6 %**
India	60,210	104,580	**73.7 %**
Korea	19,026	30,792	**61.9 %**
Philippines	11,091	16,938	**52.8 %**
Japan	10,023	11,907	**18.8 %**
Sri Lanka	6,042	8,310	**37.4 %**
Cambodia	5,265	6,915	**31.4 %**
Thailand	4,554	6,057	**33.0 %**
Other Asians	55,609	71,391	**29.0 %**
Total Asian population	**272,500**	**404,400**	**67.4 %**

(Source: Statistics New Zealand, 2006)

Secondly, South Asian immigrants are a unique social group who share some common languages (Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali, Tamil) and cultural traditions. Among the eight major Asian ethnic groups shown in Table 1.1, only Indians and Sri Lankans are from the South Asian region and share some traditional values and norms in common.

Therefore, putting all Asian ethnicities in New Zealand in one group may neglect the wide diversity of culture and language that exists amongst different Asian ethnic groups, which may significantly influence the satisfaction with the police across the different groups (Myhill & Beak, 2008). This diversity across the different Asian groups was also a rationale to justify focusing exclusively on South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police.

Thirdly, the South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police are an under-researched area. Most of the studies conducted in the area of ethnicity and policing have focused mainly on Chinese immigrants' attitudes toward the police in the United States and Canada. A local study was warranted as immigration is vital for New Zealand as a migrant-receiving country; and information about South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police was a significant aspect of this study that may also be used to investigate the link between crime and immigration. According to Bianchi, Buonanno, and Pinotti (2012), immigrants are less likely to commit crime than the locals, however they are also more likely to be victims of crime. Yet to date, no study has attempted to uncover the South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the police in their host country. Therefore, this study was designed to be an important piece of work to help understand the attitudes and perceptions of South Asian immigrants toward the New Zealand Police.

1.4.1 Ethnicity in New Zealand

New Zealand is a multifaceted society of various cultures, languages, customs and religions (Ho, Cooper, & Rauschmay, 2006). In the past two decades, New Zealand has witnessed a substantial immigration shift, particularly due to increased globalisation, an aging population, and specific skill shortages (Ip & Pang, 2005). In New Zealand, ethnicity is widely recognised as a culturally constructed concept (Allan, 2001), which changes over time (Pio, 2010). Statistics New Zealand (as cited in Pio, 2010) has the following definition of ethnicity:

> Ethnicity is the ethnic group of or groups that people identify with or feel they belong to. Ethnicity is a measure of cultural affiliation, as opposed to race, ancestry, nationality or citizenship. Ethnicity is self-perceived, and people can belong to more than one ethnic group (p. 484).

Based on census classification (2006) of people in New Zealand, the five major ethnic groups are:

1) European/Pakehā (76.5 per cent)
2) Māori (14.7 per cent)
3) Asian (9.2 per cent)
4) Pacific Islanders (6.5 per cent)
5) Middle Eastern-Latin American-African (0.9 per cent).

According to Pio (2007), the ethnicity of certain groups is noticeable due to visible characteristics of individuals such as skin colour and physical features. The term 'ethnicity' is widely used in order to describe homogenous groups, which share common languages, culture systems, religion beliefs, and historic roots (Samovar, Porter, & McDaniel, 2009). Furthermore, ethnicity is one of the vital elements of self-identification, which shape and influence every aspect of a person's life (Villarreal, 2012). Being identified as a South Asian can become the dominant identifying element, which can override other features of an individual and significantly affect their everyday life (Ghosh, 2012). Being a South Asian immigrant also means that there are certain ethnic stereotypes associated with the person. As Pio (2010) remarks, some of the stereotypes associated with South Asian immigrants over the last few decades in New Zealand include that they are Hindu, are from a lower civilization, and referred to as "coolies" from Asia.

Due to strong cohesion within the community, South Asian immigrants are less likely to interact with other communities in New Zealand (Moliner & Mohammad-Arif, 2007). Therefore, the majority of New Zealanders rely on the media to get information about the South Asian immigrants. The image of an Asian in the mainstream media is generally negative. According to Danico and Ng (2004), Asian males (especially from China and India) are often portrayed as "foreigners taking locals' jobs", a "threat to national security", of low intelligence, lacking emotion, and generally inferior to White males in all aspects.

1.4.2 South Asian immigrant statistics in New Zealand

According to the 2006 census, some 356,000 New Zealand permanent residents (approximately 10% of the total population) claimed to belong to an ethnic group other than Pacific Islander, New Zealand Māori or European/Pakehā (Ho, Cooper, & Rauschmay, 2006; Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Asians were found to be the third largest group (9.2 per cent) followed by Pacific Islanders (6.5 per cent) (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The Asian population is forecast to double by 2051 (Guest, Bryant, &

Scobie, 2004). South Asian immigrants comprise approximately 29.0 per cent of the total Asian immigrants in New Zealand (see Table 1.2 below).

Table 1.2 New Zealand resident population from South Asia, 1986-2006

Country	1986 Census	2006 Census	% Increase 1986-2006
Bangladesh	63	1,437	2281.0 %
Bhutan	3	15	500.0 %
India*	6570	104,580	1591.8 %
Maldives	9	90	1000.0 %
Nepal	24	579	2412.5 %
Pakistan	288	2,211	767.8 %
Sri Lanka	1,053	8,313	789.5 %
Total	8,010	117,225	1463.5 %

*Including Indian, Bengali Indian, Fijian Indian, Gujarati, Indian Tamil, Punjabi, Sikh, Anglo Indian
(Source: Statistics New Zealand, 2006; Bedford & Ho, 2008)

Table 1.2 above shows the comparison between the 1986 and 2006 censuses of the New Zealand resident population, showing the results of those reporting they were from South Asia. According to Statistics New Zealand (2006), in New Zealand ethnicity is self-identified and self-reported for census data. This census data shows the significant increase in the population of South Asian immigrants in New Zealand from 8,010 to 117,225 people over a period of twenty years. The most prominent rise was in those identifying as Bangladeshi, which increased from 63 people to 1437 people between 1986 and 2006. However, India is still the most dominant country on the basis of total immigrants (104,580 people) among the South Asian countries in terms of being an immigrant source country.

There has been a remarkable inflow of Asian immigrants into Auckland, with two-thirds of Asian immigrants (66.1 per cent) residing in Greater Auckland, which contains the areas of Auckland city, Franklin, Manukau, North Shore, Rodney and Waitakere (Statistics New Zealand, 2006; The Immigration Debate, 2002). This substantial proportion of immigrants in Auckland may be due to a 'city gigantism' syndrome, which gives individuals a perception that there are more opportunities in a particular city (Qunby, 2009). Other aspects such as potential for more work, natural disasters (for example, the Christchurch earthquake), city size, and community circles also tend to influence an individual's decision to move to Auckland (The Immigration Debate, 2002).

A significant proportion of the Asian population resides in the Auckland area and this is reflected in the New Zealand Police crime statistics (2006, 2012), which have tended to show a steady increase in the number of total apprehensions of South Asian immigrants between the years 2006-2012 (see Table 1.3 below). In 2006, 350 members of the South Asian immigrant community were apprehended in the Auckland area. There has been a steady increase in the numbers of apprehensions up to the year 2012, when 504 people of a South Asian immigrant background were apprehended, showing a 69.5 per cent increase from 2006. Data from the New Zealand Police also suggest the same trends in the number of apprehensions of people with a South Asian immigrant background in the rest of New Zealand.

As also shown in Table 1.3 below, people with an Indian background tend to be apprehended more than any other South Asian immigrant group. However, their larger population (104,580 people) compared to other South Asian groups accounts for this, as they have the lowest per cent of apprehensions per head of population (0.6 per cent: see Table 1.4 below). In addition, the Nepalese immigrant group was the only group which showed a 150 per cent (Auckland) and 166.7 per cent (rest of New Zealand) increase in apprehensions and also showed the highest per cent (3.1) apprehensions per head of population (see Table 1.4); more than any other South Asian immigrant group. Among the Sri Lankan immigrant group there was a substantial decrease of -52.4 per cent in apprehensions in Auckland between the years 2006-07 and 2011-12; however, the number of apprehensions increased 80 per cent in the rest of New Zealand. Furthermore, the numbers of apprehensions in the Pakistani immigrant group appears to have been much more consistent since 2006-07 with only a 32 per cent increase in 2011-12, but had a notable decrease in apprehension numbers of -53 per cent outside the Auckland region. Interestingly, the Pakistani immigrant group was ranked second in terms of apprehensions as a proportion of their total population, with 1.8 per cent apprehensions per head of population (see Table 1.4 below).

Table1.3: Recorded apprehensions for offenders with a South Asian background

South Asian Country (Total population in NZ in brackets**)**	Apprehensions* inside Auckland area			Apprehensions* in rest of New Zealand		
	2006-2007	2011-2012	% Difference of apprehensions	2006-2007	2011-2012	% Difference of apprehensions
Bangladesh (1,437)	04	07	75.0%	05	09	80%
India (104, 580)	254	429	68.9%	187	276	69%
Nepal (579)	04	10	150%	03	08	166.7%
Pakistan (2,211)	25	33	32.0%	11	08	-53.0%
Sri Lanka (8,313)	63	30	-52.0%	20	36	80%
Total	**350**	**504**	**69.5%**	**232**	**337**	**68.9%**

*The term 'apprehension' refers to when the New Zealand Police determine who committed an offence and inform that person of such. It is not the number of offences or offenders. One offender may be apprehended for multiple offences, or multiple offenders may be apprehended for one offence.
(Source: New Zealand Police, 2006, 2012)

Table1.4: Apprehensions per head of South Asian population

County	Total population in New Zealand	Total apprehensions in New Zealand (2011-2012)	% Apprehensions per head population
Bangladesh	1,437	16	**1.1%**
India	104,580	705	**0.6%**
Nepal	579	18	**3.1%**
Pakistan	2,211	41	**1.8%**
Sri Lanka	8,313	66	**0.7%**

(Source: Statistics New Zealand, 2006; New Zealand Police, 2012)

Further, Table 1.5 shows the major recorded crimes in the years 2011-12 committed by South Asian immigrants in Auckland, which total 504 apprehensions. The data suggests that the act of intent to cause injury which includes domestic violence (160 apprehensions), was the most common crime among South Asian immigrants in these years, followed by public disorder (107). Only 53 South Asian females were apprehended, compared to 451 South Asian males in relation to recorded crimes. Interestingly, no female offender has been recorded being apprehended from the Pakistani and Nepalese immigrant groups.

Table 1.5: Recorded crimes committed by South Asian immigrants in Auckland, 2011-12

Crimes committed by South Asians in 2011-12	Bangladesh		India		Nepal		Pakistan		Sri Lanka		Total crimes
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Homicide											**0**
Act intended to cause injury[1]	2		124	18			8		7	1	**160**
Sexual assault			12		1				1		**14**
Dangerous or negligent acts endangering person				2							**2**
Abduction or harassment			48	2	2		4		4		**60**
Unlawful entry with intent to burglary			2								**2**
Fraud and deception offences			9	1							**10**
Illicit drug offences			22	1			10		2		**35**
Prohibited and regulated weapons offences			6	1	1				1		**9**
Property damage	1		15	1			3			1	**21**
Public disorder[2]	2		85	3	5		3		8	1	**107**
Offences against justice procedure, government security and operations			23		1		1		3	1	**29**
Theft and related offence	1	1	33	18			2				**54**
Miscellaneous offences[3]			2	1			2				**5**
Total crimes per ethnic group	**07**		**429**		**10**		**33**		**30**		**504**

[1] Including domestic violence
[2] Causing any serious disturbance in a public place, office or establishment (includes drinking in public or alcohol related crime)
[3] Not classified elsewhere
(Source New Zealand Police, 2012)

1.5 Research Questions

The main research question was "What are the perceptions of South Asian immigrants toward the New Zealand Police?" This question necessitated asking two further questions, which guided my research:

1. What are the salient aspects that are significant in shaping and explaining the perceptions of South Asian immigrants?
2. How often and in relation to what type of event (traffic violation/accident, asking police for information or advice, etc.) have the participants had contact with the New Zealand Police in the last six months or so (from the day of interview)? What was the outcome? Were they prosecuted/convicted; were they satisfied with the outcome?

1.6 Research Objectives

The main aim of this study was to comprehensively examine South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police. In order to attain this objective, the current research comprised two main objectives, to enable further elaboration on the research question. The two objectives were to:

1. Investigate and uncover South Asian immigrant perceptions of the New Zealand Police. The study's aim was to elicit South Asian immigrants' attitudes toward the police by precisely documenting the immigrants' views on the New Zealand Police's behaviour and attitudes toward them.
2. Precisely document the degree, characteristics and consequences of public-police contacts by the South Asian immigrants. Also examine the degree of satisfaction among South Asian immigrants with their contact with the New Zealand Police and further investigate the influence of such contact on the overall perception held by South Asian immigrants towards the New Zealand Police.

1.7 Study Significance

The significance of the this study is in contributing towards immigrants and social theories describing and analysing South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police; and proposing New Zealand Government policies and practices that could increase South Asian immigrants' overall satisfaction with the police. In a theoretical context, this study aim was to formulate a comprehensive theoretical model,

adopted from Wu (2009), of South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police.

This study attempted to unlock the significant aspects not yet discussed by previous research, regarding perceptions of South Asian immigrants toward the New Zealand Police. Most of the research in the area of immigrants' perceptions of the police has been predominately done in the United States and Canada, and New Zealand has lagged behind in this area.

By investigating the salient elements that affect South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the police, this study can provide useful directions for shaping and utilising resources in order to increase the satisfaction of immigrants with the New Zealand Police. This study offers some useful references and guidance to the New Zealand Police in order to utilise their limited resources to concentrate on areas where they can receive positive public support. In addition, it may help the New Zealand Police Human Resource Department to develop or review the current hiring policies in order to attract potential talent from the South Asian immigrant community to join the police force.

1.8 Overview of Chapters

This dissertation consists of five chapters. **Chapter one** above has outlined the focus of this study. This chapter has briefly provided the background of this study and explained the rationale behind the selection of South Asian immigrants as the group of interest along with describing the context in terms of ethnicity in New Zealand. It also presented crime data relating to South Asian immigrants and described the research question and objectives. The significance of the study was also presented along with key terminology and definitions.

Chapter two extensively reviews relevant existing literature on public perceptions of the police. The chapter starts with a precise overview of the theoretical background of people's perception of the police. The discussion further elaborates on the salient characteristics discovered by previous studies that significantly influence or shape people's attitude toward the police and concludes with some of the identified limitations of previous research.

Chapter three explains the research design and methodology used in this study. The reasoning behind the selection of a qualitative research approach is presented in order to explain the choice of method for this study, with the support of the underlying methodological philosophy. The chapter also describes the data collection and analysis process, including the sampling methods used and ethical considerations.

Chapter four presents, summarises, and discusses the findings from the data analysis. Four main themes (perceptions of the New Zealand Police, cultural issues, interaction with the police, and media influence) emerge to show the participants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police. The four main themes are further categorised into ten sub themes. This chapter discusses the implications of the research findings with results and support from previous literature.

Chapter five concludes the study. It summarises the salient findings of the research, discusses the limitations of the study; provides direction for future research, and suggests the significant implications for policy makers.

1.9 Summary

Internationally, research has found that ethnicity is a vital element when predicting people's satisfaction with the police. However, no such research has been conducted to examine South Asian immigrants' attitudes toward the police and which aspects influence their experiences and attitudes toward the New Zealand Police. The statistics described show that South Asian immigrants represents a substantial proportion of the Asian immigrant population in New Zealand, and possess unique characteristics that justify selecting South Asian immigrants as a study group. This study aims to fill the gaps left by previous studies by focusing on South Asian immigrants and policing in the New Zealand context.

The South Asian population in New Zealand is increasing rapidly, and is projected to continue to do so. The data on crime statistics suggest the number of apprehensions of South Asian immigrants by the police is also steadily increasing. Therefore, these trends are further justification for exploring in depth the salient features of South Asian immigrant's perceptions of the New Zealand Police and examining the aspects that influence those perceptions. The findings of this study have significant implications for the policies and practices of the New Zealand Police.

The next chapter starts with a precise overview of Wu's (2009) theoretical model of immigrant's perception of the police. The discussion further elaborates on the salient characteristics, discovered by previous studies, that significantly influence or shape people's attitude towards the police, and concludes with some of the identified limitations of previous research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this research was to comprehensively examine South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police in Greater Auckland and the factors that have shaped their perceptions. Previous research on public perception of the police dates back to 1935, when the first scale to evaluate police perceptions, called "The Police Rating Scale", was developed in the United States in order to evaluate police performance (Bellman, 1935). However, there was a gap in research on public perceptions of the police until the last half of the twentieth century, an era in which a series of summer riots happened in urban ghettos in the United States (Jesilow, Meyer, & Nammazzi, 1995; Mathews, 1992; Murty, Roeuk, & Armstrong, 1994), when the bulk of work pertaining to this topic was carried out (Brown & Benedict, 2002).

Many studies have been conducted in the United States at the request of the Presidential Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Jesilow et al., 1995). Generally, these studies have indicated an overall level of satisfaction with the police (The President Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967). However, the reports also revealed that the non-White respondents had significantly less favourable attitudes towards the police than the majority of White respondents (The President Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967).

In the Western world, national surveys of public satisfaction with the police have consistently found a pattern of positive evaluations (for example, see Australian Institute of Criminology, 1998; Cohen, Plecas, & McCormick, 2006; Metropolitan Police, 2008, 2009, 2011, 2012; Myhill & Beak, 2008; New Zealand Police, 2009, 2010, 2011). Generally, the majority of the public in the Western world give the police very enthusiastic ratings. According to a recent survey in the United States, nearly 80% of the respondents were satisfied with their local police department (Garcia & Cao, 2005). In fact, countrywide surveys have repeatedly reported that the general population admire and rate the police department relatively highly, in terms of honesty and ethical standards, compared to their assessment of other professions such as union

leaders, elected politicians, professors, journalists, and bankers (Pastore & Manguire, 2011). However, Dunham and Alpert (1988) have reported that residents in the United States from different cultures, and religions with diverse customs have, varying perceptions of the police. They also found that positive police images encourage cooperation from immigrants, which is critical in controlling crime and maintaining law and order in multiethnic and multicultural societies (Dunham & Alpert, 1988).

The New Zealand population is a diverse mix of people from over a hundred different cultures, with their own languages, customs, and religions (Ho, Cooper, & Rauschmay, 2006; Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The past two decades have seen a substantial immigration shift in New Zealand due to globalisation, an aging society, and a shortage of skilled workers (Ip & Pang, 2005). According to the 2006 census, approximately 356,000 New Zealand permanent residents (about 10% of the total population) claimed to belong to an ethnic group other than that of Pacific Islander, New Zealand Māori, and European/Pakeha (Ho, Cooper, & Rauschmay, 2006). Those of Asian ethnicity, particularly Chinese and Indian immigrants, were recorded as being the third largest group (9.2 %), closely followed by Pacific Islanders (6.5 %) (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The particular focus of this study is on the perceptions that South Asian immigrants (Bangladeshi, Indian, Nepalese, Pakistani, Sri Lankan), which compromise 2.9% of the total population in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2006), hold toward the New Zealand Police.

This chapter explains the integrated theoretical model applied in this study and then reviews the existing relevant literature pertaining to public perceptions of the police in three sections. The first part of the chapter presents Wu's (2009) integrated theoretical model of immigrants' perceptions of the police. The second half of this chapter contains three sections, which review the previous literature on public perceptions of, and attitudes towards, the police, beginning with the different individual characteristics that shape the perceptions of immigrants. The second section provides information about contextual characteristics, followed by the immigrant group characteristics that have been shown to link with immigrants' perception of the police. The final part of the chapter discusses the limitations of previous research studies.

2.2 An Integrated Theoretical Framework

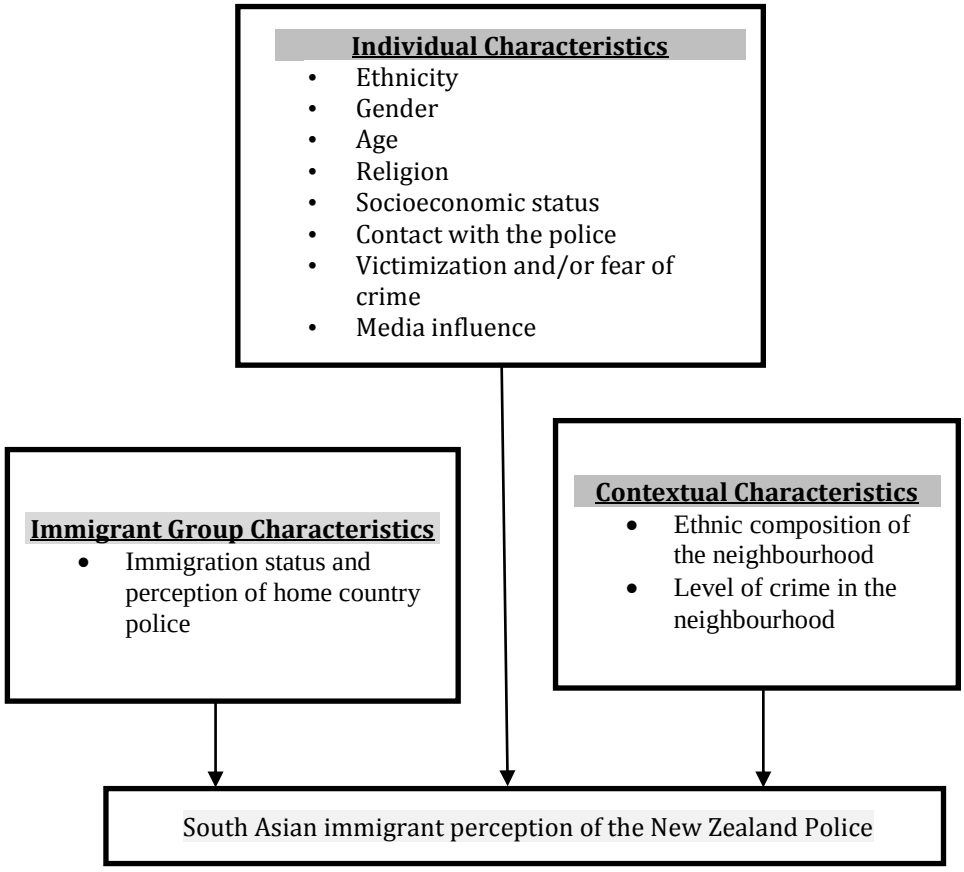
Studies to evaluate public perception of the police are extremely dynamic and complex. As noted by Brown and Benedict (2002), consensus has not yet been reached on what element, or set of elements, is the best predictor of people's attitudes toward the police. The complexity of this area and lack of agreement amongst researchers to date is particularly relevant when asking questions about the factors influencing public perceptions of the police in the multiethnic and multicultural context of present-day New Zealand society.

With variables such as geographic location, period of time in the country, immigration status, and cultural background all coming into play in the South Asian immigrant community, one single social theory may not be able to fully uncover the complex attitudinal patterns toward the New Zealand Police (Wu, 2009). Thus, research on South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police cannot rely on existing social theory (e.g., social justice theory, social identity theory, and social conflict theory).

Therefore, in this study the researcher attempted to build a theoretical framework adapted from Wu (2009) (see Fig. 2.1), in order to explicate the perceptions of South Asian immigrants; expecting that the combination of the different characteristics of this framework would assist in uncovering the salient attitudinal patterns of said immigrants. Wu (2009) has used this model to predict and evaluate Chinese immigrant/American perceptions of the police in the United States.

The theoretical framework developed here incorporates the aspects that have been considered by previous studies to explain public perception of the police, and also determines immigrant-specific aspects that have been significantly neglected by past studies, such as religion. This framework argues that three main characteristics can explain immigrants' attitude toward the police: immigrants' individual characteristics, immigrant contextual characteristics, and immigrant group characteristics (Wu, 2009). More explanations of the proposed theoretical model are presented in later sections of the literature review to discuss the connection between the aspects shown in the model below, and attitudes toward the police.

Fig 2.1: An integrated theoretical framework of South Asian immigrant perception of the New Zealand Police



(Adapted from Wu, 2009)

2.3 Individual Characteristics

This section reports on the aspects identified in the literature as potentially being associated with public perceptions of the police, particularly in regards to minorities. The aspects include ethnicity, gender, age, religion, socioeconomic status, contact with the police, victimisation and/or fear of crime, and media influence. Each dimension is reported on in a separate section below.

2.3.1 Ethnicity

Ethnicity is considered as one of the most important demographic aspects in terms of public perceptions of, and attitude towards the police (Davis, 2000; Ho & McKean, 2004; Schafer, Huebner, & Bynum, 2003; Wortley, 1996). Recent research has indeed suggested that the trust that immigrants have in the police is greatly influenced by

immigrants' ethnicity, along with their length of residency in a particular area (Loader, 2006; Myhill & Beak, 2008; Tyler, 2001).

Previous studies have reported that public evaluations of police performance might differ according to the ethnicity of individual respondents (Apple & O'Brien, 1983; Davis, 1990; Correia, Reisig, & Lovrich, 1996; Furstenberg & Wellford, 1973). For example, Furstenberg and Wellford (1973) assessed opinions regarding the police's performance in the United States amongst a sample of local citizens who had called the Baltimore Police for help. The sample was stratified to yield roughly equal proportions of Whites and African-Americans and the results indicated that the African-Americans were more dubious of the police service they received as compared to the Whites. Furthermore, the African-Americans, in contrast to Whites, were more likely to have negative opinions of the Baltimore Police's service and performance (Furstenberg & Wellford, 1973).

Numerous studies have reported that African-Americans, the most commonly researched ethnic group (mostly referred to as 'Blacks'), show less positive, or even negative attitudes, towards the police in the United States (Huo & Tyler, 2000; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Brown & Bendict, 2002; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). In a similar vein, Rosenbaum et al. (2005) measured the attitudes of Whites, Hispanics, and African-Americans towards the police in Chicago and found that Whites were more likely to hold positive attitudes towards the police, whereas minorities showed negative perceptions. The reasons for these negative attitudes were related to an individual's experience with the police, the experiences of family members and neighbours, or images portrayed through the media (Eschholz, Blackwell, Gertz, & Chiricos, 2002; Rosenbaum et al., 2005).

However, some researchers have found that the reason that Blacks or other minorities evaluate the police negatively is because minority groups have a perception of inequality in the criminal justice system and think that they are treated adversely by the police (Wortley, 1996). Moreover, Novak (2004) suggests that law enforcement officers might treat Whites differently, as compared to people belonging to minority groups, during any sort of interaction such as processing a traffic violation. However, Dean (2008) states that simply being Black doesn't shape one's attitude towards the police; in fact, the combination of being Black and having a personal experience of any

sort of police contact was related to the build-up of a negative attitude towards the police.

Most of the research regarding the effect of ethnicity on attitudes towards, and assessment of, the police has focused on Blacks, with a few exceptions (Chu, Song, & Dombrink, 2005; Torres & Vogel, 2001). On the other hand, Asian American immigrants are the most understudied minority group and are seldom studied in regards to the relationship between race and policing (Song, 1992; Wu, Sun, & Smith, 2010).

2.3.2 Gender

Many studies have found that gender is an insignificant feature and there is no gender difference found in attitudes toward the police (Benedict, Brown, & Bower, 2000; Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996; Chermak, McGarnell, & Weiss, 2001; Haba, Sarver III, Dobbs, & Sarver, 2009; Huang & Vaughn, 1996; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Reisig & Parks, 2000). In general, the previous findings regarding the effect of gender on assessment of the police have been vague due to lack of support for gender as an important dimension in influencing the public attitude towards the police.

However, a few studies in relation to gender have found that males are more likely to rate the police favourably than females (Correia, 2010; Hurst & Frank, 2000; Reisg & Giacomazzi, 1998). However, other studies have emphasised that males have less positive opinions of the police and females may hold more positive opinions towards the police (Frank, Smith, & Novak, 2005; Huebner, Schafer, & Bynum, 2004; Taylor et al., 2001; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002).

Women assess the police more positively because of the fact that they have fewer antagonistic contacts with the police as compared to men, whereas men may tend to commit more crimes and are more likely to be in situations where they are being forcefully handled by the police, resulting in their negative associations with them (Cao et al., 1996; Decker, 1981).

In addition, Websdale (1998) has found that female perceptions of the police tend to be more influenced by the social context within which they live, for example, in an urban versus rural society. Generally, women in urban areas are more likely to be involved in situations which increase their chances of coming in contact with the police (Websdale, 1998).

2.3.3 Age

Previous research has supported the idea that a person's age is a strong predictor of their attitude towards the police (Ho & McKean, 2004; Hurst & Frank, 2000; Peek, Lowe, & Alston, 1981; Wilson, 1985; Yargil, 1998). Young people seem less favourably disposed towards the police and tend to have more unpleasant encounters with the police than older people (Bridenball & Jesilow, 2008; Brown & Bendict, 2002; Shaw & Williamson, 1972; Skogan & Steiner, 2004; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). Studies indicate that young people do not have the same perceptions of the police as older people and their perception is somewhat less positive (Bridenball & Jesilow, 2008; Brown & Benedict, 2002; Chermak et al., 2001; Cheurprakobit, 2000; Hurst & Frank, 2000; O' Connor, 2008; Parker, Onyekwuluje & Murty, 1995; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002), with a few exceptions (Davis, 1990). Likewise, some studies show that older people have positive perceptions towards the criminal justice system, and tend to rate the police more favourably than young people (Correia, 2010; Reisg & Giacomazzi, 1998). Conversely, few studies have argued that there is no relationship between a person's age and their attitude towards the police (Correia et al., 1996; Smith & Hawkins, 1973).

Young people are more freedom-oriented than adults, thus they are more likely to get involved in risky behaviours or dangerous situations (Resig & Correia, 1997), which might be the reason why young people hold negative views about the police (Gaines, Kappeler, & Vaughn, 1994). Unlike adults, young people are not in favour of the police dealing with crime strictly or aggressively, and so they accordingly assess police treatment as unsatisfactory (Brown & Benedict, 2002).

In 1986, Cordner, Marenin, and Murphy (1986) conducted a very interesting study and reported that even college students viewed their campus police less positively than other college staff such as the professors and management staff. Studies conducted by Klyman and Kruchenberg (1974) and Boggs and Galliher (1975) also found that the young hold a negative view of the police regardless of their ethnicity, and socioeconomic status; and that age was more important in regards to attitudes for Whites than for Blacks (Smith & Hawkins, 1973). The age of White youths was significantly more related to attitude, with the effects of no positive contact or totally negative contact with the police and infrequent deviant behaviour being more strongly associated with negative attitudes than they were for Black youths (Rusinko, Johnson,

& Hornung, 1978). Furthermore, Taylor et al. (2001) report that within a single race, young people might hold a range of different opinions about the police as compared to adults.

Sullivan, Dunham, and Alpert (1987) also maintain that age group matters in terms of evaluations of the police. They studied five different groups: Black adults, Black teens, Cuban adults, Cuban teens and Anglo teens and compared the attitudes of these respondents towards the police. According to their results "teens generally conceptualise the police multi-dimensionally, but the various aspects differ among the groups" (Sullivan et al., 1987, p. 186). For example, Black adults were found to hold the most multidimensional perceptions of the police, while the Cuban adults were found to hold the most one-dimensional attitudes. The Cuban and Black teen's perceptions of the police were found to be similar, however significantly differed from those of White teens.

2.3.4 Religion

There is a lack of research on the perception of ethnic minority communities towards the police with regards to religion. A report conducted by Myhill and Beak (2008) suggests that religion is among one of the factors (like ethnicity, socio-economic status, employment status and income, victimization, and fear of crime) that alone are not sufficient to shape public perceptions regarding the police. Likewise, a number of studies have reported that along with a person's religious ideologies, experience of migration and previous encounters with the law enforcement in their home country may also influence a person's attitude towards the police (Cashin, 2010; Gottschalk & Greenberg, 2008; Lee, Gibbons, Thompson, & Timani, 2009; Love, 2009).

The findings of Chockalingam and Srinivasan (2008) regarding the perception of victim treatment by the police among university students have revealed that religion, along with other factors like gender and age, has some influence on the perception of victim treatment. However, other factors like place of stay, country of origin, income of the victims, along with religion, failed to show any significant effect on the perception of victim treatment by the police (Chockalingam & Srinivasan, 2008).

Gathering data regarding discrimination against Muslims (Turkish, Bangladeshi, and Moroccan) in three European cities (Berlin, London, and Madrid), Joachim (2008) found that in public-police interaction in everyday occurrences such as traffic stops, the

experience of verbal attacks and disrespectful treatment increased the likelihood of Muslims claiming to belong to a minority that is particularly targeted for discrimination.

Other than the research studies discussed above, some literature also provides information about the change in police response in the wake of 9/11. These studies reveal that after the 11 September 2001 ("9/11") terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, police and law enforcement duties were increased in terms of preventing terrorism along with controlling crime (Clarke, 2007; Weisburd, Feucht, Hakimi, Mock, & Perry, 2009). But since then comparatively very few studies have been done in order to evaluate public-police interaction, especially public trust and confidence in the police and public willingness to cooperate with them (with exceptions—see LaFree, Dugan, & Korte, 2009; Weisburd et al., 2009). La Free, Dugan and Korte (2009) and Weisburd et al., (2009) maintain that the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 have charged the police with a new sense of confidence and established a stronger link between the public and police. However, there is evidence that cannot be ignored that these terrorist attacks have produced both positive and negative effects in public-police interactions (La Free et al., 2009).

For example, some minority communities have protested that since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, policing strategies have been somewhat targeted towards Muslims, especially those of South Asian origin (Cainkar, 2009; Detroit Arab American Study Team, 2009; Huq, 2007). It has been also suggested that discrimination among individuals during police encounters in the United States has become more significant based on the individual's race, ethnicity, and religion (Nguyen, 2005; Rice & Parkin, 2010).

2.3.5 Socioeconomic status

Like ethnicity, socioeconomic status is also an important element regarding immigrants' perceptions of the police. Socioeconomic status is generally conceptualised as the social standing of an individual in society and is usually measured as a combinations of an individual's education level, income, and occupation (Chauhan, Chauhan, & Shrivastva, 2011). Various studies have considered the effects of educational background, occupation or employment status and income on immigrants' satisfaction with the police but the findings have not been consistent (Cao, 2001; Correia, Reisig, & Lovrich, 1996; Frank, Smith, & Novak, 2005).

For example, with regards to education, a study has reported that a higher level of education is related to more positive assessments of the police (Frank et al., 2005). However, other studies have found that less-educated people tend to have more positive attitudes towards the police than their highly educated counterparts (Cao, 2001), or that there was no correlation between the two variables at all (Correia et al., 1996).

Chu et al. (2005) found that the Chinese in New York (USA) with high levels of education were more likely to evaluate the police positively. A few studies have reported that income level is negatively associated with an individual's ratings of the police (Dowler, 2002), but others have shown that income is positively correlated with an individual's perception of the police (Frank, Smith, & Novak, 2005). A few studies have also stated that a person's income and education level are linked together regarding their perception of the police. People with higher incomes and education levels have less positive attitudes regarding the police (Cao, 2001; Dowler, 2002; Murphy & Worrall, 1999; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999).

A number of studies have indicated that people in lower-socioeconomic status groups are more likely to rate the police less favourably than the more affluent (Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Huang & Vaughn, 1996; Cao et al., 1996). The reason behind this might be the fact that people of lower socioeconomic status are more likely to be the subject of actions of police control than those of higher socioeconomic status (Sun & Payne, 2004; Sun, Pyane, & Wu, 2008).

Black (1976) found that the social status of citizens, as well as their gender, age, race, and socioeconomic status, had a profound influence on the police response to various incidents. Members from upper class social groups were mostly dealt with in a therapeutic style, with police using interventions such as recommending separation and counselling, and those groups were more likely to have some sort of relationship with the police. On the other hand, Blacks or members of other minorities in lower status groups were handled using a punitive style, using strategies such as arresting the parties (Novak, 2004).

However, some studies have also reported that there is insignificant influence of socioeconomic status on attitude towards the police (Frank et al., 1996; Henderson, Cullen, Cao, Browning & Kopache, 1997; Sims, Hooper, & Peterson, 2002). Thus, the

effect of the socioeconomic status of an individual on their perception of the police seems equivocal.

2.3.6 Contact with the police

It has been found that contact with the police also affects people's perceptions of them (Reisig & Parks, 2002; Schafer, Huebner, & Bynum, 2003; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). More specifically, researchers have reported that regardless of the outcomes, respectful and fair treatment by police during contact with them has a significant impact on citizens' evaluations of the police (Maxson, Hennigan, & Sloane, 2003; Skogan, 2005; Skogan, 2006; Tyler, 2005; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004); and that positive police contact may be greatly helpful in encouraging immigrants to contact the police in cases of accident or emergency. On the other hand, the language barrier, which is a problem for many immigrants, and ignorance about criminal laws, may deter immigrants from reporting crimes or having the police involved in certain other ways (Culver, 2004; Flores, 2006; Ho et al., 2006; Ibarra, 2003).

There is evidence that, as well as the quality of the treatment by police during contact with the public; the nature of the incident involved may also influence public perceptions of the police. People living in high-crime areas frequently have to contact the police for help, but on the whole most people tend to avoid any sort of contact with the police (Hahn & Jefferies, 2003). As described above, public perceptions regarding the police might change as a result of public-police interaction and opinions might be negatively affected, regardless of the nature of the contact (Carter, 1985; Mori, 2007; Wentz & Schlimgen, 2012). However, some research has found that the type of contact between the police and a person does shape the person's attitude towards the police (Skogan, 2006). Research dating back to 1980 reported that citizens who have contact with the police as a result of victimisation, or being required to stop while driving, expressed less favourable attitudes towards the police than people who contacted the police via calls for any service (Dean, 2008). A number of research studies regarding the public perception of the police describe the significance of the difference between formal or informal contact of the public with the police (e.g., Cheurprakobkit, 2001; Cox & White, 1988).

However, a few studies have suggested that when people call the police for help and the police meet their service expectations, then people are more likely to express great satisfaction with the police (Furstenberg & Wellford, 1973; Reisig & Parks, 2002).

Whilst Chinese immigrants' perceptions of police attitudes in Canada have been found to be influenced by several personal factors such as marital status, length of residency, fear at night, and the lack of communication between police and residents, police effectiveness is reported to be judged in terms of positive interactions with the police and perceptions of police politeness and helpfulness (Chu & Song, 2008). However, Chu et al. (2005) argue that prior police contact might help significantly in shaping Chinese immigrants' perceptions of the police. More satisfactory services by the police led to better ratings of the police by the Chinese immigrants (Chu et al., 2005).

People who have contacted the police feel more satisfaction towards police performance than those who have not contacted the police for any sort of help (Reisig & Parks, 2000). However, unsatisfactory or unfair treatment by the police decreases the level of satisfaction with the police regardless of the type of contact, whether the contact was voluntary or involuntary (Correia, Reisig, & Lovrich, 1996). In cases of any sort of incident or emergency, when a police officer pays full attention to the matter and explains their course of action to the victims, the satisfaction ratings of the police are increased to a certain extent (Furstenburg & Wellford, 1973). Similarly, during any sort of contact with the police, the behaviour of the police also has a significant impact on people's opinions of them. If the behaviour of the police is good then even a traffic citation does not lead to negative perceptions towards them (Cox & White, 1988; Thurman & Reisig, 1996). A similar study conducted by Chu and Song (2008) on Chinese immigrants' perceptions of the Toronto Police in Canada also found that if the immigrants were totally satisfied with the police services, then they rated the police positively.

However, recent studies have found that voluntary contact (such as requests for assistance) with the police result in positive evaluations of the police, while the involuntary contact with the police (such as traffic stops) result in more negative ratings (Hurst & Frank, 2000; Wentz & Schlimgen, 2012).

2.3.7 Victimisation and/or fear of crime

Some early research studies consistently reported that there is no relationship between victimization and perceptions of the police (Block, 1970; Smith & Hawkins, 1973). But in subsequent study it has been found that the fear of crime and sometimes even the experience of victimisation seriously affect people's confidence in the police (Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996). Fear of crime is as important as the crime itself (Ackah, 2000;

Perry, Hsieh, & Pugh, 1994), and the people who fear crime do not hold positive perceptions of the police (Dowler, 2003). In addition, victims of crime have more negative views about police effectiveness than the non-victims (Allen & Patterson, 2006; Cao et al., 1996; Maxson, Hennigan, & Sloane, 2003).

Victimisation and/or fear of crime may lead to different perceptions of the police with respect to different geographical areas. In one city people may have positive attitudes toward the police, while in another city in the same region residents might have the reverse pattern of attitudes (Thurman & Reisig, 1996). The effect of victimisation, a person's fear of crime, and their ethnicity can be inter-related and victimisation is found to have a deeper effect on the attitude of Blacks in contrast to Whites, towards the police (Apple and O'Brian, 1983).

The reason for the relationship between victimisation and a person's negative attitude could be due to an individual perhaps having low confidence in the police's abilities and skills due to their own victimisation experience. A New Zealand study found that the victims of burglary and victims who were beneficiaries (Social Security benefit recipients) were most likely to judge the police negatively (Morris, Reilly, Berry, & Ransom, 2003). In a similar vein, the most satisfied victims were those who were satisfied with the police in terms of their ability, honesty, and effectiveness and experienced the police as being active and helpful in solving their matters at the crime scene (Tewksbury & West, 2001). Moreover, female victims rated the police more positively than did male victims (Tewksbury & West, 2001).

2.3.8 Media influence

It has been widely observed that the media are very important in building the public image of the police. Most people, especially those that have no personal experience with the police, rely on the media for their knowledge and information (Surette, 2007). The media's portrayal of criminal justice agencies, including the police, can build both positive and negative images of these agencies. However, some researchers maintain that most of the time the media's portrayal of the police is positive, and the relationship between the police and media seems to be fully beneficial in the context of building a powerful police image for the public (Dowler & Zawilski, 2007).

Conversely, many studies have endeavoured to elaborate that media influence has not been that pivotal in shaping the public's perception of the police, because media

exposure as a whole is not so powerful that it can shape public perceptions about groups of people on its own. However, some television shows about the police, including police dramas, reality shows, network news shows, and news programmes about crime have been found to be helpful to some extent in assisting the public in positively evaluating the police (Eschhilz, Blackwell, Gertz, & Chiricos, 2002), and these programmes increase public confidence in the police to a degree (Dowler & Zawilski, 2007). However, some news coverage regarding bad behaviour by the police or their lack of effectiveness has aroused negative views among people about them (Doyle, 1998; Graber, 1980; Singleman, Welch, Beledose, & Combs, 1997; Tuch & Weitzer, 2002). Even a single highly publicized incident is enough to create negative feelings towards the police amongst the public (Kaminski & Jefferis, 1998).

An interesting study conducted by Eschholz et al. (2002) reported that media influence might not be the same for viewers belonging to different socioeconomic classes and races. For instance, they found that White viewers' confidence increased after viewing police programmes, but the same was not true for Blacks. However, positive police images shown by the media can build public confidence in the police, encouraging people to call them for assistance that can help in minimising crime rates and maintaining peace in the country (Wu et al., 2010).

Dowler & Zawilski (2007) have found that media exposure creates mixed feelings in the public; that is, both positive and negative opinions about the police. So a complex relationship occurs between media exposure and public assessment of the police. In their study, people who watched the network news more frequently believed that police misconduct was infrequent and not permanent; however, they also believed that Whites and sometimes even the wealthy were better treated by the police than Blacks, minorities and the poor (Dowler & Zawilski, 2007).

2.4 Contextual Characteristics

Research has identified two different characteristics of neighbourhoods that may influence their inhabitants' perceptions of the police: ethnic composition and level of crime.

2.4.1 Ethnic composition of the neighbourhood

Researchers have not reached a consensus about the effects of neighbourhood ethnic composition on residents' perceptions of the police. Some studies have supported the idea that there is a relationship between the ethnic composition of a neighbourhood and attitudes towards the police (Frank et al., 1996; Smith, Graham, & Adams, 1991; Wu et al., 2009). A person's feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction about their residential area has been found to have a significant impact on their perceptions of the police (Jesilow et al., 1995). Therefore, residents' perceptions of their neighbourhood are very important (Huebner, Schafer, & Bynum, 2004).

While comparing the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods and residents' evaluation of police performance, the study reports that Whites' perceptions of the police are not related to living in an African-American neighbourhood (Apple & O'Brien, 1983). However, African-American perceptions regarding the police are related to their African-American neighbourhood. Apple and O'Brien (1983) also found, as the ratio of African-Americans in neighbourhood increases, the positive opinion of the residents regarding the police decreases.

Schuman and Gruenberg (1972) state that "it is not colour of skin, but colour of area that is associated with dissatisfaction" with the police (p. 380). They also mention that the individual's ethnicity and race has less impact in shaping the individual's perception of the police, as compared to the neighbourhood's ethnic and socioeconomic class composition (Schuman & Gruenberg, 1972).

In a recent study conducted by Wu et al. (2009), it is argued that when the neighbourhood ethnic composition is static then the effect of race is not significant. However, when the neighbourhood ethnic composition is unstable, and there is a change in the ethnic composition, then the African-American population residing in that area are more likely to rate the police negatively as compared to the White population.

Neighbourhood socioeconomic status also has a substantial effect on the individual's perception of the police. It has been suggested that in certain poor neighbourhoods the crime rates are sometimes higher than usual (Krivo & Peterson, 1996), for example in areas with factors indicating concentrated disadvantage, such as a high proportions of Blacks, poor, low income, unemployed or poorly educated people. All those factors

have been found to be inversely associated with a positive perception towards the police (Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Reisig & Parks, 2000). Also, in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods the negative ratings of the police have been found to be higher as compared to the less socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Wu et al., 2009).

2.4.2 Level of crime in the neighbourhood

The level of crime within a neighbourhood can affect public confidence in the police. Most people avoid any sort of contact with the police, thus there is no personal experience or direct contact with the police for those people to be able to rate them. In such cases, people rate the police by evaluating their neighbourhood crime rates (Jacob, 1971), and even the different crime stories and rumours about the police's effectiveness circling in the neighbourhood are enough to change people's beliefs regarding the police (Brunson, 2007; Holmes & Smith, 2008). In most circumstances, people who have higher levels of crime in their neighbourhood generally assess the police negatively (O'Connor, 2008; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Smith et al., 1999). Likewise, people living in areas with low crime and less disorder have more confidence in the police (Allen & Patterson, 2006; Cao et al., 1996; Resig & Parks, 2002; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004).

Sometimes, the inability of the police to solve crimes in a neighbourhood leads to public distrust and lack of confidence in them. When a citizen has negative views about the police, they don't contact them in a case of emergency, and as a result the police capability of solving crime diminishes (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998). However, this may not be true for people of different ethnicities. For example, Huebner et al. (2004) report that the actual crime rate has no effect on African-American perceptions of the police; whereas for Whites, the actual crime rate and the local community collective activities play the foremost role in rating police services.

The reasons for the effects of neighbourhood crime on residents' perceptions of the police can be posited in different ways. Firstly, a higher crime rate in a neighbourhood may increase a person's fear and ultimately decrease their confidence in the police. Secondly, in areas with a high crime rate, more police may be present to control or minimize the impact of crime, and it is possible that the police may show more hostile or suspicious attitudes towards the residents, which may eventually increase the

negative feelings of those residents towards the police. Lastly, a higher crime rate may affect the quality of life of the residents, and this may lead to their dissatisfaction with the police.

2.5 Immigrant Group Characteristics

The primary characteristics of immigrants as relating to perceptions of police as identified in the literature have been immigration status, and immigrants' perceptions of the police in their country of origin.

2.5.1 Immigration status and perceptions of the police in the immigrants' home country

Immigration status is also known to influence perceptions towards law enforcement and the police (Wu, 2009). In addition, both native-born residents' perceptions and foreign-born immigrants' perceptions of the police might differ from each other (Bianchi et al., 2012; Correia, 2010). Immigrants might assess the police more favourably than the native born residents on the basis of police effectiveness, fairness and their satisfaction with the police (Davis & Hendricks, 2007), as compared with their home country police.

In some cases, immigrants might have negative feelings about the police in their home country, and this may be due to personal experiences, or experiences of family members, friends or neighbours and sometimes their own political ideologies (Davis, 2000; Song, 1992). The low ratings by immigrants of the police in their home country may also affect their rating of the police in the country where they currently live (Menjivar & Bejarano, 2004). A study conducted by Culver (2004) in the United States suggests that negative feelings about the police in their home country may play an important role in increasing immigrants' distrust of the United States police departments. A similar study carried out by Chu and Hung (2009, 2010) in San Francisco also reports that the same is true for the Chinese immigrants residing in the San Francisco area. If the Chinese immigrants had positive perceptions of their home country police, then they assessed the host country police positively and vice versa.

Different studies regarding crime and justice have indicated that there is a possible relationship between immigrants and crime (Kubrin & Ousey, 2009; Lee, 2003; Martinez, 2002). Moreover, it is possible that immigrants might have less exposure to

the criminal justice system and the police, due to fear of the police authorities or language barriers. So these factors may also play an influential role in shaping immigrants' perceptions of the host country police (Davis, Henderson, & Merrick, 2003). Culver (2004), while researching three rural Missouri communities in the USA, also found that the fear of police in the host country and the language barrier were equally important and inter-related.

2.6 Limitations of Previous Studies

The literature reviewed in this chapter provides insight into the various aspects that affect assessment of the police by the public. However, the research results to date still leave certain important questions unanswered. For example, why do gender or age matter in shaping one's perceptions regarding the police, when the rules are supposedly the same for everyone? Why does personal, direct contact with the police change one's opinion of the police? To what extent does one's neighbourhood and surrounding residential area affect one's perception of the police? How exactly does being a victim of crime change one's confidence in the police?

The existing research described does identify many factors and characteristics that shape attitudes towards the police, but hardly describes the reasons behind these factors. Also, different studies have been unable to ascertain the key factors that are most important in causing variations in public perceptions of the police. There is a lack of recommendations and identification of the practical implications of findings that may prove beneficial in improving public-police interaction, and increase public confidence in the police. Also, the population diversity present in these studies, largely due to the different study samples, has produced a wide variation in reporting and analysis of results and makes comparison difficult.

In terms of the study of immigrant attitudes toward the police, most of the studies have focused on a single immigrant population living in a single country. Most studies do not focus on the comparison of immigrant perceptions of the police across different countries and thus leave gaps in the analysis. Because of this, there is lack of understanding of how immigrant perceptions have changed in different countries and how immigrants in a single country have multiple views of, and opinions towards, the police. Likewise, the perceptions of Asian immigrants have seldom been studied (for exceptions—see Chu, Song, & Dombrink, 2005; Chu & Hung, 2010; Chu, & Song, 2008; Meredyth, McKernan, & Evans, 2010; Song, 1992; Torres & Vogel, 2001; Wu,

2009) and it is crucial to conduct more studies in order to predict and evaluate the behaviour of immigrant groups in relation to factors such as their political support for the policing laws and support of community-police programmes.

Therefore, this study was designed to overcome the limitations of studies to date. Its aim was to explain a range of different factors that influence South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the police, and thus contribute to a better understanding of this topic.

2.7 Summary

Research into public perception of police is relatively recent and has been concentrated in the United States, and where ethnicity has been addressed it has mainly focused on differences between Blacks and Whites. Despite the gaps in the research, certain key themes and factors influencing perceptions of the police have emerged which were described in this chapter.

In this chapter, the researcher has applied and adapted Wu's (2009) integrated theoretical framework in order to structure the examination of the literature on factors influencing public, and immigrant, perceptions of the police. Following Wu's framework, three main aspects that influence public perception of police have been identified: individual, contextual, and immigrant group. A review of the literature reporting on each of these aspects shows that many of the findings are conflicting and inconclusive. However, overall the literature reviewed above shows that individual characteristics including ethnicity, socioeconomic status, age, contact with the police, victimisation experience, and media influence appear closely linked to attitudes towards the police. Research to date also indicates a link between perceptions of police and contextual factors such as ethnic composition and crime levels of an individual's neighbourhood.

Therefore, applying Wu's (2009) framework, it became apparent that in order to explain the perception of immigrants' attitudes toward the police in any depth, the commonly researched and reported on aspects of demographics, victimisation, and neighbourhood were not sufficient. Thus, the model warranted the inclusion of immigrant-specific aspects such as home country police experience and immigration status in the host country, and the findings of studies into these aspects are included above. Thus, application and adaption of this framework has led to a more

comprehensive approach to the analysis of factors influencing public perceptions of the police.

However, this literature review chapter has raised more questions than answers, particularly when considering the subject of this study, which is factors influencing Asian immigrants' attitudes towards the police. This study has been designed to begin to address the gaps in knowledge identified above.

Chapter three discusses the research methodology and the reasoning behind the selection of a qualitative research approach is presented in order to explain the choice of method for this study, with the support of the underlying methodological philosophy. The chapter also describes the data collection and analysis process, including the sampling methods used and ethical considerations.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces and discusses the methodology adopted to collect the data for this study. Methodology enables the researcher to explain and analyse the methods used by identifying the limitations and strength of the study, identifying assumptions and consequences, and suggesting possibilities for future research (Limpanitgul, Robson, & Soreze, 2009). In short, methodology provides the pragmatic justification in order to choose the correct research method for the research study (Carter & Little, 2007). Research methods are the "procedures, tools, and techniques" of the research (Schwandt, 2001, p. 158).

The first half of this chapter provides the methodological approach adopted for this study. The second half focuses on the analytic approach used for the data collection and analysis of the material, and the ethical considerations pertinent to this study.

3.2 Qualitative Foundation

The purpose of this research is to investigate the dynamics that influence South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police. In order to deeply explore the perceptions of individuals from the South Asian immigrant community, a qualitative approach is the most suitable method to use to understand the meaning that an individual gives to his or her social action, such as interaction with the police, rather than using a quantitative approach, with the aim of predicting an individual's attitude toward the police (Becker, 1962; Miles & Huberman, 1984).

In addition, a qualitative methodology employing qualitative research methods enables the researcher to obtain the individual's opinion as well as secure a rich and comprehensive description that is only possible via interaction with the participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). By asking the questions during an interview, researchers can obtain significant information, which suggests direction for further discussion (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

The choice of the appropriate methodology is significant to the overall milieu of the research, as the methodology provides the most appropriate direction to the researcher through which critical knowledge for the research is to be compiled, aggregated, and analysed (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). The choice between qualitative and quantitative approaches is determined by the research question (Marshall, 1996).

A number of recent studies in the area of immigrants' perceptions of the police have mainly involved a quantitative research approach as their primary research process (e.g., Chu & Song, 2011; Chu & Hung, 2010) in order to measure the relationships between variables that influence perceptions. Quantitative research mainly uses methods that collect data that are measureable in terms of numbers and frequency for examining the validity of data (Bryman, 2006).

In contrast, Sarantakos (1998) maintains that a qualitative methodology should generally be employed in order to obtain rich data, particularly from small numbers of individuals. The qualitative researcher tends to adopt a variety of qualitative research approaches that largely influence, shape, and construct the research question (Engel & Schutt, 2005). Therefore, this research used a qualitative approach, which sought to explore in detail the lived experiences, interactions, and attitudes of the participants towards the New Zealand Police.

3.3 Philosophical Approach

An epistemological interpretive stance has been taken to justify the philosophy behind using a qualitative research methodology. The interpretive researcher believes that reality is only obtained from a research subject through relationship (with people and their institutions), by employing qualitative research techniques such as in-depth interviews (Limpanitgul et al., 2009). "Epistemology" is a theory of knowledge (Carter & Little, 2007). As noted by Ponterotto (2005), epistemology provides a way of rationalising and explaining the rapport between the participant and the researcher that occurs when using a qualitative approach. However, an interpretive approach enables the researcher to reduce the barriers between himself and the participant in order to obtain the appropriate knowledge (Bryman & Bell, 2007), which is not possible when using quantitative research methods.

Furthermore, an ontological interpretive position was taken regarding the participants' perceptions. Ontology is an exploration of the nature of reality or existence, i.e., "what is the nature of reality, and what can be known about the reality" (Ponterotto, 2005, p. 130). The ontological position of this study was that reality exists outside a researcher's mind. This research posited that there are realities beyond one's own knowledge and assumptions. Furthermore, this research was built on the premise that a social world exists which is constructed, influenced, and shaped by the experiences and perceptions of the participants or subjects (Limpanitgul et al., 2009). Hence, this research took an interpretive stance in order to ascertain the perceptions of South Asian immigrants toward the New Zealand Police, and interpret their social actions (perceptions) from the immigrants' point of view (Limpanitgul et al., 2009).

3.4 Data Collection: Primary Data Sources

There were two sources of data in this study: primary data (semi-structured, in-depth interviews) and secondary data (official documents and reports, published scholarly articles). This section addresses the collection of the primary data; a later section describes the secondary data sources and analysis.

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were adopted as a mode of primary data collection in this study. The in-depth interview is a pragmatic data collection technique that can be used for a variety of purposes to explore the issues in question and seek detailed information (Guion, Diehl, & McDonald, 2011). The semi-structured research interviewing technique tends to be the most widely and effectively used qualitative data collection method (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000; Qu, & Dumay, 2011), due to its focus on face-to-face interaction (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

Further, Bryman and Bell (2007) emphasize the significance of the greater flexibility afforded by semi-structured, in-depth interviews, as the researcher is able to modify the interview on-site depending on the flow of the interview (Schloss & Smith, 1999). In contrast to a semi-structured interview, a fully structured interview has little or no flexibility, which as a result may undermine the quality of the information obtained (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006).

The main purpose of the semi-structured interview is to obtain an insight into a participant's experience and the meaning of particular social behaviour (Seidman,

1991). The flexible mode of this method allows the participant to freely share their experiences, perceptions and views about the topic of interest, in this case their perception of the New Zealand Police (Schloss & Smith, 1999). Furthermore, conducting the interview face-to-face enables the researcher and the participants to establish a strong rapport. This interaction also helps to mitigate any ambiguity and helps the researcher gain more information from the participants.

3.4.1 The interview questions

A set guide of questions was used in this study. This helped keep the research interview on track in order to elicit more elaborate responses but simultaneously allowed the participant to comment freely on the questions (Qu & Dumay, 2011). The intention was to obtain useful, relevant information in order to answer the research questions. As the research interviews were semi-structured, the question guide formed the backbone of the interview. Table 3.1 shows the Indicative Interview Questions adapted from Ho et al. (2006), which encouraged participants to share both their lived experiences and perceptions of the New Zealand Police.

The interviews were mainly based on these fourteen questions, together with prompts and exploratory questions when the initial comments from the participants were too short. For example, “What do you mean by this?”; “Would you please elaborate a bit more?”; and, “Could you please give an example of this?”.

Table 3.1: Indicative Interview Questions

Define the research question 1	
To elicit the general views of participants about the New Zealand Police	1. How do you perceive the New Zealand Police? 2. What do you think about the expected behaviour of the New Zealand Police? (e.g. honesty, fairness, integrity, confidentiality and effectiveness) 3. Overall, how safe do you feel: • When you are walking on the street in your neighbourhood during the daytime? During the night? • When you are at home (anytime)? • When your children are at school? 4. In the case of accident or emergency, would you approach the police to ask for help? 5. Are you satisfied with your contact with the New Zealand police? If not, why not? 6. Do you view the New Zealand Police as a career option? If not, why not?
Define the research questions 2, 3 & 4	
To elicit the participants' interactional experience with the New Zealand Police why their experiences may be different from other people in New Zealand	7. In the past six months, have you been in contact with the New Zealand police for any reason? 8. What was the ethnicity of the police staff? 9. Were you satisfied with the outcomes? If not, why not? 10. During your most recent contact with the New Zealand police, who initiated the contact? 11. What other experiences do you have with the police? Based on your perceptions, how similar or different was experience to that of other people in New Zealand?
To find the participants' general views of the home country police	12. What were your experiences with police in your country of origin? 13. Would you join the police in your country of origin? 14. In what ways are your perceptions of the New Zealand Police different from the perceptions you had of police in your country of origin?

(Adapted from Ho et al., 2006)

3.4.2 Interview procedure

Sixteen interviews were conducted in semi-public places such as a meeting room at the Auckland University of Technology premises or a coffee shop. All the interviews were conducted following the same protocol. The first step was to contact the potential participants via email or phone. Once the participants had expressed their interest to participate, they were contacted again via email and were provided with the Participant Information Sheet (see Appendix B), which contained more in-depth detail about the research, and the Consent Form (Appendix C). Before proceeding with the interview, the participants were provided with the opportunity to contact the researcher in order to clear any doubt or confusion regarding the research or interview.

The time and location of the semi-public place were decided on by the mutual convenience of each to both parties. Before commencing each interview, the researcher re-stated the rights of the participant and collected their signed Consent Form. During and after each interview, the researcher made sure that the privacy and confidentiality of the participant were protected at all the times as per the Auckland University of Technology's Ethics Policies. Each interview was recorded on a digital recorder and later transcribed verbatim into an MS Word file. The average duration of the face-to-face interviews was half an hour, ranging from 25 to 45 minutes across all participants. All the interviews were conducted in English; however, the researcher has knowledge of other South Asian languages (Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu).

Once the interviews had been transcribed accurately, the researcher sent an email, together with a copy of the transcribed interview, to each participant expressing thanks that they had participated in this research. This also provided an opportunity for the participants to comment or amend their transcripts. In some instances participants were contacted via telephone in order to further clarify some issues.

3.5 Secondary Data Collection

Secondary data sources included official documents and reports, available from the New Zealand Police, the Department of Labour, Immigration New Zealand, Statistics New Zealand, and the Auckland Regional Migrant Services Charitable Trust (ARMS). However, the limitation of some of these reports and documents was that they date back to 2006 and more recent information is unavailable.

Furthermore, in order to retrieve relevant scholarly articles for the review of past literature, the researcher mainly relied on the AUT library databases (Credo Reference, EBSCO Megafile, Google Scholar, ProQuest Central, and Scopus).

3.6 Participant Sampling

In this research, the participants were recruited using the snowball sampling method, together with the criterion sampling approach, in order to access participants from the South Asian immigrant community in the Greater Auckland area. The researcher, who is also South Asian, started the data sampling by contacting members of the South Asian immigrant community through the snowball sampling approach.

The researcher ensured that he used a range of contacts to recruit individual participants, for example individuals from his personal network, as well as individuals from South Asian community associations. This method was appropriate in order to identify potential participants within the South Asian immigrant community who fulfilled the special sampling criteria. In the criterion sampling approach, the following aspects were taken into account:

- Number in sample: 16
- Gender: Both male and female participants
- Nationality: South Asian (Bangladeshis, Indian, Nepalese, Pakistanis, Sri-Lankan)
- Immigration Status: New Zealand permanent residents or New Zealand citizens
- Age: 20 to 60+
- Contact with the police over the last six month or so
- Length of time in New Zealand: Minimum 1 year
- Area: Greater Auckland (Auckland City, Franklin, Manukau, North Shore, Rodney, Waitakere).

Through meeting the first participant, the researcher then met others, and through them he gained entry to new circles (Rosenthal, 1994). Snowball sampling was especially useful in this research because it was flexible, less time-consuming, and less costly (Schofield, 2002). Furthermore, it was an effective way to encourage the participants

(the members of the South Asian immigrant community) to share details concerning their own experiences with the New Zealand Police.

3.6.1 Sample size and demographics

Sixteen interviews were conducted to explore South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police. Morse (1999) suggests that a minimum of six interviews is needed to collect sufficiently in-depth data for qualitative research. However, the researcher managed to recruit 16 participants from the South Asian immigrant community.

The selection of participants was based on a strategy using the snowball sampling method, together with the criterion sampling method. This technique of sampling was appropriate in order to reach information-rich participants, which in turn provided access to new respondents (Patton, 2002).

The sample size of 16 participants (members of the South Asian immigrant community) was based upon Guest, Bunce, and Johnson's (2006) empirical evidence of data saturation in qualitative research. In their study, Guest et al. (2006) show that approximately the first 12 in-depth interviews, out of a total of 30 interviews, will achieve a very high level of data saturation, at about 92 per cent. In their study, the subsequent 18 interviews provided a very low yield of new findings. Therefore, as per Guest et al. (2006), in this research the 16 participants from the South Asian immigrant community were interviewed in order to achieve a substantially credible amount of data within a six-month period. A six-month period is mentioned, as this is the time frame within which the researcher had to complete his research in order to submit his dissertation for the partial fulfilment of the Postgraduate degree.

The sample consisted of 16 participants from the South Asian immigrant community in Greater Auckland. Five participants were Bangladeshis; five were Pakistanis; four were Indian; with one each from Nepal and Sri Lanka. The 16 participants all lived in New Zealand, their length of residence in New Zealand ranging from three to twenty-seven years. The participants were in the age range of 20 to 60+ years. The main area of residence was Auckland City. Among the 16 participants, ten were male and six were female. Eleven participants were employed in different professions. Table 3.2 presents a summary of the participants' demographic profiles.

Table 3.2: Summary of the participant's demographics profiles

Participant order*	Ethnicity	Gender	Age Group	Religion	Area of Residence	Approx. Time in NZ	Immigration Status	Employment Status
1	Bangladeshi	M	50-59	Islam	Mt Roskill (AC)*	12 years	NZ Citizen	Retired
2	Bangladeshi	M	50-59	Islam	Avondale (AC)*	16 years	NZ Citizen	Employed
3	Bangladeshi	M	50-59	Islam	Mt Albert (AC)*	13 years	NZ Citizen	Employed
4	Bangladeshi	F	40-49	Islam	Mt Albert (AC)*	13 years	NZ Citizen	Housewife
5	Bangladeshi	F	30-39	Islam	Mt Albert (AC)*	06 years	NZ Permanent Resident	Unemployed
6	Indian	M	40-49	Islam	Birkenhead (NS)*	27 years	NZ Citizen	Employed
7	Indian	F	30-39	Islam	Royal Oak (AC)*	13 years	NZ Citizen	Employed
8	Indian	M	30-39	Islam	Royal Oak (AC)*	15 years	NZ Citizen	Employed
9	Indian	F	40-49	Islam	Mt Roskill (AC)*	09 years	NZ Citizen	Employed
10	Nepalese	M	20-29	Hinduism	Mt Roskill (AC)*	03 years	NZ Permanent Resident	Unemployed
11	Pakistani	M	40-49	Islam	Birkenhead (NS)*	13 years	NZ Citizen	Employed
12	Pakistani	M	50-59	Islam	Henderson (W)*	11 years	NZ Citizen	Employed
13	Pakistani	F	50-59	Islam	Henderson (W)*	11 years	NZ Citizen	Employed
14	Pakistani	M	50-59	Islam	Mt Roskill (AC)*	10 years	NZ Citizen	Employed
15	Pakistani	F	40-49	Islam	Mt Roskill (AC)*	10 years	NZ Citizen	Employed
16	Sri Lankan	M	60+	Islam	Epsom (AC)*	11 years	NZ Citizen	Retired

* Based on country of origin arranged alphabetically

* AC= Auckland City

* NS= North Shore

* W= Waitakere

3.7 Thematic Analysis

Data analysis involves the interpretation and analysis of the information supplied by the research participants (Ho, Cooper, & Rauschmay, 2006). In this research, the researcher employed the thematic analysis method in order to analyse the transcribed data, which was obtained from 16 in-depth interviews from the participants from the South Asian immigrant community. Thematic analysis is an approach to dealing with data that involves the conception and application of codes to data (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Thematic analysis is a well-established data analysis technique for identifying, analysing, and reporting the common themes within data sets in rich detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Bryman & Bell, 2007).

The thematic analysis framework places an emphasis on accurately arranging and interpreting a substantial amount of raw textual data into meaningful themes in order to extract information (Attride-Stirling, 2001). The researcher adopted the thematic analysis as described by Braun and Clarke (2006), as shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Phases of thematic analysis

Steps of thematic Analysis	Outline of the process
1. **Familiarisation with the data**	Researcher has to read and re-read the transcribed data, and take some initial notes
2. Generalise the initial codes	Researcher needs to code the interesting features of the textual data in a systematic manner and categories the data relevant to each code.
3. Search for the sub themes	Organising the themes into potential sub-themes, assign the relevant data with each sub-theme
4. Review the themes	Refinement of the sub-themes and merge some of the sub themes into each other
5. Define, refine and name themes	Researcher determines the combination of sub-themes into final themes and generates clear definitions and names for each main theme
6. Report on final themes	This phase consists of an intense compilation of extracts and the linkage of final themes with the research question and literature

(Adapted from Braun & Clarke, 2006)

This method was useful because it allowed the researcher to analyse the themes in such a way that the relationship between the codes and sub-themes could be correlated. In the initial phase of the research analysis process, the researcher listened to the digitally recorded interviews and read through the notes taken during the interviews.

Secondly, the researcher assigned to the data the salient emerging information codes and concepts relevant to this research. Along with paying attention to the details, the researcher also kept a close eye on the wider picture in order to recognise new emerging information. The researcher refined the themes until a saturation of information was reached. After finalising the identifying themes, the researcher checked and re-checked the accuracy and validity of the findings by aligning the data in the context of the research questions.

3.8 Validity and Credibility of the Data

Credibility is the measure of establishing the true value of study data in order to establish the accuracy, trustworthiness, authenticity, and fairness of the findings reported, and the interpretations made in the study (Guba, 1981; Guba & Lincoln, 1989, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). However there are always some inherent limitations present in social research, possibly due to human error during the interpretation of the data (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2004). However, the researcher used the guidelines mentioned in Beck (1993) in order to ensure the quality and credibility of the research being conducted.

Through consultation with his supervisor and advisors from the New Zealand Statistics Department, the researcher ensured that the statistics and secondary data collected were relevant to, and appropriate for, the research.

Rigour and trustworthiness (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2008) also enhanced the validity of the data by providing the participants with an opportunity to check the transcribed copy of the interview, hence enabling them to check the authenticity of the transcribed document. According to Morse et al. (2008), without rigour, research is just a fiction. Thus, a great deal of attention was applied in order to increase the validity of this research. Also to ensure data reliability, while conducting the interviews the researcher not only used appropriate audio recording equipment but

also simultaneously made quick notes of the important or key words in the conversations with the respondents to ensure accuracy.

The supervisor acted as an auditor and examined all the notes and data collected, along with numerous discussions. As described above, the research was conducted and documented in a very organised and orderly manner.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations were another important component of this research. The selection of volunteer participants and ethical considerations for this study was done in accordance with the rules and regulations of the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC). Therefore, ethical approval was sought in order to conduct the research as a postgraduate researcher from the Auckland University of Technology, such approval being obtained from AUTEC on August 12, 2012 (approval no: 12/198, see Appendix A). Ethical considerations were based on the following principles of the Auckland University of Technology Research Policy:

3.9.1 Principle of partnership

The principle of partnership involved applying honesty and good faith to all stakeholders in this research. Reliable and qualified personnel from Auckland University of Technology, the New Zealand Police, and other related Government institutions were consulted prior to beginning this research. The people included:

- ***Angela Sopp***, Policy Analyst, Office of Ethnic Affairs, Te Tari Matāwaka, The Department of Internal Affairs, Te Tari Taiwhenua: Angela provided advice on how to contact and consult with relevant stakeholders, along with references to some related literature in regards to those stakeholders.
- ***Inspector Rakesh Naidoo***, National Strategic Ethnic Advisor, Māori Pacific and Ethnic Services, New Zealand Police: Rakesh is a New Zealand Police officer and a member of the South Asian immigrant community. He provided his perspective and ideas relating to this research, and talked about his experience as a South Asian working for the New Zealand Police.
- ***Joanne Alexander***, Client Information Advisor, Statistics New Zealand: Joanne provided valuable information and coaching in regards to collecting necessary

statistics and secondary data for this study via email and in a one-to-one session.

- ***Agnes Naera***, Programme Director Equality Initiatives, Business Faculty Office, Auckland University of Technology: Even though this research did not involve study of the Māori community, Agnes was consulted in order to obtain her views on this research and made valuable comparisons between both minority groups, Māori and South Asians immigrants, in New Zealand.
- ***Members of the South Asian immigrant community***: Views of members of the South Asian immigrant community were also taken into account in this research and everyone showed an interest and seemed impressed by the fact that for the first time such research was being conducted.

3.9.2 Principle of protection

This principle of protection was in place to ensure the safety, privacy and confidentiality of the participants. Interviews were conducted in semi-public areas such as meeting rooms at the Auckland University of Technology campus or coffee shops. Every participant had the right to withdraw during or even after the completion of the interview if he/she was not satisfied for any reason. The participants did not have to answer any questions they felt uncomfortable with. The participants were also given an opportunity to enquire about any concerns they may have had in regards to the interview or the research itself.

It was agreed that the identity of the participants would remain confidential at all times; audio recordings of the interview have been destroyed, and the typed transcripts were stored in a safe place at the Auckland University of Technology.

The Background Information Sheets (see Appendix D) were only used to obtain the demographic information which is reported here in a non-identifying way. This information was not used for any other purpose. At the end of the research, all personal information was destroyed except that required by the University's Research Policy. However, any raw data on which the results of the project depend has been retained in secure storage at AUT for six years, and then will be securely destroyed. The results of this research may be published in a journal or presented at a conference. However, the identity of participants will remain confidential at all times.

3.9.3 Principle of participation

Selection of the participants was done in accordance with the Auckland University of Technology's Research Policy, whereby they were invited to voluntarily give an interview to share their views and perceptions of the New Zealand Police. Before commencing the actual interview, the participants were briefed about the research and then signed the Consent Participant Form (see Appendix C), stating that they were comfortable in proceeding with the interview.

All participants were aware that the interview was being recorded, which would later be destroyed, and written transcripts of the interview together with the signed Consent Participation Forms would be stored in a safe place at Auckland University of Technology. Hence, the identity of the participants remained confidential.

3.9.4 Cultural awareness.

The researcher, being a member of South Asian community, was aware of the culture and norms of this community. This increased the comfort level of the participants and they were found to be more open and responsive to the subject matter. Enthusiasm was found among most of the participants for sharing their experiences, especially when asked to compare the New Zealand Police to the police in their country of origin. Most participants were pleased that someone belonging to their community took the initiative to conduct research on such a topic and highlight their issues.

3.10 Summary

This chapter has provided the methodological framework for this research. Using an interpretive methodology, the researcher adopted a qualitative approach in order to collect the research data and answer the research questions.

Sixteen semi-structured interviews were conducted in an ethical way. The data collection methods were justified with the support from past studies. The participants were recruited through snowball sampling and criterion approaches. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the transcribed interview data. The next chapter four outlines the findings generated by the data analysis and further discusses them in the light of past literature.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results and analysis of the face-to-face in-depth interviews, which were conducted with 16 participants. The purpose of this study was to explore South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police in Auckland. The analysis of the data collected identified certain themes and sub-themes that emerged and those are reported in this section, along with a discussion of the relevant literature.

Table 4.1 shows the key themes that emerged regarding the perceptions of the New Zealand Police amongst South Asian immigrants. In order to capture the main essence of what the participants reported in the research, the considerable amount of information collected is arranged into the following thematic sections:

1. The first theme '**Perception**' describes how the participants perceived the New Zealand Police and policing as a career option.
2. The second theme '**Cultural Issues**' explains the cultural issues confronted by the participants taking part in the study, when dealing with the New Zealand Police.
3. The third theme named '**Interaction**' depicts the interaction between the New Zealand Police and the South Asian immigrant participants.
4. Finally, the fourth theme '**Media Influence**' explains how the media shape the perceptions of the participants towards the New Zealand Police.

Table 4.1 Themes identified through analysis of the research data

Main Themes	Sub-Themes
1. Perceptions of the New Zealand Police	1. Age of study participant 2. Perceptions of the police in country of origin 3. Potential career options in the New Zealand Police
2. Cultural issues	1. Different cultural tradition and values 2. Religion
3. Interaction with the New Zealand Police	1. Communication issues 2. Contact with New Zealand Police 3. Racial profiling
4. Media influence	1. News media 2. Reality shows

The following section discusses the first theme entitled 'Perception'. This theme is structured into three sub-themes: Age of the study participant, perceptions of the police in country of origin and potential career options in the New Zealand Police.

4.2 Theme 1: Perceptions of the New Zealand Police

All of the 16 participants in this research were very open when talking about their experiences with, and perceptions of, the New Zealand Police and their home country police. However, there were some occasions when some of the participants avoided

comments on the specific questions during the interview, such as, "what other experiences do you have with the New Zealand Police?"

During the course of the interviews all the participants commented in response to the question: "How do you perceive the New Zealand Police and what were your experiences with the police in your home county?"

4.2.1 Age

A number of previous studies have observed that age is a critical variable in predicting peoples' attitudes towards the police, with younger age groups being more likely to have unfavourable views of the police than older people (Bridenball & Jesilow, 2008; Hurst & Frank, 2000; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002; Yargil, 1998). Analysis of the findings from this study indicated that the older participants had positive perceptions of the New Zealand Police. This finding is consistent with Cheurprakobkit (2000), who found that satisfaction with police performance increases with the age. Below are four extracts from the participants in this study.

Participant 11 (Pakistani, male, 40-49, employed, Birkenhead, time in New Zealand 13 years, Islam):

> *Well they are very friendly and professional and very nice. The police over here is very professional and regards to their honesty, I think they are pretty honest, integrity is pretty high, professionalism is good, for confidentiality I think they take reasonable measures and for professionalism I think they are pretty profession.*

Participant 06 (Indian, male, 40-49, employed, Birkenhead, time in New Zealand 27 years, Islam):

> *I think they are very highly professional force and from my dealings with them. They always have been very professional and deal with things very honesty. I never ever had any issues with them and I think in terms of integrity and what I would say it's pretty high standard to anyone else in the world. I have been through. And I have lived in a lot of countries. So, they are pretty high standard...they actually have quite lot of pressure on them. In circumstances they work in quite enormous pressure and by large they are doing great job.*

Participant 16 (Sri Lankan, male, 60+, retired, Epsom, time in New Zealand 11

years, Islam):

> *I see them as a qualified police department who are interested only in their work and who don't interfere with other people or ordinary people's life. And they are there for help when people need them…they are very fair what they do…all the occasion's when I contacted them I was happy with the outcomes.*

Partcipant 05 (Bangladeshi, female, 30-39, unemployed, Mt Albert, time in New Zealand 06 years, Islam):

> *I think the law and order system is here quite good and quite safe, I feel like that way when compared with South Asia from the origin where I am from and here the Police so far I can understand that they are doing their work quite systematically…they are doing their work in a stream you know, so there is no one to push them or everyone is doing their own job here. So in that context, I am quite happy with the New Zealand Police.*

However, a younger participant age 20-29 did not express views of satisfaction about the New Zealand Police. This lack of satisfaction appears to be consistent with the findings of Brown and Benedict (2002) and Weitzer and Tuch (2003), which were that younger people think that the police should not deal with crime more aggressively. Younger people are also more likely to think the police treatment of people and the services they provide are unsatisfactory. This finding is also supported by Rusinko, Johnson, and Hornung (1978), who maintain that the nature of contact between young people and the police is the reason for their negative views about the police. Specifically, the negative contact young people experience with the police and the corresponding negative police attitudes towards them are believed to be the significant determinants of young people's views about the police (Rusinko et al., 1978). The following extract confirms the discriminatory behaviour of the New Zealand Police in regard to younger people, which appears to shape the negative perception of younger individuals.

Participant 10 (Nepalese, male, 20-29, unemployed, Mt Roskill, time in New Zealand 03 years, Hindu):

> *I think police is doing their job when you see them around. But in my personal experience it is not very positive. I have a sports car, which usually get their attention. On different occasions in past, the police had stopped me several*

times for no reason. I think because they think I am young and this is their stereotyping about me. There would be few black sheep out there who commit dodgy crime like DUI (driving under the influence of drug/alcohol) or racing but I am not a bad person. So sorry to say I am not a happy customer.

4.2.2 Negative perceptions of the police in country of origin

According to Bayley (2002), the police are a crucial element of the criminal justice system in any society, and the integrity of those who work in this system is essential. All the 16 participants identified issues about integrity regarding their home country police and the influence of that on their negative perceptions about their home country police. Police corruption has serious social consequences including a decline in citizen's support for the police, loss of trust in the rule of law, and on a wider scale, a mistrust of the whole police department (Jenks, Johnson, & Matthews, 2012).

The police have a mandated role to implement the law through the various acts of government, court rulings, and the police department's own code of conduct (Jenks et al., 2012). According to Ivkovic (2005), statutes, court rulings, and departmental codes of conduct create the parameters that dictate acceptable police behaviour. However, when police officers breach these parameters and they participate in corrupt police behaviour, it undermines the integrity of all police officers.

Analysis of the research participants' reported experiences with police in their home countries revealed considerable similarities of experience between South Asian immigrants. The majority of participants reported that their dissatisfaction with their home country police was due to police corruption, bribery, mistreatment of suspects, and use of excessive powers by the police. These findings appear to be consistent with those Ho et al. (2006), who report that ethnic minorities from South Asia (Indian), South East Asia (Chinese, Cambodian, and Vietnamese), Africa (Somali), and the Middle East (Afghanistan and Iraq) in New Zealand revealed that their home country police were unreliable due to mass corruption within the police force and other deviant activities carried out by them.

In contrast to their descriptions of their home country police, all the participants in this research, who were all South Asian, described the New Zealand Police as being

helpful, honest, fair, professional, and a high-integrity police force, as indicated in the extract below:

Participant 06 (Indian, male, 40-49, employed, Birkenhead, time in New Zealand 27 years, Islam):

> *They [Indian Police] are brutal, there is no comparison between these two [police] departments. They [Indian Police] are there to make money. Since we lived under military rule for long time…there is corruption, brutality and repression of people. So there is very little civil rights people have. Police will do what they want to do versus follow the rule…As I said its 180 degrees opposite. You are talking about the profesional force… which stick with their rules and they will keep their own views to one side versus somebody [Indian Police] actually bring their own views into that situation rather than deal it with sort of biased manners. I am not saying that biased manners are not compromised in New Zealand but that would be very rare and they have means to address that biased manners. Even you can contact your Member of Parliament or concern Minister directly and can hold them accountable for their action. Well in Kashmir [India] they [Indian Police] are not accountable for their actions, they have amnesty, even they can kill people and they don't have to answer. That the Indian rule and law protect the police...You cannot compare these two police forces. Kashmir [India] is military or police state… While I live in democratic state [New Zealand] where police is to serve the people…*

Similar views were shared by participants 9 and 4 about their home country police in regards to corruption.

Participant 09 (Indian, female, 40-49, employed, Mt Roskill, time in New Zealand 09 years, Islam):

> *Oh, that's what we hear from everyone. I mean you know if they stop traffic nobody is watching you just pay some money and get over…it's the whole corruption based basically...*

Participant 04 (Bangladeshi, female, 40-49, housewife, Mt Albert, time in New Zealand 13 years, Islam):

> *Well, in general police and the law and order system is quite different from here… And the police are really corrupted I think in that sense, you know. And*

there is a lot of influence for the police to do their job; here the situation is quite different…

For one participant, fear of the police or people in uniform still existed and continued to impact his perceptions of the New Zealand Police. In response to the question "In the case of accident or emergency, would you approach the New Zealand Police for help?", the participant from India said that he felt petrified to contact the New Zealand Police because he might get into trouble for no reason. This tends to show that the participant's mistreatment by his home country police continued to influence his perception of the New Zealand Police. Many immigrants come to New Zealand carrying the baggage of negative experiences and perceptions of the police in their home countries. These negative perceptions of home country police continue to be active in the absence of any direct interaction with police in the adopted country (Davis, 2000; Davis & Miller, 2002).

Participant 08 (Indian, male, 30-39, employed, Royal Oak, time in New Zealand 15 years, Islam):

I am a law-abiding citizen and I haven't had any issue with the police in New Zealand. But I would bit hesitate to contact them because back in Kashmir, the police held me several time without a reason. So when I see the uniform I feel threatened even if it's New Zealand Police, which is very friendly though. And due to bad experience with the police [Indian Police]…the fear of the police fully rooted into my heart.

However, one participant who was an ex-police officer in Pakistan appeared to have a view that advocated that the home country police were an efficient force to tackle crime.

Participant 12 (Pakistani, male, 50-59, employed, Henderson, time in New Zealand 11 years, Islam):

You know the general view of the police in Pakistan, apparently its negative. But during my career with the Pakistan Police I putted my best. So personally I think the Pakistani Police is competent enough to deal with culprits.

4.2.3 Potential career options in the New Zealand Police

"Diversity" can be defined as the presence of difference in terms of factors such as ethnicity, culture, tradition, heritage, and language among the members of a social unit

and is seen as a major element in society as countries worldwide become more diverse (McMurray, Karim, & Fisher, 2010). Therefore, there are benefits to having police officers from ethnic minorities for law enforcement in ethnically diverse communities, such as increasingly is the case in New Zealand, particularly in Auckland, which hosts a substantial population of immigrants (Jager & Vatails, 2004). The New Zealand Police are actively searching in order to recruit people from diverse backgrounds (Kidd, 2012; Mossman, Mayhew, Rowe, & Jordan, 2008; New Zealand Police, 2004).

During the course of the interviews, the research participants were questioned whether they would consider policing as a career in the New Zealand Police. All the 16 participants disclosed reluctance towards considering policing as a career, although all considered policing an honourable, secure and well-paid profession. For example:

Participant 07 (Indian, female, 30-39, employed, Royal Oak, time in New Zealand 13 years, Islam):

> *Well, I never thought about this and it is not my type of job. But I do regard this job as a well-paid and lot of facilities comes with it.*

According to McMurray et al. (2010), a role in the police may not be viewed by the immigrants as career choice due to their negative perceptions of the police in their country of origin and the risk associated with a police job.

Participant 08 (Indian, male, 30-39, employed, Royal Oak, time in New Zealand 15 years, Islam):

> *I told you earlier that uniform [police] make me sick. It does not matter whether it is New Zealand police or Indian Police. So big no no in this case.*

Participant 06 (Indian. male, 40-49, employed, Birkenhead, time in New Zealand 27 years, Islam):

> *A career option, it's a tough job really…they are all the time dealing with people with problems during a situation where most of us don't ever experience in our life time...You have to be really committed to do something like that to be able to do that sort of. But that's different from that I have respect for this job...*

Participant 05 (Bangladeshi, female, 30-39, unemployed, Mt Albert, time in New Zealand 06 years, Islam):

Oh, joining the police, I wish I could, but my family and friend look down upon me. You know the police are not good thing back there [Bangladesh].

The above extracts demonstrate that the participants' negative perceptions of their home country police and the risks involved in being a police officer hindered the participants in joining the New Zealand Police. What the participants revealed about their views of the police force appears to be consistent with the findings of Ho et al. (2006) in New Zealand and McMurray et al. (2010) in Australia.

However, on the other hand, some participants talked about the under-representation of their ethnicity in the police force and suggested the New Zealand Police need to be more proactive in recruiting officers from their communities and utilising their diverse skills. Among the 16 participants, there was a general consensus that more officers from a South Asian background would increase the effectiveness of officers serving in their community, and this would eventually ease the pressure on frontline policing (McMurray et al., 2010).

Participant 14 (Pakistani, male, 50-59, employed, Mt Roskill, time in New Zealand 10 years, Islam):

If you look around in my neighbourhood, mostly you will see the European police officers, I am okay but our elders who have no English skills may not feel comfortable when talking to them…

The data analysis revealed that there were certain issues making participants not eager to join the New Zealand Police. Yet, one participant indicated that the New Zealand Police are discriminatory when it comes to recruiting ethnic minorities and suggested the New Zealand Police need to review their recruitment policies and procedures.

Participant 11 (Pakistani, male, 40-49, employed, Birkenhead, time in New Zealand 13 years, Islam):

I am personally not interested to join the police but I know my friend who attempted to join in 2009. He was in the recruitment process for almost one and half year and passed all the requirements, which were there at that time...In the end, they just told him to get some life experience. How come you say this to 29-year-old person…I think they are stereotyping because he was from Pakistan… And if they are serious to see people from my community they need to check their hiring process for sure.

This finding can be also linked to the study by Berry (2006), who suggests that the ethnic or 'minority groups' are regarded less favourably by society than 'in-group' members. Furthermore, these findings directly link to the social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), which argues that social behaviour is a function of an individual's affiliation to a collective, which is strongly related to the basic psychological need of having a social identity such as belonging to a certain ethnic group. The above extract indicates the participant's identity is linked with belonging to a specific ethnic group, which is seen by other ethnic groups as less favourable.

Moreover, this research also uncovered that a participant's age also acts as a barrier to joining the police. Approximately 78% of the participants in this research were in the age bracket of 40 to 60 years. Table 3.2 shows that the participants aged between 40 to 60 years were all employed and professionals, which could explain the nature of their reluctance to join the New Zealand Police.

Participant 12 (Pakistani, male, 50-59, employed, Henderson, time in New Zealand 11 years, Islam):

> *Well I can't say right now. Maybe some young people can better answer this question…Not for me at least because I am happy with my career.*

Participant 16 (Sri Lankan, male, 60+, retired, Epsom, time in New Zealand 11 years, Islam):

> *If I say I like to work for them [New Zealand Police]. It would not happen at all because I am too old for this job.*

Other study has found that a family connection (having a father, siblings, or other relatives who are police officers) with the police may increase the chances of someone adopting the police force as a career (Van Maanen, 1975). The data from this study indicates that South Asian immigrants are unlikely to have a family member to provide a role model for choosing the New Zealand Police as a career.

4.3 Theme 2: Cultural Issues

Culture provides people with a way of thinking, perceiving and interpreting the world (Jacobson, 1996). Thus, people can often see the same issue differently from different cultural backgrounds, even if they share a common medium of communication

(Samovar, Porter, & McDaniel, 2009). The theme "Cultural Issues" summarises how cultural issues such as different cultural traditions and values influence the perceptions of South Asian immigrants of the New Zealand Police. Better understanding of other people's culture can help the police to achieve better policing.

4.3.1 Different cultural tradition and values

Several participants described cultural traditions and values in their life as the most important factors influencing their perceptions about the police. According to Hofstede (1980), a 'culture' is a collective of homogenous individuals who share the same beliefs and belief system. Further, the concept of culture represents collective programming, which points out the difference between the members of one social group from another (Hofstede, 1980). The South Asian immigrant community in New Zealand is a diverse group, with different cultural traditions, values and norms existing across groups in the South Asian community, particularly in terms of religion and geographic location in their country of origin.

Accordingly, Cheurprakobkit and Bartsch (1999) maintain that the significant difference in people's views of the police can be attributed to a cultural variation across the groups of people living in a diverse society. The lack of understanding of different cultures could result in conflict between the police and the South Asian community, thus increasing the probability of negative interactions between the two groups (Correia, 2010).

To understand the significance of culture differences, Carter (1985) states that:

> A premise, which underlies our system of justice, is that…in the ideal sense there must be an understanding of human dynamics within subgroups of the populations; empathy with respect to customs and social relationships; and conceptual familiarity with thought processes, attitudes development, and behavioural responses to various stimuli. If these variables are not recognized at an operational level, the criminal justice system will not be responsive to the various publics it serves nor will it be able to establish effective two-way communications with those publics…Confusion exists because without an understanding of cultural dynamics, conflicting responses to a situation cannot be approached in a rational manner. That is, the criminal justice system procedurally operates on an artificial assumption of cultural consistency rather than recognizing differential traits (p. 214).

For example, the immigrants from Pakistan and India have significant cultural differences due to their religion and regional cultural traditions and norms; however, there are some similarities (languages, cuisine, dress codes) that South Asian people share with one another in relation to their preference for certain behaviours and attitudes and their cultural identification. These similarities create a bond and differentiate them from other cultural groups in New Zealand. Learning about and having an awareness of other cultures is very important for police officers, since the large inflow of immigrants in New Zealand are now from Asian countries rather than Britain (Smeith & Dunstan, 2004; Statistics New Zealand, 2006). In this research study, a substantial number of the participants expressed their concern about the cultural issues that have been neglected by the New Zealand Police. One participant saw the cultural barrier as an important issue to overcome in order to address a significant amount of crime.

Participant 11 (Pakistani, male, 40-49, employed, Birkenhead, time in New Zealand 13 years, Islam):

> *Yes, it's quite possible, one weakness of New Zealand Police is the lack of understanding of different cultures. Although I have seen that they have got the officers from various communities and ethnicities, but I still think the understanding of our culture is not yet very good…particularly about Pakistan, the ways and systems…I think New Zealand Police need to have more integration cross culturally and cross communities...*

Overall this partcipant was satisfied with the New Zealand Police's effectiveness but still wanted the police to have a better understanding of his culture. At one point he said that there is a need to have more police officers from other ethnic backgrounds, particularly Pakistani, which would better able the police to resolve important issues without taking them to court:

> *I think that would help, as now we have community of few thousand people over here, it would help if somebody come from the background and understand the culture, lots of the time the certain things before they become the crime can be resolved by understanding the culture and through the consultaion as well. I mean it's included the domestic violence and civil problems in families...it would be a situation where police could offer the counselling and understanding of the problem correctly which could resolve the issue…*

Furthermore, this participant expressed views similar to other participants, believing that the New Zealand population (primarily the New Zealand European population) tends to have a different perspective on bringing up their children in contrast to South Asian immigrants, for example:

> *... the same problem in New Zealand context, it could be seen as a crime, for example parents from Pakistani background treat their children much diffrently as parents from New Zealand region do…So there are some fundamental difference…And now the definition of violence is different I understand in Kiwi culture violence is violence...it is very likely that Pakistani parent would not be intentionally trying to damage their children. It will be more or less corrective measures they might be taking. As opposed to Kiwi parents, actually damage their children as you often see on media they kill them.*

In the New Zealand context, the above extract indicates the significance of cultural issues. A police officer with a diverse ethnic background is more likely to understand issues relating to cultural difference, which would increase the likelihood of diffusing a difficult situation. A couple of participants declared there is a need to increase the numbers of frontline police with bilingual capacity.

Participant 09 (Indian, female, 40-49, employed, Mt Roskill, time in New Zealand 09 years, Islam):

> *Well, that would be good. As I said it's not my perception but there if you talk about the whole community [South Asian] because we have people here like parents or anybody who is not good in English you know, whether English is not their language or their first language. It's become hard for them to communicate. So, sometime they have to take an interpreter to communicate with the police. It would be easier for them to see more our people [Indian] or South Asian people who can you know, talk in our own language, basically in frontline police.*

4.3.2 Religion

As shown in Table 3.2 in the previous chapter, 93.8% (15 out of the 16) of the participants in this study were Muslims. Hence, it was warranted to include their perceptions of and attitudes toward the police as New Zealand Muslims.

An assumption often made in the United States and British media about Muslims, particularly Muslim youth, is that they are a potential threat to national security

(Johnson & Trujillo, 2006; Mythen, Walklate, & Khan, 2009). Since the 9/11 New York World Trade Centre terrorist attacks and 7/7 London bombing, many Muslims in the Western world (especially the USA, and the UK) have witnessed a notable change in the attitude of citizens as well as law enforcement agencies toward the Muslims (Johnson & Trujillo, 2006; Mythen et al., 2009). In response to those events, the police in western liberal democratic societies have intensified their focus on Muslims, through increasing police surveillance of them (Spalek & Lambart, 2007) and police stop and search powers (Clark, 2007; Evans, 2007). According to Spalek and Lambart (2007), the statistics from the United Kingdom Home Ministry revealed that under the Counter Terrorism Act, the numbers of stop and search of Asians, particularly those from South Asia, rose 302% in the year 2003 compared to the year 2002.

Interestingly, in the interviews none of the participants mentioned the issue of being judged or seen by the police as a Muslim. When the data analysis was complete it felt appropriate to go back and contact one third of the participants to ask them about their experience with the New Zealand Police as a Muslim. All of these participants revealed that they felt safe and secure in New Zealand and particularly in context of their experience with the New Zealand Police; they reported that they had never been profiled[1] or stopped by the police due to their affiliations with Islam. This can be taken as a very positive finding, as in many other Western countries it has been reported that people have been profiled due to their religious affiliation (Ashar, 2002; Martin-Gorski, 2002).

4.4 Theme 3: Interaction with the New Zealand Police

Interaction with the New Zealand Police appears to be a significant factor in moulding the attitudes of South Asian immigrants toward the police. The theme "Interaction with the New Zealand Police" emerged when the participants were asked the question "In the past six months or so, have you been in contact with the New Zealand Police for any reason, and are you satisfied with your contact with the New Zealand Police?"

After analysis of the data, this theme, "Interaction with the New Zealand Police", was divided into sub-themes of communication issues, racial profiling, and contact with the New Zealand Police.

[1] Racial profiling is defined as "police initiated contact that relies mainly on subject's ethnicity, colour or country of origin rather than the deviant behaviour of the person" (Ramirez, McDevitt & Farell, 2000, p.3).

4.4.1 Communication issues

Participants expressed the view that, despite the majority of South Asian immigrants coming to New Zealand with well-established English language skills, communication with the police was a problem. A number of the participants believed there are good communication skills within the police force through the provision of bilingual staff. But they all believed there is still a need for further improvement.

Participant 09 (Indian, female, 40-49, employed, Mt Roskill, time in New Zealand 09 years, Islam):

> *…We have people here like parents or anybody who is not good in English…So, it would be easier for them to communicate…more of our people [Indian] or South Asian people in the police…great to talk in our own language, basically with frontline police.*

The view expressed in the above extract is supported by the finding of Culver (2004), that the linguistic barrier between immigrants and the police affects the attitudes of the individual toward the law enforcement official. Furthermore, language barriers can have negative effects on the immigrants. Immigrants with a language difficulty are less likely than others to approach the police for help and are vulnerable to being a victim of crime (Flores, 2006). Even if in some cases they may approach or report their complaint to the police, such individuals are less likely to follow up their case (Flores, 2006).

These findings are also consistent with those from the study by Ho et al. (2006), who found that lack of English competency was the most significant barrier preventing ethnic minorities contacting and interacting with the New Zealand Police. Another participant expressed his concerns about the New Zealand Police not knowing his language, which sometimes increased his worries about his parents, who may not be able to communicate with the police in the event of an emergency:

Participant 01 (Bangladeshi, male, 50-59, retired, Mt Roskill, time in New Zealand 12 years, Islam):

> *My parents are old, very old around 80s. When they go outside I have worries about them…the police officer may not know the Bengali language…*

One participant indicated less presence of the New Zealand Police at cultural events compared to other more mainstream ones, which increases the likelihood of lack of cultural awareness amongst the police and the resulting in communication difficulties between the community and the police. She suggested that an increased presence of the New Zealand Police at her community's networking or cultural events might increase the likelihood of better understanding of their culture and tradition:

Participant 13 (Pakistani, female, 50-59, employed, Henderson, time in New Zealand 11 years, Islam):

> *They rarely come over there...They should come to community meetings and community gatherings or networking. There should be some department or some public relation officer in the New Zealand Police…send their officers into these events to listen to community needs and the community recommendations and bring it with them to their department and discuss it with their responsible people to implement or to learn about what are our problems. Sometimes our problems are totally unique and they are totally different from the society's problems here.*

The immigrants' opinions about the police reflect the effect of the acculturation process. According to assimilation theory, over time ethnic minorities adopt the language, traditions, cultural norms, values and behaviour of the dominant host culture and integrate into that host culture (Correia, 2010). However, new immigrants from South Asian countries may have less favourable views about the New Zealand Police due to the images still fresh in their minds about their home country police. The more time immigrants spend in New Zealand increases the likelihood of overcoming the communication and language problem in the extract below:

Participant 01 (Bangladeshi, male, 50-59, retired, Mt Roskill, time in New Zealand 12 years, Islam):

> *When I arrived in this country, I had fear about the police [New Zealand Police] but after little time, let say after 1 or 2 years that fear vanished…*

4.4.2 Contact with the New Zealand Police

Contact with the New Zealand Police was one of the selection criteria along with South Asian ethnicity for participants to be involved in the study. All 16 participants had some sort of personal experience with the New Zealand Police. Most of the interactions occurred in the past six months prior to the interview, but some of the participants

shared experiences from further back in time. Routine traffic stops by the police tended to be the most common interaction with the police. Some of the examples were:

Participant 09 (Indian, female, 40-49, employed, Mt Roskill, time in New Zealand 09 years, Islam):

Well, we had one incident in February, I could say and that was speeding. We were coming from Wellington and the police stopped us near the Desert Road…

Participant 11 (Pakistani, male, 40-49, employed, Birkenhead, time in New Zealand 13 years, Islam)

Yes, we have been stopped by the traffic police, you know, for routine checks…The police stopped us, apparently they were stopping everybody on a road, they gave us a small device and asked us to state name and address in that device to check the alcohol strength in our breath. Which was obviously nil…they were nice and their attitude was great.

Participant 12 (Pakistani, male, 50-59, employed, Henderson, time in New Zealand 11 years, Islam):

I am not very sure about the recent contact but it was a some type of roadside breath test.

However, another recent study has reported that an individual's positive perception of the police decreases as the number of their personal public-police encounters increases, regardless of the nature of the encounters (Wentz & Schlimgen, 2012). In addition, a person stopped frequently by the police is more likely to have a negative view about the police (Wentz & Schlimgen, 2012). This finding is also linked to the sub-theme of racial profiling (following theme 4.4.3) in which the participants openly expressed a negative view towards the New Zealand Police due to unexpected traffic stops.

Some participants reported experiencing a burglary as a significant reason to initiate contact with the police. This finding is consistent with that of Ho et al. (2006), that burglary was the serious crime that minorities in New Zealand confronted most frequently, regardless of their ethnicity. One participant in this study had experienced multiple burglaries, which raised concerns about the New Zealand Police's effectiveness in providing for the safety of citizens. Immigrants who have encounters with the police as a result of victimisation show less favourable views about the New

Zealand Police (Dean, 2008). This is due to high expectations of the police by the victim of a crime, and when a police officer fails to meet their expectation, the victim of crime increases their negative image of the police (Sparks, 1981).

Participant 12 (Pakistani, male, 50-59, employed, Henderson, time in New Zealand 11 years, Islam):

> *Basically I had a break in not exactly the break in it was actually a mugging...I approached the police; well they were quite promptly arrived, and came there within specified time, short specified time I would say. But then they said to me to preserve the fingerprints of the person who enter in the room…The fingerprints from my experience were very clear but she [New Zealand Police] said that these all [fingerprints] are not in the position to be picked up. Which I didn't understand why and when I started to insist to pick up the fingerprints, she rudely said this could be your fingerprint…not at the first time, not at all. Up till second interaction I would say. I was new at that time, I would have launched a complaint against the police…I didn't know the rule and regulation at that time whatever my rights and privileges…*

Participant 14 (Pakistani, male, 50-59, employed, Mt Roskill, time in New Zealand 10 years, Islam):

> *…People broke into our house and when we talked to them [New Zealand Police] they didn't show much interest in it, they came next day… they think we have insurance, which mean their job is done …*

The above comments from the participants indicate that even though they had reported the matter to the police, the participants did not get a positive response. In the immigrants' perspective, being safe from crime tended to be an important reason for immigrating to New Zealand. But perceptions of increasing crime rates can undermine this reputation.

Participant 08 (Indian, male, 30-39, employed, Royal Oak, time in New Zealand 15 years, Islam):

> *It [New Zealand] used to be relatively safe from rest of world when we first came here…*

4.4.3 Racial profiling

Recounting their experiences, some participants claimed to have been racially profiled by New Zealand Police staff on different occasions. Racial profiling is defined as "police initiated contact that relies mainly on subject's ethnicity, colour or country of origin rather than the deviant behaviour of the person" (Ramirez, McDevitt, & Farell, 2000, p. 3). The perception of participants in this study is supported by a report by the Gallup Organisation (1999), which states that many of their respondents supplied testimonial evidence that they were subject to police scrutiny due to their ethnicity. One participant in this study shared his experience in response to racial profiling in relation to contact with the New Zealand Police.

Participant 01 (Bangladeshi, 50-59, retired, Mt Roskill, time in New Zealand 12 years, Islam):

> *Oh, I have several contacts with the New Zealand police, but all of them are not pleasant… Being a taxi driver is a worst thing in New Zealand. Customer abuse you, the police stop you for no reason, Land Transport stop and issue big infringements…Back in 2009, I was stopped by the police and issued an instant infringement of $500 because the fire extinguisher was not installed in the taxi. But when I talked to my taxi company they said it was not a legal requirement at that time. The $500 ticket was unfair and it took me several weeks to pay back that money…and the stress I faced…Because I was immigrant and no Kiwi accent…*

The above finding is strongly supported by a study that has found, to varying degrees, that law enforcement officers stop people of colour and ethnicity for traffic violations relatively more than Whites and treat minorities differently to Whites during their interaction (Novak, 2004). This is also linked to ethnic stereotyping by police officers such as "the Asians are bad drivers" in the United States (Novak, 2004).

Harris (1999) views this stereotyping by police officers as creating a self-fulfilling prophecy for ethnic minority drivers, whereby officers look for and find misdemeanours among Asians to a disproportionate degree compared to other drivers. However, these stereotypes have no empirical support (Harris, 1999).

4.5 Theme 4: Media Influence

An additional element that tended to contribute to study participants' perceptions of the police was the role of the media, which was reported as shaping the views of the participants toward the police. The theme "Media Influence" that emerged from the participants' stories included the sub-themes of news media and reality shows.

4.5.1 News media

During the course of the interviews, eight participants talked about the significant role of the media in forming their perceptions of both the New Zealand Police and their home county police. According to Surette (2007), the media plays a vital role in forming people's attitudes toward the police, since most people use both electronic and print media to obtain information about the criminal justice system. The effect of the media is increased when materials viewed resonate with an individual's experience of life (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1980). Two of the participants clearly indicated that they had not lived in their country of origin for quite some time; however, they were in touch with police activities in their home country through the media.

Participant 04 (Bangladeshi, female, 40-49, housewife, Mt Albert, time in New Zealand 13 years, Islam):

> *I have no experience of the direct experience with police in Bangladesh as such. But I see things on the Internet and on the newspapers about the police [Bangladeshi Police], which is certainly not pleasant.*

Similar views were shared by the Participant 07 (Indian, female, 30-39, employed, Royal Oak, time in New Zealand 13 years, Islam):

> *Oh, I never had, I can't remember anything to do with police. Being honest with you, I have been out of Kashmir [India] for a long time and being here for from like 1999 and before that I was still in college and I had nothing to do with the Police [Indian Police]. So, I can't really recall anything but I do see a lot on media I mean the print and electronic media on the Internet…I do see lot of violence in Kashmir [India] as well as in other bordering countries…*

These extracts indicate the importance of the media. The above data support Denni, Kinney, and Hung's (1999) findings that women tend to be influenced and rely more on information provided via the media than their male counterparts, due to less

interaction with their home country police (Andersson, Cockcroft, Ansari, Omer, Ansari, Khan, & Chaudhry, 2010). This could be due to a male-dominated society in South Asian countries where the males perform all the outdoors activities (Liu, 2002), which increases their chances of interacting with the police. Furthermore, in South Asian countries, especially those with a Muslim majority population, most Muslim women have significant religious and cultural obligations to behave in certain ways, for example to wear a hijab (headscarf) or be accompanied by a male when in public (Cole & Ahmadi, 2003). Therefore, in the case of police-public interactions in their home country, Muslim women are less likely to confront the police themselves, with their accompanying male tending to deal with the police.

The data in this study also show that the majority of participants reported the importance of online news or newspapers as a source of information about the home country police and the New Zealand Police. Doyle (1998) and Graber (1980) argue that the news media usually focus on the violent aspects of the police force and neglect to cover positive crime control efforts. Below is a reported example of this biased focus from this study:

Participant 16 (Sri Lankan, male, 60+, retiree, Epsom, time in New Zealand 11 years, Islam):

> *I see the news on satellite every day in the morning and afternoon, the news are full of the stories about the police [Sri Lankan Police]. Which are obliviously bad. And I think I do trust the credibility of these news channels...*

The above extracts are supported by a number of international studies which argue that news channels often only cover incidences of police brutality or corruption to increase their viewership (Kaminski & Jefferis, 1998; Sigleman, Welch, Bledsoe, & Combs, 1997; Tuch & Weitzer, 1997; Weitzer, 2002), which consequently increases the public's negative sentiment toward law enforcement agencies (Callanan & Rosenberger, 2011). In addition, such negative perceptions of the police are significant during or after news coverage of police corruption, and the frequency of exposure to such news coverage of corrupt police behaviour may induce particularly negative views of the police and also increase people's beliefs about the frequency of corrupt police behaviour (Weitzer & Tuch, 2006).

Furthermore, Eschholz, Blackwell, Gertz, and Chiricos (2002) claim the ethnic profile of the viewer tends to influence their views of the police. During the course of the interviews in this study, the participants from particular areas of South Asian countries (Jaffna, Kashmir, Chittagong) with high crime rates, political unrest and insurgencies (Rashiduzzaman, 1998; Staniland, 2012) talked about their country of origin's police relatively more than the other participants. Some examples are:

Participant 08 (Indian, male, 30-39, employed, Royal Oak, time in New Zealand 15 years, Islam):

> *... Yesterday I have seen on the BBC the misuse of powers by the Syrian Police and similar things are going over there [Kashmir-India], just go and check on the Internet...*

Participant 05 (Bangladeshi, female, 30-39, unemployed, Mt Albert, time in New Zealand 06 years, Islam)

> *...These days no one can hide from the media not even the police here, but the police in Bangladesh are exploiting their powers in Chittagong and the Bengali newspapers are full of the stories...*

4.5.2 Reality shows.

The study participants also acknowledged the importance of popular reality shows such as "Police 10-7 NZ", "Cops US" and "RBT/Force AUS" during the course of the interviews. These shows play an important role in cultivating people's views about whether the local police in particular work efficiently to enforce law and order (Dowler & Zawilski, 2007).

Police reality shows use actual footage that features police officers questioning suspects, investigating crimes, and making arrests (Oliver, 1994). Upon reflection, a couple of participants commented that although they have very little or no interaction with the New Zealand Police, reality shows help to give them insights into the workings of the New Zealand Police.

Participant 04 (Bangladeshi, female, 40-49, housewife, Mt Albert, time in New Zealand 13 years, Islam):

> *...We watch the Police 10-7 regularly. This show is better than other New Zealand TV's programs...you know I never saw police on the roads with*

cameras before…the police always stop Island people or other immigrants, which is not good.

The above extract is supported by the findings of Kamiski and Jefferis (1998), which show that viewing an arrest of an ethnic minority youth on a reality programme significantly, increases people's unfavourable ratings of the police. However, this may be due to less understanding of New Zealand laws by immigrants. The above finding may also link to the economic model of crime (Alonso-Borrego, Garoupa, & Vázquez, 2012; Polinsky & Shavell, 2000) where immigrants have less to lose than natives from noncompliance with the law. This argument is based on a theory of the immigrant having less income and fewer opportunities, and therefore correspondingly a higher proportion of the immigrant population from low-income source countries have economic problems or fewer economic opportunities (Alonso-Borrego, Garoupa, & Vázquez, 2012). Thus, tough economic circumstances increase the likelihood of an individual committing a crime.

Furthermore, police reality shows serve to foster the perception of a 'mean and dangerous' world faced by the police (Oliver, 1994), and are likely to over-represent the level of violent crime to make the show successful. One participant reported that the situation portrayed in the TV shows and the overall crime level in New Zealand do not match:

Participant 15 (Pakistani, female, 40-49, employed, Mt Roskill, time in New Zealand 10 years, Islam):

Well, media shows quite an opposite picture. Last night I saw a programme [Police 10/7], which was full of violent behaviour and criminals. To be completely honest with you, I haven't seen anything like that in past 10 years in New Zealand.

However, reality shows also help to convey a message of safety to the general public and increase awareness among citizens of crime prevention efforts (Pontius, 2006). The message is that reality shows, to a large extent, help law enforcement officials to nab the fugitive with the help of public. For example, the "Police 10-7" reality show frequently displays the fugitive's details and requests public assistance on a weekly basis (Loughlin, 2012).

Participant 16 (Sri Lankan, Male, 60+, retiree, Epsom, time in New Zealand 11

years, Islam):

> *… Media in New Zealand is very active to report the crime very well. Even some time you can see the face and details of the culprit…*

4.6 Summary

This chapter presented the results of the analysis of the study data and discussed the findings in relation to the literature reviewed in chapter two. A total of four themes and nine subthemes emerged from the analysis of the responses of 16 participants from the South Asian immigrant community who were interviewed over the course of two months. The themes and sub-themes reflect the participants' views of the New Zealand Police.

The findings suggest that the general experiences with, and opinions about, the police are positive compared to those in regards to the police in their country of origin, with the majority of participants reporting a negative perception of their country of origin's police. Age tended to be an influential element, as the older participants had more positive attitudes toward the New Zealand Police than the younger ones. Gender generally did not appear to have any effect on perceptions of the police, however the impact of the portrayal of the police by the media seemed to have a differential effect according to gender, as many of the South Asian immigrant females had little or no personal contact with the police but had impressions of them through the media. Overall, participants reported that their perceptions of the police were heavily influenced by the portrayal of the police in both news and reality shows.

All the participants, especially those of the Muslim faith, felt safe in New Zealand and had never been profiled by the police due to their religious affiliation. On the other hand, participants reported they had felt subject to profiling by the New Zealand Police due to their ethnicity, particularly in regards to traffic incidents, where several reported prejudicial treatment. Overall, police contact tended to have a substantial influence on the perceptions of police, with some reporting dissatisfaction not only due to traffic stops, but also in regards to incidences where they were victims of burglary, where they felt their concerns were disregarded.

Correspondingly, a strong theme emerged around the issues of culture and communication, with many participants perceiving that there was a need for greater

cultural awareness and South Asian representation in the New Zealand Police force, as well as the police being more closely involved in South Asian community activities. Participants felt that such strategies would help alleviate communication difficulties, particularly those due to language barriers and lack of cultural understanding by the police, and ultimately improve police effectiveness either by stopping incidents from increasing, or preventing them from occurring.

Chapter five concludes the study. It summarises the salient findings of the research, discusses the limitations of the study, provides direction for future research, and suggests the significant implications for policy makers.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This dissertation has discussed and analysed past literature on immigrant-public attitudes toward the police in the light of Wu's (2009) theoretical model of immigrants' perceptions of the police. This model systematically leads the researcher to discuss the critical aspects that are salient to explain and predict immigrant attitudes toward the police, and was discussed in detail in the literature review section.

The study aimed to elucidate South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police, and examine the elements that influence immigrants' perceptions. The consistencies and inconsistencies of past findings were also discussed. The decision to build the research methodology on a qualitative method of 16 in-depth semi-structured interviews was discussed in detail. Thematic analysis was employed to analyse the data obtained through in-depth interviews. In the previous chapter the findings from this analysis were displayed and discussed in light of previous literature.

This study makes two vital contributions: firstly, it investigated South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police and analysed the critical aspects that influenced and shaped their perceptions. Secondly, it systematically examined the types, characteristics, and consequences of the public-police contacts of South Asian immigrants.

This chapter provides the summary of findings, an explanation of the personal stance of the researcher, and discusses some of the study's limitations. Furthermore, it suggests some practical implications for the New Zealand Police in terms of reconsidering their policies to improve public satisfaction with their performance, and offers some direction for future research.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The findings suggest that the perceptions of South Asian immigrants in relation to the New Zealand Police are positive compared to those in relation to the police in their home country, which tend to be negative (Wu, 2009). This information answers the first research question of this study, 'what are the perceptions of the South Asian immigrants towards the New Zealand Police?'

In regards to the second question, the salient aspects found to influence the South Asian immigrant community were age, as older participants had more positive attitudes toward the New Zealand Police than younger ones (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Rusinko et al., 1978; Weitzer & Tuch, 2003), and the portrayal of the police in media, with participants reporting that their perceptions of the police were heavily influenced by both news and reality shows. The impact of the media portrayal of the police seemed to have a differential effect according to gender, as many of the South Asian female immigrants had little or no personal contact with the police, and relied on the media to form their impressions. In general, gender did not appear to have any other significant effect on perceptions of the police, which is consistent with several past studies (Benedict et al., 2000; Cao et al., 1996; Chermak et al., 2001; Haba et al., 2009; Huang & Vaughn, 1996; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Reisig & Parks, 2000).

All participants, especially those of the Muslim faith, felt safe in New Zealand and had never been profiled by the police due to their religious affiliation; this is a major finding which was missed by previous research. However, participants reported they had been subject to profiling by the New Zealand Police due to their ethnicity, particularly in regard to traffic incidents, where several participants reported prejudicial treatment.

Overall, police contact tended to have a substantial influence both positive and negative on perceptions of the police, with some participants reporting dissatisfaction due not only to traffic stops, but also due to incidences where they were victims of burglary, where they felt their concerns were disregarded, which answers the third research question.

Some cultural issues emerged regarding cultural and language barriers, with many participants perceiving that there was a need for greater cultural awareness and South Asian representation in the New Zealand Police, as well as the police being more closely involved in South Asian community activities. Participants felt that such strategies would help alleviate communication difficulties, particularly those due to language barriers and lack of cultural understanding by the police, and ultimately improve police effectiveness by either mitigating incidents, or preventing them entirely.

Concerning the possibility of joining the police force, all participants tended to be reluctant and substantially criticised the current recruitment policies, which need to be changed. The current lengthy recruitment time frame (six months to one year) was a significant element discovered in this research.

5.3 Researcher Personal Reflexivity

This section discusses the benefits and obstacles faced by the researcher in conducting this research on South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police. As a member of the South Asian immigrant community, the researcher enjoyed the research process and had a personal interest in uncovering the salient factors that help determine South Asian immigrant's attitude towards the New Zealand Police. In conducting the study, the researcher as a member of the South Asian immigrant community, had a sound knowledge of the cultural traditions and norms of this community.

To conduct this study, the researcher met with 16 members of the South Asian immigrant community, which provided the opportunity to ask about the issues related to immigrants and policing in New Zealand. As part of the interview, all the participants shared their thoughts, feelings, and lived experiences relating to the New Zealand Police. The researcher learned about South Asian immigrants' painful experiences as well as their successes achieved in New Zealand.

There were some significant challenges in collecting data for this research. Primarily, the main aim was to gain access to members of the South Asian immigrant community and proactively motivate them to participate in the study. Chu et al.

(2005) have noted the obstacles that a researcher faces in order to systematically collect data from immigrant communities. A number of South Asian community organisations were contacted and requested to contact potential participants; however, the request was declined on several occasions. As noted by Song (1992), immigrants can be reluctant to participate in any research, which involves the police or related agencies.

To overcome this problem, the researcher used a snowball approach in order to recruit the participants for this study. The potential participants were contacted through mobilising personal contacts and personal referrals. The researcher used every possible contact through friends, teammates, South Asian community organisations, colleagues, classmates and so on, to recruit potential participants. When participants were contacted, the researcher explicitly explained the nature of the study and encouraged them to participate. The potential participants were briefly informed that participation in the study was completely voluntary and confidential. This helped to mitigate the potential fear of participants that the study was supported or their names and data would be used and read, by the New Zealand Police, which could cause adverse consequences for the participants.

The explanation to participants was essential in order to firstly, assure them that this study was only for research purposes, and that any of the information collected in relation to this study would be protected under the Auckland University of Technology ethics code and would not be disclosed to any third party. Secondly, a sense of protection and confidentiality was of significant importance, in order to improve the quality of the data by motivating the participants to overcome their fear and reveal their true opinions and views about the New Zealand Police.

For all participants, the researcher explained the whole research process, from the data collection to data interpretation. The researcher also briefly explained the significance of this research and how it would provide overall benefits to the South Asian immigrant community in New Zealand.

In-depth face-to-face interviews were employed as the primary data collection method. According to Billiet, Coch, and Philippens (2007), face-to-face communication is highly likely to gain cooperation from participants, which was

essential in order to gain the information necessary for this study. The researcher contacted the potential participants multiple times, which decreased the reluctance to participate among the participants (Billiet et al., 2007). It also indicated the seriousness of this study and demonstrated the passion and eagerness of the researcher for this research. In addition, the researcher provided the opportunity for flexible time arrangements for the interviews.

The researcher needs to form a strong bond with the research participants, in order to gain access to crucial information. Therefore, the researcher was highly respectful of the participants and their opinions and reinforced to them their significant role in, and contribution to, this study. Each interview began with a casual conversation to increase the confidence of the participants. Finally, during the interviews the participants were provided with opportunities to comment freely on any related areas that were not directly addressed in the interviews.

5.4 Limitations of the Study

Like all studies, this study also has some inherent limitations. Firstly, the findings from the research have a limited generalizability to some extent due to the qualitative method that was used. The study involved 16 participants from the South Asian immigrant community sharing their views and lived experiences in regards to the New Zealand Police. This small number of participants may limit the generalizability of the study's findings to the whole South Asian immigrant community in New Zealand. Therefore, the findings need to be interpreted cautiously in terms of generalisation. However, the qualitative method does utilise for greater in-depth findings.

Secondly, a snowball sampling approach was used in order to recruit the participants for this study. This method enabled the researcher to access and recruit the participants easily, as this approach uses referral and personal contact; however, this method may also result in recruiting participants from the same background, who are sometimes known to each other and share the same views toward the police. Therefore, other members of the South Asian immigrant community who were not included in this study may have different views of the New Zealand Police, and their views may have been missed due to the snowball sampling approach.

Thirdly, this study investigated mainly the South Asian immigrant community in terms of aspects such as their demographic characteristics, experiences with police, and neighbourhood context. But these aspects only reveal immigrants' perspectives while ignoring the other side that is the police perspectives. The New Zealand Police were not included due to time and resource limitations. These same limitations have been observed in the previous research in this area.

Fourthly, this study was limited by the six-month research time frame for a dissertation, which was not enough time to completely discover all of the significant elements related to South Asian immigrants' perceptions of the New Zealand Police. With a longer time frame, it would be possible to involve the New Zealand Police in the study in order to investigate their perceptions in regard to South Asian immigrants.

Finally, English was a second language for all 16 participants. All participants were fluent in English as a second language, and were very capable of expressing and sharing their experiences and thoughts. However, there was the possibility of conversational nuances for the participants being lost in translation of their thoughts in English, and the participants may have been able to better express some ideas and concepts in their mother tongue.

5.5 Directions for Future Research

This study has established a foundation for future research. To build on the findings reported here, future research should employ the use of a survey methodology supplemented with in-depth face-to-face interviews to enrich the data. Two immigrants groups (for example South Asian and South-east Asian) should be involved, comparing and contrasting their experiences in order to gain a deep understanding of their attitudes toward the police. Future research could also engage the officers of the New Zealand Police, who patrol and interact with the South Asian immigrant community, which could help to understand the broader context.

Secondly, future research could pay significant attention to contact between the South Asian immigrant community and the police due to routine traffic stops (compulsory

breath tests, speeding violations, vehicle warrant of fitness or registration checks). The findings of this study suggest that South Asian immigrants are more likely to have contact with the police due to traffic-related stops than for any other reason. Therefore, it is important for future researchers to consider situations that occur during these interactions. An observational participation method would be best for this sort of study. Future research could also include the researcher documenting the experience of accompanying the police while they patrol Asian neighbourhoods, to both gain some real time experience and also collect enriched data to include in the study. This data collection could be done in conjunction with interviewing members of the South Asian immigrant community who interact with the police due to traffic-related issues.

Thirdly, future research could include South Asian immigrants who are in New Zealand illegally, to investigate the difference in the perceptions and attitudes of that group compared with legal South Asian immigrants. To do that, the study should also use a snowball data collection technique in order to approach the illegal immigrants. This will help gain insights into the illegal immigrants' experiences with the police, as well as the immigrants' fear of crime and victimisation. Being given the status of "illegal", these people are arguably one of the most vulnerable segments of any society (Wu, 2009). Researching these people is of vital significance, as they are more likely to be the victims of crime and less likely to contact the police in any emergency.

Finally, there is the potential to involve Muslims in New Zealand in future research to investigate their attitude toward the police, as Muslims are in a unique social group. Therefore, future research could be based on a theoretical foundation of social identity theory or social justice theory.

5.6 Practical Implications of this Study

The findings of this study suggest several practical implications in order to improve the New Zealand Police's relationship with the South Asian immigrant community. It is important to understand what each community's needs are in regards to the police. As different communities perceive the police differently, the New Zealand Police need to customise policies to best meet the requirements of each community. The

New Zealand Police need to be proactive in approaching South Asian immigrants and learning about their unique needs and expectations. It is important that the New Zealand Police attend South Asian community-based functions on a regular basis. These events provide the perfect opportunity for police to meet and familiarise themselves with members of the community. These community-police meetings also provide a good forum for South Asian immigrants' to discuss their issues directly with the New Zealand Police representatives or community-liaison officers. Such forums may also serve to reduce feeling of hesitation that South Asian immigrants has to approach the police based on their pervious experience with their home country police.

The community-based meetings could also be used to educate immigrants about the New Zealand Police and the justice system, and facilitate community-police relations. This could help to prevent crime in the neighbourhood, which would also reduce the pressure on frontline policing. These community-police meetings could play an important role in elevating public confidence in the New Zealand Police, and decreasing the social distance between the public and the police.

The findings in this study strongly indicate a perception amongst participants of the use of racial profiling by the police (where they felt targeted by police because of their ethnicity). This perception may not necessarily prove that the racism exists in the New Zealand Police, but the perception amongst the study participants that racial profiling was being used raises the concerns that police management should address comprehensively by promoting cooperative strategies such as hiring more ethnic minorities, training and educating police and community members, minority engagement initiatives, accountability, and using technology (McDevitt, Farrell, & Wolff, 2008).

Data relating to communication issues highlighted where the police can address immigrants' perceptions of biased policing. Communication problems can arise because of an immigrant's lack of English proficiency. As a foreign-born immigrant from a non-English speaking country, it takes time to develop good English skills. Poor English language skills can create frustration for some immigrants when trying to explain a situation clearly to police staff. Therefore, it is suggested that police staff need to be empathetic and patient in situations when an immigrant with a lack of

English skills needs to communicate (Hanser, 2008). In addition, the New Zealand Police need to have a sufficient number of staff available in neighborhoods with a large population of South Asian immigrants who understand the immigrants' language and culture. Recruiting volunteers from immigrant communities to interpret for the police could substantially reduce the communication issues.

In recent years, the New Zealand Police have significantly changed their policies and practices in regard to immigrant-police relations, such as having more bilingual frontline staff. Hence, the police need to continue to promote and implement those reforms. Furthermore, the New Zealand Police need to introduce cultural diversity training programmes (Hanser, 2008) for the staff who deal with or patrol in South Asian neighbourhoods. More cultural sensitivity by police towards South Asian immigrants may play an important role in building a stronger, more positive relationship between the police and immigrants.

As the number of South Asian immigrants in the Auckland area is growing rapidly, it would be beneficial for the police to reflect the same trend in their workforce. However, records show that only about 0.6 per cent of the more than 9,000 staff in the New Zealand Police are of South Asian background[2] (New Zealand Police, 2012). South Asian immigrants are the most under-represented ethnic group in the New Zealand Police. There is no empirical work to identify the dynamics that led to the substantial under-representation of South Asian immigrants in the New Zealand Police. However, this study suggests that engaging South Asian youth in community-police related activities in order to expose them to police work could increase the likelihood of them joining the police later in their lives. Furthermore, in order to attract minorities, current recruitment policies need to be more explicit in terms of the recruitment time frame.

In addition, the increasing diversity of the racial composition in Auckland communities demands that more people from diverse backgrounds are recruited into the police force. Police recruitment campaigns need to clearly advertise the merits of this career, such as stable employment, job status, a competitive salary, and the opportunity to help the community, which have all been confirmed in past studies as being important motivators for people to join the police (Ridgeway et al., 2008;

[2] South Asian immigrants consist of 2.9 % of the total New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2006)

White, Cooper, Saunders, & Raganella, 2010). Furthermore, during the campaign, the local, and community newspapers could be utilised to advertise to ethnic communities in their own languages (Ho et al., 2006).

This study confirms the role the media play in building immigrants' perceptions of the police. Many new immigrants rely mainly on the media in order to understand the host culture. Therefore, the New Zealand Police need to promote a positive relationship with the media. As Chermak and Weiss (2006), note the police can increase their positive image through the use of the public media by showing community-policing programmes.

5.7 Conclusion

The police appear to be perhaps one of the most powerful institutions in any society, because of their role in maintaining law and order. However, the power of the police largely depends on the attitudes of the ordinary person toward them and their judgment of the legitimacy of the police. Therefore, the police are accountable to the general public and gain their strength through the positive regard of the public and their assessment of police performance. The police require public support in order to prevent crimes and maintain order in society. This is the primary reason why public perceptions of the police have been the focal point of concern in previous studies.

As discussed earlier, to date the opinions and concerns of South Asian immigrants have been conspicuously absent in these studies. The current literature has no knowledge of this particular group in regards to their perceptions and views of the police. Most of the previous studies conducted in a New Zealand context have been based on data collected mainly from other minorities, excluding South Asian immigrants. Therefore, those findings have limited generalizability to South Asian immigrants, because other ethnic minorities (Māori, Middle Eastern, Pacific Islander, other Asians) in New Zealand may have their own unique opinions and attitudes toward the police. Thus, this study goes some way to addressing the gap in knowledge about the perceptions of the police in the growing South Asian immigrant community in New Zealand. The findings also point to future research work that is needed in the area, and signal some important implications for the New Zealand Police's policies and practices.

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Appendix A: AUTEC Approval

MEMORANDUM

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)

To:	Edwina Pio
From:	Rosemary Godbold, Executive Secretary, AUTEC
Date:	20 August 2012
Subject:	Ethics Application Number **12/198 Ethnicity and Policing: Perceptions of the South Asian immigrant community in Auckland.**

Dear Edwina

I am pleased to advise that the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) approved your ethics application at their meeting on 13 August 2012. Your application is now approved for a period of three years until 13 August 2015.

AUTEC commends the researcher and yourself on the overall quality of this application.

I advise that as part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit to AUTEC the following:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 13 August 2015;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 13 August 2015 or on completion of the project, whichever comes sooner;

It is a condition of approval that AUTEC is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTEC approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are reminded that, as applicant, you are

responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

Please note that AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to make the arrangements necessary to obtain this. Also, if your research is undertaken within a jurisdiction outside New Zealand, you will need to make the arrangements necessary to meet the legal and ethical requirements that apply within that jurisdiction.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, we ask that you use the application number and study title in all written and verbal correspondence with us. Should you have any further enquiries regarding this matter, you are welcome to contact me by email at ethics@aut.ac.nz or by telephone on 921 9999 at extension 6902. Alternatively you may contact your AUTEC Faculty Representative (a list with contact details may be found in the Ethics Knowledge Base at http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics).

On behalf of the AUTEC and myself, I wish you success with your research and look forward to reading about it in your reports.

Yours sincerely

Dr Rosemary Godbold

Executive Secretary

Appendix B

Participant Information Sheet



Date Information Sheet Produced:
dd mm yyyy

Project Title

Ethnicity and Policing: perceptions of the South Asian immigrant community in Auckland.

An Invitation

Dear _____

My name is Sameer Nisar. I am currently enrolled in full-time postgraduate studies, at the Auckland University of Technology, in the Faculty of Business and Law. I am interested to explore the perceptions of the South Asians (Bangladeshi, Indian, Nepalese, Pakistani and Sri-Lankan) immigrant community toward the New Zealand Police.

I am inviting you to participate in this research. Participation is entirely voluntary and your free choice. If you do agree to participate in the study you have the right to withdraw at any time, without having to give a reason. There are no financial benefits for you for taking part in this study.

The following questions and answers may help you decide whether you wish to be involved in the study. If you are interested in participating, you are requested to sign the Participant Consent Form.

What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of this research is to explore the experiences and perceptions of the South Asian immigrant community toward the New Zealand Police. This research is the basis of a dissertation that I am doing at Auckland University of Technology as part of a Master of Business postgraduate degree.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You are chosen by the researcher to become a participant based on you being a member of the South Asian immigrant community who resides in Auckland. Names have been suggested through acquaintances and referrals.

What will happen in this research?

The researcher will contact you by phone or email and ask you to meet for an interview that is expected to last between 30 to 45 minutes. The interview will be audio-taped and then transcribed. You will be sent a copy of the interview transcription by an email so that you can check the accuracy of it and make any amendments if you want to. The material collected at the interview will be strictly guarded by privacy and confidentially. All the material, including Consent Forms will eventually be securely destroyed e.g. by machine shedding.

What are the discomforts and risks? How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

The exposure to past negative experience with the police may bring some anxious emotions or thoughts in the interview, which could pose emotional or psychological risks. However, you will be encouraged to choose to what extent of disclosure you personally feel comfortable with, and are not obligated to answer any questions that you do not want to respond to. However, if you should feel at any time, any kind of distress as a result of this research, immediately stop the interview and immediately contact the Auckland University of Technology Health and Counselling Services free of cost (Ph. 09 921 9992).

What are the benefits?

The benefits to participating in this research are that it will give you an opportunity to share your experience and perceptions of the New Zealand Police as a member of the South Asian immigrant community in Auckland, and the experience of being involved in a research study. In a broader context, this research will be beneficial to provide opportunities to the government institutions and the New Zealand Police in order to assess the current policies regarding the South Asian immigrant community.

How will my privacy be protected?

In order for the researcher to accurately document the discussions, your interview will be audio-taped and transcribed. Once this has occurred, data will be coded so that your identity will be protected. The data collected, along with the consent forms, will be only accessible to the researcher and primary supervisor but will not be shared with anyone else. At the end of the research any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the

results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage at AUT for six years, and then destroyed. Should the results of this project be published in a journal or presented at a conference, your identity will remain confidential all the times.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

There will be no cost to you for taking part in this study, other than your time.
Participation in this research should take approximately 30-45 minutes for each individual interview.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Participation in this research will be completely voluntary. If you would like to participate in a research, you will be needed to inform the researcher by email or phone and sign the Consent Form (see attached Appendix B) prior to the interview. The researcher will collect the Consent Form on the day of interview. If, after you have consented to participate you would like to withdraw for any reason, you may do so without any adverse consequences.
If you would like to know more about this research you may contact the researcher directly (see details below).

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you would like to participate in this research, please contact the researcher by an email: sameerawan81@gmail.com or Phone: 02102727316 and he will send you the consent form to sign. The researcher can arrange the interview meeting at the time that suits you best and he will collect the participation consent form from you then.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

Yes. All participants will be given the opportunity having a copy of summary of the findings of the research on request. Results will be summarised and disseminated via a report to be written by the researcher.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this research should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Associate Professor Dr Edwina Pio, edwina.pio@aut.ac.nz, phone 0064 9 921 9999 ext. 5130.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEC, Dr Rosemary Godbold, ethics@aut.ac.nz, phone 0064 9 921 9999 ext. 690.

Who do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

For further information regarding this research you can contact the researcher via email: sameerawan81@gmail.com or mobile 021-027-27316.

Research Supervisor Contact Details:

Associate Professor Dr Edwina Pio, Faculty of Business and Law, Auckland University of Technology, Phone: (09) 373 7599 x 87392 or Email: edwina.pio@aut.ac.nz

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 13.08.2012 AUTEC Reference number: 12/198

Appendix C

Participant Consent Form

ONE-ON-ONE INTERVIEW

Project title: ***Ethnicity and Policing: perceptions of the South Asian immigrant community in Auckland.***

Project Supervisor: ***Associate Professor Dr. Edwina Pio, PhD.***

Researcher: ***Sameer Nisar***

- ○ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated dd mm yyyy.
- ○ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ○ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ○ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ○ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- ○ I agree to take part in this research.
- ○ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes○ No○

Participant signature : _____

Participant Name : _____

Participant Contact Details (if appropriate) : _____

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 13/08/2012

AUTEC Reference number: **12/198**

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix D

Information Sheet to collect background information

***Name*:** _____

***Age Group*:** 20-29 ☐ 30-39 ☐ 40-49 ☐ 50-59 ☐ 60+ ☐

***Gender*:** Female ☐ Male ☐

***Country of Origin*:** _____

***Year of Arrival in New Zealand*:** _____

Residency Status: Permanent Resident ☐ Citizen ☐ Work visa ☐

***Area of Residence In Auckland*:** _____

Date: _____

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 13.08.2012
AUTEC Reference number: 12/198