



Image 1: Source Silva, 2019

“This is not us” or *is it*? The effect of the Christchurch Terror Attack on media representations and experiences of former refugees living in Aotearoa New Zealand.

“This is not us” or *is it?*

The effect of the Christchurch Terror Attack on media representations and experiences of former refugees living in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Master thesis International Development Studies

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August 2021

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Completed by distance in Aotearoa, New Zealand.



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Abstract

This research analyses the representations of refugees in New Zealand media and the experiences that former refugees have in New Zealand. Using Media Framing theory this research looks at how the media frames refugees in New Zealand and how this impacts experiences of everyday racism for refugees. Former refugees are not passive recipients of discrimination but are active participants in challenging dominant stereotypes in several ways. In recognition of the agency and mana¹ that former refugees hold an Actor Oriented approach is used to explore how former refugees challenge media representations and discrimination. This research focuses on the aftermath of the 2019 Christchurch terrorist attack in which 51 Muslim worshipers were murdered by a white supremacist. This was labelled as the “end of innocence” for a country that proudly boasted a nuclear-free, multicultural and peaceful image. Quickly there were assertions of “this is not us” and “they are us” throughout media, and in parliament, as New Zealand had to face the fact that racism and discrimination were rife in New Zealand. This research is exploring whether this event brought about any changes in the way that refugees are represented in media and whether there are any changes for people from refugee backgrounds as a result of this terrorist attack. This has been done through a critical discourse analysis of newspapers as well as semi-structured interviews with people of refugee background, living in New Zealand. The research findings confirmed that there were some positive changes in media, and some positive changes in the everyday experiences of former refugees (specifically those who identified as Muslim) however many research participants felt that changes for refugees felt like damage control and tokenistic.

¹ Refer to Māori dictionary.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Prof. Dr Ajay Bailey, for your encouragement and supervision of my research project.

I would like to thank Noella Dushime (NZYNRC) and Kodrean Eashae (Voice of Aroha), for all your advice and support and your assistance in helping me find research participants. You two are some of the most inspirational, hardworking and servant³-hearted people I have met. Blessings to you.

I would like to thank all of my friends from refugee backgrounds and research participants for all the mahi² that you continue to do for the refugee and wider community. Thank you for sharing your story with me and trusting me, even after many have let you down.

I want to acknowledge my three homes.

Rwanda: For capturing my heart and stirring up a passion in me to use my privilege for good.

The Netherlands: My ancestral home for giving me the opportunity to study.

New Zealand: Thank you to the tangata whenua³ of Aotearoa⁴ New Zealand for opening your home up to my Dutch immigrant parents and for allowing us, and many others since us, to have Tūrangawaewae⁵.

Finally I acknowledge Jesus who has been my source of strength throughout the thesis.

² Refer to Māori dictionary

³ Refer to Māori dictionary

⁴ Refer to Māori dictionary

⁵ Refer to Māori dictionary

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Māori Dictionary

Aotearoa	New Zealand.
Aroha	Love
Aroha Nui	Much love
Mana	Intrinsic life force of value of a person.
Mahi	Work or accomplishment.
Pakeha	White people/ non-Māori in New Zealand.
Tangata Whenua	The original people of the land (Māori)
Te Reo	Māori language
Tikanga	Protocol
Tino rangatiratanga	Concept of self determination
Tūrangawaewae	A place to stand
Whakawhanaungatanga	Establishing relationships through making personal links

1.Introduction

Claude, a young man a former refugee living in New Zealand, urges others from refugee backgrounds to “use your diversity to your advantage.” Claude has experienced prejudice, through barriers to employment and casual racism such as being compared with monkeys. He and many others from refugee backgrounds in New Zealand (NZ) see themselves represented in media as people needing help who aren’t able to achieve. In the media, they are often represented without a voice and are portrayed as being an economic burden or a problem needing solving. Yet Claude is the opposite of these representations. He is a highly skilled professional who contributes to his community through multiple groups, financially supporting his family and is highly educated.

In this research people from refugee backgrounds in NZ experience everyday racism, in the form of paternalism, barriers to achievement, as well as racist comments like “Go back to your own country.” It is known that the media influences the way that people think and act towards others, through the way they frame or represent people. Research has found that former refugees are often portrayed in groups before they have resettled or are framed in economic terms or linked to criminality (Lee & Cain, 2019; Sulaiman-Hill, et al., 2011). There is little acknowledgement of the accomplishments, contribution and agency of former refugees in media, as well as limited coverage of refugee's voices and individual stories.

On 15 March 2019 the Christchurch terror attack, which killed 51 Muslim worshippers many of whom were from refugee backgrounds, was the “end of innocence” for a country that proudly advertises its peaceful multi-cultural image. This event caused many media outlets and government departments to put reactive strategies in place as they were forced to acknowledge the reality of racism and Islamophobia in NZ. New Zealand media platforms had to scramble to find people to comment on the Christchurch terror attack as they had not employed or partnered with people from Muslim backgrounds, and so became aware of marginalization practices in their industry.

As a result of increased media visibility and platform given to the Muslim and ethnic minority community, New Zealanders became more educated on diversity and inequality in their country. In the aftermath, many partook in viral social media campaigns in support of the victims such as “This is not who we are”, perhaps also as a way to acquit themselves from any wrongdoing. However, those in this research who were Muslim felt that the public recognition of Islamophobia and white supremacy in the aftermath of the attack was liberating.

Just like Claude who contested dominant stereotypes in the way he lived his life, by exercising his agency, so did many use the increased media profile and climate of “damage control” to contest discrimination and to better their lives. Campaigns led by former refugees came in the wake of the attack to scrap a racist refugee law that marginalized refugees from the Middle East and Africa.⁶ Former refugees became involved in the Black Lives Matter campaign and former refugees campaigned and were elected for high positions such as Ibrahim Omer to parliament.⁷

This research looks at the experiences of former refugees in NZ using the concept of Everyday Racism by Essed (1991) as well as how dominant media representations frame refugees (through Media Framing theory) and how former refugees challenge racism and these representations through using Long (1990) Actor Oriented approach. Finally, the research seeks to understand whether the Christchurch terror attack brought about any changes in both the experiences of everyday racism in NZ for former refugees and media representations.

⁶ The racist refugee law refers to a government order to only allow refugees to resettle in New Zealand, from the Middle East and Africa, if they have a family link in New Zealand (Stephens, May 28 2019)

⁷ Ibrahim Omer was the first politician to be elected to New Zealand parliament who was both black, Muslim and a former refugee.

2. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter the theoretical framework of this research is defined, starting with Media Framing theory which is based on a post-structural perspective, which looks at the framing of refugees in media. The second theoretical concept defined is that of everyday racism which looks at the ways that former refugees experience everyday forms of racism in New Zealand. The final theoretical concept is an Actor Oriented approach that is used to explore the agency of former refugees to contest dominant stereotypes.

2.1. Post Structuralism

Post Structuralism is the overarching theory that underpins the entire research. The premise of Post Structuralism theory according to Peet & Hartwick (2015) is that those who have power can create and produce discourses about others. These discourses are then used to reinforce dominance over others, according to Foucault (1972), who writes on discourse theory. Discourse theory has been used by researchers to explore the discourses created in media of refugees and how it impacts the lives of refugees. Akbari & Macdonald (2014), for example, uses Foucault's (1972) theory of discourse in their research to see how dominant stereotypes around refugees are produced. In their research, they find that those with the power to produce knowledge have "othered" former refugees through marginalizing refugee voices and portraying refugees in paternalistic ways such as needing help. Bleiker, et al. (2013) argues that these media representations reinforce public beliefs of asylum seekers being a security risk, due to the public being heavily reliant on the media for education around asylum issues.

Using a post-structural framework in this research is essential to be able to critically analyse the link between the way refugees are framed in media and the way it impacts the everyday experiences of former refugees.

2.1.1. Media Framing Theory

A socio constructionist discourse theory specifically focused on media which is used to underpin this research is Media Framing theory which is found in the work by McKay, et al. (2012). Media Framing theory explores the way the media steers the audience to come up with a certain conclusion about others and therefore influences the way that the audience thinks and acts toward these others (McKay, et al., 2012). The research by Dündar (2019) which looks at how the media frames immigrants and refugees in media show that media framing can be done through the careful selection and promotion of specific aspects of a situation. Bleiker, et al. (2013) also used Media Framing theory in their research and found that non-refugee research respondents reported that they relied heavily on the media for information on refugees, which influenced their beliefs.

Newspapers in particular have been analysed using the lens of Media Framing theory for the way former refugees or similar groups have been represented. The research by Bleiker, et al. (2013) found that from the Australian print media studied; 66% of photos showed asylum seekers in groups and only 2% showed people with clearly identifiable facial features. This was deemed problematic by Bleiker, et al. (2013) as studies have revealed that individual features with defining photos were more likely to evoke empathy and compassion from viewers. Research by Lawlor & Tolley (2017) also looked at the way refugees and immigrants were framed, in different ways, in their analysis of Canadian newspapers from 2005 to 2014. In their research, they found that immigrants were framed as economically contributing yet refugees were framed more negatively with a focus on them being a security risk and whether they were legitimate refugees. This was done by emphasizing mass arrivals of refugees, even though this was in actuality a rare occurrence. Research by Lee & Cain (2019) which analysed the New Zealand Herald newspaper from July 2016- June 2017 found that that news media reports on immigrants focused on economic contribution, infrastructure pressures and linking immigrants to criminality.

Events are rarely presented in media in a non-objective way, often influenced by the thoughts or beliefs of the journalist or the news agency, according to the analysis by Dündar (2019). The Media coverage of an event can be done in a way that it

becomes a significant media event, which can result in both positive changes while also reinforcing negative stereotypes (Kwansah-Aidoo & Mapedzahama, 2015.)

This was found in the research by McKay, et al. (2012) which looks at the media framing of Siev 36 Incident⁸ and looks at the public response in online forums to this reporting. McKay, et al. (2012) found that most of the media framing around this incident was negative associating those involved in the incident with illegality and security concerns and found that public forum responses reflected these media themes. Kwansah-Aidoo & Mapedzahama (2015) also explore the way the media reported on an event (the Tamworth council resettlement case⁹) and finds that although the media effectively advocated for the resettlement of Sudanese families, their reporting contained emotive imagery which framed refugees in paternalistic ways. They argued that the way that this event was framed in the newspaper can lead to increased stereotyping and paternalism towards people from refugee backgrounds. It is likely that a significant event such as the Christchurch terror attack in New Zealand has been reported in a way that has framed the victims and survivors in a certain way and therefore influenced public perceptions and responses to these people. This makes Media Framing theory a relevant theory to use when analysing societal response and changes to a particular event.

Negative media framing has real-life implications for the people who it frames as Scheufele (2009) shows in their research. This can be at a macro level where negative media framing of a country can result in implications for trade, tourism and ultimately the development of that country, as Bunch, et al. (2016) argues. At a more individual level, media framing can result in experiences of everyday racism, which is the second theory in this framework, in the form of inequalities, discrimination and paternalism. This is found in the research by Horyniak, et al. (2016) which finds that disproportionate representation of substance abuse among those from ethnic minority groups' impacts the way the public treats this community. The work of Budarick & Soo-Han (2018) and Majavu (2020) found that the negative

⁸ The Siev 36 incident was a boat carrying 47 asylum seekers and 2 crew which left Indonesia to claim asylum in Australia. The boat was intercepted by the Australian navy in which one or more persons spread an ignited petrol in protest, leading to the deaths of 5 asylum seekers and many others being seriously burned (Wikipedia, 2021a).

⁹ The Tamworth Council Resettlement case is where a council in New South Wales in Australia voted against the resettlement of 5 Sudanese refugee background families to their community.

framing of African Australians in media resulted in Australians having feelings of fear and pity towards them which resulted in paternalistic comments, employment barriers and police profiling. Even more positive frames of refugees can result in negative consequences, as Thiruselvam (2019) argues in their research by putting additional pressure on them to succeed. There is a strong argument in research that media framing of refugees can result in experiences of everyday racism.

Scheufele (2009) and Ogunyemi (2018) identify that societal norms and values, social pressure and pressure of advocacy groups can influence the way a journalist frames an issue just as much as the journalists own ideologies. A massive societal event such as the Christchurch terror attack¹⁰ in New Zealand which resulted in viral social media campaigns and government policy changes for people of minority backgrounds can create pressure on media to be more positive in the way that they represent these minorities. These changes in the way minority groups, such as refugees are framed in media, can result in a more educated and empathetic public which can mean less discrimination and barriers towards people of refugee background. However positive framing in media, such as using words like “diversity” or “inclusivity” can also be used to cover up the realities of racism and prejudice as Thiruselvam (2019) finds in their research of the language used by New Zealand newspapers in articles around the Christchurch terror attack.

2.1.2. Discourses in media

A large part of post-structuralism is understanding the discourses that are created by those who hold power, in this research this is the media. In this research, it is important to understand what the discourses of former refugees are, in media that have been identified in previous research. One discourse found in previous research is around refugees needing help and protection as found in the research by Akbari & Macdonald (2014) and Bleiker, et al. (2013)¹¹. Bleiker, et al. (2013)¹² in their

¹⁰ The Christchurch Terror Attacks occurred on 15 March 2019 in Christchurch New Zealand in which a white supremacist from Australia killed 51 Muslim worshippers in 2 Mosques in Christchurch while worshippers were at Friday Prayer. It was the deadliest mass shooting or murder in New Zealand with the 2nd deadliest public mass shooting being the Aramoana Massacre in 1990 which killed 13 people (Wikipedia, 2021b)

¹¹ The study by Bleiker, et al. (2013) reported that 66 % of photos of asylum seekers portrayed the in medium to large groups and there was heavy use of water-based words such as “flood” in the reporting as well as a focus on people smugglers and boats.

research found that emotive images and stories of overcrowded boats and the use of water-based words, were used by media to evoke compassion, but at the same time created a discourse around refugees being helpless and needing help. Kwansah-Aidoo & Mapedzahama (2015) found that advocacy in media for the case of the Sudanese refugees involved in the Tamworth council resettlement case, actually led to further victimization as they were framed to be vulnerable. Similar findings were found in Horyniak, et al. (2016) where refugee background was often emphasized and used as an excuse in the reporting of substance abuse issues among Australian African's. This led to discourses around former refugees being vulnerable and deserving sympathy even after resettlement. Recent research based in New Zealand by Slade (2019) found that this discourse is also prevalent in New Zealand with New Zealand media coverage of refugee's overseas, framing refugees as helpless victims which solidified discourses that refugees are helpless and unable to have agency over their own lives.

However, Venir (2014) argues that through emphasising the vulnerability of refugees, newspapers are often advocating for the moral responsibility to help and therefore are having a positive impact on how people feel about refugees. However at the same time refugees are portrayed without agency and the ability to make changes in their own lives, which can result in the public treating them accordingly resulting in everyday racism. Marlowe (2010) explores the link between discourses around vulnerability and agency and finds that the discourses around trauma and vulnerability of former refugees overshadow other elements of their humanity such as their own agency and resilience.

The second dominant discourse in media which is well established in research¹³ is linking refugees to criminality and framing them as a security risk. Emphasizing the background of the person is one tool the media uses to construct this discourse. In research in Australia by Windel (2008), they found that the media emphasized the ethnicity of criminals when they were of African ethnicity (many of whom were from refugee backgrounds). A similar finding was found by Horyniak, et al. (2016) which found that the media disproportionately reported on substance abuse issues among African youth in Australia and therefore framed them as immoral. The research by

¹³ Akbari & Macdonald, 2014; Budarick & Soo Han, 2018; Horyniak, et al., 2016; Majavu, 2020, McKay, et al., 2012 ; Nakhid, et al., 2016 and Windel , 2008.

Lawlor & Tolley (2017) in their study of print media in Canada, found that the media also constructs a discourse of refugees being a security risk through disproportionately portraying refugees in large groups, coming in illegal ways (such as by boat). This discourse in media has consequences as found by a New Zealand based study by Nakhid, et al. (2016) which found that media linking of African's to criminality resulted in increased police profiling. The discourse of criminality, immorality and security has real consequences for people from refugee backgrounds, as it can influence the public to have negative opinions towards refugees.

Another discourse found in media is around refugees being an economic cost, and a burden on infrastructure. This is connected to the discourses of refugees being vulnerable and therefore unable to contribute. This was found in the research by Lawlor & Tolley (2017) which said that while immigrants were framed as economically contributing, refugees were portrayed in oppositional ways. Recent research based in New Zealand by Slade (2019) found in their analysis of the 2015 coverage in New Zealand Herald and Stuff¹⁴ online and print newspapers found that there were some articles about the accomplishment, contributions and resilience of refugees however these were overshadowed by discourses around vulnerability and trauma. More up to date research is needed to explore whether this discourse and the afore-mentioned discourses around refugees and former refugees are prevalent in New Zealand.

2.1.3. Dehumanization of refugees

Discourses of vulnerability, criminality and being an economic burden on society result in the dehumanization of refugees in society. Dehumanization is further done through not printing stories, individual features and acknowledging the capabilities and agency of former and present refugees. New Zealand based research by Sulaiman-Hill, et al. (2011) found that only 27% of articles that they had studied in a ten year period in Australia and New Zealand published individual details of refugees. Later analysis by Bleiker, et al. (2013) which looked at images used in newspaper reporting of refugees, and asylum seekers in Australia, found that only

¹⁴ Stuff.co.nz is a leading online print newspaper closely associated with the Dominion Post.

two percent of images of asylum seekers showed recognizable individual facial features. The most recent research on the representations of refugees in media, in New Zealand, is by Slade (2019) and they also found that photos in articles about refugees were mainly of large anonymous groups of refugees. Bleiker, et al. (2013) argues that the lack of coverage of individual refugees dehumanizes refugees and creates a distance between refugees and media consumers.

A lack of refugee voices in media, which does not give refugees and former refugees the platform to speak on matters relevant to them, dehumanizes refugees by denying their agency. A recent study by Slade (2019) in New Zealand found that only 16.5% of the articles they analysed, in two of New Zealand's leading news publications¹⁵, published a former refugee voice. Instead, often non-refugee background individuals were given the platform to speak on refugee issues. This meant that former refugees were not often given the platform to speak about issues that they understood the most. A lack of refugee voices in media not only dehumanizes former refugees, by diminishing their agency, but it also creates an echo chamber where discourses in media are reinforced and are used to justify discriminatory and racist actions towards former refugees.

2.2. Everyday Racism

According to Budarick & Soo-Han (2018), one of the consequences of the paternalistic or negative framing of refugees in New Zealand media is that this influences media consumer's beliefs around former refugees, and can lead to everyday racism. The concept of Everyday Racism by Essed (1991) highlights the everyday experiences that individuals have of systematic inequality based on their race, due to the intentional and unintentional everyday reproduction of harmful stereotypes and knowledge about individuals of that race. Henry (2004) explains that everyday racism is the small, not obvious acts of racism that are experienced daily and are all-encompassing, in which non-white or minority people experience racism in their everyday interactions with dominant white majority groups.

¹⁵ The New Zealand Herald and Stuff.co.nz

The research¹⁶ overwhelmingly shows that former refugees and refugee-like migrants face everyday racism in their resettlement countries. Research¹⁷ found that African Australians were often subject to verbal and physical abuse and faced barriers to achievements such as being less likely to be selected for a job and having their qualifications dismissed. In New Zealand, there is a gap in knowledge about the more recent experience of former refugees. Chile (2002) found that that black African refugees faced a lack of employment opportunities and discrimination which led to a loss of self-confidence and feeling isolated from society. Another early study by Butcher, et al. (2006) found that people from refugee backgrounds experienced everyday forms of racism which resulted in barriers to employment and accessing services. Mugadza (2012) found that their research participants (former refugees living in New Zealand) faced barriers by potential employers made assumptions about them, based on their names, about not having language skills or employment skills due to their ethnic background. Mugadza (2012) argued that better education of the New Zealand public of the realities of the refugee experience (the barriers they face, the contributions they make) would reduce everyday racism and decrease barriers in employment. More updated research is needed in New Zealand to explore whether everyday racism is impacting former refugees lives as much as the participants from these previous studies.

In particular, research¹⁸ found that everyday racism is felt among refugees who have notably different physical features such as Islamic apparel or skin tone. This means that those who are Muslim or black are most likely to experience verbal or physical acts of racism. In the research by Elliot & Yusuf (2014) of refugees in New Zealand, they found that refugee background women who identified as Muslim cited being regularly discriminated against because of their apparel. The research by Sulaiman-Hill, et al. (2011) found that their research participants, who were from refugee backgrounds and who were Muslim felt particularly targeted after 9/11. Although there is little recent research around the experiences of Muslim refugees in New Zealand, there is enough research to show that Islamophobia and racism have

¹⁶ Adelowo, 2012; Budarick & Soo-Han 2018; Butcher, et al., 2006; Chile, 2002; Elliot & Yusuf, 2014; Kwansah- Aidoo & Mapedzahama, 2018; Majavu, 2017; Mugadza, 2012

¹⁷ Budarick & Soo-Han, 2018 and Majavu, 2017

¹⁸ Crothers & O'Brien, 2020; Elliot & Yusuf, 2014 and Sulaiman- Hill, et al., 2011.

existed and most likely do exist in New Zealand, with the Christchurch terror attack being an unquestionable act of pure racism and Islamophobia.

The consequences of everyday racism are far and wide, not only does it result in barriers to inclusion and achievement, it can create an environment that is favourable to an event such as the Christchurch terror attack occurring. Another consequence of everyday racism is on the mental wellbeing and happiness of refugees. Kwansah Aidoo & Mapedzahama (2018) in their research found that everyday racism amongst their research participants, in Australia, led to a burden of proof. This is where former refugees felt that they had to work twice as hard to prove their ability to contribute to society due to paternalistic notions that refugees weren't able to do anything for themselves.

2.2.1. Paternalism

One form of everyday racism, which may be motivated by thoughts of compassion or sympathy, but can still have negative consequences is paternalism. The word paternalism stems from the Latin word for "fatherly", and is the belief and its consequent actions that some persons need increased assistance as there is a belief that they are not able to do anything for themselves, similar to a relationship between a parent and young child (Van de Veer, 1986). Paternalistic thoughts and actions generally occur towards people of colour. This can be seen for example in the study by Baker (2015) which found that people were more likely to be supportive of aid towards poor black recipients than poor white recipients overseas. Research¹⁹ has found that former refugees are often framed in media as vulnerable and needing help. Majavu (2017) found that media representations of refugees being psychologically damaged contributed to paternalistic actions of people wanting to "help" those from refugee backgrounds. One of the former refugee research participants in the study by Kwansah – Aidoo & Mapedzahama (2018) shared that their neighbours regularly brought them their used belongings, that they no longer wanted, or food leftovers, based on the assumptions that the former refugee and their family need it. Paternalistic viewpoints of refugees can result in barriers to

¹⁹ Akbari & Macdonald, 2014 ; Bleiker, et al., 2013; Horyniak, et al., 2016; Kwansah-Aidoo & Mapedzahama, 2015; Kwansah-Aidoo & Mapedzahama, 2018; Majavu, 2017; Marlowe, 2010; Slade , 2019 and Venir, 2014

employment for former refugees as employers may feel they are not able to do the job. Paternalistic actions and beliefs also diminishes the inherent mana²⁰ and agency of former refugees, by focusing on how former refugees need help rather than on the skills, knowledge and contributions that they bring and their incredible resilience.

2.3. Agency

The third and final theoretical concept underpinning this research is agency, or the tino rangatiratanga²¹ of people from refugee backgrounds, to challenge everyday racism and dominant media discourses in their lives. Former refugees are not passive recipients of everyday racism and media discourses. They do not just passively stand by as they experience barriers in education and employment. This can be seen through the actions by former refugees that occurred after the Christchurch terror attacks where former refugees challenged a discriminatory refugee law in New Zealand and spear-headed the Black Lives Matters (BLM) campaign²².

Marlowe (2010) argues that the refugee label acknowledges the needs of people who have been displaced but the concept of “refugee-hood” can become their greatest marker of their identity downplaying their agency and other important markers of their identity. Media representations of the plight of refugees present refugees as unable to speak for themselves and not having the agency to do so.

Although there are multiple studies about the experiences of refugees and the representations of refugees in media most of these studies do not mention the agency of former refugees and how they use their agency to challenge stereotypes and to better their lives. Slade (2019) is one of the few New Zealand based research papers which looks at the way that former refugees’ contest and change dominant media discourses about refugee. Slade (2019) argues that refugees will use their own agency to deconstruct and use the refugee label for their benefit.

There is research around the agency of refugee-like migrants such as research by Budarick & Soo Han (2018) which explores the agency of their research participants

²⁰ Refer to Dictionary of Māori words

²¹ Refer to Dictionary of Māori words

²² Abbreviation for Black Lives Matter campaign which came as the result of the murder of George Floyd in America by an on-duty police officer, on May 25, 2020.

(African Australians) and the ways in which they fought back against negative media representations. Some examples given by these research participants, were that they used their agency through social media, and used alternative forms of media such as blogs and community radio to actively challenge discriminatory beliefs. Omisakin (2017) in their research of African's living in New Zealand found that their research participants actively challenged dominant beliefs about Africans by being proud ambassadors of their own culture and through promoting their heritage through introducing food, hairstyles and fashions to New Zealand. Being positive and proud about your culture and background is another way that former refugees use their agency when interacting with negative stereotypes or beliefs.

Social media is also an agent used to give refugees and former refugees a platform and a voice. An article by Mkono (2018, May 24) expressed that social media increased agency amongst Africans by giving them a platform to positively represent their countries and their own issues. Wright (2014) also found that social media is used by refugees to share their experiences and stories on their own terms, giving others a personal face of the refugee story. A recent public case of a refugee using social media to bring about change for themselves was the case of Rahaf Mohammed²³, whose use of social media to advocate for her own refugee status led to her being successfully resettled in Canada.

Another way that former refugees or refugee-like migrants use agency is by engaging in policy and research. The research by Nakhid, et al. (2016) was conducted solely by New Zealanders with African ancestry and came about through a shared frustration by the researchers of their experiences with racial profiling and discrimination in the justice system.

It is clear that there are several ways that refugees do or can use their agency to counteract discrimination and challenge stereotypes but other than the research by Slade (2019) there is no recent research in New Zealand around how former refugees actually do this.

²³ Rahaf Mohammed, an 18 year old from Saudi Arabia shut herself in a hotel room in Thailand and used Twitter to share her fears of being killed by her family because of renouncing Islam as well as the treatment of women in Saudi Arabia, as well as advocating for herself to be granted asylum in another country . #SaveRahaf became a viral campaign resulting in Canada granting her asylum (BBC, 2019, Jan 15)

2.3.1. Actor Oriented approach

A specific theory that emphasizes a person's agency is Long's (2001) Actor Oriented approach which is a theory that shows that actors are passive recipients of assistance but they also use their own agency to better their lives. Actors do not surrender to the discourses and structure imposed on them but they have ways of restructuring these discourses (Long, 1990). The Actor Oriented approach is used in the research by Slade (2019) to understand how former refugees in New Zealand use their agency to contest dominant stereotypes. Slade (2019) found that former refugees in New Zealand had written press releases about the contributions that former refugees made to NZ society, while others had publicly shared their personal stories in order to challenge dominant media representations. Some participants chose to embrace their refugee identity, while others chose to reject it, showing that former refugees are actively restructuring and interacting with discourses about them.

Besides the research by Slade (2019), there is little recent research in New Zealand about how former refugees interact with dominant media discourses of refugees and how they challenge everyday forms of racism. This research will build on the existing work of Slade (2019) with a more recent focus on how former refugees interact with dominant media representations and acts of racism in the wake of the Christchurch terror attacks.

2.4. Conceptual Model

The theoretical components are linked as shown in the conceptual model. Post Structuralism is the overarching theory, which has the premise that those with power have the ability to construct narratives about people. Those with this power in the research is the media, which is analysed through Media Framing theory, in which discourses have been created around refugees by media. As a result of media frames and discourses, media consumers develop knowledge and beliefs about refugees and former refugees which can result in acts of everyday racism towards former refugees. However former refugees are not passive recipients of racism or media stereotyping and have agency. An Actor Oriented approach explores how

former refugees use their own agency to challenge everyday racism and media discourses.

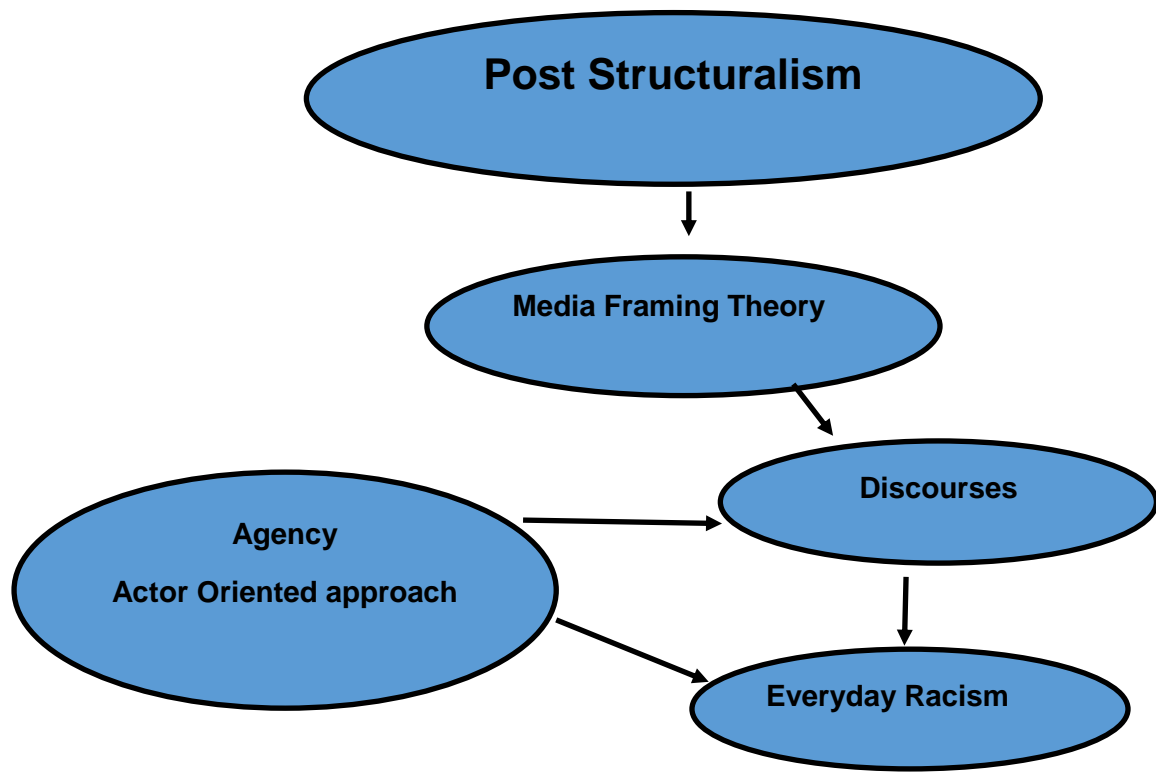


Image 2: Conceptual Model

3. Research methodology

This research has taken place in New Zealand from February 2021 to July 2021, in the form of a critical discourse analysis of newspaper articles and interviews with former refugees, living in New Zealand. This chapter contains the research objectives and questions used, the operationalization of variables, the research design, the methodologies used and the research limitations.

3.1. Research Objectives

The main objective of this research, which is based on Media Framing theory, is to understand what media discourses of refugees are in New Zealand. The research also seeks to understand the experiences of everyday racism for former refugees in New Zealand. A further objective is to understand how former refugees, use their agency by interacting with and challenging dominant media representations and forms of everyday racism. The final objective is to understand whether the Christchurch terror attack brought about any changes for former refugees in New Zealand, both in experiences of everyday racism and in changes in media representations and discourses.

3.2. Research Questions

Based on the research objectives above the primary research question is:

What are the changes in media representations and experiences of former refugees in New Zealand before and after the Christchurch terror attacks?

The sub-questions are

- a.) *What barriers and everyday forms of racism do former refugees face in New Zealand?*
- b.) *How has the Christchurch terror attack shaped and contributed to the everyday experiences of racism for former refugees in New Zealand?*
- c.) *In what ways do former refugees use their agency to interact with and contest dominant media representations and stereotypes?*

3.3. Operationalization of variables.

The variables that have been used in this research are operationalized based on previous research, the research environment and common definitions. The first variable is refugee, otherwise known as a displaced person, asylum seeker or sometimes referred to as a “boat person.” The UNHCR (1951) defines a refugee as “Someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country or origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.” A former refugee refers to someone who has already received refugee status and has been resettled in a country.

The second variable is media representations. In this research media refers to print media in the form of mainstream newspaper publications, focusing specifically on the Dominion Post and the New Zealand Herald. Media representations refer to the way the media frames a certain group of people or cause and what messages they give to the public about this people group.

The third concept of racism refers to prejudice, discrimination or violence of any form by an individual or group against another individual or a group due to their racial or ethnic background. The concept of Everyday Racism as described by Henry (2004) is the everyday small acts of racism in the form of paternalism or stereotyping that non-white or people in the minority experience daily from the majority white population.

The final concept is Agency which refers to the ways people can think and act for themselves and can change the course of their life and the environment around them.

3.4. Research design and methodology

As this research is based on a social constructionist theoretical paradigm, which explores the way discourses are created, a critical discourse analysis is used on newspaper articles. Furthermore, the theoretical concepts of “everyday racism” and “agency” are explored in qualitative semi-structured interviews where participants are asked to share their experiences of everyday racism and how they interact with and

challenge stereotypes and representations. This research was conducted in New Zealand, mainly in the wider Wellington region, with some research participants living in other parts of the region. There were four phases, the first phase was exploratory research, the second phase was a critical discourse analysis using codes deducted from literature, the third phase was semi-structured interviews based on codes and messages deducted from the analysis of media, and the fourth phase was a more complete critical discourse analysis based on codes deducted from research, the first media analysis that occurred in phase 2 and the semi-structured interviews.

Phase	Time	What the phase involved	Learnings
Phase 1: Exploratory Research	Feb- April 2021	-Reading relevant literature around experiences of refugees and media representations of refugees, particularly focusing on NZ based research. -Preliminary conversations with people who were part of and involved in the refugee community	- Gaps identified in the literature, particularly research around media representations and agency of former refugees in New Zealand. - Deductive codes were generated from literature including lack of refugee voices and the use of water-based words -Preliminary conversations generated codes to search for in the media analysis such as to look for linkages between refugees and criminality
Phase 2: Identification and analysis of newspapers	April 2021	-Selecting newspapers; the New Zealand Herald and the Dominion Post were selected due to their wide readership and popularity. - Selecting a timeframe for analysis; 15 September 2018- 14 March 2019 was selected for the Pre Christchurch terror attack media coverage, and 15 September 2019- 14 March 2020 was selected for Post Christchurch terror attack. - Relevant articles were searched using Lexis Nexis using the search terms	-In the analysis of media articles further codes such as violence against refugees, self-advocacy and agency were found in the articles -A further search term was highlighted for future analysis, meaning refugees such as displaced people.

		<p>“asylum” “refugees” “asylum seekers and “boat people”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Articles were selected based on relevance -Deductive codes from Phase 1 were used to analyse literature 	
Phase 3: Interviews	April – May 2021	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Create an interview guide based on codes found in Phases 1 and 2 -Participants were recruited and selected based on criteria outlined in 3.4.1, using personal connections and the snowballing technique. -13 Participants were selected -Interviews were done in an informal relaxed manner, in a semi-structured way -In-person interviews took place in public spaces and were voice recorded on the phone. -Video interviews were also voice recorded by phone or on Teams - Participants were interviewed with questions around agency, media representations, stereotypes, experiences of everyday racism, barriers to employment and education, the impact of the Christchurch terror attack and any changes that had happened. -Interviews were transcribed using the website otter.ai -Transcriptions were thoroughly checked for accuracy - Codes were generated by the interviews -Transcripts were coded by hand, using codes from Phases 1, 2, 3 and research quotes relevant to codes was selected and coded using NVIVO software 	Codes came from interviews such as refugees being portrayed only before resettlement in media, being portrayed in groups, having no refugee voice in media and a refugee- Māori connection.
Phase 4 : Critical Discourse Analysis	May 2021	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relevant articles searched using Lexis Nexis using the search terms “asylum” “refugees” “asylum seekers and “boat people” and “displaced person” using the same time frame and newspapers as in phase 1 -Exclude irrelevant articles (refer to Table 1) due to incorrect use of words (i.e. asylum referring to mental asylum), 	<p>Including displaced persons in the search term generated more articles than previously before.</p> <p>There was a clear difference in tone/themes between media articles</p>

		double-ups or minimal mention of search term -Determine the tone of an article whether it is positive, neutral or negative -Determine whether the articles were based in New Zealand or overseas -Determine whether the articles had water based words to describe refugees -Determine whether the articles portrayed refugees prior to or after resettlement - Determined whether articles portrayed an individual refugee or a group of refugees -Determine whether refugee voices were printed -Search for themes based on codes generated in Phases 1, 2 and 3 -All these factors were collated and calculated in an EXCEL spreadsheet -Codes and calculations were thoroughly checked and rechecked -Occurrence of themes/refugee voice etc. compared from pre to post Christchurch coverage.	before the Christchurch attack as opposed to after the attack. -Further codes were found through rereading these articles to build on Codes generated by Phases 1, 2 and 3. For a full Code List refer to Appendix 2
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Table 1

3.4.1. Selection of time frame of articles

This research wants to analyse the depictions of refugees in media directly before the Christchurch terror attack and after the attack. Therefore half a year timeframe was selected immediately before the Christchurch terror attack²⁴ from the 15th of September 2018 to the 14th of March 2019. The timeframe for newspaper selection after the Christchurch selection was for half a year after the event from the 15th of September 2019 to the 14th of March 2020. This time frame was selected as it was far enough after the event that the analysis would not be skewed, due to the large number of articles that would have been generated after the Christchurch attack that would have mentioned refugees, due to many victims being of refugee background. This time frame also occurred before Covid 19²⁵ restrictions impacted on New

²⁴ The Christchurch terror attack occurred on 15th March 2019

²⁵ Covid 19 otherwise known as Corona Virus

Zealand and the BLM campaign occurred, so that the impact of these two significant events could not skew the analysis.

3.4.2. Selection of media and articles.

Two print newspapers were selected for the media analysis. These were the New Zealand Herald, which is one of New Zealand’s largest print and online newspapers based in the largest city Auckland, and the Dominion Post which is a newspaper based in the capital city and also has a wide readership. These newspapers were selected due to their wide popularity and readership both offline and online. Articles were searched in Lexus Nexus using the search terms “asylum seekers”, “refugees”, “asylum”, “refugee”, “boat people”, “displaced”, “displaced person” and “protected person.” The number of articles, and which were deemed relevant for analysis are found in Table 2. Some articles were irrelevant or used the word in the wrong context such as “displaced” and other articles were double-ups or only mentioned refugee or asylum seeker once in the article, with the rest of the article being irrelevant.

	Years	Articles containing refugee/etc.	Selected articles for analysis	Excluded articles
NZ Herald	2018-2019	309	190	119
NZ Herald	2019-2020	182	114	68
Dominion Post	2018-2019	187	118	69
Dominion Post	2019-2020	181	105	76

Table 2

3.4.3. Selection of Participants

Participants had to be of refugee/asylum seeker/protected person background. They had to have been in New Zealand at least a year before the Christchurch terror attack and they had to be currently living in New Zealand. Participants also had to have a high level of English to be able to participate in the interview. 13 participants were selected and interviewed (refer to Table 3 and Appendix 3). All 13 participants were young adults, with the youngest being 19 and the oldest being 29. All 13 participants had attended or were currently attending university. The participants however, had different religions (2 unidentified, 3 Muslim and 8 Christians), different employment statuses (unemployed, employed in lower-skilled jobs, employed in high skilled jobs) and represented 9 different countries. The participants also came to

New Zealand in different ways. 8 came under the New Zealand UNHCR quota system²⁶, 4 came under the refugee family reunification scheme²⁷ and 1 whose family fell under the protected person scheme.²⁸

DATE	Name	Continent of Origin	Age	Gender	Refugee status	Years in nz	Religion	Work
20/04/21	Fatima Online	Afghanistan	20s	F	Quota	15-20 years	Muslim	Job seeker/student
15/4/21	Marco Online	Colombia	20s	M	Quota	5-10 years	Christian	Student/low skilled job
28/4/21	Betty Online	Colombia	20s	F	Quota	5-10 years	Not religious	Student/e low skilled job
6/5/21	Claude online	Democratic Republic of Congo	20s	M	Protected person	15-20 years	Christian	High skilled job
10/4/21	Aaron	Ethiopia	20s	M	Family reunification	10-15 years	Christian	Student
1/5/21	Abraham	Ethiopia	20s	M	Family reunification	15-20 years	Christian	High skilled job
5/5/21	Sarah online	Ethiopia	20s	F	Family reunification	10-15 years	Didn't disclose	Student/low skilled job
11/4/20	Caleb	Iraq	20s	M	Family reunification	5-10 years	Christian	High skilled job
17/4/20	Keza	Rwanda	20s	F	Quota	15-20 years	Christian	High skilled job
21/4/20	Kazuba online	Rwanda	20s	F	Quota	10-15 years	Christian	High skilled job
10/4/20	Amira	Somalia	20s	F	Quota	15-20	Muslim	High skilled job
17/4/20	Hamdi	Syria	10's	F	Quota	0-5	Muslim	University student
18/4/20	Paul	Uganda	20s	M	Quota	15-20	Christian	High skilled job

Table 3

²⁶ New Zealand has an annual quota of refugees to be resettled, up until 2020 this was 1000 per year, but from 2020 onwards this has increased to 1500 per year. People who come to New Zealand through the quota system are referred through UNHCR (Immigration New Zealand, 2021a)

²⁷ The refugee family support reunification scheme allows former refugees to sponsor a family member and their dependent children for New Zealand residence. There are 300 allocations for refugee family reunifications per year (Immigration New Zealand, 2021b)

²⁸ A protected person is an individual who risks persecution, torture or death due to the individuals own political or personal status (for example an exiled politician).

3.5. Research Limitations

In this section, the limitations of this research will be outlined and reflected upon. The largest limitation was the small and diverse nature of the New Zealand refugee community. Before 2020, only 1000 refugees were granted resettlement under the official refugee quota in New Zealand (there were also other categories, refugees could enter into the country such as through the family reunification category). This means that the refugee community is relatively small in New Zealand. This made it difficult to find participants who were not only willing to partake in the research but who met the criteria.²⁹ The small nature of the refugee community meant that the participants were interconnected and known to each other, through the use of snowball sampling, this means that participants who were found were of similar age and socio-economic status. This was a limitation as people who were uneducated or who were from an older age range may have different perspectives and experiences from the research participants, which would have led to more accurate data.

Another limitation was that some willing participants who were recruited did not meet the criteria as they had arrived after the Christchurch terror attack. For this research to be as accurate as possible is important for participants to have experienced life before the terror attack to reflect on if there were any changes. This was a limitation as a larger group of people being interviewed would have ensured a wider range of opinions and therefore more accurate data.

A further limitation was the reluctance of potential participants to get involved, or being closed off to answers during the interview process. This was explained by two separate research participants who, off the record, explained they were tired of being interviewed or asked for their opinion as they felt it was tokenistic and no real change came about this. It was a challenge to build trust, through relationships, with the participants and to ensure that they felt that their voices were being listened to. As some participants were reluctant to share some details of their lives it is likely that their experience has not been captured one hundred percent correctly in the data.

²⁹ The criteria was that the participant must be of refugee background, have lived in New Zealand for 3 years or more and be currently living in New Zealand, and have a moderate level of English skills.

3.6. Positionality

As a researcher, it is possible to influence the results of the study based on preconceived biases. This was mitigated as much as possible through asking open-ended questions, encouraging participants to speak their truth, and by double-checking data especially when judgement calls were made for example whether a newspaper article was written in a positive or negative tone. Due to preliminary conversations with people from refugee backgrounds that occurred in Phase One, there was already a preconceived assumption that refugees experienced racism in New Zealand and that the media did not portray refugees accurately. This implicit bias also influenced which theoretical theories were used to underpin this research, and influenced the selection of codes in the media analysis and even the questions asked of the participants. It was integral to keep the authenticity of the research which was done through constantly checking and rechecking the data.

The individual traits of the researcher can influence the research process, particularly in interviews. Being a white female with socio-economic and citizenship privileges, who looks and speaks like the majority of the New Zealand population, with higher education can impact the way research participants trust, communicate and share with them. As a privileged person, throughout the research, extra care needed to be taken in establishing a relationship with the research participants, through building and maintaining trust both during and after the research. This was done through *whakawhanungatanga*³⁰, relationship building before and after the interview, attending important events for people of refugee background, and asking people who were well respected in the refugee background community to assist in recruiting participants. All of these methods helped to send the message that this research was valid and the researcher was genuinely concerned for the welfare and betterment of the former refugee community.

³⁰ Refer to Māori dictionary

4. Setting the context

Aotearoa New Zealand is an island country in the Pacific , consisting of two main islands (the North and South Island) and other smaller islands, and is the country where this research takes place. In July 2021 the total population of New Zealand was around 5 million. Māori people were one of the first major settler groups that arrived in New Zealand between 1200 and 1300 AD (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021). In 1769 James Cook was the first European to set foot onto New Zealand and soon European whalers and traders migrated to New Zealand. Due to increasing lawlessness, by the British, the British government signed the Treaty of Waitangi with around 500 Māori chiefs on the 6th February 1840 and New Zealand became a British colony and a bi-cultural nation (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021; Spoonley, 2008). The official languages of New Zealand are English, Māori and New Zealand sign language, with English being the most widely spoken.

4.1. Impact of colonisation

The British colonization of New Zealand has had a deep impact on the indigenous people of Aotearoa, the Māori people. Since the arrival of Europeans, there was a significant decline in the Māori population due to the introduction of new diseases such as measles and whooping cough (Pool, 2021). After the signing of the treaty, Māori has experienced cultural marginalisation through the banning and punishing of Māori children speaking re reo³¹ in school and other forms of cultural marginalization (Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Thiruselvam, 2019). After the signing of the treaty, there was great pressure on Māori people to sell their land at cheap rates to European settlers (Pool, 2021). Although New Zealand has made attempts to make right what has happened, through the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal³² , and the active revitalization of te reo language, the effects of colonization are still felt by many Māori living in NZ today. New Zealand's history of violence, marginalization and discrimination is what New Zealand institutions such as the government and the media have been funded by and built on.

³¹ Refer to Māori dictionary

³² The Waitangi Tribunal was set up in 1975 (Waitangi Tribunal, 2021)

4.2. Immigration to New Zealand

New Zealand has a long history of marginalization and violence against minorities or those who aren't as powerful, and this history has shaped the immigration practices of New Zealand (Crothers & O'Brien, 2020). The Treaty of Waitangi ensured that British immigrants could legally become citizens of New Zealand (Crothers & O'Brien, 2020). Immigration rules were biased towards British people and there were few Non-European people who immigrated to New Zealand. Until World War 2 most people who had come to New Zealand were from Britain, except for some Chinese gold miners and a few other European people groups (Phillips, 2021). Directly after the Second World War, besides the usual British immigration, a large cohort of Dutch migrants immigrated. During the 1960s people from the surrounding Pacific Islands immigrated due to New Zealand being attracted by opportunities for work (Phillips, 2021). In 1975 and in 1986 New Zealand updated its immigration policy to allow people to enter into New Zealand based on their skills and qualifications and not on their country of origin (Spoonley, 2008). This opened the door for large scale immigration from Asian countries and others from Africa (Phillips, 2021). Since this time New Zealand has seen a number several discourses against immigrants, both in media and by politicians (Spoonley, 2008). New Zealand First party leader Winston Peters (who was New Zealand's deputy prime minister up until the 2020 election) has regularly argued against immigration, since his debut into politics in 1996 using racist rhetoric against Asians, as part of his campaign (Spoonley, 2008).

According to the 2018 New Zealand Census conducted by Statistics New Zealand (2019), 70.2% of people in New Zealand identify as European or New Zealand European, 16.5% identify themselves as Māori, and 15.1% as Asian, 8.1% as Pacifica and 1.5% come from the MELAA category which is the Middle Eastern/Latin American and African category³³. Although New Zealand is becoming more ethnically diverse, colonization and the recent discriminatory immigration history has created a society where the British European culture is dominant which may result in the discrimination of people from non-European countries, such as former refugees.

³³ In the New Zealand census, people were able to identify to more than one ethnicity if it was relevant to them, for example, they could tick Samoan AND Dutch.

4.3. History of refugees in New Zealand

Refugee resettlement started in the 1940's during World War 2, with the resettlement of Polish refugee children in 1944³⁴ (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021). In 1960, New Zealand signed the 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees and in 1973 it signed the 1967 protocol (Mugadza, 2012). In 1987 New Zealand established a refugee quota system where 800 refugees were able to resettle in New Zealand every year. In 1997 this was reduced to 750 but with the agreement that New Zealand would cover travel expenses (Altinkaya & Omundsen, 1999). Due to public pressure and advocacy campaigns, the refugee quota increased to 1000 in 2018 and 1500 in 2020. In addition to the refugee quota, there is an allocation of 300 places per year for the resettlement of family members of refugee background who have been resettled in New Zealand, under the Family Reunification Category.

Due to welfare concerns of former refugees who had resettled in New Zealand, the Refugee Resettlement Strategy was presented by the government, in 2012 with the goal of refugees "participating fully and integrated socially and economically as soon as possible so that they are living independently, undertaking the same responsibilities and exercising the same rights as other New Zealanders and have a strong sense of belonging to their own community and to New Zealand" (Immigration New Zealand, 2012, p3). The strategy is being used as the framework for health and social welfare providers working with former refugees in New Zealand (McIntosh & Cockburn-Wooten, 2018).

4.4 Experiences of former refugees in New Zealand

Crothers & O'Brien (2020) argue that due to New Zealand's long history of discrimination and colonization this has influenced public attitudes towards minorities. They argue that visible minority communities, especially those with outward markers of difference (such as Muslim headwear) are a ready target for racism and discrimination by New Zealand. Research by Butcher, et al. (2006) and

³⁴ In 1943 the Prime Minister invited a group of over 800 Polish refugees (733 children and 102 adults) who were living in a refugee camp in Iran to resettle in Pahiatua, New Zealand (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021).

Elliot & Yusuf (2014) found that former refugees were subject to racism in their neighbourhoods, by being spat on or called names. The studies by Elliot & Yusuf (2014) and Nakhid, et al. (2016) found that in New Zealand refugee or minority youth were disproportionately profiled by police and received differential treatment by the police while in custody.

4.4.1 Discriminatory government actions

A racist New Zealand refugee policy was only just removed in 2019 after growing pressure on the New Zealand Government (New York Times, 2019). This policy which had been in place for ten years only allowed refugees from African and Middle Eastern countries to come to New Zealand, as refugees, if they already had relatives living there (New York Times, 2019). The official reason for this policy was to prioritize refugees in neighbouring countries, however, government documents also cited security reasons as a factor (New York Times, 2019). This policy allocated just 14 % of New Zealand's refugee quota (1000 people annually) to refugees from the Middle East and Africa, even though there are more refugees in these areas of the world than any other. Due to the requirement that refugees from African and Middle Eastern countries needed family links in New Zealand, New Zealand immigration was unable to fill the quota of 14%, only accepting four refugees from African countries in New Zealand in 2015 (New York Times, 2019).

Besides the racist refugee policy, the government has been criticized for refusing to denounce the actions of Australia for their detention of asylum seekers who came by boat (Thiruselvam, 2019). Furthermore, the current government has also allocated \$25 million of funding to work towards deterring asylum seekers from arriving in New Zealand by boat (Thiruselvam, 2019). These government actions show that there is structural inequality and discrimination towards people of refugee backgrounds, in New Zealand.

4.4.2. Structural inequality

Research by Chile (2002) found that former refugees, living in New Zealand were often clustered in low socioeconomic areas with other people from the same background, and they were often isolated from the host community. Later research by Kale, et al. (2018) also found that refugees felt isolated and disconnected from

the wider New Zealand population. Those who are more integrated in New Zealand society with knowledge of the language and cultural norms had a higher chance for employment. Kale, et al. (2018) found that refugees in particular face a lot of pressure to assimilate if they want to have meaningful employment. New Zealand based research³⁵ in the early 2000s found that former refugees faced barriers to employment due to being discriminated against because of the way they spoke, looked and dressed. These studies found that a lack of English skills and New Zealand acquired qualifications and work experience were also reported as significant barriers to employment. Research by Adelowo, (2012) and Majavu (2017) and Mugadza (2012) found that migrants from similar countries to former refugees (such as African countries) experienced discrimination in work. In the work by Adelowo (2012) they found that African women living in New Zealand experienced barriers due to not having NZ work experience and felt like employers did not recognize their skills and abilities. Majavu (2017) had similar findings to Adelowo (2012) and found that African males in New Zealand were scapegoated and infantilised, in their work place, by their employers and colleagues.

4.4.3. Attitudes from host society towards former refugees

The 2020 survey by Kantar & RASNZ³⁶ found that most New Zealanders were uneducated on refugee facts and figures. Only 28% of respondents felt that they had met or spoken to someone from a refugee background in New Zealand and only 46% agreed that refugees contribute positively to society. The research by Kantar & RASNZ (2020) found that the main reason people had for opposing increasing the refugee quota were that they believed that New Zealand had its own problems which needed to be resolved first. The main reasons in the research by Kantar & RASNZ (2020) given by New Zealanders for increasing the refugee quota were that New Zealand should do the right thing and that these people needed to be helped. This recent research gives a good snapshot of the lack of knowledge and the discourses that New Zealanders hold of former refugees. These findings can be connected to

³⁵ Butcher, et al., 2006; Chile, 2002 and Guerin, et al., 2004

³⁶ RASNZ is the acronym for the NGO which helps former refugees in New Zealand with counselling, called Refugees as survivors New Zealand.

experiences of discrimination and inequality that former refugees experience in New Zealand.

The research by McIntosh & Cockburn-Wootten (2018) and Mugadza (2012) found that former refugees believed that the media needed to educate New Zealanders around the accomplishments and contributions of former refugees. The result would be reduced hostility and discrimination towards former refugees and create a more welcoming and inclusive society.

4.5. NZ media representations of refugees

Media coverage has can increase inclusion, acceptance and increase knowledge of refugee issues in New Zealand (Sulaiman-Hill, et al., 2011). Older New Zealand based research³⁷ of the representations of refugees in media has shown that refugees are often framed negatively and associated with stereotypes. The research by Worth (2002) found that New Zealand media linked immigrants and refugees to having HIV aids and they were portrayed as sexually deviant. The research by Miller (2008) which researched how refugees, asylum seekers and migrants were framed in New Zealand newspapers³⁸ found that 56.2% of the time refugees, asylum seekers and migrants were framed negatively in media. However, Sulaiman - Hill, et al. (2011) argues that in New Zealand media coverage, compared with Australian media coverage, refugees were portrayed more positively³⁹. This was also found by the most recent research by Slade (2019) which found that there were strong themes of advocacy and welcoming more refugees in media. However, Slade (2019) also found that there was a lack of educational articles, around the capabilities and successes, of former refugees in New Zealand.

Dehumanization of refugees is also found in New Zealand Media, with the research by Sulaiman-Hill, et al. (2011) finding that in their analysis of articles in New Zealand and Australia around refugees, only 27% of articles selected from their study printed personal stories about individual refugees. However, in this study, New Zealand

³⁷Miller, 2008 and Worth, 2002

³⁸ The New Zealand Herald, The Dominion Post, and The Christchurch Press, looking at coverage from 2004 to 2007.

³⁹ 38% of articles from the New Zealand selection were positive compared to 28% of Australia based articles (Sulaiman- Hill, et al., 2011).

fares better than Australia in this statistic as 70% of these articles were printed in New Zealand. Immigrants were also dehumanized in New Zealand print media, as found by Lee & Cain (2019)⁴⁰ where immigrants were portrayed in economic and morality frames. The major themes that were found in their media analysis were that immigrants were associated with economic benefits or as being a burden on infrastructure, as well as an emphasis on 'quality migrants'. The economic framing of immigrants is dehumanizing as it portrays people in monetary values rather than as someone with their own mana⁴¹.

Furthermore, a lack of refugee voices was found in NZ media by Slade (2019)⁴² who analysed which voices are being printed in NZ media. Refugee background participants in the research by Slade (2019), felt that more stories needed to be told by media using the voice and perspectives of those who have been resettled, and not those who are helping them (Slade, 2019). The lack of refugee voices and the dehumanization of refugees may result in an uneducated public who does not have a wide knowledge of the experiences and contributions of former refugees in NZ.

There are some alternatives to main-stream media which are gaining popularity and who are being proactive in increasing the education of New Zealanders of former refugees by sharing stories about refugee contributions, such as the efforts by Scoop Media (2020). Scoop Media (2020) says they have "hopes the project will provoke ongoing dialogue and reflection, bringing to the surface what equality and inclusion look like for different communities within New Zealand's diverse population."

Research ⁴³ shows that people from refugee backgrounds in NZ are engaging with alternative forms of media such as social media, to challenge and interact with dominant media representations. Alternative forms of are enhancing the voices and therefore increasing the agency of former refugees living in NZ.

⁴⁰ In an analysis of the New Zealand Herald articles from 1 July 2016 to 30 June 2019

⁴¹ Refer to Māori dictionary

⁴² The research by Slade (2019) draws on articles in the New Zealand print and online newspapers, New Zealand Herald and Stuff.co.nz, during September 2015.

⁴³ Slade, 2019

4.6. The Christchurch Terror Attack

On the 15th of March 2019, in Christchurch, New Zealand experienced its largest terrorist and mass murder event in history. One lone Australian man acting on far-right supremacist ideologies attacked two Christchurch mosques and killed 51 people, wounding many others (Crothers & O'Brien, 2020). People of mainly African and Middle Eastern ethnicity (and many of refugee background) were killed including a 3-year-old boy. Although the white supremacist who won't be named⁴⁴ acted alone, there were many New Zealanders who were later exposed to be supportive of these actions. Over 35 New Zealanders were arrested at a later date for sending recordings of the massacre celebrating the event (Crothers & O'Brien, 2020).



Image 3: Man leaves the site of Linwood Mosque Image Source: Squires/Stuff, 2021)

⁴⁴The name of the terrorist will not be named following tikanga (see Māori dictionary) of the New Zealand government and media who refused to focus on the terrorist to prevent others from aspiring to follow him and his actions.

4.6.1. Response to the Terror Attack

Jacinda Ardern (prime minister of New Zealand) announced in her first press conference shortly after the attack “You are us- Aroha Nui⁴⁵”. This theme of inclusion and empathy followed in services and gatherings following the event (Crothers & O’Brien, 2020). The immediate reaction of the New Zealand government was praised as it ensured that the victims were centred and the focus was on unity, protecting and supporting the Muslim community of New Zealand (Monin, 2020; Rahman, 2020). Ardern referred to the attack as a terrorist attack at the earliest opportunity, which openly acknowledged the existence of racist and islamophobia ideologies in society, instead of framing the incident as the random actions of someone mentally unwell. Furthermore, Ardern made a conscious choice not to put a spotlight on the gunman, where he came from and what he believed. This ensured that the victims remained in the spotlight and were given the attention that they deserved and according to Every-Palmer, et al. (2020) created an environment where society felt partially responsible and wanted to make changes.



Thousands of floral tributes were left at mosques around the country and millions raised to support the victims through a number of appeals (Crothers & O’Brien, 2020) In response to the terrorist attacks many New Zealanders participated in social media campaign “this is not who we are” as well as “This is not us”, and women) wore Hijab at memorial services in solidarity with Muslim people (Thiruselvam, 2019).

Image 4: The image by artist Ruby Jones depicting a woman hugging a Muslim woman went viral in New Zealand. Image Source: Manson/Getty Images, 2019

⁴⁵ Refer to Māori dictionary

There was some public backlash against the Muslim traditions and prayers that were brought into public and government ceremonies, such as the Muslim call to prayer which was played over national radio and in the New Zealand parliament (Crothers & O'Brien, 2020). Alternatively there were also critiques about the actions taken by Ardern (such as wearing a hijab in solidarity) and the government were tokenistic as the government had passed legislation which discriminated against Islamic and migrant/refugee communities (Thiruselvam, 2019). Thiruselvam (2019), in their research, also critique the words "This is not who we are" by Ardern as the colonial history, discriminatory immigration history and the structural inequalities that refugees experience, paints a different picture of New Zealand.

4.6.2. Media coverage of the event

Rahman (2020) argues that prior to Christchurch terror attacks, Muslims were unfavourably portrayed in New Zealand media, and that the government and New Zealand media have done little to advocate against the discrimination against Muslims in New Zealand.

Muller & Ellis (2020) and Rahman (2020) found that compared to negative coverage in international press the tone of New Zealand media coverage was more inclusive and supportive. Lazreg (2019) in an article in the Conversation states that there was a reluctance for some international media outlets to label the shooter as a "terrorist" and some media outlets tried to humanize the terrorist by speaking of his childhood. This was found by Muller & Ellis (2020) who found that New Zealand media had focused on the victims of the attack while Australian media had extensive coverage on the perpetrator. They concluded that due to the close proximity of the event, the modelling of the New Zealand government, and the public support of the Muslim community the media had additional pressure to have empathetic and supportive coverage of Muslims. Every-Palmer, et al. (2020) found that initial media coverage after the event focused on the inequalities and discrimination experienced by Muslims.

Rupar (2020) in their research of the decisions that newspaper editors made around how to present coverage of the Christchurch attacks, they found that editors were confronted by their own lack of knowledge and previous coverage of the Muslim community in New Zealand. The editors felt motivated to try harder to ensure that they would ensure that marginalized perspectives were given a platform (Rupar, 2020). This shows that the Christchurch terror attack could possibly have impacted on New Zealand media to make changes in the way they represent Muslims and other marginalized people such as refugees. Further research is needed to ascertain this.

4.6.3 Changes that occurred as a result of the attack.

The terrorist attack brought about more awareness for the experiences of immigrants in New Zealand, and led to many workplace and governmental reviews of policies that impacted on refugees and migrants. A law banning assault rifles and introduced a buy back scheme for people who owned assault rifles passed within days after the attack in the government with almost unanimous support⁴⁶ (Crothers & O'Brien, 2020). Conversations about racism started becoming more normalized in the public sphere and resulted in campaigns against racism including a public campaign the racist refugee policy⁴⁷ which resulted in the removal of this policy in the months following the attack.

⁴⁶ David Seymour of the Act party was the only politician who voted against banning assault rifles.

⁴⁷The racist refugee policy which had been in place for ten years only allowed refugees from African (and Middle Eastern) countries to come to New Zealand if they already had relatives living there (New York Times, 2019.)

5. Experience and representations pre-Christchurch attacks.

This chapter will show and analyse the data gathered from the critical discourse analysis (for the period pre Christchurch attack) and the interviews with former refugees. The interviews focused on the experiences of everyday racism for former refugees in New Zealand, what they felt stereotypes and media discourses were of them and how they engaged with and challenged these discourses. The media analysis looked at the frequency of themes, whether refugee voices were printed, and what stage of the refugee journey was presented in articles by the New Zealand Herald and the Dominion Post from September 15-2018 to March 14 2019. There were 118 relevant articles by the Dominion Post, and 190 articles in the New Zealand Herald during this time frame.

5.1. Lack of visibility

All participants in this research shared that there was limited visibility of their demographic in media. “The only time I’ve read something about refugees was when they said we’re accepting more refugees.” (Aaron, Ethiopia)⁴⁸ Interview participants recalled seeing coverage of Israel Adesanya⁴⁹ and Golriz Ghahraman⁵⁰ as the only public figures representing their background.

Some participants shared that they had seen articles of refugees but they were mainly based on refugees in Europe or in war zones and didn’t see any articles of former refugees living in New Zealand.

⁴⁸ Aaron and all others research participants names is a pseudonym to protect their privacy, his details are found in the participant list in Appendix three. In the in text referencing they are referred to by their pseudonym and their country of origin.

⁴⁹ Israel Adesanya is a New Zealand heavy-weight champion who is black Zimbabwean, but is not from a refugee background.

⁵⁰ Golriz Ghahraman is a member of parliament, a member of the Green Party. Golriz, originally from Iran, claimed asylum in New Zealand when she was 9 with her parents. She is the first person from a refugee background to be elected to parliament.

An analysis of the Dominion Post showed that only 32 articles of the 118 articles (27%) that mentioned refugees, asylum seekers or displaced people were relevant to former refugees living in New Zealand. The NZ Herald had a higher percentage with 69 out of 190 (36%) being related to former refugees moving to or living in New Zealand.

The lack of visibility of refugees and former refugees in media can also mean a lack of refugee voices and faces that the public can listen to and be educated by. The lack of refugee voices in media was something that some participants expressed when speaking about the lack of visibility for former refugees in media. Participants felt that although they did read some articles about refugees, there were usually no refugee voices published, and community organizations or NGO'S would be asked for comments about matters relating to refugees. "The thing is like, the narrative has always you know been told from the media perspective, from the NGO perspective, yeah from different perspectives but from ours. So we decided to speak up" (Marco, Colombia).

This was correlated in findings in the media analysis where only 23.6% (27) of articles published during the 2018-2019 period by NZ Herald featured individual voices of refugees and only 24 (20%) in the articles by the Dominion Post.

Media Framing theory states that the media frames an issue in such a way that it impacts how people think about and act towards others. When the public is ignorant and unable to relate to refugees, and rely on media coverage, this can result in fear and hatred which manifests in racist tirades or barriers in education. Many participants in this research felt that they had been subject to racist tirades. Four participants independently shared that they had been told: "go home to their own country" when they had been walking alone at night on the street, or in the case of one participant when he was participating in a protest, where they were protesting human rights abuses in his country of origin. One interview participant shared that they were chased down the street and two shared that they had been the victims of a racist tirade from drunk or mentally unstable people.

The experience of the participants shows that racism is existent in New Zealand. Racism can stem from ignorance, lack of education and the blind acceptance of discourses perpetuated in media. The lack of visibility and refugee voices in media

can contribute to a culture of ignorance, misunderstanding and racism towards former refugees.

Some former refugees in this study use their own agency to increase visibility and knowledge around the skills and contributions of former refugees. Several participants in this study initially got involved with the former refugee-led station, Voice of Aroha, based in Wellington New Zealand, due to their frustrations with the lack of refugee voices and accurate media representations of former refugees.

Participants shared that the purpose of the radio station is to increase the visibility and raise the voices of former refugees, through discussing many topics not necessarily related to being a refugee. One participant shared

The point is to share our views in subject matters relevant to us we are not just talking about refugee issues we talk about other things, we want others to feel that we are also citizens of this country, contributing and we have opinions- participant involved with Voice of Aroha⁵¹



**VOICE OF AROHA
WELLINGTON**

Image 5 Image Source: Voice of Aroha, 2021

Being involved with Voice of Aroha helped one participant to feel empowered to publicly acknowledge their background and to be proud of their story.

Reading newspapers and hearing what people were saying, things around me made me think you know what? Let's get together, and like speak up and then let's tell them like what we are all about and the skills that we have and what we bring to the community. Many people were surprised (at me) because they didn't know that was my background. - Participant involved with Voice of Aroha.

⁵¹ These participants cannot be identified with their pseudonyms due to the small nature of the Voice of Aroha team where ethnicities could be correlated with a member of the team.

Another shared that being part of the radio programme was a very empowering experience for themselves as it created a safe space to share their experience. “I think we’re pretty open and honest and you know not trying to please anybody. I feel very open. I feel comfortable to you know express you know my experiences and share it.”

The marginalization of refugee voices in media, and the lack of coverage of former refugees in New Zealand in media, can result in ignorance, misinformation, and harmful discourses which can fuel everyday racism. The marginalization of former refugees in media has created an environment where former refugees have felt obligated to use their agency to create their own media platform in order to express who and what they are (without someone doing it for them), which has been an empowering experience for those involved. Unfortunately, this platform does not (yet) have a wide reach, so while main-stream media continues to marginalize refugee voices and stories, ignorance and racist discourses will continue to perpetuate in society.

5.2. Emphasizing background

Most participants felt that there was no overt negative coverage towards refugees in media, although two participants felt that refugees were often associated with criminality and immorality. One participant, Abraham (Ethiopia), explained that he feels that in the media when a crime has been committed by a former refugee the background is accentuated “this one broke someone’s car and is a refugee.”

Abraham (Ethiopia) shared that on one occasion he was racially profiled by the police. Amira (Somalia) shared that she had recently read an article about a family violence incident where the ethnicity and Muslim identity of a person was highlighted. Amira (Somalia) questioned why the link between the background and the crime was made when “family violence occurs on a day to day basis” in many different families.

In the coverage of refugees in the NZ Herald 5.2% of articles connected refugees with criminality, and lacking morality whereas in the Dominion Post this was 4.2% Other negative themes such as linking refugees with insecurity occurred in 10 articles in the New Zealand Herald (5.2% of all articles) and in 5 articles in the Dominion Post (4.2%).

When refugees are associated with immorality, insecurity or criminality in media they are framed negatively or as “being the problem” that needed solving rather than looking at the humanitarian reasons behind why someone is a refugee. 8 articles in the Dominion Post (6.7%) and 12 in the NZ Herald (6.3%) framed refugees as a problem needing solving. In the NZ Herald, 25 out of 190 (13.1%) were written in a tone that was negative towards and about refugees, and in the Dominion Post this was 19 out of 118 (16.1%).

Racist tirades such as “Go home to your own country” that four participants in this study experienced could be linked to negative depictions of refugees in media. Some participants shared that they actively challenge these depictions and negative beliefs. Claude (DRC)⁵² shared that when he was on public transport and a woman used racist slurs towards him “You should you go back to your country”. She called him the “N word” as well, “the people in the bus were getting uncomfortable but they weren’t sharing their opinion.” Claude (DRC) said because of the inaction of others he had to take action “So I had to stand up for myself and educate her and once I’ve educated her some people were like clapping.” Keza (Rwanda) shared that she challenged someone who liked African American hip hop music but who was making racist comments towards her. She told them “Do you not see that I look exactly the same as those people you hold to such high esteem?”

Some participants felt that just mentioning the refugee background of a person led to labelling and stereotyping. These participants said they wanted to be recognized as an individual and not labelled as a refugee. Participants felt that they are often labelled in media as refugees, even though they are all residents or citizens. Almost all the interview participants shared that the media and government agencies incorrectly used the word refugee in articles or scholarships and grants and felt like words like a former refugee, or coming from refugee background was better. Hamdi (Syria) also noted that university scholarships are often advertised as being for refugees “I have noticed whenever they’re showing a scholarship recipient, when they’re refugees they have it like this refugee student gets a scholarship but the rest of the people who are not from refugee background they don’t specify.” Hamdi

⁵² DRC is an acronym for Democratic Republic of Congo

(Syria) also spoke about seeing an article about refugees in New Zealand having huge dental needs and being an economic cost for New Zealand.

Why is that there? And they're talking as if we're like refugees when in reality when we come here, we become either permanent residents or like citizens, we have the same rights so instead of being called refugees we should be called New Zealanders from a refugee background. That article itself shouldn't have been there. I think using refugee backgrounds is better than using refugee, because like finally after a very long journey we get to come to a country where we can call home but then people call us refugees like a label. – Hamdi (Syria)

In the analysis of pre-Christchurch attack, the refugee label is used incorrectly (7.6% in the articles by the Dominion Post and 6.3% in the New Zealand Herald) when former refugee or refugee background should have been used.

Dehumanization of refugees can lead to former refugees being isolated or singled out as two participants shared in their experiences of school. Abraham (Ethiopia) who attended a predominantly white school shared “when I was young, I hated school. I hated it. Being skinny, coloured at a very westernized school with a lot of kiwis”. Paul (Uganda) shared changing schools due to being the centre of attention and being distracted a lot by the attention, due to his ethnicity.

One interview participant felt like they were left out of social and friendship groups “I was not being accepted. And I don't know if that was just my personality or I'm black” (Aaron, Ethiopia)

As a result, some participants shared that they hide their refugee status due to the negative stereotypes of others, such as Marco (Colombia) when he overheard a conversation criticizing refugees in the workplace, not knowing he was a from refugee background. Hamdi (Syria) however said that she was proud of her refugee background and shared it freely “I'm proud of the journey. I was able to overcome all this. And people are able to acknowledge you were able to overcome all of this, you must be proud.”

The accentuation of refugee background, in particular with stories about immorality and criminality, and the labelling of former refugees as “refugees” in media results in

refugees being portrayed as a problem. It can result in racist beliefs and actions towards refugees, as experienced by the participants of this research, as well as former refugees feeling they have to hide their background to protect themselves.

However, despite the connotations associated with refugees in media, some participants such as Hamdi still choose to view the refugee background label as a symbol of strength and resilience.

5.3. Dehumanization

A lack of visibility, as well as an association with criminality and immorality, portrays refugees in dehumanizing ways in New Zealand media. Many participants felt that when refugees were shown in the media they were often shown as a group, both before and during resettlement. Some shared that they felt this was dehumanizing as it did not show the individuality of a former refugee instead lumping them together into a category.

I feel like whenever I see on New Zealand media, like this number of people have come. Yeah number of people said to be coming and so yeah who are the people who are coming and what are their stories? – Keza (Rwanda)

The analysis of newspapers, in the pre-Christchurch attack period, found that only 6.7% of articles by the Dominion Post featured or talked about individual former refugees living in New Zealand with a slight increase of 9.4% of articles in the New Zealand Herald. Overall 69% of all articles featuring refugees, and asylum seekers in the NZ Herald showed refugees in groups. 57% of all articles in the Dominion Post showed refugees in groups.

Depictions of refugees in media where they are dehumanized can lead to further dehumanization through racist actions towards former refugees. Betty (Colombia) shared an experience where they were dehumanized in the workplace. A colleague told them “but you’re supposed to be cleaning, you’re the one that needs to clean up, because that’s how you do it in your country. Females from your country should be cleaning and stuff” (Betty, Colombia). Claude (DRC) shared his experiences of being dehumanized in primary school, by being compared to an animal by his teacher.

We were watching a documentary about genealogy like apes and monkeys, so she asked me to come to the front of the class... At that time my English was really, really bad and I couldn't understand what was going on around me. She made me sit on the carpet and she had a little microscope and she asked me to open my palm, and she like, put that microscope on my palm. She started looking at my palm. She looked at my fingernails. She asked me to come closer and she looked at my nose feature, my eyebrow feature and she started comparing it to the gorilla that was on T.V, and then she started telling my classmates that I am the truth of evolution- Claude (DRC)

Both the examples by Betty and Claude show that the perpetrators of racism acted as if they were less human than them. Not depicting refugees as individuals with mana⁵³, agency and dignity in media can result in these beliefs that refugees are less human than the people of the host society, which can result in these acts of everyday racism. Furthermore, when refugees are denied their humanity, in media, people may feel that they have free access to the trauma histories and stories of former refugees. This can result in insensitive and intrusive questions around their trauma background which several participants in this research shared that they had experienced.

Keza, originally from Rwanda said “when you say you come from Rwanda, without a breath even being taken they be like, so how was the genocide? So what tribe are you from?” The same experience was backed up by Kazuba also from Rwanda. Keza says she challenges this by replying

Do you actually understand what you are asking? Do you not understand like it was one of the most horrific things in my family's history and my countries history and you're just like casually asking how many people died, you're just asking me this?-Keza (Rwanda)

Some former refugees described how they used their agency to protect themselves and their privacy from these questions. Paul from Uganda shared that he didn't like to tell others that he was from a refugee background because his friends “would think you're from the war zone. They start asking “did you see a dead person?”

⁵³ Refer to Māori dictionary

Sarah (Ethiopia) shared that she to come up with a story due to other people's assumptions about her background "It's frustrating having to like, come up with a story."

Although former refugees are dehumanized in media and through the racist actions of others there are ways that former refugees are resilient and are actively protecting their humanity, by challenging the questions of others as Keza did and by hiding elements of their background as Paul and Sarah did.

5.4. Paternalism- unable to contribute

Some interview participants shared that they believed that New Zealand media portrayed them in paternalistic ways and that New Zealanders had paternalistic beliefs about former refugees. Former refugees are often represented in media without skills and abilities, and the ability to contribute, and needing help. This results in barriers in education and employment and everyday racism for former refugees living in New Zealand.

Fatima (Afghanistan) shared that government advocacy for refugees often came across as paternalistic.

You know I adore Chloe Swarbrick⁵⁴ as much as the next Green⁵⁵ voter but she, whenever she pushes for upping the refugee intake, she doesn't talk about how a lot of refugees that come here are young people and young families who are growing and going to grow up to be taxpayers. She doesn't talk about the fact that a lot of Syrians are very highly educated. She talks about how we have a responsibility to all these poor people who are dying, that is paternalistic, and that is white saviour behaviour- Fatima (Afghanistan)

Interview participants felt that stories about refugees in New Zealand media focused too much on before and during resettlement, rather than after resettlement, and did not show the contributions of former refugees after resettlement.

⁵⁴ Chloe Swarbrick is a member of the Green Party in parliament and the youngest ever elected parliamentarian. She has been a vocal advocate for the increase of the annual refugee quota.

⁵⁵The Green party is a left-wing political party, currently in a coalition agreement with the Labour majority party

Only one side is represented. Read the headline, we will talk to you about the numbers and they show you the pictures of someone homeless or dressing like poor people. When it is about something about refugees they always remind us of the past. I don't see in general news about the future maybe one percent of the hundred are good stories- Caleb (Iraq)

In the analysis of newspaper articles, before the Christchurch attacks, in the articles by the NZ Herald, only 14 % (25/190) showed former refugees after they had been resettled. In the Dominion Post, this was considerably higher at 23.7% (28/118).

A lack of coverage of refugees after they had been resettled means that there is less acknowledgement of the contributions that former refugees have made to New Zealand. Participants in this research unanimously felt that there was not enough media coverage of the skills, accomplishments and contributions of former refugees in New Zealand. Most participants shared that if they could change anything about New Zealand media it would be to highlight more success stories and present former refugees in more nuanced ways. "I would like to see more positive success stories in the media, 100%" (Amira, Somalia). The participants felt that this was beneficial for New Zealanders to know as it might make them feel more accepting and be more welcoming of former refugees.

I know lots of amazing people from refugee background. Many of them are company founders. If those stories were in the media they would empower others and also empower the whole society that they benefit by having the (refugee) - Caleb (Iraq)

There are so many people that have come from refugee background that I know personally, that are achieving, like doing great things or doing a lot for the communities and they need to be recognized. Even those stories are also great for Pakeha⁵⁶ people to be seeing like they are also an inspiration for them... and it's just highlighting the changing faces of New Zealanders"- Keza (Rwanda)

In the analysis of newspapers, the themes of accomplishment were found in 14 articles and the theme of contribution was found in only eight articles in the 118

⁵⁶ Refer to Māori dictionary

relevant articles in Dominion Post. In the New Zealand Herald only 19 out of 190 articles focused on refugee contributions while eight articles focused on accomplishment.

Not only are the skills, contributions and knowledge of refugees and former refugees underrepresented in New Zealand media, but participants shared that New Zealanders had low expectations of refugees, viewing them as people without ability and agency. Abraham (Ethiopia) summed this up by saying “they just know refugees who are homeless, with no culture, people with no skill, they think they are just homeless people with nothing”. Many participants shared that people get surprised they have a job or they speak good English. Amira (Somalia) shared that she believed New Zealanders thought refugees “are all on WINZ⁵⁷, were uneducated people, they get quite shocked when they find out you are educated.” Some shared that they were praised that they and their family had come a long way.

People don't usually think I'm from a refugee background, but when I do say that I am from a refugee background they are very surprised as to the things that I've been able to do or like, the position that I am now, maybe in their minds, they're like if you're from refugee background, and if you're going to come to NZ is like you don't get stuff done, you don't just like pick up your life and move forwards- Keza (Rwanda)

Due to low expectations and paternalistic discourses of former refugees both in media and society, former refugees felt they needed to work twice as hard to prove themselves. Participants shared about putting higher expectations on themselves due to the stereotypes about refugees not contributing. Fatima (Afghanistan) explained that she was always trying to fight this internalized view that she had to do better than others.

I've had to hold myself to like this extreme standard, where I have to do better than everyone else because I'm a former refugee where I have to prove to people and that's a huge burden to be carrying on your shoulder and I've kind of realized recently that if people have stereotypes about refugees or prejudices that's their problem- Fatima (Afghanistan)

⁵⁷ WINZ is an acronym for Work and Income New Zealand and is the government department that distributes unemployment benefits.

Paternalistic discourses of refugees are found in the pre-Christchurch attack newspaper analysis, through a focus on refugees before resettlement, and through a scarcity of articles highlighting the accomplishments and contributions of refugees. The disempowering discourses of refugees and former refugees in New Zealand media lead to increased pressure on former refugees to feel that they need to work twice as hard to prove themselves. It also leads to lower expectations of former refugees by education and employment providers as outlined in the next section

5.4.1. Discrimination in education and employment

Participants shared that the lack of recognition of the skills and knowledge refugees bring leads to discrimination in education. Two interview participants felt that in high school, just after resettlement, they were pushed to study in classes at a lower level than what they studied in their home countries, due to assumptions that teachers made about their intelligence. One shared that they had been put straight into ESOL even though they had scored 100% in prior tests

Before you get put into any class level, they give you a test. I had 100% in English, Maths cos it was written not oral, so I had everything I needed. But they told me I couldn't go to any classes because I am fresh in New Zealand. And in ESOL I ended up passing all the syllabuses up to year eleven, I was in year nine I passed everything up to Year eleven- Kazuba (Rwanda)

However, Claude from DRC shared that he felt that his teachers had pushed him hard and fairly and he had appreciated the support of his teachers.

Kazuba (Rwanda) also reported that she was taken off the list to visit a university by her teacher “I was not allowed to go because apparently, I was more suited on the other one (a lower level education provider) because I thought you weren't smart enough for university.” Kazuba (Rwanda) shared how she arranged her own transport to get to the university and since this time has graduated with several degrees from this University and is currently working in a professional job.

Some participants felt that their skills and qualifications were not recognized which resulted in barriers to employment. One participant shared that he had struggled to find a job in his field, even though he was highly experienced in his work at home (Caleb, Iraq). Another interview participant who moved here recently stated that his

experience and qualifications from home were not recognized and he struggled to find a job in his field

Because I'm new people will underestimate your skills, Imagine before I came in, I already established an organization, a non-profit, so I had already managed all the funding groups... all that experience they did not give it zero percent- Caleb (Iraq)

Caleb (Iraq) also shared that his family members who were university graduates and had great English were not able to find jobs in their fields “One ended up working in a Kebab shop, the other did cleaning.” Caleb shared that when he was rejected for a job, he asked for feedback on why he had been rejected by the person who had interviewed him, who was also from a refugee background. They told him to lower his expectations as it took the person “twenty years to get to be a manager of that department.” To which Caleb commented

My question for him is, why are you teaching me we get to struggle the same way you did, for it to take me twenty years until I get something decent? This is wrong. They make him be that way to think that this is normal that everyone should come to struggle for the first five to ten years – Caleb (Iraq)

None of the participants shared any problems gaining employment in lower-skilled jobs. Marco however shared that he found work straight away as a house painter due to his practical experience back in Colombia “it was kind of easy for me to say oh I have this skill that I got and trying to find a job in the same area was kind of easy.” Others shared that in high in demand professions they experienced no barriers to getting a job. Another interview participant shared that from an early age they were encouraged to pursue high in demand professions such as nursing, who said her parents told her “Look you really need to pick careers, where they actually going to give you opportunities, my older sister went into nursing and with nursing, they don't actually care if you're brown, they'll hire you” (Fatima, Afghanistan.)

However, for more professional jobs, most participants who are graduates felt that their name or background hindered them from getting a more professional job. Abraham (Ethiopia) shared “I've got the right experience but they're not hiring me

because of my name. Yeah I changed my name to (*Anglicized version on his name*)." Claude (DRC) working in a professional industry stated

One of the lecturers told me that apparently if you have a long name in the X⁵⁸ industry, It's almost hard for you to make partnership because people won't be able to pronounce your name and you won't be partners, so you probably want to change your name or add them I just that sort of threw me off, because now I wonder if I'm going to change my name – Claude (DRC)

Sarah (Ethiopia) said she internally worried that her skin colour was a barrier to getting a job.

How I looked, may have been in the back of my mind and when I go to interviews and they act surprised that you know I look the way I look. And then I think in the back of my mind they would probably rather give it to this other person (white person) - Sarah (Ethiopia)

5.4.2. Paternalistic beliefs of New Zealanders.

Paternalistic ideas that former refugees are not able to contribute, due to their fragile state can lead to stereotypes that refugee participants stay on WINZ benefits. A common stereotype is that New Zealanders believe that former refugees have had it easy in New Zealand "people say oh like refugees have it so easy in New Zealand they get everything from our taxes. My parents pay for you to be here, things like that" (Betty, Colombia). Betty shares that she challenges this stereotype by reminding them that she has a job. The stereotype that refugees have it easy and don't contribute can be the basis for some people's negative attitude towards refugees. Claude (DRC) shared that a fellow university student had stated in class "New Zealand shouldn't take in more refugees because these people were just coming to take advantage of the country's wealth and welfare system."

Another common stereotype that results from paternalistic media framing is that refugees "need saving" and should be grateful that their resettlement country has saved them. Several participants shared that often they were reminded that they should be grateful to New Zealand for saving them. Amira (Somalia) shared that she

⁵⁸ The profession is anonymized to protect the identity of the participant.

was telling a stranger she met recently about her refugee story. The stranger remarked. “Oh you are so lucky to be here.” Amira (Somalia) says she perceived this as “Patronizing words that people will use to make you feel that you need to show gratitude.”

5.4.3. Socio economic status

One positive aspect of paternalistic ideas and thoughts is that it does recognize that refugees do need additional help and support after resettlement, which results in support and some opportunities for refugees. Although the paternalistic school of thought is that former refugees are unable to help themselves and therefore need support, the reality is that refugees are able and do help themselves but are constrained by personal and societal constraints.

Former refugees are often socio–economically disadvantaged when they first resettle in New Zealand, due to barriers to employment, lack of personal connections, lack of wealth and due to family responsibilities. Participants shared that lack of connections when they first resettled, was a barrier for them to get a professional job “When they finish (other classmates) from uni, they get a job, because they have their relative maybe working in the field, yeah for them it’s easy” (Paul, Uganda). Claude (DRC) shared that

One day my nieces and nephews won’t have to experience what I’ve been experiencing because they already got an uncle who’s a (profession withheld⁵⁹), if they want to be a professional (profession withheld) they’re always going to have jobs because I’m going to make a way for them

Due to a lack of personal connections, and wealth (sometimes due to having to leave it behind when fleeing the county) parents of refugee background need to work twice as hard to achieve. As Claude (DRC) says “Most black people who come to New Zealand have to achieve what they have to pass on. We are the first wealth generation because our parents they are not able to create anything.”

Five participants in this researched shared how they were economically disadvantaged due to having expectations to provide for those back home. “I’m not

⁵⁹ This profession is withheld to protect the participant’s anonymity due to the small and tight-knit nature of the D.R.C community

just coming to New Zealand to look after myself, you have got a lot of responsibility” (Aaron, Ethiopia). Abraham (Ethiopia) shared that “you do have that perspective that actually you’re different, so you have to do extra to perform to prove yourself to be someone.” Many people have responsibilities of financially remitting to family members back home as well as supporting elderly or medically unable family members who resettled with them in New Zealand.

I know that that person has a lot of responsibility on their shoulders, you know, they are doing a lot of things (for those at home). I know some people who work 70 hours a week. And when I see them I always tell them “I’m proud of you”. Because I know that person actually has so much responsibility not just here in New Zealand but back in Africa- Abraham (Ethiopia)

Paternalistic discourses of refugees needing support has led to the creation of job opportunities for people of refugee background. Many of the participants in the research were employed to support African, migrant or refugee communities, in different ministerial, or community roles. Some participants felt that their diversity had helped them or others they knew to gain a role. One participant shared that a previous employer had hired because they thought it “would be interesting to have an African female, even though the business had nothing that I could afford or my people could afford” (Kazuba, Rwanda). Others shared that jobs for governments or NGOs was due to their diversity “I feel like I was a ticking tick box exercise” (Kazuba, Rwanda.)

Other support services have been created to support former refugees, for example, a refugee student advisor at university but this was perceived as disempowering by Hamdi (Syria).

At uni⁶⁰ we have a refugee student advisor, if we ask him a question and he’s like Oh I’m gonna⁶¹ get back to you. He goes and asks the finance people, yeah which I could just do like directly. I don’t have to go through this entire loop just to get an answer, like I can call the finance team myself and be like Oh how do you do this instead of going straight to this guy – Hamdi (Syria)

⁶⁰ Uni is a common phrase in New Zealand which is a shortened word for university

⁶¹ Gonna is a common shortened way of saying going to

5.5 Agency

Former refugees are not passive agents, and passively accept all stereotypes, barriers and discrimination they face, instead, they hold tino rangatiratanga⁶² or agency and actively challenge representations and discrimination. Participants challenged the lack of visibility and voices of refugees in media, by creating their own platforms clubs or using social media.

Most of the participants that were interviewed were involved in refugee background community-led organizations, either in employment or through volunteering. During the duration of the research, several participants were involved in organizing various events and workshops for the refugee community. One participant shared he was involved in organizing a club at the university that he attended for former refugees “because I was sick of what media were saying about you know our communities and I was sick of hearing that we were a burden for the country, for the economy, for everything”(Marco, Colombia).

Another participant ⁶³shared that they became involved with Voice of Aroha, a refugee-led radio station, due to discrimination against refugees “the barriers were too big when I find that the barriers were too big and that people are not giving the chances, is extreme.”

A refugee youth orchestra performs for World Refugee Day Festival, an event put on by a team of former refugees in Wellington.

Image source: (Voice of Aroha, 2021)



⁶² Refer to Māori dictionary

⁶³ This participant is not identified due to the few amount of people involved with Voice of Aroha and the easily identifiable profiles of people involved.

Some participants shared they used social media and technology purposefully to share videos, stories and photos from back home as a way of combatting negative stereotypes about their home. Paul from Uganda shared that he would often take photos of houses and large buildings in Uganda at home and showed them to his colleagues to show that Uganda was advanced too.

Most participants felt that they didn't want to argue on social media as they felt that it was not their job to educate other New Zealanders. Many felt that this kind of argument was pointless and exhausting. However, others engaged with discussions on social media even when it mentally impacted them.

I try not to read it in the first place. I do push back all the time, that's a problem that when I read it I usually respond to. It's exhausting you know I'm not here to teach the whole of New Zealand, that not my job. - Fatima (Afghanistan)

Former refugees exercise their agency in many different ways to challenge dominant media discourses. They make the most of their situation by taking opportunities available to them, creating their own media platforms, groups and events, and by being hard workers and positive role models for their culture. Although it is clear that former refugees experience everyday racism and barriers to inclusion and achievement, due in part to media discourses, many former refugees in New Zealand show their resilience and tenacity in the ways that they use their own agency to better their lives and to create a home for themselves. "I've found my place" says Betty, from Colombia. Fatima (Afghanistan) shares "It (New Zealand) is home now."

6. Impact of Christchurch Terror Attack.

This chapter analyses the public and media response to the Christchurch terror attack⁶⁴ as well as explores whether this event resulted in any changes in media representations and the experiences of everyday racism for former refugees in New Zealand. This chapter draws on views from interview participants from refugee backgrounds and analyses newspaper coverage from the New Zealand Herald and the Dominion Post, 6 months to a year after the attack from the 15th of September 2019 to the 14th of March 2020. This newspaper coverage is compared to coverage in the time period immediately before the attack.⁶⁵

This newspaper coverage is then compared to newspaper coverage directly before the attack from the 15th of September 2018 to the 14th of March 2019.

6.1. Former refugee response to the attack

As the coverage of the attack unfolded most participants shared they were worried someone they might know, or people known to their Muslim friends were at the mosque at the time of the shooting. Several participants said that they had directly lost someone they knew in the mosque shooting and almost all participants identified a friend who had lost somebody in the Christchurch shooting. This is evidence of how closely knit the former refugee and ethnic minority communities are in New Zealand. Many shared that they felt strongly connected to the event, as many who had died or were injured were from refugee background. Two participants, from a Muslim background, shared that their mums were physically distraught after the event “mum was acting as if the people who died in that mosque were her children really like she felt strongly about it, she felt very connected to what happened” (Hamdi, Syria).

⁶⁴ The Christchurch Terror Attack, which occurred on the 15th of March 2019, was only the second terrorist attack to happen in New Zealand, and by far the most deadly, with 51 people killed. Brendan Tarrant a white supremacist, originally from Australia, was the perpetrator of the greatest count of mass murders in New Zealand. All killed were Muslim and many were from refugee backgrounds.

⁶⁵ 15th of September 2018 to the 14th of March 2019.

Most of the research participants expressed that they were shocked that this happened “I would never have expected that” (Aaron, Ethiopia). However, Hamdi who has been in NZ for less than 5 years, said that for her the terror attacks were not a surprise because she said that back in Syria it was normal to see people dying every day. Two participants shared that they were shocked to find out that there were guns in New Zealand and another shared that they had believed the gun laws NZ had was similar to Australia⁶⁶.

Media commentators referred to the Christchurch attack as the “End of our Innocence” for New Zealand a nation that is known for its bi-culturalism and peace. Participants shared that for most of them this event also changed the way they perceived and felt in New Zealand. They had felt safe and secure for many years and taken peace in New Zealand for granted.

As people of colour, we've kind of had to realize that, you know as refugees coming here, NZ is a safe haven right? It's a world away from the issues of our home countries. Literally a world away. There's an ocean between us. And all of us a sudden this island that's peaceful and far away, and we got used to that perception and that's why it's so shocking – Fatima (Afghanistan)

Many participants felt that they could have been a target, the only ones who didn't were some participants who identified as Christians saying the attack was an attack on Muslim people. However several participants who identified as Christians said that if they could have been a target because anyone could easily mistake them as Muslim due to their Arab or black physical features. Kazuba (Rwanda) said “I was thinking it was not necessarily an attack because they were Muslim, I think it was just someone they hated. Not just the faith or the religion but those who were attending it. They were different.”

All three participants that came from a Muslim background shared that they were worried for themselves and their communities. All identified family members or acquaintances who were scared to attend the mosque or Muslim activities.

Evidently this event had a significant impact on former refugees, even if they were not directly involved, which resulted in some experiencing increased feelings of

⁶⁶ Reference to the New Zealand law that allowed for private ownership of semi-automatic rifles, which the perpetrator used to murder his victim.

vulnerability and fear. This can lead to additional mental and personal barriers for refugees on top of the structural barriers that they already have and can result in reduced ability to use their own agency. However, as the chapter explains the resulting visibility and public responses also raised the platform of Muslim and other minorities which could bring about increased agency.

6.2. New Zealand response

The participants from this research felt that the government responded appropriately. Some participants praised the response while others commented that the response was the bare minimum that was needed and they expected the government to react the way it did.

Many participants shared they were moved by the response of New Zealanders to the event. “It was really good, after hearing about it (the event) everybody was empathetic straightway and they wanted to support and help as much as they can” (Kazuba, Rwanda). After the event, many participants shared that their neighbours, colleagues and friends reached out to them, even if they were from a non-Muslim background. Some shared that neighbours brought around flowers or people on the street gave them hugs. One participant shared that someone paid for a coffee for him.

The event raised the platform of former refugees and they became more visible to the public in the aftermath of the event. Two participants shared that when they had gone for a walk on the street in the aftermath of the attacks they were surprised by the number of people smiling and making eye contact, which had never happened before. This event, therefore, created a more inclusive environment for people of refugee background, for the short term at least.

In the immediate aftermath of the Christchurch attack, many people became involved with two social media campaigns “This is not us”⁶⁷ and “They are us.”⁶⁸ These campaigns involved adding slogans to profile pictures and posting photos with this caption on social media. Many participants were sceptical about the “This is not us” campaign. They felt that people got behind this campaign to show to others they

⁶⁷ “This” referring to the white supremacist attack.

⁶⁸ This slogan is referring to Muslims/minorities as “They” and “Us” as New Zealanders.

were not racist, but at the same time not acknowledging the harmful discourses they held of minority groups such as former refugees and everyday forms of racism they or their fellow New Zealanders perpetrated.

I think I have a problem with the “this is not us” because it’s kind of like putting the attention on yourself rather than actually on other people. This is not who we are, we don’t do this, well it just happened so we do, because even beforehand there was discrimination that Muslim people faced for wearing a hijab, just like you know racism and discrimination that have always existed so it’s a privileged thing to publish “this is not us” as if racism has never existed (in NZ).” Sarah (Ethiopia)

Fatima (Afghanistan) shared that she believed that the fact that the terrorist was from Australia was used, by the media, and New Zealanders to have an excuse to say that New Zealanders are not the ones who are racist. Sarah (Ethiopia) says “I feel that people still view it as an event. It’s just an event and is just an exception. And it was done by an Australian.”

Participants were a bit more positive about the “They are us” social media campaign and felt the campaign was about solidarity and showing support. “It was the biggest respect and it made me feel emotional and the best answer, the first time in the world you see a country like all together to stop these things” (Caleb, Iraq). Others criticized the authenticity of the campaign and feeling that it was tokenistic “they are us I don’t like it that they make it sound like we are the same, but we are not the same, you actually have to learn the difference” (Aaron, Ethiopia).

Participants felt that they were supported and cared for in the aftermath of the response but that New Zealanders wasted the opportunity to reflect on their paternalistic or racist beliefs and actions towards people of ethnic minorities. This event educated the NZ public not only to the existence of ethnic minorities and the experiences of former refugee (through the telling of victims stories many of whom were from refugee backgrounds) but to the existence of racism and discrimination prevalent in NZ. Armed with this new knowledge, many New Zealanders, in the time period after the attack were prompted to be more inclusive and supportive of their former refugee neighbours. Some of these learnings have resulted in more long term changes in the way some New Zealanders interact with former refugees.

6.3 Initial Media response

Most participants felt that the initial media coverage was appropriate and respectful. They believed that increased visibility of the Muslim community through photos and telling background stories of different victims would have been very educational and for New Zealand, particularly as many had come from a refugee background. Some participants shared that it was good that the media did not humanize the terrorist⁶⁹. “It (the media coverage) was respectful and you know the Prime Minister set the tone early on, you know she was listening to us and refusing to say his name and refused to humanize him and the media kind of followed in her footsteps” (Fatima, Afghanistan.)

However other participants felt that the media was quite performative and doing damage control in the initial response. “I think definitely it felt a little bit performative. We all kind of felt that way. I felt like it was kind of like New Zealand felt like they had to redeem like their image” (Sarah, Ethiopia). Others shared that the terror attack highlighted serious inequalities in New Zealand media as they had no POC⁷⁰ or Muslim background people on their staff to interview.

The sad part is a lot of Australian outlets already had someone in the news agency of Muslim background, who they're able to call on. The sad part is New Zealand didn't have anyone really all these big-time news agencies were reaching out to the Muslim community and it's like so obvious you're not employing anyone. (Fatima, Afghanistan.)

This was evident in the number of participants who had been (or their friends) contacted by the media for comment on the Christchurch attacks. The attack brought to the public spotlight some of the inequalities prevalent in media, which may have spurred media outlets to make changes in the way they represented former refugees and other minority groups.

⁶⁹ White supremacist perpetrator, originally from Australia

⁷⁰ Abbreviation for Person of Colour.

6.4 Change

The Christchurch attack put the Muslim community (many of refugee background) in the spotlight. The attack highlighted, publicly, discrimination and inequality in both the media and society and it educated the New Zealand public on the existence and humanity of Muslim New Zealanders. There is no doubt that a significant event such as this will result in some form of societal change (whether it is long-lasting, remains to be seen).

6.4.1. Visibility

It was clear that the attack brought to light the lack of visibility and refugee voices that were in the media. Participants shared that after the Christchurch attack there appeared to be a greater media interest in their perspectives and experiences both before and after resettlement. Hamdi (Syria) says “There is more awareness in terms of what is the actual experience of refugees before they come to New Zealand, rather than just a number.” Some participants that the news began to show more diversity. Betty (Colombia) says “before there was not many black community faces in the news.” Others felt that there had been no change in the media in the way they have been represented. These participants felt that the original media coverage was short-lived and was damage control and wished that the representations of Muslims and ethnic minorities could be continued today. Some felt that BLM had a greater impact on the changes in the media

The amount of New Zealand based stories about former refugees were the same prior to the attack in the NZ Herald (a 0.9% decrease.) However, in the Dominion Post, there was a 26% increase in New Zealand based articles about refugees and asylum seekers.

Articles that printed the story of a former refugee living in New Zealand, after resettling New Zealand increased from 0 articles before the Christchurch attacks to 8 articles after the attacks in the Dominion Post. In the NZ Herald, there was an increase from 8 articles out of 190 before the attack to 11 articles out of 114. This shows that there is a positive shift in publishing the stories of refugees in New Zealand.

6.4.2 Acknowledgement of inequality

Most participants shared that increased visibility of Muslim and ethnic minority communities, in the media and public sphere, resulted in greater awareness by others of the struggles that minority communities face.

“People are aware of us. And actually they now realize, like the struggle we’ve been through because when we said we were refugees, they didn’t have this like exact idea of why we struggle. But then after these stories and I remember one of the interviewees (of the Christchurch terrorist attack) she talks about what her struggles were before coming to New Zealand, so I feel like now they have a better idea.” – Hamdi (Syria)

Claude (DRC) shared that the thought, that as a direct result of the attack, there was more coverage on discrimination, including recent coverage of discrimination towards Asians⁷¹. However Claude (DRC) says that the main-stream media has not given POC an adequate platform to address racism in society “in terms of space and platform, I think it an initiative made by black people, coloured people themselves. Not a platform given to them by white people. They have to create it for themselves.” This is seen in the actions by those who founded or became involved in Voice of Aroha, one participant⁷² shared “We decided to (create our own) media to kind of tell a different narrative. The media like to dehumanize people.”

The analysis of the newspaper coverage found that there was a positive shift in the number of articles talking about inequality and racism that former refugees in New Zealand faced and inequalities that refugee’s worldwide face. In the NZ Herald stories which highlighted violence against refugees had no increase or decrease, but there was an increase in articles of 12% in the Dominion Post. Stories about racism that former refugees in New Zealand faced increased from 1 article before the Christchurch Shootings, to 9 after the Christchurch attack, in the Dominion Post. In the NZ Herald, there was an 11% increase of articles highlighting racism towards refugees in NZ and a 28% increase in articles highlighting racism overseas. The

⁷¹ Worldwide, as a result of the Corona Virus which originated in Wuhan (China) in 2020, there has been increased reports of racism, discrimination and violence towards Asians.

⁷² Cannot be identified with pseudonym due to the small nature of the Voice of Aroha Team

Dominion Post coverage in particular has changed, in a positive way, to highlight and address more the inequalities faced by former refugees in New Zealand.

6.4.3. Positive shifts in media

The majority of participants said they have seen a little change after the Christchurch shootings “I think now it’s getting better” (Abraham, Ethiopia) when referring to negative representations of refugees in media. Some participants felt that refugees had a greater voice and there was a greater diversity of articles around refugee issues in NZ media.

An analysis of the newspaper articles studied after the Christchurch Attack showed that the number of negative articles in the NZ Herald decreased by 46% from before the attack and in the Dominion Post they decreased by 23%. Additionally, there was a 13% decrease in the NZ Herald in articles with no refugee voices, and a 95% increase in articles with an individual refugee voice. In the Dominion Post, there was a slight negative change with a 7% increase in articles with no refugee voice and a decrease of 20.3% of articles with refugee voices.

This shows that there are some positive shifts in the newspaper with less negative coverage overall and a huge increase in articles in the NZ Herald including refugee voices.

Paul (Uganda) shared that the media coverage of the Christchurch Attack challenged ideas that Muslims and refugees were criminals or a security risk “now they can see these people have been here for twenty years and nothing they have done wrong.”

In the analysis of the NZ Herald, there was a similar percentage of articles connecting refugees with being a security risk (5.2% of articles in prior and after the attacks) and a slight increase (16.6%) for articles linking criminality with refugees or asylum seekers. The Dominion Post however had a slight decrease in articles linking refugees with security risk (from 4.2% of all articles to 3.8% of all articles) and also

an increase linking criminality with refugees. The increase in articles linking refugees with criminality is largely due to coverage of Karl Sroubek⁷³.

Some participants credited smaller or alternative media outlets for making positive changes around the coverage of refugees and minorities in New Zealand. “In smaller media coverage, New Zealand has come a long way” (Betty, Colombia). Two participants credited the Spinoff⁷⁴ for some of their stories they had published around refugees “The Spinoff have done a whole series on Muslims in New Zealand and refugee’s in New Zealand” (Amira, Somalia). However, Amira (Somalia) was sceptical of the impact the Spinoff had and wished that these kinds of campaigns would happen in larger media organizations with a larger reach.

The research finds there are some positive shifts in the portrayals of former refugees in New Zealand, with smaller outlets having made even more significant changes. These shifts could be as a result of the Christchurch terror attack due to pressure on media to change its practices or increased public interest in stories of people from refugee backgrounds.

6.4.4. Changes for Muslims in New Zealand

The Christchurch terror attack educated the New Zealand public on white supremacy forms of terrorism, this is resulted in greater visibility and awareness of the everyday experiences of racism not only for Muslims but also for refugee backgrounds. Four interview participants, three of those from Muslim backgrounds shared that due to the terrorist attack by a white supremacist, there was now knowledge in New Zealand about Islamophobia and education around the different forms of terrorism.

I think it’s much easier to tell people that Islamaphobia is a real thing. You know, that’s something that we used to always struggle with. I used to do a lot of stuff to prove to politicians that Islamaphobia- exists right? That’s not something I have to do anymore, so that’s a lot easier– Fatima (Afghanistan, of Muslim faith)

⁷³ Karl Sroubek is a man of Czech ancestry who arrived in New Zealand in 2003 under another name, committed several crimes in New Zealand and claimed asylum due to fear for his life back in the Czech Republic.

⁷⁴ The Spinoff is a popular New Zealand Online Magazine that was established in 2014.

Another positive thing that some felt came from the Christchurch attack was a greater awareness of the contributions of Kiwi Muslims to New Zealand, due to increased coverage.

Kiwi's⁷⁵ now also realize that a minority of people have been here contributing to the New Zealand economy for years, like those Muslims that were in Christchurch, some of them prominent footballers, or Doctors and these people (people killed in the attack) had come to achieve things and contribute to New Zealand's tax system- Claude (DRC)

As a result of this increased awareness of everyday racism and public education of Islamophobia and xenophobia, the research found that there is increased support for Muslims in New Zealand. Some participants shared that now celebrations like Eid⁷⁶ were being funded and organized at the district council level. Others found Ibrahim Omer⁷⁷ was appointed as a direct result of the attack, by the government who wanted to at least in a tokenistic way promote diversity and inclusion in parliament. Participants shared that now there is more funding for bringing Muslim youth together like for camps. Hamdi (Syria, of Muslim faith) exclaimed that she was so happy when she saw the prime minister saying Happy Ramadan and Eid Mubarak to Kiwi Muslims.

The participants of Muslim backgrounds shared that they had access to scholarships or were being hired for panels due to their Muslim background. There was a lot more inclusion and celebration of the Muslim religion in New Zealand as a direct result of the terrorist attack.

I've attended a panel discussion about the Christchurch terror attack with the Muslim club and Uni and so many of them are saying how much they felt proud to be Muslim, after the attack because they felt that they finally had a platform, they finally had that voice to talk.- Hamdi (Syria, of Muslim faith)

⁷⁵ Kiwi/Kiwis is a commonly used colloquial name for New Zealanders.

⁷⁶ Eid is a religious holiday celebrated by Muslims at the breaking of their month-long fast called Ramadan.

⁷⁷ Ibrahim Omer is a New Zealand Politician, elected to parliament in the 2020 election. He is a member of the ruling party, the Labour Party. He is originally from Eritrea. His appointment is historic as the first person appointed that is both black, African, Muslim and of refugee background.

Although all participants were supportive of positive changes for people of Muslim background, some felt that extend to people of other refugee or minority backgrounds.

It was good to support Muslim's because if I was Muslim I would have felt that my faith is being attacked but to make every single other change in ethnic communities and to make every single point about ethnic people being related to Muslims or the Christchurch attack, we (other refugee communities) are not gonna move, we're not gonna get any of the things that we want done"-

Kazuba (Rwanda).

Caleb from Iraq shared that he felt that more people associated refugees with being Muslim due to the increased coverage of Muslim issues in media "Everyone thinks we who are refugees now is a Muslim, because the service providers or others whatever picture they use is a woman with a Hijab." The push to be more inclusive to Muslim's in New Zealand has achieved its mission but also disregarded the voices of others former refugees in New Zealand.

6.4.5. Tokenism

Media coverage post-Christchurch attack was criticized by half the participants of this research as tokenistic of refugee background. "I feel like it's a tick box exercise because there is a lot of Africa mentions" (Kazuba, Rwanda). Kazuba linked this back to the Christchurch shooting

There is the Christchurch Shooting, this led every single media outlet into like a reactor thing, where they try as hard as they can to be culturally appropriate like, damage control, and just like writing like Stuff⁷⁸ or TVNZ ⁷⁹was putting out media posts, and they're posting that there's gonna be this diversity change in our work and whatnot it's become a trend. – Kazuba (Rwanda)

The election of Ibrahim Omer to parliament was viewed by some participants as tokenistic. They felt he was elected due to a desire for the government to tick boxes. "I think, to be honest, the fact is they got him into parliament for a purpose because

⁷⁸ Stuff is an online widely read news source which is closely linked to the Dominion Post.

⁷⁹ TVNZ is an acronym for Television New Zealand and is a news and entertainment television channel.

he fits many criteria. Look because the Christchurch things happened, he ticks the boxes” (Caleb, Iraq). However none of the participants begrudged Omar for getting this position saying that it was good to have high profile people from a similar background to them and others criticized government actions in the wake of the attacks as reactive and damage control.



Image 7: Ibrahim embraces Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern, leader of his party and prime minister of New Zealand after his maiden speech. Image Source: The Guardian, 2020

Similar sentiments were shared about Guled Mire⁸⁰ who has recently gotten an Ivy League scholarship in the U.S.A as a result of his public campaigns.

Two participants working for government departments said that they might not even have gotten their jobs if it wasn't for the government wanting to diversify their workforce. Another shared that they got an opportunity to be a part of a panel even though they were much less qualified than their fellow panellists because they came from a Muslim refugee background.

Claude (DRC) says that he is actively encouraging others to use their diversity as their strength and to take advantage of a society that it is wanting to tick boxes “I always tell my brothers and sisters and people like myself just to use your

⁸⁰ Guled Mire is a Somalian born former refugee, who resettled to New Zealand, who was a vocal public advocate for the removal of a discriminatory immigration law against refugees from Middle Eastern or African countries, as well as instrumental in organizing Black Lives Matters protests in Auckland, New Zealand.

diversification as a weapon, use it as an advantage and don't look at it as a negative thing.”

The research finds that former refugees are using their agency to take advantage of a more tokenistic “tick box” society to progress themselves and their communities further. This shows how a tragic event like the Christchurch terror attack can result in increased media awareness and education, which results in more public and structural support which leads to an increased agency for former refugees.

6.4.6. Experiences of everyday racism

Some participants felt that they had noticed a shift in New Zealand society in the way that New Zealanders interact with them “they are more accommodating, they are more nicer, people are actually trying to engage in conversation, before it was people avoiding you and the difference is that when you are walking people are more interested, and engaged” (Amira, Somalia.) Amira (Somalia) also shared that she had not heard any racist comments such as “Go back to your own country” in the last few years. However Aaron (Ethiopia) shared someone had called out to him to “go back to his own country” just a week before the interview took place. Keza from Rwanda shared “I feel like we are being included more and more and people are a lot more accepting, well I like to think that they are more accepting.”

The Christchurch attack created an environment where the public, media and government went into damage control mode. This resulted in greater awareness and intolerance of outward racist acts and created a society that was more mindful in the way it interacted with former refugees. This could either be due to increased awareness and interest in former refugee issues or due to societal pressure not to say or act in a way in a politically incorrect way.

6.4.7. Increased connection with Māori

Another positive change that has happened for former refugees in New Zealand in the last few years is increased solidarity with the Māori community. Several participants shared that the Māori community were very supportive throughout the time of the Christchurch terror attack and also became very involved with BLM protests alongside members of the African and former refugee community.

Some participants shared that they felt more connected and solidarity to Maori community due to both being minorities

I think it also brought us together a bit more, like the trust that we have lost on Pakeha families mostly because we have felt like the Māori or Islander community is more closer to us, because we are still the minority. We felt like we lost trust in the majority and got together with the minorities and came much closer and the Māori community did amazing (in supporting the refugee community)- Betty (Colombia)

In the newspaper coverage after the Christchurch attack, there was only one article linking Māori with refugees which was found in the New Zealand Herald. This article talked about an initiative between the marae at Ruapotaka which invited former refugees who had just been resettled to learn about the basics of Māori culture and to show that they are welcome and are supported (NZ Herald, 2019).



Image 8

Source (NZ Herald, 2019).

An increased connection with Māori can result in increased inclusion in New Zealand and therefore increased opportunities to exercise agency.

7. Discussion

In this research, the representations of refugees in New Zealand media and the experiences of former refugees in New Zealand have been analyzed as well as the impact the Christchurch terror attack had on these representations. The data contributes to research about former refugees in New Zealand and also builds on knowledge on how a significant event can result in media and social changes. This data also builds on understanding the experiences of everyday racism for former refugees in New Zealand, as well as acknowledging the agency of former refugees to interact with and contest discourses and racism in a way that they advantage themselves. Chapter 6 looks at the media representations and experiences of former refugees before the Christchurch attack and how former refugees use different actions to challenge dominant discourse. Chapter 7 looks at the response to the Christchurch terror attack and how this response resulted in societal and media changes for people from refugee backgrounds.

7.1. Everyday racism

As has already been well established in the literature⁸¹ former refugees in New Zealand experience everyday forms of racism. In this study, everyday racism was found in the form of barriers in education and employment, increased pressure to perform, paternalistic assumptions as well as verbal street tirades. This study found that skills and knowledge of former refugees are being underestimated in New Zealand, with testimonies by research participants sharing that this had led to difficulties in finding professional employment and barriers in the classroom. This backed up New Zealand based research of former refugees and migrants⁸² which found that a barrier to employment was a requirement for New Zealand work experience and qualifications. Other forms of everyday racism found in this research were paternalistic comments and assumptions about former refugees not being

⁸¹ Adelowo, 2012; Butcher, et al., 2006; Chile, 2002; Guerin, et al., 2004 and Slade, 2019

⁸² Adelowo, 2012; Butcher, et al., 2006 and Guerin, et al., 2004

capable to contribute which was also experienced by the research by Kwanash-Aidoo & Mapedzahama (2018) in Australia and Mugadza (2012) in New Zealand.

This research builds on older New Zealand based research, which was needing updating such as the work of Chile (2002). Everyday forms of racism that were prevalent in the study by Chile (2002) are found in equal measure today. This research builds on the findings by Kantar & RASNZ (2020) which found that New Zealanders were largely uneducated around the statistics of refugees and only 46% of New Zealanders surveyed felt that former refugees contributed positively to society. The findings by Kantar & RASNZ (2020) give context to the experiences of everyday racism participants in this study experienced.

The research finds that everyday racism results in increased pressures to work “twice as hard” for former refugees to challenge dominant discourses around refugees not being able to contribute.

7.2. Agency

Throughout the research, it was clear that whether it was negative media representations, experiences of everyday racism, or the Christchurch terror attack former refugees used their own agency to navigate all of these challenges in ways that bettered themselves and their community

Former refugees in this research work “twice as hard” to contest discourses about not being skilled enough or able to contribute. Participants in this research showed that they used their agency to challenge dominant discourses, as well as to take benefits that come from paternalism or tokenism discourses (increased opportunities, support etc.) to their advantage. This research builds on the research by Slade (2019) which is one of the few New Zealand based research papers, which looks at the agency of former refugees to interact with and challenge dominant media representations and stereotypes. This research found that participants used their own media platforms in a number of ways to promote their own culture and as an expression of agency. This matched findings by Budarick & Soo-Han (2018) which found that social media was used to challenge negative stereotypes by former refugees.

This study also showed the ways that former refugees, used their agency, which made the most out of media and government going in damage control mode after the Christchurch terror attacks. This was done by taking advantage of scholarships, jobs and panels that were created as a result of the Christchurch attack. Claude (DRC) vocalizes this well “I always tell people like myself just to use your diversification as a weapon, use it as an advantage”. As yet, there has been no research yet which looks at the ways that former refugees, Muslims or ethnic minorities used their agency in the wake of the Christchurch attack, to enhance their lives.

The research finds that former refugees use their refugee label at times to advantage themselves, and other times they choose to hide it. This correlates with recent findings by Slade (2019) in New Zealand which finds that former refugees will use their own agency to deconstruct and use the refugee label for their own benefits.

Although there is a lot of research around media representations and experiences of racism for former refugees across the world, most of this research does not focus on the ways that former refugees use their agency to advantage themselves and to contest discourses. Through using an Actor Oriented approach this research increases knowledge around different ways agency is used by former refugees to better their lives.

7.3. Media Representations

This research builds on other research that has used Media Framing theory to analyse what representations in New Zealand media there are of refugees. A clear finding was a lack of visibility of the New Zealand refugee community in media. Refugees particularly in the coverage pre Christchurch attack were dehumanized by being portrayed in groups rather than as individuals. This correlates with findings in Australia by Bleiker, et al. (2013), in Canada by Lawlor & Tolley (2017) and in New Zealand by Slade (2019) which finds that refugees are often portrayed in groups rather than as individuals. Furthermore, this research found that former refugees felt they were not given a platform or a voice to share their views or experiences. The research found that there was a small number of articles that contained a refugee voice in the media coverage before the attack, with a small increase in the New Zealand Herald (23% of articles) after the attack. This amount was slightly higher

than the research by Slade (2019) which found 16.5% published a former refugee voice which found although there had been a little positive change, there was still a long way to go.

There were mixed findings on whether refugees were connected with immorality or criminality as this view was not unanimously shared by the research participants and the media analysis found that very few articles connected refugees with criminality or immorality. This finding differentiated from older research⁸³ which all found that refugees were strongly linked with criminality and being a security risk in their analysis of newspapers. This could indicate that there have been some shifts in media representations.

The research found that coverage of refugees in media focused mainly on the pre and during resettlement with little coverage after resettlement, for example in the 2018-2019 media analysis less than a quarter of all articles⁸⁴ featured former refugees. This is a new finding as previous research on refugees in New Zealand has not previously focused on what stage of the refugee journey the media portrays.

Another finding is that former refugees feel there isn't enough media coverage of the accomplishments and contributions, which was also found in the media analysis particularly in the 2018-2019 period. This builds on research by Slade (2019) which found that although accomplishments were mentioned in media, they were overshadowed by discourses of trauma etc.

This research builds on and updates knowledge around media representations of refugees, specifically in New Zealand. Through researching media representations by using a critical discourse analysis, as well as experiences of everyday racism through interviews, a link is established between the way the media represents refugees in New Zealand and the way that former refugees are treated.

7.4. Changes after the Christchurch terror attack

This research brings new knowledge about the effects of the Christchurch terror attack on media representations and the experiences of former refugees, which has

⁸³ Budarick & Soo-Han, 2018; Lawlor & Tolley, 2017; Majavu, 2020 and McKay, et al. (2012)

⁸⁴ 14% in the NZ Herald and 23.7% in the Dominion Post.

never been researched before. One of the major personal effects for former refugees was new feelings of insecurity and worrying about personal safety, which was for many not at issue prior to the attack. Participants in the research were mainly positive about the initial response of New Zealanders, the media and the government, and found that it was victim-focused. This matched findings by Monin (2020) and Rahman (2020) which finds that the New Zealand government ensured that the victims were centred and the focus was on unity, protecting and supporting the Muslim community of New Zealand.

Yet, others found the initial government and media response to be tokenistic and reactive (rather than proactive). Participants shared that it was clear that there were serious inequalities in media outlets, by way of employment of people from diverse backgrounds. This discrepancy came to light after the attack, when media outlets frantically called the former refugee and Muslim community for comment, rather than using someone who identified with this community that was already on their pay roll. This backs up findings from Rupar (2020) which found that editors of New Zealand newspapers were confronted by their lack of knowledge and coverage of Muslim and marginalized communities in the aftermath of the Christchurch terror attack. This may have been a contributing factor to changes that were identified in this research in media.

Participants also felt that an emphasis in the media on the terrorist coming from Australia was done in an attempt to defer blame from New Zealanders. The research also found that many former refugees felt that the social media campaign based on the words of the prime minister Jacinda Ardern “this is not us” that ensued after the attack, was used in order for New Zealanders and the government to defer blame. This builds on findings by Thiruselvam (2019) which argues that the government response (such as Ardern wearing a hijab) was tokenistic and they did not take responsibility for historical acts of racism which discriminated against Islamic and refugee communities.

A finding in this research is that there appears to be a greater recognition and public education about the existence of racism, white supremacy and islamophobia. This builds on arguments by Monin (2020) that states that by the government referring to the attack as a terrorist attack at the earliest opportunity, they acknowledged the

existence of racist and islamophobia ideologies in New Zealand. It was also found in the research that there was an increase in articles acknowledging racism and inequality towards refugees after the Christchurch attacks. This was similar to findings by Every-Palmer, et al. (2020) which also found an increase in media footage of inequalities and discrimination experienced by Muslims.

A positive consequence of this is that there was increased public support and opportunities for people of Muslim backgrounds, although many former refugees felt that this support did not extend to them. Therefore the longer-term responses and support felt tokenistic or disingenuous by many of the research participants. If there changes are made to show support minority group which was directly targeted, but there are no changes for other groups who were indirectly targeted (former refugees, immigrants) then it is likely to see the actions of support for Muslims as tokenistic and not from a real desire to create change.

Media representations of former refugees in the aftermath of the attack were also criticized by participants as disingenuous and damage control, feeling that the initial positive coverage was short-lived. However, the media analysis did find there were some positive shifts in the newspaper coverage from 6-12 months after the attack as there was less coverage of refugees and overall an increase of articles with refugee voices. Nevertheless, the research found that due to the burst of intense coverage of Muslims and ethnic minorities due to the Christchurch terror attack, there was a greater awareness and interest by New Zealanders on refugee experiences and their struggles. This may have resulted in an increased demand for coverage on former refugees. The research found there was a positive increase in the number of articles focused on the stories and experiences of former refugees in New Zealand, and even more positive media coverage in smaller-scale media outlets.

In general, most participants felt that the Christchurch terror attack increased the visibility of refugees and Muslims and humanized them through printing background stories and photos of victims and their families. Many victims were identified as coming from refugee backgrounds and by doing so inadvertently highlighted the contributions and accomplishments former refugees made to New Zealand.

However, this trend has not continued as the post-Christchurch media coverage did

not see a significant increase of articles around the contributions of accomplishments of former refugees in New Zealand.

Ultimately the research found that there were some shifts in media and society as New Zealanders, towards former refugees. People have become more careful with their words and more engaging with the stories and backgrounds of former refugees. However, racism is still prevalent in New Zealand, with one research participant sharing that they were subject to a racist tirade just a week before they were interviewed. Change in society can also be attributed to increased pressure on New Zealand society to appear accepting of diversity, but there are doubts about the genuineness and durability of such sentiments. One positive change has been an increased connection between former refugees and the Māori community, with a greater understanding of the way each other struggles. This change was seen in the BLM campaign where Māori and people of the migrant community (many former refugees) stood side by side to protest inequality and racism.

7.5. Theoretical contribution

Although there is a lot of research around the experiences of everyday racism and media representations, there is little New Zealand based research⁸⁵ on these issues as well as the way former refugees use their agency to counteract these discourses and racist actions. This research contributed to a knowledge gap, as well as using three theoretical concepts that were not used much together in research before.

Combining a discourse analysis as well as interviews was an important combination as the discourse analysis looked at what discourses were being created about former refugees whereas the interviews showed how these discourses impacted the lives of former refugees

Interviews were also used to establish the agency of former refugees. In the research, it was found that despite societal barriers and stereotyping by media, former refugees are still able to achieve. Not due to the support of others, but due to their own resourcefulness and resilience to make the most of every situation they are

⁸⁵ Apart from Slade (2019).

in and to challenge racist discourses in any way possible. Through using Media Framing theory, the research was able to ascertain what discourses there were about refugees, and how this impacted on the everyday experiences of racism for former refugees.

Through looking at the aftermath of the Christchurch terror attack through the lens of Media Framing theory and Everyday Racism theory it was easier to establish whether public interest and pressure resulted in changes for former refugees. The use of the Actor Oriented Approach, through interviews, explored how former refugees navigated the aftermath of the attack and how they took advantage of increased support, (using it in the immediate aftermath to publicly contest a racist refugee law) and opportunities that came about as a result of the attack. This shows the incredible resilience, tenacity, resourcefulness and wisdom of former refugees who have shown very clearly in this research that they are an asset to New Zealand.

8. Conclusion

This research has aimed to explore the experiences of former refugees in New Zealand and the way they are presented in media, and whether the Christchurch terror attack brought about any changes to the experiences and representations of former research. This research also aimed to recognize the agency of former refugees in contesting stereotypes and in combatting racism and barriers. This was done through a critical discourse analysis of two newspapers (the Dominion Post and the New Zealand Herald) by using a socio constructionist approach through looking at the way the media frames discourses about people. Interviews with people from refugee backgrounds were used to uncover the experiences of everyday racism, as well as the agency of former refugees using an Actor Oriented approach.

The outcomes of this research confirm that former refugees experience everyday racism in New Zealand through barriers in employment and achievements, paternalistic comments and racist slurs. The research confirms the lack of refugee voices, and New Zealand based stories post resettlement in New Zealand. Through analysing media discourses, using Media Framing theory as a guide, refugees are often portrayed in dehumanizing or paternalistic ways through being portrayed in large groups, being associated with criminality and little acknowledgement of the skills and contributions that former refugees hold both prior to and after resettlement. The research shows that former refugees feel an increased pressure to “work twice as hard” and have several strategies that they use to contest dominant representations and stereotypes.

The research also finds that there were some social changes after the Christchurch terror attack but that these changes could be considered reactive and tokenistic, and therefore potentially short-lived. The research finds that there are some media changes and a greater focus on inequalities and experiences of racism that former refugees have, not only in the media but in the government. The Christchurch terror attack was an event that exposed inequalities in media and the real prevalence of racism towards Muslims and other ethnic backgrounds and increased the visibility

and platform of ethnic and religious minorities. It has led to more funding and more opportunities for people of diverse backgrounds, however, there is the argument that the benefits are mainly for those of the Muslim community and is not extended to the wider former refugee community.

8.1. Implications for further research

The research focused on only one form of media, which was newspaper articles. As the world becomes more technologically advanced and interconnected there are multiple forms of media that have a wide reach such as radio, TV, social media, online vlogs, podcasts etc. It is difficult to make blanket statements about whether there are any changes in the media, because although there were some changes in the newspapers in New Zealand there was no exploration of the representations of refugees and former refugees in any other forms of media. It would be beneficial to conduct research on other forms of media as well as exploring the impact of smaller media outlets in New Zealand such as the Spinoff. This research would be beneficial to expose biases in media and to highlight which forms of media have the most positive representations of former refugees and how these impact on the lives of former refugees.

Furthermore, research participants had similar educational backgrounds, were in a similar age range, and most had (or were on the path to having) professional jobs. They are privileged due to their young age, health, educational background and work status. To fully understand the experiences of former refugees in New Zealand more research needs to be done across the socio-economic and age spectrums, as there is likely to be different experiences of everyday racism. It is likely that the agency of the participants will be impacted by their educational and work background and may reduce if they were disadvantaged socioeconomically. Further research would be beneficial to give a more complete overview of the experiences of everyday racism and expressions of agency,] to make recommendations for change.

Another recommendation for further research is to explore the impact of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) campaign on the experiences of former refugees and ethnic minorities in New Zealand, as this was mentioned by several participants as an event which brought about change. It is likely that the coverage around BLM and

spurred even more changes in the media and the everyday experiences of former refugees in New Zealand. However, this has not yet been established in literature. This research was focused solely on the event of the Christchurch terror attack and does not have any findings specific to BLM in New Zealand.

The final recommendation for research is to explore the link between Māori and refugees. This was not explored in depth in this research, as it was a new finding when several participants commented on the solidarity they felt with the Māori community. It would be useful to explore this link, both from the perspective of Māori and former refugees, to have a deeper understanding of the inclusion of former refugees in New Zealand.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide

Can you tell me a bit about how you and your family came to New Zealand?

How long have you lived here? Educated here? Did you come as a protected person, asylum seeker or refugee?

How has your experience been overall in New Zealand?

Way people treated you, did you get job opportunities, experience with classmates, workmates etc.

Have you ever had any or overheard any conversations with New Zealanders about what it is like to be a refugee?

What kinds of things do they ask? What is the knowledge they already have? What stereotypes do they have? What responses do they have?

In what ways do you see yourself represented in New Zealand Media – specifically main-stream media for example newspapers and national TV?

Have you seen a story about a refugee? What did it say? How did it make you feel? Is it accurate? What are the main messages?

What changes (if any) would you like to see in New Zealand main-stream media, regarding refugees?

What needs to be more in the media? Less in the media? What kind of stories need to be told? What are the gaps?

Since the Christchurch terror attacks, the spotlight was on refugees and migrants in New Zealand in the media and general public, how did you experience it?

What kind of reactions did people have? How did you perceive the media coverage? Was there something in the coverage that resonated with you? Did you have any conversations with others about refugee issues at this time?

Since this time how have you experienced being a former refugee in New Zealand?

Are there any shifts? Do people seem more or less aware of refugee issues? Did you gain new connections? Do you experience racism on the street?

Since the Christchurch terror attacks, how have you seen refugees or the ethnic group that you resonate with portrayed in media?

Have there been any new modes of media? Have you seen different imaging of refugees? Are the same stereotypes there? Are you seeing more refugees profiled?

What are some of the Consequences of the Christchurch terror attacks on the wider refugee community?

Did anything good come out of it? Are the general public more aware? Are the general public more or less racist? Were there any consequences for you? Does your life feel different?

What are some ways that you personally share your refugee experience or story with others?

Do you try to combat stereotypes? Do you use social media? Do you have friends outside of the refugee community who you share things with? Do they listen to you? Do you advocate for yourself or other refugees? Do you actively do things to disprove or prove a stereotype?

Do you have anything else that you would like to share?

Appendix 2: Codes

- Accomplishment of Refugee NZ
- Accomplishment of Refugee overseas
- Advocacy (person advocating for refugees)
- Agency
- Anti-refugee sentiments
- Aspiration
- Barriers to achieving
- Barriers to belonging NZ
- Barriers to belonging overseas
- Camp conditions
- Citizen not refugee
- Climate refugee
- Compassion
- Contribution to NZ or overseas
- Criminality and refugee connection
- Critique Government decisions about refugees
- Economic cost refugees
- Education of New Zealanders
- Educational facts NZ
- Fake refugees
- Government refugee decisions
- Individuals/ Groups
- Inequalities of refugees overseas
- Inequalities of refugees NZ
- Integration refugees NZ
- Māori refugee link
- Mental health/trauma connection refugee
- Moral obligation to help refugees
- Morality of refugees
- Needs of refugees NZ
- Needs of refugees overseas
- Negative opinion against refugees NZ
- Paternalistic view point
- Paternalism government
- People smugglers link
- Positive / Negative/ Neutral article
- Positive thoughts to refugee
- Poverty and refugee connection
- Pre/during/after resettlement
- Problems in NZ need help first
- Racism towards refugee NZ
- Racism towards refugees overseas
- Racist Government Legislation
- Reasons why someone is a refugee

- Refugee as a problem
- Refugee infrastructure
- Refugee story post resettlement NZ
- Refugee Voice (or no voice)
- Resilience
- Security link with refugee
- Self-advocacy
- Stereotypes refugees
- Support for refugee NZ
- Support for refugees worldwide
- Tokenism
- Validity of refugees whether they are genuine
- Violence against refugees
- War and refugee connection
- Water-based words

Appendix 3: Participant profiles

DATE	Name	Continent of Origin	Age	Gender	Refugee status	Years in nz	Religion	Work
20/04/21	Fatima Online	Afghanistan	20s	F	Quota	15-20 years	Muslim	Job seeker/student
15/4/21	Marco Online	Colombia	20s	M	Quota	5-10 years	Christian	Student/low skilled job
28/4/21	Betty Online	Colombia	20s	F	Quota	5-10 years	Not religious	Student/e low skilled job
6/5/21	Claude online	Democratic Republic of Congo	20s	M	Protected person	15-20 years	Christian	High skilled job
10/4/21	Aaron	Ethiopia	20s	M	Family reunification	10-15 years	Christian	Student
1/5/21	Abraham	Ethiopia	20s	M	Family reunification	15-20 years	Christian	High skilled job
5/5/21	Sarah online	Ethiopia	20s	F	Family reunification	10-15 years	Didn't disclose	Student/low skilled job
11/4/20	Caleb	Iraq	20s	M	Family reunification	5-10 years	Christian	High skilled job
17/4/20	Keza	Rwanda	20s	F	Quota	15-20 years	Christian	High skilled job
21/4/20	Kazuba online	Rwanda	20s	F	Quota	10-15 years	Christian	High skilled job
10/4/20	Amira	Somalia	20s	F	Quota	15-20	Muslim	High skilled job
17/4/20	Hamdi	Syria	10's	F	Quota	0-5	Muslim	University student
18/4/20	Paul	Uganda	20s	M	Quota	15-20	Christian	High skilled job