Redrawing lines in the sand?

An examination of discrimination patterns within New Zealand

Stanley Yeung

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Abstract

"In the end, we will remember not the words of our enemies, but the silence of our friends."

(King, n.d.)

This research examined discrimination in New Zealand by uncovering the relationship between discrimination, the student's experiences and their perceptions of New Zealand. Research into discrimination is important, especially with discrimination and xenophobia on the rise overseas as a consequence of the contemporary volatile international political climate (European Union, 2015; Roth, 2017).

This research employed a quantitative research method. A sample of 106 students from Auckland University of Technology were drawn through convenience sampling. The quantitative data was analysed using multiple classification analysis to uncover potential patterns of discrimination. The responses for the open-ended questions was analysed using thematic analysis to help contextualise the quantitative findings. The analysis of the findings utilised a language of rights to provide meaningful and practical insights into how discrimination can be reduced in an equitable and empowering process.

A range of different types of discrimination were explored within this research. An inequity within the discourse of discrimination is highlighted where the rights of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups are favoured while overlooking the rights of others. While this favouritism may be fundamental for the realisation of the rights that the disadvantaged groups are entitled to, this often comes at a price of marginalising other groups as they are blamed or scapegoated for the inequality and discrimination within a society. Moreover, this can lead to resentment towards the disadvantaged groups, thus further entrenching negative bad even discriminatory attitudes.

The elimination of discrimination relies on the deconstruction of underlying social structures that maintain or reinforce prejudice attitudes and stereotypes. Consequently, this research suggests that policy practitioners focus on changing public understandings of discrimination and perceptions of the disadvantaged groups rather than solely relying on retrospective, affirmative action/ positive discrimination.

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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.

Signature:

Stanley Yeung

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This study attained ethical approval by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 10th June 2015, reference number 16/199.

Chapter 1 Introduction

"Article 1.

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

(United Nations, 1948)

1.1 Overview

Everyone should be treated equally, with dignity and respect, and are entitled to a life free from the injustices of inequality and discrimination. This is the simple but fundamental tenet that Human Rights are built upon (United Nations, 1948). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was established in 1948, it was approved by 48 nations, including New Zealand (United Nations, 1947). This signified the day when entitlements to basic human rights became a set of enforceable international laws that are mutually governed by the United Nations (UN) and its member states.

Unfortunately, even after 69 years since the establishment of the Universal Declaration, issues of inequality, prejudice and discrimination continue to plague the contemporary world. Internationally, these issues seem to be worsening, as terrorist attacks intensify and increase in frequency, while segregations form between peoples and countries with an 'us versus them' mentality (European Union, 2015; Laura, 2015; Phipps & Rawlinson, 2015; Roth, 2017; The Local, 2015). Consequently, the rhetoric of hate and blame is becoming part of common and political discourse, given the rise of populist politicians that have used minority groups, refugees and migrants as scapegoats for societal issues (European Union, 2015; Laura, 2015; Roth, 2017). As Heywood (2011) points out, the only entities powerful enough to uphold and promote human rights are states, but the greatest abusers of human rights are also the states themselves.

1.2 The New Zealand Context

New Zealand has always had an emphasis on fairness and equality for all. Everyone is entitled to the same rights and privileges given the promises of the Treaty

of Waitangi, Human Rights Act and the Bill of Rights (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2017; Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2013b, 2015a). As the first country that allowed for women's suffrage, New Zealand was a human rights world leader. However, New Zealand, once celebrated as the fifth 'gender-equal' country worldwide from 2007 to 2010 has since been overtaken by other countries and fallen down to rank 10 in 2015 (World Economic Forum, 2015). This signifies that more can be done to achieve equality in New Zealand (Becares & Das-Munshi, 2013).

Gender inequality is not the only issue in New Zealand. As part of the UN, New Zealand has obligations to report on the status of the country, and its progress towards equality and the elimination of discrimination. The recent report to the UN in 2012 raised concerns of persistent inequalities across numerous grounds such as employment, education, access to adequate housing, and access to social security (Committee on Economic Social and Cultural Rights, 2012). Māori and Pasifika peoples, people with disabilities, young people and women were all identified as the most marginalised groups who are consistently disadvantaged in their enjoyment of social, economic, and cultural rights (Committee on Economic Social and Cultural Rights, 2012). Furthermore, a number of reports have highlighted possible structural discrimination against people of Māori descent within the justice system, whereby Māori people are several times more likely to be apprehended, prosecuted and convicted, often with heavier sentences, compared to any other ethnic groups (Morrison, 2009; Workman, 2011); racism against people of Māori descent by educators within higher education institutions (N. Jones, 2014); workplace discrimination against migrants from Asia and the Pacific Islands (Daldy, Poot, & Roskruge, 2013); and the persistence of age discrimination from employers against older workers acting as barriers into the workforce (M. Wilson, Parker, & Kan, 2007). Additionally, according to the New Zealand Health Surveys in 2003 and 2007, rates of discrimination against Asian people have increased by around 7% to 35%, while discrimination against other ethnic minorities remained unchanged at relatively high levels; 29.5% for Māori people and 23% for Pacific people (Harris et al., 2012). The persistence of high levels of discrimination signifies the importance of examining overall patterns of discrimination to provide a better overview of the issues underlying New Zealand's society.

1.3 Research Topic

The current study seeks to examine the prevalence of discrimination in New Zealand, from the perspectives of students in tertiary education. A human rights-based approach is used as the main analytical perspective to discuss the findings. This approach is the most suitable for the study of discrimination due to its emphasis on equality while concurrently prioritising the rights of the vulnerable disadvantaged. Practical recommendations will be made for the purpose of combating discrimination on a macro level in New Zealand. Five research questions were formed to fulfil the key objectives of this research. Research question four differs from the traditional perspective for discrimination studies that seeks to understand discrimination from the standpoint of the discrimination victims. Instead, this research will examine discrimination from both the victim's and perpetrator's point of view, and thereby provide a unique insight into discrimination in New Zealand.

1.3.1 Research Questions

RQ 1. How frequently do university students experience discrimination and which groups experience the most discrimination?

RQ 2. How are university students discriminated against?

RQ 3. How does discriminatory treatment affect university students?

RQ 4. Are students willing to disclose whether they have discriminated against others?

RQ 5. How do students perceive New Zealand in terms of discrimination, diversity and ease of self-expression?

1.3.2 Hypothesis

The following hypotheses are based on the findings of past research. Hypothesis one, four and six are based on a recent study on discrimination patterns from the General Social Survey dataset by Yeung and Crothers (2016). The study found that around 17.1% of the population reported experienced discrimination in 2014. Based on this, the researcher supposed that around 20% of the sample will report being discriminated against, as stated in hypothesis one. Hypothesis four is the antithesis of this, and because of social desirability bias, it was hypothesised that a

much lower number of respondents (less than 10%) will confess to discriminating against others. In the study by Yeung and Crothers (2016), a contradiction of perceptions was found where discrimination was perceived to be a prevalent issue even though New Zealand is seen as an accepting country that promoted diversity, human rights and personal freedom. This consequently led to hypothesis six, Hypothesis two, three and four are based on the general consensus within the literature on discrimination.

H1.   Less than 20 percent of the respondents will report experiencing discrimination over the last 12 months.

H2.   Minority and vulnerable groups are more likely to experience discrimination overall. These groups include Māori and Pasifika, women, individual who identify as LGBT.

H3.   Most discriminatory actions will be passive, subtle acts such as negative attitudes and avoidance, rather than overt acts such as verbal or physical abuse.

H4.   Most respondents will simply ignore or accept discriminatory actions against them.

H5.   Less than 10 percent of the respondents will reveal their discriminatory behaviours.

H6.   New Zealand will be perceived as accepting of diversity and promotes the expression of one's self. However, discrimination will be viewed as an increasingly problematic issue.

1.4 Methodology

This research follows a realist epistemology informed by a post-positivist meta-theoretical perspective. There has been extensive research on discrimination and human rights, within both international and New Zealand contexts. This research will begin with an in-depth review of the extensive literature, focusing on the various perspectives so that a balanced argument is presented. To answer the research questions, this research will employ self-administered web surveys. The survey questions will be based on the general social survey conducted by Statistics New

Zealand (2013), the Omnibus survey carried out by the Human Rights Commission (2011), and the Everyday Discrimination Scale by Williams (2012). See Appendix D for the full survey questionnaire. The majority of the questions utilises multiple-choice Likert scale questions. These will provide an overview of the prevalence of discrimination as experienced by the sample. Open-ended questions are also included to help contextualise the dataset as this will allow the respondents to explain their experiences in more detail. The quantitative data from the surveys will be analysed using cross-tabulations and multiple classification analysis. The cross-tabulation analysis will be used to compare the prevalence of discrimination experienced between the various demographic groups. The multiple classification analysis will examine the relationship between demographic factors and likelihood of experiencing discrimination. This will uncover the underlying social structures that are perpetuating discrimination in New Zealand. Next, the open-ended questions will be examined using thematic analysis. The findings are then interpreted using a human rights-based approach.

1.5 Structure of Thesis

This chapter introduced the topic of discrimination and human rights, and how these are situated within the context of New Zealand. This is followed with a brief outline of the rationale and methodology of this research. Chapter two provides an in-depth review of the large body of literature on human rights and discrimination. Related theories, common arguments and gap in the literature are identified. A brief summary of current statistics on discrimination in New Zealand is provided as well for comparison purposes. In Chapter three, a detailed explanation of the methodology used for data collection and analysis, as well as the ethical considerations of the study are provided. Additionally, the philosophical perspective of the researcher is discussed, providing justification for the research method. The findings from the quantitative and qualitative analysis are presented in chapter 4. Finally, chapter five combines the previous chapters to discuss implications of this research and its findings for policy makers in New Zealand. Evidence is provided to answer each research question and demonstrate whether the hypothesis is supported or rejected. The contributions, and limitations of this research, as well as future research directions are then detailed.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Overview

This literature review will begin with an outline of what human rights are, and how it can be operationalised as an analytic tool for examining social issues such as discrimination. Next, the vast body of literature on discrimination will be summarised, with a focus on the mechanisms around causes and effects of discrimination, as well as the various ways it is carried out in contemporary times. This is followed by a consolidation of relevant quantitative studies that examined overall patterns of discrimination in New Zealand. This review will help contextualise the current research while providing a comprehensive theoretical background to support the analysis of this research's findings. The methodology of the research is also informed by this review.

2.2 Human Rights

Human rights are the universal basic rights and freedoms every individual should be entitled to have, with no restrictions based on characteristics such as race or gender (Nickel, 2014). In 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the UN established an internationally recognised set of human rights (United Nations, 1948). These rights were then incorporated as part of New Zealand Law in 1990 through the Bill of Rights Act (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2013b). This was expanded upon with provisions that protected the people of New Zealand from unlawful discrimination through the Human Rights Act in 1993 (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2015a). Some basic human rights are briefly described in the following provisions (Human Rights Commission, n.d.-b):

- Right to life and liberty
- Freedom of expression
- Equality before the law
- Right to be free from discrimination

- Right to participate in culture
- Right to work
- Right to an adequate standard of living
- Right to education

2.3 Human Rights-Based Approach

Using a rights-based approach to examine social policy issues directs the discourse towards a more equitable and empowering perspective (Boesen & Martin, 2007; Geiringer & Palmer, 2007). The rights-based approach differs from the traditional needs-based approach through its emphasis on the realization and protection of an individual's entitlements while also recognising their needs (Geiringer & Palmer, 2007). This distinction attaches moral and legal obligations related to the needs of any individual in a society to duty-bearers (usually the state), thereby ensuring that people's rights are protected and fulfilled while placing accountability on the duty-bearers (McGregor, Bell, & Wilson, 2016).

From the rights-based approach perspective, people are not passive individuals, but are active participants in society who can and should be empowered to exercise their rights (Hamm, 2001). The rights-based approach empowers people to participate and contribute to their society, shaping it rather than be shaped by it (Hamm, 2001). Additionally, the state has an obligation to protect those who lack the ability to claim their rights they are entitled to, for example, people with disabilities (Geiringer & Palmer, 2007). Furthermore, the concept of the 'deserving and the undeserving poor' is absent from the human rights discourse, as this concept would imply that human rights should be earned through work or other means. Instead, human rights are a universal entitlement afforded to all human beings, by virtue of their humanity (Geiringer & Palmer, 2007). This universal entitlement implies that everyone is of equal standing.

The protection and promotion of rights is however prioritised based on an individual's circumstances, where the needs of one may supersede another's needs if it is deemed more vital and important (Geiringer & Palmer, 2007). Moreover, the rights-based approach can address issues of inequality by favouring those who are considered more vulnerable in society when a conflict in rights entitlement occurs; namely women, children, minorities and people with disabilities (McGregor et al., 2016). Of course, such corrective measures will be removed once equality has been

reached or when the targeted groups are no longer considered vulnerable or disadvantaged (United Nations, 1965, 1979). This is important since these corrective measures can maintain current inequalities, or even lead to new forms inequalities if they were to remain indefinitely (United Nations, 1965, 1979).

A right-based approach focuses on the underlying factors and structures that have allowed the perpetuation of issues such as inequality or poverty within society rather than an individual's circumstances or capabilities (Boesen & Martin, 2007). Lastly, there is also a hierarchy within the set of human rights based on the importance of the right, for example, the right to life and liberty will take precedence over the right to participate in culture (Nickel, 2014).

While the Universal Declaration of Human Rights does not specify any order of importance to the list of Human Rights, certain rights were classified as non-derogable or 'core rights' in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, as well as International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Non-derogable rights are rights that states should never derogate even in emergency situations where the nation may be threatened (United Nations, 2013). These non-derogable rights are universally understood as central tenets that every human is able to enjoy, the violations of these rights can be regarded as 'evil'. Therefore, placing these rights higher on the hierarchy than other rights. The following table is an example of a hierarchy of human rights based on the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (United Nations, 2013).

Table 1: Hierarchy of Human Rights Example

Level of Importance	Human Rights Clause from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
No derogation is permitted, even in national emergency	Right to life and prohibition of arbitrary deprivation of life
	Prohibition of torture or cruel, inhuman, or degrading punishment or treatment
	Prohibition of scientific or medical experimentation without consent
	Freedom from slavery and prohibition of slave trade and servitude
	Freedom from imprisonment due to an inability to fulfil contractual obligations
	Criminal liability and punishment much be clearly and precisely laid out in the law
	Right to recognition as a person before the law
	Freedom of thought, conscience, and religion
	Freedom from collective punishments
	Freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention and deprivation of liberty
Level of Importance	Human Rights Clause from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
Can only be derogated from during public emergency which threatens life of nation	Right to participate in government, access public employment without discrimination, and vote
	Freedom to form and join trade unions
	Equal protection for all
	Right to fair and public hearing, and to be presumed innocent
	Protection of personal and family privacy and integrity
	Freedom of internal movement and choice of residence
	Right to leave and return to one's country
	Freedom of opinion, expression, assembly, and association

Level of Importance	Human Rights Clause from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
Take steps to offer in non-discriminatory way	Right to employment
	Entitlement to a minimum or adequate access to food, clothing, housing, medical care, social security and basic education
	Right to engage and benefit from cultural, scientific, literary, and artistic expression

However, there are contradicting arguments around which human right should be non-derogable and should be considered as more important than others. The primary argument is that some human rights are dependent on the non-derogable rights listed above. Whereby, the violation of people's right to life, or physical security will prevent them from exercising their entitlement to other human rights (Farer, 1992). For example, if an individual die from starvation, other rights such as freedom of opinion and expression becomes irrelevant. Shue (1980) further argues that a person's basic rights should be extended to include a sense of security over and above the simple protection of life. This security refers to all liberties related to the enjoyment of subsistence rather than the bare minimum needed for survival, including meaningful social and political participation (Shue, 1980).

2.4 Defining Discrimination

Since 1948, when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was established by the UN, discrimination has been an important human rights issue for policymakers around the world (United Nations, 1948). After this several further international human rights treaties were formulated to combat discrimination globally, namely the International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Covenant on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Covenant against discrimination in Education, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Rights of All Persons with Disabilities, among others (McGregor, Bell, & Wilson, 2005; United Nations, 1965, 1979; United Nations Education, 1960). Discrimination is deemed as an impeachment of an individual's right to live with the fundamental freedoms in the fields of economic, social, political,

cultural, civil or any other contexts (United Nations, 1965, 1979, 2009). While many countries adhere to the principles of equality and anti-discrimination for all as set out by organisations such as the UN and Amnesty International, discrimination is still prevalent if not worsening, even in developed countries (Amnesty International, 2015).

The declaration and the various covenants are instrumental in combating discrimination as they require states to ensure formal and substantive equality for its citizens. Formal equality refers to equal treatment before the law, but this does not translate to an equality of outcomes (Human Rights Commission, 2010). The difference in outcomes can be caused by past inequalities as well as on-going discriminatory practices and attitudes, alongside individual differences and circumstances (Human Rights Commission, 2010). An equality of treatment will therefore further entrench existing inequalities (Human Rights Commission, 2010). An equality of outcomes, or substantive equality, will require differential treatment of certain groups to remedy past inequalities and close the gap between the disadvantaged and the advantaged in a society (Human Rights Commission, 2010).

In New Zealand, discrimination has been defined within the Human Rights Act (1993) as when a person is treated unfairly or less favourably than another person in the same or similar circumstance resulting in a disadvantage (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2015a). Discrimination can occur as exclusion, rejection or harassment. Discrimination is prohibited by law on the following grounds: gender, marital status, religious belief, ethical belief, colour, race, ethnic or national origins, disability, age, political opinion, employment status, family status, and sexual orientation. Following the provisions for substantive equality in the international covenants; measures that may be discriminatory in nature made on good faith to better the position of those historically disadvantaged as a consequence of unlawful discrimination do not constitute discrimination in New Zealand (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2013b).

Within the wider literature, discrimination often has a more specific meaning, highlighting disadvantages as the direct result of prejudice; exclusion; oppression; harassment; structural/ institutional inequality; psychological and/or physical abuse; prevention of access to education, places, land, housing or employment (Berger, Rosenholtz, & Zeldtich, 1980; Krieger, 2001; Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2015a; United Nations, 1965, 1979). Each individual can be victim to numerous types of

discrimination as they can have a number of stigmatised traits, for example, an elderly transgender male who is African. Stigmatised individuals often attribute their discriminatory experience to their stigma as they perceive that as the most likely reason (Pinel & Bosson, 2014).

2.4.1 Stigma

Following the work by (Goffman, 1963), stigma refer to the signifiers that denote a negative trait or identity of an individual or a 'stamp of disapproval' (Sayce, 1998). These traits and identities however are not inherently bad, such as skin colour, social and economic status, or occupation, but are assigned negative connotations through common beliefs within a society. Stigma is therefore a type of negative stereotyping that can lead to prejudice, differential treatment and discrimination (Goffman, 1963). People often act upon these stigmas based on these stereotypes and assumptions regardless of the true nature or identity of the stigmatised individual or group. This leads to a formation of a 'virtual social identity' for the stigmatised individual or group (Goffman, 1963). This virtual social identity segregates the stigmatised individuals from the 'normal' people and labels them as abnormal or even not quite human in an extreme sense (Goffman, 1963). These negative beliefs are normalised within societies and are often internalised by stigmatised individuals, whereby these beliefs form the basis of negative attitudes towards one's self (Goffman, 1963). A stigmatised individual may try to conceal their stigma - to blend in, so they are not discriminated against, thereby appearing and acting as if they are 'normal'. However, low self-esteem, personal dis-empowerment, and constant fear of discrimination are potential consequences of internalised stigma (Mcdonald & Peterson, 2007).

Stigma implies a responsibility on the stigmatised individual rather than placing responsibility on the individual, groups or society that is acting on the stigma in the form of discriminatory actions (Sayce, 1998). Therefore, a distinction should be made between stigma and discrimination, whereby discrimination is an external force, an action from other people, institutions or wider society towards an individual or group leading to differential treatment. Discrimination in turn reinforces internalised stigmatism.

Yet, some have argued that internalisation of stigma may have a positive effect, regardless of the real cause of the discriminatory experience. Whereas many scholars

such as Goffman (1963) and Herek (2007) suggest that stigmatised individuals would internalise negative public beliefs; scholars such as Pinel and Bosson (2014) argue that being self-conscious of one's stigma can help people deal with experiences of discrimination. Rather than attributing the discriminatory treatment as the fault of their stigma or themselves, they place the responsibility on the people with discriminatory and prejudiced attitudes, thus reaffirming their self-esteem and are empowered instead (Pinel & Bosson, 2014). This perspective is important when studying discrimination, as discrimination occurs both externally and internally. Stigmatised individuals can also perpetuate and legitimise negative public beliefs if they accept these beliefs as part of their stigmatised status, and shape their attitudes towards themselves (Mcdonald & Peterson, 2007; Pinel & Bosson, 2014). Therefore, a focus on altering both general public belief and how stigmatised individuals understand and perceive their stigma is important for lowering discrimination or at least its effects.

2.4.2 Privilege

Privilege refers to socially constructed advantage that people have or denied depending on certain characteristics they have or groups they belong to (Johnson, 2001). This advantage affords people a certain level of respect, inclusion and acceptance (Johnson, 2001). Privilege also places people into a position of power, where they can alter social situations, make judgements that remain culturally and socially meaningful (Johnson, 2001). It essentially provides a sense of superiority and entitlement over others (Johnson, 2001).

The privileges afforded to some can act as an oppressive force on those who benefit from such privilege. For example, New (2001) points to how men are oppressed and disadvantaged by their male privilege, as this privilege dictates what men can and cannot do. While this privilege affords them power, the social constructed concept of masculinity prevents men from expressing their emotions, interests or their 'selves. Conversely, some argue that men benefit from the oppression of women as the oppressors, therefore cannot be mistreated by the privilege due to their position of power (Johnson, 2001). Johnson (2001) suggested that those in privileged positions cannot understand nor sympathise with the victims of discrimination and their experiences as they have not been oppressed by social structures of race, gender or inequality (Johnson, 2001). However, those perceived to hold privilege due to their

race as a European or gender as a male does not entitle them complete immunity to discrimination as they might have other characteristics such as sexuality that cause them to be discriminated against. Even so, Johnson (2001) argues that since men will not experience discrimination for their gender, they cannot understand how women experience discrimination. Therefore, their participation in the discussion for gender equality will only serve to maintain the inequality between the genders. Contrarily, some argue the participation of men, and those in privileged positions, is needed for equality to be achieved, as this will help foster understand of differences as well as similarities in perspectives and needs between the groups (Ayvazian, 2010; hooks, 2000; Klocke, 2013; New, 2001).

These opposing beliefs are prevalent among scholars and non-scholars in New Zealand as well, this was evident in a recent discussion about whether one can be racist against a white, European New Zealander (Auckland University of Technology, 2017). The scholars involved in this discussion focused on the power difference between the majority and the minority, whereby the minority lacked the power and privilege to negatively affect the opportunities available to members of the majority ethnic group (Auckland University of Technology, 2017). However, the scholar's understanding of racism directly opposed how non-scholars surveyed in that discussion perceived racism. From the non-scholar's perspective, anyone can experience racism, regardless of their ethnicity, gender or relative social or political power (Auckland University of Technology, 2017). While it may be true that on a macro level, racism by the majority against a minority can have significant implications for the victims, such as diminished life opportunities; this argument of power overlooks the power and agency an individual can have over another, and as discussed above, discrimination of any form can have major consequences for the victims.

The examination of the literature on discrimination will be split into five dimensions: motivations to discriminate; discriminatory action; context of discriminatory treatment; effects of discrimination; the larger societal context. These dimensions have been studied extensively in relation to each other over the last few decades. Each of these dimensions will be examined in one of the following sections.

2.5 Motivations to Discriminate

It has been widely accepted by scholars that discrimination is primarily based on group membership. Those who consider themselves as a group member will act in favour towards people from the same group and negatively towards other groups (Mummendey & Otten, 2001; Sassenberg, Kessler, & Mummendey, 2003; Sherif, White, & Harvey, 1955). Groups often form based on commonalities between individuals, such as gender, religion, and the neighbourhood they live in. The forms of the discrimination and perceived reasons attributed to the discrimination (why an individual or a group is discriminating, or the perceived reason attributed to a discrimination experience by a victim) has been largely attributed to two factors. Firstly, power relations between groups are formed based on prior knowledge and understandings of a group and their characteristics within the larger social context that they exist within (Sherif et al., 1955). These power relations are often unequal due to access to and distribution of resources, and group size; majority versus minority (Sherif et al., 1955). Secondly, the prior knowledge and understandings, whether true or not, often become self-fulfilling as they become the expected action or reaction during interactions between these groups (Sherif et al., 1955); thereby compelling certain groups to act or be perceived in a particular manner.

Berger et al. (1980) suggested that groups react differently to each other as a consequence of the preconceived power relations within the social structure and thus will act as expected according to the pre-constructed understandings. Hence, the unequal power structures are held stable as a result of the interactions and experiences shared between these groups, leading to discrimination between groups (Berger et al., 1980; Sherif et al., 1955). For example, an individual who does not belong to the dominant ethnic group may expect or experience discriminatory treatment as a common occurrence, and thus are more likely to perceive negative events as the result of discrimination. Therefore, the individual is more averse to interacting with or might react more negatively to individuals from other groups due to the fear of discrimination (Berger et al., 1980; Sherif et al., 1955).

In contemporary societies, discrimination persists in more convert forms and may even be unintentional and sub/unconscious, but continues to systematically disadvantage many groups (Nier & Gaertner, 2012). However, recently there has been

a rise in overt discrimination in the form of nativism, xenophobia and racism within public discourse (Roth, 2017). This is evident in countries like the Americas, the United Kingdom, Australia as well as countries within the European Union over the last few years (European Union, 2015; Roth, 2017). The rhetoric of rights among populist politicians has shifted from the protection of all towards the protection of the majority. Minority groups, refugees and migrants are frequently used as scapegoats for issues such as economic instability, safety and public discontent (Roth, 2017). World leaders such as Putin, Trump, and Duterte have even justified the violations of human rights of certain groups as a necessity for the betterment of their constituents and nation (Roth, 2017).

This form of discriminatory discourse can be seen within New Zealand as well, to a lesser extent. For example, in 2015, the housing spokesman Phil Twyford from the Labour party released statements suggesting the rapid inflation of the Auckland property market was due to (foreign) Chinese buyers, who accounted for 39.5% of the property sales in Auckland between February and April in 2015 (Laura, 2015). However, not only were Twyford's statements based on questionable data gathered using a very limited methodology; these statements also scapegoated people of Chinese descent as the cause of increasing housing unaffordability, potentially leading to a fragmentation of social cohesion. Therefore, while overall levels of discrimination have remained relatively static over the last decade in New Zealand, the increase in discriminatory discourse about minorities overseas as well as within New Zealand may lead to a change to this trend.

2.6 Discriminatory Actions

2.6.1 Prejudice

The most common form of discrimination is prejudice. Prejudice can be simply defined as antipathy founded on a stereotype (Allport, 1954). Stereotypes are beliefs based on rigid and often faulty generalisations of a particular group while disregarding any variations of individual characteristics within the group (Allport, 1954; M. Taylor & Pettigrew, 2000). While prejudice refers only to an attitude that persists within an individual or a group's mind-set, discrimination (differential treatment) is widely agreed to be a direct consequence of prejudice (Banks, Kohn-Wood, & Spencer, 2006; Carlsson & Eriksson, 2017; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). Rather than overt acts of

discrimination, prejudice occurs in a subtle and even unconscious manner, and often persist throughout the daily lives of the stigmatised groups (Banks et al., 2006). The stigmatised groups are often referred to as 'others', accentuating the difference between the various groups and the majority (Viruell-Fuentes, 2007, 2011; Viruell-Fuentes, Miranda, & Abdulrahim, 2012). This process of 'Othering' racial groups can produce and reinforce inequality by placing them into a social hierarchy. Resultantly, this can diminish the life opportunities available to the groups, given their lower social status (Viruell-Fuentes, 2007, 2011; Viruell-Fuentes et al., 2012).

Prejudice also includes preferential treatment, privileges or benefits provided towards an individual or group due to certain characteristics. As mentioned above, this 'positive prejudice' can occur as a form of favouritism towards members of the same group. The institutionalised form of preferential treatment is referred to as 'positive discrimination' or 'affirmative action'. Positive discrimination is often used as a remedy for individuals or groups who have been perceived as disadvantaged as a consequence of past events or inequalities (Dahlerup, 2007; Holzer & Neumark, 2000; Hyman, Klarsfeld, Ng, & Haq, 2012; Norris, 2000). Positive discrimination has been implemented throughout the world in the form of quotas, scholarships and monetary benefits (Dahlerup, 2007; Holzer & Neumark, 2000; Hyman et al., 2012; Norris, 2000). While many scholars have argued on the justice of such discrimination, it has been rather effective for remedying inequalities in political representation and access to education (Dahlerup, 2007; Holzer & Neumark, 2000; Hyman et al., 2012; Norris, 2000). The issue with positive discrimination lies in its justification for targeting certain groups as scholars argue that discrimination is still simply discrimination regardless of its' aim. Many perceive such means as unfair and undermining meritocracy (Bacchi, 2006; Dahlerup, 2008; Noon, 2011). Additionally, the use of affirmative action can have adverse effects on the people it aims to help. For example, the use of gender quotas to increase political representation of women has been rather successful in numerous countries (Dahlerup, 2007; M. P. Jones, 1996; Sawer, Tremblay, & Trimble, 2006; Tremblay, 2008). However, some women within the political sphere have been stigmatised as 'quota women' which undermines their legitimacy, autonomy and political power as a politician (Krook, 2006; Mansbridge, 2005; Norris, 2006). Furthermore, gender quotas can also represent a glass-ceiling for female politicians; as quota women can be entirely tokenistic in nature, where they only function to fulfil

the gender quota and actually hold little or no political power with no opportunity for upwards mobility (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2010; Matland, 2006; Tremblay, 2008; Tripp & Kang, 2008). Therefore, affirmative actions are not always supported by the disadvantaged groups that they aim to help.

In New Zealand, positive discrimination has been legitimized through the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990 as corrective action towards those who have traditionally been unlawfully disadvantaged or discriminated against (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2013b). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights formed the basis for the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990 (Human Rights Commission, n.d.-b). The Bill of Rights by the UN was further developed through numerous conventions on the elimination of all forms of discrimination each with a particular focus such as women, racism, and ableism (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 1979, 2016, n.d.). While positive discrimination is considered both essential and lawful in securing better positions for disadvantaged groups so that equality can be achieved, the bills from the UN all stipulated that such measures shall not continue once the objective of equality is achieved. Furthermore, these corrective measures must not lead to the maintenance of separate or unequal rights afforded to different groups (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 1979, 2016, n.d.). However, the New Zealand Bill of Rights do not contain such conditions on discontinuation for its legalisation of positive discrimination.

2.6.2 Exclusion

Exclusion is when a group is prevented from having equal rights and political participation, or denied access to housing and public services such as education and health care (Pager & Shepherd, 2008). Exclusion also includes segregation, which is the separation of peoples based on characteristics such as ethnicity or religious believes leading to unfair and unequal outcomes for minority or disadvantaged groups (J. Browne, n.d.). However, exclusion can be hard to identify within contemporary societies as it can occur in more subtle forms (Pager & Shepherd, 2008). For example, a study in Washington showed a disproportionate rate of entry into the labour market between white Europeans and African Americans, at a rate of 4.2 time more likely for White Europeans (Bendick, Jackson, & Reinoso, 1994). A more contemporary study in New York shows that such patterns remain prevalent but to a lesser extent, where

a non-white person is half as likely to receive a call-back for a job application compared to a white person (Pager, Western, & Bonikowski, 2009). Furthermore, it was highlighted in the same study that people of Black or Latino descent with no prison background were just as likely to be employed as a white European who have just been released from prison (Pager et al., 2009). These patterns of discrimination in employment have been suggested to be more pronounced for jobs with higher stability, authority and advancement opportunities (Parcel & Mueller, 1983; Smith, 2002). Additionally, it has been demonstrated in another study in the United States that increased qualifications of the applicant only increased the call-back chances for white Europeans but not for other ethnic groups (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004). This exclusion of ethnic groups from meaningful employment is essentially occupational segregation. This segregation will have tremendous detrimental effects on many facets of their lives leading to greatly diminished socio-economic wellbeing while perpetuating inequalities, as well as exposing them to other forms of discrimination (Pager et al., 2009).

2.6.3 Verbal Attacks and Hate Crimes

Discriminatory verbal attacks and harassment occur as derogatory comments or jokes targeting certain characteristics such as gender or race. The effects of verbal abuse vary between individuals, based on several factors such as frequency of discriminatory experiences, coping mechanisms, personal tolerance and social support (Banks et al., 2006; Foster, 2009; Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999; Seller & Shelton, 2003). Contrary to the common belief that discrimination occurs mostly in subtle institutional/ systematic forms rather than overt actions within contemporary societies, a study by Harris et al. (2012) showed that verbal attacks and harassment are the most common forms of discrimination experienced by New Zealanders across all ethnic groups between 2006 and 2007. This is further evidenced by numerous news articles in recent years reporting overt discrimination in New Zealand, some were even considered as hate crimes. For example, an Asian New Zealander who was born and raised in New Zealand featured in a news article when she was 'verbally' attacked on the internet for appearing on a New Zealand advertisement due to her race (Tan, 2017). The victim, Deanna Yang, revealed that getting verbally abused from strangers on the street is a common experience and has been conditioned to accept racial discrimination as part of her daily life (Tan, 2017). Similarly, a Māori New Zealander,

Marsha Whaiapu, reported a series of racial discriminations from her senior co-workers to the Employment Relations Authority (Theunissen, 2017). Marsha Whaiapu was met with indifference when reporting her experiences of racism to her employer, and consequently resigned as the amount of verbal abuse she received overwhelmed her (Theunissen, 2017).

The more extreme cases of discrimination are categorised as hate crimes, whereby the acts of violence or abuse occur due to discriminatory attitudes (Hall, 2005; Moran, 2000; Tiby, 2009). The victimisation of hate crimes has been differentiated from the experiences of victims of other crimes, whereby the effects have been identified as significantly more harmful comparatively (Funnell, 2015; Herek, Cogan, & Gillis, 2002; McDevitt, Levin, Nolan, & Bennett, 2010). A study by Funnell (2015) showed that victims of hate crimes experience a range of psychological and behaviour alterations through the process of victimisation. This process refers to the acknowledgment and transformative process during which the individual realises they are a victim of a crime. Funnell (2015) argued that the victimization process is similar to that of Goffman's (1961) 'role dispossession' experienced by inmates in total institutions, whereby the victims isolate themselves from their lives before their experience of hate crime and the outside world. Additionally, the victims often experience a sense of loss, or mortification, akin to that of losing a child or a partner as they remove themselves from their life prior to the hate crime (Funnell, 2015; Goffman, 1961). However, Funnell (2015) highlights that the experience of victimization may differ between individuals due to factors such as age and gender.

New Zealand has fortunately been mostly immune to the recent trend of increasing xenophobia in numerous countries over the past few years, namely the United States and United Kingdom. However, concerns about a potential increase in discrimination and hate crimes in New Zealand were raised following a racially motivated attack on a Muslim woman in 2017 (Stuff, 2017). As noted in a book by McGregor et al. (2016), there is currently no measure for the persistence of hate crimes or its various characteristics in New Zealand as hate crimes are considered to be covered under other forms of crime by the judicial systems in New Zealand. Consequently, this limits New Zealand's potential to understand, and eliminate extreme forms of discrimination.

2.7 Context of Discriminatory Treatments From a scientific/ biological point-of-view, all humans are classified as the same race. However, there has always been a focus on the inherent differences between people, which has led to the categorisations of people by race, gender, sexuality and so on (Goodman, Moses, & Jones, 2012). This categorisation has a huge influence on how people may experience every aspect of their lives (Goodman et al., 2012). For example, race is no longer defined merely in a biological sense, instead it has been attributed meaning and evolved to into an idea of difference (Goodman et al., 2012). This idea of difference was founded from the markers of race, such as skin colour, creating an illusion of 'us' and/ against 'them' distinctions (Goodman et al., 2012). This is different from the ethnicity category, as ethnicity refers to the language, culture and heritage that are attached to the race as a form of identity (Taylor, 2013). People often act a certain way towards different people as they regularly assume that people of any particular race or ethnicity to exhibit certain characteristics and traits. This rigid generalisation is called racial stereotyping and is seen as one of the primary basis for racial discrimination, be it conscious or subconscious (Taylor, 2013). These principles can also be applied to other categories such as gender and sexuality and religious beliefs.

Discrimination most commonly occurs based on a prejudice towards or the stereotyping of an individual's race/ethnicity, sex/ gender, or sexual orientation. Other types of discrimination such as ableism, ageism and classism are also present in contemporary societies like New Zealand. While the severity of the different types of discrimination varies between different countries and societies, the effects and principles are similar. The main contextual causes of discrimination will be detailed below.

2.7.1 Racial Discrimination

Discrimination based on race and ethnicities are termed as racism. Racism differs from other forms of discrimination as it has mainly been associated with the oppression and subjugation of one (or more) ethnic group by another (Quillian, 2006). Racial discrimination originates from the belief that the dominant group is superior to other ethnic groups, leading to practices to maintain such beliefs (Quillian, 2006). Similar to the privilege argument, scholars such as W. J. Wilson (1973) argued that within the power relationship between the subjugated group and the dominant group,

racial discrimination can only occur in one direction; the dominant group discriminating against the subjugated group; since the subjugated group cannot oppress the dominant group.

Racism can be classified into four main types: symbolic racism, modern racism, ideological refinement and laissez-faire racism. Symbolic racism is the prejudice stemming from a biased attitude taught throughout one's upbringing and environment (Sears, 1988). Individuals with symbolic racist beliefs do not perceive themselves as racist, and may even be opposed to racism (Sears & Henry, 2002). Modern racism originates from the belief that discrimination is no longer an issue (McConahay, 1986). And since the stigmatised groups are no longer stigmatised, an unfair society will result as these groups continue to fight for additional rights (McConahay, 1986). Ideological refinement is when high public support for equality is met with governmental inaction, therefore allowing discrimination and inequality to persist (Jackman, 1994). Laissez-faire racism is also based on stereotypes and beliefs that the minority is inferior (Bobo, Kluegel, & Smith, 1997). Laissez-faire racism places blame on the minorities for economic issues and therefore justifying the discrimination (Bobo et al., 1997). Resultantly, laissez-faire racism increases resistance towards active policies aimed at reducing inequalities (Bobo et al., 1997). Ideological refinement and laissez-faire racism both involve seeing other/ minority groups as threats (Bobo et al., 1997; Jackman, 1994). This idea is supported by studies showing that the size of the minority group in a society is a relative measure of perceived threat by the majority group threats. This is then realised as negative attitudes against the minority groups and any political mobilisations that might better their position are perceived as threats (Bobo et al., 1997; Jackman, 1994). The ideological basis for these forms of racism can be similarly applied to other forms of discrimination such as sexism.

Minorities, such as immigrants, might be more likely to experience discrimination from the majority group members in any particular society as they might be seen as more of a threat than other groups (Bergamaschi, 2013). The majority might fear that, as a consequence of immigration, economic and social stability might be threatened, as well as their well-being (Bergamaschi, 2013; Blumer, 1958; R. A. Levine & Campbell, 1972). Additionally, the majority fear that a clash of cultures might occur, often leading to resentment and prejudice towards the immigrants and other foreign minorities (Bergamaschi, 2013).

For immigration and diversity, acculturation is an important factor. Acculturation is the process during which an individual or group adjusts to a new culture through continuous interactions with other cultures that differ from where they might originate (Schenker & Campos, 2008). Several studies have shown that that skin colour might not be a strong motive for discrimination, instead associate discrimination with phenotypic characters, dress codes and or accents of an individual or group, in essence their culture (Abdulrahim, James, Yamout, & Baker, 2012; L. N. Borrell, Kiefe, Williams, Diez-Roux, & Gordon-Larsen, 2006). Minorities identifying as the part of majority to draw upon their privileges are more affected by discrimination than those who distance themselves from the majority as a buffer against discrimination (Mossakowski, 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). It has been suggested that those who have not acculturated might not perceive treatment as discrimination but rather as normative behaviour and reactions of the (native) people (Abdulrahim et al., 2012). Here, 'normative' behaviours and attitudes are simply what is perceived as the average or most common/ prevalent within a society. For example, it is normative behaviour to tip for services in countries such as the Americas but it is not so in New Zealand. Those who have acculturated understand the social structures and behaviour of the people, thus understand when and how they might be discriminated against (Abdulrahim et al., 2012). Hence, they might be more sensitive to discrimination (Abdulrahim et al., 2012).

2.7.2 Gender Discrimination

Discrimination based on gender, 'sexism', has traditionally been based on the ideas that one sex is biologically better than the other (Charles, 2011). Socially contracted stereotypes are packaged as gender roles, ascribing certain traits to each sex through common beliefs and thereby differentiating and limiting them (Charles, 2011). Women are emotional, natural caretakers, and domestic, while men are strong, apathetic, and bread winners (Hackman, 2010). Traditionally, these gender roles were perceived as oppressive social structures to dominate women and maintain the patriarchal society (Hackman, 2010). However, the discourse has since shifted its focus onto how gender roles are oppressive to both men and women (Hackman, 2010).

While the feminist movements brought changes to both the social structure and perceptions regarding women; starting with realizing women's right to vote, then with activism targeting issues of equality in terms of family, employment, women from ethnic minorities and sexuality. There is a common consensus within the literature that suggests women are still disadvantaged through obscured and overt discrimination (C. Borrell et al., 2010; Charles, 2011; Dahlerup, 2008; McGregor, 2014; OECD, 2015). Discrepancies between the genders in employment (both paid and unpaid), higher education and political representation were used by numerous studies illustrated that sexism may still persist in contemporary societies (C. Borrell et al., 2010; Charles, 2011; Dahlerup, 2008; McGregor, 2014; OECD, 2015).

As a remedy, gender quotas, either institutionalised as law or self-enforced by separate entities as soft quotas, have been used worldwide to increase women's accessibility to areas that are traditionally male-dominated (Dahlerup, 2008). Even though the use of quotas has been widely contested, they have been effective in increasing women's participation in many instances, particularly in terms of political representation, thus decreasing exclusionary practices (Bacchi, 2006; Baldez, 2006; Dahlerup, 2008; Nanivadekar, 2006). As evidenced in countries such as Argentina, Australia, Costa Rica, Norway, Rwanda, and Norway, where the substantial increase in political representation have been contributed to the implementation of gender quotas (Dahlerup, 2007; M. P. Jones, 1996; Sawer et al., 2006; Tremblay, 2008). The proportion of women to men in legislatures worldwide increased substantially, from 11.7% in January 1997 to 22% in September 2015 (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 1997, 2015; Quota Project, n.d). However, in New Zealand, the proportion of female to male within the parliament has remained static, where female representation in parliament ranged between 29% to 32% since 1996 to 2014 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).

The gender pay gap is prevalent in most countries, where women tend to have lower pay than men overall (OECD, 2012). The gender pay gap can be perceived as empirical evidence of the perpetuation of discriminatory social norms and gender roles ascribed to women (OECD, 2012). New Zealand has the 6th lowest gender pay gap worldwide at 6.08% (unadjusted) below the male median wage (OECD, 2015). However, a recent report commissioned by the Ministry for Women found that after adjusting for a range of factors (personal, household, educational, regional, industry, occupation and other job characteristics), there remains a 12.71% gender pay gap

(Pacheco, Li, & Cochrane, 2017). This demonstrates that the gender pay gap has not changed since 2003, when a study by Dixon (2004) found a 12.8% gender pay gap. Historically, the gender pay gap was thought to be a consequence of the differences between men and women in the factors mentioned above. However, the report by Pacheco et al. (2017) demonstrated that these factors only explained roughly 20% of the gender pay gap. The other 80% is due to "unexplained" factors relating to conscious and unconscious bias and societal attitudes towards women (Pacheco et al., 2017).

2.7.3 Sexual Orientation Discrimination

Discrimination based on sexual orientation has largely been discussed in terms of general prejudice and institutional discrimination through exclusion. Some examples of institutional discrimination against the LGBT community include the exclusion from the right to marriage in many countries (Carroll & Itaborahy, 2015; International lesbian gay bisexual trans and intersex association, 2015; Olson, Cadge, & Harrison, 2006), and in the more extreme cases, the illegalisation of homosexual behaviour and people in 75 States worldwide (Carroll & Itaborahy, 2015). Such laws, in combination with the condemnation by some religious bodies, ego defensive behaviour and ignorance have allowed prejudice, stereotypes and stigmatisation to continue against LGBT communities (Arabsheibani, Marin, & Wadsworth, 2004; Ineson, Yap, & Whiting, 2013). Since 2001, numerous countries and various States in America have legalised same-sex marriage, however the underlying prejudice has largely remained.

Studies have found that LGBT individuals are likely to experience much higher levels of discrimination as a consequence of their sexual orientation (Mays & Cochran, 2001; Meyer, 2003). A study in United States found that members of the LGBT community were around 11% more likely to experience discrimination compared to their heterosexual counterparts (Mays & Cochran, 2001). Of those who reported discrimination, around 42% of LGBT individuals attributed this as a consequence of their sexual orientation, as opposed to only 2% of heterosexual individuals (Mays & Cochran, 2001). This study also identified a higher likelihood of exhibiting mental disorders such as depression and heighten psychological distress for LGBT individuals (Mays & Cochran, 2001). Additionally, various studies demonstrated that

stressors such as prejudice and discrimination are associated with the higher levels of substance use disorder and mental disorders among LGBT individuals (Meyer, 2003).

In many countries, transgender, gender diverse and intersexed individuals are also faced with lack of legal recognition for their sex/ gender, leading to disadvantages in education, employment, health care and are often denied basic human rights (Asia Pacific Forum of National Human Rights Institutions & United Nations Development Programme, 2016). Both intersex and transgender individuals are often denied gender-affirming health services necessary for them to have anatomy that matches their gender-identity. This is considered as a violation to their right to the highest attainable standard of health (Asia Pacific Forum of National Human Rights Institutions & United Nations Development Programme, 2016). Furthermore, transgender, gender diverse and intersexed individuals are treated as criminals in countries where homosexuality is still illegal (Asia Pacific Forum of National Human Rights Institutions & United Nations Development Programme, 2016).

New Zealand achieved marriage equality through the Marriage (definition of marriage) amendment act in 2013 (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2013a). The amendments clarified that the legal sex, sexual orientation or gender identity of the person has no bearing on their rights to marriage (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2013a). In this form, transgender individuals are also given the right to marriage.

2.8 The Effects of Discrimination

Discrimination is a key influence on an individual's or a group's well-being and overall health, as well as socioeconomic position, inequalities in health, employment, housing, wealth and criminal justice (Barnes et al., 2008; Gee & Ford, 2011; Harris et al., 2006a, 2006b; Hudson, Puterman, Bibbins-Domingo, Matthews, & Adler, 2013; Pavalko, Mossakowski, & Hamilton, 2003; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). Some studies show that an experience of discrimination is a highly stressful and significant traumatic life event (Kessler et al., 1999). Such experiences have been compared to negative life events such as divorce, job loss and even the passing of a loved one (Kessler et al., 1999).

More specifically, discrimination has been attributed as a main cause of poorer health outcomes (Agudelo-Suarez et al., 2009; Becares & Das-Munshi, 2013; Pavalko et al., 2003); increased emotional and psychological distress, leading to depression

and anxiety (Abdulrahim et al., 2012; Banks et al., 2006); reduced health quality and increased mortalities rates for the elderly (Barnes et al., 2008; Luo, Xu, Granberg, & Wentworth, 2011) and ethnic minorities (R. S. Levine et al., 2001); diminished life opportunities as well as lower socioeconomic positions and outcomes (Agudelo-Suarez et al., 2009; Bendick et al., 1994; Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004); those who have traits from multiple stigmatised groups are more likely to experience discrimination and resultantly have higher levels of psychological morbidity and lower access to life opportunities (I. Browne & Misra, 2003; Massey & Lundy, 2001; Meyer, 2003). Moreover, some suggest that these negative consequences can affect later generations of the victims of discrimination (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004). The parent's poor employment or health status can limit their ability to properly support and nurture the later generations (Blank et al., 2004).

The strength of the negative effects of discrimination differs between individuals and groups depending on a number of factors, these include individual characteristics (gender, age, and culture), coping strategies, frequency/ perceived prevalence of discriminatory experiences, and type of discrimination. Studies in America have shown that while males reported more experiences of discrimination compared to women, there was little difference between men and women in terms of depression levels as a consequence of discriminatory treatment (Banks et al., 2006; Kessler et al., 1999; Seller & Shelton, 2003). However, women reported more symptoms of anxiety than men (Banks et al., 2006; Kessler et al., 1999; Seller & Shelton, 2003).

Victims of discrimination can adopt a range of different coping strategies, for example, acceptance; denial (not believing the experience was real/ discriminatory); changing the situation to reduce discrimination; self-distraction (focusing on work); seeking emotional support; substance use; seeking help; humour; and positive reframing (focusing on positives) (Carver, 1997). These strategies can be split into active strategies and inactive strategies (Carver, 1997). Active strategies aim to resolve the issue of discrimination while inactive strategies involve inaction and often lead to feelings of helplessness (Foster, 2009). A study by Foster (2009) demonstrated that the perceived pervasiveness of discrimination within a society alters both the effects of discrimination on an individual, as well as coping strategies. People who perceived high pervasiveness of discrimination adopted inactive coping strategies initially but switches to active strategies over time. Similarly, people who perceived low

pervasiveness are likely to adopt active strategies at the start, then switch over to inactive strategies over time (Foster, 2009).

Within the New Zealand context, studies by Harris et al. (2006b) based on the New Zealand Health Survey in 2002/2003 found that ethnic minorities such as Māori people suffer around ten times more instances of racial discrimination compared to their European counterparts. Significantly lowered self-rated health, life expectancy, physical functioning, and mental health as well as increased chance for cardiovascular disease has been attributed as a consequence of these discriminatory experiences (Harris et al., 2006a; Idler & Benyamini, 1997). Additionally, victims of discrimination are more likely to have health issues related to smoking, hazardous drinking and obesity (Harris et al., 2012). Subtle or structural discrimination is also present in New Zealand, acting as a barrier to meaningful employment for minority groups such as immigrants and female workers (Daldy et al., 2013; M. Wilson et al., 2007). Furthermore, some minority groups such as transgender people are often prevented from forming a family or finding accommodation as a consequence of discrimination (Human Rights Commission, 2008).

Discrimination within New Zealand has been raised as an increasingly detrimental issue, specifically within the education context (Dallas, 2014; Duff, 2015; N. Jones, 2014). Ethnic minorities, international students and immigrants with a language barrier have been suggested to be the primary groups affected. The source of their mistreatment has been shown to originate from both their fellow classmates and the faculty members, in addition to potential structural discrimination from the university and government policies (Dallas, 2014; Duff, 2015; N. Jones, 2014). Within the range of literature on education outcomes, discrimination has been highlighted as a strong determinant of academic success and failure (Benner & Graham, 2011; Yosso, Parker, Solórzano, & Lynn, 2004).

2.9 Larger Societal Context

The larger societal context refers to the underlying prejudice and any structural or institutional discriminations that are contributing to inequalities within the society (Joe R Feagin & Eckberg, 1980). Additionally, it is important to take note of the interactions between these discriminatory practices. When investigating discrimination, features such as gender and race often intersect, whereby a

combination of these contribute to a significantly higher likelihood of discriminatory treatments. For instance, women who are black are more likely to experience discrimination over the phone than men who are black and people of other descent (Massey & Lundy, 2001; Purnell, Idsardi, & Baugh, 1999). This was credited to the manner that they communicate in, which has been linked to lower social status and upbringing (Massey & Lundy, 2001; Purnell et al., 1999). This intersection between the numerous demographic factors is best investigated through quantitative means, Multivariate statistical analysis can tease out and examine the relationships between each of these interrelated demographic factors and the various attributes of discrimination (Bradley, 1968; Lolle, 2008).

Discrimination is an affront to the human rights every individual regardless of race or gender is entitled to. Most often, it is the state's responsibility to ensure that the people it governs are allowed to flourish, to live with dignity and be free from discrimination and limitations that are unjustly placed upon them by others (or structural inequality) (Nickel, 2014). In New Zealand, The Human Rights Commission was set up in 1977 to ensure that the human rights set out by the UN' conventions are upheld and promoted (Human Rights Commission, n.d.-a).

The right to be treated equally by the law may not be translated to being treated equally. Buck (2014) states that to have rights is also to have the ability to make a choice to exercise those rights, as many may not have the ability to or are even barred from exercising their rights. Therefore, it is important for the state to ensure everyone knows what their rights are, have the ability to, and are not prevented from, exercising their rights, and are guaranteed that they are not disadvantaged for exercising their rights. This is particularly applicable to marginalised groups where attempting to exercise their rights can place them into more precarious and disadvantaged positions.

2.10 Discrimination within Tertiary Education

There is a wealth of literature on discrimination within tertiary education institutions internationally but this appears to be a gap within New Zealand. Here, the principles of discrimination are the same as the general body of literature on this topic, but the focus primarily on enabling people towards tertiary education. Sexism and racism are recurring themes within this discussion. As expected, students' experiences of discrimination have been associated with higher levels of stress (Hall,

Williams, Penhollow, Rhoads, & Hunt, 2015), stigmatisation (Cheng, Kwan, & Sevig, 2013), lowered self-esteem and are less likely to seek help from professionals, family and/ or friends (Wei, Yeh, Chao, Carrera, & Su, 2013).

More interestingly, the gender discrimination within tertiary education may have shifted from benefiting men towards favouring women instead. A 2013 study by the Higher Education Statistics Authority found that fulltime female students are starting to outnumber male students across the United Kingdom, 55% female to 45% male, and this trend is predicted to continue (Ratcliffe, 2013). This is also the case at Auckland University of technology, in which this study is taking place. The student population is overwhelmingly female, where the current ratio of female to male domestic students is 61% female to 39% male (Auckland University of Technology, 2017a). Furthermore, there are studies that show female students tend to perform better than their male counterparts; even after controlling for IQ differences; in addition to higher rates of enrolment and completion by female students (Fergusson & Horwood, 1997; Newell & Callister, 2008; Pekkarinen, 2012). Therefore, future research may investigate the effects of scholarships that aimed to increase female participation within higher education and whether these measures are still relevant within contemporary societies.

Some scholars touched on the institutional discrimination within tertiary institutions against international students. Here, the discussion scrutinized the barriers that international students face in terms of language proficiency, racial discrimination, cultural and social issues, as well as differences in learning styles (Guan, 2011; Mitchell, Del Fabbro, & Shaw, 2017; Thompson & Rosenzweig, 2009; Wang, Andre, & Greenwood, 2015). It is important to have a better understanding of these issues and alter the current teaching style to improve the overall learning experience for these students and prevent exclusionary practices (Brunton & Jeffrey, 2014). For example, a number of studies on nursing students Australia have found that Chinese students are often lack assertiveness compared to their classmates (Sanner & Wilson, 2008). As a result, they are excluded from class discussions and/ or are perceived/ stereotyped as incompetent students (Sanner & Wilson, 2008). Brunton and Jeffrey (2014) highlighted social support systems, active acculturation, social integration, and better staff training as the main factors needed to eliminate institutional discrimination

against international students. Leenheer (2011) provided a good summary on the issues that international students face in New Zealand as well as potential solutions.

2.11 Discrimination Measurement Methods

Discrimination remains a difficult issue to measure empirically, as it cannot be objectively gauged like gender income inequality or unemployment levels. However, regardless of whether a negative experience that was perceived as discrimination is actually intended to be discriminatory, the effects of discrimination are clearly visible and real for the victim. Therefore, this investigation into the respondents' perceptions on discrimination will be conducted under the premise that experience of discrimination may not actually be discrimination, but were only perceived as such by the respondent. Discrimination will be clearly defined and outlined to each respondent in the same way to ensure they share a common understanding of what constitutes as discrimination.

Negative experiences are dealt with differently by each individual, whereby the likelihood and extent of attributing such incidents as discriminatory differs (Crosby, 1984; Feldman-Barrett & Swim, 1998). Those belonging to minority groups and those who have experienced discrimination are more likely to perceive negative experiences as discriminatory (Operario & Fiske, 2000; Shelton & Sellers, 2000). Subjective discrimination is usually measured through self-reporting by discrimination victims thus it is hard to measure objectively. Williams, Yu, Jackson, and Anderson (1997) developed an Everyday Discrimination Measure that measured subjective discrimination in an objective manner and its impact of various aspects of life. This measure employed a range of simple multiple-choice questions with pre-coded answers (Williams, 2012; Williams et al., 1997). This measure was found to have high reliability and validity by Krieger, Smith, Hartman, and Barbeau (2005) in a study on racism in relation to population health within the contexts of the working class African Americans and Latina Americans. For this research, an adaptation of the Everyday Discrimination Measure, the Major Experiences of Discrimination measure, will be used, as it is a more recent and more developed version of the measure (Williams, 2012). This will be discussed in the next chapter.

2.12 Current Statistics

In New Zealand, discrimination have been measured on a national level through the General Social Survey (GSS) collected by Statistics New Zealand. Overall discrimination levels have remained relatively static between 2008 and 2012, around 10% of the respondents reported having experienced discrimination within a 12-month period prior to each of the survey rounds (Yeung & Crothers, 2016). The number of respondents reporting discrimination increased to 17% in the 2014 GSS (Yeung & Crothers, 2016). However, this can be partially attributed to the change in the questions used within the survey (Yeung & Crothers, 2016). The following table shows the overall levels of discrimination in New Zealand as reported in the GSS 2014.

Table 2: Reports of Discrimination by Demographic Groups from GSS 2014

	GSS 2014
Experienced discrimination	17.1%
Gender	
Male	7.2%
Female	9.9%
Age Group	
24 and Under	20.7%
25+	16.4%
Ethnic Identity	
Asian	25.4%
Māori/Pacific	22.9%
NZ European	13.5%
Other	24.6%

An examination of discrimination patterns by Yeung and Crothers (2016) based on the 2014 GSS data found that the contexts where discrimination is most likely to occur include work (33.5%) and in a public place or on the street (30.2%). The reasons most likely to be attributed by the respondents as the basis for their discriminatory experiences include their race or ethnic group (35.5%), their age (19.4%), their skin colour (19.1%), and their gender (16.5%). On the other hand, only 1.9% of the respondents attributed their experiences of discrimination to their sexual orientation. In terms of racism, people of Māori (25.8%) and Asian (26.6%) descent had the highest likelihood of experiencing discrimination. Lastly, people who scored low on the material wellbeing index (33%) were much more likely to experience discrimination than those who scored high on the index (9.2%).

Several trends could be observed from the data, firstly, discrimination usually does not occur as isolated incidences, since most respondents who were victims of

discrimination reported multiple experiences of discrimination. Secondly, the most cited attributed causes for discrimination were easily distinguishable factors relating to outward appearances, such as ethnicity, age and gender. Thirdly, while the likelihood of discriminatory experience between male and female was small (females were 3.5% higher), females were much more likely to report experiences of sexism than males (Ministry of Social Development, 2016; Yeung & Crothers, 2016). This higher attribution rate to sexism suggests that many women believe there is an underlying prejudice against women within New Zealand.

The Human Rights Commission also measured the perception of prevalence levels of discrimination across various groups as perceived by the general public between years 2000 to 2011 (Human Rights Commission, 2011). This research found that the majority of New Zealanders believe that racism is the primary discrimination issue, with people of Asian descent as the main targets. This appears to be consistent with the findings from the studies in previous years between 2009 and 2010 (Human Rights Commission, 2011). Among the various groups tested, prevalence levels are seen as having decreased for most except for Asians (68% to 79%), people on welfare (62% to 75%) and people who are overweight (59% to 74%) (Human Rights Commission, 2007, 2011). The prevalence level of discrimination against LGBT individuals as perceived by the general public has decreased since 2000 from 74% down to 54% by 2007, but has since risen to 64% by 2011 (Human Rights Commission, 2007, 2011).

Table 3: Discrimination Perception Based on Omnibus Data 2011

	A great deal	Some
Asians	26%	50%
People on welfare	29%	45%
People who are overweight	25%	49%
Recent immigrants	22%	48%
Refugees	25%	40%
Gays and lesbians	16%	48%
Pacific peoples	12%	50%
People with disabilities	17%	42%
Māori	12%	46%
Older People	11%	39%
Women	8%	41%
Men	3%	22%

2.13 Chapter Summary

Discrimination is a well-researched topic that has been discussed in-depth academically and politically. Yet, it remains a prevalent issue in contemporary times and has even developed as societies evolve. Unlike most research on discrimination that utilises qualitative methodologies to examine the personal experiences of victims of discrimination, the current research will employ a quantitative method much like the GSS and Omnibus surveys. As the next chapter will detail, this research aims to examine discrimination from the perspectives of students from AUT and compare the results to national data on discrimination perceptions and trends in New Zealand. Furthermore, this study will attempt to review the viability and validity of questioning respondents on their own discriminatory behaviours as well as their experiences. There is sparse research that pursued this line of questioning due to assumptions of social desirability bias; whereby respondents will aspire to be perceived positively, thereby are unlikely to disclose negative aspects or information about themselves.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Within this chapter, the research method employed is described, beginning with a description of the context and aim of the current research, the research questions and the definition of discrimination used for the data collection procedure. Following this, the research strategy is discussed in four parts, epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology and method. Then, within the survey overview section, the survey used as the main data collection tool is detailed. After which, the sampling for this research is explained. Next, the data analysis method used is defined and justified. Lastly, the validity, reliability and ethics of this research is described.

3.2 Aim and Context of Study

The research aim of this thesis is to study discrimination amongst New Zealanders, with a focus on tertiary education students. To do this, an examination is conducted to uncover patterns of discrimination, as well as the association between discrimination, the students' perceptions of themselves, and the New Zealand society.

3.3 Research Questions

RQ 1. How frequently do university students experience discrimination and which groups experience the most discrimination?

RQ 2. How are university students discriminated against?

RQ 3. How does discriminatory treatment affect university students?

RQ 4. Are students willing to disclose whether they have discriminated against others?

RQ 5. How do students perceive New Zealand in terms of discrimination, diversity and ease of self-expression?

3.4 Hypotheses

The following hypotheses are based on the literature reviewed and past studies on discrimination in New Zealand.

H7. Less than 20 percent of the respondents will report experiencing discrimination over the last 12 months.

H8. Minority and vulnerable groups are more likely to experience discrimination overall. These groups include Māori and Pacifica, women, individual who identify as LGBT.

H9. Most discriminatory actions will be passive, subtle acts such as negative attitudes and avoidance, rather than overt acts such as verbal or physical abuse.

H10. Most respondents will simply ignore or accept discriminatory actions against them.

H11. Less than 10 percent of the respondents will reveal their discriminatory behaviours.

H12. New Zealand will be perceived as accepting of diversity and promoting the expression of one's self. However, discrimination will be viewed as an increasingly (over time) problematic issue.

3.5 How is Discrimination Defined for the Purposes of this Research?

The following definition outlines what is deemed unlawful discrimination and what constitutes as lawful or positive discrimination in New Zealand according to the Human Rights Act 1993 (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2015a).

"Discrimination, as defined in the Human Rights Act 1993, is when a person is treated unfairly or less favourably than another person in the same or similar circumstance resulting in a disadvantage. Discrimination can occur as exclusion, rejection or harassment.

Discrimination is prohibited by law in the following grounds: gender, marital status, religious belief, ethical belief, colour, race, ethnic or national origins, disability, age, political opinion, employment status, family status, and sexual orientation.

However, measures that may be discriminatory in nature made on good faith to better the position of those historically disadvantaged as a consequence of unlawful discrimination do not constitute as discrimination."

(Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2015a)

3.6 Research Strategy

To fully explain the current research, the researcher's understandings of the nature of reality and formation of knowledge must be explained (Walliman, 2011). This will allow the reader to understand the basis of the research and how conclusions are made from the data (Walliman, 2011). Crotty (1998) describes a research strategy through four elements: Epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology, method.

3.6.1 Epistemology

Epistemology refers to the philosophical foundation for knowledge justifications and understandings, which explains how our generalisations and judgements about the social world are formulated (Nicholson, 1996). This research follows a realist epistemology, asserts that one (social) reality exists objectively, independent of consciousness, and people act in response to reality rather than shape it (as opposed to idealism) (Matveev, 2002; Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill, & Bristow, 2015). That is not to disregard the experiences and perceptions of people as meaningless or separate from reality. Instead these experiences, perceptions and the context in which these experiences occur are fundamental to the understanding of the phenomena being studied, and the development of knowledge about the world (Saunders et al., 2015). The realist epistemology employs scientific methodologies for data collection and interpretation (Saunders et al., 2015).

This is not to be confused with the objectivist epistemology, which proclaims that objects exist entirely independent of human consciousness and experiences (Carson, 2006). The meaning and truths about these objects exist completely free from human-held values, and are only discovered and understood through a careful application of scientific enquiry of one's senses based on an observable reality (Carson, 2006). However, thinking all knowledge is separate from the social world is unrealistic, especially when studying the social world. Any scientific knowledge about our society is meaningless when detached from the society it seeks to explain (Crotty, 1998). Similarly, social researchers are not completely removed from the influence of the world or reality they exist in, nor are they isolated from the subjects or participants they aim to study. Regardless of how rigorously the researcher follows a scientific method, the research outcomes will neither be completely objective and value-free, nor totally definite (Crotty, 1998).

Discrimination is commonly researched as a subjective topic, and rightly so, as this topic is based entirely on the experiences of people and their perceptions of reality. Discrimination can often be unnoticed by both the victim and perpetrator, as such an experience is highly dependent on how one interprets the situation based on the context of their experience, their worldviews and past experiences. For example, Person A purposely excludes Person B due to a personal dislike towards Person B's ethnicity. However, Person B does not perceive such exclusion as a consequence of ethnic discrimination but rather simply Person A's personal dislike towards Person B as a person. Likewise, this can happen if there was no discriminatory action, but a negative experience was interpreted as discrimination by someone due to their generally stigmatised perceptions of themselves. However, it is a known fact that discrimination exists, and its consequences are real and clearly observable. This involves people simply reacting to a social reality where they are prone to discrimination and encounter barriers or behaviour that is discriminatory in nature.

3.6.2 Theoretical Perspective

The theoretical perspective determines and justifies which method for knowledge procurement is most rational for the topic being researched, and explains the researcher's lens of interpretation (Walliman, 2011). The realist epistemology adhered to within this research is informed by a post-positivist theoretical perspective. Post-positivism largely follows the beliefs of objectivism, but with a few differences. While striving for high levels of objectivity by following scientific methodologies, post-positivist's logic recognises that the outcomes are not absolute and validity is more based on replicability of the results (Crotty, 1998). This replicability can be established through a comprehensive explanation of the research process (Crotty, 1998).

From both a positivist and post-positivist perceptive, any phenomenon or concept such as discrimination is experienced and perceived by individuals in markedly different ways, but it can still be defined and understood through a mutual meaning/form (Nicholson, 1996), whereby the consequences of discrimination are undeniably real and are observable facts.

3.6.3 Methodology

Following the realist epistemology and a post-positivist theoretical perspective, a quantitative methodology is most suitable. A quantitative method minimizes potential

subjectivity and can lead to more objective conclusions. This occurs through the separation of the researcher as an independent 'observer' by using a detached data collection tool such as a questionnaire, thereby reducing their subjectivity and personal bias (Matveev, 2002). By stating a clear definition of discrimination at the beginning of the questionnaire, it aligns the respondents with a fairly similar understanding of discrimination, thus reducing potential overgeneralisation and confusion between the researcher, the respondents and the readers (Matveev, 2002; Nicholson, 1996). This ensures that the results from the questions on discrimination can be reliable and valid when used for analysis, and the development of conclusions.

3.6.4 Method

This research will use a self-administered, web-based survey as the main method for data collection. Telephone and face-to-face survey questionnaires will be too time-consuming for the large sample size needed for this research to achieve statistical significance (Walliman, 2011). An electronic survey will be most cost and time effective as well as being accessible to most students. Experimental, observational and surveys are the three main data collection methods for quantitative research, a survey is most suitable for this research as it is largely inexpensive and can be completed by a large number of respondents in a relatively short time frame (Tolich & Davidson, 2011). The experimental method will not work as the aim of this research is to understand discrimination the greater social context and thus cannot be tested in a controlled environment (Walliman, 2011). Also, the observational method is unsuitable as the respondents' perceptions of discrimination cannot be observed (Walliman, 2011).

Through the use of a survey, personal influence and bias of the researcher can be reduced as the researcher is removed from the data collection procedure (Walliman, 2011). Additionally, sensitive or embarrassing questions may have a greater chance of eliciting a response as surveys are more impersonal and less intimidating due to the lack of face to face interaction (Walliman, 2011). This is especially relevant for this topic as discrimination can be a highly emotional and sensitive topic for victims and perpetrators alike. The length of the survey was kept short so to prevent a loss of interest for respondents or respondent fatigue, which can

lead to decrease response rates and accuracy of the data (Tolich & Davidson, 2011; Walliman, 2011).

The survey questions are based on The Everyday Discrimination Scale by Williams (2012), Omnibus survey by Human Rights Commission (2011) and the GSS by Statistics New Zealand (2013). The survey questionnaire is attached as Appendix D. The questions taken from each of these resources were chosen due to their simplicity and straight-forwardness. It is important to keep the questions simple, short, precise and unambiguous to ensure that the respondents are not confused or mislead, and are able to understand the questions and provide valid and reliable responses (Tolich & Davidson, 2011). Additionally, these resources have well established validity and reliability.

The Everyday Discrimination Scale from Williams et al. (1997) established their self-reported measures' validity and reliability (Krieger et al., 2005; T. R. Taylor, Kamarck, & Shiffman, 2004). In both studies, the validity of the everyday discrimination scale was formulated based on the Cronbach's alpha test which found a high (0.74 to 0.80) internal reliability. Additionally, the target sample of these studies was also students, therefore improving the validity of using the Everyday Discrimination Scale in the current research. However, the survey's wording and format does not fit within the epistemological argument for validity as the terminology used within the Williams et al. (1997) survey such as 'courtesy' and 'respect' are vague and open for interpretation, especially for the respondents. Therefore, those questions from the Williams et al. (1997) survey are placed under the overarching definition of discrimination.

Most of the survey questions used within the current survey utilize Likert-scale measures. Likert scale is a type of objective measure that is often used to gather the opinion and attitudes that individuals have towards the topic being studied (Hartley, 2014). Likert scales present respondents with a number of answers on a scale beginning from favourable to unfavourable statements (or vice versa), for example, strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, and strongly disagree (Jupp, 2006). There are numerous benefits to using a Likert scale, including improved response rates and rate of completion due to its simplicity (Jupp, 2006). Likert scales that have a large

sample size can improve the validity of the results while allowing for comparisons between the sub-groups of the sample population (Hartley, 2014).

Some modifications have been made to the questions from the everyday discrimination scale, primarily the removal of the mid-point on the Likert scale questions. The mid-point on a Likert scale is usually a neutral answer such as 'neither… nor…' and uncertain (Garland, 1991). A study by Garland (1991) showed that the mid-point can introduce distortions to the results as a consequence of social desirability bias. Social desirability bias refers to the respondent's desire to appear more socially acceptable, and therefore answering untruthfully or selecting the neutral option; or to appear supportive towards the researcher by selecting answers that they perceive to align with the researcher's ideology or desired results (Garland, 1991).

Additional questions were added to help answer research questions 2, 3 and 4. The multiple-choice questions followed the format of the GSS survey. Open-ended questions were also used to allow the respondent to contextualise their experiences while decreasing potential social desirability bias (Tolich & Davidson, 2011). Likert scales involve explicit 'extremes' at either ends of the response scale while the responses in-between may imply 'normal' behaviours (Tolich & Davidson, 2011). Social desirability bias is introduced as respondents want to avoid being perceived as extreme, and thereby skewing the results towards the centre. Open-ended questions are more likely to prompt the respondent to discourse information that can be perceived as 'extreme' (Tolich & Davidson, 2011).

Pre-testing of the survey was conducted, as recommended in the methods literature, to test the functionality of any questionnaire to gain feedback on the advantages and drawbacks of the survey (Walliman, 2011). The pilot study tested a draft version of the survey, involving three other Master level students as well as three lecturers. Feedback included some minor changes to terminology and structure of the survey.

3.7 Survey Overview

The survey was conducted through the Survey Monkey service. This tool was chosen as it was provided freely through the Sociology department of the Auckland University of Technology. The functionalities of this tool provide flexibility through the numerous types of question templates available, including drop down answer boxes,

multiple choice and open text boxes. Additionally, a survey logic function was utilised so that respondents will automatically skip over questions that are not applicable to them depending on their responses to certain questions. A secondary survey was used to collect personal contact information used for the incentive distribution. However, there were issues with this survey, where the respondents were sent out of the main survey to an 'end of survey page' on completion and were not linked to the second survey. Therefore, only a small portion of respondents were able to input their personal details.

The electronic questionnaire is 14 pages long, consisting of 24 close-ended multi-choice questions which were pre-coded for data analysis, as well as 4 semi-open questions. The survey begins with a simple introduction describing the aim, method and background information of the study. This allowed the participants to make an informed decision when accepting to participate in this study (Walliman, 2011).

3.7.1 Survey Structure

Part One: Demographics

The survey begins with simple questions on the respondents' ethnicity, age, gender and sexuality. Sexuality was included as it is often a stigma or discriminatory factor, thus is relevant for this study.

Part Two: Discrimination experiences

This section begins with a clear detailed definition of discrimination as set out of the Human Rights Acts 1993 of New Zealand. In this section, respondents are asked whether they have experienced discrimination over the last 12 months. If they responded yes, they are then questioned on their discrimination experience through multiple choice questions that use Likert scales, finishing with two open-ended questions asking the respondent to describe the experience, if they choose to. If the respondent answered no, then they skip to the next section. The multi-choice questions are based on both the GSS and The Everyday Discrimination Scale.

Part Three: Discrimination experiences as the perpetrator

Here, the questions pertain to whether the respondents have discriminated against someone else. If the respondent answered yes, they are then questioned on

their discriminatory behaviour with two open-ended questions asking the respondent to describe the experience, if they choose to. If the respondent answered no, then they skip to the next section. Due to social desirability bias, respondents are unlikely to report their own socially undesirable behaviours and attitudes to avoid being perceived negatively (Huang, Liao, & Chang, 1998). However, research has shown that self-administered data collection methods compared to others can minimise the effects of social desirability bias. The absence of an interviewer diminishes the respondent's fear of being judged negatively and therefore leading to more accurate and valid responses (Callegaro, 2008).

These questions did not originate from any other surveys, but are formulated based on the structure and wording of the questions from section two. This section is entirely 'experimental', to test whether respondents are likely to report their own discriminatory behaviour against other people, especially if they are also victims of discrimination.

Part Four: Perceptions of New Zealand

This section is based on questions used in the Omnibus survey conducted by Human Rights Commission (2011). This section explores the respondent's perceptions of diversity, ease of identity expression, and discrimination in New Zealand. Specifically, the section explores which groups are perceived to be more likely to experience discrimination. Multiple choice Likert scale questions are used in this section.

Part Five: End of survey

Respondents are provided a chance to comment on the survey in an open-text box. The details of the researchers are repeated here and a link to the incentive 'prize draw' is provided. The respondents are thanked for their valuable contributions to this research project.

3.8 Sampling

3.8.1 Sampling Method

A convenience sampling method has been employed as this will be simple, quick and inexpensive (McCormack & Hill, 1997). Convenience sampling is a

nonprobability sampling method where the selection of respondents from a population is based on their availability, accessibility and convenience (Salkind, 2010). A quota sampling method would have been ideal for this research topic, since it allows for a more balanced, more representative sample through selective recruitment or selection of respondents (Walliman, 2011). But it was not employed due to the lack of time and scope of the study, as well as potential difficulties of recruiting certain target populations.

Due to the limited scope and budget of this research, the researcher will aim to recruit 384 respondents for this study, this sample size will allow for a confidence coefficient of 95% with a statistical +/- 5 % margin of error (Tolich & Davidson, 2011). Incentives in the form of a draw for up to 38 cash vouchers to the value of $25 will be used to increase response rates (Tolich & Davidson, 2011).

3.8.2 Survey Distribution and Participant recruitment

As this survey is conducted online through the Survey Monkey service, the survey distribution employed the use of posters posted around the Auckland University of Technology campus grounds. The posters have a simple description of this study, the aims and possible outcomes. Links are provided to the study through a website address and a QR code for ease of access. The website address has also been shortened using the functionalities of tinyurl.com so that it can be easily remembered. See Appendix B for the posters used. Emails were also used to contact the various clubs and their members in the Auckland Student Movement (AUSM) at Auckland University of Technology to recruit respondents for this research. See Appendix C for the emails used.

3.8.3 Target Population

The target population of this research will be the university students attending Auckland University of Technology at the Auckland Central campus. Auckland University of Technology has been chosen for respondent recruitment as it has been ranked the 'Most international university' in New Zealand and 12th worldwide (NZ Herald, 2016). Since minority groups are often targets of discriminatory attitudes and actions, the highly diverse student body of Auckland University of Technology provides an excellent sample for an examination of discrimination. Whereby, the students attending this university may be more frequently exposed to discrimination compared

to other universities. Furthermore, students were selected for this inquiry as a majority have recently finished high school and/or have been part of the labour force in their lifetimes. Their experiences may reveal insightful information on the education system and New Zealand as a whole, which can help inform the formation of policies to eliminate discrimination in New Zealand. It should be noted that a convenience sampling of university students does present an issue of generalisability. The results of a study employing this method may only infer meaning that is generalizable to other student populations as opposed to non-student populations (Peterson & Merunka, 2014). Therefore, the results of this study will be compared to national level research to better establish the validity of the results while providing a more in-depth insight into the student body being studied.

Tertiary education is important for building human capital, allowing people to participate within the increasingly competitive, knowledge-driven global economy (OECD, 2008). Within the university setting, students are provided with opportunities and support for developing critical thinking, values and worldviews, as well as identity and self-development (Johansson & Felten, 2014). Additionally, a study by Wodtke (2012) in the U.S. found that higher education increases the likelihood to reject negative stereotype beliefs as well as awareness of discrimination among students of European, Hispanic and African descent. This positive effect was less consistent among Asian students (Wodtke, 2012). Furthermore, diversity has been suggested to be highly beneficial to fostering better academic and social growth for students (Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002). Higher classroom diversity provides opportunities for interactions between students from various backgrounds, which can help students learn and understand different perspectives from those with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. In turn, this allows students to develop socially and intellectually in an equitable learning environment (Gurin et al., 2002). Unsurprisingly, negative experiences such as discrimination can be highly detrimental to the student's education successes as well as overall well-being (Benner & Graham, 2011; Yosso et al., 2004). A study by Benner and Graham (2011) found that Latino students' experiences of discrimination was correlated with a negative perception of the school climate. Consequently, this negative perception lead to increased absences and diminished grades of the victims of discrimination.

3.9 Data Analysis

Secondary sources of data on discrimination in New Zealand such as the GSS from 2008 to 2014 (Yeung & Crothers, 2016) and the UMR Research Omnibus Survey in 2011 (Human Rights Commission, 2011) for evidence will be used as points of comparison. The GSS is a bi-yearly survey that have collected data since 2008 in New Zealand on general aspects of society (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). The UMR Research National Omnibus Survey in 2006 was a telephone based survey that investigated various aspects of New Zealand, the section of interest will be on the topic of discrimination perceptions (Human Rights Commission, 2011).

Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) will be the primary tool for the statistical analysis of this research. The data analysis will begin with some simple frequency tables to review the spread of the respondent demographics. Then cross-tabulations will be used to observe the frequency distribution of attitude variables in relation to demographics.

3.9.1 Multiple Classification Analysis

Multiple classification analysis (MCA) has been chosen as the main quantitative data analysis method used to examine the correlation and effect sizes between the independent variables and dependent variables from the closed-ended question data. Lolle (2008) suggested that MCA is particularly suitable for analysing data sets that are primarily based on Likert scale measures. The MCA method is a flexible tool that can perform complicated multivariate analysis while examining the effect size one or several predictor (independent) variables have on a dependant variable as well as the relationship between the predictor variables (Lolle, 2008; United Nations Educational, n.d.-a).

The relationship and effect size is examined through an analysis of the variance of deviations from an overall mean (Retherford & Choe, 1993). MCA is considered an easier to interpret, more convenient method than using dummy variables that is comparable to multiple regression analysis. Dummy variables represent dichotomous categorical variables (Retherford & Choe, 1993), for example, have you been discriminated against in the last 12 months: yes or no. For MCA, the dependent variable is presumed to be an interval measure, while the predictor variable is either an ordinal or nominal measure (United Nations Educational, n.d.-a). MCA is an

additive model, it is assumed that the predictor variables do not interact. For example, an older woman can experience both ageism and sexism; here, MCA assumes that the predictor variables age and gender do not interact (Lolle, 2008; United Nations Educational, n.d.-a). However, additionally tests using MCA can be performed to examine the interactions between these predictor variables.

3.9.2 Multiple Classification Analysis Result Interpretation

This section will explain each of the variables from the output of a MCA. Within the MCA table there are two sets of results, unadjusted results refer to analysis without controlling for the effects of other related variables, whereas adjusted for factors results refer to analysis having controlled for these related variables (Retherford & Choe, 1993).

Multiple Classification Analysis

Predicted mean is the average across the sample of cases for the dependent variable (United Nations Educational, n.d.-b).

Deviation is the variance from the predicted mean of each category within each of the predictor variable. The deviation can be positive or negative, which indicates whether the mean of that category is higher or lower than the predicted mean for the category of the dependent variable (United Nations Educational, n.d.-b).

The predicted mean and deviation is presented in both uncontrolled and controlled forms (United Nations Educational, n.d.-b).

Factor summary

An Eta and Beta are calculated for each predictor variable, thereby each variable's effect level is explained separately (United Nations Educational, n.d.-b).

Eta refers to the correlation coefficient, or simply effect size, of the predictor variable on the dependent variable based on the categories of the predictor variable given (e.g. for sex the categories refer to 'Male', 'Female' and 'gender diverse'); that is the amount of variance of the dependent variable which is explained by the predictor variable (United Nations Educational, n.d.-b). If Eta = 0, then no variance is explained by the predictor variable; while Eta = 1 means that all variance is explained by the predictor variable (United Nations Educational, n.d.-b).

Beta (adjusted for factors) refers to the effect size of the predictor variable on the dependent variable after having controlled for all other predictors. The higher the Beta, the more variance is explained by that corresponding predictor variable (United Nations Educational, n.d.-b).

The interaction between Eta and Beta is important. Whereby, if Beta is larger than Eta, this means that the ability of the predictor variable to explain the variance between the predictor variable's categories for the given dependent variable increased when controlling for other predictor variables' effects within the MCA model used. The inverse is true when Eta is larger than Beta.

Model goodness of Fit

R is the multiple correlation coefficient. This is a measure of the strength of the linear association between the predictor variable and the dependent variable. R ranges from 0 to 1, where the closer to 1 the value of R is, the stronger the association; while R = 0 means that a linear association does not exist (Middle Tennessee State University, n.d.).

R^2 is the coefficient of determination. This refers to the amount of variance in the dependent variable that can be explained by the current model of analysis, involving all the predictor and control variables used (Stat Trek, n.d.). R^2 is represented between 0 and 1, where 0 implies that the variability of the results is not explained by the MCA model conducted, and 1 implies that the variability is completely explained (Retherford & Choe, 1993).

The strength of the correlation coefficient/ effect size (Eta and R) will be based on the empirical guidelines provided in the study by Hemphill (2003). Hemphill (2003) compiled and analysed the methodologies of a range of psychological studies totalling up to 380. Hemphill (2003) found that very few studies actually adhered to or produced results that fit within Cohen's (1988) benchmark on the correlation coefficient of R= 0.5 as a large effect size. Hemphill (2003) suggested that the following guidelines for interpreting correlation coefficients are sufficient in providing valuable and valid information for the social sciences.

Table 4: Distribution of Correlation Coefficients

Distribution of correlation coefficients	Empirical guidelines
Lower third	< 0.20
Middle third	0.20 to 0.30
Upper third	> 0.30

3.9.3 Thematic Analysis

The semi-open-ended questions will be coded separately using a thematic analysis. Thematic analysis involves the systematic dissection of qualitative data so that it can be summarized into overarching themes that can represent and explain the context that the data is grounded in (Ayres, 2008; Lapadat, 2010).

The analysis begins with a set of known themes, usually found through a literature review or previous research on the topic. This will provide an overview of what kind of themes might be prevalent, which can help the researcher both understand the topic and become more aware of potential themes within the data (Lapadat, 2010). Next, a systematic inspection of the qualitative data will reveal recurrent topics which are then transformed into codes (Ayres, 2008). These codes are then reconstructed, combined or separated so that it represents the data accurately (Ayres, 2008). These codes are then consolidated into overarching themes that can provide an understanding of the data while remaining contextually grounded (Ayres, 2008; Lapadat, 2010).

The formation of themes and codes draws upon the surface meanings of what is written rather than meaning that might have been implied by the respondents (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This distinction is important as the qualitative data is collected through self-completed surveys, where it was impossible for researcher to gain a better or deeper understanding of the responses through further probing (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis is an iterative process, requiring the researcher to continuously reference back to the data during analysis to ensure that the themes and codes are truly representative of the data (Gavin, 2008).

3.10 Validity and Reliability

3.10.1 Validity

Validity will be discussed in two parts, internal and external validity (Walliman, 2011). Internal validity refers to how the cause and effect relationships between the

variables are explained and supported (Walliman, 2011). The internal validity of this research is established through a careful examination of the literature and research on discrimination to provide a detailed understanding of the topic for the research. While the questionnaire was formulated based on established surveys on discrimination, the validity of the questions used is maintained by adopting the material to suit the epistemology and theoretical perspective of the research. However, other factors such as truthfulness of respondents also threatens the validity of the research, since topics such as discrimination and sexuality are sensitive, there is potential for respondents to lie, or misrepresent their 'real' views, thus skewing the results.

The external validity relates to the replicability of the study and generalizability of the results (Walliman, 2011). The external validity of this study is established with the carful and comprehensive description of the research, ensuring that it is both replicable and understandable. In terms of generalisability, the sampling method used presents a number of limitations. Convenience sampling can introduce research bias and diminishes generalisability as the respondent selection process is based on an unequal probability (Lewis-Beck, Bryman, & Liao, 2004). Additionally, by sampling from a student population, the results and conclusions from this research is only validly applicable to other tertiary education bodies in New Zealand, as suggested by Peterson and Merunka (2014). However, others have argued that the results from studies that relied upon non-probability sampling have produced important information and insights for topics such as discrimination, which are applicable to the general population outside of the conditions of the study (Institute of Medicine (US) Committee on LGBT Health Issues and Research Gaps and Opportunities, 2011). Of course, due to the uniqueness of Auckland University of Technology, as one of the most diverse universities in the world, the generalisability of the results may be limited (NZ Herald, 2016). There is also potential for an over-representation of certain groups while others are under-represented due to self-selection bias (R. Olsen, 2011). Self-selection bias, as the name implies, can occur in non-random sampling methods, where participants are self-selected (R. Olsen, 2011). This allows an over representation of respondents who hold strong viewpoints about the topic being researched (R. Olsen, 2011). This is especially problematic for controversial topics such as abortion and affirmative action. For the discrimination topic, those who feel that they are victims of discrimination are more likely to partake in this research, as opposed to people who have not

experienced discrimination (R. Olsen, 2011). Therefore, one should be mindful when making generalisations from the results of this research.

3.10.2 Reliability

Reliability pertains to the accuracy and dependability of the research method used, ensuring that the results are consistent (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Wrench *et al*., 2008). A high level of reliability is upheld through the use of a pilot study, testing the clarity and functionality of the questions, its' wording, sequence, layout and length. Additionally, a consistent understanding across the respondents is established by clearly defining discrimination at the start of the questionnaire. Lastly, as the questionnaire uses Likert scales, the direction of all items was consistent across all questions to minimise confusion (for example, "Never" to "Almost every day").

3.11 Ethical Considerations

For this research, the key ethical considerations relate to the undertaking of web-based surveys with university students at Auckland University of Technology, thus requiring ethical approval from Auckland University of Technology Ethic Committee (AUTEC). See Appendix A for ethical approval provided by AUTEC. Actions have been taken so that all respondents are protected from any potential harm and distress. Prior to the commencement of the research, all respondents are linked to an information sheet online at the start of the online questionnaire. These will provide information to the respondents on the purpose of the risks, benefits and the research, as well as advise them that they can withdraw at any point if desired. Consent is gained when the respondent begins to fill out the survey. Additionally, as legally required, an ethical code of practice will be adhered to, focusing on anonymity and confidentiality (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2015b; Research Association New Zealand, 2008).

3.12 Chapter Summary

Overall, the survey questionnaires were rather successful in gathering information that answered the research questions posed. However, due to the time and financial restrictions of this research, the target sample size was not reached. Therefore, a range of statistical analysis did not reach statistical significance, limiting the amount of validity, reliability and applicability of the information gained from the

evaluation of the dataset. Furthermore, while an unexpectedly high number of respondents filled out the open-ended questions, the responses lacked depth. Instead, the utilisation of interviews would have been better suited for gathering more in-depth information through the use of techniques such as probing, which would have allowed for deeper exploration into the experiences of discrimination.

Chapter 4 Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with an explanation of the sample weighting used for this research. This is followed by how the responses from each question are recoded so that analysis and comparisons to secondary data sources is streamlined and simplified. The results from the crosstabulations and MCAs of the quantitative data is then described. Lastly, this chapter will finish with a comprehensive account of the results from the thematic analysis of the qualitative data.

4.2 Sample Weighting and Demographic Variable Recoding

The response rate was much lower than anticipated. This survey received 131 responses, but only 109 responses were valid as some survey questions were incomplete. This sample size allowed for a 95% confidence level, with a 10% confidence interval out of a target population of about 21700 students at AUT.

The dataset will be weighted for the analysis. By weighting the dataset, the data can better represent the population being studied, as samples often have over-representation and under-representation of the various groups being examined (W. Olsen, 2014; Tolich & Davidson, 2011). This is especially common when collecting data using online surveys from a large population (W. Olsen, 2014). The weighting process involves assigning each respondent a 'weight' value that corresponds with the probability of being 'selected'. Where over-represented types of respondents will get a weight lower than 1, while under-represented types of respondents will be assigned a value over 1 (W. Olsen, 2014).

By weighting the dataset, self-selection bias can be partially compensated for. Self-selection bias is introduced due to voluntary participation, where survey responses are entirely based on a respondent's choice rather than a rigorous systematic sampling method. The issue here is that respondents already related to certain aspects of the study are more likely to choose to participate and therefore skews the data (R. Olsen, 2011). Therefore, the resulting data may not be representative of the population being studied (R. Olsen, 2011). For this study, individuals who have experienced or witnessed discrimination are assumed to be more

likely to participate. However, this bias may even complement the current study as this will deliver additional data that is relevant to the aim of this study.

For the weighting variable, a Rim Weight function of SPSS was used to calculate the weight of each respondent based on three demographic variables: ethnic identity, gender and age group. For this process, the size for each of these variables of target population needs to be specified. The demographic make-up of the student body of Auckland University of Technology in 2016 based on statistics from the 2016 annual report draft is used as the target population proportions, see Appendix E.

For the sample weighting to work, the dataset was recoded to conform to the categories from Appendix E. However, initial examination of the demographic makeup of the sample showed that some demographic variables such as 'Māori' and 'Pacific' ethnic identities and the '40+' age group had a very low number of responses. Therefore, the 'Māori' and 'Pacific' groups were merged to form 'Māori/Pacific'; and the '25 to 39', '40+' groups were merged to form a '25+' age group. Similarly, for the 'Sexuality' variable, homosexual, bisexual, asexuality and other sexualities were merged into the 'LGBT' group variable, as there were insufficient number of respondents with each of these identities to achieve statistical significance when analysed as separate groups. For the variable, 'number of years living in New Zealand', the responses were recoded into two categories: '10 years or less' and 'more than 10 years'.

For the gender demographic factor, only 3 respondents identified as either transgender or gender queer, which were recoded as 'Gender Diverse'. This factor was not merged with other gender variables due to its low responses, because it is drastically different from the 'Male' and 'Female' gender identities. Consequently, the gender diverse category will not be included in the quantitative analysis as no statistical significance can be achieved with only three respondents. Therefore, the gender diverse category will be analysed and discussed based on their open-ended question responses.

The sample weighting procedure is therefore based on the following table:

Table 5: Target Sample Makeup in Percentages after Recoding and Weighting

	Percentage
Students by ethnicity	
Asian	24%
Māori/Pacific	26
New Zealand European	42%
Other	8%
Students by age	
24 and Under	68%
25+	32%
Students by gender	
Female	61%
Male	39%

4.3 Questions Recoding

The responses to questions 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 24 were condensed from 5 categories to 3 categories so that overall a higher number of cells will have a cell count of at least 1, since there were insufficient responses. This is especially problematic for the questions based on discrimination experiences. Excluding the gender diverse respondents, only 35 out of 106 respondents (after weighting) reported experiencing discrimination over the last 12 months. Consequently, only a limited number of statistical analysis reached statistical significance.

Starting with question 9; 'How many experiences of discrimination can you recall from the last 12 months?' the responses were changed where 'Three times', 'Four times' and 'Five times or more' were combined into 'Three times or more'. This was done to match with the New Zealand GSS's question structure, so that the findings can be compared easily.

Next, with question 10; 'In your day-to-day life, how often do any of the following things happen to you?' the responses were refined to 'Rarely or Never' (From 'Never' and 'Less than once a year'), 'Sometimes' (From 'A few times a year' and 'A few times a month'), and 'Regularly' (From 'At least once a week' and 'Almost every day').

Similarly, with question 11 and 12; 'What do you think are the main reasons for these discriminatory experiences? ', 'Within what situation(s) were you in when you were discriminated against?' the responses were reduced to 'Not a reason' (From '1: Definitely not a reason'), 'Maybe' (From '2' and '3'), and "Definitely the reason" (From

'4' and '5: Definitely a reason'); and 'Not a reason' (From '1: Note likely at all'), 'Maybe' (From '2' and '3'), and 'Definitely the reason' (From '4' and '5: Very likely'), respectively.

For both questions 13 and 14; 'Overall, how much has discrimination interfered with you having a full and productive life?' and 'Overall, how much harder has your life been because of discrimination?' the responses were condensed into 'Not at all' (From '1: Not at all'), 'A moderate amount' (From '2' and '3: A moderate amount'), and 'A great deal' (from '4' and '5: A great deal').

And lastly, for question 24' 'How likely do you think the following groups experience discrimination in New Zealand on a monthly basis?' the responses were minimised into 'No discrimination' (From 'Will not experience discrimination'') 'Unlikely' (From 'Very unlikely' and 'Unlikely'), and 'Likely' (From 'Likely' and 'Very likely').

4.4 Data Analysis

The quantitative examination of surveyed discrimination experiences and perceptions is split into subsections: Patterns of discrimination, characteristics of discrimination events, and lastly perceptions of discrimination within New Zealand. This analysis is broken down by demographic factors; the demographic makeup of this study is shown in see Appendix F.

Due to the low number of respondents, statistical significance was not achieved in most of the multi-variate analysis. Never-the-less, this analysis was carried out and some points of interest were identified. For the multiple classification analysis that yielded no statistical significance, all interpretations and inferences based on those findings proposed in this section will require further research with a much larger sample size to substantiate.

For this study, the predictor variables refer to the demographic factors of the sample, these include 'Gender', 'Age group', 'Ethnic identity', 'Sexuality' and 'Years in New Zealand'.

4.5 Patterns of Discrimination

4.5.1 Overview

Figure 1: Overall Pattern of Discrimination
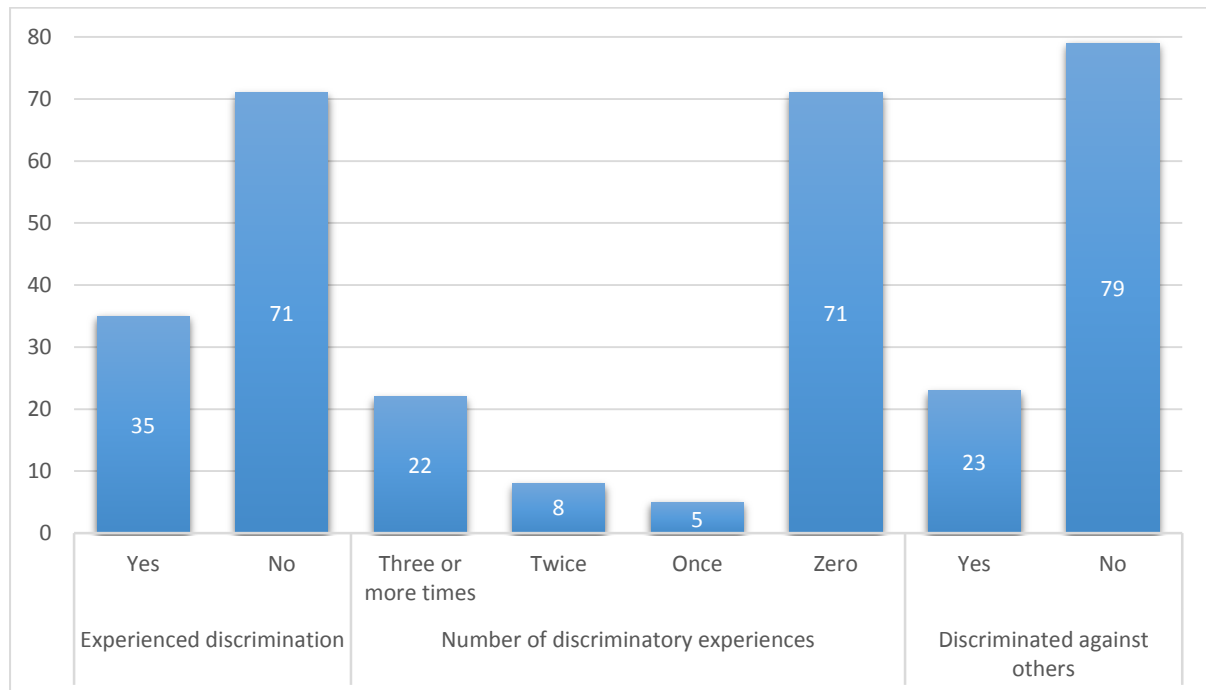
The findings from this first section are based on questions 8, 9 and 17; see Appendix D. Overall, 35 out of 106 respondents (33%) reported experiencing discrimination over the last 12 months, see Figure 1. Out of these 35 respondents who experienced discrimination, 22 reported experiencing discrimination three or more times. On the other hand, 23 out of 106 respondents (21.9%) reported that they have discriminated against someone or some groups over the last 12 months.

For those who have experienced discrimination, 9 out of 31 respondents (29%) attested to having discriminated against others as well. Conversely, 14 out of 71 respondents (19.7%) who have not experienced discrimination acted in a discriminatory way over the last 12 months. MCA did not find a substantial effect size between being discriminated against and discriminating against others (Sig=0.384, Eta=0.087. Beta=0.087). This means that experiencing discrimination does not affect their tendency to discriminate against others, and vice-versa.

4.5.2 Demographic Breakdown

Figure 2: Reports of Discrimination by Demographic Factors
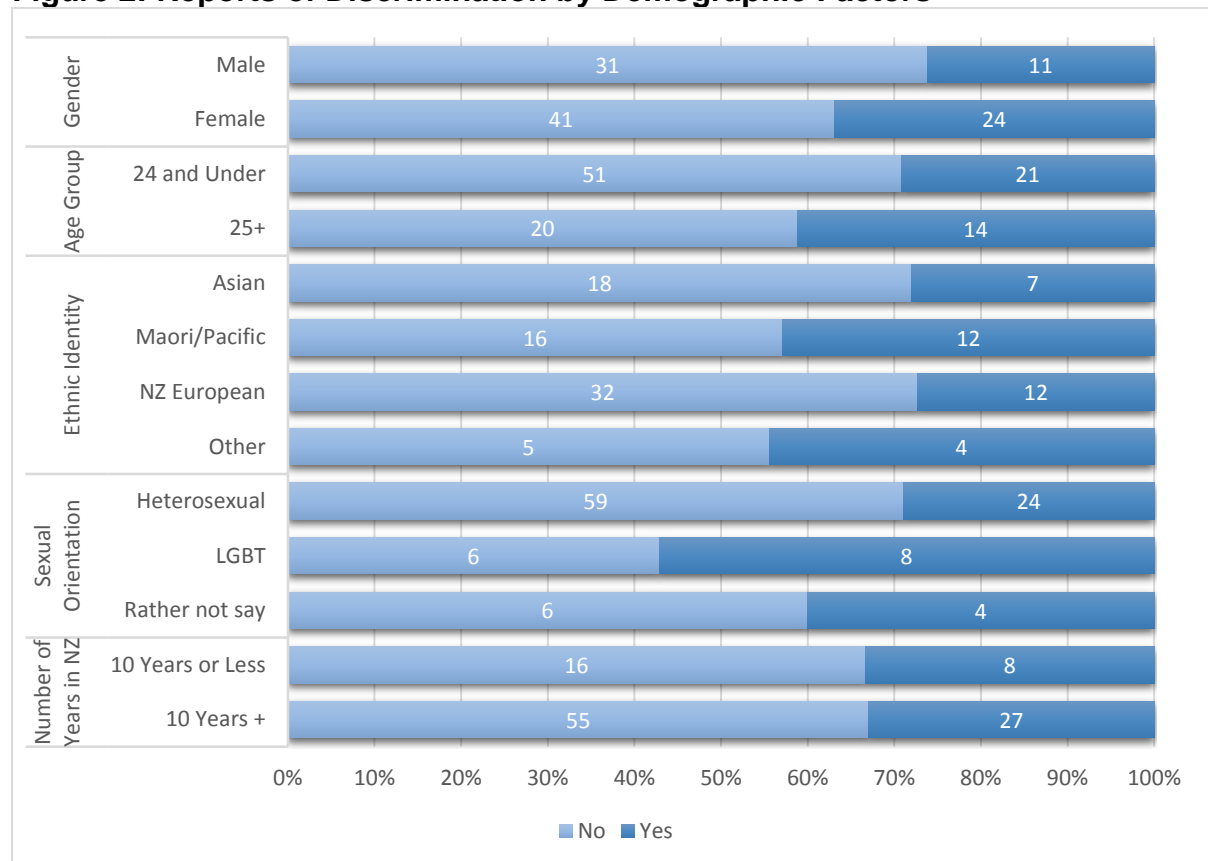

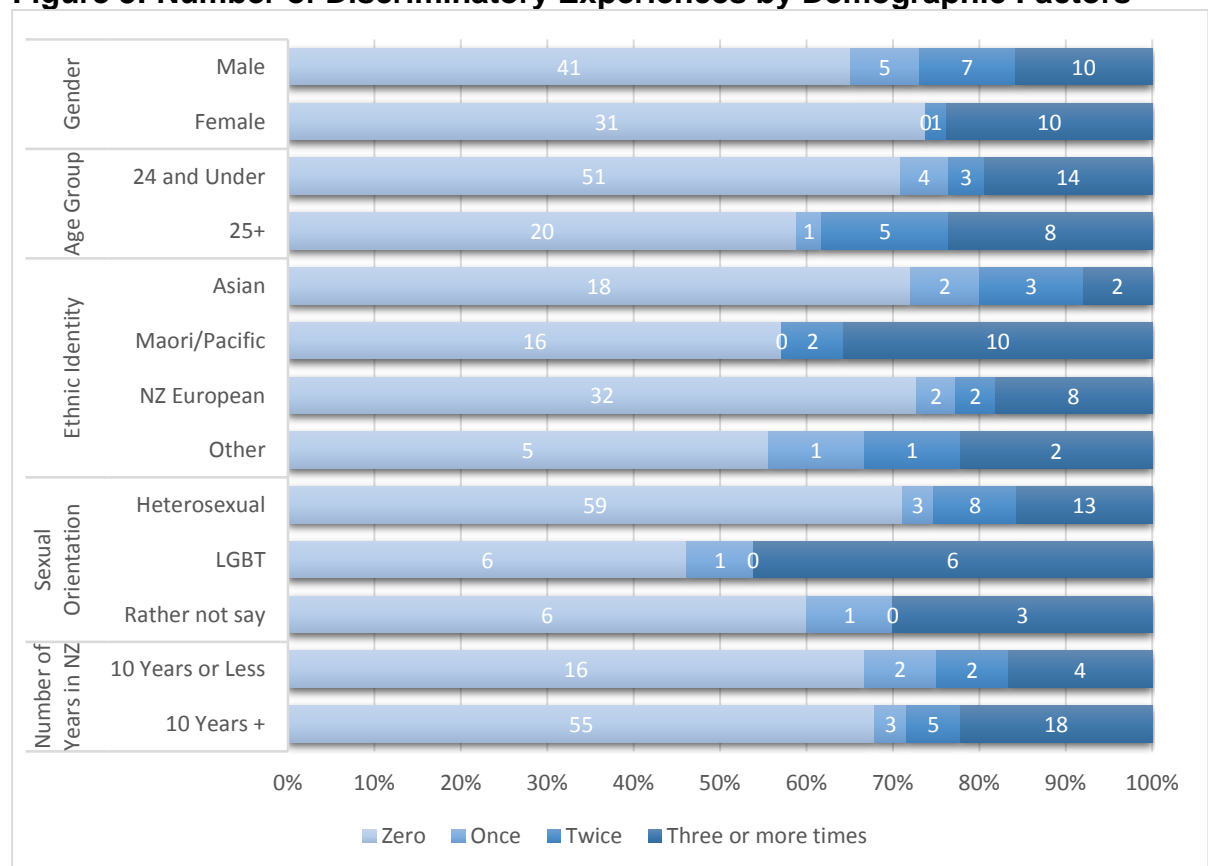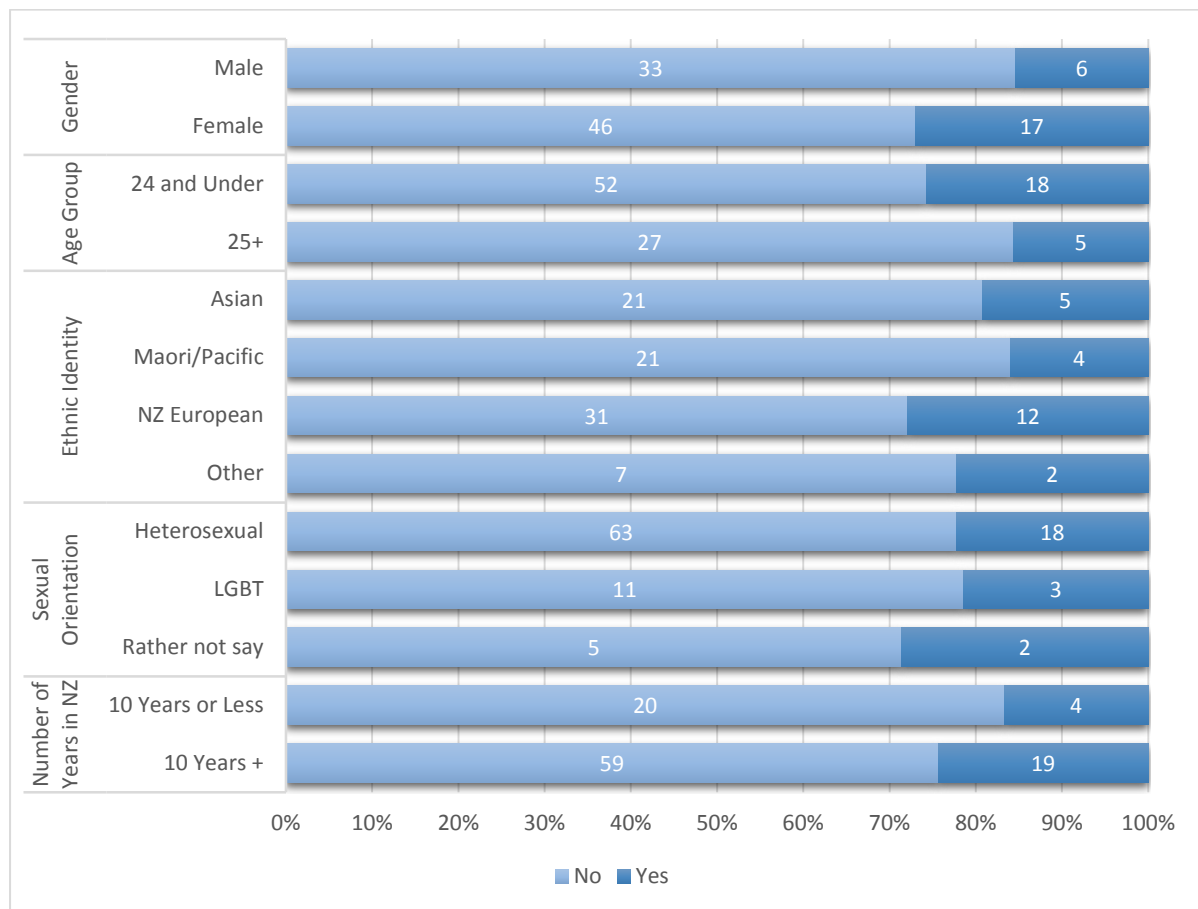## Figure 3: Number of Discriminatory Experiences by Demographic Factors

Figure 4: Discriminatory Actions of Respondents by Demographic Factors

Breaking this down further, starting with gender, more female respondents reported experiencing discrimination than male respondents overall. 11 out of 41 male respondents (26.8%) and 24 out of 65 female respondents (36.9%) reported experiencing discrimination, see Figure 2. Meanwhile, the number of experiences reported is the opposite of this trend. Within those who experienced discrimination, 10 out of 11 male respondents (90.9%) and 13 out of 25 female respondents (52%) reported experiencing three or more counts of discrimination, see Figure 3. MCA showed that gender has a strong, statistically significant effect on the number of discriminatory events experienced by the respondents (Sig=0.025, Eta: 0.374, Beta: 0.444). In terms of discriminatory actions, 6 out of 39 male respondents (15.4%) and 17 out of 63 female respondents (27%) reported discriminating against others, with 4 missing responses, see Figure 4. All three gender diverse respondents reported experiencing discrimination over the last 12 months, with one reporting experiencing at least three discriminatory events, and the other two both reported five or more

events. However, none of the gender diverse respondents reported discriminating against others.

Looking at age groups, younger respondents are less likely to experience discrimination than older respondents, but younger respondents are more likely to discriminate than older respondents. 21 out of 72 respondents (29.2%) who are 24 years old or younger reported experiencing discrimination; while 14 out of 34 respondents (41.2%) who are 25 or older reported experiencing discrimination, see Figure 2. There is a minor difference between the age groups in terms of number of discriminatory experiences, see Figure 3. Conversely, 18 out of 70 respondents (25.7%) who are 24 years old and younger, and 5 out of 32 respondents (15.6%) who are 25 or older reported discriminating against others, see Figure 4.

Regarding ethnicity, respondents identifying as Māori/ Pacific or 'Other' are most likely to experience discrimination overall, while less than one-third of Asians and New Zealand European are likely to experience discrimination, see Figure 2. Conversely, New Zealand Europeans as an ethnic group are more likely to discriminate against others comparatively, while Māori/ Pacific people are least likely to discriminate. 7 out of 25 Asian respondents (28%); 12 out of 28 Māori/ Pacific respondents (42.9%); 12 out of 44 New Zealand European respondents (27.3%); and 4 out of 9 respondents (44.4%) identifying as 'Other' ethnicities reported experiencing discrimination, see Figure 2. The Māori/ Pacific group reported a much higher level of three of more counts of discriminatory experiences among the ethnic identities with 10 out of 28 respondents (35.7%). 2 out of 25 Asians (8%), 8 out of 44 New Zealand Europeans (18.2%), and 2 out of 9 respondents (22.2%) with other ethnic identities reported three or more counts of discrimination, see Figure 3. On the other hand, 5 out of 26 Asian respondents (19.2%); 4 out of 25 Māori/ Pacific respondents (16%); 12 out of 43 New Zealand European respondents (27.9%); and 2 out of 9 respondents (22.2%) identifying as 'Other' ethnicities stated that they had discriminated against others, see Figure 4.

With sexuality, heterosexual respondents are much less likely to experience discrimination than their LGBT counterparts. However, there is little difference in the likelihood to discriminate against others based on sexuality. 24 out of 83 heterosexual respondents (28.9%), 8 out of 14 LGBT respondents (57.1%) and 4 out of 10

respondents who responded 'rather not say' reported experiencing discrimination over a 12-month period, see Figure 2. In regards to multiple counts of discrimination, 6 out of 13 LGBT respondents (46.2%) reported experiencing three or more counts of discrimination, while 13 out of 83 heterosexual respondents (15.7%) reported the same, see Figure 3. In terms of discriminating against others, 18 out 81 heterosexual respondents (22.2%), and 3 out of 14 LGBT respondents (21.4%) had discriminated against someone else, see Figure 4.

Lastly, there is little difference in the likelihood of experiencing discrimination based on the number of years the respondents have resided in New Zealand. However, those who have resided in New Zealand longer are more likely to discriminate than those who have resided in New Zealand for less than 10 years. 8 out of 24 respondents (33.3%) who have resided in New Zealand for 10 years or less, and 26 out of 81 respondents (32.1%) who have resided in New Zealand for more than 10 years reported experiencing discrimination, see Figure 2. However, with multiple counts of discrimination, a larger portion of respondents who have resided in New Zealand over 10 years (18 out of 81, 22.2%) reported three or more counts of discrimination, compared to 4 out of 24 respondents (16.7%) who have resided in New Zealand for 10 or less years, see Figure 3. Inversely, 4 out of 24 respondents (16.7%) who have resided in New Zealand for 10 years or less, and 19 out of 78 respondents (24.4%) who have resided in New Zealand for more than 10 years reported discriminating against others, see Figure 4.

4.5.3 Section Summary

Section 4.5 answers RQ1 on the frequency of discrimination experienced by students and demonstrates which groups are the most likely targets of discriminatory behaviours. Firstly, H1, which states that less than 20% of respondents will report experiencing discrimination over the 12-month period, is rejected. 33% of the sample reported having had an experience of discrimination within that 12-month period. Secondly, around 62.9% of the respondents who have experienced discrimination reported experiencing three or more counts of discrimination within that period. Thirdly, H2, which states that minority and vulnerable groups are more likely to experience discrimination, is not supported as none of the analyses reached statistical significance and no large effect size was found. RQ4 is also answered in this section.

RQ4 relates to the respondent's willingness to disclose their discriminatory behaviours. H5 stated that less than 10% of the respondents will report their discriminatory behaviours. 21.9% of the respondents reported that they have acted in a discriminatory way in the 12-month period, therefore H5 is rejected.

4.6 Characteristics of Discrimination Events

4.6.1 Overview

This section is based on data collected from questions 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14; see Appendix D. Question 8, 'Have you experienced any discriminatory treatment over the last 12 months?' acted as a screening question for questions 10 to 14, therefore the following statistics are based on the responses of 35 respondents rather than the entire sample population.

Figure 5: Frequency Chart of Question 10

In your day-to-day life, how often do any of the following things happen to you?
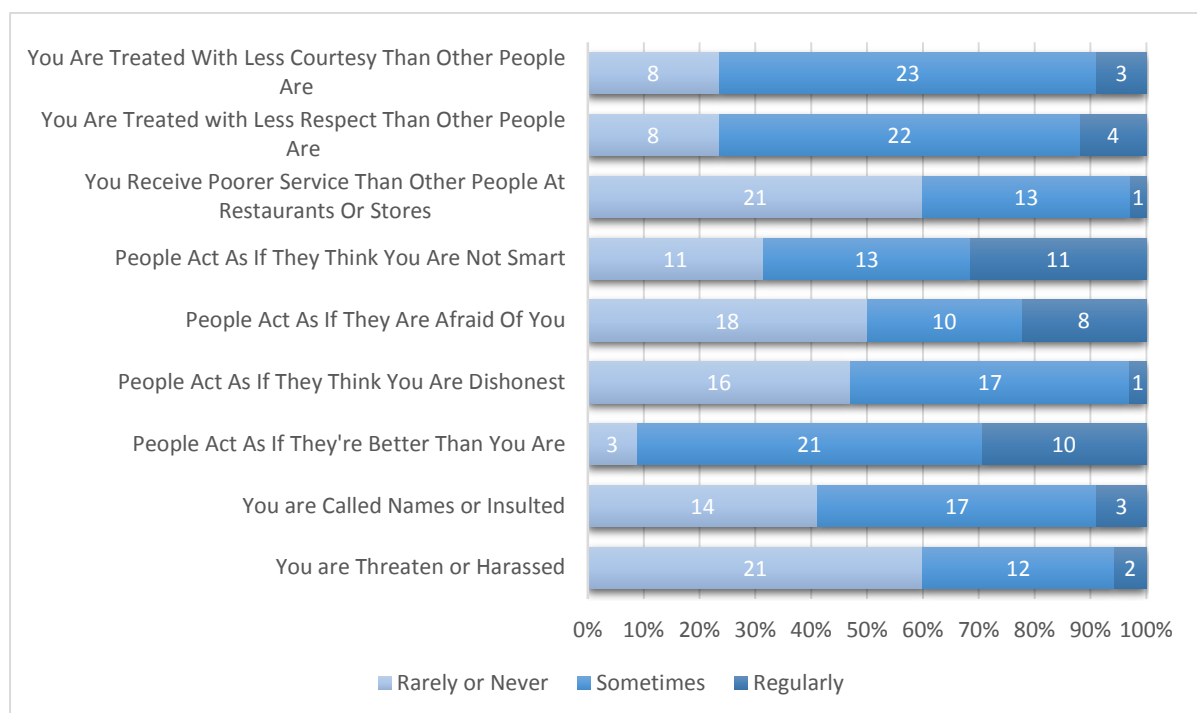

Figure 6: Frequency Chart of Question 11

What do you think are the main reasons for these discriminatory experiences?
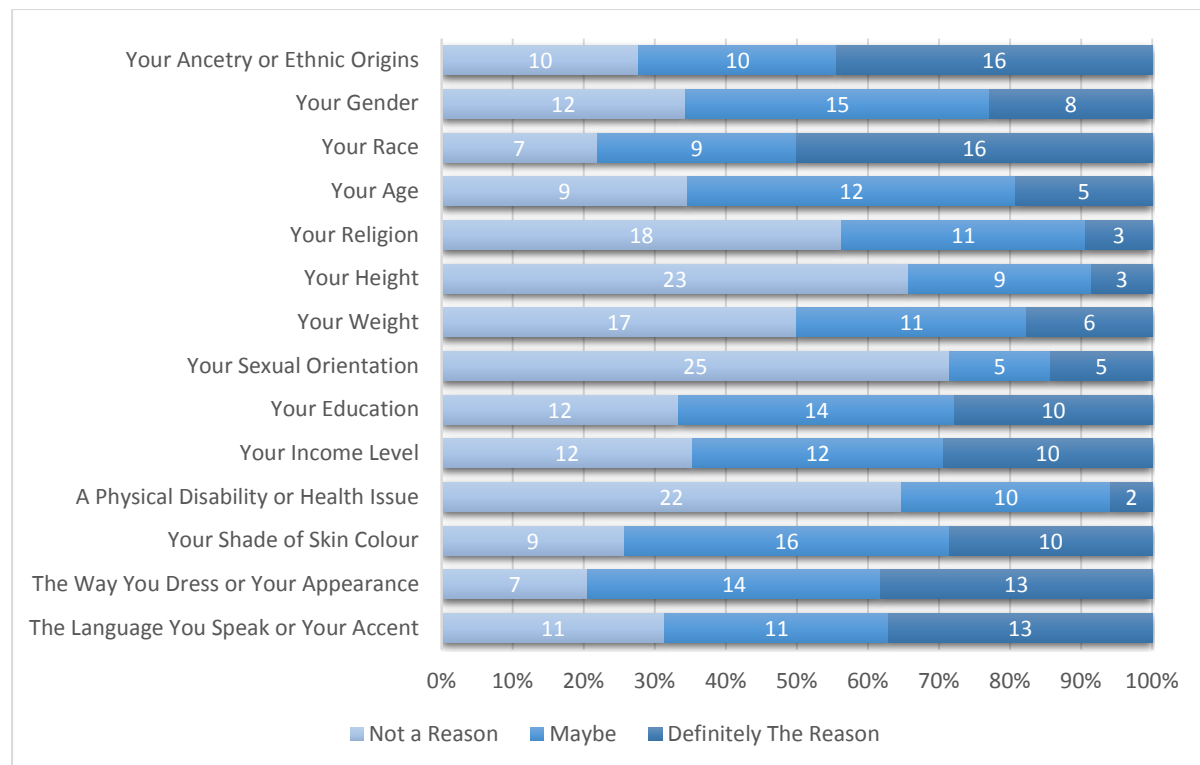
Figure 7: Frequency Chart of Question 12

Within what situation(s) were you in when you were discriminated against?
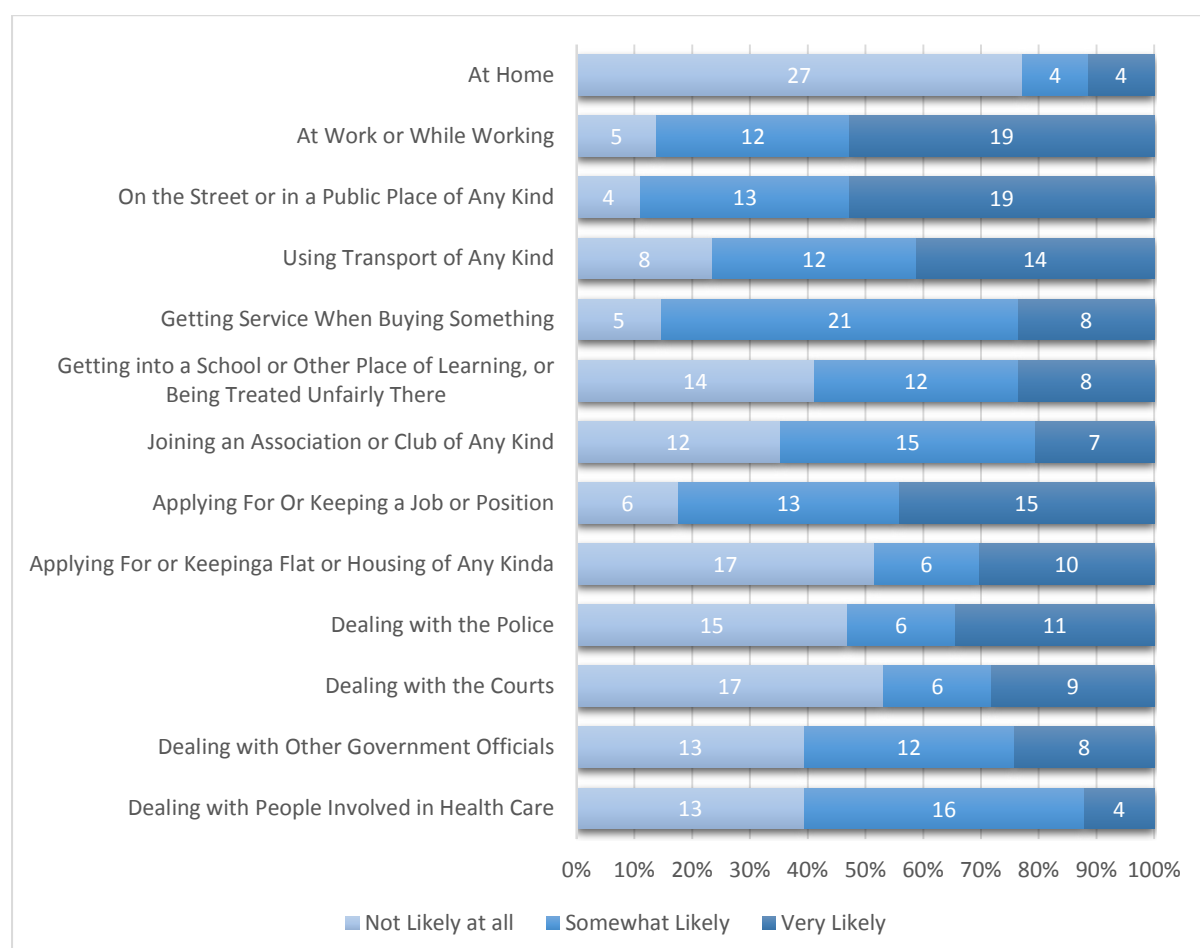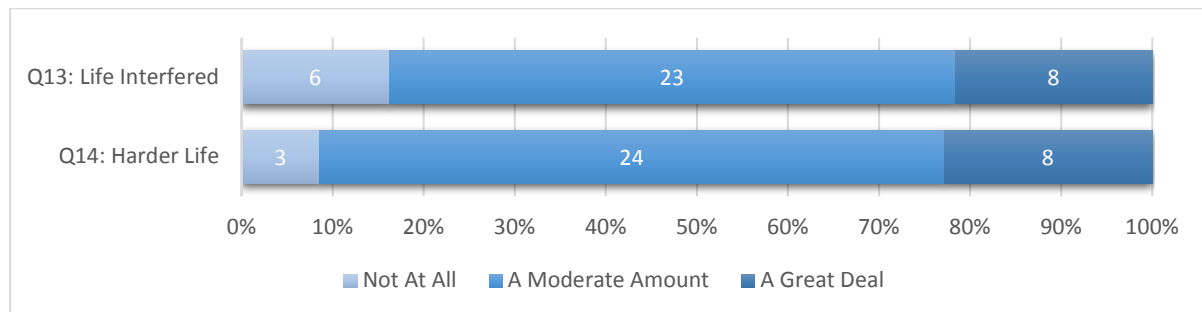
Figure 8: Frequency Chart of Question 13 and 14

Q13.   Overall, how much has discrimination interfered with you having a full and productive life?

Q14.   Overall, how much harder has your life been because of discrimination?

Overall, from question 10, 'In your day-to-day life, how often do any of the following things happen to you?' respondents expressed that discrimination most often occurs in two forms, 'people act as if they think you are not smart' (11/35, 31% - Regularly; 13/35 36.9% - Sometimes) and 'being treated as lower by the discriminator' (10/34, 29.6% - Regularly; 21/34, 60.4% - Sometimes). Being treated with less 'courtesy' (23/34, 67.2% - Sometimes) or 'respect' (22/34, 67.9% - Sometimes) than other people were also highlighted in the data collected as frequent discriminatory actions. On the other hand, discriminatory actions based on 'receiving poorer services' (21/35, 59.9% - Rarely or Never) and 'being threatened or harassed' were identified as least likely (21/35, 59.3% - Rarely or Never). This is shown in Figure 5.

Next, with Question 11, 'What do you think are the main reasons for these discriminatory experiences?' the responses show that discrimination is most often based on factors that are easily distinguishable visually. This includes 'your ancestry or ethnic origins' (16/35, 45.4% - Definitely the reason), and 'your race' (16/32, 50.8% - Definitely the reason). This is followed by factors such as 'the way you dress or your appearance' (13/35, 38.1% - Definitely the reason; 14/35, 41% - Maybe), and 'your shade of skin colour' (10/35, 28.3% - Definitely the reason, 16/35, 46.6% - Maybe), which were identified as common causes of discrimination. Factors such as 'sexual orientation' (25/35, 70.5% - Not a reason), 'your height' (23/35, 66.2% - Not a reason), and 'physical disability or health issue' (22/35, 64% - Not a reason) were identified as unlikely reasons for discrimination. See Figure 6.

The context within which discrimination is experienced in is examined through question 12, 'Within what situation(s) were you in when you were discriminated against?' The respondents underlined 'at work or while working' (19/35, 53.2% - Definitely the reason), and 'on the street or in a public place of any kind' (19/35, 53.6% - Definitely the reason) as the main contexts where discrimination occurred. Additionally, discriminatory events are also common in the contexts of 'getting service when buying something' (8/34, 22.5% - Definitely the reason; 21/34, 63.5% - Maybe), and 'applying for or keeping a job or position' (15/33, 44.3% - Definitely the reason; 13/33, 37.9% - Maybe). Conversely, discrimination is least likely to occur 'at home' (27/35, 75.8% - Not a reason). See Figure 7.

In terms of the perceived effects of discrimination, from question 13 'Overall, how much has discrimination interfered with you having a full and productive life?' and 14 'Overall, how much harder has your life been because of discrimination?' Most respondents considered discrimination to be detrimental to their life to varying degrees. See Figure 8.

4.6.2 Demographic Breakdown

This section mostly highlights the findings from the data analysis that achieved statistical significance. Again, the analysis will be based on the data from the responses of the 35 respondents who reported experiencing discrimination over the last 12 months. The findings will be examined in segments, separated by demographic factors. The data from the three gender-diverse respondents are excluded from this section as this group did not have enough members to attain statistically significant results when analysed using crosstabulations and MCA.

4.6.2.1 Gender

In terms of gender, starting with question 10, male respondents tend to be treated with 'less respect' (27.3% vs 4.3% - Regularly; 72.7% vs 60.9% - Sometimes; Sig=0.061, Eta=0.441, Beta=0.329), more likely to be 'threatened or harassed' (18.2% vs 0% - Regularly; 54.5% vs 25% - Sometimes; Sig=0.001, Eta=0.592, Beta=0.546), and are also more probably 'called names or insulted' (30% vs 0% - Regularly; 30% vs 58.3% - Sometimes; Sig=0.05, Eta=0.286, Beta=0.371) than female respondents. The MCA further supports the relationships between gender and categories mentioned above. Gender has a large effect size on the first two categories and has a moderate

effect size on 'called names or insulted'. The explanatory power of gender for 'called names or insulted' increased to a large effect size when controlling for other predictor variables, but decreased for the other categories. However, only the categories 'threatened or harassed' and 'called names or insulted' reached statistical significance.

From question 11, the difference between the responses from male and female respondents did not reveal many strong relationships between gender and reasons attributed to experiences of discrimination.

Then with question 12, men more often experience discrimination within the following contexts more than women: 'Joining an association or club of any kind' (50% vs 8.3% - Likely; Sig=0.059, Eta=0.405, Beta=0.321). While MCA showed that gender has a large effect size on this variable, the relationship was not statistically significant.

Finally, from question 13 and 14, gender achieved statistical significance for both questions with MCA. For both questions, male respondents tended to believe they are more severely disadvantaged by discrimination overall compared to female respondents; question 13, (45% vs 4.2% - A great deal; Sig=0.003, Eta=0.54, Beta=0.555); question 14, (45% vs 4.2% - A great deal; Sig=0.002, Eta=0.566, Beta=0.593). The explanatory power of gender only increased when controlling for other predictor variables. MCA reveals gender explains the majority of the variance between male and female's responses for question 13 and 14.

4.6.2.2 Age Group

With age groups, starting with question 10, age seems to have a large effect size, whereby older respondents are more likely to receive poorer services overall (4.8% vs 7.1% - Regularly; 9.5% vs 71.4% - Sometimes; Sig=0.049, Eta=0.555, Beta=0.408). However, none of the other variables from question 10 appear to have any strong relationships with age from cross-tabulations or MCA.

Next, from question 11, there are no strong relationships between age groups and the categories from question 11. Additionally, none of the variables reached statistical significance when tested against age groups as the predictor variable using cross-tabulations or MCA.

As for question 12, people above the age of 25 appear to be more likely to experience discrimination in one context when compared to people younger than 25;

'applying for or keeping a flat or housing of any kind' (57.1% vs 10.5% - Likely; Sig=0.051, Eta=0.614, Beta=0.412). Age has a large effect size on MCA did not provide any statistical backing for the relationship between age groups as the predictor variable and the other variables dependant variables from question 12.

No strong relationships were found and no statistical significance was achieved with question 13 and 14 when tested with age groups for both cross-tabulation and MCA.

4.6.2.3 Ethnic Identity

On ethnic identity, starting with question 10, the Māori/ Pacific group tends to be discriminated against most frequently compared to other groups. MCA supports this pattern where a large effect size is observed for the following items. Māori/ Pacific people are more likely to be perceived as 'not smart' (58.3% - Regularly; 16.7% - Sometimes), followed by New Zealand Europeans (16.7% - Regularly; 58.3% - Sometimes); (Sig=0.028, Eta=0.502, Beta=0.585). A similar pattern is observed for 'people act as if they're better than you are'; Māori/ Pacific people (63.6% - Regularly; 36.4% - Sometimes) and Europeans (16.7% - Regularly; 75% - Sometimes); (Sig=0.007, Eta=0.626, Beta=0.0.526). Furthermore, Māori/ Pacific people also commonly experience discrimination in the following forms: 'people act as if they are afraid of you' (63.6% - Regularly; 36.4% - Sometimes; Sig=0.000, Eta=0.844, Beta=0.766); 'people act as if they think you are dishonest' (0% - Regularly; 100% - Sometimes; Sig=0.008, Eta=0.61, Beta=0.687); 'you are call names or insults' (18.2% - Regularly; 63.6% - Sometimes; Sig=0.006, Eta=0.425, Beta=0.669).

For question 11, ethnic identity was found to be a strong predictor for whether gender is attributed as the reason for their discrimination experience, where Asians (57.1% - Not a reason) and, to a lesser extent, Māori/ Pacific (45.5% - Not a reason) ethnic groups did not perceive gender as the cause, as opposed to Europeans (41.7% - Definitely the reason); (Sig=0.026, Eta=0.576, Beta=0.598). Conversely, 'your shade of skin colour' is a common reason attributed as the reason for discrimination by Māori/ Pacific people (36.4% - Definitely the reason; 63.6% - Maybe), followed by Asians (14.3% - Definitely the reason; 71.4% - Maybe); (Sig=0.004, Eta=0.602, Beta=0.632). Again with 'the language you speak or your accent', where a similar pattern is observed; Māori/ Pacific (63.6% - Definitely the reason), and Asian (42.9% - Definitely

the reason); (Sig=0.024, Eta=0.428, Beta=0.565). Similarly, the Māori/ Pacific group commonly attributed their discriminatory experience to 'your ancestry or ethnic origins' (75% - Definitely the reason), followed by Asians (42.9% - Definitely the reason); (Sig=0.052, Eta=0.54, Beta=0.545). It should be noted that while MCA did not justify last relationship as statistically significant, it did achieve high Eta and Beta values assigned to them with ethnic identity as the predictor variable; meaning that ethnic identity may be a strong predictor for being discriminated against due to these two reasons, therefore, further testing is required.

Next, with question 12, ethnic identity was also found to have a large effect size. Māori/ Pacific people are most likely to experience discrimination 'at work or while working' (81.8% - Likely), followed by Europeans (46.2% - Likely; 38.5% - Maybe); (Sig=0.012, Eta=0.554, Beta=0.669). Māori/ Pacific individuals are also likely to experience discrimination compared to other ethnic groups when 'Joining an association or club of any kind' (41.7% - Likely; 58.3% maybe; Sig=0.033, Eta=0.589, Beta=0.516).

No strong relationships were found statistical significance was not achieved with questions 13 and 14 when tested with ethnic identity using both cross-tabulation and MCA.

4.6.2.4 Sexuality

For question 10, three items had statistical significance from MCA. Firstly, heterosexual people are much less likely to be 'threatened or harassed' (73.9% vs 37.5% - Rarely or never; Sig=0.009, Eta=0.603, Beta=0.428) than LGBT people. Secondly, LGBT people are more likely to be 'called names or insulted' (0% vs 13% - Regularly; 85.7% vs 43.5% - Sometimes; Sig=0.026, Eta=0.239, Beta=0.475). Similarly, with 'people act as if they're better than you' (50% vs 13% - Regularly; 50% vs 73.9% - Sometimes; Sig=0.003, Eta=0.543, Beta=0.471). Lastly, heterosexuals appear more likely to 'receive poorer services' (4.2% vs 12.5% - Regularly; 37.5% vs 0% - Sometimes; Sig=0.54, Eta=0.382, Beta=0.187) than LGBT individuals overall. Sexual orientation has a large effect size on all other categories, with the exception of the category 'called names or insulted'. However, the effect size of this category increased to large after controlling for other predictor variables. On the other hand, the effect size of sexual orientation dropped to low for the last category having controlled

for the other predictor variables. Additionally, the last item did not reach statistical significance from the MCA.

With question 11, unsurprisingly, the MCA pointed out that sexuality is strongly correlated with being discriminated against based on sexual orientation. Whereby members of the LGBT community are more likely experience this type of discrimination (50% vs 4.2% - Definitely the reason; 25% vs 12.5% - Maybe; Sig=0.001, Eta=0.634, Beta=0.685). However, no other categories stood out or attained statistical significance when analysed with sexual orientation.

With question 12, MCA revealed a strong correlation that is statistically significant between sexuality and 'using transport of any kind' whereby heterosexual are more likely to encounter discrimination in this context (50% vs 14.3% - Likely; Sig=0.032, Eta=0.341, Beta=0.514).

No relationships were discovered and no statistical significance was achieved with question 13 and 14 when tested with sexuality for both cross-tabulation and MCA.

4.6.2.5 Number of Years in New Zealand

The predictor variable, number of years that the respondent has resided within New Zealand, was not found to have any correlation with the various characteristics of discrimination examined in questions 10 to 14.

4.6.3 Section Summary

This section partially answers RQ2 and RQ3. In terms of RQ2; which askes how the university students are discriminated against; the most common forms of discriminatory treatment relate to covert behaviours such as treating the victims as if the victims are beneath them, or not smart, with less courtesy, or respect, see Figure 5. This pattern supports H3 statement that most discriminatory acts are passive and subtle actions such as negative attitudes rather than overt discrimination. Segmenting this examination by demographic factors shows that different groups are more likely to experience certain forms of discrimination than others.

Starting with gender, while there was a higher ratio of female respondents who reported experiences of discrimination than males overall, a significantly larger portion of male discrimination victims reported being treated with less respect, received poorer

services, were called names or insulted, and to be threatened or harassed than their female counterparts. Furthermore, analysis did not find a significant relationship between the demographic factor of gender and the attribution of discrimination to the reason 'gender'.

Secondly, people of Māori/ Pacific and other non-NZ European, non-Asian descent are significantly more likely to experience discrimination in its various forms than the other three ethnic categories. Additionally, Māori and Pasifika people as well as Asians both attributed their discriminatory experiences to features such as skin colour, language, ethnicity and race. Therefore, this supports H2, suggesting that racism persists in New Zealand, but more severely against people of Māori/Pacific or other non-NZ European descent. On the other hand, NZ Europeans mostly attributed discrimination to gender as the cause. This may suggest that discrimination based on gender is perceived to be more prevalent within NZ European groups while other ethnic groups perceive racism as the primary discrimination issue. Māori and Pasifika people, followed by NZ Europeans, are more likely than other ethnic groups to encounter discrimination at work as well.

Thirdly, in terms of sexuality, LGBT people are more likely to experience discrimination in a range of different forms as well, thereby support H2. Analysis established that these discriminatory experiences are perceived to be triggered by their sexual orientation. Lastly, neither age nor the total number of years that the respondent resided in New Zealand seem to be a strong indicator for discriminatory experiences. The only significant relationship relates to respondents who are 25 or older appear to be more likely to receive poorer services overall than younger respondents.

RQ3 refers to the perceived effects of discrimination on university students. Male respondents are the only demographic group that believed they were significantly affected by discrimination. No strong or significant relationships were found between perceived effects and any of the other demographic groups.

4.7 Perceptions of New Zealand

This section centres on the questions 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 and 25; see Appendix D. These questions aim to survey the respondents' perceptions of discrimination and related traits in New Zealand.

4.7.1 Overview

Figure 9: Frequency Chart of Question 20 to 23

Choose a response that best express how you feel about the following statements.
Q20.   New Zealand promotes and celebrates diversity.
Q21.   New Zealand has very little issue with discrimination.
Q22.   Levels of discrimination against various groups has decreased over the last 12 months in New Zealand.
Q23.   I find it easy to express my identity and be myself in New Zealand.
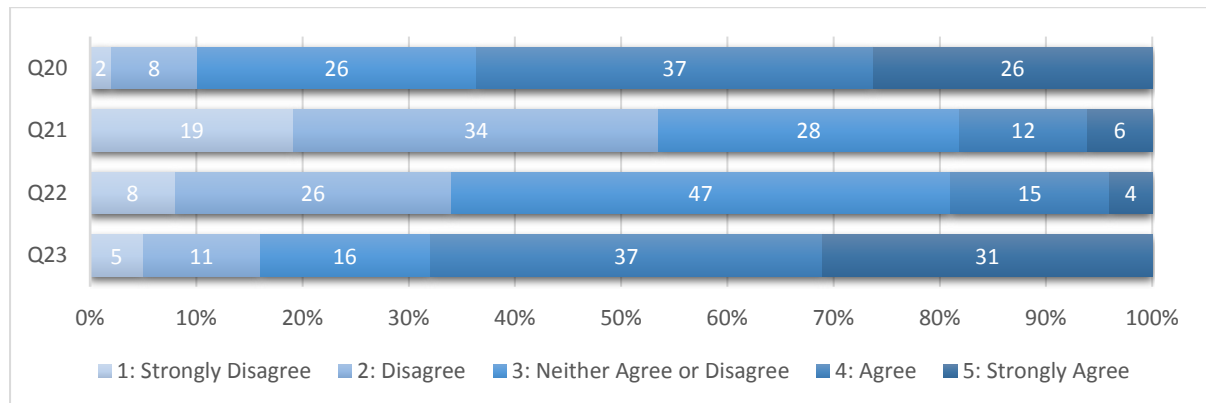

Figure 10: Frequency Chart of Question 24

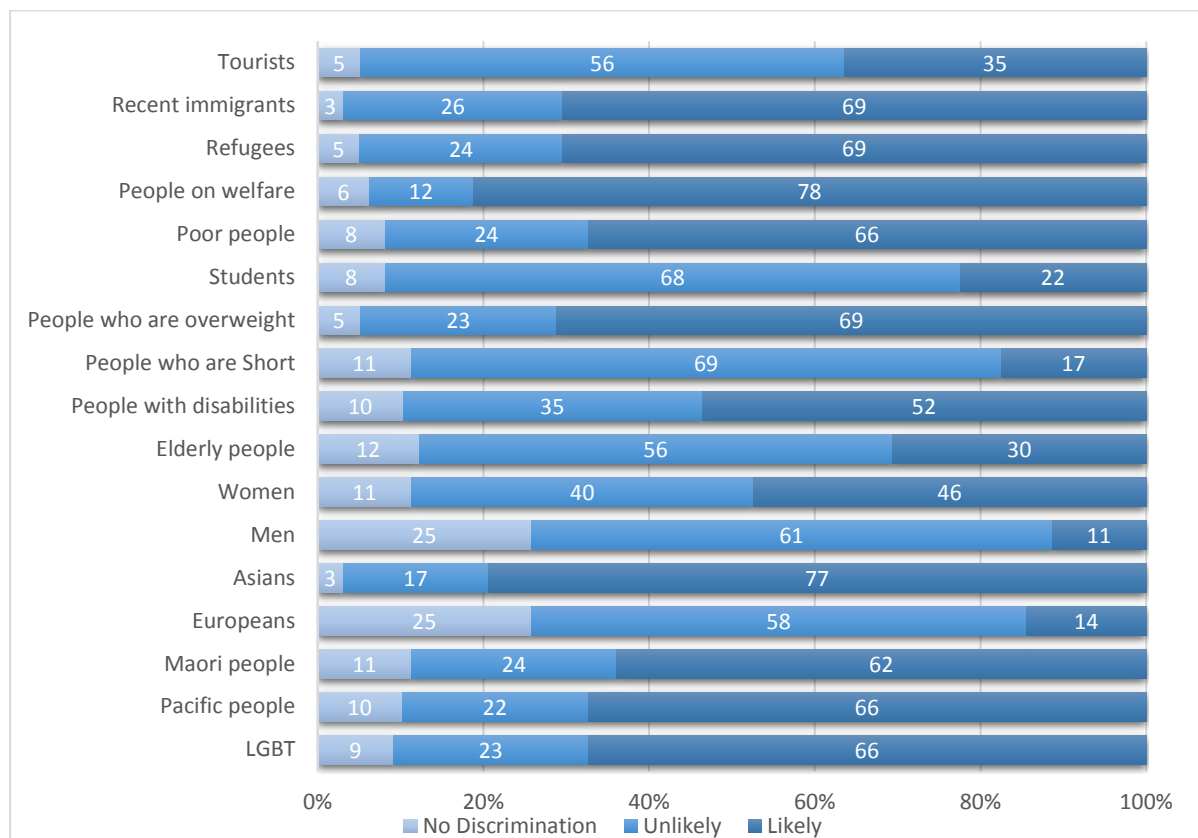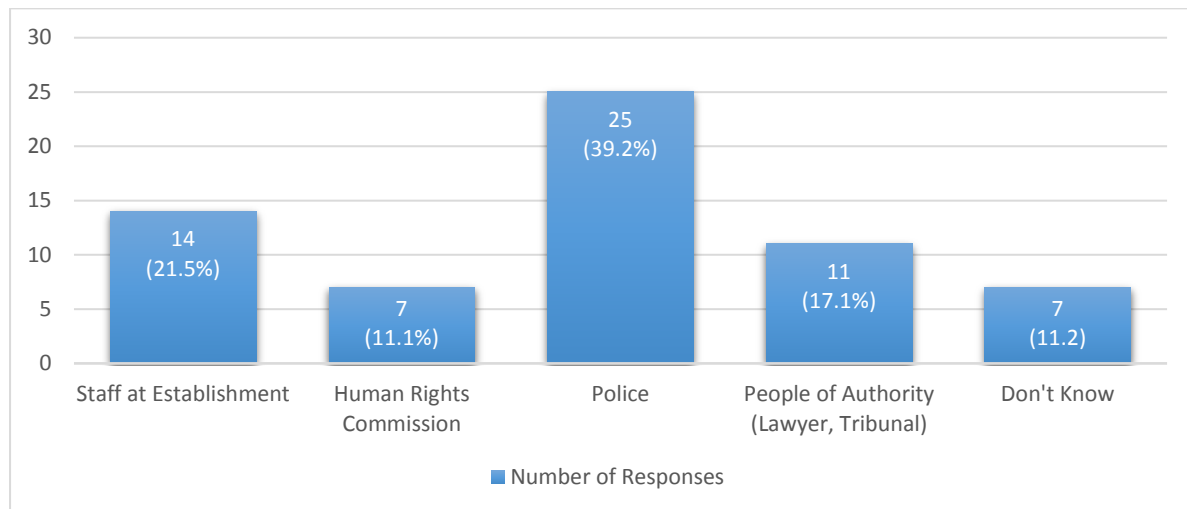*How likely do you think the following groups experience discrimination in New Zealand on a monthly basis?*

Figure 11: Frequency Chart of Question 25

If you were to experience unlawful discrimination, please identify where or to whom you can make a complaint to.

Note: The percentage is not based on the total sample population but on only the 50 respondents who answered this question. This question allows for multiple responses from the respondents, therefore the percentage does not add up to 100%.

Starting with question 20, the majority of respondents agreed that New Zealand promotes and celebrates diversity, (26/100, 26% - Strongly Agree; 37/100, 37% - Agree). Furthermore, from question 23, the majority of respondents also rated New Zealand highly in terms of ease of expression of self and identity, (31/100, 31% - Strongly Agree; 37/100, 37% - Agree). However, the majority identified discrimination as a problem in New Zealand as they disagreed with the statement 'New Zealand has very little issue with discrimination' (19/100, 19% - Strongly Disagree; 34/100, 34% - disagree). Moreover, more respondents stated that discrimination levels have increased rather than decreased over the last 12 months (34/100, 34% - Strongly Disagree/ Disagree; 19/100, 19% - Strongly Agree/ Agree), with the majority believing that discrimination levels have remained unchanged (47/100, 47%). See Figure 9.

Question 24 further dissects respondent perceptions down into the likelihood that different demographic groups may experience discrimination; 'How likely do you think the following groups experience discrimination in New Zealand on a monthly basis?' The two groups, 'Asians' (78/97, 79.9% - Likely) and 'people on welfare' (77/97, 80.6% - Likely) were ranked as most likely to experience discrimination in New Zealand. Other demographic groups such as 'recent immigrants' (69/97, 70.8% - Likely); 'refugees' (69/97, 70.5% - Likely); 'poor people' (66/97, 67.3% - Likely); 'people

who are overweight' (69/97, 70.7% - Likely); 'Māori people' (62/97, 64.3% - Likely); 'Pacific people' (66/97, 67.3% - Likely); and 'LGBT' (66/97, 67.8% - Likely) were also rated as likely groups to experience discrimination as well. Contrarily, the 'men' (25/97, 26% - No Discrimination) and 'Europeans' (25/97, 26.1% - No Discrimination) groups were perceived to be least to experience discrimination overall. See Figure 10.

Lastly, question 25 investigates to whom respondents will report discrimination. The results highlighted four avenues, 'staff at the establishment' (14, 21.5%); 'Human Rights Commission' (7, 11.1%); 'Police' (25, 39.2%); 'people of authority (Lawyer, Tribunal)'; and 7 (11.2%) stated that they do not know who they can report discrimination to. See Figure 11. The percentage is not based on the total sample population but on only the 50 respondents who answered this question. This question allows for multiple responses from the respondents, therefore the percentage does not add to 100%.

4.7.2 Section Summary

This section answers RQ5, how do students perceive New Zealand in terms of discrimination, diversity and ease of self-expression? This section highlighted that a majority of respondents believe that New Zealand is accepting of and even promotes diversity, which has afforded them the liberty to express themselves as a free individual. However, a large portion of respondents also agreed discrimination is a persistent issue in New Zealand, with some asserting that discrimination levels may be worsening. Thus, H6 is supported by the findings.

Furthermore, this section highlights demographic groups that are perceived to be likely victims of discrimination in New Zealand. These groups include Asians and people on welfare as the most likely targets of discriminatory behaviours, followed by recent immigrants, poor people, refugees, Māori people, Pacific people, overweight people and the LGBT community. On the other hand, men and Europeans are least likely to experience discrimination. These results partially support H2 that states minority groups are more likely to experience discrimination in New Zealand. However, women are not perceived as likely victims of discrimination.

4.8 Thematic Analysis

This section employs thematic analysis to examine the responses from questions 19, 20, 22 and 23. Out of the 35 respondents who were victims of discrimination, 28 respondents answered the open-ended questions 19 and 20. For

questions 22 and 23, all 23 respondents who reported having discriminated against others filled out these questions. Codes identified from each question are grouped into five main themes. The extracted themes are summarised in Table 6.

Table 6: Summary of Themes from Questions 19 to 23

Themes	Codes	Description
Basis of discrimination	Stereotypes	Mutual preconceived ideas and image of certain people of groups that are shared within a society
	Personal prejudices	Personal prejudices and feelings about certain groups and people
Forms of discrimination	Affirmative action/ positive discrimination	'Lawful' discrimination aimed to remedy past/current inequalities through preferential treatment
	Sexism	Discrimination based on gender (misogyny and misandry)
	Racism	Discrimination based on ethnicity or cultural backgrounds, believes and differences, as well as misunderstandings
	Homophobia	Discrimination based on sexuality
	Ableism	Discrimination based on physical disability
	Ageism	Discrimination based on age
	Current events	ISIS attacks and other extreme cultural acts
	Privilege	Due to the privilege provided to certain groups, this refers to both discrimination by people of privilege and towards people of privilege
	Others	Discrimination based on height, education or beauty
Discriminatory actions	Verbal Abuse	Consciously or subconsciously making discriminatory comments or insults
	Humour	Jokes based on stereotypes or personal prejudices
	Justification	Justifying discriminatory actions based on stereotypes
	Ability assumption	Assumed inability or inexperience at work by either customers or co-workers
	Rejection	Declined entry/service, employment or (rental) housing
	Differential or unfair treatment	Social exclusion; making judgements, ignoring or being less friendly to certain people or groups
	Avoidance/ segregation	Individual is ignored or avoided by discriminator/ others
Reactions to discriminatory experience	Ignore/ accept	The victim either ignores the discriminatory event and moves on, or accepts it as unavoidable or normative treatment
	Avoidance/ leaving	The victim leaves to avoid further discrimination
	Take legal action	Seeking legal remedies to discriminatory treatment
	Negative feelings	Demoralised, loss of confidence, less inclined to be self, anger
	Verbal retaliation	Questioned or argued with discriminator, some even told them off
	Motivation	Used discriminatory experience as motivation to prove them wrong
Self-reflection		Realising they were being unjustly discriminating against others leading to self-reflection and behavioural change

The respondents were each assigned a number so that they remain anonymous. The respondents will be referred to in the following format:

[Respondent X – Gender, Ethnicity, Age group, Sexuality, Years in NZ]

4.8.1 Basis of Discrimination

Five main themes were identified from the dataset, each demonstrating several key ideas about discrimination in New Zealand. These themes provided evidence to answer all five research questions while supporting or rejecting certain hypotheses. Overall, a majority of the responses overlapped with each other and a range of themes found also matched the concepts that the survey was constructed on. However, the qualitative analysis revealed several uncommon aspects of discrimination that were mostly missing from the quantitative findings.

Stereotypes and personal prejudices were the overarching basis for most of the discriminatory experiences described by the respondents, thus supporting H3. A few attributed the cause of discrimination to stereotypes and suggested that the underlying and subconscious beliefs about certain groups will continue to persist within contemporary society. Therefore, it can be suggested that discrimination will naturally occur regardless of social intervention. Other respondents perceived personal prejudices as the cause for discrimination. Most respondents agree that stereotypes and personal prejudices are deeply ingrained into the society or an individual's mind-set where discrimination often occurs as subconsciously rather than conscious actions.

4.8.2 Forms of Discrimination

Generally, respondents referred to discrimination as a negative experience, with one exception. One respondent mentioned positive discrimination or affirmative action, where she was given an academic scholarship and even employment at AUT based on her race and heritage which allowed her to attend university to attain higher education.

"I have received scholarships and been employed by the equity team. In my case, being Māori has made my university journey easier."

[Respondent 7 – Female, Māori, 24/Under, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

In contrast to the rest of the data, this highlights a common but less discussed form of discrimination. While only one respondent reported positive discrimination, AUT, along with most other universities around the world, offers scholarships funded publicly and privately that target particular disadvantaged groups in hopes to equalise the population's livelihoods through the provision of free or partially paid higher education.

Contrarily, some believe that affirmative action is no different than normal structural discrimination, regardless of its aim to remedy past or current inequalities.

"…I felt sad as it made me reflect on all the scholarships available to basically anyone except white males and how that has hindered me from joining tertiary education to date as I did not want to get myself into such substantial debt at such a young age. This has certainly affected my future career prospects."

[Respondent 2 – Male, NZ European, 25+, LGBT, 10 years +]

Moreover, another respondent claimed while that it is unjust how some religions are given support and are allowed special religious buildings and areas, while other religions simply received no support. The respondent did not specify any particular religion or group in their response.

"…for the reason that they have their own building for their religion and Pasifika have absolutely no support."

[Respondent 79 – Female, Māori/Pacific, 25+, N/A, 10 years +]

This further supports the idea that affirmative action may have resulted in discrimination against other groups. Furthermore, some may perceive affirmative action as a barrier, thereby leading to the limitation or loss of their rights, in these cases to education and religious freedom.

On the other hand, some demanded affirmative action as they believed they should be afforded some special considerations due to ethnic differences.

"I think AUT should educate supervisors when dealing with international students especially when doing thesis supervision. I have heard a lot of complaints about the harassment of writing abilities of students from their supervisors."

[Respondent 91 – Male, Asian, 25+, heterosexual, 10 years -]

In this case, Respondent 91 suggested AUT staff should be more accommodating to international students because English is their second language. However, this can be construed as unfair treatment to English speaking students. Furthermore, such allowances are difficult to establish as students born and raised in New Zealand or other English-speaking countries will have differing English abilities.

Common forms of discrimination such as sexism, racism and homophobia were discussed by respondents in these open-ended questions. The majority of sexism reported related to general stereotypes about females. Respondents mentioned being treated as incompetent at work by customers because they were females in male dominated fields. Another noted that she was told not to do physical manual labour because of her gender. Furthermore, another respondent believed that discrimination against women remains as a subconscious issue underlying the contemporary society, where women are fundamentally and systematically devalued and undermined.

"I think it's more of a subconscious thing. I personally have those feelings of unworthiness underlying what I do, which I think comes from being a woman in today's society telling us we're not good enough."

[Respondent 99 – Male, Asian, 24/Under, Heterosexual, 10 years -]

One respondent recalled an encounter with a male in public who demanded her attention through 'cat-calling'. Cat calling is classified as harassment in New Zealand and the offender can be fined up to $1000 (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2017).

Conversely, a male respondent detailed being discriminated against due to the perceived privileged position he held as a 'white male', and as a privileged white male, he was presumed to know nothing about being discriminated against.

"…I was not allowed to have an opinion about perceived gender inequities as I am a white man who is privileged and therefore am not entitled to hold views on feminism"

[Respondent 2 – Male, NZ European, 25+, LGBT, 10 years +]

This suggests a 'double standard' in the discrimination discourse where dominant groups exist entirely free from discrimination and only participate as the discriminators.

A lot of respondents also spoke of racism. These largely involved discriminatory jokes or comments about certain ethnic groups, cultural differences or misunderstandings. A few respondents also claimed that they were treated unfairly or harshly by educators due to their low proficiency with the English language since English is their second language. Another Asian respondent felt like her intelligence is constantly being challenged by others due to her low proficiency with the English language. Some respondents recalled more extreme experiences.

"In the last house where I rented a room, even if the Pakeha Kiwi girl was eating my food that I kept inside the refrigerator, the owner of the house said that I should just give way to her because this is their country and that I am not from here... When I was applying for a job and despite my more than 10 years of administrative experience, the employer said I was not qualified because I had "no kiwi experience." In my home country, we never do this to foreign workers."

[Respondent 1 – Female, Asian, 25+, Heterosexual, 10 years -]

"For cultural acts that I deem unfair and unethical for example the ISIS attacks and shootings."

[Respondent 14 – Female, NZ European, 24-, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

"…Thinking things like oh typical Asian/Islander/etc. they are doing this etc. Blaming it on an ethnicity instead of an individual person's actions…"

[Respondent 72 – Female, NZ European, 24-, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

This shows that current events overseas are causing changes in attitudes towards certain groups in New Zealand. Additionally, this emphasizes how the media can affect public perceptions and cause social change. Furthermore, these responses suggest the public/ average person's tendency to generalise certain stereotypes or actions as a common believe or trait of an ethnic group, culture or religion.

Some respondents who identify as LGBT reported experiences of homophobia where they were met with verbal abuse or avoidance in everyday life. One transgender respondent reported difficulty when clothes shopping, where they were unable to use the changing rooms due to their transgender status. LGBT individuals report also experiencing discrimination within the private sphere where they are discriminated

against by family members, as opposed to being discriminated only in the public sphere by peers and strangers.

"… I wasn't discriminated directly but my uncle who I currently reside with was disgustingly trash talking a girl on the news because she is gay. He did this right in front of me with full knowledge of my sexual orientation, being gay."

[Respondent 69 – Female, Māori/Pacific, 24-, LGBT, 10 years +]

Another respondent recalled her experience of being declined quality rental housing due to her unconventional family make up and was forced into substandard housing. These responses support H2 that states minorities are more prone to experiencing discrimination.

The respondents highlighted two additional types of discrimination that were less evident in the overall survey dataset, these are ableism and ageism. In terms of ageism, age was used as one of the primary demographic factors and was tested against different aspects of discrimination. However, there was little statistical support that age discrimination is common within New Zealand. The two of the three respondents who cited age discrimination focused upon being treated as 'inexperienced' at their place of employment by other staff members or customers.

"My advice doesn't get taken seriously at work... I am discriminated against by older people."

[Respondent 77 – Female, NZ European, 25+, Heterosexual, 10 years -]

While the other respondent reported being devalued and belittled by her peers due to her age and perceived lack of life experiences.

With ableism, in addition to the common stereotyping and prejudices usually attached to disabilities and health issues, one respondent reported being declined rental housing due to their health condition.

"… I was denied to rent out a place because the landlord found out about it (health condition) the day before we were meant to move in."

[Respondent 83 – Female, Other, 24-, LGBT, 10 years -]

Another respondent was met with disbelief and distrust, and was subsequently bullied for her physical condition. This suggests that vulnerable groups are also more likely to encounter discrimination.

Discrimination based on education levels and beauty were mentioned as well. In terms of beauty, this can be classified as discrimination based on 'appearance or the way you dress', which was found to be rather common, refer to Figure 6. Respondents often related being female to discrimination based on appearance. The intriguing point relates to one respondent who testified to being discriminated against due to her appearance also made discriminatory statements about people who are beautiful.

"…Most of the girls they hired were their standard of pretty or beautiful but they lacked brains…"

[Respondent 76 – Female, Other, 25+, N/A, 10 years -]

This may reflect the tendency for victims of discrimination to overlook their own discriminatory behaviours, both consciously and subconsciously, as either justified or non-discriminatory.

Education level was not focused upon in this study as the target population are all in the process of attaining higher education, therefore education is a less appropriate measure to test against discrimination experiences. One respondent described an experience she had at a family church where an educated person in a privileged position acted as if she was beneath him and ignored her; in response, she ignored him as well.

On the other hand, some people discriminated or were discriminated against due to the perceived privileged position others held. As mentioned in the sexism category, belonging to a privileged group does not grant immunity to discrimination, but instead can attract discrimination.

"A group of rich students who were acting privileged and complaining about first-world problems. As someone who feels judged by this stereotypical social group, I [in] turn judged them."

[Respondent 71 – Female, Māori/Pacific, 24-, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

One respondent even stated that she had personal prejudices against 'white males' simply because they were 'white males'. This theme further supports the idea that those in the dominant group can also be subject to discrimination, thereby opposes the H2 statement.

4.8.3 Discriminatory Action

Discriminatory actions can be classified into seven different categories as shown in Table 6. The most common actions among the reports were verbal abuse and humour. Comparatively, those who were considered as victims reported the verbal abuse and humour as conscious behaviour rather than unconscious by the perpetrators of discrimination. This section provides evidence to answer RQ2. From the victims' perspective, the verbal abuse was directed at them personally based on a characteristic such as gender or sexuality.

"Homophobic slurs due to my sexual orientation and/or appearance"

[Respondent 33 – Male, NZ European. 24-, LGBT, 10 years +]

"Racist comments thrown at me due to being Asian"

[Respondent 73 – Female, Asian, 24-, Heterosexual, 1- years +]

"In the streets at night when a few guys made a racist comment about my eyes"

[Respondent 39 – Female, NZ European, 24-, LGBT, 10 years +]

In contrast, the perpetrators acknowledged their personal prejudice which led them to stating discriminatory comments, or they unconsciously/ accidentally made discriminatory humour based on stereotypes.

"I mocked their history of African American but it was a light joke that wasn't taken seriously by my friend"

[Respondent 44 – Female, NZ European, 24-, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

"A comment was meant as a light joke but it could be misconstrued by the recipient to be a bit discriminating."

[Respondent 37 – Female, Asian, 24-, Heterosexual, 10 years -]

The perpetrators often diminished their discriminatory behaviour as a joke or a passing comment made without the intent to harm or harass those they targeted. However, some revealed that they are aware of their discriminatory thoughts. But rather than verbally abusing those they held prejudice against directly, they voice their opinions to their peers instead. These recounts of discrimination support H3, where discriminatory actions are often passive and subtle. Furthermore, the discriminator attempts to mask their discrimination and prejudice as well.

Similarly, overt differential or unfair treatment were more common among the experiences of discrimination than people's reports of their own discriminatory actions. Like the recounts of discriminatory experiences by respondents 1, 2 and 77, victims are treated unfairly in more obvious manners. One respondent even reported being treated as a potential criminal based on racial profiling.

> "I was followed around a Supermarket … by a staff member. At the check-outs, I was then asked to open a small backpack to show staff I hadn't taken anything. A Pakeha lady in front of me was not asked to open her larger handbag for inspection."

> [Respondent 70 – Female, Māori/Pacific, 25+, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

Though, from the discriminators' reports, the differential treatments that they carried out are mostly restricted to 'passive' attitudes rather than overt actions towards the discriminated individuals.

> "Simply, I was not as warm or engaging as I normally am. I was quieter and less bubbly."

> [Respondent 47 – Female, NZ European, 24-, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

> "Just thinking negatively, maybe not smiling at them"

> [Respondent 23 – Female, NZ European, 24-, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

Contrasting the reports of the discriminators and victims of discrimination suggests that while some respondents are willing to disclose their discriminatory behaviour, they are less prepared to unswervingly admit that their actions may have real negative consequences, and are reluctant to take responsibility for their actions.

The themes 'avoidance', 'rejection', and 'ability assumption' are essentially various forms of differential treatment. However, these themes will be explained separately to provide a deeper contextual understanding of the responses from the dataset. Several respondents reported experiencing avoidance in public. The reported experiences are somewhat difficult to classify as actual discrimination or coincidence, with the exception of the experience provided by a transgender student. This respondent reported being discriminated against often due to their transgender status.

"On the bus… when I had a spare seat next to me, I moved my bag to the floor by my feet so it was clear that there is a seat free and when all other seats were full, people would rather stand that sit next to me."

[Respondent 88 – Gender-diverse, Māori/Pacific, 25+, N/A, 10 years+]

There was a second report that also referred to avoidances on public transport due to her race, while another respondent mentioned being avoided by customers due to his ethnicity. These respondents stated that this is a frequent occurrence in their daily lives.

Rejection was also mentioned as the form of discriminatory action, where individuals are prevented from gaining entry to bars or denied services as simple as haircuts due to their ethnicity or racial traits. One reported that their family's business had discriminatory hiring practices based on race.

"When my family was hiring a worker, we were told to be very wary about one race in particular"

[Respondent 29 – Female, NZ European, 24-, LGBT, 10 years +]

More severe cases of prejudice and discriminatory practices threaten people's basic human right entitlements to adequate shelter and meaning employment.

"The last big one which occurred was against my health condition. I was denied to rent out a place because the landlord found out about it the day before we were meant to move in… I was homeless for a week and ended up having to live in a different terrible place. It effected my health condition significantly and I nearly had to go to hospital."

[Respondent 83 – Female, Other, 24-, LGBT, 10 years -]

"Housing. I don't belong to a 'normal' conventional family and real estate agents who have so much choice about who to rent to will not take what they see as a chance on 'different'…Having to take substandard housing because it's all we can get. No point in taking it further to a tribunal. Just have to deal with it"

[Respondent 92 – Female, NZ European, 25+, N/A, 10 years +]

This exemplifies the dire consequences of discrimination, and the powerlessness of the victims.

The assumption of ability mostly relates to discrimination at work, where employees are considered as less qualified or skilled due to their age or gender. In terms of racial discrimination, there were a few reports of stereotyping Asians as bad drivers. As mentioned above, one respondent was ignored and viewed incompetent due to their age by other older staff members and customers. Several others attributed their experiences to their gender as they worked in male dominated fields.

"At work dealing with a customer… Receiving surprise and disbelief when I said I could help. Mostly because I am a young female in a male dominated field"

[Respondent 95 – Female, NZ European, 24-, LGBT, 10 years +]

Some even specify a particular group that tend to discriminate against them at work.

"I work in a video game store and very often I find that men or boys don't take my advance or my opinions on games seriously due to my gender."

[Respondent 19 – Female, NZ European, 24-, LGBT, 10 years +]

Lastly, there appears to be a need for the perpetrators to justify their own discriminatory behaviour when they did reveal that they have been discriminatory in some way. As specified above, the perpetrators tend to diminish the discriminatory behaviour as unconscious comments or light jokes as if to shift away their responsibility as a person that discriminates. While some reference their personal prejudices to differences in cultural beliefs and practises leading to misunderstandings.

"They were of a different culture that irritated me, which I didn't understand."

[Respondent 47 – Female, NZ European, 24-, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

> "Their behaviour irked me, probably… Said something that stereotypes their ethnicity"
>
> [Respondent 109 – Female, NZ European, 25+, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

One used current events such as terrorist's attacks as the basis for his discriminatory attitudes. Another justified discrimination against certain groups as self-inflicted whereby their own actions led to them being perceived in a certain negative way.

> "… this group acts a negative way and this is why they are treated a certain negative way"
>
> [Respondent 20 – Female, NZ European, 25+, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

Similarly, others relate to common stereotypes such as Asians are bad drivers, or Islanders are lazy.

> "Islander window washers saying they only do it to feed their family of 5 children. Yet, they wear branded clothing and shoes like Nike and Adidas. They haven't even considered getting a job even working on minimum wage, which would bring in more money than window washing."
>
> [Respondent 31 – Female, Asian, 24-, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

One respondent justified their discriminatory humour based on his Asian partner's acceptance of Asian racial stereotypes and common discriminatory comments.

> "I have made jokes with my partner who is Asian about how bad Asian drivers are. He found the jokes equally as funny."
>
> [Respondent 2 – Male, NZ European, 25+, LGBT, 10 years +]

Interestingly, some respondents even justified their own discriminatory believes through other people's tendency to discriminate or felt that they were discriminated against or disadvantaged in some way.

> "Unfortunately, many people, no matter their ethnicity or gender have ingrained or learned prejudices against others. Even if people realise this and are against discrimination they still can, this is why I discriminated against others."
>
> [Respondent 72 – Female, NZ European, 24-, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

From this recount, discrimination is being justified where it is normalised by both the discriminators and victims of discrimination as 'normative' mutually shared societal attitudes towards certain groups. Conversely, as mentioned before, another respondent felt discriminated against by certain groups and thereby felt that her discriminatory believes against her discriminators are justified. Similarly, one respondent felt that she was unjustly disadvantaged which fuelled her discriminatory believes against others.

"…for the reason they have their own building for their religion and Pasifika have absolutely no support."

[Respondent 79 – Female, Māori/Pacific, 25+, N/A, 10 years +]

4.8.4 Reaction to Discriminatory Experience

There is a range of different responses to discrimination noted by the respondents, there were classed into 6 different categories. These categories answer RQ3. The majority of respondents simply either ignored their discriminatory experiences or just accepted it as normal treatment in New Zealand, thus supporting H3.

"I just accepted the fact that some people are just really discriminatory, nothing I can do about it really"

[Respondent 90 – Male, NZ European, 24-, Heterosexual, 10 years -]

"I just went to my room. I don't discuss these situations with him as I know he will never understand me. So, I just have to keep quiet and move on."

[Respondent 69 – Female, Māori/Pacific, 24-, LGBT, 10 years +]

Other respondents have submitted to the idea that they cannot alter the current societal attitudes while some are so disenfranchised that they perceive the judicial systems in place (such as the police and tribunal) as basically useless or even rigged against them.

"Having to take substandard housing because it's all we can get. No point in taking it further to a tribunal. Just have to deal with it."

[Respondent 92 – Female, NZ European, 25+, N/A, 10 years +]

On the other hand, one respondent pointed out that certain groups may not receive support from these judicial systems due to their supposed privilege within their society.

"The police, local website (i.e. reporting to Facebook), human rights commissioner, AUT, basically... anyone who governs the platform or place where I received this supposed/subjective discrimination - oh, unless you're a straight-white-man, because you know... "equality" ..."

[Respondent 30 – Male, NZ European, 25+, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

Another respondent not only accepted discriminatory treatment as normative, she even took on the responsibility by altering herself to minimise the likelihood of being discriminated against.

"This situation occurs frequently and I have had to just accept it. I try to look more approachable in public as a result of this experience"

[Respondent 71 – Female, Māori/Pacific, 24-, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

Some respondents adopted avoidance/leaving as a response, essentially by removing themselves from situations where they are or might be discriminated against. In most cases, respondents can simply walk away from their discriminators. However, some are placed into precarious positions where they are severely disadvantaged as a result, but still chooses to do so due to the overwhelming effects of their discriminatory experiences.

"My flatmate harassed me many times last year…. I left the flat early even though I was in a fixed term contract."

[Respondent 103 – Male, NZ European, 24-, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

Overall, most victims of discrimination were left saddened, demoralised, disenfranchised and/ or frustrated, some noted a loss of self-confidence and inclination to be themselves. Conversely, some took a more proactive response to ensure that their discriminator took responsibility. A few respondents sought legal help by filing complaints to judicial systems such as the tribunal or the police. However, they were still greatly disadvantaged due to their discriminatory treatment. The respondents did not state the results of their legal pursuits.

"I went to the government department which helps against discrimination and they opened a case for me. We had to go into mediation and I was free to prosecute him if I wanted to. I was homeless for a week and ended up having to live in a different terrible place. It effected my health condition significantly and I nearly had to go to hospital."

[Respondent 83 – Female, Other, 24-, LGBT, 10 years -]

This suggests that better policy should be instituted so that people are empowered to claim the rights they are entitled to rather than being further disadvantaged due to the inefficiency of the system.

Other respondents took a more aggressive response instead, opting for verbal retaliation by either directly questioning or arguing with their discriminator on their discriminatory behaviours.

"I asked if I was being profiled because I'm Māori. The check-out operator responded by saying that they 'randomly' ask customers coming through. I then asked why the two customers prior to me weren't asked/targeted, and she responded by saying it wasn't personal."

[Respondent 70 – Female, Māori/Pacific, 25+, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

"Told them to mind their own business …"

[Respondent 36 – Female, Asian, 24-, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

On the other hand, some respondents refused to be put down and used their discriminatory experiences as motivation to be better. However, this is especially problematic for those who experience discrimination at their place of employment, who are unable to actively resist. Instead, they attempt to prove the discriminator wrong while remaining professional.

"Continued my professional manner and passed the customer on to another assistant"

[Respondent 95 – Female, NZ European, 24-, LGBT, 10 years +]

"I often simply try to move past it and continue to offer advice. Despite feeling like my views are less valued than my male counterparts, I reassure myself that

I do know what I'm doing and often try to show them that I do, in fact, know just as much as them."

[Respondent 19 – Female, NZ European, 24-, LGBT, 10 years +]

The more fortunate victims of discrimination received support from peers or sympathetic onlookers who helped lesser the burden of discrimination.

"My friends shouted back at them…"

[Respondent 39 – Female, NZ European, 24-, LGBT, 10 years +]

"…A lady 3 people away from where I was said 'well if no one else will take it' and she sat next to me and smiled. One of those 'I know what's happening and its stink' smiles"

[Respondent 88 – Gender-Diverse, Māori/Pacific, 25+, N/A, 10 years+]

4.8.5 Self-Reflection

Self-reflection was the most interest theme among the discriminators' recounts of their behaviour. These respondents reflected on their discriminatory actions by stating that they might have unintentionally or unconsciously acted in a discriminatory manner after the fact. A few of them even noted that their behaviour is unfair or unfounded, and they intend to change their discriminatory attitudes and personal prejudices.

"I cannot remember but I'm not perfect so I know that discriminatory thoughts would have crossed my mind but I'm quick to consider why I have that negative thought at the time"

[Respondent 20 – Female, NZ European, 25+, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

"…I'm not proud of it and when I catch myself doing it I try to change my thinking."

[Respondent 72 – Female, NZ European, 24-, Heterosexual, 10 years +]

While social desirability bias may be the basis for this self-reflection theme; the respondent's disclosure of their discriminatory behaviours can be considered as contradicting the premise of social desirability bias.

4.9 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the findings of the research were described into two parts. The first section focused on the quantitative data which was analysed using a combination of cross-tabulations analysis and MCA. Here, a comparison on discrimination experiences and frequency was made between the various demographic groups within the sample. Primarily, this served to provide empirical evidence to establish which demographic factor is perceived to be the most probable cause for discrimination. Furthermore, it examined how each of the five demographic variables affected the likelihood of encountering discrimination when controlled for the other variables. The latter section presented the key themes identified through the thematic analysis of the open-ended questions. These five themes are outlined in Table 6. These themes provided the first section with context, which have allowed for an in-depth examination of the overall findings using a human rights-based approach.

Chapter 5 Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is split into five sections. Each of these sections will provide evidence for how each research question has been answered by the research and whether the hypotheses posed are supported by the results. The main ideas that emerged from the findings will be discussed in relation to the literature and past research on discrimination. After which, the policy implications of the findings will be explored from a human rights-based approach. This will be followed with an outline of the implications for policy practitioners of this research. Then, limitations of this research and future research recommendations will be described in detail. The chapter will end with an overall conclusion for the entirety of this research.

5.2 Overall Discrimination Patterns

5.2.1 Primary Victims and Frequency of Discrimination: Research Question 1

To answer research question 1: How frequently do university students experience discrimination and which groups experience the most discrimination? The results from the quantitative data analysis demonstrated that the majority of students who fall victim to discriminatory behaviour belong to vulnerable or minority groups. Different groups are susceptible to different forms of discrimination in different contexts. Data analysis revealed that about 33% of the respondents reported experiencing discrimination, which is much higher than the hypothesised 20%, thereby hypothesis 1 is not supported. The hypothesised percentage was based on the recent social report in 2016 which reported that 17.1% of the population of New Zealand over the age of 15 experienced discrimination within the 2014 year. While this may suggest that students, or just those at AUT, have a much higher chance of encountering discrimination, two factors may explain why the overall discrimination levels reported by this sample is about double the national level.

As Wodtke (2012) suggested, higher education attunes students to discriminatory behaviour. Whereby, students are more likely to notice, report and even reject discriminatory attitudes and behaviours (Wodtke, 2012). While this effect was not tested as the aim of this study, future research should focus on the strength of this

effect and its potential to alter discriminatory attitudes in New Zealand. On the other hand, the higher ratio of female to male in the sample can be seen as one of the main contributors to the higher levels of discrimination recorded in this research. As past research has shown, women are generally more likely to attribute negative experiences as discrimination (Ministry of Social Development, 2016; Yeung & Crothers, 2016). However, this does not appear to be the case, and will be discussed further in the sexism section below.

Similar to a previous study using the NZGSS data, the results also show that those who have experienced discrimination generally experience multiple counts of discrimination (Yeung & Crothers, 2016). This implies that the discriminatory experiences are not isolated, random incidences. Instead, this suggests that there is some form of underlying prejudice within New Zealand, leading to discriminatory attitudes and behaviours against certain groups. Conversely, some groups may be more likely to attribute various negative life experiences as discriminatory in nature due to stigmatisation (Pinel & Bosson, 2014). But, this does not diminish the discrimination experienced of stigmatised individuals, as these victims are still affected by the negative effects of discrimination.

According to the reports of individual experiences of discrimination, women, Māori/ Pacific and LGBT as the three groups within the AUT student body who are most likely to experience discrimination. This is followed by the 25 or older and the Asian demographics who also have a high likelihood of experiencing discrimination. However, this conflicts with the general perceptions of the sample on discrimination in New Zealand. Groups such as Asians, people on welfare were highlighted as the most common victims of discrimination, followed by recent immigrants, refugees, poor people, people who are overweight, LGBT individuals as well as people of Māori or Pacific descent. On the other hand, contrary to common discourse, as well as the NZGSS, discrimination based on gender was not perceived as a regular problem by the respondents (Yeung & Crothers, 2016).

5.2.2 Perceptions: Research Question 5

For research question 5: how do students perceive New Zealand in terms of discrimination, diversity and ease of self-expression? This research found that New Zealand is perceived to accept and promote diversity allowing people to express

themselves without much restrictions. But, there is also a general consensus that discrimination is a persistent issue and might even be worsening. Therefore, these results support H6 which states that New Zealand will be perceived as accepting of diversity and promotes freedom of expression. However, discrimination will be viewed as an increasingly problematic issue. This is consistent with the results from the 2014 GSS (Yeung & Crothers, 2016). Further research is required to understand why such a conflict in views around diversity and discrimination persists in New Zealand.

Using a question from the Omnibus survey, the respondents rated how likely various demographic groups are subjected to discrimination in New Zealand. As per Table 7, the results are very similar to the Omnibus research conducted by the Human Rights Commission (2011). The two main differences between these two datasets relate to the older people and men categories. This can be explained by the demographic makeup of this research's sample. Firstly, as the majority of the sample consist on younger students, they are less likely to perceive the elderly as common victims of discrimination. Similarly, women make up more than 60% of the current sample, and are therefore less likely to perceive men as common targets of discrimination. Intriguingly, the perceptions for some categories contradict some of the empirical findings on the likelihood of discrimination events experienced by various demographic subgroups. This will be discussed further below. These results highlight that future research on discrimination in New Zealand should target certain groups that were not focused upon in the current study, this includes people on welfare, people who are poor, and refugees.

Table 7: A Comparison of Perceptions on Discriminatory Attitudes in NZ between the Omnibus Research and This Study

	Omnibus	Current Research
Asians	76%	77%
People on welfare	74%	78%
People who are overweight	74%	69%
Recent immigrants	70%	69%
Refugees	65%	69%
Gays and lesbians	64%	66%
Pacific peoples	62%	66%
People with disabilities	59%	52%
Māori	58%	62%
Older People	50%	30%
Women	49%	46%

Men	25%	11%

5.3 Forms of Discrimination: Research Question 2

To answer research question 2: How are university students discriminated against? This section is split into sexism, racism, and other forms of discrimination. The results partially support hypothesis 2 which state that minority and vulnerable groups are more likely to experience discrimination overall. Māori/Pacifica people, women, and individuals who identify as LGBT experienced more discrimination overall compared to other categories within their respective demographic groups. However, the prevalence of discrimination experiences appears to be the same for Asian and NZ European respondents. Furthermore, the qualitative data also highlighted majority/ privileged groups such as men and Europeans are also likely to experience discrimination, but not as likely as the minority and vulnerable groups mentioned above.

5.3.1 Sexism

In terms of sexism, the analysis mostly focused on the differences between male and female, as only three respondents identified as gender diverse, making any statistical analysis involving the gender diverse group impossible. Similar to the 2014 GSS data, this study also found that females have a higher likelihood of being discriminated against than male, but with much bigger gap between the genders (Yeung & Crothers, 2016). While this appears to support the fact that women are more likely than men to be structurally disadvantaged and discriminated against due to their gender overall, as supported by a majority of the literature (C. Borrell et al., 2010; Charles, 2011; Dahlerup, 2008; McGregor, 2014; Ministry of Social Development, 2016; OECD, 2015; Yeung & Crothers, 2016). Very few respondents of either gender actually attributed their experiences as sexism, and analysis showed that gender only has a small effect on the likelihood of being discriminated against. Interestingly, those who attributed their discriminatory experiences as sexism were primarily of Europeans, signifying that sexism is more prevalent within European culture. Furthermore, a larger percentage of men than women in the sample perceived gender as the main source of their discrimination experiences.

This is interesting, since much of the discourse around sexism in the public sphere is based on the idea of patriarchal oppression of women, coupled with the

social limitations placed on women based on stereotypes. Women are likely to perceive their gender as a stigma, and are therefore are more likely to attribute negative experiences as discriminatory or as sexism (Pinel & Bosson, 2014). Hence, with 64.2% of the sample being female, one would expect that this research to not only find a higher than average level of discrimination, but also a much higher attribution to gender as the basis of their discriminatory experiences. The low attribution rate means that sexism is not a major issue in among the study's sample. As evidenced in Figure 10, while respondents did perceive women as more likely targets of discrimination than men, other stigmatised and minority groups were ranked much higher than either genders. Of course, this is not to imply that women do not experience more discrimination overall than men, nor that sexism no longer exist in New Zealand. As shown in the thematic analysis, a few female respondents cited being undervalued at work, harassed in public spaces and felt systematically disadvantaged due to her gender. Instead, this suggests that women have been socialised to become more sensitive to discriminatory behaviours and attitudes as well as its consequences, and are even empowered to resist discrimination in New Zealand. But at the same time, women understand that discrimination can be due to reasons other than just gender or race. Especially within the contemporary society, where traits such as height, their appearance, even their choice of mobile phones and use of social media can lead to judgement and discrimination.

Conversely, the substantial (26.8%) portion of male respondents who experienced discrimination should not be ignored. Much of the discourse on discrimination is led by a feminist perspective. While numerous feminists agree that men's participation in the discussion about equality and feminism is both vital and greatly beneficial to men, their participation is often met with resistance (Ayvazian, 2010; Hackman, 2010; hooks, 2000; Klocke, 2013; New, 2001). Traditionally, the discourse around gender inequality is formed on the basis that men are the oppressors, dominators and are privileged (Johnson, 2001). And due to their privileged position and the power they hold by maintaining their status as the oppressors, their participation in the feminist movement, and equality discussion is often perceived to preserve rather than subvert the patriarchy (Johnson, 2001). Furthermore, some argue that their privileged positions afforded them immunity to discrimination; at least protected from sexism; and therefore, have no understanding of discrimination nor its

effects (Johnson, 2001). Thus, men have mostly been excluded from discrimination discussions until more recently.

Borrowing from the racism literature, this can be seen as a consequence of symbolic sexism against men by both men and women (Sears, 1988; Sears & Henry, 2002). The socialisation of traditional gender roles/stereotypes and feminist discourse lead to the formation and maintenance of symbolic sexism in contemporary societies. People who hold symbolic discriminatory beliefs do not perceive themselves as discriminatory and can even be openly opposed to discrimination. This trait can be seen in some feminist rhetoric that is seemingly more focused on blaming men and attacking them rather than the inequality they aim to remedy (hooks, 2000; Kaufman, 1999). Even now, men are often discouraged, or even prevented from speaking out about gender discrimination in fear of being named a misogynist or sexist. One respondent recalled an experience where he was silenced and excluded from a conversation about gender and feminism simply because of his gender.

Extending on this, while fewer men reported being discriminated against, more men attributed their discrimination experience as sexism than women. Men are also more often treated with less respect, threatened or harassed, and called names or insulted than female respondents. Additionally, this research found that discrimination has a more severe impact on men than women. This may highlight the existence of a stigma attached to men. While feminism empowered women to speak out and resist discrimination and injustice against women, men are silenced by the construct of masculinity and, at times, by feminism as well (Johnson, 2001; Kaufman, 1999). Resultantly, men are forced to internalise their feelings from being oppressed or discriminated against. Furthermore, a female respondent formed her discriminatory attitudes against men entirely based on the idea of male privilege. These findings demonstrate that the exclusion of men from feminist/ equality discourse not only limits men's freedom of expression but also establishes new forms of inequality. Therefore, it is important to both acknowledge the existence of discrimination of men, and the need to transition from a language of blame and guilt to a language of compassion (Kaufman, 1999). A Human rights-based approach is well-suited for this, whereby the prioritisation of the rights of vulnerable groups does not concurrently limit others' entitlement to rights.

Lastly, while the gender diverse group was excluded from the statistical analysis, it should be noted that all three gender diverse respondents reported experiencing multiple counts of discrimination. Two out of three reported that their discrimination experiences were due to their gender and rated the impact of these experiences as moderate to severe. This demographic group is difficult to research as it is a small community and these individuals are hard to differentiate from the male and female genders. Over the last decade, New Zealand has made great strides towards equality and fair treatment of the gender diverse community, empowering these people to become comfortable with expressing themselves. Most recently, New Zealand became the first country in the worlds to incorporate 'gender diverse' as an official gender classification alongside male and female, thereby affirming this group's legitimacy (Marshall, 2015).

5.3.2 Racism

This study supports the idea that racism persists and may be worsening in New Zealand, but the results of this study somewhat differ from the 2014 GSS data. Firstly, both the current study and the GSS found that the majority of respondents attributed their experience of discrimination to race/ ethnic identity as the cause (Yeung & Crothers, 2016). However as expected, this research found much higher levels of discrimination across all ethnic identities compared to the 2014 GSS (Yeung & Crothers, 2016). The GSS found that all non-NZ European ethnic groups are just as likely to be discriminated against and are twice as like to experience discrimination than NZ Europeans (Yeung & Crothers, 2016). However, this research found that people of Māori/Pacific or non-NZ European descent are much more likely to report being discriminated against than the Asian or NZ European ethnic groups. Furthermore, there appears to be no difference in the likelihood of experiencing discrimination between the Asian and NZ European ethnicities. The differences between the two studies suggest that a lack of acculturation and/or language skills effectively protects Asian students from discrimination. This is plausible, since out of the 26 respondents who identified as Asian, just under half (12 out of 26) have lived in New Zealand for less than three and a half years. As proposed in the literature, the lack of acculturation can protect migrants from discrimination as they may fail to notice or understand discriminatory attitudes and behaviours (Abdulrahim et al., 2012).

Instead these attitudes and behaviours may be perceived as normative behaviour and reactions of the native people (Abdulrahim et al., 2012).

On the other hand, the overall levels of discrimination experienced by the various ethnic groups contradicts the general perceptions of the respondents as well as the New Zealand population. As mentioned above, while Māori and Pasifika people are perceived to be likely victims of discrimination, Asian people were rated as much more likely to experience discrimination, see Table 7. The difference between perceptions of discrimination and discrimination reported may signify that several forms of racism persists within New Zealand. The perception that Asian people are common discrimination victims may be a consequence of symbolic racism. Specifically, Asian people are perceived to be different as they hold cultural values and worldviews that are dissimilar, and at times eccentric, to New Zealand people. These differences and a lack of mutual understanding can be seen as a threat to the economy and the New Zealand culture, therefore leading to a socialisation of prejudice and stereotypes against Asian people (Bergamaschi, 2013; Blumer, 1958; R. A. Levine & Campbell, 1972). Concurrently, since people with symbolic racism beliefs do not perceive their behaviour and attitudes as discriminatory, they are not affected by social desirability bias (Tolich & Davidson, 2011). Hence, they are likely to report or even actively resist racial discrimination, explaining the perception results. However, as mentioned earlier, the lack of acculturation of the Asian respondents may have led to the significantly lower level of discrimination against Asians being reported in this study.

Conversely, Māori and Pasifika may be facing modern racism in New Zealand. Traditionally, these ethnic groups have been subject to substantial discrimination and unfair treatment which have led to a range of diminished life outcomes as evidenced by many studies (Harris et al., 2006a; Idler & Benyamini, 1997; N. Jones, 2014; Morrison, 2009; Workman, 2011). The New Zealand Government has since instituted several policies targeting Māori and Pasifika people to minimise inequalities between different ethnic groups. While these affirmative actions may have been effective (to varying degrees), this can cause the public to perceive that equality has been achieved and that discrimination may no longer be a major issue (Kaiser & Miller, 2001). And as demonstrated by past studies, making attributions to discrimination for one's failures and position in society can adversely affect the stigmatised individual where they are

perceived as emotional, whiney, argumentative, annoying, and hypersensitive (J R Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Kaiser & Miller, 2001). In this case, many may have the view that Māori and Pasifika people have already obtained equality due to the numerous affirmative actions the government have instituted. Coupled with the continuous claims of discrimination and demand for rights by the Māori and Pasifika people may have led to a culture of modern racism against them. Such a culture is dangerous, as stigmatised groups are dis-incentivised from challenging discrimination and unfair treatment, which will allow such attitudes and behaviours to become deeply ingrained in society. While there is a mutual understanding within academia and the political sphere that ethnic minorities, especially the Māori and Pasifika people, are still structurally and socially disadvantaged. Public perceptions of discrimination, inequality and disadvantaged groups need to be altered first in order to remedy these issues.

Furthermore, there is also evidence to support the existence of laissez-faire racism against Māori, Pacific and Asian people. Laissez-faire racism is based on stereotypes and beliefs of superiority over the minority groups by the majority/ dominant group (Bobo et al., 1997). Moreover, these minority groups are often blamed or scapegoated for economic issues, as these groups are perceived as a threat (Bobo et al., 1997; Roth, 2017). This then becomes the justification for the majority to hold discriminatory attitudes against the minorities (Bobo et al., 1997; Roth, 2017). Asians are seen as a threat, both culturally as mentioned above, and economically in terms of employment and housing. Conversely, Māori and Pasifika people are often labelled as a burden on the state within the public and political sphere, therefore poses a threat to economic stability. Additionally, the quantitative data of this research found that Māori and Pasifika people are habitually perceived as lazy, untrustworthy, or even criminals by others in their daily lives. These stereotypical beliefs also reflected in the open-ended question, where some respondents perceive the lower life outcomes and disadvantages experienced by Māori and Pasifika people are of their own doing. This propensity to place blame on the victims of discrimination is also an artefact of fundamental attribution error. Fundamental attribution error is the tendency to attribute certain events as consequences of the internal factors of an individual or group rather than structural or social issues (Ross, 1977). This can lead to apathy towards victims of discrimination, especially since people do not perceive there to be an issue of discrimination (Ross, 1977).

While the other ethnic groups strongly associated their discrimination experiences to their ethnicity, NZ Europeans are the only ethnic group to link their experiences to gender. This suggests that NZ Europeans perceive sexism as a much bigger issue compared to racism. On the other hand, similar to the findings in the sexism section, some responses on racism again emphasise that those in privileged positions can also experience oppression and discrimination. This further counter the argument that being a member of the majority ethnic groups ascribed privilege and power, which affords the majority immunity to racial discrimination. In contrast to sexism, the respondents of this study felt disadvantaged due to affirmative action that targeted other groups, in additional to their inability to speak out and resist discrimination and oppressive structure built on the basis of white privilege. Therefore, once again highlighting the need to move away from a language of blame towards a more inclusive and equitable discourse about discrimination and inequality.

5.3.3 Other Forms of Discrimination

This research also looked at whether demographic factors such as sexuality, age, and number of years the respondent have resided in New Zealand affected the likelihood that they will experience discrimination. Overall, these demographic characteristics do not appear to be strong indicators for discriminatory behaviours and attitudes according to the quantitative analysis. Since the sample targeted tertiary students, there is only a small variation in age. So, while older respondents reported experiencing higher levels of discrimination compared to the younger age group, there were no strong or meaningful correlations between age and discrimination. On the other hand, the GSS results did suggest that age might be a viable but weak indicator for discrimination (Yeung & Crothers, 2016). The GSS found that people aged between 15 to 59 years old are just as likely to experience discrimination as each other, but will be significantly more likely to encounter discrimination than people aged higher 59 years old (Yeung & Crothers, 2016). As for sexual orientation, due to the sensitivity of this characteristic, and that only a small portion of the population identify as LGBT, there were insufficient number of LGBT respondents to make significant conclusions about this group. However, unsurprisingly, LGBT respondents mostly attributed their discriminatory experiences to their sexual orientation. Lastly, the number of years the respondent has resided in New Zealand has no relationship with discrimination at all.

5.4 Action, Reactions and Effect: Research Question 2 and 3

The section will first look at the discriminatory actions experienced by the respondents, providing evidence for research question 2: how are university student discriminated against? This is then followed with an examination of the effects of discrimination, which will answer research question 3: how does discriminatory treatment affect university students?

5.4.1 Actions

From the results, the most common discriminatory actions experienced by the respondents were subtle attitude based behaviours. Therefore, hypothesis 3 is supported by the study. Hypothesis 3 states that most discriminatory actions will be passive, subtle acts such as negative attitudes and avoidance, rather than overt acts such as verbal or physical abuse. The quantitative results highlighted people acting as if they are better than the victim, or that the victim is not smart, or they exhibited fear when interacting with the victim as the most common attitude based, subtle discriminatory actions. Expanding upon this, the thematic analyses on the open-ended response revealed seven forms of discriminatory actions. These are verbal abuse, humour, justification, ability assumption, rejection, differential or unfair treatment, and avoidance/ segregation. These discriminatory actions mostly match the discriminatory actions described within the literature, thereby demonstrating that discriminatory actions have remained mostly unchanged. However, the justification theme is rather unique. Justification mostly refers to the tendency of discriminator to justify their own discriminatory actions and attitudes either through stereotypes or by diminishing it as humour. This will be discussed in more detail below.

Much like the quantitative data, the most commonly cited actions are subtle ones, such as verbal abuse that are either made consciously or subconsciously, and humour based on stereotypes or personal prejudice. Following the idea of modern discrimination, the prevalence of these subtle actions is problematic, especially since this can preserve the belief that discrimination no longer occurs or that it is an infrequent issue for the select few in society (McConahay, 1986). This not only allows discrimination to continue but also, as mentioned earlier, increases resistance against institutionalised measures against discrimination such as affirmative action (McConahay, 1986). Furthermore, this 'invisibility' of discrimination make it difficult for

the victims to speak out or resist discrimination, thus focusing them to internalise discriminatory behaviours and attitudes. This leads to a range of different effects on the discrimination victims.

Overt discriminatory actions such as explicit verbal abuse, and threats/harassment occurred infrequently overall, but a few respondents who belong to groups such as males, Māori/ Pacific, and LGBT respondents reported experiencing these forms on a regular basis. This is unexpected as overt discrimination is largely considered as a taboo and often leads to negative consequences for the discriminator. However, these results suggest that discrimination against some groups may not be entirely socially unacceptable due to prejudice, or the perception that these groups do not experience discrimination or oppression. Thereby, not only is discrimination allowed to persist, but may even encourage discrimination against certain groups as a form of 'social justice'.

Moreover, some respondents reported experiencing more extreme discrimination in the form of rejection. These respondents were rejected from employment or housing due to various prejudice believes based on ableism, sexual orientation and beauty. In these cases, the respondents' rightful entitlement to an adequate standard of living is threatened, where they are prevented from obtaining meaningful employment or decent affordable housing. Consequently, these victims are left with feelings of powerlessness and desperation where they are forced into any available employment regardless of their ability and qualifications, or substandard housing. One of these respondents was rejected from a rental home after contract was finalised due to their health conditions, and subsequently became homeless for a week. While she did seek help from the judicial systems, and was given the opportunity to prosecute the landlord for discriminatory practices, she was still severely disadvantaged as a result. This further highlights the inefficiencies of the systems in place to aid those in need. As well as the necessity for better policies that can ensure the rights everyone is entitled to are fulfilled and are empowered to claim their rights. Fortunately, it is good to see that the more extreme actions such as physical abuse and hate crimes were not reported in this study.

5.4.2 Reactions and Effects

In terms of the effects of discrimination and the respondents' reactions to discrimination, quantitative analysis found that the demographic category 'male' to be the only group that is significantly affected by discrimination's negative effects. This was unexpected as according to a number of studies, negative effects of discrimination such as symptoms of anxiety is more frequent in female discrimination victims than males (Banks et al., 2006; Kessler et al., 1999; Seller & Shelton, 2003). This provides supplementary evidence that the idea men do not experience gender discrimination or oppression may be causing significant harm to men.

The open-ended questions allowed a more in-depth review of the responses to discrimination. The thematic analysis found six different forms of reactions respondents exhibited when they experienced discrimination; these include ignore/accept, avoidance/leaving, taking legal action, negative feelings, verbal retaliation, and motivation. A majority of the respondents either ignored the discrimination and tried to minimise its effects, or accepted it as unavoidable or normative treatment, thus supporting hypothesis 4. Coinciding with the literature, by adopting these inactive coping strategies, the respondents who encountered discrimination felt demoralised, experienced a loss of self-confidence/esteem, and/or became less inclined to be themselves (Abdulrahim et al., 2012; Banks et al., 2006; Foster, 2009). A few respondents responded through avoidance or removing themselves from the situation where they are or might be discriminated against. Sadly, while this can potentially minimise the effects of the discrimination, these respondents may also be harshly disadvantaged. For example, one respondent chose to move out of his flat early due to the discriminatory abuse he received from his flatmate on a regular basis, even though he was on a fixed-term contract. This exemplifies how some coping strategies against discrimination can be detrimental to the victims, leading to feelings of isolation and powerlessness.

On the other hand, those who experienced more extreme forms of discrimination, such as rejection, were severely disadvantaged as explained above. However, they were forced to simply accept their situation due to the position of powerlessness and inability to resist, especially since seeking legal help was either perceived to be useless, or even disadvantaged them further. Sadly, these negative

consequences will limit the opportunities available to these victims and thereby diminishing their standard of life, which as suggested by Blank et al. (2004), will affect the later generations of these victims. Thus, creating or perpetuating stereotypes against the discrimination victims and related demographic traits.

A few respondents, or others acting on the respondent's behalf, took an active coping approach by directly confronting the discrimination and the perpetrator. In doing so, they placed responsibility on the perpetrator and called attention to the injustice. Moreover, some respondents did not allow discrimination to limit their life opportunities. Instead, they used the experience as motivation to assert their power and prove the discriminator wrong, in order to negate the discriminator's ability to oppress them. Contrary to confronting their discriminator, these respondents were resisting discrimination by attempting to subvert stereotypes and prejudices. Furthermore, none of the discrimination victims appeared to have internalised these prejudices and stereotypes. This implies that while discrimination may be prevalent in New Zealand, the respondents understand that the discrimination is not fault of their own, but a consequence of unjust social structures.

5.5 Discriminator's Perspectives: Research Question 4

For research question 4: Are students willing to disclose whether they have discriminated against others? 22% of the sample disclosed that they have discriminated against others, to some degree. Therefore, hypothesis 5 that states 'less than 10 percent of the respondents will reveal their discriminatory behaviours' is rejected. There does not appear to be a link between experiencing discrimination and discriminating against others, meaning that being discriminated against does not affect one's potential to discriminate or to hold prejudicial views. Also, no significant relationship was found between the likelihood to discriminate and the various demographic factors. Beyond looking at the likelihood of disclosure of discriminatory behaviours occurs, this research discovered the recounts of the behaviours generally share three ideas, these are justification, minimisation and self-reflection.

The majority of the respondents' descriptions of their discriminatory behaviour seem to share some form of justification for, or minimisation of their actions. The respondents' tendency to justify their discrimination is based on three ideas. Firstly, a few justified their prejudices as normative attitudes that are already prevalent within

New Zealand, these normative attitudes are also used to support their perception that some people/ groups deserve to be discriminated against due to the victim's behaviours. These prejudices can originate from the cultural and social differences between the various demographic groups in New Zealand, leading to misunderstandings and mutual distrusts. Conversely, the public perceptions and discourse about certain groups can also be the basis for these prejudices regardless for the truth; for example, Asians are bad drivers, or Māori and Pasifika people are unemployed because of their laziness. Secondly, some respondents used the discrimination and disadvantage they face as the basis to justify their discriminatory behaviours. Through this, they either perceive that their actions can demonstrate the negative effects of discrimination to their discriminators, or that it is a means to resist discrimination and its negative consequences. Lastly, other respondents justified their discrimination as a form of social justice against those who are traditionally considered as the discriminators and oppressors within society, or as a threat to social order/ the society's potential to succeed. This includes men, Maori/ Pacific people and LGBT individuals. On the other hand, some attempted to minimise their action as humour and expressed that they did not mean to cause harm to others. But as some respondents reported, they understand that they are basing their behaviour on some form of prejudice, and can be offensive when taken out of context. This minimisation allows the discriminators to shift the responsibility of their actions away from themselves and onto the victims for being overly sensitive, as mentioned above (J R Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Kaiser & Miller, 2001); or on the discriminatory social structures that are already in place.

All of this suggests that while the respondents were willing to disclose and discuss their discriminatory behaviours, attempts were made to minimise the risk of being condemned by others. This fits with the social desirability bias, as these respondents were less prepared to unswervingly admit that their actions may have real negative consequences, and are reluctant to take responsibility for their actions. Unexpectedly, there were a few exceptions where the respondent admitted that they have behaved unjustly towards others, and will alter their attitudes and behaviours accordingly. However, this may also be the result of the social desirability bias and further testing is needed to clarify this.

5.6 Implications for Practitioners

People who are subject to discrimination are disadvantaged in numerous ways, but primarily their entitlements to live free, with dignity and equal rights as everyone else are impeded. This applies to those who are receiving positive discrimination, and the groups who are common targets for such policies. This research and past studies about patterns of discrimination have shown that discrimination has remained mostly unchanged over the last decade, or longer (Human Rights Commission, 2011; Ministry of Social Development, 2016; Yeung & Crothers, 2016). There are exceptions, for example against individuals from the LGBT community with institutionalisation of marriage equality in New Zealand, at least in a structural sense, (Phipps & Rawlinson, 2015). However, the prevalence of discrimination that stem from the underlying stereotypes and prejudices remain mostly unaffected by the various policies and laws enacted in New Zealand.

From a human rights perspective, it is difficult to navigate between what is fair and what is unjust when dealing with discrimination. On one hand, people are entitled to their freedom of expression, it is their right to hold and voice opinions of any kind in any form (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2015a). But on the other, it is unjust for people to incite hostility, discrimination or disseminate ideas of superiority based on certain characteristics. Since this is a violation of the victim's right to live free from discrimination, right to live in security, peace, and dignity, while furthering inequalities (McGregor et al., 2016; Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2015a). Hence, the protection from one's freedom of expression does not extend to expressions that might cause harm to others. The issue here lies in mismatch between the intent of the expression and the receiver's interpretation. As found in this research, the discriminator often did not perceive their action as harmful or discriminatory, and was not intended as discrimination. Yet, regardless of the intent, the interpretation can dictate whether it is indeed discrimination, as well as its consequences. Therefore, rather than combating discrimination through prohibition, the aim should instead be to readjust people's perceptions, and deconstruct the underlying social structures of stereotypes and prejudices. To achieve this, three ideas are proposed for policy can be altered to more effectively combat discrimination.

Firstly, the public discourse about discrimination, inequality and social instability should shift away from a language of blame, since placing blame on certain groups will only serve to segregate them as either a threat or as the oppressors (Kaufman, 1999). While a culture of blame can place responsibility on the dominant/oppressive groups, it is often over generalised and fails to recognise the independent agency of each person. Furthermore, this blame often silences and alienates the dominant groups, thereby excluding them from participating in the discussion of equality and elimination of discrimination (Kaufman, 1999). As highlighted before, it is important for everyone to participate in such discussions so that everyone's viewpoints can be considered, thereby building mutual understanding and trust between them (Hackman, 2010; Klocke, 2013; New, 2001). Also, everyone is equal in their entitlement to human rights, and should be empowered to be an active contributing member in shaping the society they live in (Hamm, 2001). However, when one member's ability to participate is inhibited by discrimination, the negative consequences of this discrimination may have wider implications than those affecting the victim. For example, when an ethnic group is considered as lazy, this stereotype will decrease this groups' likelihood of gaining employment. Consequently, this will lead to a higher unemployment rate for this group, which not only affects the overall economy but also disadvantages later generations of this ethnic group. At the same time, this becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, since blaming the ethnic group's higher unemployment rate as a result of their own laziness only reinforces the stereotype and inequality. Therefore, the discourse should revolve around the underlying factors that are causing discrimination rather than the individual discriminators or their characteristics.

Secondly, policy makers should look for a way to empower victims of discrimination to speak out and challenge discrimination and unfair treatments. Discriminatory acts can silence people, preventing them from seeking help or speaking out, leading to a sense of helplessness and disempowerment (McGregor et al., 2016). Additionally, those who speak out against discrimination or seek help may resultantly be worse off due to public perceptions of the prevalence of discrimination and prejudices/stereotypes, as well as the inefficiencies of the judicial systems in New Zealand. Similarly, to the first idea, the victim is often blamed for the discrimination, which has been justified by stereotypes, or the victim is perceived to be overly sensitive

or whiny when discrimination is not recognised as a prevalent issue (J R Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Kaiser & Miller, 2001). Again, public perceptions of discrimination should be adjusted so that discrimination is understood as a prevalent issue which affects everyone in the society rather than an issue experienced only by minorities or the vulnerable. Furthermore, this research exposed a general consensus that the judicial systems in place are inefficient in supporting those who have been treated unfairly and are often unable to deliver just outcomes.

Thirdly, it is essential to recognise that while the rights of the vulnerable should be prioritised, each individual is equally entitled to their rights regardless of their ethnicity, gender or any other attribute. This equal entitlement is frequently overlooked within the discrimination and equality discourse, instead the focus is placed on disabling or limiting the rights of the dominant/majority to improve the situation of the disadvantaged. This sentiment is often reflected in how people view corrective/ affirmative action. For example, feminism discourse frequently compares the position of men to women, and advocates for policies that tilt the balance of opportunities in favour of women while limiting opportunities available to men (Kaufman, 1999). Of course, such measures have made great societal impacts towards realising gender equality, but these effects may only be temporary as they fail to address the underlying social structures (Dahlerup, 2007; Holzer & Neumark, 2000; Hyman et al., 2012; Norris, 2000). Following the first two points, affirmative actions in this form acts as an oppressive force on the groups that are being disadvantaged for the sake of equality. Meanwhile, various groups form resentment against each other as they are segregated into the oppressors, the oppressed and those who are given lawful preferential treatment.

Therefore, policies should aim to enable the disadvantaged and provide an equality of opportunities rather than an equality of outcomes through the institution of affirmative actions. Furthermore, the provision legalising affirmative actions in Bill of Rights Act 1990 is inconsistent with the best practice suggested by the UN (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2013b; United Nations, 1965, 1979). The conventions on the elimination of discrimination contain provisions specifying that the special measures such as affirmative actions are temporary and should only continue until the groups targeted have attained equal enjoyment and ability to exercise their human rights (United Nations, 1965, 1979). These measures must not consequently

redistribute an unequal access to rights (United Nations, 1965, 1979). However, the Bill of Rights 1990 lack such conditions, thereby enabling a perception that measures meant to correct past inequalities are now acting to unfairly favour some while disabling others. Therefore, it is imperative for policies aimed at correcting current and past inequalities to not disadvantage any groups, while implementing sufficient monitoring ensures that such measures do not cause inequalities.

5.7 University Policy

In New Zealand, in addition to all the Human Rights conventions and the establishment of Human Rights/ anti-discrimination legislation; organisations and institutions often put in place their own policies to reduce discrimination and provide a basis for people to speak out against this injustice. Major universities such as Auckland University, Auckland University of Technology, University of Canterbury, University of Otago, Massey University and Victoria University of Wellington all have their own policy on discrimination as well as support facilities to help mediate and resolve discrimination issues when they arise (Auckland University of Technology, 2016; Massey University, 2017; University of Auckland, n.d.; University of Canterbury, n.d.; University of Otago, 2016; Victoria University of Wellington, 2014). There is a unanimous emphasis on equality, openness and free speech among these policies (Auckland University of Technology, 2016; Massey University, 2017; University of Auckland, n.d.; University of Canterbury, n.d.; University of Otago, 2016; Victoria University of Wellington, 2014). Furthermore, a number of these universities have taken unique approaches to reduce discrimination and celebrate diversity. For example, Auckland University of Technology organises a number of 'Diversity Events' throughout each academic year to promote diversity and help foster better understanding and relationships among the student body (Auckland University of Technology, 2017). Sadly, there is little research into how effective these policies have been.

Following on from this, some practical solutions may include an online (or offline) open forum, where students and university staff can post written comments anonymously, which will then be reviewed and potentially summarised into short articles for public consumption. This will enable and encourage open discussions of their perceptions on discrimination, diversity and social justice within the student body

and the staff. Another approach may involve including staff facilitated discussions on diversity and discrimination as part of the induction process for incoming students.

5.8 Limitations

The main limitation of this research lies in its small sample size. Due to lack of time and resources, only a third of the target sample size was reached, which meant that the quantitative data analysis will have a much higher margin of error (Tolich & Davidson, 2011). This led to a range of problems. Firstly, a large portion of the statistical analysis did not achieve statistical significance. The research topic of discrimination further exacerbated this issue, since only a portion of the population experience discrimination, and even smaller portion will actually report their experiences in fear of it worsening their situation. Furthermore, the sample size placed limitations on the deeper analysis on discrimination effects on subgroups as some groups were too small to be analysed quantitatively. For example, the subgroup of gender diverse only contained three respondents. Additionally, due to the small sample size, some of the demographics had to be combined in the recoding process, thereby the specificity of the analysis and results were reduced. Despite these issues resulting from the sample size, a number of interesting significant relationships were found between certain demographic groups and characteristics of discrimination, as they differed from the findings of other studies.

The convenience sampling method might have introduced self-selection bias (R. Olsen, 2011). The higher level of discrimination reported might have been the result of self-selection bias, as those who have experienced discrimination are more likely to answer a survey specifically about discrimination, leading to over-representation (R. Olsen, 2011). Whereby, the survey can be seen as a forum where the viewpoints and experiences of discrimination victims can be heard. Also, this sample of this study lacked diversity as a consequence of the sample method and sample size. Whereas a quota sampling method may have led to a more diverse sample. These biases limit the generalisability of this research. The dataset was weighted for the analysis to minimise the issues caused by self-selections bias and the lack of diversity of the sample (R. Olsen, 2011).

Since the topic of discrimination is rather sensitive, the results of this research may also have affected by social desirability bias (Tolich & Davidson, 2011). Firstly,

even though the respondents are protected by their anonymity, they might still avoid reporting discrimination experiences if they were to perceive these to be potentially harmful (Tolich & Davidson, 2011). Similarly, this will lead to a lower likelihood that respondents will disclose their discriminatory actions (Tolich & Davidson, 2011). Additionally, social desirability may have been the foundation for the 'self-reflection' theme from the thematic analysis. By responding in this way, the respondent may believe they are less likely to be judged negatively for their actions as they are attempting to take responsibility.

Lastly, even through the use of open-ended questions in the self-completed survey helped contextualise the data, and reduced social desirability bias rewrite. The survey methodology does not allow for further probing by the researcher, which led to a lack of deeper understanding of the respondent's experiences. So, while this research was able to look at overall patterns of discrimination, further research may be needed to provide more in-depth evidence to support the findings and conclusions made.

5.9 Future Research Recommendation

The current study can be expanded upon in three ways based on the limitations stated. Firstly, a more representative sample can lead to more informative and generalizable evidence for the study of discrimination. To achieve this, future studies should to aim include a larger sample and employ a quota sampling method to ensure that there are sufficient number of respondents from each demographic group being studied. In particular, there should be a focus on groups including 'people on welfare', 'people who are poor', 'refugees', the LGBT community, and gender diverse individuals, as these groups were not properly covered in this study. Additionally, the sample target should be broadened to include ordinary people so that the data can involve a diverse range of perspectives, since the perspectives of university students only represent a small subgroup of society.

Secondly, a mixed method approach that utilise both surveys and interviews is advised for the study of discrimination. Surveys are useful in observing the prevalence and patterns of discrimination within a society. However, discrimination experiences and effects are hard to fully capture through the use of self-completed surveys, whereby in-depth one-on-one interviews will allow for probing by the researcher.

Though, discrimination is a sensitive and personal experience, therefore the researcher should beware of potential discomfort the respondents may encounter during the interview. Furthermore, it is imperative to be inclusive and open so that respondents from all backgrounds feel comfortable, and are empowered to discuss their experiences. As discussed, rather than focusing just on the vulnerable and traditionally disadvantaged, the perspectives of the dominant groups should not be overlooked since everyone is equally as important.

Finally, this study identified two points of interests that require supplementary research. Consistent with Wodtke (2012), higher education appeared to have a positive effect on the students' perspectives on discrimination. Therefore, education's potential to alter discriminatory attitudes in New Zealand should be thoroughly investigated. As education may prove to be a more effective method than affirmative action in the long term that can lead to an equality of opportunities and rights entitlement by targeting the underlying social structures of stereotypes and prejudices. Next, as this study demonstrated, the respondents are willing to disclose their experiences and behaviours as a discriminator. While their recounts may have been affected by social desirability bias, their responses provide valuable insight into why discrimination persist and how the respondents are affected by stereotypes and prejudices within contemporary societies. Future studies should aim to discover a suitable method that can research discrimination from the perspectives of the discriminators.

5.10 Conclusion

This research examined discrimination in New Zealand by uncovering the relationship between discrimination, the student's experiences and their perceptions of New Zealand. Research into discrimination is important, especially with discrimination and xenophobia on the rise overseas as a consequence of the contemporary volatile international political climate (European Union, 2015; Roth, 2017).

Here, the analysis of the findings utilized aspects of human rights perspectives to provide meaningful and practical insights into how discrimination can be reduced in an equitable and empowering process. The findings were similar to other recent studies on discrimination patterns, where traditionally marginalised groups such as

women, people of Māori and Pasifika descent, and LGBT people were highlighted as the most common victims of discrimination. However, as emphasised throughout this research, the discussion about discrimination is often biased towards the disadvantaged and vulnerable groups. While this may be fundamental for the realisation of the rights that these groups are entitled to, thereby justifying effective short-term remedies such as affirmative actions. This bias often leads to the marginalisation of other groups as they are blamed or scapegoated for the inequality and discrimination within a society. Furthermore, these forms of remedies may reinforce the underlying social structures. Whereby the targeted groups may be blamed for their situations or are perceived as threats, consequently exacerbating discrimination against the disadvantaged and vulnerable. Therefore, policy practitioners should focus on deconstructing the underlying social structures of prejudice and stereotypes by changing the public's understandings of discrimination and their perceptions of the disadvantaged groups.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee Approval

AUTEC Secretariat

Auckland University of Technology
D-88, WU406 Level 4 WU Building City Campus
T: +64 9 921 9999 ext. 8316 E:
ethics@aut.ac.nz
www.aut.ac.nz/researchethic

10 June 2016
Charles Crothers
Faculty of Culture and Society

Dear Charles

Re Ethics Application: 16/199 Social impacts of discrimination on students in tertiary education

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 2 June 2019.

As part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTEC:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 2 June 2019;

- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 2 June 2019 or on completion of the project.

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

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to obtain this. 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 there.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, please use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at ethics@aut.ac.nz.

All the very best with your research,

Kate O'Connor
Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Appendix B: Recruitment Posters

Appendix C: Recruitment Emails

Dear AUSM Club,

My name is Stanley, a Master's student at AUT, and I am currently conducting research on the everyday experiences of discrimination which involves a short survey. The aim is to gain a better understanding of discrimination from the perspectives of Students at AUT.

I am writing to you because it is important to look at discrimination from all perspectives and I believe members of your club will be able to provide invaluable insight.

I am hoping you can post about this survey on your Facebook page (or any other social media you use for your AUSM club) or forward this email to the members of the Melanesian Student Group.

The survey will take around 15 minutes. By completing the survey, the participants will be in the draw to win one of many $25 gift Westfield vouchers.

The survey can be completed through the following link:

www.tinyurl.com/surveyaut/

There will be more information about the study through the link.

Thank you for your time!

Best regards,

Stan

Appendix D: Questionnaire

Social impacts of different forms of discrimination on students in tertiary education

What is the purpose of this research?

This study aims to investigate the influence of discrimination on tertiary students' perceptions of themselves, their well-being, and how they have been affected by discrimination within New Zealand. This study will evaluate the effects of various types of discrimination from a human rights perspective and will assess people's views of anti-discrimination policies. The finding from this research may also be published within academic journals or presentations at a later date.

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

You have been recruited through either the invitation flyers distributed throughout the Auckland University of Technology Campuses or through email sent out by various AUSM clubs that you may be a member of. This survey requires that you are a student of Auckland University of Technology. However, current students of Charles Crothers will be excluded for this research due to potential conflicts of interests. You have been invited as your views and experiences will provide invaluable insight for this research.

This survey will be completed anonymously and no identifying details will be collected through this survey. A separate survey will collect your email for the prize draw at the end of this study.

What will happen in this research?

This research will involve a short survey that will take at most 25 minutes, completed online through Survey Monkey. (Maybe shorter depending on your answers)

What are the discomforts and risks?

Some questions relate to your experiences of discrimination and asks for a brief description of the event and how you dealt with it.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

If at any point, you feel uncomfortable due to the survey questions, you may choose to not answer the question or withdraw from the study. All answers are confidential and will be anonymized in the final report. In the unlikely event that the survey caused distress, AUT provides free counselling to all students.

The AUT Health, Counselling and well-being centers are located at each AUT campus and they can be contacted by phone or in person.

City Campus: +64 9 921 9992

Address: WB219, level 2 in the Te Ara Poutama Building (WB) 55 Wellesley Street East, Auckland

Address: North Campus: +64 9 921 9998

AS104, level 1 by the cafe 90 Akoranga Drive, Northcote, Auckland

South Campus: +64 9 921 9992

Address: South campus Clinic Room, MB109

Appendices

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?
Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Charles Crothers, *charles.crothers@aut.ac.nz*, *09-815-6082*.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz , *921 9999 ext 6038*.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?
You can contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

Stanley Yeung: *pdb4152@aut.ac.nz*

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Primary Supervisor: Charles Crothers, *charles.crothers@aut.ac.nz*, *(09) 921 9999 ext. 8468*

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *2 June 2016*, *AUTEC Reference number* *16/199*.

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<u>Remember to follow the link at the end of the survey to enter the draw</u>!

1. Which gender do you identify as?

◯ Male

◯ Female

◯ Transgender

◯ Other (please specify)

[   ]

2. Which race/ethnicity best describes you? (You may choose more than one)

☐ New Zealand European

☐ Maori

☐ Samoan

☐ Cook Island Maori

☐ Tongan

☐ Chinese

☐ Korean

☐ Indian

☐ Other / Multiple ethnicity (please specify)

[   ]

3. Which ethnic group of the ones chosen above do you identify most closely with?

[   ]

4. In which country were you born in?

[⬍]

5. How many years have you resided in New Zealand?

[   ]

6. What is your age?

◯ 18 to 24

◯ 25 to 34

◯ 35 to 44

◯ 45 to 54

◯ 55 to 64

◯ 65 to 74

◯ 75 or older

7. What is your sexuality?

◯ Heterosexual

◯ Homosexual

◯ Bisexual

◯ Transgender

◯ Rather not say

Other (please specify)

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The following questions will be on the topic of discrimination. Before continuing, please take the time to carefully read the definition of discrimination below.

Discrimination, as defined in the Human Rights Act 1993, is when a person is treated unfairly or less favorably than another person in the same or similar circumstance resulting in a disadvantage. Discrimination can occur as exclusion, rejection or harassment.

Discrimination is prohibited by law in the following grounds: gender, marital status, religious belief, ethical belief, color, race, ethnic or national origins, disability, age, political opinion, employment status, family status, and sexual orientation.

However, measures that may be discriminatory in nature made on good faith to better the position of those historically disadvantaged as a consequence of unlawful discrimination do not constitute as discrimination.

Social impacts of different forms of discrimination on students in tertiary education

8. **Have you experienced any discriminatory treatment over the last 12 months?**

◯ Yes

◯ No

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9. How many experiences of discrimination can you recall from the last 12 months?

○ Once

○ Twice

○ Three times

○ Four times

○ Five times or more

10. In your day-to-day life, how often do any of the following things happen to you?

	Never	Less than once a year	A few times a year	A few times a month	At least once a week	Almost everyday
You are treated with less courtesy than other people are.	○	○	○	○	○	○
You are treated with less respect than other people are.	○	○	○	○	○	○
You receive poorer service than other people at restaurants or stores.	○	○	○	○	○	○
People act as if they think you are not smart.	○	○	○	○	○	○
People act as if they are afraid of you.	○	○	○	○	○	○
People act as if they think you are dishonest.	○	○	○	○	○	○
People act as if they're better than you are.	○	○	○	○	○	○
You are called names or insulted.	○	○	○	○	○	○
You are threatened or harassed.	○	○	○	○	○	○

11. What do you think are the main reasons for these discriminatory experiences?

Choose as many as you need

	1: Definitely not a reason	2	3	4	5: Definitely a reason
Your ancestry or ethnic origins	○	○	○	○	○
Your gender	○	○	○	○	○
Your race	○	○	○	○	○
Your age	○	○	○	○	○
Your religion	○	○	○	○	○
Your height	○	○	○	○	○
Your weight	○	○	○	○	○
Your sexual orientation	○	○	○	○	○
Your education	○	○	○	○	○
Your income level	○	○	○	○	○
A physical disability or health issue	○	○	○	○	○
Your shade of skin color	○	○	○	○	○
The way you dress or your appearance	○	○	○	○	○
The language you speak or your accent	○	○	○	○	○

Other (please specify and provide a rating between 1: Definitely not a reason, and 5: Definitely a reason)

[   ]

12. Within what situation(s) were you in when you were discriminated against?

Choose as many as you need

	1: Not likely at all	2	3	4	5: Very likely
At home	○	○	○	○	○
At work or while working	○	○	○	○	○
On the street or in a public place of any kind	○	○	○	○	○
Using transport of any kind	○	○	○	○	○
Getting service when buying something	○	○	○	○	○
Getting into a school or other place of learning, or being treated unfairly there	○	○	○	○	○
Joining an association or club of any kind	○	○	○	○	○
Applying for or keeping a job or position	○	○	○	○	○
Applying for or keeping a flat or housing of any kind	○	○	○	○	○
Dealing with the police	○	○	○	○	○
Dealing with the courts	○	○	○	○	○
Dealing with other government officials	○	○	○	○	○
Dealing with people involved in health care	○	○	○	○	○

Other (please specify and provide a rating between 1: Not likely at all, and 5: Very likely)

[   ]

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13. **Overall, how much has discrimination interfered with you having a full and productive life?**

1: Not at all	2	3: A moderate amount	4	5: A great deal
○	○	○	○	○

14. **Overall, how much harder has your life been because of discrimination?**

1: Not at all	2	3: A moderate amount	4	5: A great deal
○	○	○	○	○

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15. **Briefly describe your last experience of discrimination, including why you think you received discriminatory treatment and who discriminated against you.**

This may be only two or three sentences long.

16. **Briefly describe how you dealt with the discriminatory treatment, and how the experience has affected you.**

This may be only two or three sentences long.

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17. **Over the last 12 months, have you in any situation (intentionally or otherwise) discriminated against someone or some groups?**

○ Yes

○ No

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18. **For what reason(s) did you discriminate against this person or group?**

19. **Please describe how you discriminated against this person or group?**

This may be only two or three sentences long.

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Choose a response that best express how you feel about the following statements.

20. **New Zealand promotes and celebrates diversity.**

1: Strongly disagree	2	3: Neither agree or disagree	4	5: Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

21. **New Zealand has very little issue with discrimination.**

1: Strongly disagree	2	3: Neither agree or disagree	4	5: Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

22. **Levels of discrimination against various groups has decreased over the last 12 months in New Zealand.**

1: Strongly disagree	2	3: Neither agree or disagree	4	5: Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

23. **I find it easy to express my identity and be myself in New Zealand.**

This includes religious beliefs, cultural practices, sexuality, etc.

1: Strongly disagree	2	3: Neither agree or disagree	4	5: Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

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24. **How likely do you think the following groups experience discrimination in New Zealand on a monthly basis?**

	Will not experience discrimination	Very unlikely (Less than once per month)	Unlikely (Once or twice per month)	Likely (Three to four times per month)	Very Likely (Five times or more per month)
Tourists	○	○	○	○	○
Recent Immigrants	○	○	○	○	○
Refugees	○	○	○	○	○
People on welfare	○	○	○	○	○
Poor people	○	○	○	○	○
Students	○	○	○	○	○
People who are overweight	○	○	○	○	○
People who are short	○	○	○	○	○
People with disabilities	○	○	○	○	○
Elderly people	○	○	○	○	○
Women	○	○	○	○	○
Men	○	○	○	○	○
Asians	○	○	○	○	○
Europeans	○	○	○	○	○
Māori people	○	○	○	○	○
Pacific people	○	○	○	○	○
People of the Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community	○	○	○	○	○

25. **If you were to experience unlawful discrimination, please identify where or to whom you can make a complaint to.**

[   ]

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26. **Which Auckland University of Technology campus do you study at? (Skip if you attend other universities)**

◯ City campus

◯ South campus

◯ North Shore campus

27. **What stage are you at in your current degree?**

◯ First year

◯ Second year

◯ Third year

◯ Honors

◯ Post-graduate studies (Post-graduate diploma, Masters, Doctorate)

28. **For your current degree, which faculty/school do you belong to?**

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This is the end of the survey.

29. **If you have any concerns, questions or comments in regards to this study, please state below. Your feedback will be most appreciated.**

Thank you for participating in this research.
Your contribution will be invaluable in understanding discrimination within New Zealand.

If you have any questions or concerns about this research please contact Stanley Yeung:
pdb4152@aut.ac.nz,
or Charles Crothers: charles.crothers@aut.ac.nz

If you would like a summary of the findings once this research is complete, you may contact Stanley Yeung through email.

Make sure you enter your email address to go in the draw for one of 38 $25 Westfield Gift Vouchers through the following link: https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/7SFC222

Thank you very much for completing this survey.

Appendix E: Student Body Statistics, Annual Report Draft 2016

	Numbers	**Percentage**
Students by ethnicity		
Asian	5,284	24%
Māori	2,369	11%
New Zealand European	9,135	42%
Pacific	3,238	15%
Other	1,523	7%
Non-declared	137	1%
Students by age		
Under 25 years	14,869	68%
25-39 years	4,717	22%
40+ years	2,100	10%
Students by gender		
Female	13,260	61%
Male	8,415	39%
Gender diverse	11	0%

Appendix F: Summary of Demographic Factors Before Recoding

	Unweighted	**Weighted**
Students by ethnicity		
Asian	23 (21.1%)	25 (24.0%)
Māori/Pacific	12 (11.3%)	28 (26.0%)
New Zealand European	60 (56.6%)	45 (42.0%)
Other	11 (10.4%)	8 (8.0%)
Students by age		
24 and Under	73 (68.9%)	72 (68.0%)
25+	33 (31.1%)	34 (32.0%)
Students by gender		
Female	70 (64.2%)	65 (61.0%)
Male	36 (33%)	41 (39.0%)
Gender Diverse	3 (2.8%)	N/A
Sexuality		
Heterosexual	83 (78.3%)	83 (77.9%)
LGBT	14 (13.2%)	14 (12.9%)
Missing	9 (8.5%)	10 (9.2%)
Years in New Zealand		
10 years of less	26 (24.5%)	24 (22.9%)
More than 10 years	80 (75.5%)	82 (77.1%)