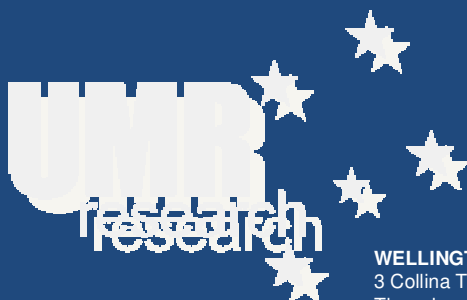


Public Attitudes and Understandings of Ethnic Identity

A Qualitative Study By
UMR Research Limited

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1. Structure of the Report

The report is divided into eight sections. The first section is a brief executive summary which is followed by the introduction and key findings from the research. The next section outlines general background on the collection of information by the government, followed by sections on the current understanding and meaning of ethnicity, exploration of views on the collection of ethnicity information, views on the collection of ethnicity information in the census and finally a section looking at communications issues regarding the census.

A brief overview is included at the end of each full chapter section outlining the key issues. This overview includes key differences in opinion across each audience. It must be noted that quantitative research would be necessary to accurately measure differences of opinion between demographic groups and the differences between groups outlined are indicative rather than definitive.

UMR is the author of this report and requires that all parties permitted to use the report and the research contained within the report give full and correct acknowledgement of authorship.

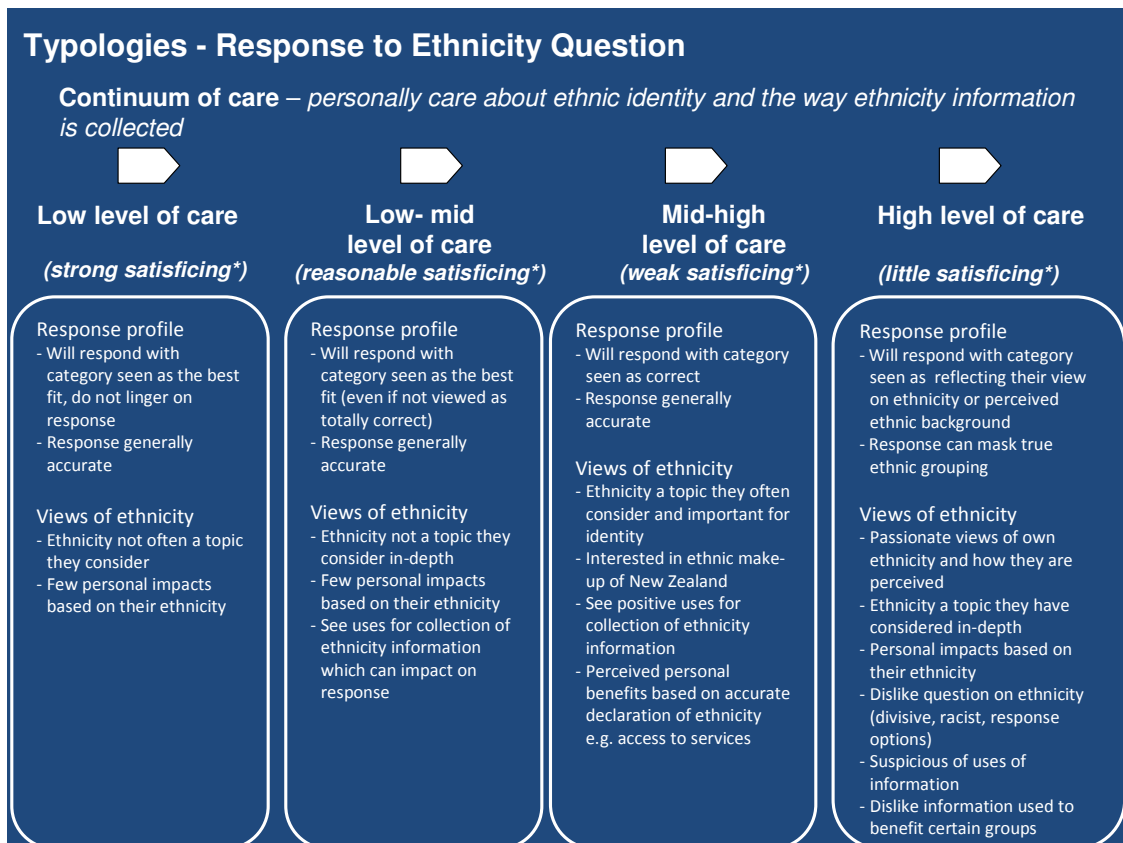
2. Executive Summary

- The research generally supports the Statistics New Zealand definition of ethnicity. Ethnicity was often viewed as being subjective with people able to choose to be part of a particular ethnic group or could be a group conferred upon you according to how you are perceived. This supports Statistics New Zealand's definition which specifies that ethnicity is a group(s) that people may identify with or feel they belong to.

However, as discussion ensued regarding ethnicity, participants were likely to gravitate towards a definition that was more objective and based on what was perceived to be more concrete markers of ethnicity such as ancestry and race. This trend was weaker across non-European participants.

- Most participants chose a range of themes to define ethnicity, indicating that ethnicity is a complex concept and endorses Statistics New Zealand's definition which is multi-themed. The strongest themes were ancestry and race/ genetics.
- The term 'New Zealander' was generally viewed as distinct from ethnicity and was not linked to any physical characteristics. It was linked to tenure in New Zealand, affinity with New Zealand, being born in New Zealand, nationality and for a few, ancestry.
- The term 'national identity' was less clear-cut for some participants. However, perceived meanings placed it more akin to definitions of 'New Zealander' with it relating more to affiliation with a country which was regardless of a person's ethnicity.
- Most participants were comfortable with the government collecting ethnicity information. There were seen to be valid reasons for seeking this data such as being used for planning purposes, policy development, helping to define New Zealand and for social research. However, some reservations were voiced regarding the collection of ethnicity information, particularly among Māori and Pacific peoples.
- Most claimed to be comfortable with an ethnicity question being included in the census. The census was viewed more positively when compared to other ways government collected information which meant that most claimed to place more emphasis on providing accurate information in the census.
- A majority were satisfied with the current format and wording of the census ethnicity question.
- When asked how they responded to the ethnicity question in the 2006 Census, most claimed to respond in the manner expected by Statistics New Zealand.

- Typologies have been developed which relate how people respond to the ethnicity question and their level of care (concern and interest) regarding their own ethnicity and how the information is used by government. These typologies work in conjunction with other questionnaire design theories such as Krosnick's satisficing* model¹ and are outlined in the following diagram.



- Most participants opposed the addition of a 'New Zealander' code in the response list for the census ethnicity question. The key concern was that it would provide inaccurate information, making the information of limited use for key functions such as planning and policy development.
- Most participants supported having a communications campaign to encourage greater participation and accuracy when answering the census.

¹ Krosnick, J. (1991). "Response strategies for coping with the cognitive demands of attitude measures in surveys." *Applied Cognitive Psychology*. Vol 5, 213-36.

3. Introduction

3.1 Background

Statistics New Zealand is conducting a review of the Statistical Standard for Ethnicity. Statistics New Zealand is seeking information to help inform the review and outline issues relating to measuring ethnicity that can be communicated to relevant stakeholders. The review is due to be completed in mid 2009 with recommendations to impact the 2011 Census of Population and Dwellings.

Statistics New Zealand aims to match the measurement of ethnicity in official statistics to the changing societal nature of ethnicity and changing information uses. A key issue has been the measurement of those with European ancestry who are a large proportion of the population and their evolving ethnic identity after many generations living in New Zealand. 'New Zealand European' is a preferred response category for this group.

In the 2006 Population Census there was a large increase in the proportion of people that reported 'New Zealander' as their ethnicity. This increase was seen to have been driven to some extent by the public debate during the 2006 Census where the role of ethnicity in public policy was questioned and also how 'New Zealander' responses are recorded (currently in the 'Other ethnicity' category).

The 'New Zealander' category as a measure of ethnicity raises problems as this term can also apply as a description of national identity to most New Zealand citizens, regardless of their ethnicity. As a result there are differing views on the usefulness of this response and the impact on the measurement of ethnicity across the New Zealand population.

Statistics New Zealand is generally cautious about making changes to established survey instruments because of the risk of unintended effects. Statistics New Zealand is seeking to improve current understanding of this issue by seeking information from a variety of sources including stakeholder consultation, review of New Zealand and international literature, reference to Statistics New Zealand institutional knowledge and a programme of specific research.

Statistics New Zealand has commissioned this independent research by UMR to explore public attitudes and understanding of the ethnicity topic in the census and other official surveys and the reasons for the growth in the 'New Zealander' response in the 2006 Census.

3.2 Objectives

The objectives of this research were to:

- Explore public understandings of and attitudes to the ethnicity topic in the census;
- Improve understanding of how participants' attitudes and understandings of the ethnicity question relate to the standard definition that underpins the survey instrument;
- Improve understanding of what motivates particular responses to the question (particularly the New Zealander response);
- Obtain information that will assist Statistics New Zealand to explain to survey participants the purpose and nature of the ethnicity question;
- Consolidate and synthesise accumulated and new information and findings about this topic in a form that will be useful for this review and for the audiences of the review.

3.3 Research design

This report is based upon ten mini groups conducted from 18 March to 7 April 2009 and nine case studies conducted from 23 March to 6 May 2009.

Mini groups and case studies are both qualitative research tools. Qualitative research concentrates on words and observations and involves the encouragement of disclosures in a nurturing and unthreatening environment.

Morgan notes that focus groups are “basically group interviews”, where “the reliance is on interaction within the focus group, based on topics that are supplied by the researcher, who typically takes the role of a facilitator. The fundamental data that focus groups produce are transcripts of the group discussions” (Morgan 1988, p.9)².

Mini groups are small focus groups of around four to six participants and can be defined as group interviewing which “...limited to those situations where the assembled group is small enough to permit genuine discussion among all its members” (Smith, 1954, p.59 cited in Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990, p.10)³.

The group structure allows attitudes and perceptions to be developed through interaction with other people. During a group discussion, individuals may shift due to the influence of other comments. Alternately, opinions may be held with certainty. A series of broad questions are raised with the group, however, like normal conversation, discussion maybe non-linear. The

² Morgan, D.L. (1988). Focus groups as qualitative research. London: Sage.

³ Stewart, D.W., & Shamdasani, P.N. (1990). Focus groups: Theory and practice. London: Sage.

facilitators main role is to ensure set topics are covered in the groups without stifling free exchange between the participants.

Cases studies follow a depth interview format and are conducted one-on-one and are used particularly when exploring the beliefs and values of participants and how that might impact on attitudes and behaviour.

➤ **Mini groups**

The specifications for the ten mini groups are outlined in the following table.

GROUP PARTICIPANTS	LOCATION	DATE CONDUCTED
European descent – multiple generations in New Zealand	Christchurch	18 March
Children of migrants, Asian descent – first generation in New Zealand	Christchurch	18 March
European descent – multiple generations in New Zealand	Auckland	19 March
Māori descent	Auckland	19 March
European descent – multiple generations in New Zealand	New Plymouth	24 March
Māori descent	New Plymouth	24 March
Recent migrants, Non-European descent	Auckland	6 April
Pacific Island descent – aged 20-34	Auckland	6 April
Pacific Island descent – aged 35-55	Auckland	7 April
Asian descent - multiple generations in New Zealand	Auckland	7 April

The duration of each mini group was between one and a half to two hours and each group comprised of four to six participants.

In each group, the facilitator canvassed opinion across a standard set of questions with participants. This was accompanied with follow-up questioning to elicit detailed or further comment. As noted previously, participants were encouraged to engage with other group members on matters of opinion, as a result discussion of the set questions frequently moved in a non-linear way, with the facilitator ensuring all set questions were covered in the time available.

The dynamics of a group discussion means that participants are encouraged to bounce ideas off each other, ask questions and respond to each others questions. This is a particularly powerful tool of group research as participants play a part in formulating the research questions. This open questioning by participants means that in some cases topics can be explored in what can be quite interesting ways that may not have been thought of prior to the study commencing. This helps to ensure that the research uncovers the full range of topics on this issue, which is the heart of what qualitative research is all about.

At least two researchers were involved with each group (one acting as facilitator, the other as note taker). All groups were audio recorded and transcribed.

➤ **Case studies**

The specifications for the nine case studies are outlined in the following table.

CASE STUDY PARTICIPANTS	LOCATION	DATE CONDUCTED
Māori (urban) - Answered 'Māori' in last census but also wrote in other European ancestry into 'other', felt this most accurately described her ethnicity, disliked the 'NZ European' category to describe her non-Māori ancestry	Auckland	27 March
Māori (urban) - Answered 'Kiwi' in last census	Auckland	30 March
Multi generational attachment to New Zealand, European descent - Answered 'Kiwi' in last census	Christchurch	21 April
Multi generational attachment to New Zealand, European descent - Answered 'New Zealand European' in last census, husband and children are Māori, claimed to have a greater awareness of the importance of this question after accessing services on behalf of her husband and children	Christchurch	21 April
Children of migrants, first generation New Zealand - Answered 'Chinese' in last census, felt this most accurately described her ethnicity, showed respect to her parents	Christchurch	21 April
Pacific peoples, 40 plus years of age (born in New Zealand) - Answered 'Samoan' in last census and doesn't acknowledge his Raratongan background. He feels he might say 'NZ Polynesian' now. Feels this is more accurate as it describes place of birth and also his Polynesian origins. He did not believe there were big differences between the different Pacific Island ethnic groups	Auckland	1 May

CASE STUDY PARTICIPANTS (Cont.)	LOCATION	DATE CONDUCTED
Pacific peoples, under 40 years of age (born in New Zealand) - Answered 'Samoan' in last census. Even though he was born in New Zealand he mainly socialises and mixes with Pacific people. He believed the term 'New Zealander' referred to European and Māori	Auckland	30 April
Recent migrants, non-European - Answered 'Indian' in last census. She is also part Portuguese but does not acknowledge this background. Before moving here six years ago, she had lived in the Middle East for 22 years where her children were born. Her son calls himself a New Zealander as this "is where we've chosen to settle"	Auckland	1 May
Multi generational attachment to New Zealand, Asian descent - Answered 'New Zealand Chinese' in last census under Other. She is a fourth generation New Zealander. She cannot speak Chinese and her parents cannot speak Chinese. Only recently 'rediscovered' her culture, she used to wish she wasn't Chinese, now thinks she may be more likely to say 'Chinese' if asked her ethnicity	Auckland	6 May

The case studies were conducted at a venue chosen by the participant and were around one hour duration.

3.3.1 Facilitators

One facilitator moderated each mini group or case study. Four facilitators were used for this study to provide flexibility in matching the most appropriate facilitator to the participants being researched.

Felolina Tumataiki facilitated the Pacific peoples groups and Andrea Kan facilitated the non-European migrant groups. Felolina Tumataiki is from a Niuean ethnic background and Andrea Kan is from a Chinese ethnic background.

3.3.2 Recruitment

Participants were recruited by telephone using UMR's trained interviewers. Participants were recruited by a mixture of cold calling and from UMR's research database. UMR ensures a number of group participants are always recruited on a cold calling basis so that participants are kept fresh and not programmed on how to respond in a group situation. The drawback of recruiting participants on a cold calling basis is that sometimes this results in a higher number of non attendees.

For those recruited from UMR's database, participants are not allowed to have attended a group in the last six months.

3.3.3 Question schedule

The question schedule was based on the research objectives and was developed in consultation with Statistics New Zealand staff.

A qualitative question schedule is not like a quantitative questionnaire where questions are ordered and fixed. In qualitative research, question schedules are used as a guide to encourage participants to discuss and explore ideas and thoughts they have on the topic being researched. A strength of qualitative research is that lines of questioning are flexible and allow for additional questions to be asked while conducting the mini groups or case studies and at any subsequent stage of the research.

A copy of the question schedule is included in the Appendix.

3.3.4 Analysis

Transcriptions of the group discussions and case studies were searched to identify key themes.

A qualitative analysis template was used to effectively collate, analyse and report on the themes across each group and case study. Where we are analysing group outcomes, the typical analysis worksheet includes key group criteria (e.g. demographic information, location, participant-specific factors). It is then clustered into high level data headings (i.e. the main themes covered by the questions and discussion) and then into second and subsequent level data headings within each theme. This template is carefully designed to build a complete map of the discussion outcomes for each group and for the project as a whole. The design process involved brainstorming sessions involving the key members of the project team.

Only brief summaries of the case studies are included in the main report but full case study outlines can be found in the Appendix.

It should be noted that this report is based on qualitative research. While qualitative research can be used to identify a range of issues and assess the intensity with which views are held, quantitative research is necessary to establish with certainty the extent to which views expressed are held throughout wider populations.

Other possible limitations of qualitative research are that research quality is heavily dependent on the individual skills of the researcher, rigour is more difficult to maintain, assess, and demonstrate, the volume of data makes analysis and interpretation time consuming, and that views maybe impacted on by others during a group discussion. However, on the last point it should be acknowledged that individuals and communities are often influenced by others in the real world and the group setting may accurately reflect this influence.

UMR has utilised a number of approaches to best address these issues and provide assurance regarding the findings of this report, these include:

- Participants are recruited on the basis that they do not regularly attend group discussions and become 'trained' in the group process
- Group discussion is as unstructured as possible to allow participants to voice their own views
- Exercises were used during the groups where participants wrote down responses before discussing their views with the group as a whole
- Only experienced researchers with at least eight years market research experience facilitated the group discussions.

4. Key findings

4.1 Background

- Most participants were comfortable providing information to government agencies so long as the information was considered relevant and not too personal.

A few participants viewed ethnicity information as too personal and in some instances queried its relevance when sought by government. However, the census was one medium where participants felt comfortable providing more sensitive information.

- The perceived uses for government information were for planning and targeting funding, developing social policy, to provide statistics that helped to define New Zealand and to provide validation for people to access services or benefits.

4.2 Understanding the meaning of ethnicity

- The research generally endorses the Statistics New Zealand definition of ethnicity. Ethnicity was often viewed as being subjective with people able to choose to be part of a particular ethnic group or could be a group conferred upon you according to how you are perceived. The element of choice meant that some felt that a person's ethnicity could change.

This supports Statistics New Zealand's definition which specifies that ethnicity is a group(s) that people may identify with or feel they belong to.

However, as discussion ensued regarding ethnicity, participants were likely to gravitate towards a definition that was more objective and based on what was perceived to be more concrete markers of ethnicity such as race and ancestry. This seemed to be as a result of discussion that highlighted the subjective nature of certain themes while reinforcing the objective nature of other themes.

- Most participants chose a range of themes to define ethnicity, indicating that ethnicity is a complex and multifaceted concept and endorses Statistics New Zealand's definition which is multi-themed.

The strongest determinants of ethnicity were ancestry and race/ genetics . Mid-level determinants were physical characteristics, culture/ traditions and birthplace. Low level determinants were religion/ spiritual beliefs, nationality, geographic origin and language.

- The term 'Māori' related mostly to those of Polynesian and Māori ancestry (whakapapa). There were references to being the indigenous people of New Zealand, visible characteristics, culture and traditions (kaupapa) and language (Te Reo). An element of choice was more evident when discussing Māori ethnicity as it was noted that mixed ancestry was the norm.
- The term 'New Zealand European' related mostly to people of European ancestry that were at least a second generation New Zealander. However, a few felt that it could refer to a first generation New Zealander. There were also references to physical characteristics, being the dominant ethnic group in New Zealand and being synonymous with 'Pakeha' or 'white New Zealander'.
- The term 'European' was linked to European ancestry and generally related to migrants of more recent extraction. There were references to it being the dominant ethnic group, defined as coming from a particular geographic area, physical characteristics and race. There were a few references to specific cultures or traditions.
- The term 'Pacific islander' related mostly to people of Pacific Island ancestry. There were references to specific geographic origins, physical characteristics and stronger links to culture, traditions, values, food and religion. The term was seen to cover a wide range of distinct ethnic groups and referred to peoples that had close ties to New Zealand due to its proximity and historical connections.
- The term 'Asian' related mostly to people of Asian ancestry. There were references to specific geographic origins and while it was seen to relate to a range of ethnicities, it was seen to be most strongly linked to the Chinese ethnicity. The term was also related to physical characteristics, race, culture, traditions and food. There were also a number of stereotypes raised in regard to the term.
- The term 'New Zealander' was generally viewed as distinct from ethnicity and was not linked to any physical characteristics. It was linked to tenure in New Zealand, affinity with New Zealand, being born in New Zealand, nationality and for a few, ancestry.
- The term 'national identity' was less clear-cut for some participants. However, perceived meanings placed it more akin to definitions of 'New Zealander' with it relating more to affiliation with a country which was regardless of a person's ethnicity.

The fact that New Zealand was viewed as a relatively young nation meant that some felt national identity was weak in New Zealand but it was noted that for nations with long established populations (settled for many hundreds of years) national identity had developed into an ethnic group.

National identity was linked with concepts such as a sense of unity, patriotism, residency, place of birth, some aspects of culture and a sense of belonging.

4.3 Information on ethnicity

- Most participants were comfortable with the government collecting ethnicity information, although some noted that responses should be voluntary.

There were seen to be valid reasons for seeking this data such as being used for planning purposes, policy development, helping to define New Zealand and for social research.

- However, some reservations were voiced regarding the collection of ethnicity information. These reservations related to a belief that services and support should not be allocated on the basis of ethnicity, that ethnicity information is subjective and therefore more likely to be an imprecise indicator, that it was very personal information, and that ethnicity statistics are sometimes used to negatively portray some groups in the media.

4.4 Ethnicity in the census

- Most claimed to be comfortable with an ethnicity question being included in the census. The census was viewed more positively when compared to other ways government collected information which meant that most claimed to place more emphasis on providing accurate information in the census.

- A majority were satisfied with the current format and wording of the census ethnicity question.

However, some reservations were raised by a scattering of participants and regarded the response list provided to respond to the question, discomfort asking a question about 'race' and the subjectivity involved when answering this question.

- Suggestions to improve the current ethnicity question in the census included providing an explanation of the uses and importance of this data, changing the question wording slightly, and including some additional questions to clarify responses.
- When asked how they responded to the ethnicity question in the 2006 Census, most claimed to respond in the manner expected by Statistics New Zealand.

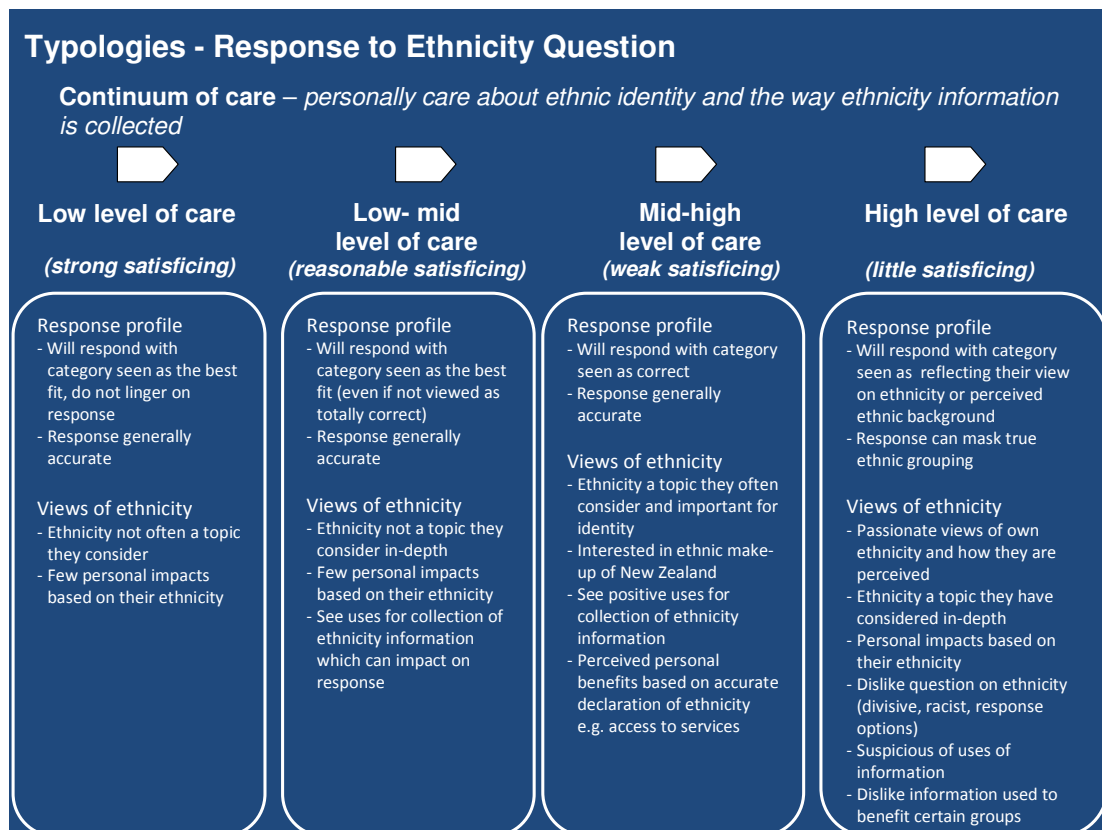
Out of ten Māori participants, one claimed that they may have answered 'Kiwi' in the last census, the remainder had answered as 'Māori' or 'Māori' and some 'other' group.

Out of 16 multigenerational European participants, four claimed that they answered ‘New Zealander’ in the last census, the remainder had answered as ‘New Zealand European’.

Out of seven multigenerational Asian participants, three claimed that they answered ‘New Zealand or New Zealander’ under ‘other’ plus another ethnic group such as Chinese or Indian, the remainder had answered with just a single ethnic group. While these responses would provide valid data, it should be noted that it was important to the participants the ticked multiple groups to acknowledge their multigenerational roots in New Zealand.

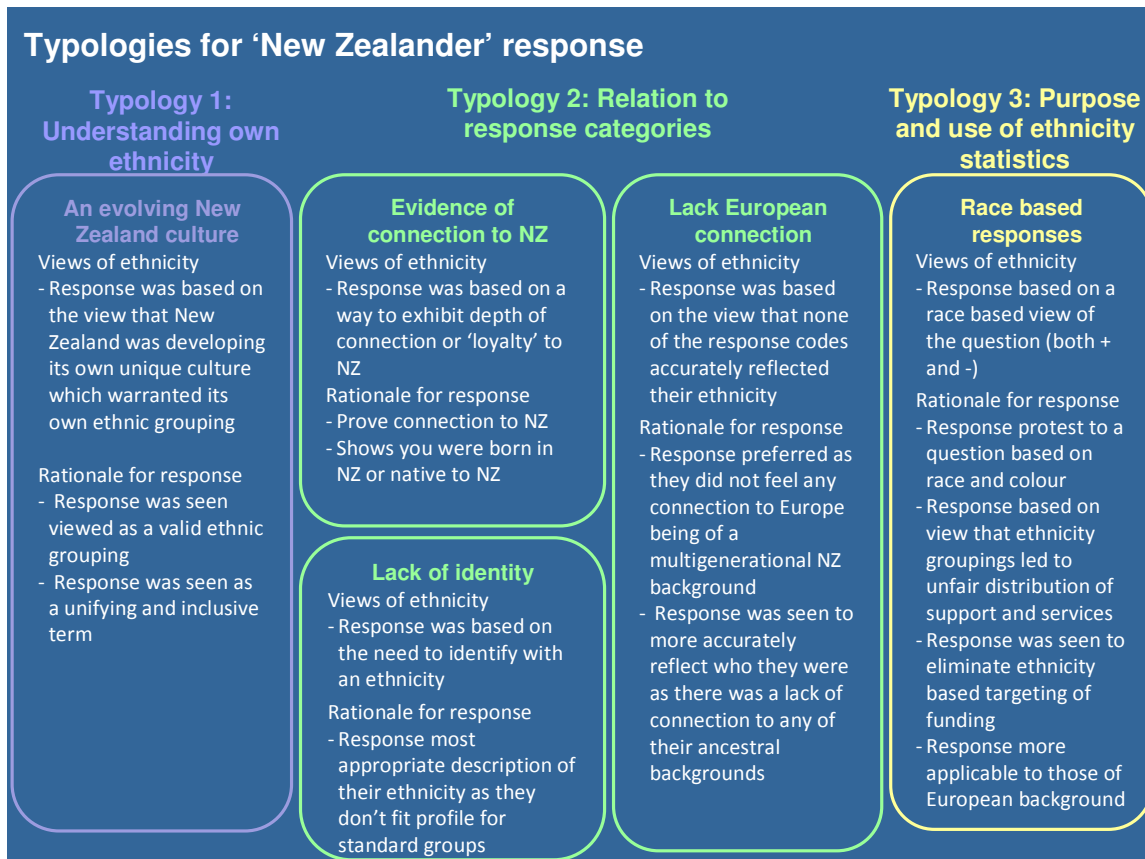
Out of the remaining 26 participants all would nominate relevant ethnic groups.

- Typologies have been developed which relates how people respond to the ethnicity question and their level of care (concern and interest) regarding their own ethnicity and how the information is used by government. These typologies work in conjunction with other questionnaire design theories such as Krosnick’s satisficing model⁴ with evidence that participants engage in different levels of satisficing across the typologies developed.



⁴ Krosnick, J. (1991). "Response strategies for coping with the cognitive demands of attitude measures in surveys." Applied Cognitive Psychology. Vol 5, 213-36.

- This research supports typologies developed by Statistics New Zealand regarding those that choose to respond as 'New Zealander' as their ethnicity. These typologies are based on extensive rounds of cognitive testing. Three broad groups were identified based on how people understand their own ethnicity, how people relate to the response categories they are offered in the question, and how they perceive the purpose and use of ethnicity statistics.



- Most participants opposed the addition of a 'New Zealander' response in the ethnicity question. The key concern was that it would provide information that was imprecise and therefore of little use as all people living in New Zealand could respond in this manner. This would make it invalid data to use for planning and developing social policy.

Discussion also highlighted that such a question change would potentially distort the data collected as some participants claimed they would choose this category if it was available, that it could lead to confusion regarding what the question was asking and that it could make people treat the question more flippantly if a 'New Zealander' code was added.

There was also specific mention that such an addition could lead to Māori being underrepresented in ethnicity data.

- While a few endorsed the addition of a 'New Zealander' response, it was clear that support for its inclusion declined as discussion progressed. Indicating that greater knowledge about ethnicity and the use of these statistics resulted in more support for a less ambiguous form of measurement.

4.5 Information campaign

- Most participants supported having a communications campaign to encourage greater accuracy when answering the census. The amount of money spent on the census, the importance of the information being collected and the relative infrequency of the census were reasons raised in support.
- There was a perceived need to use a variety of communications channels as a campaign needed to reach all New Zealanders.
- The key messages to encourage accurate responses included the use of the information for planning and to develop health and education policy. Although a campaign on a national level and aimed at the general public would need to be focused on wide health outcomes rather than any targeted group. Other messages included the need to have an accurate picture of New Zealand and having statistics that define us as a nation, trying to show some form of personal benefit in taking part in the census and reinforcing that responses are confidential and that there are no adverse consequences to taking part.
- Releasing statistics from the census in an interesting manner was also seen as a good way to encourage better engagement and also provided some form of feedback to those that had participated.
- Some material from the communications campaign used during the last census was tested in the groups. The main outcome of discussion about this material was that any material needed to be clear and simple to understand and if possible in pictorial form.
- A map of Tongan residents was tested in the groups. While the map was viewed positively in regard to being easy to understand and interesting, some found it confusing and only of limited interest. Some felt it could incite racism by highlighting the location of specific ethnic groups.

5. Background

5.1 Information collected by the government

Participants in the groups were asked to recall the types of information collected by the government. This question was posed before there was any mention of the census or the collection of ethnicity information.

➤ Government agencies seeking information

The most common government agencies recalled as seeking information were the Inland Revenue Department, Statistics New Zealand, Immigration New Zealand, The Police and Work and Income. At lower levels there were also mentions of the Ministry of Transport, the Accident Compensation Corporation, Housing New Zealand, the Department of Internal Affairs (in relation to births, deaths and marriages and passports), Studylink, the Electoral Commission, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education, the local council and the Department of Labour.

➤ Types of information collected

Participants were comfortable providing information that was viewed as relevant to the government agency in question or related to a particular service they were trying to access but were concerned if the information seemed irrelevant or too personal.

Information participants were more comfortable providing were their address or age as this was often seen as relevant information, however, they were less comfortable providing information on income, relationship history and religion.

[What types of information is too much?] *Things that relate to personal stuff, sexual inclination, who your last partner was, personal relationships, girlfriend, boyfriend.* (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Basically your name, age, date of birth and I don't know whether background comes into it but doesn't really worry me. But there are some questions that can get a touch too personal. [What sort of questions are a touch too personal?] Marital status, that has nothing to do with it. I mean I am not married I am in a de facto relationship which is the same thing I don't need to classify it, I don't feel the need to classify it. I am just a lazy bugger putting the ring on her finger but she has got half of what I have got. (Auckland, Māori, male)

[What other information like that do you think is too much?] *I don't like it how they always ask you what your income is. Income is a very private thing I think they are trying to screw you down too much.* (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

[Providing information?] *I am quite private so I don't like providing any of that to anyone.* [Any in particular that you are uncomfortable with?] *I suppose I don't think it's relevant for others to know what my religion is not that I have a particular religion.* (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

A few voiced discomfort over providing information on ethnicity but at a lower level than the topics previously mentioned.

There were also some participants that were suspicious that any information provided could be used against them in some way. This view was strongest among Māori participants.

I have to think why is it relevant, what purpose is that going to be used for? I am a bit different I always try and keep under the radar even if I am on the bones of my arse there is no way I will sign up to the dole. [So what is the motivation for staying under the radar?] *For me personally the less they know the better for me. Bad experiences in the past.* (Auckland, Māori, female)

[What do you think some of the reasons are that the government collects this information?] *The more they know the more they can control. That would be a hypochondriac's (sic) view.* [Is it your view though?] *Sometimes it can be in the back of your mind sometimes when you are answering some of the questions.* (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, male)

There was an underlying belief voiced by a few that the government agencies shared information and possibly had on file most information pertaining to an individual.

[Income is the main one that is coming up there is there any other personal information that you are not so comfortable giving to the government?] *We all have got an NHI number and I am not saying we shouldn't give that it is just that we are a number in their system aren't we, NHI on the health index or IRD on the money side of things. We are numbers. Match the numbers together and you have got the person, you have got their address, all this information about us.* (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

➤ **Collection methods**

The key methods of collecting data raised by participants were official forms, surveys and the census.

I suppose surveys as well. [So government run type surveys?] *Yes.* [Any specific surveys that come to mind?] *Like you hear on the News that National is this popular and Labour is that popular and things like that, polls.* (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Being arrested because that is going to the government isn't it and they do get information from there. (Auckland, Māori, female)

Even at this early stage of discussion, participants voiced greater comfort in providing information in the census. The reasons for this are explored in latter sections of this report.

5.2 Uses of information

Participants were asked to nominate the possible uses of information collected by the government which are outlined following.

➤ Planning and targeted funding

One of the most common uses raised by participants was that information was used to help in future planning and to help target of funding to the areas of most need.

Logistics, knowing what the quantity is so you can sort of run it and plan for it, how much you are going to need, if you have to borrow from overseas. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

[What do you get out of the collection of information?] The gathering of the information doesn't do anything for us but the results of it do. If they can plan ahead efficiently then there is some benefit to us because there are services and things available when we need them. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Information was related specifically to being used to ensure appropriate funding of the health and education sectors including ensuring there were enough doctors and teachers.

And I suppose too deciding whether we need more teachers, more doctors. (Auckland, Māori, female)

It is long term, no good going we need a school next year, got to find some funds, got to find out where to put it. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

[So why do you think the government collects this sort of information?] I suppose they want to get a cross section of what sort of people are in the country and what they do and why they are here. [Why do you think that is useful for them?] I guess it helps them plan for the future for schools, hospitals and things like that. (Christchurch, children of migrants, female)

Information was also seen to help in the planning and development of communities.

I guess so they can plan ahead, see when the greatest number of the population is going to be retired or various stages of their life. (New Plymouth, Māori, female)

The information was seen to ensure appropriate spending on infrastructure such as roading and power generation.

[Why do government agencies want to know this?] Who is living in the country, are they going to stay long term, are they going to migrate to Australia or whatever or just come back from overseas? Migration. [Why is it important they know that?] So they can structure the roads and services and budget, certain areas are growing at different levels. Get the infrastructure right for the population. Put the money into different areas, say people are moving out of Southland and moving up north or whatever so follow the population around I suppose. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

[Why are they collecting information?] *For forward planning, how many cars we have got on the road and motorways and what we need to build for the future.* (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

➤ Social policy

The information was seen to provide the basis to develop constructive social policy.

The Bills formulated by the government it gives them information to quantify what they need to do. So if there is a certain percentage of the population on welfare, a certain percentage coming up for retirement they have to plan for that, they need that information. I am not sure how often a census comes out but they will need it reasonably regularly I suppose. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

[What do you get out of it, the fact the government collects this information?] *I would think it is mainly to develop social policy, estimating how many older people there are going to be and younger people and the finance around it as well. [Does that benefit you though?] Yes in the long term I think you hope that when you get to retirement that the government has developed policy so you don't get left with nothing.* (New Plymouth, Māori, female)

Information of the make-up of New Zealand was also seen to help ensure appropriate funding on social services.

[You mentioned about it being for planning, what other uses do you think they use this information for?] *Social service like prepare what sort of services we need. If we have many immigrants coming from overseas you might need more Asian police or something.* (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, male)

➤ Defining New Zealand

Information collected by the government was seen to provide statistics about the New Zealand population. This was generally attributed to information collected in the census.

The information was viewed as defining the New Zealand population across a wide range of variables such as income, age, gender, and region.

An overview of how New Zealand is in terms of educational level, whether or not the population is aging etc, I think all that comes from the information you give. Medium income, average. [So how we describe ourselves as a nation?] Yes also race, gender all those things make up the whole overview of who we are as a nation. [Is that important to have information like that?] I think it is in terms of planning. If our population is aging then obviously we need more hospitals. But if there is a baby boom obviously we need more schools for education. So there is the balancing act that has to be done. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

I guess collation of data for research purposes. For example how many engineers live in a particular area or in a community? What percentage of the population is in employment, what percentage is out of employment? It is a case of collating all that data and comparing it to other parts of the country. Not only other parts of the country but other parts of the world. (Auckland, Māori, male)

➤ **Access to services or benefits**

On a more personal level some noted that information was used to test if someone was eligible to receive particular services or benefits.

[What do you think the government collects this information?] It makes sure you have a better quality of life. To make sure you are in the right sort of housing to suit your needs because overcrowding can cause health problems and that which costs the government if you are on a benefit or something. The doctor's visits are subsidized and all that sort of thing and it costs them more if you are having to go to the doctors all the time because you are in an overcrowded situation. So it saves them money in the long run as well. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

To see whether you qualify for a benefit or subsidy. (Auckland, Māori, female)

5.3 Chapter summary

- Most participants were comfortable providing information to government agencies so long as the information was considered relevant and not too personal.

A few participants viewed ethnicity information as too personal and in some instances queried its relevance when sought by government. However, census was one medium where participants felt comfortable providing more sensitive information.

- The perceived uses for government information were for planning and targeting funding, developing social policy, to provide statistics that helped to define New Zealand, and to provide validation for people to access services or benefits.

➤ **Demographic differences**

- Māori participants voiced stronger concerns regarding possible misuse of information provided to the government.

6. Understanding the meaning of ethnicity

6.1 Definition of ethnicity

6.1.1 General definition

Participants in the mini groups were asked to outline their definition of the meaning of ethnicity.

This research generally backs up the definition of ethnicity as outlined by Statistics New Zealand⁵. There was strong endorsement with many participants noting that ethnicity is often a group you may choose to be affiliated with or have a particular pride in being associated with.

I guess it's what you immerse yourself in. I grew up in an English style home so I was immersed in that so I didn't know anything Māori. I was forbidden to have anything to do with Māori stuff but as I got to make my own decisions I picked up bits and pieces, which is only small. So I guess it depends on what you want to know from that other culture. My adoptive father was Polish but my mother was born here in New Zealand but she grew up in England so that is why I talked about traditions because I had Polish traditional food and things like that. (New Plymouth, Māori, female)

My sister is a lot fairer than me and when she filled out forms she put down she was Pakeha and nobody knew any different. She had dark hair, green eyes and really fair skin and nobody really questioned her about it that was how she filled out forms. [So there is a certain amount about how you feel?] That was how she felt she fitted into the scheme of things whereas I would tick New Zealand Māori. (New Plymouth, Māori, female)

Pick and choose, I could wear the Cameron tartan if I wanted to and am able to do that apparently but I also have Irish blood in me but I am going back a long way. [So could that be your ethnicity?] I probably could choose if I could prove it in a family tree. [So ancestry is pretty important then?] I would imagine. My grandmother did a family tree on my father's side and it is quite amazing what comes out and there are several

⁵ The Statistics New Zealand definition of ethnicity states that:

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

Additionally an ethnic group is made up of people who have some or all of the following characteristics:

- A common proper name
- One or more elements of common culture which need not be specified, but may include religion, customs or language
- Unique community of interests, feelings and actions
- A shared sense of common origins or ancestry, and
- A common geographic origin.

countries really you could say your ancestors hail from. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

It was also viewed as a trait that could be conferred upon you by others and how they perceived you.

I have three paths to ethnicity, one is the physical root cause of ethnicity which doesn't change but then there is also how you view yourself and how everyone else views you. So you could change the way you think of your ethnicity and that is a reasonably easy process but how other people view you can change but not so easily. (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

Participants almost always chose a range of themes to describe ethnicity, reinforcing the multi-themed definition outlined by Statistics New Zealand and clearly highlighting that ethnicity is viewed as a complex concept.

[I want you to write down what you think ethnicity means.] Language, culture, skin colour, food, sometimes education as well, society, their influence to the other ethnicities religion. [So it is quite complex.] It is yes. [Are any of those more important than the other if you had to choose one above the other?] They are all equal because they are all linked, all closely related. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

I tried to define it I said ethnicity was a group of people who shared a common set of beliefs, customs, rules, languages which are passed down from generation to generation. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

Reinforcing the perception that 'ethnicity' was viewed as a complex term was the fact that there were some participants in all the non-European groups that felt that ethnicity and race were distinct terms. While many viewed race as a relatively superficial descriptor, ethnicity was viewed as more nuanced and more open to individual choice.

Ethnicity to me is more cultural, I think culture is a big importance and culture decides where you feel you belong. So race is a part of who you are but more superficial and ethnicity is more your choice. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

[I want you to write down what ethnicity means to you?] I think ethnicity is more the culture you identify with rather than your blood, to me race is your blood. [What is the difference between race and ethnicity?] Ethnicity is if you grow up somewhere different to your racial ancestry you might identify with a different group of people. So ethnicity I could say I identify myself as a New Zealander but race, I would be Chinese because that is where my history is. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

[Ethnicity?] Where are my roots from and my roots to me are in New Zealand even though my race is Indian. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

It was noted by some that ethnicity was a descriptor that may become redundant over time as the world's population became more mobile and with more intermarriages between different ethnic groups.

In 200 years time we might come back and everybody has blended in so much it doesn't really matter. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Based on the way it used to be like there used to be the Caucasians and the Melanesians and the Asians the Negro and the little ones in between the Melanesians, Polynesians and the Micronesians and broken down into that. But nowadays it is getting more and more mixed up so you don't have such a clear cut vision. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

It was a term that was seen as more important to new migrants that wanted to preserve their culture and values when they settled in a new country.

[So you think ethnicity means more to people who have migrated to New Zealand?] I think so. I think the first generation for the kids it's different because they go to school and it waters down. But with the older generation it means more because you just want sometimes to cling to your roots and stuff. And you feel you are losing that maybe. Not so much your traditions as in losing your values. Say the family home is where you enjoy family and things like that. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

A minor discrepancy was noted by some case study participants regarding the Statistics New Zealand definition. The definition was seen to be made up of two distinct parts with the first part being viewed as very choice based and reliant on self perception while the second part outlining some characteristics that were viewed as more 'black and white' and therefore less reliant on choice, highlighting a conflict in the definition. It should be noted that the definition was only shown to case study participants and not to group participants.

[So ethnicity is more about a choice?] Yes I would think. [So do you think this definition is accurate?] I don't think it is cultural. I think this third one is more like it isn't it, the first [Ethnicity is the ethnic group or groups that people identify with or feel they belong to] and the third [Ethnicity is self perceived and people can belong to more than one ethnic group]. [So these other characteristics here, you wouldn't necessarily agree with them?] No. [So as you said before, they're more like race than ethnicity?] Yes. Even just the common geographic origin would be more race. This is more race - unique community of interests, feelings and actions. [That is what you think?] Yes. I am sure there are a lot of people like me who think this way. (Auckland, recent migrant, non-European, female)

6.1.2 Testing the rationale behind the ethnicity definition

Analysis of the different themes raised in regard to the ethnicity definition are explored further in this section and are outlined according to how important a range of characteristics or themes were seen to be in determining ethnicity. Participants in the groups were asked to sort a range of possible ethnicity characteristics or themes by how important each was in determining ethnicity.

➤ High level determinants of ethnicity

High level determinants of ethnicity were aspects perceived as more black and white such as ancestry and race/ genetics and were viewed as less reliant on subjective criteria.

Genetics is something based from both of your parents there is nothing you can do about it, you can't change it, you are born with it, there is no way of changing it so there is a definite link to an ethnic origin of some sort. (Auckland, Māori, male)

As discussion progressed during the groups many participants gravitated towards these less subjective aspects as a way to define ethnicity. So while they initially raised a wide range of themes in relation to ethnicity by the end of discussion their definition had been refined down to less subjective measures. This seemed to be due to discussion during the groups that highlighted the subjective nature of certain themes while reinforcing other themes that could not be questioned. It was also a way for participants to synthesise down and simplify their definition.

I simplified mine, my first one said racial and cultural background but I actually think it is more just your racial and genetic background. Because I think from the discussion I have figured out that your culture is very much based on how you are brought up but after saying you see somebody who is Indian that is their ethnicity. But culturally they may not be Indian they may be full blown Kiwi as Kiwi as I am. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

The first thing I put down was more complex than originally thought. Many factors contribute and I have put first priority is genetics and then I have put where ancestors and parents came from. Then there is more but those are the two for me at the end of all of this those are the two things that stand true to me. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Key themes consistently raised as high level determinants were ancestry and race/ genetics.

Heritage and ancestry: Family ancestry and origins were raised by most participants as a key aspect of ethnicity.

I trace it all the way back to my forefathers because it is where we came about from generation to generation so therefore that is my country of origin that is how I class ethnicity. [So what would you say your ethnicity is?] I tick all the boxes but mostly because I have been brought up in the Fijian, Samoan, Niuen culture because that is how I have been brought up. But when people ask me straight up I tell them that is where I am from. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

Where ancestors are from, that said I did put New Zealand or Chinese prior. They cross over I think ethnicity, nationality and race so if I was just to be asked what is your nationality I would say New Zealander, that is the nation I am from. Whereas my ethnic background would be where my ancestors came from and race would be Chinese I suppose. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

To me it is more if you have an ancestor that comes from a particular part of the world that is your origin, that is your race. Like you might be living in New Zealand but your ancestors came from Samoa or somewhere so you are a New Zealand Samoan or something else depending on how long you have been here. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

[Meaning of 'ethnicity'?] Just like your roots, where your parents are from, family is from. (Christchurch, children of migrants, female)

I just put down race, roots, culture or origin, genealogy ancestors, ancestral roots. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

The concept of bloodlines was often used in conjunction with ancestry, especially among non-European participants.

In China that is why they are so desperate for boys because ancestry is very important. My grandmother has that concept but I don't. [Why?] I think it has a lot to do with being brought up in a society where you are taught at a very young age that boys and girls are the same. And being a girl myself I know how important ancestry is to my grandmother's generation. [Do you think ancestry is more about the boy?] Bloodlines. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

I just said it is the race of a certain country or their homeland and stuff like that. [And what do you think of as race when you are thinking race?] Bloodline maybe. It doesn't really have to be skin colour or language it is what their heritage was from their past. You could be Chinese but born in a Japanese background but your blood is still Chinese. (Christchurch, children of migrants, male)

Ethnicity is blood and we have had this discussion here and I have found the difference between ethnicity and cultural identity. [Would you have been different?] Before I would have classed myself as New Zealand Chinese but now I am Chinese. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

There was a feeling among those from multicultural or mixed ethnic backgrounds that ancestry was less important. It was noted that for those of mixed ethnicity their ethnic background was more open to choice as to which ethnicity they felt more affinity to, rather than based on their ancestry.

[Your ancestry important?] We are mixed in our family so I don't know how important that is. My grandfather was Portuguese. [Do you feel Portuguese at all?] No I don't really although I used to only speak Portuguese until I was three years old and then after that it was English and a dialect called Konkani. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

Some from multicultural countries also felt that ancestry was not such an important marker of ethnicity. The prevalence of marriages between different ethnic groups meant that lines of ancestry were more difficult to trace making them less important.

What I feel is that those who are brought up in a more multi cultural background that part is not so important. But if you come from say Korea where the ties are very strong, if you come from Japan or Middle East where it is not multi cultural. But I come from a multi cultural country. [Where are you from?] Originally Singapore. So in Singapore there are four major languages. [Do you think New Zealand is multi cultural?] I think we are moving towards that direction. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, male)

Race: Race was commonly viewed as synonymous with ethnicity. It was seen as something a person was born with rather than viewed as a choice or something conferred upon someone.

I think the key word to ethnicity is race and I think you can have a dual ethnicity but changing culture and thinking you can change your ethnicity you are actually changing

your society and your culture, your ethnicity is what you are born with and you can have a dual one or a mixed one. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Some felt that the term 'ethnicity' was a softer and more politically correct version of 'race' which was viewed as having some negative connotations. It was not viewed as a term often used in New Zealand.

I think race is used more as a colloquial term and ethnicity is more formal. [You don't like the term 'race'?] I think it has bad stuff associated with it along with good stuff. For me if I think of race I am kind of stereotyping them with a certain group. [What about ethnicity has it not got the same issues?] No. (Christchurch, children of migrants, male)

A person's genetic make-up was often viewed as a definitive descriptor as it was seen to be objective and indisputable. Discussion regarding genetics highlighted that there were close links to race which indicate that participants may really be referring to racial aspects rather than the specific genetic make-up of an individual.

[Genetics?] Genetics identify who you are as a person from the very beginning. If you have got Asian genes you are going to be Asian. You can't change that so I think it is a definite thing because if your genes say you are Chinese then you are Chinese. If you are mixed then you are in the middle. At my kindergarten there is a girl who is quarter Chinese and she speaks Chinese and she identifies that she is Chinese. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

It is not something you just bring out, it is not something you identify yourself with, it is the underlying principle of who you are that defines in the most basic form who you are. It defines your skin colour, your eyes. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

However, a few noted that for people of a mixed ethnic background, using genetics as a descriptor was far from clear cut.

[So would you use genetics?] I wouldn't because I know people who have Irish, German, English and Italian backgrounds. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, male)

➤ **Mid level determinants of ethnicity**

The aspects viewed as being of mid level importance were seen to have some degree of subjectivity involved.

Key themes raised as mid level determinants were physical characteristics, culture/ traditions and birthplace.

Physical characteristics: A number of participants acknowledged that physical characteristics can often be an indicator of ethnicity.

[Why might a person's colour indicate ethnicity?] *Again I am just generalizing but you can have a reasonable guess to their ethnicity based on their colour and other physical features.* (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

The colour goes hand in hand with the facial features and things like that I think so not just the colour but people's eyes and nose and their hair and things like that. (New Plymouth, Māori, female)

Automatically when you walk down the street and see someone they are Asian aren't they or Māori or Samoan. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

The race you were born to like all of us are Asian ethnicity but born in New Zealand. (Christchurch, children of migrants, female)

Colour to me is important because you can tell who we people are from, a person from Fiji or Samoa you probably will not try to speak Samoan to an African you will know immediately he is from Somalia. So to me it is important, you probably will say hello to a white South African and find out they can't speak English. I am not saying they are being racist I am just saying ethnicity grouping to identify it is important. I can see some Tongan boys over there having a drink so to me it is important how I identify ethnically in a group. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

However, 'skin colour' raised some debate with some believing this characteristic was very subjective and therefore an unreliable measure of ethnicity. Those of mixed ethnicity were particularly vocal on this point.

[Colour as a criterion of ethnicity?] *It can't be for me because I am New Zealand Māori and European so I don't fit into the visual. [So that blows that out of the water?] For me it does.* (New Plymouth, Māori, female)

[You chose skin colour as something of medium importance?] *Because skin colour doesn't necessarily mean you are the specific race or origin. Because my friend has a Kiwi mother and an Asian father so he ended up looking like a Kiwi with black hair. So he is still Asian but he doesn't look like one.* (Christchurch, children of migrants, male)

Behaviours and mannerisms were seen by a few as markers of ethnicity.

I used to work at the airport, international airport for 15 years and I saw all different races coming and going through Auckland airport. We got quite good at this and we could tell just by the way someone walks through the door, we would know where they came from, what ethnicity they were, we would know if an American walked through the door before they even had the chance to speak that they were American. Even to the extent of differentiating between Chinese, Korean and Japanese. Because you are dealing with thousands and thousands of people over a long period of time you got to see genetic or ethnic or just cultural characteristics in people. [Is that about the way they look, the way they act?] Their mannerisms, the way they dress, the way they work. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Culture and traditions: Many felt that common cultural practices and traditions were linked to ethnicity and were particularly important for non-European participants.

What I have got down is ethnicity refers to race, religion, cultural ways, wherever you are from you have a different style of living or whatever. I guess if someone asks me I would probably say New Zealander or Kiwi. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

I have put cultural identity with whom you identify with. (Auckland, Māori, female)

Traditions they have, celebrations of their culture, value structures like right and wrong to a degree could be determined by the cultural upbringing. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

It could be practices or certain customs you practice that not everyone, your next door neighbour may not share with you but it's something that you identify with. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

For some, food was an important cultural marker and indicator of ethnicity.

Within one country, one culture or ethnicity there are hundreds of different varieties of food but I think food is quite important. Food is actually quite important because it brings people together within your culture. For festivals the food is very important because it preserves your traditions, preserves the reasons why you make yourself food. For someone of my grandmothers generation is was such a central part of their life that even though she has been in New Zealand for nearly 40 years she still makes the same foods for the same festivals. And for her teaching her children or grandchildren or great grandchildren to make it I think is actually passing on that knowledge that is part of your ethnicity. So food is important not just in a type but in a meaning. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

The subjective nature of 'culture' was illustrated by some noting that after many generations living in a country, a person's ethnicity could change due to the environment they live in and a developing affinity with a country.

I think it is like languages, if English is your first language and then you learn another language that is your second language and I think you could have two ethnicities too. Your original ethnicity and your adopted one, second one. [So what then is making up your ethnicity if you can change your ethnicity what is making it up?] Environment or the society you are living in. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

[So you are saying ethnicity is something that evolves and changes?] It changes in the fact that our great grandparents called themselves English. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

I think ethnicity is a blend of the two just like your racial background if you move to another country that you and your children will gradually adopt possibly some of the culture of the new culture you have moved into. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Birthplace: Some participants felt that the place of birth either of the individual, parents or grandparents impacted on a person's ethnicity.

Same thing where you were born, parents were born or culture or religion, how you live. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

At the end of the day kids want to know where their grandparents come from. They are proud to be identified with their country and the end of the day you have got to realize where you were born and where your parents came from so you want to pass it on to your kids. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

I mostly see it as the country where my parents come from. I would say I was Samoan instead of if I was New Zealand born which I am not, I would say I am Kiwi but because my parents are from Samoa I say I am Samoan that is my ethnicity but my nationality would be Kiwi or New Zealander. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

However, there was also an element of subjectivity attributed to a person's birthplace or parent's birthplace which limited this characteristic to being only a mid-level determinant rather than a high level determinant. It was noted that particular scenarios meant that this characteristic may or may not determine ethnicity such as someone from an Asian ethnicity being born in Europe or as noted below a parents birthplace having little bearing on an individuals self perceived ethnicity.

It depends how far you go back because your parents may have been born overseas but they have brought you across at two years old and you have lived your whole life in New Zealand. All you know is the New Zealand way of living and so you would classify that person as a New Zealander or Kiwi, well I would. Even though their parents were from wherever. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

➤ **Low level determinants of ethnicity**

The aspects rated as least important were seen to have a strong degree of personal choice and subjectivity.

Key themes raised as low level determinants were religion/ spiritual beliefs, length of residency, nationality, geographic origin and language.

Religion and spiritual beliefs: A few felt that some ethnic groups were defined by their religion.

Religion maybe. [Religion?] It is just a general emotional thing, when you think of certain ethnicities you think of certain religions. Not in New Zealand though but overseas. [Certain religions are associated with certain ethnicities?] Yes like in India I suppose you would say they have a dominant religion there. I am thinking foreign I am not thinking New Zealand. (New Plymouth, Māori, female)

[At least one of you said religion?] It depends if the ethnicity has one major base religion. If a country like Afghanistan where everyone is Muslim then I think that forms your identity. Whereas Singapore where there is so much diversity and different religions. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

However, most felt religion was too subjective to be used as a marker of ethnicity.

It is hard to say with the religion part of it because you can adopt a religion too. Hinduism you can't because you have to be born Hindu to become Hindu. But a lot of other religions and that you can just come off the street and join in. Like Muslim there

are a lot of New Zealand Muslim around. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

The religion one is interesting too, I don't particularly think religion is necessarily an indicator of ethnicity. You have got Catholics living all over the world but the fact that they are Catholic doesn't make them Indonesian or Italian or whatever. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Length of residency: Some felt that the length of time someone had lived in a country impacted on perceptions of ethnicity.

Sometimes I find it quite difficult when you have to fill in forms where you have to tick the box whether you are Pakeha or whatever. I don't know whether I should tick Chinese or New Zealander. I don't class myself as Chinese but I am not a Pakeha either. And if you tick other they want to know what other is. If my family has been here for four generations am I still Chinese or am I a New Zealander? (Christchurch, children of migrants, female)

It was felt that the more generations a person's family had lived in a country the more likely they would be to have an affinity with that country rather than with the country of their ancestors.

[Number of generations in a country?] I sort of think you are born in New Zealand it is not your family so much. I think it's yourself where you were born. And I could claim that I have Spanish blood somewhere down the line and I could probably try and claim that I was Spanish or I have some Spanish in me way, way back but I don't because my predominant ways are as a New Zealander, I was born in New Zealand and that was where I lived most of my life. If I had gone overseas and lived somewhere for a long time maybe I could claim I was whatever. But that is the way I look at it. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

I agree, I think it layers on many factors of being here for a long time and the genetics of mixing with the local people and probably over that time a lot of cultural immersion has gone on as well over the generations. So it changes over time but it needs a long time I think. (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

[Family has been in New Zealand for a few generations?] Important, I personally think it is important because it has a bearing on your ethnicity. Some people if they have been here a few generations they have mixed marriages and that and some people don't know their culture, some generations probably never know so it will have an effect on how they think. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

However, again this was viewed as a subjective and choice based characteristic as it was determined by an individual's affinity with a country rather than solid facts.

[Is anyone else different?] I guess it is only until you forget that you are Chinese. The third generation might not tell their kids they are Chinese and the fourth generation will grow up thinking they are whatever. (Christchurch, children of migrants, male)

It does make a difference because you might have a really strong culture for the first generation and then the next generation will mix with the Europeans and other cultures so they will start to learn from the others and lose your traditional parts. So it will be

mixed marriages and not pure in the blood any more. So it will be different.
(Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

Nationality: This characteristic was also seen to be choice based and related to having a close affinity to a country and adopting the lifestyle common to that country. Some felt that migrants may feel some pressure to make a choice to align to their new home or remain 'loyal' to their country of origin.

I am thinking of say some recent immigrants that they have really chosen that New Zealand is going to be their permanent home and they really feel a belonging and that national pride to New Zealand. They might be of Asian descent but they have almost I guess switched their loyalty and New Zealand is their home. So does that make them any less a New Zealander because their family hasn't got those roots going back to up to 100 years? (New Plymouth, Māori, female)

To me if you want to simplify it to where you were born you could be born somewhere and live there for a couple of months and then leave it. But whatever is on your birth certificate and passport will always be that place. But you can live in a country for the rest of your life and take on that way of life so I suppose it is what you decide and what you feel like in the end I suppose. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Linked to nationality was the gaining of a passport which was generally not viewed as being connected with ethnicity as it was noted that someone of any ethnic background could conceivably apply for a passport in any country they resided in.

[Holding a New Zealand passport or English passport does that impact ethnic identity?]
No. Because you can go to any country in the world and change your country of residence, apply for residency. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Geographic origin: Among the multigenerational European groups, this was not viewed as contributing so strongly to ethnicity as it was noted that New Zealand was a migratory population where everyone had come from another country at some point in time and there was a developing population of people with a mixed ethnic background.

However, geographic origin was a very important aspect of identity for Māori participants. This was linked to ancestry and iwi affiliations.

[Ethnicity?] *Birth place for me I am born and bred in Auckland but my ties are from up north so my dad is buried up north, that is where I say our family comes from. Dad is buried in Parehake in Whangarei. So Parehake, Parewhenua so to me that is where my ties are from, born and bred in Auckland but that is where our family is from. [So your parents birth place and your grandparents birth place does that have more of a tie?] My dad was born in Paihia and mum was born in Christchurch. Where my grand dad is from, where his parents are from for me it goes back to there. I am New Zealander from up north.* (Auckland, Māori, female)

Language: A few in the non-European groups felt that language was an important marker of ethnicity as it was often distinctive of a geographic origin and also made you able to connect more strongly with a culture.

I think there are certain things that can be a bit more important than others, individual things. [What are they to you?] Language is one of the biggest defining factors of culture, of ethnicity. There is apparently a couple of hundred languages in China and 52 tribes. For me the definition of what I am is that I speak Cantonese and the foods I eat and things I do but language to me is very important because a lot of my friends who are of different ethnicity have lost that language. And for them there is that huge barrier to their own ethnic background because they can't speak the language. So to me language is a very important aspect of what defines you. [Is that Asians who are born in New Zealand or just been here a long time?] They have been here a very long time and some have been born here but I find that at the moment a lot of my friends who have children or thinking of having children or my sister who has a little child, the first thing they have decided is that they will only speak Chinese at home. Because they want to preserve that part of who they are, that part of their ethnic background. My cousin is half European half Asian but he can speak fluent Chinese. And because he is very European looking when he is able to speak that language it seems a bit weird but his mother wanted him to keep that part of him. Growing up in a western society the customs, not all of them, can be transferred. But your language will always be there so for me I find that language is one of the most important ones. Because once you have the language the customs and things you can actually understand better. Because a lot of things are lost in translation. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

However, across all participants it was not rated as a high determinant of ethnicity as people can choose to learn new languages for a variety of reasons unrelated to ethnicity.

6.2 Key terms

There was some general discussion on specific terms related to ethnicity in New Zealand. This exercise asked participants to outline their perceived understanding of each term.

6.2.1 Māori

The term 'Māori' was strongly linked to a person with Polynesian and Māori ancestry (whakapapa).

[What about Māori?] Someone who identifies as Māori and has a whakapapa and that is whether they fully know their whakapapa or not. So you don't have to know it but you know you have got one. Some people don't actually know their whakapapa but they know they have got one. So it doesn't matter if you know it or not as long as you know you have got one. I suppose it kind of gets tricky because if you are adopted by a Pakeha family in a sense your own identity, even though legally you don't have a whakapapa, you know you do have one. [That is interesting can someone who is adopted be Māori?] Well I suppose legally it would be a bit tricky, legally they wouldn't be if they were adopted by a Pakeha family. But culturally does that take away from the fact they have a whakapapa? (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Person of Māori ethnicity or clear Māori descent. [What do you mean by clear Māori descent?] Grandparents who can trace back their ancestral lines back to whenever. [So if they can't trace those ancestry lines back does that affect their ethnicity as a Māori?] No not necessarily. Quite a lot of urban Māori can't really trace their

ancestry through generations. I don't think tracing your ancestral lines back is particularly important. (Auckland, Māori, male)

For me Māori is ancestors come from Hawaiki that is what I grew up with that the Māori race came from Hawaiki. Over here on all those canoes, so to me if you can whakapapa back to that then you are Māori. (Auckland, Māori, female)

That is a pretty clear one isn't it although a lot of people do identify with Māori culture even if they are not Māori but I think it is a racial thing, if you are of Māori descent you are Māori, of Māori heritage. Has an iwi. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

This term was also strongly related to the indigenous people of New Zealand.

Native New Zealander as far as history or legend records. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Aborigines of the land, first inhabitants of New Zealand. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

There were some references to physical characteristics such as skin, eye and hair colour.

I have just gone very basic, colour. Colour and how you behave, to me each ethnic group has their own unique behavioural patterns. [So colour are you talking about skin colour?] Yes. I am not going to beat around the bush. [What do you mean when you say skin colour?] When I think of a Māori person I think of dark skin, I don't think of white skin. I am who I am, I know inside me who I am so it doesn't bother me. People always generalize and make remarks on who you are visually. (Auckland, Māori, female)

Cultural aspects were also more evident than with other terms tested with references to customs and traditions (kaupapa) and language (Te Reo).

There was also an element of choice in wishing to identify being recognised as Māori voiced by non-Māori participants with references to wanting recognition of Māori heritage and ancestry regardless of the proportion of Māori blood they had.

Having Māori blood but I have put in brackets no matter how little because you can claim to be Māori no matter how little. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

I find it interesting how Māori people even if they are 1/16 Māori they still class themselves as Māori even though 15/16 is something else. [Do you think it is as strong in terms of the Asian sense that if someone was only 1/16 they would still consider themselves Asian?] Probably just to keep things interesting. (Christchurch, children of migrants, female)

On the flipside one participant had rejected their Māori blood deeming it too little and having no affinity with the Māori way of life.

[Māori?] I have just got someone with a lot of Māori blood in them. Because I have got a little tiny bit but I don't class myself as a New Zealand Māori, I don't look like a

Māori, I don't live like a Māori. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

There were indications from the groups among Pacific peoples and Māori that there are seen to be close ties between people of these ethnicities.

[What else did you have for Māori?] *I think as Polynesians we identify with Māori.*
[How?] *The language, there are some similarities.* (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, female)

They are close when you see in the documentaries they have on TV about the origins of the Māori people. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

[It is interesting because the younger people didn't think that at all, they were separate.]
When they get older. [Why do you think it is, that you are closer and they are part of our group?] *When I was younger I would have been like that but when you get older you start learning these things.* [Do you think the impact of the Dawn Raids and stuff like that did that have an impact on the way you think?] *Different stages you think differently.* *When there are things that impact on the Samoan community from the government then you think differently because you come to live here.* *But in different stages if I am in a mix of Māori and other Pacific Island cultures in different surroundings you identify yourself as the same people of similar culture.* *But there are other factors where you have your differences.* (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

I think Pacific Island is a general term that is used for Polynesians that are in New Zealand. *Whereas the natives of this land are called Māori they have a special name for them.* *We can't say Samoan because we all look alike but because there is a different identification for Māori they use that a lot but for us Pacific Islanders they just group us as Pacific Islanders.* *And by saying Pacific Islanders I would say they mean Polynesian not Melanians or Micronesians.* (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, female)

We could be described as Pacific Islanders because we are in the Pacific too. *And I have heard that Māori's being classed with the Pacific Islanders.* [Do you mind that?] *No.* *Because we should all get on with one another and if the truth be known they have probably got cousins over there now.* *Because of the way that breeding went.* (Auckland, Māori, female)

6.2.2 European

The term 'European' was strongly linked to having European ancestry. The links were often seen as relatively recent with references to either being born in Europe or having parents born in Europe.

Someone whose parents or grandparents come from England or a European country and then settle into the New Zealand way of life. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

It was noted to be the dominant ethnic group in New Zealand.

A culture that is identifiable with the predominant racial group in New Zealand. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Geographic origin was often used when defining 'European'.

Person from Europe predominantly white. (Auckland, Māori, female)

Of European descent, from the UK or from Europe. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

As with 'Māori' there were also references to physical characteristics such as skin and eye colour.

A white person from the UK. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

The term 'race' and 'Caucasian' were sometimes connected to these physical characteristics.

I wrote Caucasian. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

There were a few mentions of having the culture, traditions and language of a European country.

I have got white, blonde, anyone who speaks German or some language from over in Europe is what I think of as European. [So you would associate language with European ethnicity?] I do yes. [But not so much with Māori ethnicity?] Yes I do. I think language is a strong part of ethnicity and culture. (Auckland, Māori, female)

6.2.3 New Zealand European

The term 'New Zealand European' was most often defined as a person of European ancestry that was at least a second generation New Zealander.

Well European from a country in Europe whereas New Zealand European is a New Zealander so they are living and perhaps born and this is their nation this is where they are from, their nationality whose ancestors are from European countries. So essentially New Zealanders with ancestors from European countries. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

A person who is able to trace ancestors who were born in the continent of Europe but is now living in New Zealand. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

I have just written of British or EU origin but born here. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

[European and New Zealand European the difference between the two?] *New Zealand European you are born in New Zealand and you are white.* (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Now that I think about it I think European is direct from Europe but New Zealand European would be European but settled here for quite a few generations. (Christchurch, children of migrants, male)

However, New Zealand ties could also be more recent with some believing that even if someone had been born in a European country they could be called a 'New Zealand European' if they had settled in New Zealand for some years and had gained New Zealand nationality.

I have put born in New Zealand or indoctrinated in New Zealand. Immigrants who have decided they are New Zealanders from Europe. (Auckland, Māori, female)

[What did you put for New Zealand European?] *Just basically brought up in New Zealand and spent the majority of their childhood here.* (Christchurch, children of migrants, female)

Holds a New Zealand passport. [So it is more about citizenship?] *Yes.* [They don't need to be born here?] *No.* (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

There were also references to physical characteristics such as skin colour.

Still white people. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

It was noted that 'New Zealand European' was the dominant ethnic group and that with 'New Zealand Māori' described the bicultural make-up of New Zealand.

We separate it into New Zealand Māori and New Zealand European. So New Zealand white and New Zealand black. (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

There were some references to the term equating to being 'pakeha' or "white New Zealanders".

I wrote Pakeha, Kiwi, white. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

I just said white New Zealander. (Christchurch, children of migrants, female)

6.2.4 Pacific Islander

The term 'Pacific Islander' was most often defined as a person of Pacific Island ancestry.

Descendant from the Pacific Islands. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Geographic origin was also evident with some participants naming specific Pacific Island countries as points of origin.

[Pacific Islander.] *Someone from Fiji, Samoa or the Pacific Islands.* (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Of Tongan descent or Fijian descent. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

[Pacific Islander?] *From all Pacific Islands, Tongan, Samoan.* (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, male)

There were also references to physical characteristics such as skin and eye colour.

Skin colour, our complexions are different from the various countries as Polynesians. Even though we group ourselves as Polynesians we can always tell. [Do you think everyone can tell?] I can maybe because I was working for the University of the South Pacific in Fiji and we came across these different countries and you can just tell. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, female)

There were some references to values, food, culture and traditions.

I think respect comes out more in PI's, our kids have got more respect for elders. I was taught to respect my elders and I have taught that to my son. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

Also distinct to other terms tested, 'Pacific Islander' was also linked to the role of churches and religion in the Pacific community.

[Religion?] Yes. [Is that top?] I reckon the majority of us Islanders are Christian. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

That is what I had. I put food, style and the Samoan music and dance, Tongan. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, male)

When discussing the term Pacific Islander there was some recognition that the term covered a range of distinct ethnicities.

I put there because this is a personal thing, Pacific Islander I suppose it is a race but then Māori are Pacific Islanders too. Pacific Islander as a term – Tongan, Samoans they are ethnic races, Pacific Islander is a general term for the whole group. Pacific Islander personally I think is someone who lives in the Pacific Islands not someone who has immigrated to New Zealand or Australia they are no longer Pacific Islanders they are New Zealanders. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

The Pacific Islands were seen to have a special link with New Zealand due to their proximity and historical ties.

People from the areas that New Zealand is a part of politically and geographically. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, male)

6.2.5 Asian

The term 'Asian' was most often defined as a person of Asian ancestry.

[Asian?] Descendants from Asian countries. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

As with 'Pacific Islanders', geographic origin was also associated with 'Asian' with a number of specific countries linked to the term. A few felt it was most commonly linked with the Chinese ethnicity.

Most people think of Asians basically Chinese and Koreans but they never think of India or Fiji but actually we all come from Asia. So I put people from China, Korea,

Vietnam, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

[Asian is that purely of Asian descent?] *Yes I clarified mine a little I put person of Asian descent typically East Asian i.e. China, Korea, Japan and South of that. Whereas someone born in India which is still part of Asia. Generally people say that person is Indian but they may not be they may be Pakistani or Bangladeshi or whatever, Sri Lankan.* (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

I think with Asian lots of people automatically think Chinese, even if I am on the phone to someone and I say I'm Asian, they are like so you are Chinese and I am like no. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

Some Asian participants disliked the term 'Asian' and felt it was insulting to group such diverse countries under one moniker.

[What about Asian?] *I think it is a stupid word to group in a lump Chinese, Japanese, Malay etc people together because people can't tell the difference. [So you don't like that term?] Because there is no country called Asia.* (Christchurch, children of migrants, female)

There were references to physical characteristics such as skin and hair colour, eye shape and stature were more commonly raised in relation to the term 'Asian'.

[Asian?] *The eyes say it all.* (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

[Physical characteristics?] *Certainly if you are Asian, you are fairly dark skinned, you certainly get identified as being Asian.* (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, male)

There were also a few references to race and genetics.

I have an Asian friend, technically I guess her ethnicity is Indian, well that is her racial background anyway. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

There were some references to culture, traditions and language. As with Pacific peoples, food was also often raised as an identifier in relation to Asians.

Somebody from an Asian country and culture and food came to my mind on that one. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

And when I think about my friend that is very much for her I think a cultural thing, the way she lives is quite Indian. They eat a lot of Indian food for instance and I think some of her beliefs are quite Indian. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Some perceived stereotypes were also raised in relation to the term 'Asian' such as driving behaviour and perceived wealth.

[Anything else about the Asians?] *Money, greedy.* (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

But you must admit they do work hard for their money and if Islanders worked as hard as that they should get the same amount of money. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, male)

6.2.6 New Zealander

The term 'New Zealander' was mostly considered distinct from ethnicity. It was not linked to any physical characteristics.

That is why I have said the person can be of any culture and ethnicity can be a New Zealander because you can classify yourself as a New Zealander once you get your immigration papers. (Auckland, Māori, female)

I have worked with a Malaysian man who has been here 30 odd years who calls himself a Kiwi and he loves rugby, he would go to every game. And so if that is not a New Zealander then who is? I think it is a person of any ethnic origin. [Born here your Malaysian man wasn't born here?] No but he classes himself as a New Zealander. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

It was noted that for a number of countries the geographic name of the region was often used to describe an ethnic group but that with New Zealand this was not the case which complicated discussions about ethnicity in New Zealand.

Geographically they are Europeans like we are New Zealanders because Europe is a geographic region like New Zealand is a geographic region. European is used in two different ways, geographically I am living in Europe and also the ethnic thing. New Zealand is a strange one in that it is just a country. You don't really have an ethnic group. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

➤ Key themes

There were varying opinions about what it means to be a 'New Zealander' discussed in the groups and the key themes raised are outlined as follows:

Tenure in New Zealand: A New Zealander was seen as someone that had resided in New Zealand for a reasonable length of time and now considered New Zealand their permanent home.

[New Zealander what does that mean?] Anyone from New Zealand with an ancestry based in New Zealand, been here awhile, few generations rather than just off the boat. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, male)

For New Zealander I put a person who was born or lived in New Zealand and identifies with being a New Zealander. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

They consider New Zealand home. [So you are not necessarily born here?] No but if you arrived here when you were young or something. [So you act like a New Zealander basically?] Yes. (Christchurch, children of migrants, female)

[What did you have for New Zealander?] Someone who has lived here for a long, long time, more than five years. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

Affinity with New Zealand: A New Zealander was seen to be strongly entrenched in living a New Zealand lifestyle, identifies themselves as a New Zealander and “embraces Kiwi culture”.

[New Zealander?] *If they embrace some aspects of the Kiwi culture and when I say that I mean you can have somebody who comes in with their own culture and I am not expecting them to embrace what I see as Kiwi culture but they have to embrace some aspects of it. Because of course they may well want to put their culture together with our culture and that is okay as well. I am not expecting people to lose perhaps the culture they have come with but they would want to have some aspects of our culture. It could be as simple as a love of rugby because it's our national sport.* (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

[So what have you got for New Zealander?] *I have got New Zealander, Kiwi and I put a person of any culture and ethnicity that identifies themselves with this country. Because I am like [name] I believe the immigrants even though you could get your classic immigrant who is Asian or South African. [You can choose once you have been here?] I think you can now, I think you can choose to be a New Zealander.* (Auckland, Māori, female)

I put a person who identifies themselves as being from New Zealand or has come into New Zealand. Even if you have left New Zealand you are still a New Zealander in many aspects. Even those who have been born in New Zealand and have left they can still identify themselves as being a New Zealander so that doesn't actually mean just living here. So anyone who identifies themselves as being part of New Zealand. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

Born in New Zealand: Some felt that a New Zealander could be simply described as someone that had been born in New Zealand.

I have said born in New Zealand from generations back, what is on your birth certificate. Because you can hold citizenships or passports in several countries. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

[What about New Zealander, how have you described that?] *Born in New Zealand. You are a New Zealander if you are born in New Zealand. Doesn't matter who your parents are you can come under that.* (Auckland, Māori, female)

Nationality or citizenship: A person with New Zealand nationality, citizenship or holding a New Zealand passport.

[New Zealander?] *Anybody who has citizenship has become a New Zealander, they have a New Zealand passport they are now a New Zealander even if they speak the majority of the time Russian or something.* (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Has residency in New Zealand and New Zealand passport. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, male)

For New Zealander I wrote maybe a New Zealand citizen may have applied for New Zealand citizenship or relate to the New Zealand way of life. (New Plymouth, Māori, female)

[What did you put down for New Zealander?] *A non ethnic group based on nationality.* (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

I put anyone that comes to live here. Because anyone who comes to live here can call themselves a New Zealander if they wanted to. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, male)

Some felt it was a term that was more often used by those that had moved to New Zealand and accepted that New Zealand was now their home.

I think it is different from the Asian point of view because they are proud to be identified as a New Zealander. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

Ancestry: While mentioned by some, ancestry was not raised as often as other themes. In this context, the term referred to a person with ancestry linked to early European settlers or Māori.

[New Zealander] *I said descendents of early European or Māori.* (New Plymouth, Māori, female)

From New Zealand with New Zealand ancestry. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, male)

6.2.7 National identity

To most participants national identity was viewed as different from ethnicity. It was also evident that some participants had difficulty defining national identity and what this term actually meant or referred to.

Similar to 'New Zealander', national identity was a term frequently vocalised as being an affiliation with a country that was regardless of many aspects associated with ethnicity such as ancestry, race or place of birth.

I think that is different to ethnicity, ethnicity is more of your family ties whereas what you just said is more like the country you live in you can adopt their ways and say you have the national identity of that country because you have taken on their ways. So that is more of a temporary, not short term but it doesn't have to live as long as what your ethnicity is. [So your ethnicity is a longer thing, national identity could change?] Yes. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

[So do you think ethnicity is a little bit different from your national identity?] *Very much different. My national identity is now Kiwi but I don't identify myself as Kiwi I identify myself as maybe part New Zealand because I have been here long enough. But I say I am Samoan because of the values that I live with.* (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

National identity was viewed as something that could be adopted and was based on individual choice.

[National identity, what is your national identity?] *It can be anything you want it to be. If you as you say moved to another country and stay there potentially you might adopt that national identity.* (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Ethnicity is your ancestral genetic background as opposed to your national identity which is what you choose. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

That is the thing you can change your nationality but ethnicity is something that really sticks. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

[What about national identity?] Basically New Zealander would be the national identity, you come from different ethnic backgrounds but your national identity is being a New Zealander. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

The fact that New Zealand was viewed as a relatively 'young' nation with a migrant population meant that some felt that national identity was quite weak in New Zealand, particularly in comparison to other more established countries.

New Zealand is pretty young. There are certain blocks of migration that have come across that maybe identified some of the earlier migrations like the Māori and Polynesians and maybe the first Europeans as a distinct group as opposed to those who came over say after World War Two. The Italians and the Polish, maybe we don't consider them quite full New Zealanders or full something. (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

Because in New Zealand the way I see it now if we all go back generations we all have ancestry from Ireland or England. We all came from somewhere else originally. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, female)

We don't have that real passion about being a New Zealander. Look at Americans for example and how passionate they are towards Uncle Sam. But New Zealanders don't have that passion about their identity. But it is coming and that is why I think New Zealander is starting to get more pronounced now and also you have people coming in who are nationalized as New Zealanders so they call themselves New Zealanders. (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

For some, national identity was viewed as synonymous with ethnicity in nations that had populations that were established and relatively stable over several hundreds of years. This was seen to possibly eventuate in New Zealand over time.

[National identity in New Zealand not so strong?] I think it is becoming so because America is a relatively old country and people do identify as Americans like you said, generalized regardless of race so maybe that is becoming so but I think you are right at the moment it is probably a diverse group of ethnic backgrounds and one national identity. Another 500 years maybe American will be an ethnic identity. [Do you think it takes that long?] I think it probably does. You look at all the racial identities if you like that we are looking at here most of them have been around for thousands of years because back then we didn't have the travel we do these days. Cultures and races tend to be very much grouped in one area. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

➤ **Key themes**

Key themes raised in regard to national identity are outlined as follows:

Unity, community spirit: This related to having a sense of unity and common purpose.

[What do you think the term national identity means?] *A sense of combining people for a given cause. An identity that everyone can follow in the community.* (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

Patriotism and support: This related to a sense of devotion and loyalty to a country which was often voiced as the country someone would choose to support in a sporting event.

You follow the All Blacks and you are passionate about the All Blacks because they are everything that is New Zealand and Kiwi. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Your national identity is different from your nationality because you have Indians living in New Zealand whose national identity is Indian, they will support the Indian cricket team most of the time. If New Zealand is playing someone else and not India they will support New Zealand. [So that person might have a New Zealand passport?] *Yes New Zealand passport.* (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

I will give you an example, recent migrants here, big group of them come over and I know many are already holding a Kiwi passport but in their house they put up the flag of the country they came from. I am not born and bred here but I find – I wouldn't use the word offensive – but it's not very nice. I want to join your club but I still carry the practices of my previous club to this one and that is not a nice thing to do. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, male)

Place of residency: This related to the place a person had lived in a certain length of time and had an affinity with.

Say you get a Polynesian for example they can say that is their ethnic group but their national identity is New Zealand because New Zealand is what they know they don't really know the islands because they have lived most of their life in New Zealand. But they can't actually say totally New Zealander because they have come from a different country. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Where you have lived the most of your life but that could shape you, where the majority of your life has been lived. Both of them maybe the same because you pick up your ethnic habits from where you live. So if you have lived the majority of your life in New Zealand or in England that is your national identity because that is the place you know best. Even if as you say you were born and two years later you left the country, then New Zealand can't really be your national identity because some people will go up to you and say what is New Zealand like and you say I left when I was 2 so I don't really know so that can't be your national identity. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Place of birth: This related to having a strong connection to where you were born.

It is like having your own region even though I am a Māori and from New Zealand I always call home Hawkes Bay regardless of however long I have lived out of Hawkes Bay. I might have even lived in Auckland longer than what I actually lived in Hawkes Bay but that is where I came from, that is where I was born, that is where my family is from. It is like associating yourself to a country and now you are associating yourself to a part of that country. And for some reason you always have that desire to always

go back at some stage in your life to settle down and eventually retire or be buried there. (Auckland, Māori, male)

Nationality is the actual country you were born into, so I was born in New Zealand but I suppose my ethnic background would be Chinese. (Christchurch, children of migrants, female)

National identity is the country which you were born in for example you're of European descent but you are calling yourself a Kiwi because this is where you and your family have lived for x-amount of generations. Although you know that somewhere along the track there was someone in the family who decided to uplift their family and move to New Zealand and make a new start. (Auckland, Māori, male)

Culture and customs: This related to adhering to specific customs and culture.

National identity is more cultural isn't it? (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Sense of belonging: Some felt that national identity referred to a sense of belonging to a particular country.

Where your heart is. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, female)

6.3 Chapter summary

- The research generally endorses the Statistics New Zealand definition of ethnicity. Ethnicity was often viewed as being subjective with people able to choose to be part of a particular ethnic group or could be a group conferred upon you according to how you are perceived. The element of choice meant that some felt that a person's ethnicity could change.

This supports Statistics New Zealand's definition which specifies that ethnicity is a group(s) that people may identify with or feel they belong to.

However, as discussion ensued regarding ethnicity, participants were likely to gravitate towards a definition that was more objective and based on what was perceived to be more concrete markers of ethnicity such as race, physical characteristics and ancestry. This seemed to be as a result of discussion that highlighted the subjective nature of certain themes while reinforcing the objective nature of other themes.

- Most participants chose a range of themes to define ethnicity, indicating that ethnicity is a complex and multifaceted concept and endorses Statistics New Zealand's definition which is multi-themed.

The strongest determinants of ethnicity were ancestry and race/ genetics . Mid-level determinants were physical characteristics, culture/ traditions and birthplace.

Low level determinants were religion/ spiritual beliefs, nationality, geographic origin and language.

- The term 'Māori' related mostly to those of Polynesian and Māori ancestry (whakapapa). There were references to being the indigenous people of New Zealand, visible characteristics, culture and traditions (kaupapa) and language (Te Reo). An element of choice was more evident when discussing Māori ethnicity as it was noted that mixed parentage was the norm.
- The term 'New Zealand European' related mostly to people of European ancestry that were at least a second generation New Zealander. However, a few felt that it could refer to a first generation New Zealander. There were also references to physical characteristics, being the dominant ethnic group in New Zealand and being synonymous with 'Pakeha' or 'white New Zealander'.
- The term 'European' was linked to European ancestry and generally related to migrants of more recent extraction. There were references to it being the dominant ethnic group, defined as coming from a particular geographic area, physical characteristics and race. There were a few references to specific cultures or traditions.
- The term 'Pacific islander' related mostly to people of Pacific Island ancestry. There were references to specific geographic origins, physical characteristics and stronger links to culture, traditions, values, food and religion in the Pacific community. The term was seen to cover a wide range of distinct ethnic groups and referred to peoples that had close ties to New Zealand due to its proximity and historical connections.
- The term 'Asian' related mostly to people of Asian ancestry. There were references to specific geographic origins and while it was seen to relate to a range of ethnicities, it was seen to be most strongly linked to the Chinese ethnicity. The term was also related to physical characteristics, race, culture, traditions and food. There were also a number of stereotypes raised in regard to the term.
- The term 'New Zealander' was generally viewed as distinct from ethnicity and was not linked to any physical characteristics. It was linked to tenure in New Zealand, affinity with New Zealand, being born in New Zealand, nationality and for a few, ancestry.
- The term 'national identity' was less clear-cut for some participants. However, perceived meanings placed it more akin to definitions of 'New Zealander' with it relating more to affiliation with a country which was regardless of a person's ethnicity.

The fact that New Zealand was viewed as a relatively young nation meant that some felt national identity was weak in New Zealand and across 'older' nations it was seen as synonymous with ethnicity.

National identity was linked with concepts such as a sense of unity, patriotism, residency, place of birth, some aspects of culture and a sense of belonging.

➤ **Demographic differences**

- For participants from the non-European groups, culture and traditions appeared to be a stronger marker of ethnicity. While some subjective aspects (including culture and traditions) were discarded as discussion progressed most of these participants did not want to omit this aspect as part of their definition of ethnicity.
- Asian participants were more likely to see a significant difference between the meanings of the terms 'race' and 'ethnicity'. 'Race' was viewed as a more superficial term relating more to physical characteristics while 'ethnicity' was a more complex and holistic view and more intrinsic to a person's identity.
- Māori and Pacific participants were more likely to discuss ethnicity in the context of being an indicator that identifies the indigenous population of a country.
- Māori and Pacific participants were more likely to note a strong link between Māori and other Pacific peoples.

7. Information on ethnicity

7.1 Collection of ethnicity information

A majority of participants were comfortable with the government collecting ethnicity information.

*[How do you generally feel about the government collecting information on ethnicity?]
Doesn't bother me at all. I just think they are gathering information that they obviously need and you are helping them out by giving them the correct information.
(Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, female)*

I don't mind the government having it because I know they are the ones who are going to make a difference. It is not like our company asking me. Even though my opinion is that my values are important to them they might not do it because I am not the majority but the government is a different situation because they will look at your ethnicity and consider it. So I think it's important that they put it in. But there is a part in the census they always put it at the end, they do those demographics. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

Most participants could see valid uses for the information.

*[Collecting ethnicity information?] It's okay, I don't have an issue with that. They are collecting data so that some of them might know where to put the resources. It allows you to understand where people of certain ethnic backgrounds sit in terms of their socio economic status, their health needs, their job situation, all those sorts of things. So it gives direction – because government agencies are about providing services so it just shows them where the resources need to go and perhaps who they need to target.
(Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)*

*[Collecting ethnicity information?] It is not a big deal in my view I think it is helpful.
[Helpful in what way?] Well if you give it to some government department. Let's say it's Housing, let's say the Samoan community use New Zealand housing quite a bit so the government processes the information and says we need quite a lot of money to build new houses. Let's say if there is a health issue pertaining to that grouping I don't mind giving information because obviously it helps in some budgetary way. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)*

However, a few felt it was a question that should only be sought on a voluntary basis as it could be viewed as quite personal information.

I think your own personal preference too, it is your choice whether you answer it instead of being dictated to all of the time. We are governed through work we are governed by rules, you work until this time and you knock off. But you and your family has got nothing to do with anybody else. (Auckland, Māori, male)

I think they probably have to get a general sense of the ethnic backgrounds and most of it is in Auckland but with all the people immigrating here you have to keep a tally on it. It does sort of does get your wick up. [Why is that?] It is like probing into your

personal freedom. This is my space and if anybody comes into my space I go into the back end. This is my space here, stay there. (Auckland, Māori, male)

There were a few that felt that ethnicity should not be a factor in the allocation of support and services.

I just don't like sometimes how the Māori, the government gives them special treatment. (Christchurch, children of migrants, female)

I still don't understand why they need to split it into ethnic groups, to me that doesn't make much sense. You don't need it for services you only need numbers, age groups and people's income details. Is it a lower or higher social economic area. The only reason I can see it New Zealander and Māori because the indigenous race and Treaty of Waitangi issues. I don't see any other reason. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

It depends what they are looking at though, how you live I think has a major role on some things like we are talking about health issues. But just because I tick that I am New Zealand European or Māori or something doesn't mean to say that I live that particular way. Because we all know Māori like boil ups and their health related issues like diabetes and heart disease where that is a major concern for Māori. But because I ticked both what do I do. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

There were also some participants with minor reservations about the quality of data collected. These participants felt that ethnicity results could be inaccurate as it can be viewed as quite a subjective question and also can be impacted on by other influences.

I agree with that but then it is difficult because people can say what they want as their ethnicity probably in the census. There is no proof they are a genetic race. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

[Answering with wrong response?] *I think perhaps you came from a culture that was more totalitarian where the government was much more intrusive you may want to change your racial classification to not be so prominent with the government. The people doing it might think the government may act directly on what you put in your census.* (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, male)

There were suspicions that ethnicity information may be used against them in some way. These suspicions were strongest among Māori and Pacific participants as a number felt that statistics were often used to portray Māori and Pacific people in a poor light.

The thing I find annoying is that as soon as you bring up a Māori cultural issue within the press it gets blown way out of proportion. The press just get a hold of it and say all Māori are flying off the handle because it is a racial issue. Whereas in actual fact it is probably more a case of the minority are making the waves. You might have 1 or 2% of the Māori population making a fuss about it whereas in general a lot of Māori probably would give a shit. And it is the case with a lot of things it is always the minority who dictate the majority. [So how does it make it uncomfortable to talk about ethnicity?] Well because as soon as you bring up a racial issue the press get a hold of it and blow it out of proportion. Māori people in general are a very humble race I actually think they are quite thick skinned. And I mean sure there are probably other races of people who are very, very similar but our main concern or for me personally

my main concern is to protect the country that we have been given as a birth right. Not to exploit it and let people make personal gains. (Auckland, Māori, male)

[So the fact they collect ethnicity in that situation is that doing Māori any good?] It is used by non Māori as a branding for Māori which is not doing Māori any good at all. The perception is that they are all crooks. (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

I know what you mean though in the sense that when the news comes out the negative stuff comes out like this is how many Pacific Islanders are in jail, this is how many Pacific Islanders and Māori are on unemployment. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, male)

7.2 The uses of ethnicity information

The key perceived uses of ethnicity information were much the same as outlined for general information collected by the government.

Planning: To help in planning and targeting of funding.

I am sure it is just to do with services to see who needs what and where they can best take it. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

I suppose it gets back to there are a large amount of different cultural groups, Pacific Islanders certainly have health issues that are a burden on the health system. The New Zealand way of life can be quite hard, not trying to be racist but things like prisons have a high population of Māori. I can see some point in ethnicity. To a point I can see why. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

I guess too they decide through those statistics how much funding goes where. (Auckland, Māori, female)

I often wonder why. There are racial differences based on things like health and education and all those sorts of things and I think what they are trying to do is track those trends within the different ethnic/racial backgrounds to see where help is needed. I don't have a problem with them asking. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

[What would be some good reasons for collecting it do you think or perhaps good reasons why they do collect it?] To know what percentage of the population smokes, doesn't smoke, is in good health, is not in good health. To be able to focus on who needs help, who doesn't need the help so much. Funding. (Auckland, Māori, female)

[So when the government is collecting information on ethnicity why do you think they are collecting it or just information generally like that?] *I think forecasting and to see if we have this many people in this situation we need to plan more welfare or more this or more roads or more something, more buildings, more land.* (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, male)

The information gets collected but then it is used by different agencies. I think the negative agencies are the ones who push it out as a statistic and say bloody useless Māori. But I think there are groups in government that use that to say maybe we should use that information to justify expenditure in certain programmes that are more suitable to Māori inmates so there are some benefits to lowering those statistics. (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

Defining New Zealand: To help define New Zealand.

I think it gives you a better over view of your whole population. [And ethnicity is one of those important questions for helping describe the population?] I think it is important, it enables them to identify themselves as a group. You could be second generation Asian or whatever but you could choose to identify with whatever group you want to. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

Ethnicity information was seen to help in providing evidence of migration, the racial mix of New Zealand and show how New Zealand was growing.

It is checks and balances too isn't it? Again trying to pick trends with population growth in certain areas and all those sorts of things. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

I think they put it in to see how New Zealand is growing like how many New Zealanders as such are still remaining in New Zealand and how much of the population is immigration. So it is their way to see how the country is growing, they know it's growing but this is their way of getting more detailed information on how it is actually growing, is it growing through births or is it growing through immigration. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

I think like I said to you about big picture for me being positive about it I would like to know how many Asians, because Auckland has now become the capital of Pacific Island. It is one of the biggest hubs for Pacific Islanders. So we have got so many Pacific Islanders here and so many Māori up north let's put more money into doing maybe more schemes up in Northland. But that is where the census comes in. Not in a negative way but in a positive way. But I want to see the big picture because we know what census is, it is big picture and the information they take from that is that it can stick more like ___ said more funding into areas, more funding into iwi, funding into fisheries, more funding into education. (Auckland, Māori, female)

Social policy: To help develop social policy, particularly in the area of health and education.

I suppose it also helps with policy making and stuff like that. I just say immigration up there and people coming in you want to know what type of people you are letting into the country. If there is a big group from one country you can say how are these people contributing to New Zealand in terms of productivity and stuff like that. Versus another group, I am not saying you have to make comparisons but it's good to know that the people you are letting into the country. Because for me when you talk about

ethnicity they ask for it because you look Asian and they say where are you from, it is one of the first things they ask. So it helps them maybe form immigration policies or increase or decrease which areas or ethnicities. [So it could help them provide better services to meet the needs of a community and things?] Yes. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

I would like to think that hopefully with the information that they do gather then clearly there are problems within the Māori race. For example recently in the news we have quite a high population of Māori in prisons. So whether it is a case of getting an understanding as to why that has come about, why we are currently in that situation. I mean if the information that has been gathered is for that purpose to get a better understanding and hopefully try and address it and put it to good use. For example why are we down that track is it because we are getting a high dropout rate at an early age in high school? As soon as they reach the age of 15 they are dropping out and obviously a spinoff is a lot of Māori are in prisons. (Auckland, Māori, male)

I agree you should have to identify your ethnicity because the government can research on health issues. I suppose that is all in immigration but whether they allow some others in. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, male)

I think from an employment point of view it is nice to know. It would be good for the government to understand what is out there and what it is made up of. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

Research: To help provide data to inform social research projects.

People use the information in the census to do research so they have a better understanding of certain issues. So that is a good place to go and gather that information. If you are doing a piece of research to know more about say a social issue then that is where you would find the information. So you have got to have it there or it would make it really difficult to get a better understanding of what is going on in New Zealand. [So the census is the one thing they have to get right?] Yes I think it is important to get it right, definitely. I have never thought about why the government use it I just know that other people access that information for that purpose. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

They do great research Statistics New Zealand all the universities everywhere uses them so it helps them get their statistics right. [So it helps social research?] Yes especially universities, all the students use Statistics New Zealand for their reports and stuff like that. So if they don't get it right everything is wrong. So it is important that ethnicity is correct information. As long as they don't pass on the personal information. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

There was a feeling by one participant that the statistics could be useful to disprove incorrect reporting of issues.

One of the things I can think of is crime. I mean some months ago there was a very senior police officer talking about Asians committing crimes as well. The Asian community here comprises of 20% or whatever but the crime rate is less than 10%. But there are certain race or ethnicity where it is so small but percentage terms in jail is high. [So they can be useful to disprove myths and things?] Yes. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, male)

Tailoring services: Ethnicity statistics were seen to be used to ensure appropriate and more effective services can be provided.

There is a higher rate of pregnancies with Chinese girls than any other culture but it's just because they are not educated if they come from over there. And also because they don't really talk about this sort of stuff. [So that is a good way to know what you are dealing with and they can give them information that they need.] Yes. (Christchurch, children of migrants, female)

[It should be asked?] Because of the different needs, different cultures of ethnic groups they have. Say for example if suddenly there is almost 10% Indians and many of them have not very good English then you can say okay our call centres or help lines will need to recruit x number of Koreans to help. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, male)

7.3 Chapter summary

- Most participants were comfortable with the government collecting ethnicity information, although some noted that responses should be voluntary.

There were seen to be valid reasons for seeking this data such as being used for planning purposes, policy development, helping to define New Zealand and for social research.

- However, some reservations were voiced regarding the collection of ethnicity information. These reservations related to a belief that services and support should not be allocated on the basis of ethnicity, that ethnicity information is subjective and therefore more likely to be imprecise, that it was very personal information, and that ethnicity statistics are sometimes used to negatively portray some groups in the media.

➤ **Demographic differences**

- Māori and Pacific participants were slightly less comfortable and were more likely to feel that statistics were used to portray Māori and Pacific people negatively.

8. Ethnicity in the Census

8.1 General reaction to asking ethnicity in census

When shown the census ethnicity question, most participants claimed to be comfortable with a question on ethnicity being included in the census. In some respects many had grown used to seeing it in censuses over the years.

The census was viewed as an appropriate place to collect this information. Most participants viewed the census favourably and felt it was an important instrument to collect information.

Participants often declared that they made more effort to provide accurate and considered answers in the census compared to other surveys or when providing information to government departments directly.

*[So you are quite happy putting that information in the census about your ethnicity?]
Talking face to face is fine when it's a stranger and you basically know what the census is for. I had a hard time when I was signing up for the dole years ago, back in the '70's and I ended up saying stick this up your arse and I ended up walking the streets and got a job. (Auckland, Māori, male)*

*Let's say I go and apply for housing I will write down that I am over crowded because I know that will get me a house. [To suit the situation?] Yes if I know that because I am applying to Housing New Zealand and one of the criteria is that you are overcrowded I will make sure I find out what criteria to put down. [So you would answer that?]
Because of the criteria because otherwise there is no point applying. [But you would answer something like the census?] The census I will answer that honestly. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)*

I think in the census I might have ticked Chinese but usually at the doctor's surgery or dentists I will tick other. [Why is that?] I don't think it is any of their business. Because they always say tick one box but I don't feel comfortable ticking one box. [But census doesn't make you just tick one?] I think the census is different, it is more official, it is counting statistics, doctor's statistics probably go towards that as well but it is not quite as serious as the census. (Christchurch, children of migrants, female)

However, some claimed to treat all requests for information from any government agency in the same way.

When I fill out a form I don't even think about it. [What about uni stuff?] Uni you fill it in on the enrolment form for AUT you need to fill in that part as well. [Do you answer it the same way that you answer your census form?] Yes. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

Pacific people's participants were more likely than any other group to view the census suspiciously and query the need to include personal questions such as ethnicity in the census. The question that asked the number of household occupants was a particular sore point for Pacific peoples.

Especially if their house is very, very full. If their house is overcrowded it's like why do we have to fill out every single person here? Let's just get five even though there is eight of us, do we skip out a few just because it's too much hard work. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

It is not just Pacific Islanders anyone can think negatively about the census because I remember some people hate the census just in general. My friend said he was a CEO of a company and he's not. Some people just hate being asked questions. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, male)

Because some people feel that it's an invasion of privacy and why do people need to know this. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

While some felt they would answer requests for ethnicity information in much the same way when sought by a government agency, they did respond differently when private organisations asked this question, sometimes choosing not to answer the question.

[Have you been asked your ethnicity in other places or on other forms?] More places like doctors, dentists. [And do you answer it differently than when you answer it in the census?] I think in the census I might have ticked Chinese but usually at the doctor's surgery or dentists I will tick other. [Why is that?] I don't think it is any of their business. I think the census is different, it is more official, it is counting statistics, doctor's statistics probably go towards that as well but it is not quite as serious as the census. (Christchurch, children of migrants, female)

➤ Differentiators of the census

A number of factors contributed to the fact that participants were more likely to respond accurately to the census which are outlined following.

Accurate and compulsory: The census was viewed as the most accurate collection method as it canvassed the total population.

Most surveys are a few thousand tops and while they can get answers from that it is good to have a solid set of data every five years. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

I would probably take more care with the census. Just because you have been brought up thinking okay the census happens every 5 years and it is big. If it was an individual company doing it, even if it was on behalf of the government you don't feel as obligated. [So take more care?] Actually think about your answers a bit more. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

The compulsory nature of the census was seen to add gravitas to the census, making participants view it as a more formal and consequently important information gathering exercise.

[Do you answer that ethnicity question differently if it is asked in the census versus another form?] *Yes. [Why?] In the census I would put Asian and New Zealand European but then at university there are so many forms for some reason I just tick New Zealand European. [Why is that?] Census is more formal. [So you try to make it more accurate in the census?] Yes. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)*

And it is compulsory as well of course and everybody else is doing it. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, male)

I think the census because by law it must be done. Whereas a lot of the other things you get asked you don't have to. You treat the census as a legal document if you like. (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

Contribution to society: Some felt that by taking part in the census you were doing public good and contributing to society.

I think the census is a different kettle of fish because it is more for social development. Gives the government an idea of what is going on in certain areas and where people are etc and what is happening. (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

[Why do you think so?] *Because that information is going to be used by Statistics aren't they, the Statistics Department to tell okay this is our country and this is what it is made up of. We have a high populous of New Zealanders in this area and this area and that sort of stuff I don't mind answering, it's going to make a difference. But for things like voting it is not really going to make any difference. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)*

[Cast your mind back to the last census, how did you feel?] *I felt really important, I felt that all the detail in that counted for the country, it made me feel important. It is like you are doing your bit for society. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, female)*

New Zealand snapshot: A number of participants recalled the phrase used in the previous census campaign and mentioned that the census provided a snapshot of New Zealand which was viewed positively. It was seen to provide information that described the nation and highlighted key trends.

[In what ways is it different?] *You get a lot of the hype, the advertising and everyone same night is doing the census and talking about it. So you tend to be a bit more – right this is going to be used for statistical purposes rather than telling us who is earning more money and who is not. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)*

Essentially it is a snap shot of New Zealand. (New Plymouth, Māori, female)

Anonymous: Most believed the information provided to census was confidential which contributed to their providing more accurate information than they might provide in other surveys.

I don't mind as long as it is anonymous and the census. [Is the census a bit different?] Yes because you can be anonymous. And it is funny that a lot more people tell a lot more truth with strangers than they do with their own family or employers. [So do you think the census is the place where people normally tell the truth?] Yes I think so. I feel free to do so. [So how come you feel so free in that environment compared to other environments?] Because they don't ask me for my bank account number, they don't ask me where I work, they don't ask me for my address or name. They do when they come and pick it up but they don't in the form. And I know that it is going for the greater good of New Zealand. Or I hope so. (Auckland, Māori, female)

I don't think they are going to give out any personal information. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, male)

Enjoyable: A few enjoyed taking part in the census and used the survey as a teaching tool and completed the survey as a family.

I quite like filling those out, it is quite an interesting thing to do. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

We actually sit down and do ours as a family and it is quite an enjoyable exercise. The last time it came through the kids were relatively young and it was a good learning experience for them as well. What is this for and what do they do with it – not that I can answer everything. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Direct benefit: Some could see a direct personal benefit from the resulting census information.

[Do you think it benefits us if we put our ethnicity down and mark it correctly?] I strongly think it does. The government don't know if there is a community that has got no stats at all the government wouldn't even know they are there. There are no figures, it is just like at home if one kid never cries that he wants shoes you will probably buy all three kids shoes but the one who never says anything. But I think that is one way to get some information. If it is used for the benefit of the community rather than saying there are too many Samoans there we don't want any more. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

Dislike of other forms: There was some criticism of ethnicity questions asked by other organisations. The most common criticism was that other forms only provided for a single response to the ethnicity question.

I get offended when I am asked and you can only choose one. I suppose that is because I get offended because I am multi cultured why should I have to pick one. Quite often when I get the research ones I can only be one or the other and I just basically tell them to get stuffed because I don't want to participate if I can't be who I am. (Auckland, Māori, female)

[Answer ethnicity question the same way?] It depends, sometimes on forms especially if they say you have to tick one I will not tick anything. I don't like the tick one thing. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, male)

8.2 Views of the ethnicity question

A majority of participants were comfortable with the current format and wording of the ethnicity question used in the census.

I think that question is quite accurate and it has got the list of descriptions you could tick. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

It is okay, it doesn't bother me because you have multiple choices, you can choose New Zealand European and Indian and East African. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

There were a few participants in every group (except the Auckland multigenerational European group) that voiced some reservations.

Among some participants the reservations related to the response list that was available to respond to the question with some wanting more 'appropriate' codes.

[Codes missing?] I was wondering why Fijian wasn't there because it's the biggest country in the Pacific Islands. [But do we have a big migration from there? (Interjection)] Yes that was what I was thinking but when I was doing it I thought hey Fiji is not there. But why is there Cook Island Māori, I think the Cook Islanders are offended. My friends find it offensive the word Cook Island Māori. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

There were criticisms that the census ethnicity question did not provide a big enough response list and there were comparisons with ethnicity questions asked in other forums which provided a larger list and were subsequently seen to possibly elicit more accurate information.

Why is it the Chinese always get a little box why don't the Koreans get a box. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

But then you could be from England or whatever that is not actually New Zealand based so that stuffs up the census. [Do you think European should be there separately?] Yes it makes more sense. The thing that gets me is you have New Zealand European, Māori, Samoan, Cook Island, Tonga, Niue which are all based around the Pacific Islands and then the Asians you have got Chinese so a big one there, that leaves Korean, Japanese, Malaysian, Singapore, Indian, Taiwanese, that is a big part of Asia there. [So do you think there should be more Asian countries there?] Yes. (Christchurch, children of migrants, male)

[What do you think the question should be?] There are a whole lot of ethnicities missing, are these really the main ethnicities that make up New Zealand. [Could you not just put in Other?] True but then they are just going to leave themselves wide open. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

One participant felt discomfort answering this question as she felt it was asking a question that was based on racial characteristics.

[Dislike ethnicity question?] *Basically to me it is labelling by colour. If you have always lived in New Zealand, you were born in New Zealand you are a Kiwi. A Māori is generally born in New Zealand they are Kiwi they just they have darker skin.* (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

There were some that did not like that the 'New Zealand' term was only associated with 'New Zealand European' when it could equally apply to other ethnic groups.

I think that is kind of stink though because what do the Māori people think because they were here first so why can't they be New Zealand Māori, Europeans arrived much later and it is almost unfair to the Māori people. [Having New Zealand European you mean?] *Yes.* (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

It is unfair, why do the Europeans get New Zealand European and the Chinese people don't get New Zealand Chinese. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

I don't think it is very fair that they say New Zealand European, why don't they say New Zealand Māori, New Zealand Samoan. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Some Māori participants felt that the question did not allow them to express their ethnicity accurately especially in regard to their non- Māori heritage.

[Does this capture your ethnicity?] *It doesn't for me, it has only got one there, Māori. Because it has got there New Zealand European, my blood stems from England.* (Auckland, Māori, female)

It is very subjective to me. I should be able to put down 15% Scottish, 3% Irish, there is no point, it is too broad to tick New Zealand European and tick Māori . Even the terms aren't quite what I would agree with, I would prefer European New Zealander or Māori New Zealander or Samoan New Zealander. (New Plymouth, Māori , male)

Some admitted that their responses often changed depending on 'how they felt on the day' which also cast doubt over the information collected.

[So how good a job do you think this current question does in collecting people's ethnicity in New Zealand in the census?] *Not very well because it could change I could be pissed off with my parents or something and decide I am going to be Tongan. Maybe that is the easiest way to leave blank boxes so that they can identify themselves. What you are doing is forcing them into eight boxes and the others. They will just tick whatever but if you leave it open guarantee you will probably get a much more accurate answer.* (Auckland, Māori, female)

It is fuzzy for me, there are definite questions and definite answers I am not 30-ish, I am definitely 30 something or 40 something. My income is not \$20ish or \$50ish but for ethnicity the sliding scale is too great. You can't just have a box saying Māori and a box saying New Zealand European and you tick both. I am part of both but even within the both I am sliding across. I think it is too fuzzy a question to ask. (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

8.3 Improvements to the ethnicity question

Participants were asked if they had any suggestions to improve the ethnicity question.

➤ Providing an explanation

There was a suggestion that Statistics New Zealand should provide more explanation in the census notes on why ethnicity information is collected and why accuracy is important.

They need to tell people why they want that question answered. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

You have the internet these days and if you had one line underneath that said if you want to know why we are asking this question please go to ... (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

➤ Question wording

There were some suggestions regarding including 'New Zealand European' in the response list. Some felt 'European' was a dated term that should not be linked with 'New Zealand'.

Another suggestion was to tweak the question wording to include 'New Zealander' in the question wording so it was inclusive but still elicited a person's ethnicity such as a preamble that asked 'what type of new Zealander are you?'

[Question improvements?] For me personally I think you need to remove the word European because we have moved away from that culture so much that we are building our own. We have been here for 200 years or something but I think you are going to have to keep these categories and with the little open box so people can define it. I think we are damned if we do and damned if we don't. (Auckland, Māori, female)

Most people filling this out would be I think New Zealanders so they should be New Zealanders of predominantly which descent and then put Māori, European, blah. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

What you said about it should be incorporated with what type of New Zealander are you, it should be worded in that way maybe. That way people may be less inclined to pick something else if they realize that that question refers to a New Zealander and I refer to myself as a New Zealander although I come from Asian extraction. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, male)

[What do you think about the question in general is it offensive?] If somebody was fourth generation Chinese they are still Chinese but if they are fourth generation Irish person they would tick the New Zealand European box. (Christchurch, children of migrants, female)

Some wanted greater acknowledgment that many New Zealanders came from a mixed ethnic background.

That is what annoys me on these census forms is that there are so many mixed races that they don't have Māori European in there. Because there are a lot of New Zealanders, Kiwi's that are both. (Auckland, Māori, female)

There was suggestion to leave out the examples attached to the 'other' response as this was seen as misleading.

It would be safer to put Other and Please State. So take off things like that the Dutch and Japanese and put Please State. [Why?] Because anyone who is not listed can put it under other and state where they are from. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

Some suggested clarifying the question so it was clear that the question was related to ancestry and bloodlines. There was even a suggestion that the question relate to race so there was no ambiguity whatsoever.

I think you are right in some ways it is probably more honest to ask the question they need to ask which is what is your racial background. And while it may not be PC to do that if they explained why they are doing that and why they are asking those questions people would understand and wouldn't have a problem with it. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

[Question improvements?] *Well this word ethnic this is what this is all based on and we seem to have some differences on what that means and maybe they should leave that out altogether and put descent. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)*

[Why do you think it's not accurate, what is not accurate about it?] *For me it's the definition of ethnic group do you belong to. Can they put an asterisk and flesh that out. [What do you think that should be?] Well whatever they are trying to solicit from us so exactly how they see. [Do you think it is too vague what they are asking?] Yes. Because to me there is a lot of confusion around the national identity, cultural identity and ethnic identity. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, male)*

➤ **Additional questions**

Some suggested adding a question so that participants could answer as a New Zealander but also have a question so that ancestry could be ascertained such as asking about parental or grandparents' birthplace.

If they want it for statistical purposes i.e. Pacific Islanders do this and Māori do that and Europeans do this then for me it is a personal choice but then if they need to know that for health reasons or whatever perhaps they could say were your parents Samoan perhaps. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

I think what they should do is add a completely different question saying where were you born, where do you live, what country were you born in. Then this other question ethnic group that you belong to or ethnic heritage so that separates everything out. (Christchurch, children of migrants, male)

I reckon if they put New Zealand born and then just had European and you could tick New Zealand born and Chinese. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

Or divide that question into two or three parts to make it straight forward. Were your parents or grandparents – where did they come from? (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, male)

There was also a suggestion to ask a question on national identity so that participants can reply in an inclusive way as a New Zealander and then follow it with the ethnicity question so it was obvious that different information was being sought.

Maybe they should have an extra question in there what you consider your ethnicity and what you consider your national identity is to find out whether those ethnic groupings are still thinking of themselves as Chinese, Indian, Dutch. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

I think they need to ask it differently, I think it could be which do you feel you are, and then another question on what blood lines are in your family. [So you think it needs two questions not one?] Yes. I feel they could ask what do you feel you are. Because I feel I am a New Zealander because as far as I am concerned the Māori side of my family is so far back and so is the European side or the Pakeha side. I don't class myself as Pakeha or Māori I class myself as a New Zealander. So it is completely different to me. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

8.4 Response to the ethnicity question

Participants were asked how they had responded to the ethnicity question in the 2006 Census or if they could not recall, how they would respond now.

8.4.1 New Zealander

Only the multigenerational European and Māori groups had participants that claimed to have answered 'New Zealander' or 'Kiwi' in the last census. Across these groups there were four from the multigenerational European groups and one from the Māori groups that responded in this manner.

Typologies relating to the 'New Zealander' response are outlined in Section 8.5.2.

➤ Multigenerational European

There were some that responded as 'New Zealander' or 'Kiwi' in the multigenerational European groups in New Plymouth and Christchurch. The rationale for this answer was based on a number of factors.

The most common reason was that few felt any affiliation with Europe so did not want to respond as a New Zealand European. The fact that their families had settled in New Zealand many generations ago had weakened any ties to the families' original country of origin.

You can go back and say I came from Scotland too but how long is a piece of string, I wouldn't know Scotland if I tripped over it basically. It is what you identify with and where you have lived your life. Individual choice. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

[Answer New Zealander?] I am 5th or 6th generation New Zealand so my ties to Europe are long gone. [So European has got nothing to do with you?] No. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, male)

This was clearly not the case for multigenerational Asians who appeared to have stronger ties to their countries of origin. This maybe because the factors that drive multigenerational Asians to want to keep acknowledging their Asian backgrounds after many generations in New Zealand are not manifest across multigenerational Europeans. These factors are outlined in latter sections of this report (page 68) and include strong family emphasis and pride in their Asian culture, being part of a minority group with obvious physical differences, and enduring some negative experiences assimilating and settling in New Zealand based on their ethnicity.

Other reasons for choosing 'New Zealander' were a belief that ethnicity was a statistic that often divided New Zealand while the 'New Zealander' response was seen to bring New Zealand together as a nation and that the question was referring to race or skin colour which they objected to.

➤ Māori

Across the Māori groups only one claimed that they may respond as 'Kiwi'. The rationale for this choice was a lack of a sense of belonging to either Māori or European ethnic groups. This participant was very light skinned which she felt this had made it difficult for her to be accepted as a Māori while she also did not feel truly European either.

I can't remember, I have done two different answers. I have ticked both New Zealand European and Māori and I have also written down Kiwi. [You put other and put Kiwi?] I ticked other and wrote Kiwi because I am a Kiwi. I have done that once. I think that was the last census I did Kiwi because they didn't have the space. [So what was the main reason you put Kiwi?] Because I was sick of having to be categorized and I didn't want to tick two and so I put Kiwi. I don't know at that point in time it depends how I feel at the time I am doing the census but I know I have done both in the census. (Auckland, Māori, female)

Most Māori felt that 'New Zealander' was not a term that Māori would apply to themselves, it was seen as a term that would be more likely to be used by a migrant to New Zealand. Therefore, rather than using 'New Zealander', if Māori were going to use a generalised term they would be more likely to refer to themselves as a 'Kiwi'.

[How come you see Kiwi as being quite different to New Zealander?] To me anyone can come to this country and get a passport and become a New Zealander but it

doesn't mean that they are a Kiwi and that they value the culture of this country and that there is a mix of Europeans who have been here for awhile and Māori culture. I just think Kiwi is different to a New Zealander because anyone can get a passport. (Auckland, Māori, female)

I come from New Zealand but I am a Kiwi. I would feel uncomfortable being called a New Zealander. I am a Kiwi, I am a Māori. (Auckland, Māori, female)

8.4.2 New Zealand European

The majority of multigenerational European participants responded as 'New Zealand European'. While most admitted that the ties to Europe were weakened after many generations in New Zealand they felt that this response was the only one that was relevant to them.

[Why responded as 'New Zealand European'?] Because it has got Other such as Dutch, Japanese and that sort of misled me because I am not Dutch or Japanese or whatever so that is the other option and I thought down there would be confusing because it is leading on to some other type of country. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

You could say New Zealanders, you could say Pakeha, you could say Kiwi's but I think New Zealand European more precisely describes what we are. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

There was also the view that it was the correct response based on what they believed Statistics New Zealand was seeking.

They don't usually put New Zealander but I wonder if that is because they want to know your ethnicity. Because if they just stuck New Zealander everybody might just tick that box and they wouldn't be able to differentiate. And that is why you get the New Zealand European. Because whenever you get those questions New Zealand European seems to be the only one I seem to be able to say yes to. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

8.4.3 Māori

The majority of Māori in the groups stated they were proud to be Māori and would always declare their Māori heritage in any ethnicity question.

[Why responded as 'Māori'?] Pride. Because I have an English mother and my dad was full Māori so technically I am 50% but look at me I don't look 50% Māori but my birth certificate I am 50%. And I guess I suppose being brought up probably more on mum's side than dad's side but I have always been a New Zealand Māori and that is what I have always called myself, never changed. [And that is because of the way you have been brought up?] No it's just pride, that is who I am. (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

Some just referred to their Māori heritage and ignored their other heritage while others also wished to honour their non- Māori ancestry and would respond in multiple categories.

Mine has always been Māori but that is because I have chosen to be one category, to have one tick. But in some other things you can tick more than one. [What about the census?] I always tick Māori. I just tick Māori and that is it, whether I am denying my grandfather I don't know but that is just the ethnicity group I choose to belong to. (Auckland, Māori, female)

Just Māori. [Why is that?] It is just my cultural belief, it is the way I have been brought up, it is the way I identify myself specifically as a New Zealand Māori. The other day when I was rung up to see if I would participate in this forum a question was asked are you New Zealand Māori and I said yes. (Auckland, Māori, male)

A number ticked two categories to represent that they came from a mixed ethnic background while acknowledging their Māori ancestry.

[Answered this question last time?] I put Māori and European. (Auckland, Māori, female)

I ticked the first two because that is technically what I am, 50/50. (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

8.4.4 Asian

Responses across the Asian participants varied markedly as they all came from different backgrounds, one group being of multigenerational Asian background, another group being children of migrants and the third group being recent migrants.

➤ Multigenerational Asian

The multigenerational Asian participants were more conflicted regarding the way they responded to the ethnicity question. A number clearly wanted to acknowledge the fact that their families had lived in New Zealand for many generations.

However, they would all still acknowledge their Asian background.

It has always been a problem with myself, I am not sure about you guys but where the ethnicity box comes in I am always like New Zealand born Chinese but I am not sure if they even care. But I always make a point of saying New Zealand born Chinese. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

I have always identified myself as being New Zealand Chinese, my family roots are in New Zealand they extend back to the 1860's and there has been a lot of going backwards and forwards between China and New Zealand in that time but my extended family there are a lot of relatives in New Zealand. So I guess when I was brought up the New Zealand born Chinese people stick together because there weren't that many Chinese people at that time so you lived together in the community. Because back then people had a lot of wives and a lot of kids and I guess I grew up with my extended relatives and my cousins in a close Chinese community. So I was only one of one or two Chinese children in my primary school and I used to get taken to Chinese Sunday school classes out in Mangere and I went to all my cousins' birthday parties and things but they also went to Kiwi schools. So I identified with my Chinese heritage as well as the Kiwi culture.

Some felt very connected with their culture regardless of the length of time their family had lived in New Zealand which indicated an element of choice and self perception was involved when describing their ethnic identity.

I am very, very cultural, you can call me a Kiwi through and through and everyone always does but anything to do with my culture I will be there and I will do it and I will do it whole heartedly and very proud to be an Indian even though I will say I am a New Zealand born Indian. My culture comes first. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

It was clear that the environment that a person had grown up in impacted on their connection with their culture. Emphasis by family members, be it parents or grandparents, had helped to instil a pride and connection with their ethnicity.

[And did your mum want you to feel close to that?] Yes definitely. As a young girl she tried to talk to me in Pilipino but I guess as I went to school and my dad was English and everything was just English so I just lost that. But I have always wanted to engage more. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

[Is that something your parents have instilled in you?] Probably actually, mum's family is all New Zealand born and all full Indian whereas my father is Fiji born and he has been here since the 60's and yet they are both so community oriented I think they have just raised up to be a part of the community and part of the Indian community as well as your social community. And I think we have had a really good balance in our family where we have been able to know, learn and accept your culture. I know how to read, write and speak my language, we had an Indian Sunday school and we went there from the age of six to 12 and I managed to maintain that. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

I guess my story is my grandmother used to read this magazine called Singarama which you can still get which is a bilingual Taiwanese magazine. And at the back of every issue they used to have comic strips and from quite a young age I used to be fascinated by the dialogue they were talking in the bubbles. So I asked my grandmother one day what does this mean and she used that as an entrée to teach me Chinese because she thought he is taking an interest in Chinese and in the culture. I know that my ethnicity is Chinese but my cultural identity is all over the place. Bit of a mish mash. [And did your parents impress on you your Chinese roots?] No, more my grandparents actually, my parents were too busy running businesses so they left my upbringing to my grandparents. But I guess there was always a sense that I would marry Chinese it was always that subtle message. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, male)

Being part of a minority group and having obvious physical differences were also seen to help drive a need to be proud of their culture.

I have had this conversation with my European friends and I had one in particular say you are so lucky to have an ethnicity. And I said what about your Scottish ancestry and Irish ancestry and he said there is nothing I can identify with, the Asian culture is so much more interesting. So I think the Chinese culture is really interesting but perhaps it has been instilled in us to give it importance. And I guess we look different and we need to have pride in it as well. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

There were some stories recounted that pointed to a generation of Asians that were encouraged to deny their ethnic background to aid their assimilation into New Zealand society. However, while this had resulted in the loss of Asian language skills and some cultural traditions it may have also worked to reinforce their differences rather than necessarily weakened the connection to their Asian roots.

I think so. I heard a sad story actually from my family in Matamata so my dad's mum and we are really close to my dad's side and my aunty was saying they all knew how to speak Chinese or Cantonese when they were little and went to school and their teacher said to my nana if they come in and speak that language again then they are expelled from school. So that was one of the reasons I think why we are so completely assimilated, my parents don't speak it, mum kind of understands it but not really. I can't at all and that makes me sad and it makes me sad that before I went to China my parents hadn't ever gone there and they weren't interested in going. [And your grandparents did they impress on you more about being Chinese?] My grandparents were very much the same, they were in New Zealand at a very young age and often my friends have come to family events and they say from the oldest person in the room to the youngest child all of you speak perfect English without any accent. And it is a strange thing for them to see and for them that doesn't correlate but for me it is just what it is. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

My parents never ever really spoke about being Chinese but did want us all to marry New Zealand born Chinese people. [Not Chinese born Chinese?] Not as such, one thing they have said is that it is much easier if you have someone of the same cultural background and I suppose that brings the same religion and same language and you have had the same experiences. [And for them a New Zealand born Chinese is the same culture?] Yes. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

Within the multigenerational Asian group, there was evidence that a sub-ethnicity had developed with New Zealand born Chinese viewed as different from other Chinese. This view was backed up by a multigenerational Indian that noted that there are very big cultural differences between those born in New Zealand and those born overseas.

It is quite difficult, I know for us in our whole arranged marriage thing that works in the Indian culture and yet of my family there 93 of us on my mum's side and some of my cousins who are probably born late 60's went to India to find wives and three of those marriages lasted all of two months. It is so difficult when you are born and raised here and even though you are culturally minded it is not enough. It is not enough to help someone else from a foreign country who may be the same religion but totally different upbringing and to try and make that work in a marriage is really difficult. I struggled, my first marriage was to a Fiji born Indian and even though he was out here studying and we got on like a house on fire, it was a love marriage, it just couldn't work I was just too different and he was just too different, the upbringing was way too different. In our case it was cultural background, same religion, same everything and we had the same mind set in a lot of things but then we really differed in a lot of things. To them the male is more dominant than the female and the male's career is more dominant than the female's career and I was very career focused, I had a background in stock broking for 9 years and he couldn't handle having a strong women. Yet I respected my culture and everything and I did everything right by my in-laws, never stood up to them, never talked back, perfect things you are expected to do but it still wasn't enough. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

Some had reconnected with their culture and while they went through a time when they did not want to acknowledge their Asian background this had changed as they got older.

In my last year of school I joined the Philippino cultural group and a lot of them were quite communal so they kind of just stick to themselves and some of them had just come from the Philippines so they just stuck to themselves. And I would talk to them and they would feel really appreciative because someone from New Zealand was taking an interest. So then I felt it actually feels really cool to connect with people of my same culture so that is when I can be like yes I am half Philippino which is kind of cool. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

I guess as I have gotten older that has integrated with art history as well so Chinese art history. And I think learning about the Chinese history has made me appreciate more of my roots going right back. I understand my family's New Zealand heritage like my forefathers coming from the gold mining days. But also what makes me Chinese as well so the traditional customs such as getting lucky red packets and what they mean and what is a moon cake, little things like that. [Have you been to China?] Yes two years ago. So it is weird grandparents doing certain things but not understanding why because I was brought up the Kiwi way. But I often ask my Mandarin teacher now why do people do this and when I went back to China I now understand. My grandparents they went through the Japanese civil war and they are really affected by the war and I understand why they have particular mind sets or behaviours which I used to think was really weird. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

[How would you have answered this in 2006?] Now I would just tick Chinese. [What would you have done back then do you think?] I would have written Chinese New Zealander. [Why did you put that, what was your rationale for that at the time?] Because I remember I would talk to people and they would say where are you from and I would say I was born in New Zealand but my family is from China and my mum is from Hong Kong and my dad was born here too. And they would be like you are a Kiwi then. [And Chinese didn't really fit?] Yes it doesn't fit. [Why would you change now and just tick Chinese?] Because I guess I have become more accepting of being Chinese and I don't mind. If you want to put me in a box then put me in that one. [Do you think about the uses of it and that is most useful for them to know that?] I don't think of the use. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

Around half of the multigenerational Asian group would acknowledge their Asian background but also the fact they were born in New Zealand by writing in 'New Zealand' or 'New Zealander' somewhere on their response.

I went Indian and then I went New Zealand born in Other. [And you would do the same next time?] Yes. [And your rationale you talked about before you want to acknowledge that you were born in New Zealand?] I don't know what clout that has, I don't know whether they want to gather it but throw it out there because there is a difference between Indians born in India and Indians born in New Zealand and why not be proud of it. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

I would have put New Zealand Chinese and ticked Other. [And that was because you felt that was the best description for you?] Yes I mean like I said before to myself I have never just been Chinese and to say to somebody that I am just Chinese would be ignoring a whole part of me. So for a long, long time Chinese was 10% of what I was because I looked Chinese and I ate Chinese food and that pretty much all that would have described me as being a Chinese person. And the rest I am a New Zealander

through and through. [Next time how do you think you would answer it?] *The same.* (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

Mine is the same any form I get it is always New Zealand Chinese. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

I always do that and if there are boxes I will tick both, Indian and New Zealand. [So you don't answer differently no matter what form you get?] *No.* (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

The other half would just mark one ethnicity, mainly on the basis that that was the information they felt Statistics New Zealand was seeking.

Just Chinese. [Why did you choose to do that?] *I feel comfortable knowing what they are after in that question.* [You know that is really what they want to know?] *Yes.* (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, male)

I just tick Chinese. [And you have always done that?] *I guess I can't be bothered filling out extra.* [Do you think about what they are using it for and that is what they really want as well?] *I always think they are after base differences so it's like I am full Chinese so I will tick Chinese even though I identify with my culture but they don't want to know that anyway.* [Does it upset you seeing that question or is it not that big a deal when you see it?] *It depends how many questions are in front of me. If I have a booklet then I would just do the fastest way.* [What about census is it okay?] *I guess the other person at the other end is not going to care if I give the whole history and background, to them it is not important. It is important to me but that is not what they are after so really just to save time.* [Give them what they want?] *Yes.* (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

The participant from a mixed ethnic background chose to mark two ethnicities but denied one part of her ancestry as she did not feel any connection to that part of her background.

I put New Zealand European and Other – Philippino. [So you always do put that in other and write it in for the census?] *Yes.* [And you would do the same next time?] *Yes because even though I am quarter Chinese.* [You wouldn't acknowledge that because your mum hasn't?] *Exactly.* (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

➤ Children of migrants

In the group among children of migrants all acknowledged their Asian ethnic background. While they had been born and grown up in New Zealand there were a number of factors that meant that they would never respond as 'New Zealander'.

It was clear that the connection with their ethnic roots was stronger after just one generation in New Zealand when compared to multigenerational Asians.

[And the rest of you wouldn't consider it at all?] *I would slightly consider it but not really. Because at the end of the day I am still Chinese, my blood is still Chinese so I have to take that into consideration. But you have been raised in a New Zealand community and hung around so many Kiwi's and adopted all their traditions and just their way of life. So half of you is Chinese but the other half is Kiwi. If I put a silhouette of myself and had a rugby ball in one hand everyone would go that guy must*

be a Kiwi but then you put the lights on and it's this Asian dude. So it has crossed my mind sometimes but not really. (Christchurch, children of migrants, male)

These participants also wanted to acknowledge their parents and the role they play in their lives. It was seen as disrespectful to their parents if they denied their Asian background.

[Ever respond as 'New Zealander'?] I would feel as though I am ignoring my parents if I do that and what they feel. Cutting them out of my life basically if I got rid of Chinese. [So it would be almost disrespectful.] Yes. (Christchurch, children of migrants, female)

➤ Recent migrants

All recent migrants would answer the ethnicity question and were strongly connected to their culture. This meant they would seek to answer this question as accurately as possible and were reflective of their Asian backgrounds.

There was an evident burden for the English speaker of a migrant family as that person often had to fill out the form for the whole family. This meant that this participant chose to answer in the quickest and easiest manner.

[What do you put?] I put Chinese because I have to fill out both my mum and dad's ones so when there are three forms there are lots of questions so it's tick, tick, tick. [And why do you tick Chinese because you actually don't like it?] Like I said there are three forms, so many questions, by the time I am up to my own one I can't be stuffed. Actually there are four forms because there is one for my grandma. [So do you think this is what they want to know?] In a way it is easier just to tick the box. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

One recent migrant felt that it was important to capture the subtleties of his ethnicity as while being Chinese, he felt that Chinese from different countries were very different.

I think I put Singapore because I felt Chinese is too broad. Singapore Chinese. [So you didn't like the term Chinese?] I tried to be more accurate. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, male)

Another recent migrant felt that she might consider adding in 'New Zealander' into the other category while also acknowledging her other ethnic background as she felt an affinity with New Zealand.

I say I am a Kiwi but I think a lot of it has to be how well you balance between the two. I am Chinese I know that but also I have a lot of Kiwi values and stuff. So if I want to I can always put New Zealander in Other because it depends how well you have identified with the culture. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

8.4.5 Pacific Islander

All Pacific peoples would answer the ethnicity question based on their Pacific background.

For those born overseas ethnicity was associated with their country of birth.

Yes I put down country of origin. [You think ethnicity is country of origin?] Yes. [Where you were born?] I was born in Samoa so I am Samoan but I came here when I was 1 so I grew up in New Zealand being a Kiwi but every time someone asks me what ethnicity are you I don't reply I am a Kiwi I say I am Samoan. But even though I would say I am a Kiwi I still reply that I am Samoan. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

I am not New Zealand born. [So you think you are not?] I am not New Zealand born so I say I am Samoan. Even though people say I should be a New Zealander because I came here when I was one or two but I still say I am Samoan. It is sort of a mixture between country of origin and the specific culture you identify with and what you have been brought up. Because even though we were living in New Zealand we still practiced the New Zealand way of life and accommodated and added it to the Kiwi way of life I guess. So a mixture of both. [But that makes you Samoan not necessarily New Zealand Samoan?] Well when I speak they say I am New Zealand Samoan. My cousins come from Samoa and say you are definitely New Zealand Samoan. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

[What about when the census comes out, who answers the census question honestly?] Me. [Why do you answer it honestly?] Because I have got no hassles, if they ask for ethnic group I tick Tongan because that is what I am. I may have been living in New Zealand for 30 odd years but my passport says I am Tongan, I am not a New Zealand citizen and I am still Tongan and I always will be proud to be a Tongan. It is not as if my dad was Tongan and my mum was a New Zealander they are both Tongan so I am Tongan. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

Even those that were born in New Zealand had strong cultural connections and identified more strongly with their Pacific background.

I am born in New Zealand but I would never say that I was Kiwi because I don't identify with that, I don't understand. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, male)

I would normally tick Samoan and Cook Island. [And why would you write that?] Because that is really where my mother and father were from. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

A few noted that those born in the islands held more strongly to some traditions.

People here and people in the islands we tend to adapt to different things like with changing times whereas some people still keep it old school. They come over here and they still do the Fa'a Samoan but people who come over here can't be bothered with the Fa'a Samoan. So I think cultures tend to adapt to the environment that they are in. [Is that good or bad?] It is good in the way of change but it's bad in the way you are losing out. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

Some noted that the sense of pride and unity among the Pacific community had grown in recent years which had meant less of a perceived difference between those born and not born in New Zealand.

It may have been different because when I came here, I came here when I was 12 and it felt like there was segregation between New Zealand born Samoans and Samoans that are here but nowadays everyone just blends in together. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

Pacific peoples regardless of their Pacific country of origin clearly had an affinity with each other, as they felt they came from similar backgrounds, had similar values and faced the same challenges when settling in New Zealand.

But going back to your question of whether we think we are similar I think we are totally. I think it's the values that you share. And because we are all next door neighbours anyway. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

Not only that, the older generation fought to stay in New Zealand, they fought really hard during the Dawn Raids and stuff just to stay here and have a better life. So I don't know what that would make them and if they still consider themselves to be Samoan or Palagi because they wanted to come here and give their kids a good education. You can't really call that Palagi because it is the Island way too to make your kids life better than your own. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

However, it was noted that there were definitely differences across the Pacific Island nations as well.

[Pacific Island ethnicity?] We have great similarities but differences as well. There is something that makes Tongans, Tongans and Samoans, Samoans. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

A reason given for why Pacific people would never respond as 'New Zealander' was the perception that it was a term that mainly referred to 'New Zealand Europeans' and it was viewed as offensive to try to strive to be like Europeans.

It is interesting, you say that if they were from the islands and trying to be Palagi I would be offended by that. If they were trying to speak Palagi but they didn't do it well and trying to be too Palagi. I think there is a thing in Island culture if you try and be too Palagi it is not seen as good by other Islanders. It is seen that you have been doing something bad. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, male)

8.5 Response typologies

8.5.1 Response to the ethnicity question

Typologies has been developed to describe the way people respond to the ethnicity question. The common link is how much a person cares (defined as the level of concern and interest in the topic) about ethnicity in relation to themselves and also how this information is collected by government.

The typologies are based on a continuum of perceived 'care' regarding the collection of ethnicity information. Those with low levels of care or concern about the collection of ethnicity information for the most part answer in line with the Statistics New Zealand definition progressing to those with high levels of care or concern because of a variety of reasons which may impact on the accuracy of information collected.

Although only based on a qualitative study, indicatively the impact on data accuracy is only minimal as it only appeared to impact significantly on one group.

These typologies are in line with other questionnaire design theories such as Krosnick's satisficing model⁶. Satisficing is a decision making strategy that attempts to meet criteria for adequacy, rather than identify an optimal solution.

The typologies highlight detail on the cognitive processes involved when applying this model to the specific task of answering a question on ethnicity. The level of 'caring' displayed by participants impacted on the level of 'satisficing' applied when answering the ethnicity question. The typologies ranged from those that did not 'care' about the issue of ethnicity personally and how the information is collected and thus displayed strong levels of satisficing through to those that 'cared' a lot about ethnicity personally and how the information is collected and showed little evidence of satisficing.

Krosnick's satisficing model says that optimal question answering by a survey respondent involves a great deal of cognitive work and that most people would use satisficing to reduce that burden.

Some people may shortcut their cognitive processes in two ways either with weak satisficing where a respondent executes all cognitive steps involved in optimising but less completely and with bias or with strong satisficing where a respondent offers responses that will seem reasonable to the interviewer without any memory search or information integration.

The likelihood to satisfice is linked to respondent ability, respondent motivation and task difficulty.

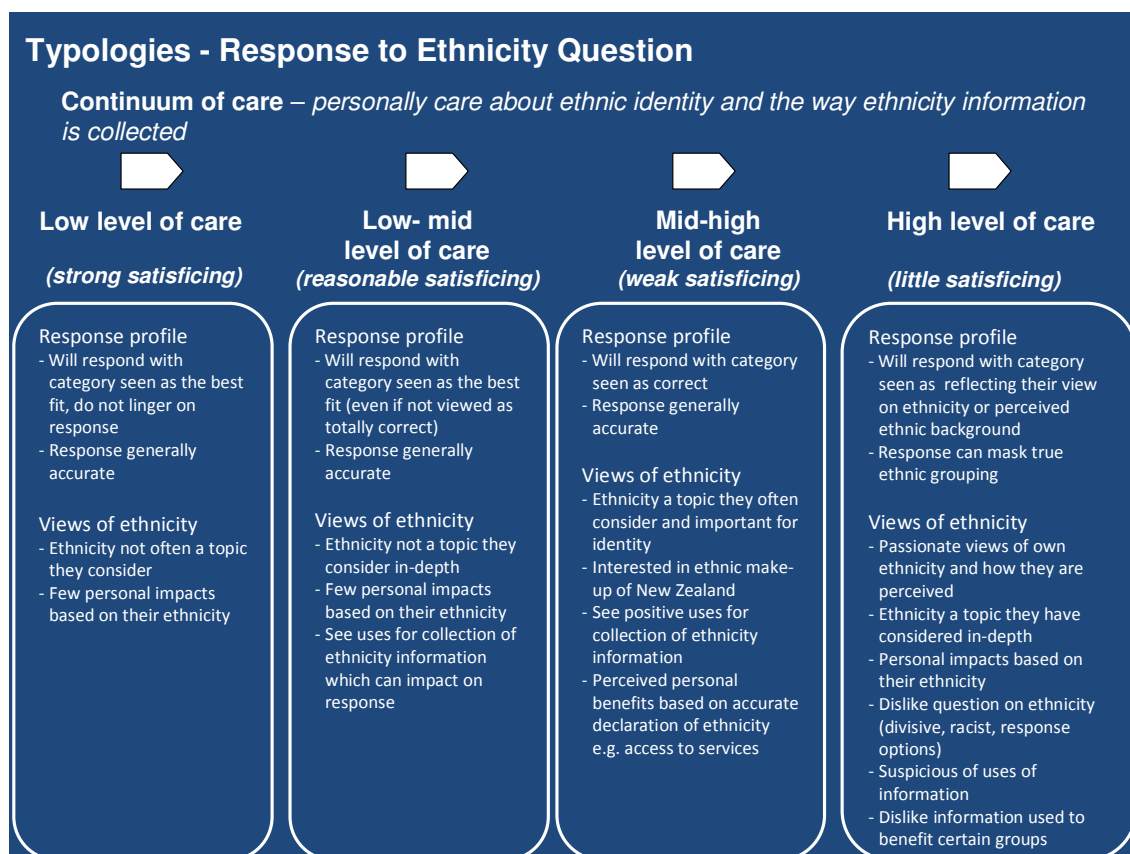
⁶ Krosnick, J. (1991). "Response strategies for coping with the cognitive demands of attitude measures in surveys." *Applied Cognitive Psychology*. Vol 5, 213-36.

Regarding survey answers, satisficing manifests in:

- choosing explicitly offered no-opinion response option
- choosing socially desirable responses
- non-differentiation when a battery of questions asks for ratings of multiple objects on the same response scale
- acquiescence response bias, which is the tendency to agree with any assertion, regardless of its content.

We argue that given the anonymous nature of the census and the question design that satisficing via socially desirable responses, non-differentiation resulting from rating multiple objects on the same response scale and acquiescence response bias do not apply when respondents answer the ethnicity question in the census.

However, there are strong indications that choosing explicitly offered no-opinion response options does apply to varying degrees across the typology developed.



➤ **Low level of care**

This first typology exhibits a low level of caring and strong evidence of satisficing when responding to the ethnicity question.

Participants stated that they did not linger when responding to the ethnicity question but quickly ticked any response that they felt satisfied. The question design seems to lead to this approach eliciting ethnicity information reflective of the New Zealand population.

[Recall how answered census question?] *I probably ticked it and went on, the last time I was filling out three forms rather than sitting there writing, three forms to fill out at the same time.* (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Personally I just fill out a form it never crosses my mind. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

Participant summary – Case study eight	
Ethnicity	Indian
Typology	Low level of care: This participant had not considered the issue of ethnicity carefully before taking part in the research (indicating a low level of care). She had chosen 'Indian' as the group most appropriate to her.
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 50 to 60 years ▪ Female ▪ 2 children ▪ Accountant ▪ Lives in West Auckland
Family ancestry	This participant is a quarter Portuguese, a quarter Goan Indian and half Bombayite Indian. She lived one year in Goa when she was two years old and then her family moved to Bombay and she no longer has any family living in Goa.
Ethnicity summary	The participant felt that the term 'Indian' was the most accurate to describe her ethnicity. From two years old to adulthood she was brought up in Bombay and does not feel close to her Portuguese ancestry.
Interesting finding	<p>While this participant was exposed to Portuguese influences from her mother and grandmother and follows the Catholic faith and cooks many traditional Portuguese foods, both a reflection of her Portuguese background, she does not acknowledge this as part of her ethnicity.</p> <p>The participant has led a migrant lifestyle, moving from Goa as an infant and moving with her own family to the Middle East and living there for 22 years and finally moving to New Zealand seven years ago. Her sons appear to have been impacted by this lifestyle and have tended to adopt a feeling of national identity to the countries the family has settled in, this appears to have possibly impacted on the perception of their ethnicity.</p>

From the mini groups it was evident that for participants that fit this typology ethnicity was not an issue they considered in any depth.

*I would tick New Zealand European because it really doesn't matter too much to me.
(New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, male)*

Participant summary – Case study six	
Ethnicity	Samoa/Tongan
Typology	Low level of care: This participant had not considered the issue of ethnicity in any depth before taking part in this research (indicating a low level of care). He identifies as a Samoan Tongan and does not lean anymore towards one side than the other. When showed the census question in the interview he said he would tick both Samoan and Tongan.
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Early 30's ▪ Male ▪ Lives in South Auckland ▪ Unemployed, recently loss job due to a call centre being relocated overseas ▪ Lives with his partner and together they look after his niece
Family ancestry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Father's mother was Samoan, father's father was Welsh ▪ Mother's mother was Tongan, mother's father was part Tongan part American
Ethnicity summary	Participant identifies as being a Samoan/Tongan. He does not feel any more strongly connected to one side than the other.
Interesting finding	<p>Participant is a good example of how the collecting of ethnicity data is going to continually face new challenges in future generations. He has a niece who is part Māori, Samoan and Tongan who takes part in Poly festivals as a member of culture groups. She has been a member of both a Māori and a Samoan group.</p> <p>It will be interesting at what stage different Pacific ethnic identities become so intertwined that the different Pacific Island ethnicities collected in the New Zealand census become melded into a single Polynesian ethnicity, where you could have New Zealand Polynesian alongside New Zealand European.</p>

➤ **Low-mid level of care**

The second typology exhibits a low to mid level of caring when responding to the ethnicity question and a reasonable level of satisficing.

These participants claimed to briefly review the list of options before making a choice. However, from the responses outlined it was clear that the data collected would also be reflective of their ethnicity.

Remembering back to when I did this I went one and two which is strange but I just went tick, tick. I suppose in retrospect I should have written down New Zealand Māori but I just ticked. (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

[How did you answer this question?] *I have always ticked the first one, I don't have another choice.* (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Participant summary - Case study four	
Ethnicity	Chinese
Typology	Low-mid level of care: Participant does not appear to have a strong connection to her ethnicity or particularly strong feelings on the issue (indicating a low to mid level of care). She identifies as Chinese out of respect for her parents but feels more 'Kiwi' in all other aspects.
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 20 years old ▪ Female ▪ Comes from a family of five - two brothers and two parents ▪ Flats with a couple of friends ▪ Second year university student studying economics ▪ Lives in Christchurch
Family ancestry	Participant states that her mother is Chinese and father Cantonese. On her mother's side one parent was born in China (Grandmother) and the other in Cambodia (Grandfather), however she thinks this Cambodian born Grandfather is of Chinese descent. Her father's parents were born in China and are Cantonese.
Ethnicity summary	Participant has very weak links to her Chinese ancestry. She feels far more connected to New Zealand than China but her ethnicity remains Chinese, mainly out of respect for her parents, and because her physical appearance in New Zealand identifies her as Chinese. If there was the option in the census she would select Chinese New Zealander.
Interesting finding	Participant likes the term Chiwi as it encapsulates more closely how she feels which is part Chinese and part Kiwi. Even though she has no affinity with China at all, (she only has one Chinese friend) she chooses to hold on to her Chinese ethnicity mainly out of respect for her parents.

In the mini groups, these participants had not considered the issue of ethnicity in much depth prior to attending the mini groups and had not experienced any personal impacts based on their ethnicity.

However, they could see uses for the information which meant that they often made their decision based on the information they believed Statistics New Zealand was seeking.

I put New Zealand European because I know that is what they want and that is what they mean but it is not specific. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

I know for the purposes of this census it is more useful to have the racial thing or genetic group as well. So they do want to know for health reasons how many people of this genetic background. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Participant summary - Case study seven	
Ethnicity	Samoa and Cook Island Māori
Typology	Low to mid level of care: This participant does not have strong views about his ethnicity (indicating a low to mid level of care). In some respects he likes to think of himself as a New Zealander which reflects his lack of connection to any particular ethnic group, however, he still wants to acknowledge his Polynesian roots.
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 30 to 40 years old ▪ Male ▪ Lives with wife and one daughter ▪ Lives in South Auckland ▪ Employed as a sales rep
Family ancestry	His father is Samoan and his mother is Rarotongan
Ethnicity summary	Participant has only a general connection to being a Pacific Islander he has married a New Zealand European and lives a fairly 'Westernised' life. His mother and father divorced when he was young and he has recently, since his father died, been trying to connect more with his Father's side of the family. He is slowly learning about all his Samoan relatives and making connections with them. He has no real link to his mother's Rarotongan side and states that he feels more New Zealander than Pacific Islander. However in the census given the options he would identify as both Samoan and Cook Island Māori.
Interesting finding	Participant notes that all of his siblings who are married now have gone on to lean more towards the cultural practices of their partners. He feels this is the case because, for them, growing up in a mixed marriage of Samoan and Rarotongan there was no strong connection developed with either culture and now it is as if they are floating around wanting to latch on to a culture that they can identify with. However, recently he has been connecting more with his Samoan side as he tries to trace his Samoan ancestry which has some connection to both Europe and America. His desire to trace this ancestry is partly fuelled by the death of his father who had unsuccessfully been trying to find out more about his own father, who was in the US Military that visited Samoa.

➤ **Mid-high level of care**

The third typology exhibits a mid to high level of caring when responding to the ethnicity question and only weak satisficing.

These participants reviewed the list and chose the answer they believed was the best. The rationale they applied when choosing their responses generally seemed to result in an adequate definition of their ethnicity.

I probably ticked the first two as well just trying to be as correct as I could be. (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

Participant summary – Case study one	
Ethnicity	New Zealand Kiwi
Typology	Mid-high level of care: This participant disliked feeling forced to choose particular categories (indicating a mid to high level of care) but responded accurately to the census.
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 50 to 60 years ▪ Female ▪ 3 children, 2 grandchildren, 1 great-grandchild ▪ Caterer (part-time) ▪ Lives in South Auckland
Family ancestry	This participant had discovered in her teens that she had more European (mainly English) ancestors on both sides than she thought. She had assumed from her upbringing and her appearance that she was predominantly Māori, but had found out that this was not in fact the case. While she had not dedicated a lot of time to finding out who her ancestors were, this had led her to question the appropriateness of ethnic labels in her family.
Ethnicity summary	The participant felt that the term 'New Zealand Kiwi' summed her up better than 'New Zealander' because she believed it implied a deeper and more long-term connection with New Zealand. She had chosen to tick 'New Zealand European' and 'Māori' on the census mainly out of expediency, and had not really considered writing in 'New Zealand Kiwi'. This indicates that while she did not really describing herself as 'New Zealand European' and 'Māori', it was not something she felt strongly enough about to make the effort to write in her preferred alternative.
Interesting finding	This participant saw upbringing as an important part of her ethnic identity, although she saw a conflict between this and her ancestry (which was what she assumed the ethnicity question was asking about). Although in the focus groups many denied that skin colour was an important marker of ethnicity, her skin colour together with her upbringing had led her to take an ethnic identity which she saw as being at odds with her ancestry. She also believed that ethnicity was becoming a less useful concept as people of different ethnic backgrounds had children together.

Participants in the mini groups that fit this typology appeared to have thought more carefully about the issue of ethnicity and their ethnicity was an important part of their identity.

I remember when I was in primary and high school I always used to get quite confused with the PAT tests and what ethnic group do you fit into. And I am looking around for New Zealand Chinese and the only box to tick is Māori, so I always used to tick Chinese but I always used to stop on that question. [So you never thought it quite fitted you?] Yes because I am Chinese but there is more to it than face value. [But you answer this pretty much with the same response now for any form you get?] If it was something for the census if there was a box to tick with something like New Zealand and Chinese I would tick both of them. [But if there was only Chinese?] Then I would say Chinese because there is nothing else to tick. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

Some in this typology voiced general interest in ethnicity and how the New Zealand population was distributed on this basis.

So a lot of it comes down to attitude really, belief and attitude. Because I find it really exciting to find out where people's actual blood lines come from. Really interesting. [You said you would describe your ethnicity as New Zealander?] Yes if I am talking to people in New Zealand or filling out forms I am a New Zealander. If I want to say where my family came from I will say my mother's family came from the north of England, my father's family came from Cornwall but the Spanish Armada was mixed in there and that sort of thing. [Does that effect who you are?] Yes it does. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

There was also an awareness of how the information was used and the belief that the information was important. Some saw direct personal benefit resulting from the collection of ethnicity information.

I don't mind answering the question that is fine. Everybody knows for things like the public health system we know that in Pacific Islanders there is a high rate of diabetes and other races there are obviously genetic problems there as well. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

Participant summary – Case study three	
Ethnicity	New Zealand European
Typology	Mid-high level of care: This participant believed the collection of ethnicity information was important and strove to answer this question as accurately as possible (indicating a mid to high level of care).
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 40 to 50 years ▪ Female ▪ Lives with partner and two children ▪ Employed social worker ▪ Lives in Christchurch
Family ancestry	Scottish grandparents on father's side Welsh and German grandparents on mother's side.
Ethnicity summary	Participant has medium to strong links to European ancestry. There are some family traditions that show a link to Scottish ancestry and slightly weaker links to Welsh ancestry but no links to German ancestry.
Interesting finding	Participant's partner is part Māori but only found this out when he turned 30. His mother hid the fact that she was Māori because she and her sister, who also looked quite European, were ashamed of being Māori due to the stigma attached in those early years. One of the participant's children, who is 18 years old, has a strong connection to Māori culture and calls herself Māori while the other does not feel so connected (When he talks about Māori he uses the language of 'us and them'). Her second child is only 12 but the participant (Child's mother) is not sure which ethnicity he will choose to identify with.

➤ **High level of care**

The fourth typology exhibits a high level of caring when responding to the ethnicity question and little evidence of satisficing. These participants would be prepared to write in their own response if none of the options was considered adequate.

These participants had clearly reflected on their ethnicity and had often had to deal with personal impacts based on their ethnicity.

I think the stronger your identity is the more feeling you have behind the question. Like my dad is just like oh Chinese whereas my brother and myself and my other brother and my mum and all New Zealand born and our identity is quite strong. I am really loud and so is my brother is very, very loud and my mum and actually all my cousins. And I think and I came to terms with this awhile ago that I am loud because it was almost a subconscious way for me to prove to people before they even saw me they could hear me before they saw me that I am not just a Chinese person who can speak English. And I am a dance teacher and that is such not a Chinese thing to do and a dancer and stuff like that and you just don't, it is just not done, you are just so conservative stepping out of the box of an office job. And that again was kind of my way to assert my independence and who I am not just your average Chinese subservient quiet girl who is dutiful and all those kinds of things. Because I am actually a New Zealander, I am a New Zealand born Chinese person that is part of who I am. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian, female)

Participant summary – Case study nine	
Ethnicity	New Zealand Chinese
Typology	High level of care: This participant had clearly thought quite hard about the issue of ethnicity before taking part in the research (indicating a high level of care). She did not like the ethnicity question asked in the census and wanted to acknowledge that she was 'New Zealand Chinese' not just 'Chinese'. She had thought hard about this issue and always wrote in 'New Zealand Chinese' when asked her ethnicity on any form.
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 20 to 30 years ▪ Female ▪ Single, no children ▪ Teacher ▪ Lives in Central Auckland
Family ancestry	This participant is a fourth generation New Zealand Chinese. Both of her grandfathers were born in New Zealand and both of her grandmother's had immigrated with their families when they were toddlers.
Ethnicity summary	The participant felt that the term 'New Zealand Chinese' was appropriate to describe her ethnicity. She does not think that 'Chinese' reflects her ethnic identity as it omits a huge part of who she is.
Interesting finding	While this participant would always acknowledge her Chinese ancestry, she felt it was no more important in describing her ethnic identity than the fact that her family had lived in New Zealand for many generations. The fact that her family had lost the Chinese language and most of the customs was given as example of her distance from her Chinese roots. However, being Chinese was not something she would ever ignore as this also explained who she was.

In the mini groups, those that fit this typology appeared conflicted and unsure how to answer a question regarding their ethnicity. This may be an indication of a lack or a weak sense of ethnic identity.

Well I can probably answer any of those other questions on those forms except when it comes to ethnicity I have to pause and think. First of all who do I identify myself with? They don't say are you a New Zealander, are you a European, New Zealand European. I am sure after living here for over 30 years they have enough information about you already. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

However, the careful consideration of how they would describe their ethnicity sometimes appeared to complicate the issue and also made them less satisfied with the question format used and even made them question whether the question should be asked at all.

There were some in this category that disliked being asked the ethnicity question and as mentioned previously, some that felt that the question was flawed and did not provide the response options that described their ethnicity.

I think if New Zealand has European in front of it then maybe that causes some of the confusion as well because then other people go if the Europeans can be New Zealand Europeans then what about the others and that is one of the reasons why I put other. But if it was just European and then Māori and Samoan then I might be more likely to just put I am Chinese. [It is like making something special about European?] Yes I suppose. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

Related to this view was the view that the question was racist and divided New Zealanders on the basis of colour and is illustrated in the following case study.

Participant summary - Case study five	
Ethnicity	Kiwi
Typology	High level of care: This participant's rationale for the selection of their ethnicity is well thought through (indicating a high level of care). She chooses to be 'Kiwi' in official government forms and surveys by ticking other and writing 'Kiwi'. One reason why she prefers 'Kiwi' is she does not want to choose one ethnicity over the other and 'Kiwi', to her, symbolises a bit of both. She also does not like New Zealand European or Māori as she feels singling out specific groups based on race is unhelpful and unfair.
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 50 to 55 years ▪ Female ▪ Lives with elderly mother ▪ Lives in Christchurch ▪ Gets around in a wheelchair so most probably on a benefit of some sort
Family ancestry	The participant's father's father was Māori and his wife (Participant's grandmother) was German (But she had immigrated out to New Zealand when she was three years old). Participant is unsure about her mother's side she thinks that both of her mother's parents were born in New Zealand but their ancestry was a mix of Irish, Scottish and English.
Ethnicity summary	Participant's ancestry shows that she is at least part Māori (She did not find out of this until later in life) and part mixed European. She was pleased to find out she had some Māori blood in her as she has always been drawn to Māori culture and has enjoyed kapa haka and attempted to learn some of the language. She prefers, however, to identify herself as 'Kiwi'. She likes the term 'Kiwi' mainly because she feels it is less divisive and she thinks everyone should be treated the same.
Interesting finding	Another example of a participant who has Māori ancestry but only recently found this out.

As mentioned previously in this report, some participants also believed that the information was used for negative purposes which impacted on their response to this question. This was a relevant point illustrated in the following case study.

Participant summary – Case study two	
Ethnicity	European Māori (put 'Kiwi' in 2001 census)
Typology	High level of care: This participant reported that she gave a lot of thought to how she should fill out the census, and that in 2001 this had led her to say that she was 'Kiwi'. At the 2006 census, she had entered 'Māori' and 'European' as she had noticed that it was multiple response. However, she still had reservations about describing herself in this way, because she believed that this was not an accurate depiction of who she actually was.
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 30 to 40 years ▪ Female ▪ Married with one child ▪ Caterer (part-time) ▪ Lives in East Auckland
Family ancestry	She had a Māori (paternal) grandfather who was very important to her, and felt strongly connected to that part of the family. Her other grandparents were all of European origin, but she did not know as much about these parts of her family history. This was reinforced by a past family conflict where her (European) mother had shunned by her family because she married a Māori, and also because she had lived closer to her father's relatives.
Ethnicity summary	This participant usually described herself as European Māori although she had called herself 'Kiwi' in the 2001 census. She had done so partly on the mistaken impression that she could only specify one ethnicity. She also had reservations about calling herself European Māori based on the way the information was used- this reflected the fact that she had only a few Māori ancestors while she believed that 'European Māori' implied that she had more Māori blood than she actually did.
Interesting finding	The most interesting aspect of this interview was the importance of a specific revered ancestor. This had led the participant to treat her Māori side as of equal importance to her European side. She had much more interest in finding out about her Māori ancestors than about the Welsh, English or German parts of her family.

Some also disliked that ethnicity information may be used to allocate services and support on the basis of ethnicity.

8.5.2 Response as ‘New Zealander’

Statistics New Zealand has developed three typologies for those responding as a ‘New Zealander’ from extensive rounds of cognitive testing. As part of this research only five participants identified their ethnicity as ‘New Zealander’ or ‘Kiwi’ and we found that the rationale for their responses reinforce the typologies developed by Statistics New Zealand.

Statistics New Zealand found three broad typologies: one relating to how people understand their own ethnicity, another to how people relate to the response categories they are offered in the question, and another to how they perceive the purpose and use of ethnicity statistics.

➤ Understanding own ethnicity

As outlined by Statistics New Zealand this typology relates to how people understand their own ethnicity. It was found that these people tended to identify strongly as a ‘New Zealander’, considering it to represent a unique national and ethnic identity. Evidence for this typology was found in this research.

Developing culture: There was a belief that New Zealand was developing its own unique culture and hence ethnic identity which meant that ‘New Zealander’ maybe viewed as a valid ethnic grouping.

[Is New Zealander an ethnicity?] *With ethnicity you would have to identify some ancestry and heritage and culture so the fact that all New Zealanders identify with the haka and the All Blacks regardless of whether they are European or Māori and little things like that, little culture things. Part of schools now, Māori is in every school and just little things. Like my husband who is European he had never been to a tangi before and he went to my aunty’s one when we took her home and usually they go to a funeral home. But he wants that for himself and he actually sees that as a progression in New Zealand culture as well the way we deal with death. [And your husband is European?] Yes. He sees it more than I do, he sees little things that he would say that is New Zealand, not that is Māori and that is European that is New Zealand. (New Plymouth, Māori, female)*

[So what are the reasons you feel it is so important to be able to write down New Zealander?] *Like I said I have got four or five generations now and great, great grandparents that came out here and pioneered and stuff like that. I almost feel that I have the right now to be a New Zealander. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)*

I am finding as I get older that the questions that are asked whether to tick Pakeha, European, Māori, Asian or anything else I find them increasingly difficult to answer. Because I don’t feel like I fit into any of them and I would rather there was just a New Zealand option for myself. Because the Māori has been here for a long time but even the European side has been here for 160 years. So my links to Europe are very, very thin, almost 200 years ago. So why can’t I just be a New Zealander as a unique ethnic group. (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

[Is that your ethnicity though?] *That is interesting because if you really look at the question there is a difference between nationality and ethnicity but New Zealand is still*

a very young country I think and I think we have probably come to a point where we want our ethnicity to be our nationality. We want to identify our country. A lot of other countries have that but because we are still young, 200 years. (New Plymouth, Māori, female)

➤ **Relation to response categories**

The second typology identified by Statistics New Zealand relates to how people view the response categories they are offered in the ethnicity question. These people believed that none of the response categories offered described them well enough. Evidence for this typology was also found in this research.

Lack personal connection to European origins: Some noted a lack of personal connection with their European ancestry was driving their choice of 'New Zealander' as their ethnicity.

That is almost an open ended question because if you say I am a Kiwi how far back do you go because you go back about five or six generations and basically you are from Ireland and Scotland and go back and claim some land, it has to be relative I suppose. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

[Why did you say 'New Zealander'?] I am not really European I am fourth or fifth generation Kiwi. [So it just didn't match?] Pretty much. I must say at the time I was pretty staunch, I have pretty much relaxed over the last couple of years because there hasn't been an option. [Was it a big decision?] Not really, I had only just come home from London I think at the time too. [Do you get asked ethnicity in other forms?] Yeah same thing. [Do you always just put New Zealander?] Yes. The last few years I haven't as much. I have had a lot of phone surveys lately. It depends if I am trying to get the kids to bed at the time. So they will rattle off and if the option is Other I will say New Zealander. [So in the census do you think more carefully about your answers do you think?] Yes definitely, I think it is quite important definitely. I don't mind the census I think it is important to get a good view of the country and its population. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Well my dad's father was born in England so I am not many generations from that but I am a Kiwi and he probably would have said so too because he was born here. He didn't have a lot of connection with English ancestors, he visited them but I think pioneers that came to New Zealand traditionally just cut off all that link didn't they. They wanted to make a new start. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

I know my ancestors came from England and it is good to know where they came from but I don't have a link with them anymore, that is cut off now really over generations. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

There was also evidence that those from a very mixed European ancestry found it difficult to align themselves with any group as they could choose to be affiliated with a wide range of ethnic groups but felt close to none. These participants had generally not been exposed in any great way to any of their ancestral backgrounds.

Being New Zealand a colonial country how do you even define your race, in my opinion they are just so mixed. [Wouldn't that mean you could have lots?] You could if you chose relative to you what you wanted to be I suppose. Say I choose I can wear the Cameron tartan or claim a bit of Italy if I wanted or a bit of France depending on how far we go back. In the end it is easier to say I am Kiwi. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

[Does that become part of your ethnic identity?] I think it is for me after three generations it becomes our national identity because all of a sudden three generations down the track you have got a lot more countries – for me I have Scotland and Ireland and England and all over the show so it becomes just Kiwi. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Take a look at the Māori for example they have deep pride in their history and there is a lot of strength in their family ties and I have studied Māori so I know a little bit about it and a lot of them even if they just have a drop of Māori in them they will turn around and stand forward and say I am Māori. Even if they only have one-eighth or whatever because it is a part of them that has an identity. See New Zealand European you can have that many mixed bloods in your system that there is no one key thing to hold on to. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Evidence of connection with New Zealand: Some felt that those choosing 'New Zealander' as their ethnic grouping wanted to make a statement that they were born in New Zealand.

You do sort of like with myself I tick other and put Kiwi which is probably not exactly what they are wanting because it doesn't label me as to being Polynesian, Māori, Chinese or anything like that it's just that I was born here in New Zealand, I am Kiwi that is it. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

It is a bit snobbish but I think there are certain attributes for me personally and a lot of other people where we can say we are New Zealanders because we are part Māori we have been here for a long time and we have an appreciation of the culture and the heritage, born here and lived all our lives here, all these things are combined to say yes the ethnicity I am is a New Zealander. (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

A few felt that a migrant could choose 'New Zealander' as their ethnicity to prove their connection and loyalty to New Zealand.

My son normally does that he usually puts New Zealander in Other. [Why does he do that?] Because he says we have come here, this is out home now so why should we be anything else we are New Zealanders. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

Lack of identity: Some felt that there were New Zealanders that were confused about where they fit in terms of ethnic identity and felt that they did not fit into any standard ethnic groupings so by default, chose to call themselves 'New Zealanders'.

[‘New Zealander’?] *My Māori blood would be this nail clipping so I don’t class myself as a Pakeha and I don’t class myself as a Māori I class myself as a New Zealander. Because as far as I am concerned to be classed as a Māori you have got to have a lot of Māori blood in you. I don’t have bugger all so I don’t associate myself with that. But I wouldn’t put myself down as a European either so that is why I have always gone New Zealander.* (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

A similar rationale was raised by a participant in the recent migrant groups that felt that someone of mixed blood may find it easier to use ‘New Zealander’ as an ethnic grouping.

People with quarter of Chinese or quarter of something might just put themselves as New Zealander to be simple and keep it easy. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

➤ Purpose and use of ethnicity statistics

The third typology identified by Statistics New Zealand relates to how people perceive the purpose and use of ethnicity statistics. Some classed in this group believed that by drawing attention to ethnic diversity in official statistics can be socially divisive and preferred a ‘one people’ approach. There were also some in this group that believed that ethnicity-targeted public policy is unfair, benefiting the recipient minority groups at the expense of their group. Evidence for this typology was also found in this research.

Race based responses: A number of race based responses were identified both in a positive and negative sense that were seen to help drive the choice of ‘New Zealander’ as a response to the ethnicity question.

One view was that ethnicity groupings are used to distribute support and funding in an unfair manner

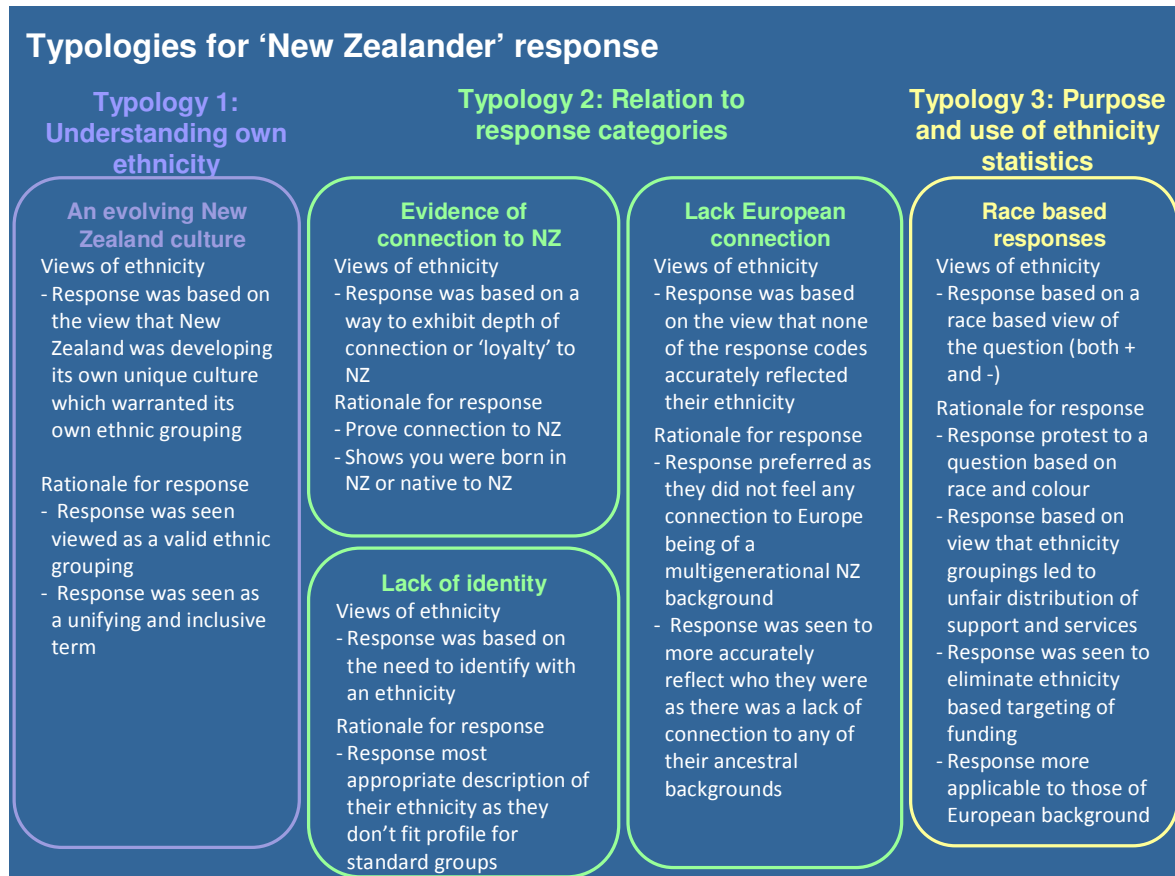
You do sort of like with myself I tick other and put Kiwi which is probably not exactly what they are wanting because it doesn’t label me as to being Polynesian, Māori, Chinese or anything like that it’s just that I was born here in New Zealand, I am Kiwi that is it. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Some believed that different racial groups found it harder to assimilate into New Zealand society which was mainly associated with non-European ethnic groups. On this basis it was seen that some races could call themselves ‘New Zealanders’ earlier than other races.

Depends on the race, some from England might only take a year, somebody from China may take five or six years, depends on the person. Certainly race is a factor. [So why do you think it would take longer for someone of Asian descent for their ethnic identity to change to New Zealander as opposed to somebody from European descent?] As I said before people from Asia are usually more culturally separate than somebody from England or Australia. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, male)

There was a view that ethnicity groupings are divisive and based on assigning people a label based on the colour of their skin.

[So if I asked you what your ethnicity was?] *I just say Kiwi because I don't like to be grouped by colour or anything like that.* (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)



8.6 Addition of 'New Zealander' as a response option

Most participants were against the addition of a 'New Zealander' response in the ethnicity question in the census.

The key concern was that it was a response that could apply to anyone living in New Zealand so could distort the information being collected and mean that the ethnicity data was useless for statistical purposes or for important uses like future planning and developing social policy.

I don't think the word New Zealander on its own is going to define a particular group. If I see it is just going to tell me born in New Zealand or been there for so many years and got nationalized. (Auckland, Māori, female)

[New Zealander code?] *You aren't going to get much out of it are you because everyone is going to tick New Zealander.* (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, male)

To me if somebody just put down New Zealander let's say from the Pacific Island perspective the information would be wrong in terms of what groupings. Nobody will know what group you come from so the information will then be completely wrong. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

You are going to have everyone who has a New Zealand passport putting New Zealander and that is not going to tell them anything about anyone's ethnic background. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

Another issue to note was that opposition to adding a 'New Zealander' response option increased as the groups progressed, indicating that the more knowledge people gained about ethnicity, the more they supported having a more concrete response list on the basis that this provided more accurate and useable information.

[Would you put a new code in and add New Zealander?] *You won't need that question at all then because everyone filling it in would be identified as New Zealander, you don't need ethnicity because everyone is a New Zealander.* (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

I think maybe from a health point of view as we have discussed they are trying to gather statistics to figure out whether finances need to be best spent perhaps in the health department. So they need to know which ethnicity if we can call it that, that our ancestors came from. Otherwise if we all tick New Zealander no matter what colour or race they would never narrow that down. So we need to have some sort of descent in there like I said before New Zealander of one of these descents. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

There was also evidence that if a 'New Zealander' response was added a number would answer in this way, thus distorting statistics.

[Response if 'New Zealander' code added?] *I would be tempted to do that next time too. Probably because my family has been here for a long time in New Zealand and I don't consider myself European. I have travelled there like you were saying before but you have lived here all your life but I don't consider myself European at all, I have white skin but so what. I am a New Zealander. Fourth generation.* (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

If there was another one there, New Zealander, I would definitely tick New Zealander. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Some felt that as the question had been race based up to now changing the question would distort any trend line data.

[What do you think should they put it in or not?] *I think simply because for the last few however many years it has been a racial idea of the question. If it had New Zealander as an option which wasn't an option in the last however many we have had, it is going to make the data a lot harder to get things from.* (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Some felt it would confuse people and make them less likely to understand what the question was asking.

What about you think of some Islanders who are so proud they have become New Zealand citizens and they go I am a New Zealander now and they will think yes I am a New Zealander so those ones might think they have a New Zealand passport and they might think I am a New Zealander and it is going to confuse people. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, male)

There was one participant that felt that adding a response for 'New Zealander' would make people treat the question less seriously and be more likely to answer flippantly rather than as they really feel.

Because what is a New Zealander. [What is a New Zealander?] Usually people who would put New Zealander you could assume the majority of them are white so they would fill it in and Māori New Zealanders would fill it in. But not people that are of different origins. [Do you think any Polynesians would write New Zealander?] Yes. I know a lot of friends that do that for a joke. They wouldn't take it seriously they would just be yeah I have been here long enough I identify myself and my passport says I am a New Zealander so yes. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

Māori were particularly worried about an underrepresentation of the Māori ethnic group which could result in a loss of funding to Māori initiatives.

[Why might people resent being generalized too much?] I just think that because of the statistics I think the people would resent that specific funding and things isn't being put into those areas that are appalling statistics for New Zealand. Because that is just lost because we are all saying we are New Zealanders if that is the reality whether we like it or not that is the reality that too many Māori people are in prison, too many Māori people have got heart disease and all those things and if we lose those statistics and can't use them. That is what I said before you hope they are going to use those statistics in a positive way. But if we lose it and all just tick New Zealanders we don't know. (New Plymouth, Māori, female)

There were a few that endorsed the addition of a 'New Zealander' response, they felt that it gave census respondents a greater level of choice.

[Add New Zealander code?] I think so yes because New Zealanders think they are special. They don't want to be classed in amongst the Europeans, we are New Zealanders whether you are black or white. If you want to be a New Zealander you can tick the New Zealander and Other box if you want to. (Auckland, Māori, female)

If you were over in Europe I am sure they would have German, Dutch how come New Zealanders don't get the same opportunity to say I am a New Zealander. Doesn't matter about the colour of my skin or where my ancestors were born, I have been here for awhile, I am a New Zealander why don't we get the same privilege as Australia would get, as a German would get. (Auckland, Māori, female)

There was a feeling that 'New Zealander' could evolve into a valid ethnic grouping as the population of those from mixed ethnic groups increased and as New Zealand evolves as a country, however, that was seen as many generations away.

[So is New Zealander an ethnicity, is it an ethnic group?] *Not yet. It comes back to the discussion we were having before talking about Americans. Is being an American an ethnicity, no it is not really it is a national identity but in another 500 years when the nation has been there for 1000 years and the races have all blended in a little bit more maybe it will be.* (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Yes I agree I think with the advent of air travel and even more so now with the internet people are mixing so much more and communicating so much more with different races and ethnicities and cultures that over years and it may not take all that long but it will be largely irrelevant. Particularly in the western world. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

One participant also felt that it could be useful as a way to study the nature of ethnicity and how it changes over time.

What if everybody ticked New Zealander whether they were Māori, Polynesian, Chinese or European? I am a New Zealander never mind what colour my skin is. I guess it depends on what kind of information they are trying to gather. If they are trying to gather racially based information then yes they would ask the question without that general statement. In this particular form that I filled out maybe they were trying to get a generalization of who do you identify with. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

[What do you think about the idea of them putting in New Zealander as an option?] *I think it's a good idea but it depends what information they are wanting and what they are using that information for. Like you say if the gist of it is to get people's racial backgrounds so they can observe trends within health or education then I think it would defeat the purpose. And I wouldn't be for the change if that is the reason for the question. But if the reason for the question is just to get what you believe your ethnicity is then I would definitely go for it and put New Zealander.* (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

8.7 Chapter summary

- Most claimed to be comfortable with an ethnicity question being included in the census. The census was viewed more positively when compared to other ways government collected information which meant that most claimed to place more emphasis on providing accurate information in the census.

- A majority were satisfied with the current format and wording of the census ethnicity question.

However, a range of reservations were raised by different participants regarding the response list provided to respond to the question, discomfort asking a question about 'race', and the subjectivity involved when answering this question.

- Suggestions to improve the current ethnicity question in the census included providing an explanation of the uses and importance of this data, changing the question wording slightly, and including some additional questions to clarify responses.
- When asked how they responded to the ethnicity question in the 2006 Census, most claimed to respond in the manner expected by Statistics New Zealand.

Out of ten Māori participants, one claimed that they may have answered 'Kiwi' in the last census, the remainder had answered as 'Māori' or 'Māori' and some 'other' group.

Out of 16 multigenerational European participants, four claimed that they answered 'New Zealander' in the last census, the remainder had answered as 'New Zealand European'.

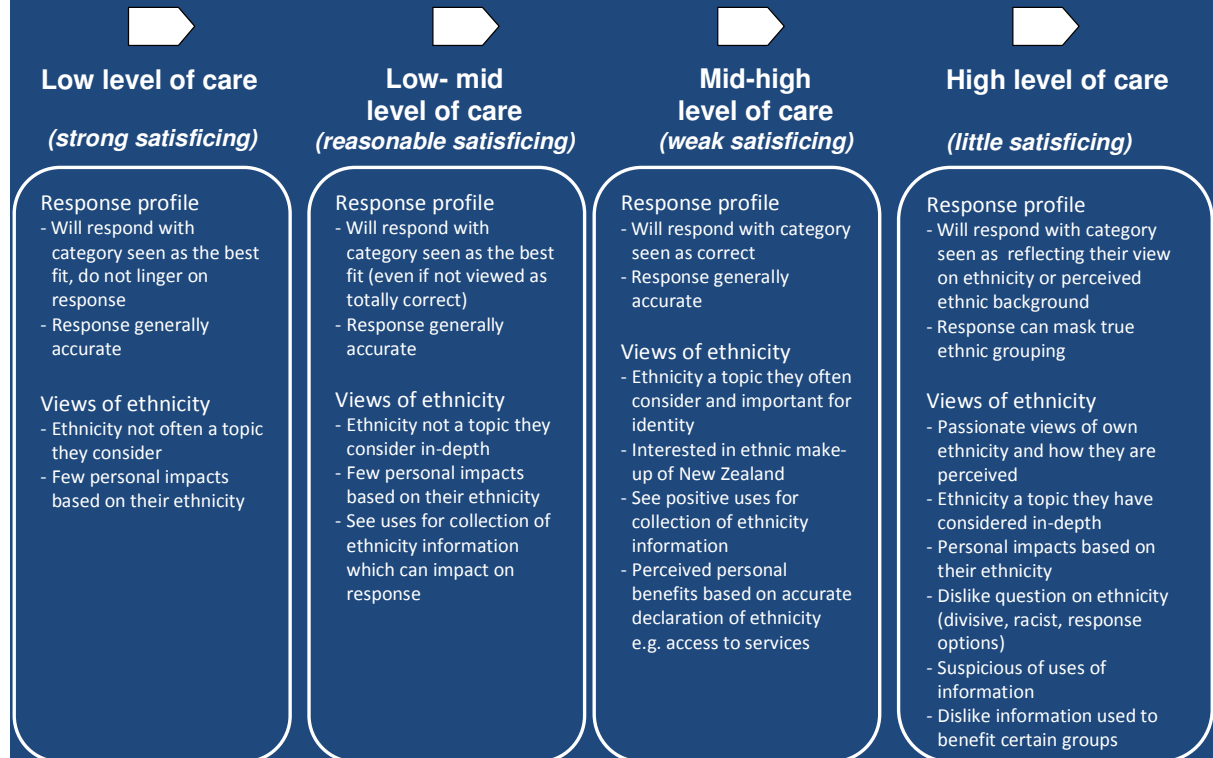
Out of seven multigenerational Asian participants, three claimed that they answered 'New Zealand or New Zealander' under 'other' plus another ethnic group such as Chinese or Indian, the remainder had answered with just a single ethnic group. While these responses would provide valid data, it should be noted that it was important to the participants the ticked multiple groups to acknowledge their multigenerational roots in New Zealand.

Out of the remaining 26 participants all would nominate relevant ethnic groups.

- A typology has been developed which relates how people respond to the ethnicity question and their level of care (concern and interest) regarding their own ethnicity and how the information is used by government. The typology works in conjunction with other questionnaire design theories such as Krosnick's satisficing model with evidence that participants engage in different levels of satisficing across the typologies developed.

Typologies - Response to Ethnicity Question

Continuum of care – personally care about ethnic identity and the way ethnicity information is collected



- This research supports the three typologies Statistics New Zealand has developed for those responding as a 'New Zealander' from extensive rounds of cognitive testing. The three broad groups were based on how people understand their own ethnicity, how people relate to the response categories they are offered in the question, and how they perceive the purpose and use of ethnicity statistics.

Typologies for 'New Zealander' response

Typology 1: Understanding own ethnicity

Evidence of connection to NZ

Views of ethnicity
- Response was based on a way to exhibit depth of connection or 'loyalty' to New Zealand

Rationale for response
- 'New Zealander' response way to prove connection to New Zealand
- 'New Zealander' response showed you were born in New Zealand or native to New Zealand

Lack of identity

Views of ethnicity
- Response was based on the need to identify with an ethnicity

Rationale for response
- 'New Zealander' response most appropriate description of their ethnicity as they don't fit profile for standard groups (i.e. come from multiple groups)

Lack European connection

Views of ethnicity
- Response was based on the view that none of the response codes accurately reflected their ethnicity

Rationale for response
- 'New Zealander' response preferred as they did not feel any connection to Europe being of a multigenerational New Zealand background
- 'New Zealander' response was seen to more accurately reflect who they were as there was a lack of connection to any of their ancestral backgrounds

Typology 2: Relation to response categories

An evolving New Zealand culture

Views of ethnicity
- Response was based on the view that New Zealand was developing its own unique culture which warranted its own ethnic grouping

Rationale for response
- 'New Zealander' response was seen viewed as a valid ethnic grouping
- 'New Zealander' response was seen as a unifying and inclusive term

Typology 3: Purpose and use of ethnicity statistics

Race based responses

Views of ethnicity
- Response was based on a race based view of the question (both positive and negative)

Rationale for response
- 'New Zealander' response protest to a question based on race and colour
- 'New Zealander' response was based on the view that ethnicity groupings led to the unfair distribution of support and services
- 'New Zealander' response was seen to eliminate ethnicity based targeting of funding
- 'New Zealander' response more applicable to those of European background

- Most participants opposed the addition of a 'New Zealander' response in the ethnicity question. The key concern was that it would provide inaccurate information as all people living in New Zealand could respond in this manner. This would make it invalid data to use for planning and developing social policy.

Discussion also highlighted that such a question change would potentially distort the data collected as some participants claimed they would choose this category if it was available, that it could lead to confusion regarding what the question was asking and that it could make people treat the question more flippantly if a 'New Zealander' code was added.

There was specific mention that Māori could be underrepresented in ethnicity data as a result of this addition.

- While a few endorsed the addition of a 'New Zealander' response, it was clear that opposition increased to its inclusion as discussion progressed. Indicating that greater knowledge about ethnicity and the use of these statistics resulted in more support for a less ambiguous form of measurement.

➤ **Demographic differences**

- A vocal group of multigenerational participants (both from European and Asian descent) clearly wanted a way to acknowledge their New Zealand roots which were seen as an integral part of their identity.

However, multigenerational Asians would always still acknowledge their Asian background. This was due to a range of issues raised across the relevant groups and included strong family emphasis and pride in their Asian culture, being part of a minority group with obvious physical differences, and enduring some negative experiences assimilating and settling in New Zealand based on their ethnicity

- Recent migrants and Pacific peoples showed stronger ties to their ethnic groups and claimed that they would be unlikely to abandon their ethnic grouping in favour of a 'New Zealander' moniker.
- Māori were more concerned that the number of Māori would be underrepresented with the addition of a 'New Zealander' code.

9. Information campaign

9.1 General reaction to an information campaign

A majority of participants were in favour of having a communications campaign to support the census. The amount of money spent on the census, the importance of the information being collected and the relative infrequency of the census were seen as reasons to support a campaign.

*There is no point in spending \$50 million and getting *** answers because no one answers it or spending \$60 million with advertising and getting better answers. (New Plymouth, Māori, male)*

I think it would be a good idea because I think at the moment what we are probably finding is that a lot of people are slipping through the cracks that they need to catch to actually predict the needs for the future. So if they can promote it better to those people in general then yeah go for it, I think it's great. Because that gives them purer data. If a certain part of the population is not doing the census because they don't think it's a good idea and they don't know why it's done then educate them. And they may be the people that the government needs to plan for. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Most felt that the New Zealand public needed information on what the census is all about, the reasons it is being conducted and the uses for the information being collected.

[Information campaign?] It would be quite useful in terms of educating people about what the use of the census is and why they collect the data. That would encourage people when they do it that there is a point to it. Because I guess that is the problem isn't it people come around and sometimes you wonder what the point is because you are not getting any benefit out of it at the time. And if you knew what the reason was and how that helps and how they use that information. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

[Information campaign?] I am sure there are a lot of people that don't know that they have to fill it in or how to fill it in or what it is used for. (Christchurch, children of migrants, female)

Increasing the knowledge of the public was seen to lead to more accurate information being collected.

[Information campaign?] Personally when I said before about why I tick those boxes and I am quite pedantic about it for my kids and that it is because I have seen that big picture of what it means and why it is useful and I am wondering if that could be the same with this if people knew the relevance of it they would be more prone to be honest or truthful or more accurate with the information they are giving. Certainly for me knowing that information made me want to tick things properly. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

If it was general in their general advertising like they did the media advertising last time tell people why you are collecting it, what it what you are gathering used for and why is it so important that people are accurate. It is one thing to tell somebody to be accurate but it's another thing to make somebody understand why it needs to be accurate. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

I think they should be more specific about why they are doing the census because I think if you address one issue this is why we have to do the census now people will pay more attention rather than deal with it generally. If you deal with it generally it will go in this ear and out the other. But if you are specific about the importance of it I think people will sit up and take notice and do a good job in filling out the form. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

The discussion on ethnicity had reinforced the view that it was important for respondents to be more knowledgeable regarding what Statistics New Zealand was actually asking.

[Information campaign?] I think it's important to know what it's for and secondly what they are trying to get at. It is the word "ethnic" this discussion we have had and what the hell does it mean. What it means to me may not be what it means to you and obviously it wasn't even around this room we had different opinions. So I think clarification when they are asking things about your culture or your religion or ethnicity or nationality. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

➤ **Communication channels**

Some noted that there needed to be a wide range of communications channels used as the campaign needed to reach diverse audiences.

[Information campaign?] Information is the key, if people have the knowledge of what it's for I think they would be more responsive. What good did it do, what good did the last census do, how did it help us? See if someone read that they would be like that helped us and that would be good. And not just in a booklet because for me I just want to know. [What do you want?] Put it in a programme, put it on TV. The more diverse places you put it the more people will look at it and eventually it will be discussed somewhere. Take it to the churches and talk to the minister. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, male)

One participant recalled learning about the census at school and endorsed this as a worthy use of taxpayers money.

[At the end of the day this is the government spending tax payers' money and so if they are going to run a campaign of some description around the census, not even specifically on the ethnicity thing but to get people to fill it out accurately people have to support that. Generally how do you feel about the idea of them running in principle about the idea of them running a campaign to encourage people to fill it out properly?] At schools I remember doing one in about 4th form giving the background as to what census are and what it is used for because it leads up to an understanding of here is why they want this. It is not just for the fun of it. [So that is money well spent?] Yes. As they do education around elections or other major events. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Some felt that the message might have better cut through if it was discussed via talkback forums such as on breakfast television or on the radio.

It possibly might be more interesting if it came up in a discussion like at a popular time of the night or morning like some of the presenters have a discussion somewhere it might be more interesting. Like the Breakfast Show or something like that. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, female)

A number felt that internet and texting information would be an effective way to reach people, especially younger New Zealanders.

[What is the best way to portray that sort of information?] Put it up on the website. (Auckland, Māori, female)

[What sort of communication channels would you use?] TV. Internet. [Do you think a lot of people get information off the internet?] If you want to reach the younger generation I think internet and texting would be the best. Whereas if you want to reach the older ones then TV. [So a mixture.] Yes newspapers. If you want to reach anyone under 25 you can text. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

With the need for a campaign to reach all New Zealanders, television was seen as the best medium by many. There was a suggestion to create an interactive ad that showed the different uses of census information.

An interactive thing. Like those New Zealand Army ads. Or maybe watching someone manipulate a piece of data on a screen and then someone using it in a situation and then it shows different screens on how this same information is being processed in different areas. It makes it more real in terms of how it's being applied. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

Across the Pacific peoples groups there was the suggestion to utilise churches to disseminate information.

John Key we recognize him as our Prime Minister but to our Island community he is not important. But if my minister said hey, if my church minister said hey do you want to do this let's do it together as a church they would probably be more obliging to do it with their church leaders than if Mr John Key said so. Because he is more of an upper level, he means something to me and Mr John Key is just this figure over there who is Prime Minister of New Zealand. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

Pacific peoples were also seen to prefer verbal or visual communication rather than written.

[Would you read that information?] Just because it is an interest to me. I think our people, information and stuff gets through to us more with talking in group sessions and stuff like that than here is a piece of paper read it and come to me afterwards and see what you think. We are more vocal people. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

The Samoans have Radio Samoa, oh my gosh they are constantly on it. The radio is a big help, TV and internet, you could try the internet when they log into Hotmail and something pops up. Not pop ups but MSN comes up with the news. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

Providing census forms in different languages was seen as a way to improve understanding for those with English as a second language.

Another issue I find with the census, I hate the census, I hate doing it because I have to fill out four and it is all in English and trying to explain to my parents and trying to explain to my grandmother some words can be a little bit tricky to explain. A translation maybe would help or a pamphlet in a different language explaining why you do this and what it is used for then it saves me. And also my Chinese isn't brilliant so it is quite hard to sometimes ask the questions and translate. [So if they provide information on it they should provide it in lots of languages?] Multi languages. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

There was a suggestion to have a quiz about interesting New Zealand facts that grabbed people's attention.

[Hot facts?] They should have an interest quiz, something that entices you and gets you interested in those type of facts. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

9.2 Key messages

The key messages to enhance perceptions of the census and to elicit more accurate responses were:

➤ Planning

The need for accurate information to use to develop health policy and planning.

To get a better understanding of your neighbourhood as well and what you are lacking in or what you have an over supply of. Whether it's labourers or engineers. It is especially good for children who are coming through the system because if you are looking for a career path when you are coming out of secondary school you are thinking what am I going to do? And if you can see that there is a clear gap within your community for engineers or chiropractors, if you can see there is a clear need for that particular profession in your area or within the country as a whole. (Auckland, Māori, male)

It was evident that any health issues used as examples should be relevant to a wide range of ethnic groups such as cancer, particularly in a general campaign targeted at all New Zealanders, rather than being a health issue that might be seen to be relevant to a particular ethnic group such as diabetes or obesity.

Maybe why it is important why it is filled out and we need to know this and the reason for hospitals and stuff in the question itself on the form you might get a more accurate itself. If it had the New Zealander option and if they said we need to know for medical reasons and hospitals and stuff most people would make sure they get it right. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

I would go okay I am a New Zealander but I am from Samoa so I will tick both boxes because I know they are going to put more resources into the hospitals for me later in life if I live in this area. (Christchurch, multi-generation, European descent, male)

Just the health care issue. [Anything specific within healthcare?] Just so that money can be well spent within health care in target areas. [So it identifies the best places to put money?] Yes. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

Perceived improvements in the provision of education services through census data was seen to possibly drive improved response and accuracy in responding to the census.

[Education is another one, collecting information on ethnicity how does that help the way people are educated?] It depends because I think they have identified that Māori learn differently. I understand there are some studies going on about in particular Māori boys and how they learn. Because they seem to be the ones that are dropping out of school often so they have got some studies targeting them because my son has been involved. (New Plymouth, Māori, female)

➤ **Defining New Zealand**

Some felt that the need to have an accurate picture of New Zealand and statistics that define us as a country may encourage enhanced participation in the census.

One way to drive Statistics New Zealand is to ask Kiwi's who are they. Who is the typical New Zealander? It may help them to define what it means but also in the process it will help us to understand what the rest of the country is thinking. (Auckland, Māori, female)

I would say so it doesn't distort the historical flow of records for comparisons between one census and the next. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

It is also good to know at a point in time where were you, as a country what is happening. What is it made up of, what is going on around the place? (New Plymouth, Māori, male)

➤ **Personal benefit**

A number of participants felt that showing New Zealanders that there was some personal benefit to taking part in the census would encourage greater accuracy.

I just think public awareness of what the results are going to be used for may sort this whole problem out. People may answer correctly due to the fact it is going to be helping their ethnic group out. (New Plymouth, multi-generation, European descent, female)

But that needs to be explained to our people. If you do this you may not see the benefits now but in five years time this will come to fruition. But if you just say fill it in now because we told you so they are not going to get much of a response. Hey if you do this these are our benefits, we get more funding for this, more funding for our local schools. There has got to be some sort of beneficial way people can think instead of just fill it out because we said do. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, female)

I think if you want people to be accurate you have to say we have got something for you. It is going to come back to you. There are people out there that just don't care, they just won't even care. [So how do you get it so you get something out of this then?] For scholarships or university say people just say they are Māori even though they are this much and they don't write it on anything else but just so they can get money if they tick Māori. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

➤ **No consequences**

Some Pacific peoples felt that Statistics New Zealand needed to reassure respondents that there is no comeback as a consequence of how they answered the census and that answers are totally confidential.

[So therefore do you think it's accurate?] I think the government needs to be more clear on why they need that information, what good it is going to do for the Pacific Island people. And then maybe they will take it more seriously. And also I think they need to let people know that it won't be used for anything negative like to deport your family or whatever. [Do you think that would help them fill it in more accurately?] Yes. [What else did you want to know?] What is it for, what good is it going to do our people to fill it in. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, male)

➤ **Feedback**

Some suggested releasing information collected in the census. This was seen to raise interest and also provide feedback to those that had taken part in the census.

We fill in these forms and we don't see the results and don't get the feedback. There is no complete circle. (Auckland, Māori, female)

If they do start showing the ones from the last census by the way of saying it is coming up again. Have a lot of information in them. (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

I just recently did a banking survey and it took me 20 minutes or 30 minutes and a few days later there was an article on banking in the paper and that was what the survey was about. [Was that on the phone?] Online. [Did it make you feel better about answering it seeing the results come out?] Yes. (Christchurch, children of migrants, female)

9.3 Testing communications tools

➤ Written material from 2006

Some written communications materials from a campaign run in the lead up to the 2006 Census were tested in the groups. Many felt that written material only had limited appeal.

I think you have to have time and an educated person would read it but it wouldn't filter down. (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

[You think that would be a negative for you if you saw that?] *Yes. A brochure like that someone has to pick it up and open it and read it and we were saying about the amount of stuff you get in your mail box and all the other stuff you have to read in the day.* (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

Specific comments regarding the media brochure tested was that the material needs to be clear and simple to understand, not too wordy and if possible in pictorial form.

[Examples in brochure?] *I can understand that that might explain why they are doing it. I don't think that would reach out to the people it needs to reach out to though. I think there is quite a bit of text and for a start that person is not going to be reading it.* (Auckland, multi-generation, European descent, male)

The leaflet outlining different community initiatives based on census information was received more positively. It was suggested to have leaflets that related to specific audiences as examples of direct personal benefit were seen to resonate more strongly.

I think they should send that out before, that is what came out of the last census so people know what the census is for and what good came out of it. [Specific to our people?] Yes if there was one for all Pacific Island things and what good it did I think people would think. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, male)

➤ Map of Tongan residents

A map showing the distribution of the Tongan population in New Zealand was shown to participants. The map was viewed positively in regard to being easy to understand and outlining interesting information.

It is simple, it is straight forward as well, it is easy to relate to, you look at your legend, 40 – 50% or whatever the figure is. (Auckland, Māori, male)

If I was running a fund raising from Samoa I would look at this map and see all the Samoans are living here. So it is useful in many ways. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

Because if there needed to be a Tongan Centre to help with language. They wouldn't put it on the Shore they would put it in Manukau or somewhere popular like a Tongan Community Centre. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 20-34 years, male)

However, some felt the information was not interesting and the map was confusing to understand.

[This is a map of where the Tongan population is in New Zealand?] *It is very confusing for me.* (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

[This is a map that shows the Tongan population in New Zealand?] *No, boring. Interesting if you were Tongan but it doesn't appeal to other ethnic groups.* (Auckland, multi-generation, Asian descent, female)

Others felt that it could be used negatively and incite racism. The Māori groups expressed most concern about the use of the Tongan population map on this basis.

[This is showing the spread of the Tongan population throughout New Zealand is something like this useful?] *I don't particularly like the ethnic groups picked out and done like that. Because it conjures up racism and people will go I am not going to live in Christchurch because there are a lot of Tongans there and I don't want to live with Tongans.* (Auckland, Māori, female)

Once you start moving in ethnicities you do get the Remuera mentality and the South Auckland mentality. (Auckland, Māori, female)

9.4 The New Zealand government logo

The New Zealand government logo was only tested in two mini groups – the group with Pacific peoples aged 40 and over and the group with recent migrants.

The majority of participants claimed that having the logo on the census form would make no difference to their responses.

The fact it says Government, it would just be the same. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, male)

When you get a form you don't really see it, it is so familiar and every form has it so it is just another form. (Auckland, Pacific peoples, aged 35-55 years, female)

[Impact of logo?] *I provide good answers in any case depending on what they want to use it for. If they are specific and up front about what they want to use it for then definitely.* (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

But if all the government forms have that logo then they should have it. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

A few felt that it could enhance responses by reinforcing that the information was being collected by the government.

[Some people we have had have said they take more care with the census?] *Yes it is possible. It won't make any difference to the six of us here but it doesn't mean that it would not make any difference to someone who is answering. Someone who would see Government and think I had better answer. I know Statistics New Zealand is from the Government anyway. [So you think it might help?] Yes some people. [But you don't see it in any way hurting?] No.* (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, male)

However, there were also a few that felt reinforcing the connection with the government may result in inaccurate responses.

Could it not also go the other way because it has got Government I had better tell a lie. It is the Government why should they know I don't want to tell them the truth. (Auckland, recent migrants, non-European, female)

In the case studies some participants noted that respondents may confuse the term 'government' with a political party.

9.5 Chapter summary

- Most participants supported having a communications campaign to encourage greater accuracy when answering the census. The amount of money spent on the census, the importance of the information being collected and the relative infrequency of the census were reasons raised in support.
- There was a perceived need to use a variety of communications channels as a campaign needed to reach all New Zealanders.
- The key messages to encourage accurate responses included the use of the information for planning and to develop health and education policy. Although a campaign on a national level and aimed at the general public would need to be focused on wide health outcomes rather than any targeted group. Other messages included the need to have an accurate picture of New Zealand and having statistics that define us as a nation, trying to show some form of personal benefit in taking part in the census and reinforcing that responses are confidential and that there are no adverse consequences to taking part.
- Releasing statistics in an interesting manner was also seen as a good way to encourage better engagement and also provided some form of feedback.
- Some material from the communications campaign used during the last census was tested in the groups. The main outcome of discussion about this material was that any material needed to be clear and simple to understand and if possible in pictorial form.

- A map of Tongan residents was tested in the groups. While the map was viewed positively in regard to being easy to understand and interesting, some found it confusing and only of limited interest. Some felt it could incite racism by highlighting the location of specific ethnic groups.

Demographic differences

- Participants of European descent were more sensitive to the use of any examples for the use of ethnicity data that might be seen to favour specific ethnicities.
- Pacific participants were more likely to voice a preference verbal or visual communication.
- Recent migrants asked for census information and forms to be provided in different languages.

10. Appendices

10.1 Question schedule

Introduction (5 minutes)

- Confidentiality
- No right/wrong answers
- Interested in what you think and believe
- Right to pass on any questions
- Advise recording and client viewing (if applicable); if videoing advise rights of refusal
- Logistics – duration, mobile calls, rest room, health and safety issues, emergency exits etc
- Take any questions

Warm up questions (5 minutes)

- Where they live or work
- Family situation, hobbies

Background knowledge (10 minutes)

- What types of information does the NZ government collect from the general public?
- Why do you think the government collect information from the general public?
 - What is the information used for?
- What are the main ways in which the government collects this information?
 - Explore attitudes towards any collection instruments raised.

Exploration of meaning of key terms (20 minutes)

- Write down what you believe the following means to you - 'Ethnicity'. Discuss.
What do you think this term means?
Probe if not raised] Do they relate it to:
 - Ancestry, blood ties or whakapapa
 - Common or shared customs, language or religion
 - Common geographic origin
 - Generational attachment to New Zealand
 - Birthplace, parental or grandparent birthplace
 - National identity, nationality or Citizenship
 - Being a visible minority (e.g. skin colour, physical characteristics, 'race' etc)

Which characteristics are most associated with 'ethnicity'

[Split into two groups]

- Each of these cards has different terms and language used when describing the meaning of ethnicity. Can you please sort these cards according to how important each is in describing what ethnicity means to you?
 - A. Religion
 - B. Shared customs / culture
 - C. Shared language
 - D. National Identity
 - E. Ancestry
 - F. Descent
 - G. Place(s) ancestors came from
 - H. Country of birth
 - I. Parent's country of both
 - J. Passports
 - K. Lived in NZ for many years
 - L. Lived in NZ for only a few years
 - M. Family has been in NZ for many generations
 - N. Family has been in NZ for a few generations
 - O. Race
 - P. Skin colour
 - Q. Genetics

- Now please write down (in one or two sentences) what the following terms mean to you? Discuss.
 - European
 - New Zealand European
 - Māori
 - Pacific islander
 - Asian
 - New Zealander

- Now please write down (in one or two sentences) what the following means to you – National identity. Discuss.

Attitudes to the government collecting information on ethnicity (20 minutes)

- What is your general feeling about the government collecting information on ethnicity? Reasons for opinion?
- How important is it that the government collects information on ethnicity? What do they think this information would be used for?
[Probe if not raised: Policy use, economic use, identity, planning (local, national govt level), to enhance provision of services?]

- Discuss the role of the census. What do you think of the sorts of questions asked in the census?
 - Where does ethnicity fit? Discuss reasons why, why not appropriate.
 - Explore specific attitudes to collection of ethnicity information in the census versus other official information – do they view this question differently in the census compared to other official collection of information (i.e. local govt, health, IRD wherever they might have to fill in an official form).
 - Have they answered the same question differently when asked by different agencies compared to the census? If yes, discuss reasons.
- When you answer this question in the census – are you thinking differently compared to when you fill in other surveys such as at the hospital, doctors etc

Explore attitudes towards census questions (30 minutes)

- Show current census question on ethnicity - what is your reaction to this question when you see it in the census?
- How did you respond to this question in the 2006 Census?
 - Discuss response/reasons for their response.
- Do you see any problems with how the question is currently asked?
 - How accurate do you think the information collected would be?
- [Those that respond as 'New Zealander'] Why did you respond as a New Zealander? [Probe if not raised] Do you associate the question with national identity or ethnic identity?

Test for rationale for answering as "New Zealander"

 - Objection to ethnic measures or questions
 - Seeing the question as divisive and like a sense of being one people
 - View term the same as Pakeha
 - Associate with New Zealand identity
 - [Māori respondents] Explore any concerns about sovereignty that are raised.
- [Other respondents] Some peoples' response to this question is to write 'New Zealander' - what do you think about this response?
 - Why do you think people respond in this way?
 - Have you ever thought about doing this? Reasons why/why not?
 - [Māori respondents] Explore any concerns about sovereignty that are raised.
- What do you think about the idea of 'New Zealander' being added as an option to the ethnicity question in the census? How would you feel about this?
 - Would you choose this option – why, why not?

Suggestions for improvement (15 minutes)

- What if anything, does Statistics New Zealand need to do to make the ethnicity topic more useful?
 - And what could be done to make the question easier to answer?
- What would you think of Statistics New Zealand running a campaign explaining the importance of accurately answering questions such as those about ethnicity in the census?
 - Would this be appropriate?
 - How would you react to such a campaign?
 - What should a campaign like this say?
- Possibly test previous campaign material (if time)

Sum up and end

10.2 Detailed case studies

Participant summary – Case study one	
Ethnicity	New Zealand Kiwi
Typology	Mid-high level of care: This participant disliked feeling forced to choose particular categories (indicating a mid to high level of care) but responded accurately to the census.
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 50 to 60 years ▪ Female ▪ 3 children, 2 grandchildren, 1 great-grandchild ▪ Caterer (part-time) ▪ Lives in South Auckland
Family ancestry	This participant had discovered in her teens that she had more European (mainly English) ancestors on both sides than she thought. She had assumed from her upbringing and her appearance that she was predominantly Māori, but had found out that this was not in fact the case. While she had not dedicated a lot of time to finding out who her ancestors were, this had led her to question the appropriateness of ethnic labels in her family.
Ethnicity summary	The participant felt that the term ‘New Zealand Kiwi’ summed her up better than ‘New Zealander’ because she believed it implied a deeper and more long-term connection with New Zealand. She had chosen to tick ‘New Zealand European’ and ‘Māori’ on the census mainly out of expediency, and had not really considered writing in ‘New Zealand Kiwi’. This indicates that while she did not really describing herself as ‘New Zealand European’ and ‘Māori’, it was not something she felt strongly enough about to make the effort to write in her preferred alternative.
Interesting finding	This participant saw upbringing as an important part of her ethnic identity, although she saw a conflict between this and her ancestry (which was what she assumed the ethnicity question was asking about). Although in the focus groups many denied that skin colour was an important marker of ethnicity, her skin colour together with her upbringing had led her to take an ethnic identity which she saw as being at odds with her ancestry. She also believed that ethnicity was becoming a less useful concept as people of different ethnic backgrounds had children together.

■ Making sense of your Ethnic Identity

➤ Upbringing

This participant reported that she had always thought of herself as Māori when she was growing up, even though she knew that there were some Europeans in her ancestry. Growing up in a small village in the Bay of Islands, she had always been surrounded by Māori people and had assumed that she was like them. Her parents had spoken Māori at home and she had picked up some of the Māori culture from the primary school she went to.

I was brought up as a Māori and didn't understand until I went to high school that I was more than Māori. But I was brought up as a Māori because that is all I remember and we lived in a little valley which was full of Māori and family members. We were self sufficient in that there were farmers in the area where we purchased our meat and we had big, big gardens that we all had to work on. Did primary school in the country and it was classed as a Māori primary school... [So when you were brought up was the Māori culture quite important?] No. We got it at primary school and by the time we got to high school it was who you knew that got you into that sort of thing. But at home we had the language spoken but didn't have it shoved down our throats. So I understand it and if my life depended on it I could speak it. But it is not a language that I use and for me it is a second language.

At the same time, she argued that she had been brought up in a European manner.

I don't feel totally white and I don't feel totally Māori because I know in my heart that I am more white than I am Māori. And although I was brought up in a Māori community when I look back I think I was brought up more white than anything and that was because of my mother not my dad.

➤ **Ancestral background**

She had never spent much time finding out about her family history, which was complicated by adoptions and whaangai caring arrangements. Her mother, for example, had been adopted by her natural grandfather's sister and her partner. Because of these arrangements and because children were encouraged to call most adults 'aunty' or 'uncle', she felt that it was often hard to work out who was actually related to who.

On my mum's side I only know her adopted parents, her mum and her dad. I do know a little bit about her real family, I know her real brothers and sisters we did eventually get to meet them but not until 1975, I know 1975 because my brother got married and that was an election year... The adopted mother was a sister to my mum's real dad. We were being raised and I have come across it more so since I have met my husband that you have a group of friends and the children end up calling the parents aunt and uncle when they are not really related. And through the years I have had to teach my children where the aunt and uncle comes in and why and where it stops being family tree.

Similarly, while she identified mainly with Nga Puhī, her ancestry included other iwi. This meant she saw her ancestry as complicated and that it was hard to pin down exactly who she was today.

My grandfather was Māori from down east, sorry my great, great or great, great, great was from the east coast and they were Māori. And my mum was from Taranaki. [Grandfather] was actually Ngapuhī because his great, great grandfather ended up there. So the Māori went down and had a fight down there, took some men brought them back up and married them off to women from up there. And my dad was I think about two generations back from there. So he was Ngapuhī except for his blood ties with the east coast with Ngāti Porou.

She reported that until her teens she had assumed that all her ancestors were Māori, but had then found out that her family history was more complicated.

I didn't realize I had English blood. Because my ancestors came from English as well on my dad's side but I didn't notice until I think I went to get a birth certificate just in recent years.

■ Typology (Mid-high level of care)

This participant disliked feeling forced to choose particular categories (indicating a mid to high level of care) but responded accurately to the census.

When completing the census in the past, she had somewhat grudgingly chosen to tick both 'New Zealand European' and 'Māori' rather than write in 'New Zealand Kiwi' which she prefers. While she disliked both terms, on the grounds that she did not feel real ties to Europe and that 'Māori' (on its own) did not adequately recognise her connection with New Zealand, she had found it easier to tick the boxes than write in something that she was not sure would fit.

I don't have to think about my ethnic group. Here I would have put New Zealand European and Māori here. [You would tick those two boxes?] Yes. [Would you do something different if they had New Zealander on the list?] No I wouldn't just put New Zealander because that really doesn't say who I am. All that says is where I am from. [If there was a blank box there that said write in your ethnic group what would you put down?] Before I would have put Māori Pakeha.

New Zealand not England because that is where the white bits come from for me is England but I know nothing about England only through my whakapapa that I have it.

This participant preferred the term 'New Zealand Kiwi'. Whereas she believed that a person could become a New Zealander through naturalisation, being a 'New Zealand Kiwi' meant that the person was definitely born in New Zealand and had long term roots in this country. For herself, she preferred either 'New Zealand Kiwi' or 'Māori Kiwi'.

I prefer New Zealand Kiwi. [Tell me what is the difference between the two?] European to me sounds as strong as Māori. Māori is Māori, European is European whereas Kiwi to me is white person born in New Zealand. And if you are not white and you are Māori then it's Māori Kiwi. But then you know anyway if you are Māori that you are part Kiwi.

She disliked the term 'New Zealander', on the grounds that she saw it as indicating her place of birth and her upbringing rather than her ethnicity.

I wouldn't just put New Zealander because that really doesn't say who I am. All that says is where I am from.

She had not given much thought to how the ethnicity statistics were used but assumed that providing accurate census information was for the greater good. She saw filling out the census as an important task, and one that she liked to take her time over and take seriously. At the same time, when she saw the ethnicity question it was not one that she dwelt on for long.

■ Markers of Ethnicity

Experiences and characteristics that helped to form this participant's European ethnic identity included:

- Growing up in a small town with a mainly Māori population.

We were basically all Māori in that little valley and all related in some way.

- Her skin colour. She reported that she was 1/16th Māori and 15/16th English / Irish, but felt that she looked Māori and that people assumed that she had mainly Māori ancestors.

All I knew was I was Māori because I had brown skin and my parents were Māori and because they spoke Māori they must have been Māori. That was how I felt.

Similarly, she had assumed that she had some European ancestry on her mother's side because her grandfather looked European.

The grandfather he must have had English in him because he was as white as anything. And yet he spoke the language fluently.

- A desire to acknowledge all parts of her ancestry.

I think it's like saying no I don't want to know you any more to my ancestors and it is because of them that I am who I am. It is not just because I had role models and what have you and my parents brought me up and taught me and I learnt this and learnt that, a lot of it I think has to do with our blood line.

- An unwillingness to be associated with what she felt were extreme Māori views. To her mind, someone who called themselves 'Māori' was likely to be very focussed on Māori culture, almost to the extent of judging people on how much Māori ancestry they had and how engaged they were with the culture. Because she did not want to be associated with such extreme views, she preferred not to be called Māori.

Being just Māori for me doesn't cut it because of the perceptions of some people of what Māori is, that is the main reason why I wouldn't to be known as just Māori. [Are you talking about the negative perceptions of Māori?] Yes the negative perceptions of Māori and from those pro Māori they probably wouldn't accept me as one because I don't have the language and for a lot of Māori who class themselves as real Māori that is an important part of their lives. It is important to me to know and understand but I don't find it so important that I need to use it every day. [A person who classed themselves as a real Māori what would they be like, what would that person be like?]

For me they would be aggressive, when it came to anything Māori they would be very aggressive and that is where another perception is. Because they are so passionate about Māori for them they get called radicals... They will speak the language, they will get acknowledged by their Māori peers and that would be an important thing to them. And it is not so important for me even if somebody said to me but you don't speak the language how can you call yourself Māori and I can because of my heritage, I can call myself Māori.

- Some degree of personal choice.

When they are angry at their father they are Māori and when they are angry at me they are Pakeha. When they were growing up I was the disciplinarian not their dad and they would get angry at me and say I am not a Māori any more I am Pakeha and they would do the same to their dad.

■ Family Dynamics

This participant had a complex family involving a wide variety of caring arrangements, including marriage break-ups and children who were not related by blood but were still effectively part of the family. The participant reported, for example, that she regularly looked after two children who were her daughter's step-children.

Her husband was New Zealand European of English and Irish descent. She reported that her children still thought of themselves as part Māori, which she felt was interesting because they only had a fairly small amount of Māori blood (1/32nd).

That makes our kids a bit of this and a bit of that and they don't have that much Māori left in them because it is the Māori bit that is getting watered down. Because I think I am about a sixteenth as they would call it

One of her grandchildren was of more mixed ethnic backgrounds because her father was part Samoan part European. She felt that this made it difficult for her grandchild to decide what her ethnicity was, which led her [the participant] to question the usefulness of knowing about a person's ethnicity.

It is worse for my grandchildren because one is Scottish Samoan so she has got Scottish, Irish, English, Māori. [What would she call herself?] I think she classes herself as a Samoan Māori Pakeha.

Discussion of this grandchild further emphasised the role of upbringing in ethnicity.

Any Samoan she does she learns from her grandmother her dad's side and her cousins and aunties. [So do you think maybe she would feel more Samoan than Māori?] Yes she probably would. And then she may not because she lives with the Māori side, her dad and her mum have parted and she lives with the Māori side so she knows she has got Māori. And she knows she has got Samoan but I don't think she thinks about it like I do, sixteenth this and a bit of this and a bit of that.

Participant summary – Case study two	
Ethnicity	European Māori (put 'Kiwi' in 2001 census)
Typology	High level of care: This participant reported that she gave a lot of thought to how she should fill out the census, and that in 2001 this had led her to say that she was 'Kiwi'. At the 2006 census, she had entered 'Māori' and 'European' as she had noticed that it was multiple response. However, she still had reservations about describing herself in this way, because she believed that this was not an accurate depiction of who she actually was.
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 30 to 40 years ▪ Female ▪ Married with one child ▪ Caterer (part-time) ▪ Lives in East Auckland
Family ancestry	She had a Māori (paternal) grandfather who was very important to her, and felt strongly connected to that part of the family. Her other grandparents were all of European origin, but she did not know as much about these parts of her family history. This was reinforced by a past family conflict where her (European) mother had shunned by her family because she married a Māori, and also because she had lived closer to her father's relatives.
Ethnicity summary	This participant usually described herself as European Māori although she had called herself 'Kiwi' in the 2001 census. She had done so partly on the mistaken impression that she could only specify one ethnicity. She also had reservations about calling herself European Māori based on the way the information was used- this reflected the fact that she had only a few Māori ancestors while she believed that 'European Māori' implied that she had more Māori blood than she actually did.
Interesting finding	The most interesting aspect of this interview was the importance of a specific revered ancestor. This had led the participant to treat her Māori side as of equal importance to her European side. She had much more interest in finding out about her Māori ancestors than about the Welsh, English or German parts of her family.

■ Making sense of your Ethnic Identity

➤ Ancestral background

This participant had ancestors from a range of different backgrounds, including:

- Māori
- English
- Welsh
- German

When describing who she was, however, she described herself as 'European Māori' rather than (say) 'Māori English Welsh German'. This reflected the priority she gave to each of these ethnic backgrounds.

- Her father's father was Māori, and she considered him to be a very important figure in her life.

My grandfather is Māori so that is my dad's dad and he was raised up north and was going to be the one to go away and get educated and bring the knowledge back to the people but he never went back. He found a European woman and decided he liked that way of life and so their kids weren't brought up with Māoridom at all. And then as he got older and as my father had kids and got older he decided there was something he would really like to share with his children that different culture and not to lose our heritage. So I am very passionate, I am definitely European and I am definitely Māori and I am nothing in between.

- Many of her ancestors were Welsh, whereas for the German ancestry she was simply aware that some of her ancestors had come from there.

My dad and his brothers and sisters all have Welsh middle names or first names, my father's middle name is very Welsh and we have been brought up with Welsh food and stuff so there is a little bit and I probably know more about that side.

Mum said we have got connection there in Germany don't really know how but it is there somehow.

■ Typology (high level of care)

This participant reported that she gave a lot of thought to how she should fill out the census, and that in 2001 this had led her to say that she was 'Kiwi'. This began with family discussions, starting with her brother suggesting that he would enter 'Jedi' for his religion.

We often had far out discussions with me and my dad and my mum and my brother. Census is coming up and I recall my brother was going to say he was a Jedi Knight or something because he loves Star Wars so I think that is how the discussion came up on what we would do... [What would his reasons have been?] Because he doesn't like to conform to society. [So he is saying I am going to take the piss basically?] Yes which he does, that is him and he finds census and anything to do with government an invasion of his privacy. Doesn't like it at all. We are completely different.

This was not an option she considered herself, because she took the census too seriously.

I am a stickler for rules, I definitely did it, I love doing things like that. If it had to have said to fill it out on that day more than anything because I am like that I would have done it on the day. If it had specified a time I would have done it at the time it said. I would probably take a while because I like to read through things and there is no time limit on it and I like to sit there and look at the question, have a think about it.

She reported that the discussion had turned from her brother's facetious action to a more serious one about what her ethnic background actually was. She was under the impression that at the time the ethnicity question allowed her to choose only one response, which she felt was inadequate for her situation. This in turn had led to her parents recommending that she put in 'Kiwi' instead.

It probably would have been my mum saying I brought you up as a Kiwi and dad would have said yes well we are a Kiwi and I would have said yes that is fine mum and dad are right as always. [How old would you have been then?] I am 34 now so I was old enough to make up my own mind... We would have gone [to her brother] 'don't be stupid you can't put that they have got to know where you come from'. My dad would have been the sensible one and it would have gone well what is an appropriate thing to put.

I have been asked when I have been phoned up to do different studies and I get asked to choose which culture, I suppose that is to put me into a group and I just say I can't, that is like asking me to choose between my mother and my father and I can't do that. I am who I am.

This participant preferred the term 'Kiwi' to 'New Zealander', as she felt it implied a deeper connection with the country.

Anyone can be a New Zealander, I can be an Australian if I carry an Australian passport, I don't feel as though that means anything to me. [But Kiwi is something different?] Yes I don't know why maybe that is something my mum always drummed into me that you are a Kiwi. Kiwi's because there has been a melting pot for a few generations most Kiwi's will have a mixture of blood, will have something whether it is some Māori, some European, some Chinese because Chinese have been here a long time as well. There is a big melting pot so she always drummed into us that we were Kiwi's. To me it means you have been here a few generations and melted into the culture and you have gone beyond being a New Zealander you have become a Kiwi.

At the 2006 census, however, she had noted that the question allowed multiple responses, and had been happy to instead enter 'Māori' and 'European'.

She still had reservations about describing herself in this way, because she believed that this was not an accurate depiction of who she actually was.

I need to put down Māori because that is a small part of who I am but then if they look at the group of Māori in general is that going to put things off because they are more likely to be obese and more likely to do this. So it would have been a whole discussion of what we need to put down and I don't want to be judged in that box and I don't want to be judged in that box because Statistics get together and they decide that this percentage of the population is like that. So it would have been we will put Kiwi down so we can't be put in that little box and we can't be put in that little box.

As this last quote indicates, part of her reluctance to simply call herself Māori / European was driven by her belief that the statistics were very important and needed to be accurate, and to describe herself in that way might give a misleading impression of what she was actually like.

■ Markers of Ethnicity

Experiences and characteristics that helped to form this participant's European ethnic identity included:

- Her ancestry

I definitely have a stronger pull spiritually I suppose you would say to up north where my ancestors are.

- Wanting to honour her grandfather who was particularly important to her

I had a very strong connection with my grandfather. There was just an aura of greatness about him and love and a passion for who he was when you removed him away from the world that told it wasn't okay to speak Māori and you weren't allowed to acknowledge what you were, away from that just all the beautiful stories about his mother and grandmother and grandfather and aunts and uncles and the community aspect of the way that they were brought up just seems wonderful. And something that as a family he brought his children up in the same sort of way of having a very, very strong connection. I just feel it is a great thing and I am lucky to be part of his family.

She was emphatic, however, that skin colour and personal choice were not determinants of a person's ethnicity.

- She felt that skin colour was irrelevant because she did not look Māori. Further discussions, however, showed that she had experienced others judging her ethnicity by her skin colour.

When you say identify Māori I think of brown skin absolutely. It has always been my struggle I suppose with never really being accepted into both cultures because when you go up north you are the white Māori and then if they get passed that then the city Māori. Then a lot of Europeans think they can be racist because they can't tell what race you are they look at you and see white so they come out with things because white people are around.

- She argued that ethnicity was permanent and determined by fixed characteristics, meaning that it could not be a personal choice.

Because to me ethnicity to me it doesn't mean a belonging to somewhere, it is something I never had a choice, I never chose, I didn't choose to be Māori, I didn't choose to be European it was something that my parents decided to get together and have this child and it wasn't a choice it is who I am. I do have that bloodline but there wasn't a choice. Whereas I think to me that says I feel as though I am African, it feels as though I am Balinese so I am Balinese but to me just because you feel an affiliation to something to me doesn't mean that is what you are. It is the same with adopted people when they are adopted they still want to go out and find where they come from.

■ Family Dynamics

This participant described her mother as European and her father as Māori. On further discussion, she said that her father was in fact no more than half Māori, as her paternal grandmother was European. She thought of her father as Māori because her grandfather was Māori, and saw her grandfather as a key figure.

She reported that her father had been buried in Northland so the family could maintain ties with the area and her Nga Puhi ancestry.

We have got strong ties with my great, great grandfather, [who] was a chief for Nga Puhi up north. My maiden name is a very strong link up north so it is very well known and I suppose I am very proud of that. My dad is buried up north, my father passed away a few years ago. [So that was a decision that he would be buried up there?] Yes my grandmother died and my grandmother didn't want to be buried up north with Māori people because she wanted to be surrounded by her family and so she made a decision not to be buried and my grandfather because they had been married for such a long time and he had chosen to be with her he decided to be buried with her. So we had to have someone to take the family back so we could still have connections and ties to the marae and the burial grounds up north. Because if my father didn't go back I wouldn't be allowed to go back because the line would be too broken. [So there are rules in place?] Yes kind of, I couldn't go back to be buried there, I could have been but someone could have said no we don't want her there.

This participant related several examples of conflict within the family which she felt had led to her emphasising parts of her ethnicity over others.

Because [mother] had married a Māori man that part of the family was shunned away so we didn't get to know much about that.

She had also spent much more time with her father's side of the family, which led her to emphasise his ancestry over her mother's.

My mother is from Christchurch originally and she moved up to Auckland and met dad and he had 10 other brothers and sisters so she became connected with his family. So most of my family that I relate to is from my dad's side of the family not my mother's side of the family. We visit them every now and then. Her mother had died as well so I didn't get to learn anything from my mum's mum about her culture. Her father I probably only met four times in my life so he wasn't a strong influence and there was just never that connection there.

Participant summary – Case study three	
Ethnicity	New Zealand European
Typology	Mid-high level of care: This participant believed the collection of ethnicity information was important and strove to answer this question as accurately as possible (indicating a mid to high level of care).
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 40 to 50 years ▪ Female ▪ Lives with partner and two children ▪ Employed social worker ▪ Lives in Christchurch
Family ancestry	Scottish grandparents on father's side Welsh and German grandparents on mother's side.
Ethnicity summary	Participant has medium to strong links to European ancestry. There are some family traditions that show a link to Scottish ancestry and slightly weaker links to Welsh ancestry but no links to German ancestry.
Interesting finding	Participant's partner is part Māori but only found this out when he turned 30. His mother hid the fact that she was Māori because she and her sister, who also looked quite European, were ashamed of being Māori due to the stigma attached in those early years. One of the participant's children, who is 18 years old, has a strong connection to Māori culture and calls herself Māori while the other does not feel so connected (When he talks about Māori he uses the language of 'us and them'). Her second child is only 12 but the participant (Child's mother) is not sure which ethnicity he will choose to identify with.

■ Making sense of your Ethnic Identity

➤ Ancestral back ground

The European component of the participant's ethnicity is most strongly recognised as coming from her father's side of the family who has Scottish ancestry. Her mother's side is both Welsh and German and while there is some recognition of the Welsh ancestry there is no connection to the German side. The German side of her ancestry was not talked about as she grew up – she feels this was most likely due to the war.

We never actually heard about the German possibly because it wasn't good to be German throughout the war.

■ Typology (mid to high level of care)

This participant believed the collection of ethnicity information was important and strove to answer this question as accurately as possible (indicating a mid to high level of care). The participant is university educated and has worked in the past for Child, Youth and Family Services (CYFS) as a social worker. She has some understanding of statistics and how they are used for research purposes. She can see value in participating in the census and ensuring answers are correct.

She has seen first hand how identifying as a Māori or Pacific person can be of benefit to people.

In her professional capacity as a social worker she talked about when they were assigned to a child one of the first things they did was to ascertain whether they were Māori or Pacific. Children who identified with one of these ethnic groups were able to access specialist services available via different pools of funding such as Iwi Social Services. In her personal life the participant has also helped her partner, who is Māori, to access specialist services available to the indigenous people of New Zealand.

Been out there working with I guess the most disadvantaged people and if we could prove if a kid was Māori it was always really useful because we could hook them up into the Iwi Social Services for homes. And it also gave us the whakapapa so we could try and track down a lot of potential care givers or resources for the families. And it was the same with Pacific Islanders you could hook into Pacific Island Trust and you would get a better buy in with Pacific Island families.

She clearly recognises that the selection of 'New Zealander' as an ethnic Identity will mask many differences as she feels it is too broad and there would be different motivations for ticking it. Some motivations this participant reported included:

- Could be to appear patriotic
- To "bugger up" the statistics
- As a form of protest, and
- A sense of pressure to conform for immigrants.

[So you have quite a strong sense of your European identity?] Yes. [So have you always answered as New Zealand European as long as you can remember?] Yes. [Is that in all contexts?] Yes. [Can you see that ever changing?] No because I just think that the term New Zealander is way too broad. And I guess my concern would be that if you stuck New Zealander on a form everybody would tick it and some people would see it as being patriotic.

[Can you think of reasons why people would tick New Zealander?] You could get people that are protesting that they don't want to fill out the census so they want to put something stupid there just to bugger it up a bit. But I also think there could be I guess pressure, people might feel some type of pressure to be a New Zealander as opposed to being someone who has come in from a different country.

■ Markers of Ethnicity

There were a number of experiences that helped to form this participant's European ethnic identity and these are listed below:

- Growing up hearing her grandparents talk about their home countries.

So the Welsh and one of the Scottish came straight out from Scotland and Wales and I did used to hear a lot about the old country and stuff like that. Whereas the other ones they have been here since the early settlers. [So the Welsh and Scottish they talked to you a lot about the old country?] Yes.

- Remembering money being sent by grandparents to family in Wales.

Also his mother was in Wales so we heard about that and he used to send her home money because he was the oldest and she was a widow. [Have you ever been to Wales?] No I haven't but I wouldn't mind.

- Knowing that her grandfather's father was a coal miner in Wales and hearing stories about this. She did note, however, that she was aware that her grandfather's childhood was not a happy one so it was not talked about a great deal.

He didn't talk a lot about his childhood because he didn't have a happy upbringing but I did know his father was a coal miner.

- Remembering her grandfather being excited when the Welsh rugby team toured New Zealand.

[So what sorts of things did they talk to you about in terms of Wales and Scotland?] Well my grandfather I can remember him talking about, the Welsh must have toured for rugby and he got really excited about it. And I can recall that, I can just remember him being so enthusiastic about this game coming on.

- Her Scottish grandparents had strong Scottish accents

[What about the Scottish side did you hear much about that side?] Yes the grass was always greener on the other side. We heard all about Scotland and my nana's both of them had the accents as well they never lost them.

- Being aware of the use of female maiden names as middle names throughout her family which is a Scottish tradition.

But certainly my father was big on being Scottish. And they had those traditions where you would put the middle name as the maiden name. Because they all had the middle names and you could trace the families.

Her father talked a lot about the importance of being Scottish, knew his tartan and where his ancestors came from.

So it was that sense of identity and I guess too my father used to talk a lot about the importance of being Scottish.

And of course having the last name [Very Scottish surname] and dad knew our tartan and he had all the books on where he had come from.

- A famous Scottish author was a cousin to the participant's grandmother. This had been talked about in recent years and she had tracked down a DVD of this authors work to watch with her children.

■ Family Dynamics

This participant had some interesting family dynamics in relation to ethnicity. Her partner was part-Māori but had not found this out until he was about 30 years old.

[So how old was he roughly when this information came to light?] My daughter was six and she is 19 now so 13 years ago, he would have been 30 when he found out. So the difference with my daughter is that she always knew from quite a young age because of course we told her.

Her partner's mother along with her sister had been ashamed growing up Māori and because they both looked European they decided to disown their Māori ancestry. They did everything they could to distance themselves from their Māori heritage, including selling land that they were given because of their tribal affiliation.

I guess it's different for different people because I think too that there are probably a lot of Māori people out there that don't acknowledge that they are Māori and perhaps they don't look like they are and that is maybe why they won't acknowledge it on a form. [Do you think there would be Māori out there that would just tick New Zealander?] Yes I think there would be definitely. Certainly my partner's mother would, I couldn't imagine her ticking Māori at all, she won't admit she is Māori so I couldn't see it on a statistics form. [So how much Māori has she got?] Her father was full blooded and her mother was French. [So she didn't look Māori?] No she kept out of the sun that one. No she has got the brown eyes, I guess when you found out you thought okay. But I actually bought her story that she was French. Because of course I didn't know her parents and her family was in the North Island and we never met them. So just looking at her, I asked her when I first met [Participant's Partner] because he looked like he had Māori blood in him but she was adamant it was French. [What were her reasons for not wanting to tell, did she ever talk to you about that?] I have actually talked to her sister recently and she just said she made that conscious decision. She said it when she was younger that she didn't want to be Māori. There is a stigma back then attached to being Māori and she and another sister decided they wouldn't tell anyone. And they were the two in the family that were the whiter looking ones and they completely ignored their culture. They got their land and both of them sold it up north and they did absolutely everything they could to distance themselves. So it was probably the shame factor. [That is quite sad.] Yes it is quite sad but it is quite bizarre when you think she blatantly lied about it. And we saw her, she was confronted and she did admit there was Māori blood in the family, she didn't really want to talk about it that much.

This participant's partner's mother referred to herself as part French as a reason for a slightly darker complexion to fend off any question she faced suggesting that she may have some Māori ancestry. Now the participant's partner is slowly starting to recognise his Māori ancestry in the census he answers as both New Zealand European and Māori. He will not let go of New Zealand European as that was what he thought he was for the first 30 years of his life.

[So it was you who really persuaded your husband to go down this line of looking at things Māori a bit more?] Yes. I just said to him it's about health. For him it was about health because he had a few health problems and I guess he had read the newspaper enough to know that Māori were over represented in the prisons etc. So he got that that type of information is important. [So prior to that did he think of himself as a New Zealand European?] Yes he did. But I guess that was because his mother told him he wasn't Māori which didn't help. So she kind of covered it up, he never knew, I just happened to be in Auckland and tracked down his aunty and she mentioned it. But then it still took him awhile because he didn't have that because it was a new thing for him. He had difficulty getting into it as such.

In recent times the participant's partner has been trying to quit smoking and acknowledging that he is Māori has meant he has been able to access special Iwi services that have helped him in his quest to cease smoking without charge. This easier access to service has been viewed as a real bonus of discovering that he is Māori.

But my partner gets the significance I think of saying he is Māori because he has accessed – we got him the patches for his cigarette smoking, he has had them twice now without any success at all. But he has gone through an Iwi organisation and he was quite keen on it because it was free. But he gets that they need that information. [For targeting services and things like that?] Yes he gets that which is interesting how he sees it and he has got minimal education really. He is not really a person who spends a lot of time reading or really getting into anything in any great depth.

The participant and her partner have two children, one daughter who is 18 years old and a son who is 12 years old. The daughter identifies strongly as Māori, she is actively involved in Kapa Haka at school and declares herself Māori in any official forms that ask for her ethnicity.

My daughter tends to just tick Māori which I think goes back to the fact that she has a better sense of her cultural identity because she did Māori at school.

My daughter hung out with a family over the road and they were Māori and they used to go places so that could be it.

The son on the other hand, to date, has shown no interest in Māori culture and considers himself to be New Zealand European. The participant is not sure which ethnicity her son will eventually identify more closely with.

It will be interesting to see what my son does because he doesn't see himself as Māori and he doesn't look like he is Māori either. He is only 12 but he talks about 'them' and us which is a bit strange. [You think your son may not identify as Māori?] He doesn't at the moment no. But that is because he is quite young and he has never gravitated towards it, like he won't do Kapa Haka, he won't do anything that is Māori and it could be our fault he has never stepped foot on a marae.

She is planning on taking her son up north to his Marae so he can learn about his Māori ancestry. She notes that her son's tribe is quite a prominent Māori tribe and has links back to the signing of the Treaty and she would like him to at least be made aware of this so he can then make up his own mind whether he chooses to identify with it or not.

[So why do you think it is important for him to become more attached or aware of his Māori side?] *Well he comes from quite a prominent Māori family, his grandfather did the water ways part of the Treaty he was a land court agent and his uncle is one of the chiefs of the hapu. And I kind of think it is quite sad that his grandmother when we Googled it all and found out she had grown up across from the marae. And maybe too because it could be influenced by my own experience of being told how important it was to be Scottish and to have that link back.*

Participant summary - Case study four	
Ethnicity	Chinese
Typology	Low-mid level of care: Participant does not appear to have a strong connection to her ethnicity or particularly strong feelings on the issue (indicating a low to mid level of care). She identifies as Chinese out of respect for her parents but feels more 'Kiwi' in all other aspects.
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 20 years old ▪ Female ▪ Comes from a family of five - two brothers and two parents ▪ Flats with a couple of friends ▪ Second year university student studying economics ▪ Lives in Christchurch
Family ancestry	Participant states that her mother is Chinese and father Cantonese. On her mother's side one parent was born in China (Grandmother) and the other in Cambodia (Grandfather), however she thinks this Cambodian born Grandfather is of Chinese descent. Her father's parents were born in China and are Cantonese.
Ethnicity summary	Participant has very weak links to her Chinese ancestry. She feels far more connected to New Zealand than China but her ethnicity remains Chinese, mainly out of respect for her parents and because her physical appearance in New Zealand identifies her as Chinese. If there was the option in the census she would select Chinese New Zealander.
Interesting finding	Participant likes the term Chiwi as it encapsulates more closely how she feels which is part Chinese and part Kiwi. Even though she has no affinity with China at all, (she only has one Chinese friend) she chooses to hold on to her Chinese ethnicity mainly out of respect for her parents.

■ Making sense of your Ethnic Identity

➤ Ancestral back ground

Both of the participant's father's parents were born in China and are Cantonese. On her mother's side one parent was born in China (Grandmother) and the other in Cambodia (Grandfather), however she thinks her Cambodian born Grandfather is of Chinese descent.

Both of her parents immigrated to New Zealand in their twenties. Even though the participant thinks that her father's ethnicity is Cantonese, she is unsure when asked, if Cantonese is an ethnic identity or just a language. She feels, however, her ethnicity is Chinese and not Cantonese because Chinese is more recognised outside of China.

■ Typology (Low-mid level of care)

Participant does not appear to have a strong connection to her ethnicity or particularly strong feelings on the issue (indicating a low to mid level of care). She identifies as Chinese out of respect for her parents but feels more 'Kiwi' in all other aspects. She has no real personal connection to being Chinese apart from a second-hand connection derived out of respect for her parents.

She is aware that when you are Chinese in New Zealand that her physical appearance means she is perceived by others as being Chinese even though she feels more 'Kiwi'. However, on official forms her ethnicity response is always Chinese.

In a formal sense you assume just what you look like basically, that is what I reckon.

There is a weak element of her wishing to distance herself from being Chinese. This desire to be more like everyone else has been driven by negative experiences growing up in New Zealand where her Chinese ethnicity meant she was treated differently. This is most clearly evidence in her dislike of her Chinese name and desire to be called by a more typical New Zealand name.

[Can you think of any reason why someone Chinese like yourself may change and call themselves a New Zealander in a Stats form or something?] Maybe perception. If someone says Chinese they normally think native Chinese like straight out of the boat sort of. So just to separate themselves from the common stereotype. [You are not concerned about that for you?] I got used to it that is why I call myself [New Zealand sounding name] just to stereotype, first impressions mean a lot. [What is your correct name?] I hate it. [How come you hate your correct name?] I don't know I think it is just high school and getting teased, just general. And first impression of the Chinese name as in you don't get the Oh hi – it is like oh hi I don't really want to talk to you because you probably don't speak English. [So if you use your correct name it feels like you get isolated in New Zealand because of that?] Yes. But that is my legal name and everything I can't be bothered changing it. [Is that the name your parents call you?] Yes they do. When I was born my mother wanted to call me [New Zealand sounding name] which is why I got [New Zealand sounding name]. But my dad said no let her choose an English name later if she wants to.

The participant is warm towards the term Chiwi and sometimes she describes herself informally as 'Chiwi' when she is asked what she is. The appeal of this term is that it encapsulates more fully how she feels about her ethnicity, which is 'both Kiwi and Chinese' and makes her feel less different in New Zealand.

I heard a funny term once called a Chiwi have you heard that, that is what I occasionally use if someone asks me what I was but that is not really in a formal sense ... [So what about that Chiwi?] Because it says I am Chinese and Kiwi, both. It still says I am Chinese but it separates me from someone. [So why is that important to you that it captures both your Chinese and Kiwi?] Just public perception. You don't feel so different.

■ Markers of Ethnicity

Participant has hardly any links back to China. She visited China for two weeks when she was seven but recalls this merely as a holiday. She has no family that she is aware of living in China including no uncles and aunts.

[Have you been back to China yourself?] *I went there when I was about seven for about two weeks.* [Did you go with your family?] *Yes just for a holiday.* [So all your brothers went?] *Yes my little brother was just crawling then.* [So what was the purpose of that trip was that to see family?] *Yes a bit of that and more holiday.* [Have you got many family that you know of living in China at the moment?] *Maybe distant family but no one really close that I know of.* [You haven't got any aunts or uncles still in China?] *No.*

Both sets of grandparents have moved out to New Zealand. When her mother came to New Zealand in her twenties she came out with her parents, who are now living in Dunedin. Her father's parents came to New Zealand in 1992 and are now living with them in Christchurch.

[Were your grandparents alive when you were born?] *Yes they are all alive. I see my mum's side every Christmas they live in Dunedin. And my grandparents on my dad's side they live with my parents.* [So when did the grandparents come to New Zealand?] *1992 I think it was. It was when my brother was born. My mum's side they came with my mum like they all came together the whole of my mum's side.* [So when your mum came out when she was 20 did she come out with her parents?] *Yes and brothers and sisters and everything. There was one of the wars in Cambodia, refugees.*

Despite participants weak links to Chinese culture her ethnic identity remains Chinese for the following reasons.

- First and foremost out of respect for her parents the participant chooses to identify as Chinese. She feels her *parents* have done so much for her and that it is her duty to repay this through respect and loyalty to them and their way of life.

[Do you think there would ever be a time when you wouldn't be Chinese?] *No. Not completely anyway just because it feels as though I would be completely forgetting my parents if I did do that, deleting them out of my life sort of.* [Forgetting your parents or deleting them out of your life?] *Yes that is what it would feel like if I did decide if I wasn't Chinese one day.* [Can you explain that to me why that would be the case?] *Just what I have been brought up with. How they do things.*

[What are some of the key markers of ethnicity?] *Say family roots, where we come from, where you are brought up.* [So family roots is the strongest one for you?] *Yes I would say so.*

- Eating predominately Chinese food and using chop sticks at home.

And using chop sticks and everything like that all related to being Chinese and growing up with your family.

- Being Chinese for participant is all about family being put first and thinking about them.

[So what does being brought up in a Chinese family mean you talked about being?] *Customs.* [What sort of customs?] *The importance of family in Chinese culture.* [What does the importance of family mean in Chinese culture?] *Well in Chinese culture family is first.* [What does family first mean to you as a Chinese person?] *Always thinking about them.*
- Growing up she learnt to speak Chinese in the home.

[What about your brothers do they speak Chinese?] *Yes they do.* [Did you just learn that at home?] *Yes I can't read it or write it I can just speak it, that's it.* [Is that because at home when you were growing up your parents mainly spoke Chinese?] *Yes.*
- Always being offered food or offering food to visitors.

[Is there anything else like that, what about things like special occasions like Christmas time or around marriages or parties are there traditions or things you do that connect you closer?] *They put a lot of importance on food and offering food but then I think that could be because they were brought up in such poor situations. If we have a visitor they are just constantly offering them food, eat this, eat that, eat this, especially at Christmas and we go on holiday it is constantly getting offered heaps and heaps of food and drink.*
- Growing up and being required to work in her parent's shop without being paid. She said many of her friends did not understand this, but in Chinese culture family is first and it is just expected.

It is like being brought up and working for them and stuff is a given rather than being forced to. [What do you mean working for them?] *I was working for them in the shop when I was younger it was just a given thing that we do like to help them out.* [So that wasn't something you expected them to pay you for - was it just part of what you do?] *Basically.* [The whole family comes first and you do it for the family?] *Yes you do it for the family and know that they are doing it for the family too. It is just a given thing.*
- Physical appearance – she notes that as she looks Chinese she has always been treated differently growing up in New Zealand. These experiences re-affirm her ethnicity as being different to the majority in New Zealand.

■ Family Dynamics

The category this participant chooses to put her ethnic identity into is motivated, less by which ethnicity she personally feels most connected to, and more out of respect for her parents. Her decision to identify as Chinese is mostly accurate but it does not capture how she feels about herself entirely. When prompted on a New Zealander response she notes that given the opportunity she would most likely select Chinese and New Zealander. The participant more closely relates to a sense of being a New Zealander but her ethnicity is dictated most strongly by respect for her Chinese family, values, upbringing and what her parents identify as.

I would say my personality is more Kiwi but I know that deep down I am just Chinese, that is what my parents are. [Can you explain that to me more, you think your personality is Kiwi but deep down you are Chinese what do you mean by that?] Just my roots basically. I have been brought up in a Chinese family so I have Chinese values. But I reckon I relate to people who have been brought up here.

[What do you feel most strongly connected to your Chinese side of your ethnicity or your Kiwi side of it?] Probably my Kiwi side. [Why do you feel more strongly connected to your Kiwi side?] That is generally who I socialize with. The only reason I say I am Chinese is because I was brought up with a Chinese family but I didn't really socialize with many Chinese people. [So most of your friends aren't Chinese?] No I don't have any Chinese friends at all really, maybe one.

When asked about the next generation she feels that she would like her children to learn Chinese but solely out of respect for her parents so they can talk to them in their native tongue, however, she feels that their ethnicity would not be Chinese and would most likely change to something like New Zealander.

Participant summary - Case study five	
Ethnicity	Kiwi
Typology	High level of care: This participant's rationale for the selection of their ethnicity is well thought through (indicating a high level of care). She chooses to be 'Kiwi' in official government forms and surveys by ticking other and writing 'Kiwi'. One reason why she prefers 'Kiwi' is she does not want to choose one ethnicity over the other and 'Kiwi', to her, symbolises a bit of both. She also does not like New Zealand European or Māori as she feels singling out specific groups based on race is unhelpful and unfair.
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 40 to 50 years ▪ Female ▪ Lives with elderly mother ▪ Lives in Christchurch ▪ Gets around in a wheelchair so most probably on a benefit of some sort
Family ancestry	The participant's father's father was Māori and his wife (Participant's grandmother) was German (But she had immigrated out to New Zealand when she was three years old). Participant is unsure about her mother's side she thinks that both of her mother's parents were born in New Zealand but their ancestry was a mix of Irish, Scottish and English.
Ethnicity summary	Participants ancestry shows that she is at least part Māori (She did not found out of this until later in life) and part mixed European. She was pleased to find out she had some Māori blood in her as she has always being drawn to Māori culture and has enjoyed Kapa Haka and attempted to learn some of the language. She prefers, however, to identify herself as 'Kiwi'. She likes the term 'Kiwi' mainly because she feels it is less divisive and she thinks everyone should be treated the same.
Interesting finding	Another example of a participant who has Māori ancestry but only recently found this out.

■ Making sense of your Ethnic Identity

➤ Ancestral back ground

Participant has a mixed ancestral background. She has Māori heritage (Which she only recently found out about) plus a mix of European ancestry including German, English, Irish and Scottish.

[So that is your father's side what about your mother's side?] *All European.* [Going back how far, do you know much about that tree?] *No I don't only as far as my grandfather and grandmother.* [So what country did your grandmother come from and grandfather?] *I am not sure I think they were from here in New Zealand.* [They were born in New Zealand?] *I think so. But my grandmother on my father's side she was born in Germany.* [So your father's ancestry is German?] *Yes sort of. My grandfather was adopted which we found out and my grandmother was from Germany they came to New Zealand when she was three years old. Because I met my great grandmother and she told me a little bit about my grandmother's side of the family. That is my father's side.* [On your father's side your grandfather found out later he was part Māori and his mother was German?] *Yes.*

And all I know about mum's side of the family she is Irish, Scottish and English I think. When she was alive she had the Irish temper. [So that is your mother's mother?] Yes. [What about your mother's father what was he?] Probably the same but I am not really sure. I think they were both born in New Zealand.

■ Typology (High level of care)

This participant's rationale for the selection of their ethnicity is well thought through (indicating a high level of care). Her blood lines include Māori and European but physically she does not look Māori at all. She chooses to be 'Kiwi' in official government forms and surveys by ticking other and writing 'Kiwi'. One reason why she prefers 'Kiwi' is she does not want to choose one ethnicity over the other and 'Kiwi', to her, symbolises a bit of both. She also does not like New Zealand European or Māori as she feels singling out specific groups based on race is unhelpful and unfair. She feels the label Māori is used negatively to unfairly target Māori in the media whereas 'Pakeha' seem to escape being portrayed in this same way.

[So you consider your ethnicity to be Kiwi?] Yes. [Have you ever thought about putting Māori in there in terms of your ethnicity?] No because I am a bit of both. It is sort of like picking one over the other and even before that I never really was happy with the word New Zealand European or whatever. To me it is a very uncomfortable word. [What is uncomfortable about New Zealand European to you?] It is labeling. It labels a person's colour. [In what way?] Most people you turn around and you say something about someone who is Māori, oh yes they are brown, they are poor, they are normally on the dole, they have health problems. It is mostly when you speak to different people and say something about someone being Māori it is a negative thing. Even on TV ads and that they use Māori and Pacific Islanders for breast screening ads and all those sort of ads basically saying they are the ones that are in danger. Where it depends on how a person lives their life as to whether they are in danger or not with those sorts of things. They shouldn't be pin pointed because of their colour. Because you get unemployed in Pakeha areas as well it is not just the Māori or Polynesians who are unemployed.

She feels that labels that identified difference led to racism as it meant people tried to be different and proud of who they are and this sometimes would lead to conflict. She feels for some who were both Māori and New Zealand European they did not want to be classified as either/or but wanted to be a bit of both and the label 'kiwi' encapsulated this.

[So what are some other ways you think separating people out into Māori, Pakeha or New Zealand European causes conflict?] It's how the community looks at you. If your colour or race is impounded on to people, people start noticing they are Pakeha, they are Māori, they are Pacific Islanders. They recognized that is a coloured person. Whereas now after Affirm finished about six months later I was accepted as part of the community again. Because it is not drummed into them if you are brown be proud. So some people like to have it as an identity but there should also be an option for others not to have to state whether they are brown or white they should be able to just tick a box that says Kiwi. Because some people feel in between and some people just don't want to have the label.

She recalled a push to have 'Kiwi' included as an official ethnicity and had actively canvassed her friends to use this term when she thought she had heard that if enough put down 'Kiwi' it could become an official ethnicity. She also liked how the term 'Kiwi' was instantly recognised internationally.

We were told and I don't know how true it was but if over a certain amount put down say like Kiwi eventually it will have to actually become one of the categories when you fill the forms out. [Where did you hear that from?] I honestly can't remember it was awhile ago I heard about it. So of course when we first heard about it we were going around all our friends saying hey did you know if everyone says Kiwi that it could come in to be legal. And a lot of friends we do have were actually quite happy with that and they said yes we are writing down we are Kiwi too. [So lots of your friends have this same point of view they like this idea of this unified Kiwi?] Yes. [Doesn't show any distinction between colour?] Yes. [Why Kiwi and not New Zealander?] Because New Zealand is already there, New Zealand European, New Zealand Māori it is easy to have it different, it is also shorter. [Why is it important that it is different from New Zealand Māori and New Zealand European?] Because otherwise I don't know whether it would be mixed in or what but it's easier because New Zealand's icon is the Kiwi. And you go overseas they say you are a Kiwi. So if you are already labeling yourself Kiwi it is so much easier. Because people that do have knowledge of New Zealand if you say I come from New Zealand they say you are a Kiwi. It is the first thing that comes out from them. [So it already has some international recognition?] Yes.

In the last census participant recalled that she ticked 'other' and wrote 'Kiwi' However, if 'New Zealander' was provided as an option she indicated that she would reluctantly tick 'New Zealander' as it was closer to her view but she would still prefer 'Kiwi' because it was a term with international standing.

[So can you remember how you answered the last census question about ethnicity?] I think I ticked 'Other' and put 'Kiwi'. [If there was a New Zealander option how would you answer that question?] Well I would tick New Zealander. [You wouldn't tick 'Other' and put Kiwi if New Zealander was there as an option?] If New Zealander was there without the label of European or Māori I would tick New Zealander. But to me it would make more sense if they made it Kiwi because it is internationally known.

The participant had a vague sense that government collected information on ethnicity to help provide services. But she strongly felt that everyone should be treated equally and for her this meant being treated the same. This belief that fairness came from treating everyone the same was another underlying driver for her preference for 'Kiwi' as an ethnicity.

[What do you think about the government collecting information on ethnicity in the first place?] Well I suppose in a sense they felt they needed it for education. Because they still try to say that Māori achieve less and all this sort of thing whereas I think if everyone was treated equally including the students at school and not set aside because they are Māori they would probably do a lot better and there wouldn't have to be that separation. [Why would they do much better if everyone was treated equally?] Because they are not being labeled as no hoppers, dole bludgers and things like that. Because you watch so much TV and they go on about how it's the Māori and Pacific Islanders who are obese and this sort of thing. And it's like come on Europeans are also obese. But they are always targeting Māori and Pacific Islanders. Pacific Islanders are a little more difficult because they have come from somewhere else but

with the Māori and that they should just be classed as Kiwi or New Zealanders not have to say New Zealand Māori unless they want to.

■ Markers of Ethnicity

For this participant she almost preferred to not have an ethnicity as she perceived ethnic labels as only being used for negative purposes. As a result she did not identify with any particular ethnic group but rather used the colloquial nationality of 'Kiwi' to express her ethnic identity.

How she decided her own ethnicity was more a political decision based on her world views or what she thought was right and fair. For this participant she selected an ethnicity that was designed to hide difference rather than show it. Her experience of difference and perception of how difference was reported and used had largely been a negative one so she sought to shun anything that celebrated difference in anyway. Other markers for her sense of ethnic identity included a sense of unity and everyone being treated the same.

■ Family Dynamics

This participant had very interesting family dynamics that influenced her views on ethnicity. Her parents divorced when she was only six and from that point she had very little to do with her father until later in life when she unsuccessfully tried to get to know him better. She later found out that she was part Māori as her father's father had been Māori. She has three children of her own, one was adopted out and she has no contact with her and the other two have both left home but they still live locally and she sees them regularly.

When it comes to selecting an ethnicity the participant's daughter is much like her mother she appreciates her Māori side and takes part in many Māori activities like Kapa Haka but prefers to think of her ethnic identity as 'Kiwi'. Her son has no interest in things Māori and she is less sure what he may identify as but suspects it would also be 'Kiwi'.

My children are the same, if they get asked to fill anything out they do the same as me and put Kiwi. [So you have children?] Yes a 22 year old and 18 year old. And my oldest daughter was adopted out and she is 29 this year. [Do you have contact with your oldest daughter?] No, I would like to but I haven't been able to. [So the 18 and 22 year old do you see them very often?] Yes. [Are they living in Christchurch?] Yes my daughter lives down the road and my son still lives here. [And they also consider themselves Kiwi?] Yes. [They obviously know your father is part Māori?] It was my daughter that found out. [Do they have any connection to being Māori at all?] My daughter is like me she is happy to find out she has got Māori blood in her because it unites us with New Zealand that little bit more. [What about your son?] I don't know he never talks about it. [Was your daughter involved in anything at school like Kapa Haka?] Yes she was in the same classes as me. [But you think she would consider herself to be a Kiwi if asked?] Yes. [And your son is the same?] Yes. [Is that for the same reasons as you?] Yes pretty much. [The idea of as soon as you start making distinctions between black and white you start to create some conflict and there is labeling?] Yes. I can't say so much about [son] I think it might be but I am not sure but with my daughter it is definitely the same as me.

Participant summary – Case study six	
Ethnicity	Samoa/Tongan
Typology	Low level of care: This participant had not considered the issue of ethnicity in any depth before taking part in this research (indicating a low level of care). He identifies as a Samoan Tongan and does not lean anymore towards one side than the other. When showed the census question in the interview he said he would tick both Samoan and Tongan.
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Early 30's ▪ Male ▪ Lives in South Auckland ▪ Unemployed, recently loss job due to a call centre being relocated overseas ▪ Lives with his partner and together they look after his niece
Family ancestry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Father's mother was Samoan, father's father was Welsh ▪ Mother's mother was Tongan, mother's father was part Tongan part American
Ethnicity summary	Participant identifies as being a Samoan/Tongan. He does not feel any more strongly connected to one side than the other.
Interesting finding	<p>Participant is a good example of how the collecting of ethnicity data is going to continually face new challenges in future generations. He has a niece who is part Māori, Samoan and Tongan who takes part in Poly festivals as a member of culture groups. She has been a member of both a Māori group and a Samoan group.</p> <p>It will be interesting at what stage different Pacific ethnic identities become so intertwined that the different Pacific Island ethnicities collected in the New Zealand census become melded into a single Polynesian ethnicity, where you could have New Zealand Polynesian along side New Zealand European.</p>

■ Making sense of your Ethnic Identity

➤ Ancestral back ground

Participant had an interesting mix of ethnic groups in his ancestry. On his father's side his grandmother was Samoan and his grandfather was Welsh. This Welsh grandfather had been one of the first plumbers and electricians to arrive in Samoa.

My grandmother on my dad's side was Samoan, my grandfather on my dad's side was from Wales and then he came to Samoa because he was one of the first plumbers and electricians in Samoa so that was where he met my grandmother in Samoa and they had my father who was Samoan.

On his mother's side his grandmother was Tongan and his grandfather was half Samoan and half American.

And on my mum's side my grandmother is full Tongan and on my grandfathers side I think he came from the War from the US. But he was also half Samoan, I don't know how that happened but he was half Samoan apparently. Then they had my mum who was Tongan and then they met up and had me. So I always say I am Samoan Tongan. [So have you got brothers and sisters?] Yes two older brothers and two older sisters. [And do they think of themselves as Samoan Tongan as well do you know?] Yes. [So you were born in New Zealand?] Yes. My oldest brother and sister were born in Samoa. [So when did your parents come out to New Zealand?] Before I was born, my oldest sister is 44 and so maybe 40 years. [Are you in your mid 30's?] Early 30's.

■ Typology (Low-level of care)

This participant had not considered the issue of ethnicity in any depth before taking part in this research (indicating a low level of care). He identifies as a Samoan Tongan and does not lean anymore towards one side than the other. When showed the census question in the interview he said he would tick both Samoan and Tongan.

Prior to taking part in this research this participant had no understanding why information would be collected on ethnicity. It wasn't until in the focus group he participated in where this topic was discussed and it was revealed to him reasons why information on ethnicity was collected. He shared in the depth interview that in other contexts when he had resented being required to give his ethnicity on a form, as he failed to see its significance or purpose.

[So do you think it is not clear to people why that question is asked in the first place?] Yes, which ethnic group because before we had the meeting it never really occurred to me why that question was asked until people started talking that they needed the statistics maybe for this and that. Then they showed us a pamphlet of things that were achieved like the Niuen language group. So I know that now but often when I see that question I ask why they want it. Like recently I was filling out a job application and I think in New Zealand it is illegal for them to ask that anyway so it gives you the option you don't have to put that in. So I didn't fill it in because I always wonder why people want that. The census I understand now why they want it for that language group but before that I would always think what is that, why do they ask that.

He also had no real understanding of who Statistics New Zealand was and suspected most of his family and peers would share this level of understanding.

[Before you got involved in this study what would your first thought be of who Statistics New Zealand was?] Before this I didn't know whether they were associated with the government or not, I don't know are they an out source company, I don't know. I didn't know. [Is that common amongst your friends and family they wouldn't know whether Statistics New Zealand was government or not?] I am sure yes. Is it a government department? See I don't know. So it is a government department in the way that WINZ and all that is a government department it is not an out source company they use. Really? [It is very different because as you have pointed out they don't provide services so you don't deal with them much at all you only deal with them when you get asked to be in one of these surveys and they do a lot of official surveys apart from the census they do a lot of householder surveys.] They should put New Zealand Government Statistics. [Why is it important to have Statistics on here do you think?] It is the statistics company of the government that want the information.

■ Markers of Ethnicity

This participant had a strong connection to both his Samoan and his Tongan ethnicity. His father was a Matai (Samoan chief) who held quite a lot of power and was responsible for a large amount of land that his family owned back in Samoa. So through his father he still had strong ties back to Samoa.

[So apart from funerals are there any other major events that go on that have a strong Samoan or Tongan influence for you?] *My dad is a matai in Samoa, he is a chief, matai in Samoa and the land that my family lives on in Samoa is my dad's and my uncles. But they don't care so they just let our Samoan family live over there because it is big land and we are not going there. But that belongs to our family that land. So things he says like they will have meetings and there are ceremonies, sometimes it is formal meetings and sometimes it is not so much and things like what my dad says will have to happen.*

His connection to his Samoan and Tongan ethnicity was also maintained through family occasions such as funerals that always had a strong cultural influence. He talked about the difference between his Samoan side of the family and his Tongan side. The Samoan side was more secular and relaxed when it came to how they conducted themselves. The Tongan side was far more rigid and traditional. He indicated that in his experience Tongans placed more emphasis on status and people had to behave in much a more structured ways depending on who they are and where they fit into both their family and the community structure.

[So what sort of things do you do now in your community or in your family that help you really connect with Samoa and Tonga?] *Recently my uncle died in Australia and in Tongan culture your mother's father's side will come and be something called a Fahu, which is the person who sits on the head and people come and kiss the body. What they do is they sit at the head of the body and wipe it and anoint the body with creams and scented stuff like perfume. So they came to our house, we had to tell them to come to our house and there was all this Tongan thing going on and speeches. [Is that similar to Samoan culture or is it different?] No one sits on the head of a body in Samoan culture. That is different in Samoan culture. Also in Tongan culture some of the people who are lower than our family will wear big mats. Some of them cover their heads with it, you can tell who is the lowest in the family and who the workers are. Tongans like status, it is different to Samoa because you know there is a royal family there.*

Having both parents fluent in their native language was another factor that gave this participant a sense of his ethnic identity. There was always some sort of activity or ceremony that was either distinctly Samoan or Tongan happening in his community.

Both my mum and dad talk Samoan and Tongan. And there is always something Samoan or Tongan going on. Like someone's birthday or something. Before a wedding things are taken to someone's house and someone is going to take mats and stuff or mats and stuff are coming from some event they have gone to.

■ Family Dynamics

This participant was interesting in that he was exposed almost equally to Tongan culture through his mother and her family and Samoan culture through his father and his family. This relatively equal exposure to both cultures meant that he would only be comfortable identifying as an equal mix of Tongan and Samoan. The participant also noted that there was respect shown within his family for the other culture so both attended the others cultural activities and participated as appropriate.

It was evident that the next generation of his family was also being exposed to a variety of cultures that they had ancestral links with. The participant was unsure what ethnicity his niece would formally identify with considering her ancestry included Samoan, Tongan and Māori.

Thinking about the next generation I don't know whether you have children?] We raise our niece. [So does she identify as being Tongan or Samoan same as you?] She is half Māori. [She is Māori Tongan Samoan. So do you think she would tick Māori, Tongan and Samoan?] I don't know. I wonder if she would tick New Zealander, maybe she would. But then if you asked her what her race was maybe she would answer differently. [How old is your niece?] 14. [I don't know how many Pacific Islanders would put New Zealander you clearly wouldn't, do you think the next generation of Pacific Islanders may start putting New Zealander if they have less of a connection back to Tonga or Samoa or Niue?] Good question. [Obviously you don't know but you wouldn't be too sure how your niece would respond especially with Māori being in there as well?] Yes I don't know although in the Poly Fest before she was in the Samoan group and this Poly Fest gone by she was in the Māori group which I was not happy about because it was a slack group. [So she has been in the Samoan and Māori group.] I said next year you are not in the Māori group because they were awful.

Participant summary - Case study seven	
Ethnicity	Samoan and Cook Island Māori
Typology	Low to mid level of care: This participant does not have strong views about his ethnicity (indicating a low to mid level of care). In some respects he likes to think of himself as a New Zealander which reflects his lack of connection to any particular ethnic group, however, he still wants to acknowledge his Polynesian roots.
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 30 to 40 years old ▪ Male ▪ Lives with wife and one daughter ▪ Lives in South Auckland ▪ Employed as a sales rep
Family ancestry	His father is Samoan and his mother is Rarotongan
Ethnicity summary	Participant has only a general connection to being a Pacific Islander he has married a New Zealand European and lives a fairly 'Westernised' life. His mother and father divorced when he was young and he has recently, since his father died, being trying to connect more with his Father's side of the family. He is slowly learning about all his Samoan relatives and making connections with them. He has no real link to his mother's Rarotongan side and states that he feels more New Zealander than Pacific Islander. However in the census given the options he would identify as both Samoan and Cook Island Māori.
Interesting finding	Participant notes that all of his siblings who are married now have gone on to lean more towards the cultural practices of their partners. He feels this is the case because, for them, growing up in a mixed marriage of Samoan and Rarotongan there was no strong connection developed with either culture and now it is as if they are floating around wanting to latch on to a culture that they can identify with. However recently he has been connecting more with his Samoan side as he tries to trace his Samoan ancestry which has some connection to both Europe and America. His desire to trace this ancestry is partly fuelled by the death of his father who had unsuccessfully being trying to found out more about his own father, who was in the US Military that visited Samoa.

■ Making sense of your Ethnic Identity

➤ Ancestral back ground

Participant's mother is Rarotongan but he does not seem to know a great deal about her ancestral background. His father's father was an American in the U.S military that visited Samoa there is no mention of his father's mother but she must have been Samoan. His father was raised by his grandmother. While it was not directly mentioned in the interview it seems his father was born out of wedlock.

[Family name] is my last name but that was only because my father was raised by my great grandmother. Although I have never met my grandfather he was supposedly a US Marine based in Suva around the world war and as usual GI's go and make themselves welcome with the natives.

Both his parents were born in the Pacific Islands and migrated out to New Zealand in the 1960's.

It must had been a mad house when my mum and dad were together because he spoke Samoan being his native tongue and mum was Rarotongan and the only way they could communicate was in English and that was pretty badly. So you wonder how they actually managed to get on and the only reason they got together in the first place was because of religion. They were brought up in the Catholic faith so that was the only reason they got together, they probably didn't have anything in common whatsoever. [Were they both born in New Zealand?] No they were born in the islands. [Rarotanga and Samoa respectively?] Yes and they both immigrated to New Zealand around 1960 and 1962.

In recent times the participant's father had been trying to find out more about his own American father. And since the participant's father had passed away he was now taking up his father's quest and trying to find out more about his ancestry. He was not so interested in following up his mother's ancestry and said it was difficult to trace family lines in the Pacific Islands because of the haphazard way in which terms like Uncle, Aunt and cousin were used.

My dad went back and I think it was mainly for him to try and find out more about his father. And see if he could find out any records of his father whose name was [Name]. And that is my middle name. I tried to do a search. We also made inquiries to the US embassy and military records. The story has it that he was shipped off to Suez Canal and was either injured in action and sent home or he contracted malaria and went back to the States but no one knows whether he is alive or not. And that probably would have been more of what I want to be searching for would be that part. Because really it was my dad's quest and since he passed away without finding out.

[So that is more something for your dad really?] Yes. [You are not so interested in looking at your mother's side?] Not really because even though my mum was an only child but when you grow up and she says this is your aunty, this is your uncle what determines an aunty or an uncle because everybody has nieces and nephews which you bring up for your own. It is just what they do in the Pacific Islands like my father was raised by his grandmother and was raised as a son. My mother has had what essentially would be two cousins from a different family who were raised in the same family as brothers and sisters. So it all gets a bit confusing and I am kind of at an age probably where it doesn't really matter to me. It gets just too confusing for me to try and understand so mainly now I call everybody cousin. And I called people who were actually my cousins I called them aunty and uncle just growing up because you didn't know better. You were told that was your aunty, that was your uncle and you did that. I think I did it out of respect because they were so much older than me. They are probably in their mid to late 50's and yet they are actually my cousins. And then of course where my father sits in the family with his grandmother who knows.

■ Typology (Low-mid level of care)

This participant does not have strong views about his ethnicity (indicating a low to mid level of care). In some respects he likes to think of himself as a New Zealander which reflects his lack of connection to any particular ethnic group, however, he still wants to acknowledge his Polynesian roots. His parents were divorced when he was young and his mother brought him up without much Pacific Island influence, he did not learn to speak either his mother's native language of Rarotongan or his father's Samoan language. Even within the interview he slides from initially calling himself a New Zealander to being both Samoan and Cook Island Māori when he is shown the census ethnicity question with the list of options.

[So you think of yourselves as Samoan Rarotongan?] I keep getting confused, every time I go to fill out something like a census form or any application forms really so I really just identify myself as a New Zealander. [So you don't have much of a connection to either Samoa or Rarotonga?] No not really. I guess it's sort of like a cultural thing as well because if you are born into a family that has both cultural entities that are the same whether it be Samoan or Rarotongan you learn the tongue, you get involved in things like cultural groups and you grow up around a lot of cousins whereas we didn't really do that. We did most of our growing up in western culture. So we never got to learn our native tongue, even though we got into things like culture groups, dance groups and that sort of thing. [At school?] In and out of school as well because there were relatives. [Poly Fest and things like that?] Yes. But that is the sort of thing we did when we were younger than 10.

[So you said you would put down New Zealander have you done that in any surveys you have done recently or any forms you have had to fill out?] I guess when they list the cultures such as Pacific Islander I would tick either Samoan or Cook Islander I think they call it officially on the forms, Cook Island Māori they call it. [So you would tick either one of those depending on how you feel on the day?] Pretty much yes, who am I today.

Because of his lack of strong connection to any particular ethnic identity he feels that it would be quite possible that in the future distinctions between Pacific island ethnicities will begin to erode and in New Zealand at least there will become a more widely used general Polynesian category. He felt that already there was much more blurring of the lines between different Pacific Island groups. He talked of nieces and nephews who seemed to seamlessly move between different cultural performance groups. He intimated that kids who moved between culture groups would most likely think of themselves more generally as 'New Zealanders' or 'Kiwis'.

[Do you think people from a Pacific background will eventually be happy to lose some of this distinctiveness and be happy to say New Zealand Polynesian?] New Zealand Polynesian yes. [That suits you what about other people where both parents were Samoan do you think they would have a similar view to you in years to come?] I would probably think that they would tend to think like me. Certainly their kids would or their kids kids. [So you are saying maybe one or two generations time you could potentially see a collapse of these Pacific Island groups?] You see it all the time in South Auckland or sometimes in West Auckland you have huge things like Poly Fest and those sorts of events where they still keep a huge cultural hold on their ethnic groups. But in the same respect I know of my nieces and nephews and even my

cousins' kids who say for instance they are part Māori but have gone on to perform in a Tongan group or a Niuen group.

When it came to formally identifying himself this participant was clear that while he identified as being a New Zealander because he was born in New Zealand his ethnicity leaned more towards being Polynesian.

I don't know why people would just put down New Zealander. In fact I don't know. It is my logic, the way I think is that I identify myself with the country New Zealand therefore I am born here and I am a New Zealander. But my ethnicity leans towards Pacific or Polynesian. [Can you see how people who select 'New Zealander' could be a headache for Statistics New Zealand?] Yes because you won't be able to put us in a box. [Is it important to put people in a box?] Yes I can see why you need to. And that would probably be for things like health and education, infrastructure and that sort of thing. Find out what is happening at certain places in New Zealand probably to get statistics on all sorts of things like crime rates and health, sickness and that sort of thing.

For this participant the term 'New Zealander' on its own signified more New Zealand European. And if the term 'New Zealander' was to be used to describe him it would need a Polynesian qualifier.

[This was the census form and that is the question there, if you were to answer that question today how would you answer it?] Well if it says mark the space or spaces which apply to you I tick both Samoan and Cook Island Māori. [Is that how you really feel because when I asked you, you said probably New Zealander?] Yes I probably would have put New Zealander. I mean if they had one of those that said New Zealand Pacific Islander or whatever I am classed as a New Zealander but my ethnic background is Pacific Island. [So you would never just go New Zealander?] Well I think New Zealander for myself I think tends to lean towards New Zealand European.

■ Markers of Ethnicity

This participant only had a very weak connection to Pacific Island culture he said that, "Probably about as cultural it gets is the food". He had been brought up much more as a typical New Zealander with very little Pacific Island influence and had now married a New Zealand European wife.

His physical appearance indicated a Polynesian influence but there was nothing distinctive about his appearance to mark him as belonging to any particular Pacific Island ethnicity.

In recent times he was leaning more towards being Samoan. This leaning was occurring because he was slowly reconnecting more with his father's side of the family and meeting relatives of his that were absent when he grew up because of his parents divorce. Meeting all these Samoan relatives and understanding where they all fitted in together was helping him to slowly build more of an affinity with his Samoan heritage and ethnicity.

■ Family Dynamics

There was a range of family dynamics that had impacted on this participant's ethnic identity. His parents had divorced when he was young and his Rarotongan mother did not really acknowledge her Rarotongan culture so as children they were brought up predominantly in a more typical New Zealand way. Also after the divorce there was never really any connection with his father's Samoan side of the family.

When my parents split up we didn't see my father's side of the family again and there wasn't really anybody on my mum's side that influenced us as well. Because I don't believe that there was a very strong family orientated connection there with my mum either.

Without grounding in either one of his parents culture, he said that now all of his siblings were gravitating towards the culture of their partners.

[What about in terms of your social activity now are there any traditional cultural events you take part in like funerals and marriages?] Certain cultures have their protocols when it comes to things like funerals and that sort of thing but not really. [So if any of your brothers and sisters have been married has it been more of a western type ceremony?] Yes mainly western. Except for my sister and her husband from [small town] they tend to lean more towards things like Māori. [Is he Māori?] Yes. So they get into things like saying grace in Māori and learning the language. So it is nothing that I have really followed up either Raro or Samoan. [Have you got many brothers and sisters?] I have one brother and five sisters. Most of them have actually leaned towards their other halves cultures. My youngest sister for instance her husband is Fijian Indian and she speaks the tongue, she speaks Hindi and she cooks Hindi and she follows the family traditions as well. [Is that partly because you have got both Samoan and Rarotongan you never really clicked on to either one of them?] That is right yes. [So sounds like you are in a third space?] Yes that is right. It's that identity as well and I think probably most of us in our childhood struggled with identity because we never felt we really belonged to a certain culture.

His Samoan father was not treated well growing up in Samoa because of his light skin and history. His father's father was in the U.S military and in later life the participant's father had been unsuccessfully trying to locate his American father. Participant said that because of this his father always struggled to identify with his Samoan ethnicity which meant nothing of Samoan culture was really passed on via his father, coupled with the fact that his father was not on the scene for much of the participants life. It is only in recent times that the participant says he is now leaning a little bit back towards his Samoan side. He has recently got to know his father a little better and has been introduced to all his Samoan relatives that he never knew about.

[Has there been any older person in your background who has had quite a strong influence on you and how you think about things like this, any uncle or aunty or cousins?] I think my father had a problem identifying himself as a Samoan. I think it was probably because of his upbringing because of the fair skin and because of his history that they treated him differently. And he wasn't treated very well anyway. [By Samoan organisations or family?] Yes. [Was this because of the American thing?] Yes. So I think the sooner he could get out of Samoa it was better and when he came to New Zealand he identified himself as a New Zealander although he still had strong

connections with Samoan family. He still had a lot of ties there but he lived a western life. [Pretty much what you have gone on to do?] Yes pretty much and that is probably only really because I haven't had a strong cultural influence from either side of my family. So there hasn't really been anybody, an older person who I would identify with because most of them we never got to grow up with

The participant had an eight year old daughter. He was unsure but suspected that as she grew up she may identify as Samoan, particularly as he was now starting to lean towards his Samoan ethnicity.

[What about your daughter?] She is eight. [So she is a bit young, but do you get a sense as she grows up that she will have some sort of connection to being a Pacific Islander in any way?] Probably not. It has come up in the conversation. [Does she get labeled at school as being a Pacific Islander?] No because looking at her you would never think she had any kind of Pacific Island background at all. [Would you be worried if she had no recognition of her Pacific Island ancestry] Looking at me nobody would think, they wouldn't be able to grasp what I am, they would know there is probably some Pacific influence there somewhere. And because my wife is European so there is a cross there and you see it happening a lot more often now. [If I ask you to take a wild guess say your daughter was filling out a census form and she was asked for her ethnicity when she is maybe 18 what is your inclination that she would put on a question like that?] I think that she would probably identify with Samoan more because I have tended to lean back to the Samoan culture.

Participant summary – Case study eight	
Ethnicity	Indian
Typology	Mid to high level of care: This participant had not considered the issue of ethnicity carefully before taking part in the research (indicating a low to mid level of care). She had chosen 'Indian' as the group most appropriate to her.
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 50 to 60 years ▪ Female ▪ 2 children ▪ Accountant ▪ Lives in South Auckland
Family ancestry	This participant is a quarter Portuguese, a quarter Goan Indian and half Bombayite Indian. She lived one year in Goa when she was two years old and then her family moved to Bombay and she no longer has any family living in Goa.
Ethnicity summary	The participant felt that the term 'Indian' was the most accurate to describe her ethnicity. From two years old to adulthood she was brought up in Bombay and does not feel close to her Portuguese ancestry.
Interesting finding	<p>While this participant was exposed to Portuguese influences from her mother and grandmother and follows the Catholic faith and cooks many traditional Portuguese foods, both a reflection of her Portuguese background, she does not acknowledge this as part of her ethnicity.</p> <p>The participant has led a migrant lifestyle, moving from Goa as an infant and moving with her own family to the Middle East and living there for 22 years and finally moving to New Zealand seven years ago. Her sons appear to have been impacted by this lifestyle and have tended to adopt a feeling of national identity to the countries the family has settled in, this appears to have possibly impacted on the perception of their ethnicity.</p>

■ Making sense of your Ethnic Identity

➤ Upbringing

This participant had mostly grown up in Bombay, India. However, she retained the language, foods and religion (Catholicism) of her mother's country Goa which was a Portuguese colony. This was mainly through her grandmother who lived with them, spoke Portuguese and recounted many stories of her Portuguese husband.

I did learn Portuguese because I used to talk to my grandmother in Portuguese. [But she was Indian?] She was Indian but because of the Portuguese influence they used to speak Portuguese at home. Although she was Indian they used to speak Portuguese. So I don't know whether she was born and brought up in Goa or whether she also migrated I don't know she never said anything about it she only spoke about her husband (who was Portuguese).

She felt Bombay was very multicultural and accepting of people from different areas of India. Whereas Goa was more insular and clung strongly to Portuguese traditions and influences.

Bombay is such an international place you have people from all over the world there. They are very broad minded I think people in Goa it is more like a village it is more a holiday place. People from Bombay accept people from the rest of India and they welcome them because it is a multi cultural society but in Goa it is a very cultural society and they cling to their old traditions of how they do things. [And are the traditions Portuguese or Indian or both?] Portuguese. All the traditions are Portuguese, the food, the marriages, the way they have all sorts of things and they have a lot of Spanish influence because of the Carnival and stuff like that.

However, she did not feel Portuguese influences were strong in her life. Her Catholic religion was clearly viewed as a key focus in her life and featured strongly in her upbringing.

[What about festivals and things do you celebrate Portuguese ones?] Everything, we celebrate the Christian festivals because we are Catholic. [And what about Indian things not just religion but other traditions do you follow Indian traditions at all?] No we just follow religious traditions not Indian or not any other. [Apart from food?] Yes. It is because that is what we have been taught. I cook all sorts of food not only Portuguese. [Portuguese would they mainly be Catholic?] Yes. [So you got that from that side anyway?] I think that is more what you are brought up from the values you are given and stuff like that. The same thing happened I have given my sons the same values but the younger one doesn't go to church and the older one goes. [Was your mother Catholic too?] Yes. But she is not very religious, neither is my father. I had this influence from my Godmother I used to live with her she was not married and she brought me up because my parents used to work, both of them, so she brought me up. So she was very religious and I think I got that from her.

➤ **Ancestral background**

The participant could not trace back her ancestry beyond her grandparents. She had never met her grandparents on her father's side but knew they were Indians from the Mangalore region.

She had also never met her Portuguese grandfather on her mother's side but her grandmother lived with them for a time in Bombay and that is when she learnt Portuguese and heard stories of her Portuguese grandfather.

My grandmother I don't know any of her relatives really and I don't know whether she was the only person or not but she lived to a ripe old age and she died in her 80's. So when she was old she started telling us stories and that is all we know. But I did not meet any of my grandparents on my father's side just my father.

For her parents, geographic origin played an important part in defining their ethnicity.

My father is still living actually he is 84 and my mother is still living too and she is in her 70's. [Are they here in New Zealand?] No they are in India. [Do you think she feels more Indian she is half and half?] Yes she is half and half, I think she feels more Goan she was brought up there so she feels Goan and my father feels more a Bombayite.

However, she felt that this was less important to her generation as inter-caste marriages were more common and she felt it unlikely her children would marry a Goan or an Indian.

Because of inter-caste marriages there are more people like me I think than there would be 100% from one community and you would have children like mine, children like mine are more common now because of inter-caste marriages. I am sure my kids would not go in for a Goan or an Indian. My parents and myself we don't believe in arranged marriages now.

■ Typology (low-mid level of care)

This participant had not considered the issue of ethnicity carefully before taking part in the research (indicating a low to mid level of care).

[Filling in the census?] *I must say that all this while I thought it was just another form to fill in but after this I have been thinking about it more deeply.*

She had chosen 'Indian' as the group most appropriate to her and did not consider it important enough to have to acknowledge her Portuguese ancestry.

[How did you respond to the last census?] *Because there is Indian I would just tick Indian.* [You wouldn't acknowledge your Portuguese side?] *No.*

Before taking part in this research she had not thought about how ethnicity information is utilised and after discussion felt asking a question on ethnicity was a divisive exercise that encouraged a segregated society rather than a unified society.

But then at the same time aren't they segregating people more, defining and I think because New Zealand is such a new nation and there are so many multi cultural people now they have to work towards amalgamating all of them into one society rather than providing for them. You can provide for needs for those who are challenged physically and mentally but for providing for needs of certain cultures or beliefs you are actually not bringing them together you are segregating them. [So you think that is being more divisive than bringing people together?] Yes I would think. I would do something to bring them altogether into one country rather than do something that says because you are a Pacific Islander or you are an Indian we need to do something to help you maintain that. You come to New Zealand and you accept New Zealand as your country so you have to do something to become part of New Zealand. So the country has to do something I feel to bring people to accept themselves as New Zealanders. You don't want to divide.

■ Markers of Ethnicity

Experiences and characteristics that helped to form this participant's ethnic identity included:

- Her upbringing in Bombay.
- Being from an inter-caste background and being brought up in a multicultural society.
- Influence from family members during her formative years regarding language, religion and food.

■ Family Dynamics

This participant was well travelled and after marrying in Bombay she moved to the Middle East with her family and lived there 22 years. The driver for moving was to seek more lucrative job opportunities to save for their future. Her decision to move to New Zealand was driven by her son's nearing university age and wanting to move to a country with a relatively large Christian community. She intends to settle in New Zealand permanently.

Her extended family are also widely spread and living in the United States, Canada and Ireland. They had all moved for similar reasons.

The rationale for migrating to New Zealand clearly impacts on their views of ethnicity. They want to 'fit into' New Zealand and therefore want to embrace New Zealand traditions and culture.

The very fact that you have decided to come and stay here means that this is going to be your ethnic background that is what my husband said and I agreed with him. Otherwise if you cling to traditions back home then you never fit in. I think he would never fit in he would always think that I was happier there. [You don't want to keep some of those things going like food etc?] Yes food see you would still keep those going but at the same time there is nothing like learning about other cultures and other types of food, you have to grow

This participant felt her two sons may respond differently to the ethnicity question. The examples of how her children view their ethnic identity showed that she felt that ethnic identity was about identifying with a group and choosing a cultural affiliation.

My husband comes from a place called Mangalore in India and it is a neighbouring state to Goa. So basically there are quite a few people in India who have married Goans or Mangaloreans, our cultural backgrounds are pretty much the same in terms of religion, food and things like that. But in Mangalore they have more of an impact from the Hindu religion so they are basically converts in the good old days or probably their grandfather's days. Goans are mainly Catholics because they have Portuguese influence. So what happens is now children of mixed they are always called Mango's. [It has almost become a new group?] Yes. My son the young fellow he never says he is a Mango he always says he is a Goan or a Portuguese Goan. [Why do you think that?] I don't know he doesn't like the Mangaloreans. [So it is a choice he made?] He feels more affiliated to the Catholic and the Portuguese but my other son he says he is a Mangalorean.

The participant felt that geographic location was important for children when identifying ethnic background.

[You say they call themselves New Zealanders?] Yes they just love it both of them. For quite some time when we were in the Middle East because my younger son was born and brought up in Oman when we used to go to India to visit my parents he used to always say I am Omani I am an Arab I am not an Indian I am an Arab. And we used to laugh at him until we came here and now he says he is a New Zealander. So I think it is place.

Ancestry and family were a less important consideration for this migrant. The participant felt that if she was still living in India that she would advise her sons to investigate the family background of any girls they consider marrying but in New Zealand this was viewed as unnecessary as family ties are not as close.

[Do you want your son's to marry Indian girls?] No. If we were back in India I would tell them that they would need to look at the family background more than whether they get along with the person because in India you are marrying into the family more than the person. But here there is no joint family system and you don't live together you just see them sometimes. If they are happy that is all that matters really isn't it.

Participant summary – Case study nine	
Ethnicity	New Zealand Chinese
Typology	High level of care: This participant had clearly thought quite hard about the issue of ethnicity before taking part in the research (indicating a high level of care). She did not like the ethnicity question asked in the census and wanted to acknowledge that she was 'New Zealand Chinese' not just 'Chinese'. She had thought hard about this issue and always wrote in 'New Zealand Chinese' when asked her ethnicity on any form.
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 20 to 30 years ▪ Female ▪ Single, no children ▪ Teacher ▪ Lives in Central Auckland
Family ancestry	This participant is a fourth generation New Zealand Chinese. Both of her grandfathers were born in New Zealand and both of her grandmother's had immigrated with their families when they were toddlers.
Ethnicity summary	The participant felt that the term 'New Zealand Chinese' was appropriate to describe her ethnicity. She does not think that 'Chinese' reflects her ethnic identity as it omits a huge part of who she is.
Interesting finding	While this participant would always acknowledge her Chinese ancestry, she felt it was no more important in describing her ethnic identity than the fact that her family had lived in New Zealand for many generations. The fact that her family had lost the Chinese language and most of the customs was given as an example of her distance from her Chinese roots. However, being Chinese was not something she would ever ignore as this also explained who she was.

■ Making sense of your Ethnic Identity

➤ Upbringing

This participant had grown up in a very western environment. Her grandparents and parents had been encouraged to assimilate as much as possible into New Zealand society. She had been told that they had been subject to a lot of racism as at that time there had been few Chinese people living in provincial New Zealand. Therefore the Chinese language was not spoken and the family strove to 'fit into' the New Zealand lifestyle.

I think that the generations that have come before me were assimilated very quickly into this culture because there was such racism and I think that that has made me who I am today specifically and a whole bunch of us. I know a lot of kids that have no idea about their Chinese heritage and a lot of them are trying to be gangsters because I am a hip hop teacher so they kind of relate to me like hey what's up gangster which is not me or them. And I think they struggle to find an identity and I think within the Chinese community they find belonging so there are other people like them. I know my parents were the only Chinese people in both of their small towns Masterton and Matamata. I know that their parents were the only Chinese in their town and they encountered a lot of racism so it was a way of protecting their children to assimilate their children and

they have assimilated so well that I couldn't even tell the difference. So our kids and our kids, kids and our kids, kids, kids I think they are going to be assimilated even more and I think they are going to know less about their culture. I think that because my generation will be the people who will be the leaders of their generation and the ones who are setting up the NCEA's and leadership camps I think that because we have lost our culture and will eventually find it again I think we are going to be very set on helping the younger generations find their culture and make sure that they stick with it. But I think there is going to be less New Zealand born Chinese people and I think there is going to be a lot of half caste kids.

The thing that really confused me is the fact we are in a western society and we are born here and go to western schools but they still want us to go out with New Zealand born Chinese people and we are .001% of the population. How are we supposed to do that if we don't meet as many and that is why they are trying to force us into it. Perhaps it is this generation that have instilled make sure you assimilate and made sure their children have assimilated and done such a good job that there is no going back.

Her parents had shown little interest in their Chinese culture. They only recently visited China and only after a lot of encouragement from other family members. However, her parents had instilled the importance of mixing with 'her own kind' and encouraging her to date and eventually settle down with another 'New Zealand Chinese' person. They felt that this common ground would lead to a stronger and happier relationship.

[You don't follow Chinese traditions?] No Yum Char and that is about it and we use chopsticks. The only thing they say is don't go out with anyone else who is not Chinese or New Zealand born Chinese, it is usually New Zealand born Chinese. I was not allowed to go out with other cultures I was banned, I had curfews, they came and got me when I was at my boyfriend's house in 6th Form out in Avondale, took two cars, got me and grabbed me and said you are not allowed to see him. But that might be indicative of all girls. They made it very clear they didn't like my last boyfriend who was Tongan. The fact they were trying to push a Chinese person on to me or New Zealand Chinese probably made me want it less.

She had known her grandparents relatively well. Only one had tried to speak Chinese to her as a child but she does not speak Chinese and neither do her parents.

But I never met my granddad on my mum's side because he died when she was 16 but my grandma on my mum's side was very Chinese. So even though she was born here I think she went back and I think she was quite Chinese. [Did you have much to do with her, do you remember her?] I remember her and it was really sad when she passed away I was very young, probably about 16. [Was she proud of China, would she try and instil the culture more?] I don't think that was part of her goals because again in Masterton there were no Chinese people. She spoke Chinese but she spoke English as well. So she would say good morning and good night but in very broken Chinese.

[Can you speak Chinese?] No none of my family it is really sad. [What about your parents do they speak it very well?] No. My mum can understand it and she speaks really pigeon but my grandmother doesn't really either, my grandfather never did, nobody I know in my family has ever spoken it.

➤ Ancestral background

This participant felt very disconnected with her Chinese roots as two out of four of her grandparents had been born in New Zealand, while the other two had immigrated with their families while only toddlers.

There had been little discussion about China. The participant had gained the impression that her great grandparents had not enjoyed their life in China.

I don't know anything about my great grandfather, I know that he wasn't a very nice guy. My nana said he was a gross man, he was really mean and I think with her it was an arranged marriage so I don't think she has very happy memories of China and she doesn't have very happy memories of the people and so I think that is why she has probably embraced New Zealand. Her children are New Zealanders because that is another part of China she didn't like as well the arranged marriage and I think New Zealand was a lot safer, was it war torn back then I don't know. So I can't remember I think my grandmothers I think both of them came at 1 or 2 and their parents came but both of my granddads were born in New Zealand.

Her grandparents and parents had shown little interest in visiting China and had only relatively recently made the effort to visit China. This had mainly been driven by younger generations seeking to reconnect with their culture.

[And your other grandmother?] She is very New Zealand she just likes it. I went to China and came back all enthused and went and stayed with her because I wanted to know all about it and she was just like I don't want to talk about it, I didn't like it I don't want to know. [She never wants to go back for a visit or anything?] No I said do you ever want to go back and she said no. Not even with me – no. [Are you quite close to her?] Yes. And my parents I was like gosh I am so excited you need to go and see the village and my mum and dad were like nah we are not interested.

On visiting China it appeared that younger generations had found the experience more profoundly moving than older generations. This was explained by the possibility that older generations views were coloured by negative perceptions while younger generations could just focus on the positive aspects of their Chinese heritage.

When I went to China I became very proud of being Chinese as well as being proud of being a New Zealander. Because being there you realize that we are very lucky here and being there also makes you realize there are amazing things about the Chinese culture. So I decided to take all the good things from both and leave out the rest.

Because I tried, I said I would love for you guys to go back to China and go back with you but I think that my expectation of how they would feel is wrong. I think they probably wouldn't be as touched by it as I was. Mum and dad both said we don't care about that, we don't want to go to the village, we are Chinese we already know that and I said but you are not even Chinese you don't even speak it. I think my dad was more touched but he wouldn't have gone if my granddad hadn't passed and that is the reason he felt connected with it. It is a huge, huge, huge village.

[Why do you think your parents think differently about it?] *Their parents probably had negative opinions about China but because we are coming from a very disconnected stand point it is easy for us.*

■ Typology (high level of care)

This participant had clearly thought quite hard about the issue of ethnicity before taking part in the research (indicating a high level of care).

I think the stronger your identity is the more feeling you have behind the question. Like my dad is just like oh Chinese whereas my brother and myself and my other brother and my mum are all New Zealand born and our identity is quite strong.

She had recently reconnected with her Chinese culture after visiting China. However, prior to this trip had felt quite removed from her Chinese roots.

[Do you think our kids if you marry do you think in the end they will feel that way?] *I hope not and that is one of the fears that I have and I know my friends have about our kids and their roots. [Why is that so important?] Because if your grandchildren acknowledge even that they are Chinese and they don't really look Chinese then you lose you and they lose you and you are an important part of them. And that is why for me going back to China was such an amazing thing because I had lost that part. My parents didn't even know about it and for them not to have known about it and for me having to find out I was really angry, I said why didn't you tell me about this, this is an amazing thing. Oh my God there is all this richness and history and they were oh we didn't know about it. And for my kids to miss out on that is a travesty I think and for my grandchildren to miss out on that would be a travesty.*

She did not like the ethnicity question asked in the census and wanted to acknowledge that she was 'New Zealand Chinese' not just 'Chinese'. She had thought hard about this issue and always wrote in 'New Zealand Chinese' when asked her ethnicity on any form.

I just feel that the Chinese part of me is not as important as the New Zealand part of me or the female 28 year old part of me. Being Chinese is no more relevant in terms of if the government were to bring things in for Chinese people the fact that I am Chinese on that census question won't help them sort that out. Like if I was at high school and the government went okay there is 30% Chinese people we should probably put some Chinese traditions or stuff in schools so we cater to that group I don't think that really makes any difference for me because I am a New Zealander.

[You would never not acknowledge your Chinese side?] *No. [And even though you feel more New Zealand you would never just say that?] No. [Why is that?] Because again it doesn't explain who I am even. [Why do you think some just say New Zealander?] I think speaking to one guy he looked at me in awe because I just got back from China and he said I wish I had a culture like you, your culture is so interesting mine is so boring and that is really sad. And I said why don't you go back to your roots and find your ancestry and he was like I don't know what it is because I am such a mix and I think that is probably what most people think that they just have a mix so they don't really know and it is not that important because who cares anyway, their parents aren't Scottish, their grandparents don't speak Scottish.*

■ Markers of Ethnicity

Experiences and characteristics that helped to form this participant's ethnic identity included:

- Her experiences growing up with parents and grandparents that had chosen not to preserve the language or customs of their ancestors when they moved to New Zealand.
- Her wanting to acknowledge her Chinese ethnicity but also the fact that her family had lived in New Zealand for many generations which she viewed as a significant fact that informed her ethnic identity

■ Family Dynamics

This participant was brought up to feel that 'New Zealand Chinese' was a unique group and she felt that it could be viewed as a separate ethnicity.

Many of her cousins were in mixed ethnicity relationships and she had dated people from a wide range of ethnic groups.

[Is there a lot of inter marriage in your family, in your uncles and aunties?] Not at all, all my aunties and uncles are with New Zealand Chinese people except for my dad's side he has got five brothers and sisters, all his brothers are married to New Zealand born Chinese women and completely New Zealand born Chinese. My aunty is with a white guy and he is pretty much part of the family, my granddad died and he took care of him and stuff like that and they have adopted two Chinese kids. So that is that and then on my mum's side I think all of them were Chinese people except for her youngest brother who was with a Māori lady and then they had children and they are not together any more. And my cousins on my mum's side are all with Chinese people, New Zealand born Chinese people. My cousins on my dad's side are all with white people so it is a very interesting thing because my cousins' on my dad's side all grew up in Matamata and small towns so they had no other Chinese people around them as they were growing up, they are all older than me. And the cousins on my mum's side are all older but they all live in Wellington so there is quite a big Chinese community there.

[Where do you think you will end up, do you think you will end up with a New Zealand Chinese person?] Honestly I don't know. I have been out with a Tongan guy and a white guy and Rarotongan guy, Chinese guy and I never thought so until I went to China and I went with my China crew and that was 26 people of kind of my age group all New Zealand born Chinese and it was just easier. And then it is totally different with another culture so my parents always said when I was younger it's just easier. It is just easier and I didn't accept that as a reason because who cares. But as I get older and I see my friends in their relationships and I realize the relationships are really, really hard having that common ground and that commonality means that you have got quite a strong foundation with that. And I find most New Zealand born Chinese people have good hearts because they have had that good upbringing like I have had.