

SPACES OF CROSS-CULTURAL ENCOUNTER

BY

EMMA MCNEILL

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School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences
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Abstract

The landscape of cultural relations in Aotearoa is complex and entangled. While academics and policy makers imagine Aotearoa as a multicultural society, there is a lack of understanding of how cultural diversity is lived every day in Aotearoa.

There is an emerging literature on the geographies of encounter. This encourages us to address the historical predicament of how we are to live together in increasingly super-diverse communities by considering the existing everyday negotiations of difference. This thesis contributes to that literature by undertaking a case study of Newtown, Wellington, in order to: 1) understand where Newtown residents and employees experience cross-cultural social interactions; and 2) what type of places help encourage positive cross-cultural interactions. Through this I explore how cross-cultural encounters and exchanges might be encouraged.

Q-methodology was used to investigate locations of cross-cultural social interactions, I conducted and analysed 23 Q-sorts with Newtown, Wellington residents and local employees. I argue that places of cross-cultural encounter take many forms. The identification of these places is closely linked to participants' characteristics, such as socio-economic position, and age. The participants in this study represent diverse Newtown. They have diverse socialising practices and identify a wide range of positive places for cross-cultural interactions. In conjunction with this people understand and experience encounters with cultural diversity differently. I argue that an encounter across cultural difference is not limited to an explicit interaction but can also be through the sharing of space and engagement in similar activities. I also argue for the importance of space in cross-cultural encounters; certain spatial and material qualities of spaces appear to animate cross-cultural social interaction.

This research argues that: engagement in cross-cultural interactions is often mediated by other identifiers, that everyday multiculturalism is demographically complex, and that the materiality and spatiality of spaces is effectual in animating these interactions.

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This thesis was submitted five days after the terrorist attacks on the Masjid Al Noor Mosque and the Linwood Mosque in Christchurch, New Zealand. My heart goes out to our Muslim community in Aotearoa.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	II
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	III
LIST OF FIGURES	VI
LIST OF TABLES	VII
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCING THE STUDY	1
1.1 BACKGROUND.....	1
1.1.1 EARLY MĀORI RELATIONS.....	2
1.1.2 EARLY MĀORI AND PĀKEHĀ ENCOUNTERS AND RELATIONS.....	3
1.1.3 EARLY IMMIGRANTS.....	5
1.2 BICULTURALISM VS MULTICULTURALISM.....	6
1.3 LOCATION OF RESEARCH.....	11
1.4 PURPOSE.....	13
1.5 OUTCOME AND CONTRIBUTION.....	13
1.6 THESIS OUTLINE.....	14
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW	15
2.1 DIVERSITY FEARED AND CELEBRATED.....	15
2.2 SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF CROSS-CULTURAL INTERACTIONS: CONTACT AND CONFLICT THEORIES.....	16
2.3 EVERYDAY MULTICULTURALISM.....	22
2.3.1 EVERYDAY MULTICULTURALISM CRITIQUE.....	28
2.4 SPACES FOR MULTICULTURAL ENGAGEMENT.....	33
2.5 WHERE MY RESEARCH FITS?.....	38
CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	41
3.1 RESEARCH EPISTEMOLOGY: CONSTRUCTIVISM.....	41
3.2 METHODOLOGY: POST-STRUCTURAL.....	42
3.3 REFLEXIVITY AND POSITIONALITY.....	43
3.4 RESEARCH METHOD.....	45
3.4.1 CASE STUDY.....	45
3.5 Q-METHODOLOGY.....	45
3.5.1 DEFINING THE CONCOURSE.....	48
3.5.2 DEFINING THE Q-SET.....	50
3.5.3 PARTICIPANT SAMPLING AND RECRUITMENT —THE P-SET.....	52
3.5.4 Q-SORTING.....	54
3.5.5 Q-SORTS SUPPLEMENTED WITH INTERVIEWS AND QUESTIONNAIRES.....	56
3.5.6 FACTOR ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION.....	59
3.6 METHODOLOGY SUMMARY.....	65
CHAPTER 4 RESULTS	67
4.1 FACTOR INTERPRETATION.....	69
4.1.1 FACTOR 1: COMMUNITY ENTHUSIAST; ALWAYS SEEKING TO PARTAKE IN THE COMMUNITY.....	69
4.1.2 FACTOR 2: OUT OF OFFICE HOURS COFFEE DRINKER; LIKES SPENDING THEIR SPARE TIME IN DIVERSE NEWTOWN.....	74
4.1.3 FACTOR 3: VALUES SOCIAL SERVICES; PARTAKES IN SERVICES PROVIDED IN THE COMMUNITY.....	79
4.2 CONSENSUAL AREAS, CONVERGENCE AND DIVERGENCE ACROSS ALL FACTORS.....	85

4.3 SUMMARY OF RESULTS.....	89
CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.....	96
5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS.....	96
5.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF Q-METHODOLOGY	100
5.3 RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH.....	102
5.4 LIMITATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH	104
5.5 CONCLUSION.....	106
REFERENCES.....	108
APPENDICES.....	119
APPENDIX A: SURVEY RECRUITMENT POSTER	119
APPENDIX B: INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS	120
APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS	121
APPENDIX D: PHOTO-SORT INSTRUCTIONS	122
APPENDIX E: PHOTOS	123
APPENDIX F: POST PHOTO-SORT QUESTIONNAIRE.....	143

List of Figures

FIGURE 1: MAP OF WELLINGTON CITY SHOWING THE SUBURB OF NEWTOWN. SOURCE: GOOGLE (N.D.).	12
FIGURE 2 RESEARCH DESIGN (NEFF, 2011).	48
FIGURE 3: Q-BOARD GIVEN TO THE PARTICIPANTS FOR THE Q-SORTING EXERCISE IN THE CASE STUDY.	55
FIGURE 4: FACTOR ARRAY FOR CE (FACTOR ONE).	73
FIGURE 5: FACTOR ARRAY FOR OOHCD (FACTOR TWO).	78
FIGURE 6: FACTOR ARRAY FOR VSS (FACTOR THREE).	84

List of Tables

TABLE 1: NEWTOWN SELF-IDENTIFIED ETHNICITY (STATISTICS NEW ZEALAND, 2013).....	12
TABLE 2: POST-PHOTO SORT QUESTIONNAIRE QUESTIONS.....	57
TABLE 3: CORRELATION MATRIX.....	60
TABLE 4: FACTOR LOADINGS, EIGENVALUES, AND EXPLAINED VARIANCE.....	61
TABLE 5: ROTATED FACTOR LOADINGS AND DEFINING Q-SORTS.....	63
TABLE 6: FACTOR Z-SCORES.....	64
TABLE 7: FACTOR CORRELATIONS.....	67
TABLE 8: FACTOR ESTIMATES PER FACTOR; 4 MOST LIKE, TO -4 MOST UNLIKE.....	68
TABLE 9: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION PROVIDED BY THE CE RESPONDENTS.....	69
TABLE 10: IDENTIFICATION OF STATEMENTS RANKED HIGHER OR LOWER BY CE THAN BY ANY OF THE OTHER STUDY FACTORS.....	70
TABLE 11: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION PROVIDED BY THE OOHCD RESPONDENTS.....	75
TABLE 12: IDENTIFICATION OF STATEMENTS RANKED HIGHER OR LOWER BY OOHCD THAN BY ANY OF THE OTHER STUDY FACTORS.....	75
TABLE 13: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION PROVIDED BY THE VSS RESPONDENTS.....	80
TABLE 14: IDENTIFICATION OF STATEMENTS RANKED HIGHER OR LOWER BY VSS THAN BY ANY OF THE OTHER STUDY FACTORS.....	80

Chapter 1 Introducing the Study

1.1 Background

Whakarongo! Whakarongo!	Listen! Listen! Listen!
Whakarongo!	Listen to the cry of the bird calling
Ki te tangi a te manu e karanga nei	Bind, join, be one!
“Tui, tui, tuituia!”	Bind above, bind below
Tuia i runga, tuia i raro	Bind within, bind without
Tuia i roto, Tuia i waho	Tie the knot of humankind
Tuia i te here tangata	The night hears, the night hears
Ka rongo te pō, ka rongo te pō,	Bind the lines of people coming down
Tuia i te kawai tangata i heke mai	From great Hawaiki, from long
I Hawaiki nui, i Hawaiki roa	Hawaiki
I Hawaiki-pamamao	From Hawaiki far away
I hono ki te wairua, ki te whai ao	Bind to the spirit, to the daylight
ki te Ao Mārama.	To the World of Light

Eruera Stirling quoted in Anne Salmond’s *Tears of Rangi: Experiments Across Worlds* (2017, p.415)

To discuss current cultural diversity in Aotearoa it is necessary to situate this research within the history of Aotearoa. For the purposes of this research, the concept of cultural diversity is defined by Kobayashi and Peake’s (2000) definition of “race” as a “social construction, that is, not a biological essence, but a result of discursive, thoroughly material-and human-social process” (p.393). The background provided below aims to reflect the complexity of cross-cultural relations throughout the history of Aotearoa. I acknowledge that there are many versions of history; however, this is the version of history I have chosen to present for this study. I also acknowledge that in recounting my version of history, I will be privileging certain ideas. As Avril Bell (2006) explains, “all [histories] are partial and incomplete and can always be retold” (p.265). The background provided first focuses on early Māori

and Pākehā interactions and in particular colonisation. It then discusses immigration events and policy since the 1800s, before considering the current picture of cross-cultural (across cultures) relations.

1.1.1 Early Māori Relations

Māori (indigene) resided in Aotearoa from the late thirteenth century, far before Pākehā (settlers) arrived (Bell, 2006). Māori were Polynesian voyagers who arrived from a place called Hawaiki; an island nestled in the South Pacific Ocean (Salmond, 2017). While Hawaiki does not exist on maps, it exists in Māori whakapapa (Māori origin stories).

When Māori first arrived in Aotearoa, they had to adapt to their new homeland (Salmond, 2017). Early Māori society quickly became complexly physically and spiritually organised. Durie (1998) explains that Māori personify the earth and sky as parents, Rangī and Papa. This analogy of the non-human as family exemplifies the relationship between tangata whenua (people of the land) and their environment. Such personification underpins Māori relational values. For example, whakapapa is a foundational belief for Māori which maintains that all things are intimately related to one another and to “earlier origins” (Durie, 1998, p.21). Tipa, Panelli, and Moeraki Stream Team (2009) articulate Māori as having “deeply interwoven relations between their people, environment and ancestors” (p.96). Cultural values and practices maintain these relationships for Māori. For example, manaakitanga, an understanding of the importance of hospitality, generosity and caring for one another. Kaitiakitanga; the recognition that we are guardians of our environment, and if we want to look after our people, we must look after the earth as well. As well as whakapapa, Māori know that understanding is impossible without attending to history and the complex relationships between culture, people, and the natural world.

Māori spiritually believe that people are made up of their relationships. Groupings of Māori are interwoven systems in which different identities, connections, and relationships are constantly evolving (Salmond, 2017). This constant evolution is driven by people, strangers included, entering these relationship systems by engaging in exchanges. It is thought that by exchanging taonga (treasured items, including

knowledge) individuals exchange hau (the vital life force) and become entangled (Salmond, 2017). Exchanges of hau can be positive or negative, for example a gift or an insult, but are importantly reciprocated (utu). Utu is the principle of reciprocity that drives the exchanges between individuals. For Māori this means that when you greet one another you hongī (press noses together) to exchange hau (Barlow, 1991). However, when an exchange is ignored or refused, life becomes unbalanced (Salmond, 2017).

Māori society is organised into iwi (tribe) and hapū (networks of kin groups connected by common whakapapa), led by rangatiratanga and kaumātua (elders). Samuel Marsden described the organisation of Māori into hapū as “an organism rather than an organisation” (Samuel Marsden quoted in Waitangi Tribunal, 2014, p.14). As the anthropologist Marshall Sahlins (1985b) observes for Māori, “The universe is a gigantic kin” (p.185) which is forever evolving and growing.

1.1.2 Early Māori and Pākehā Encounters and Relations

The first Western explorers to reach Aotearoa —Abel Tasman in 1642, and Captain James Cook in 1769— paved the way for an influx of Europeans in the late 18th Century. The first Europeans to spend extended periods in Aotearoa were sealers and whalers. At this time, exchange of resources was the basis for Māori and Pākehā encounters. These encounters were generally amicable. However, with the arrival of increasingly more Europeans (primarily missionaries and sailors) the two began to compete for dominance. Salmond (2017) says that at this time a “stark and vivid” (p. 3) contrast of ideals between Māori and Pākehā became visible. After 70 years of contact between Māori and Pākehā the British decided they wanted to establish ground rules and a government in Aotearoa.

Chiefs from around Aotearoa and representatives of the Queen of England signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi) on 6 February 1840. Te Tiriti o Waitangi is Aotearoa’s founding document. Over 500 Māori representatives officially signed Te Tiriti. However, grave misunderstandings between what Māori believed they had agreed to, and what the British had agreed to, were caused by discrepancies between

the Māori and Pākehā version of Te Tiriti. For example, in the English version Māori gave the British “absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of sovereignty” over their lands, but are guaranteed “full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates, Forests, Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess” (Waitangi Tribunal, n.d.). In comparison the Māori version gave the British “kawanatanga”, translated to governorship, and were guaranteed “tino rangatiratanga”, the right to chieftainship over their lands, dwelling places, and all other possessions (Waitangi tribunal, n.d.).

Not only were there discrepancies between the two texts of Te Tiriti but the British failed to act in good faith of Te Tiriti after its signing. Some of the first actions of sovereignty by the British were attempts to alienate Māori from their lands (Coombes, 2003). Scholars have observed that land alienation is an important part of the British settler colonial project (Bell, 2014; Reid, Rout, Tai, and Smith, 2006; Wolfe, 2006). The British took the land to replace the original, indigenous inhabitants, and become indigenous themselves; thereby, marginalising the indigenous culture. As Wolfe (2006) explains, “Territoriality is settler colonialism’s specific, irreducible element... Settler colonialism destroys to replace” (p.388). The displacement of Māori from their lands happened alongside wars over sovereignty in the 1860s that continued intermittently for forty years (Belich, 1986; Coombes, 2003). At the conclusion of the wars British hegemony was clearly established which meant further confiscation of land and repression of Māori culture (Coombes, 2003).

During the following period, Pākehā society sought to assimilate Māori and replace indigenous institutions (Reid, Rout, Tai, and Smith, 2006). Pākehā used legislation as a weapon to achieve this. For example, the Hunn report of 1961, which was officially a review of the Department of Māori Affairs; however, it made wider recommendations about the benefits of assimilation for Māori. The Government banned Māori language in schools and Māori urbanisation was actively encouraged as the government pursued a policy of ‘pepper potting’ (distributing Māori amongst Pākehā in order to avoid residential concentrations of Māori) which alienated and fractured Māori communities (Labrum, 2013). Problematically, Durie (2003) explains that this meant, “Māori had become increasingly dependent on a state that was essentially committed to policies and programmes that would assimilate Māori

into the prevailing systems of colonial New Zealand” (p.1). There was significant suppression of Māori autonomy.

1.1.3 Early Immigrants

As Paul Spoonley (2015) argues, the colonisation of Māori has occurred concurrently with a “nation building project that centres on mass immigration” (p.650).

Historically Aotearoa’s immigration policies favoured European immigrants (Ward and Margaret, 2008; Walker, 1994). Indeed, Walker asserts that Te Tiriti was the country’s first immigration policy (Walker, 1994). Walker (1994) argues that Te Tiriti favoured European settlers to the detriment of Asian and Pacific immigrants’ wellbeing.

Asian and Pacific immigrants were subject to discriminatory policies and practices. Until 1881 any immigrant to Aotearoa was allowed to stay. However, legislation was extensively used in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century to control Aotearoa’s ethnic composition (Ward and Masgoret, 2008). For example, following an influx of Chinese immigrants between 1870 and 1881 the Chinese Immigrants Act 1881 was established to restrict the number of Chinese immigrants. Restrictions of the Act were further increased in the early nineteenth century, with additions such as the requirement for Chinese immigrants to pass an English language test. The New Zealand Government in the nineteenth century was determined to keep Aotearoa for the British. Therefore, the Immigration Restriction Act of 1899 was introduced to additionally restrict the entry of immigrants who were not British or Irish. The Act achieved this by restricting entry to those who could fill out an immigration form “in any European language” (p.116), which theoretically meant English (Immigration Restriction Act, 1899, s3). These restrictions minimised the entry of non-European ethnic groups for 20 years. This meant that by the end of World War II, Aotearoa had a relatively ethnically homogenous population (Ward and Masgoret, 2008).

Like other nations, a surge of immigrants reached Aotearoa’s shores following World War II. Scholars have noted how the influx of immigrants and diversification of the immigrant’s ethnicities contributed to an ongoing reconsideration of Aotearoa’s identity (Johnson, Gendall, Trlin, and Spoonley, 2010; Moon, 2013). The

Dutch in the 1950s were followed by the Yugoslavs in the 1960s, and Pacific Islanders in the late 1960s and 1970s. Then from the 1980s there was a sustained surge of Asian immigrants (from South Korea, Hong Kong, China, and Taiwan) followed by a quickening flow of settlers from South Africa (Moon, 2013). Moon (2013) argues that for these more recent immigrant's accommodation in society "depended on things like their race, colour, and language" (Moon, 2013, p.131). In reaction to the increasingly diverse society, Moon (2013) elaborating on Hutchings' (1999) "racial ideology", argues that in Aotearoa the Government chose to encourage and support British immigrants. Moon (2013) says that "Instead of facing up to the increasingly multicultural complexion of the country, the Government felt it could retreat into the whiter past of recent decades by adjusting the colouring of its citizens through such an immigration scheme" (p.136). Assisted immigration was used to persuade the British to Aotearoa and by the late eighteenth century Moon (2013) explains: it was commonly thought in Aotearoa that the nation had matured into a "pastoral antipodean version of England" (p.135). Against this background, racism and ethnocentrism had become deeply embedded and normalised in Aotearoa society, and Pākehā continued to accrue advantages. This meant cross-cultural interactions had become increasingly strained.

1.2 Biculturalism vs Multiculturalism

Despite the continuing documentation of ideals of tolerance towards other cultures in Aotearoa by scholars and the media, discrimination and European preference still exist (Ward and Liu, 2012). The discourse of Aotearoa as a bicultural nation—a nation with two founding peoples—arose in the 1980s following calls by Māori for self-determination and recognition of their rights (Bell, 2006; O'sullivan, 2007). Biculturalism hence became an official policy; however, in reality, it was/is more a general governance principle. Notwithstanding significant milestones in race relations in Aotearoa, such as the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, which established the Waitangi Tribunal, and a subsequent ruling by the tribunal that in Te Tiriti (The Treaty of Waitangi) sovereignty was not ceded (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014), the discourse of Aotearoa as a bicultural nation remains largely symbolic (Bell, 2006; Ward and Liu, 2012). Despite acknowledgment of the historical injustices, colonial inequalities continue. As claims for reparation based on historical injustice result in

significant opposition in Aotearoa meaning inequalities are not addressed (Bell, 2006; Sibley, Robertson, and Kirkwood, 2005). Sibley and Liu (2004) distinguish the difference between the general principles of biculturalism, defined as “a high-minded ideal of egalitarian values and symbol of national identity” (p.88), and the implementation of bicultural policy, which provides for a fair distribution of resources and redress for current and historical inequities. Sibley and Liu (2007) have labelled this bicultural interaction between Māori and Pākehā ‘The New Zealand dilemma’; people are happy to embrace a symbolic biculturalism but are reluctant to act in good faith of it. For example, a reluctance to treat Māori as equal partners in environmental management. There is a stark difference between the bicultural policy rhetoric of equality and observable inequalities in Aotearoa (Bell, 2006). Sibley and Liu (2004) say that the difference between support for the principles of biculturalism, and support for bicultural policies that address Māori as equals gives insight into the nature of racism in Aotearoa.

Further, some go as far to challenge biculturalism because it excludes Tauīwi (non-Māori who are not of white European ancestry) (O’sullivan, 2007; Vasil, 2000). It is argued that because of the existence of ethnic minorities in Aotearoa, Aotearoa should be considered multicultural, not bicultural (Vasil, 2000). This critique has problematically been used to undermine the credibility of claims under biculturalism. Vasil (2000) critically describes it as a “convenient” (p.1) argument for Pākehā to use to undermine the claims of Māori, and O’sullivan (2007) says it is an attempt to illegitimise Indigeneity as a basis of belonging. Vasil (2000) contends that Tauīwi minorities are not as dissatisfied with their position as Māori. Further, considering existing attitudes to multiculturalism in Aotearoa —discussed later— it is evident that those who make this argument do not always have the best interests of minority ethnic groups at heart. Importantly, Justice Durie (2005) argues biculturalism and multiculturalism are not “mutually exclusive” (p.1). Durie (2005) describes the two as achieving different goals “Biculturalism is about the relationship between the state’s two founding cultures. Multiculturalism is about the acceptance of cultural difference generally” (p.1). However, while Durie’s (2005) description is adequate and importantly recognises that biculturalism and multiculturalism can coexist, it is important to remember that biculturalism, as commonly conceptualised and operationalised, in Aotearoa today is fundamentally flawed.

Bell (2006) argues that biculturalism as a state response has worked to separate Māori and Pākehā, essentialising Māori and Pākehā differences (Bell, 2006), thereby, unproductively setting up a binary between the two cultures with Pākehā unquestioningly considered the desired state of being (Bell, 2006; Reid, Rout, Tai, and Smith, 2006). Interestingly, Bhaba (2013) discusses how one of the most pervasive features of colonial discourse is its fixed notion of identity, especially ethnic/cultural identity. Colonialism used the fixity of identity coupled with the stereotyping of difference to establish power to subjugate minorities. O'sullivan (2007) says because biculturalism bifurcates culture it is ignorant of the complexity of the relationship between cultures. As O'sullivan argues, "Power relationships are, however, much more complicated than a binary Māori/Pākehā 'partnership' discourse suggests" (p.21). Fundamentally, Bell (2006) critiques biculturalism because it does not adequately attend to colonialism. Instead, Bell (2006) says Said's (1993) concept of 'entanglement' better articulates the colonial history and relationship between Māori and Pākehā. This is because it acknowledges that the two constitute two different cultures without dichotomising Māori and Pākehā, while describing the interconnected and co-created history of the two cultures.

A similar discourse is evident when current attitudes towards multiculturalism are analysed in Aotearoa. Like biculturalism, multiculturalism plays an important part in identifying, stereotyping, and removing autonomy, directing where people belong and do not (Kobayashi and Peake, 2000). This is described by Kobayashi and Peake (2000) as the racialisation of society which they consider one of the most enduring and fundamental means of organising society. Beck (2002) explains, "According to the multicultural premise, the individual does not exist. He [sic] is a mere epiphenomenon of his culture" (p.37). Identification in this way is incredibly problematic. Shan and Walter (2014) also suggest that multicultural policies have "unwittingly or not, served to objectify, essentialize, sometimes exoticize, and even commodify cultural differences in the globalized market economy" (p.20). While multiculturalism encourages cross-cultural exchange and tolerance, policies largely appear ignorant of history, and the social and economic contexts that affect people's access to social and economic opportunities. Amin (2013) perceptively identifies how multiculturalism is disposed to what he calls a "certain liberal tyranny" (p.7).

This unknowingly, or not, places the onus on immigrants and minorities to do the “engaging and reconciling” with the majority, which is ignorant of history and the way in which access to power and resources often regulate interactions (Amin, 2013, p.7). This is particularly problematic because the interlacing dimensions of socio-economic status and minority position exacerbate inequality.

Indeed, a number of academics have criticised theorisations of multiculturalism for considering diversity from an idealised, utopian perspective of how we would like things to be (Neal, Bennett, Cochrane, and Mohan, 2013; Semi, Colombo, Camozzi and Frisina, 2009). This is as opposed to documenting and thereby analysing the lived reality of diversity. For example, Aotearoa’s current immigration policy is arguably rational. Immigrants are selected for what they can offer Aotearoa, for example their skills. They enter the country prepared for employment, yet are often discriminated against and underemployed in comparison to those born in Aotearoa (Podsiadlowski and Ward, 2010). Therefore, despite a policy aimed at ensuring immigrants will have jobs and are absorbed into the workforce, they are largely not being accepted. As Ward and Liu (2012) argue, the majority of New Zealanders agree with multiculturalism in principle; that it is a good thing for society to be diverse, to be made up of different races, religions and cultures. However, in practice, the act of multiculturalism is different; this is similar to what has been articulated about biculturalism. Culture is allowed for, but ‘out of sight and out of mind’ of the dominant group. Dixon, Durrheim, and, Tredoux (2005) are critical of multiculturalism for investigating cross-cultural relations under “rarefied conditions” (p.703). The authors instead propose that more research is needed which investigates the “mundane, seemingly unimportant, encounters that constitute the overwhelming majority of everyday contact experiences” (p.703). This is important because the popularised macro discourse of multiculturalism often reproduces diversity as something to be concerned about (especially when compared to a utopian perspective of relations), further problematising cultural diversity (Dixon, 2005).

The population of Aotearoa is becoming increasingly heterogeneous. The current Labour and New Zealand First Coalition Government recently announced that they will raise the annual refugee quota from 1,000 to 1,500 (beehive.govt.nz, 2018). Biculturalism and multiculturalism are both terms used to describe Aotearoa’s

society; however, majority and minority cultural groups are increasingly recognised as internally diverse themselves. Vertovec (2007) coined the term ‘super-diversity’ to understand the complexity of these developments. The term is used to describe how cultural differences are interwoven with differences in other identifiers, such as, socio-economic status, migration patterns, regional and spatial distribution, and political and cultural mobilisation. Semi et al. (2009) also express their dissatisfaction with multiculturalism saying “We perceive that there is a growing gap between the main ways of reading and interpreting the presence of difference in contemporary society and what we see, hear and at times experience in our fieldwork” (p.66). Semi et al. (2009) are critical of the way multiculturalism dichotomises us and them, sees difference as unalterable, and ignores intersections with other differences, like socio-economic status. Because of this, multiculturalism masks the complexity of the processes of diversification. It fails to account for the fluidity of culture and the lived realities of diversity; appearing to be disconnected from reality and an ineffective framework to consider diversity. Therefore, it should be noted that while this research focuses on cultural difference, this research does not agree with the power of ethnicity-based explanations alone. This research acknowledges the narrow scope of what is being investigated and it is important to emphasise the effects of socio-economic deprivation, segregation, and other factors that heighten the complexity of cross-cultural interactions (Amin, 2002). As this background has illustrated, Aotearoa’s current cross-cultural social relations are intensely complicated and ever-changing.

The analysis presented does not pretend to address, much less resolve, all the complexities of multiculturalism and biculturalism. Arguably, biculturalism and multiculturalism can be considered ideologies that, to some extent, are useful to emphasise the recognition and maintenance of cultural identities, and to foster equitable participation in society. However, this analysis does propose that an approach examining the lived everyday reality of cultural diversity, could be a more productive analytical direction. Stuart Hall (2000) says that there is “a danger in simply valorizing the distinctive values of ‘community’ as if they are not always in moving relationship to other competing values around them” (p.237). Reinforcing Hall’s (1993) earlier statement that “the capacity to live with difference is, in my view, the coming question of the 21st century” (p.361). Considering this, Hall (2000)

calls for an examination of community that moves beyond the static homogeneous understanding of community —adopted in bicultural and multicultural analysis— to how already existing communities engage with their everyday lived reality of cultural diversity. This is because true biculturalism and multiculturalism cannot be achieved without infrastructure —beyond laws— that brings different groups together daily in a way that promotes not only understanding of, and appreciation for diversity, but also demands reasonable accommodation of all (Hall, 2000).

1.3 Location of Research

This research is conducted in Newtown, Wellington. There were many reasons why I chose Newtown, Wellington, as the context for my case study. Wellington, the capital city of Aotearoa, positions itself as a city which “combines the sophistication, cosmopolitan outlook and global reach of a capital city, along with the warmth and personality of a village” (Wellington Regional Economic Development Agency, 2018). Newtown was one of the first outlying suburbs of Wellington, with its name literally meaning ‘new town’. It is located in a valley to the south of Wellington’s central business district. The surrounding area had previously been occupied by a number of Māori iwi (Ballara, 1990). The colonial settlement of Newtown dates back to the period of the 1840s, when the area was predominantly used for farming. The population of the area increased quickly following the construction of Wellington Hospital in Newtown in 1878. The area remains a popular residential suburb of Wellington, is socio-economically diverse and has undergone a process of gentrification over the past decade (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

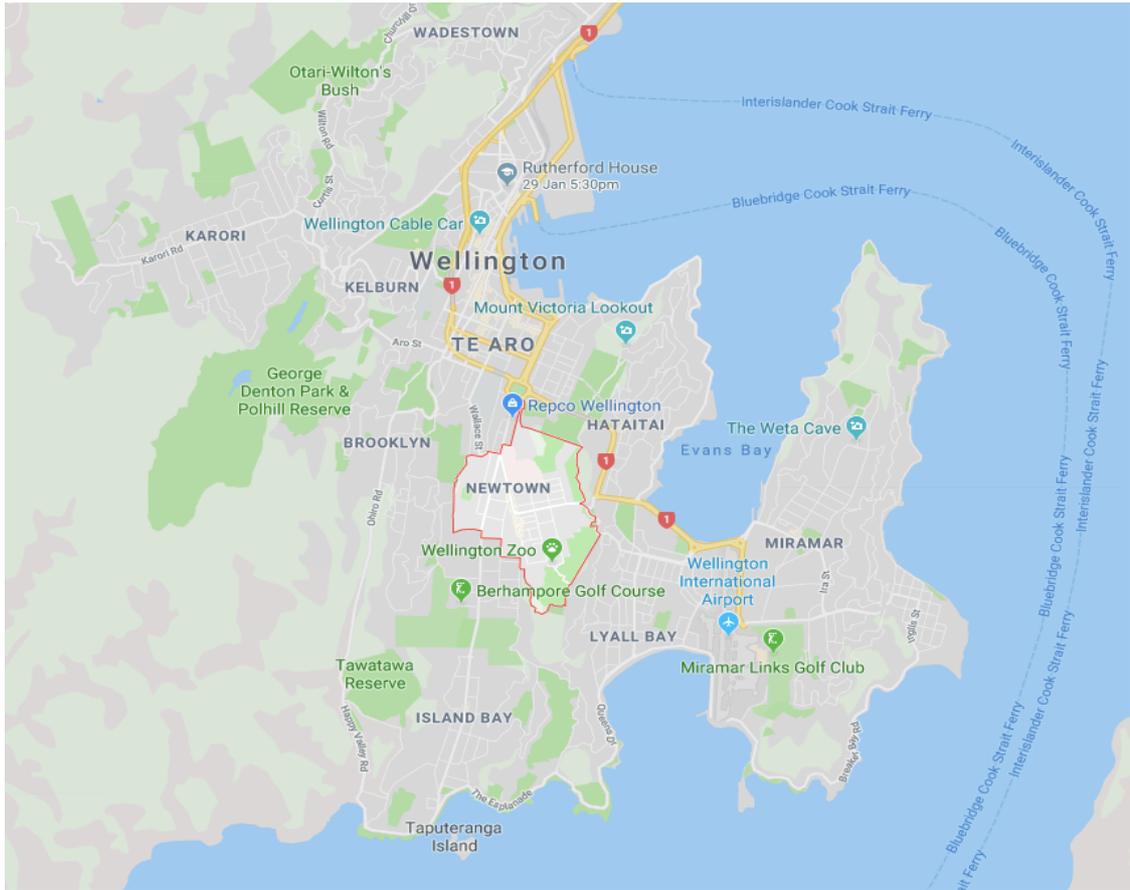


Figure 1: Map of Wellington city showing the suburb of Newtown. Source: Google (n.d.).

Newtown is an exemplar of what Doreen Massey (2005) calls the “throwntogetherness” of urban life (p.149). Newtown represents a context that has high cultural diversity (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). According to the Statistics New Zealand 2013 census, people of Newtown identified themselves as more culturally diverse than the wider population of Aotearoa:

Identified Ethnicity	New Zealand	Newtown
European	70.00%	60.10%
Māori	14.10%	8.90%
Pacific	7.00%	8.40%
Asian	16.70%	11.10%
Middle Eastern/Latin American/African	1.1.%	5.80%

Table 1 Newtown Self-identified Ethnicity (Statistics New Zealand, 2013)

Therefore, according to Statistics New Zealand 2013 census, Newtown has relatively high ethnic diversity in comparison to the rest of Aotearoa.

1.4 Purpose

This Master's thesis responds to the New Zealand Government's National Science Challenge 11, Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities. The vision of this challenge is: "Ka ora kainga rua: Built environments that build communities" (National Science Challenge, n.d.). This particular research responds to the question of how multiculturalism is currently lived in communities. The overall objective was to understand where cross-cultural interactions play out in a community and how the materiality and spatiality of locations might animate positive cross-cultural interactions. Materiality and spatiality are being used in this research to respectively denote, the physical matter that makes up a place and the characteristics of a space. This includes the practices and power relations that exist in a space which cause us to "negotiate, physically, socially, politically, and metaphorically in relation to others" (Valentine, 1999, p. 57). This research asks:

1. Are there places in Newtown, Wellington, where residents and local employees experience cross-cultural social interactions?
2. What type of places help encourage positive cross-cultural interactions?
3. Do the spatial and material dimensions of these places shape the interaction in some way?

1.5 Outcome and Contribution

This thesis aimed to make a number of contributions to existing literature by exploring how a community is living multiculturalism at a time of 'super-diversity' Vertovec (2007). The discussion in this research paper is of relevance to those who are interested in the lived reality of those living in a culturally diverse community. This research will also contribute to assisting those concerned with creating environments that suit the needs of many cultural groups by examining the situated nature of diversity.

1.6 Thesis Outline

This thesis contains five chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter Two is a literature review which provides a foundation and clarifies the scope of this research. It begins with a discussion about how cultural diversity has historically been analysed in academic literature. It specifically analyses literature relating to social-psychology research that has investigated, on a macro level, how people respond to increased cultural diversity. Emerging literature on geographies of encounter is then explored with a focus on everyday multiculturalism. Literature relating to Ray Oldenburg's (1989) *Third Places* and Ash Amin's (2002) *micro-publics* is then discussed to explore potential locations of cross-cultural encounters. Chapter Two is then used to form research questions which are outlined at the chapter's end.

In Chapter Three I describe the methodological approach used for this research, including where and how the research was conducted. This chapter establishes the constructivist epistemology and post-structural methodology used for this research, and considers positionality and reflexivity employed throughout the research. It then presents Newtown, Wellington as the case study. Q-methodology is then discussed as the main method used to conduct this research before a summary of how the qualitative and quantitative data will be analysed.

In Chapter Four I present and explore the results of this research. The results from the Q-sorts are first presented based on the groupings of viewpoints that were identified. Convergence and divergence between the factors is then discussed before a summary is made of the results.

In the concluding chapter, I reflect on how the research has responded to the research questions and compare the findings with the literature. I also reflect on the significance of the research methods used. Implications for political and public domains are analysed and emerging research questions presented before limitations of the research are discussed.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

This research asks where people experience cross-cultural social interactions. It also asks if the spatial and material dimensions of places shape these interactions. This literature review has six sections. It begins with a snapshot of how cross-cultural interactions have historically been conceptualised. It discusses how diversity has been feared and celebrated in literature, the long history it has in the social psychology discipline, then moves into a discussion of the recent scholarship on everyday multiculturalism. Following that, it explores how the spatial dimensions of social interactions have been analysed; it specifically considers Ray Oldenburg's (1989) concept of 'third place', and Ash Amin's (2002) 'micro-publics'. Finally, it concludes with a reflection on where this research fits and provides a justification for the exploration of cross-cultural social interactions.

2.1 Diversity Feared and Celebrated

Socio-cultural forces of international migration, debates over citizenship, and largely unaddressed postcolonial discourses in the West have shaped, and will continue to shape Western cities. These socio-cultural forces are seen by some as a challenge and by others as an opportunity.

Increased diversity, conceptualised by Vertovec (2007) as 'super-diversity', has caused some academics and policy makers to problematise increasingly culturally diverse communities. This discourse is psychological, economic, religious, and cultural, based upon the fear of the 'other'. Discourses of migrants living separate lives and declining social capital in Western cities have often been used as a justification for policies that seek to integrate, and assimilate immigrants, and existing Indigenous peoples into a Western framework of community (Phillips, 2006; Putnam 2007). On the other hand, diversity has been celebrated (Massey, 2005; Neal, Bennett, Cochrone, and Mohan, 2013; Sandercock, 2003; Simmel, 1950). Academics such as Sandercock (2003) are incredibly positive about the diversification of society, or what Sandercock calls the "mongrel city" (p.1). Sandercock (2003) says diversity is "to be celebrated as a great possibility: the possibility of living alongside others who are different, learning from them, creating new worlds with them, instead

of fearing them" (p.1). As discussed in Chapter One, such mixed discourses are common in Aotearoa.

2.2 Social Psychology of Cross-Cultural Interactions: Contact and Conflict Theories

Although social psychology research is not the primary focus of this research, it is necessary to briefly outline how cross-cultural interactions have been theorised. The analysis of cross-cultural interactions has a relatively long history in the discipline of social psychology. The literature articulates a large range of potential influences on attitudes and interactions with other cultures. However, there is a common juxtaposition in social psychology between two particular perspectives which describe the effects of increased cultural diversity on individual attitudes to others. Yinger and Simpson (1973) articulate this as a paradox; "prejudice is sometimes explained as a result of a lack of contact with members of a minority group and sometimes explained as the result of the presence of such contact" (p.117). Similarly, Berger and Pullberg (1965) explain that cross-cultural contact is "de-reifying" (p.209) and creates a crisis in frameworks of knowing as individuals respond to contact and other ways of being. Berger and Pullberg (1965) say that responses to this vary at the extremes between "promiscuous syncretism" and "xenophobic retreat" (p.209). Contact theory and conflict theory (closely related to realistic group conflict theory and ethnic competition theory) represent different hypotheses on the development of ethnocentric attitudes. Contact and conflict theorists debate the effect that diversity has on in-group (majority) and out-group (minority) solidarity.

Contact theorists argue that cross-cultural contact reduces ethnocentrism, fosters cross-cultural tolerance, reduces negative attitudes, and hostility (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006; Savelkoul, Scheepers, Tolsma and Hagendoorn, 2010). The contact theory was first empirically observed in Samuel Stouffer's (1949) study of American soldiers. Stouffer (1949) found that when White soldiers in the American army were asked how they felt about Black soldiers serving alongside them, those who had, or already did, serve alongside Black soldiers, generally embraced Black soldiers. However, those who were assigned to units where they had no contact with Black soldiers were against the idea. Social psychologist Gordon

Allport (1954) elaborated on Stouffer's (1949) empirical findings and proposed that under the right circumstances more contact with people of other cultures would reduce ethnocentrism. Contact would increase knowledge about the other, mitigate perceptions of dissimilarity, and encourage cross-cultural trust (Allport, 1954). Further, distinctions between groups would be eroded and solidarity between in-groups and out-groups would be enhanced (Allport, 1954). This in turn meant contact between individuals of in-groups and out-groups could create a more positive attitude towards the other group in general (Allport, 1954). However, Allport (1954) hypothesised that contact had to occur under the 'right circumstances'. The right circumstances according to Allport were: equal status and cooperative interactions, that had the support of institutional authorities (Brown and Hewstone, 2005). Allport's (1954) proposal spurred research in the social sciences in general and created significant policy discussion by those concerned with improving ethnic relations.

Empirical studies have been performed in Aotearoa that grapple with similar concepts to the contact theory. Ward and Masgoret (2008) find in their study of attitudes to immigrants in Aotearoa that some immigrants are perceived more favourably than others because of perceptions of cultural distance. However, those who have cross-cultural contact in their workplaces or neighbourhoods appear to feel less threatened by immigrants and are relatively more positive about immigration and multiculturalism than those who have comparatively less contact (Ward and Masgoret, 2008). This led them to conclude that encouraging contact under the circumstances originally proposed by Allport (1954) in culturally diverse places, would generate positive outcomes for cross-cultural attitudes (Ward and Masgoret, 2008). Johnson et al. (2010) arrived at a similar conclusion when they compared geographical locations and attitudes to immigration and multiculturalism in Aotearoa. Participants in urban centres, such as Wellington, Christchurch, and especially Auckland, (where there is a high percentage of immigrants) were found to have greater contact with immigrants and express more positive attitudes about immigrants and multiculturalism (Johnson et al., 2010).

A large number of international papers have also advanced Allport's (1954) initial proposal that contact with difference will reduce prejudice. Pettigrew and Tropp's

(2006) recent meta-analysis of over 500 studies concluded that more papers found that cross-cultural contact reduced prejudice, than those who found it had no effect, or entrenched prejudice. However, they say that anxiety reduction as opposed to increased knowledge of the other is the main reason contact improves cross-cultural relations (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006). They argue that different groups are fearful and uncertain of other groups. Therefore, contact, —in a non-threatening environment— means groups can become more comfortable around the other as the threat of the unknown is reduced. Rudolph and Popp (2010) arrive at a similar conclusion in their analysis of the effects of racial heterogeneity on interracial trust. They describe racially diverse environments as providing space for contact which can “help to mitigate race-based perceptions of dissimilarity and, ultimately, buoy interracial trust” (Rudolph and Popp, 2010, p.88). They say that the negative effect of large out-groups, or as the authors call it minority concentration, on social trust is moderated by interracial contact. Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) also say that the ability of a group to consider the perspective of the other is an important factor in prejudice reduction. Further, they evaluate that Allport’s (1954) conditions only “enhance the tendency for positive contact outcomes to emerge” (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006, p.766). While Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) say that contact under the circumstances proposed by Allport achieved a higher contact effect than contact which was not, they argue that Allport’s optimal circumstances for contact are not essential for the positive effects of contact.

In contrast, conflict theorists say that the scarcity of resources creates competition between in-groups and out-groups (Savelkoul, Scheepers, Tolsma and Hagendoorn, 2010; Schneider, 2008). As Schneider (2008) explains, conflict theory assumes “attitudes and behaviour between groups primarily serve the maintenance of a groups’ status position, resources, and prerogatives, but also a groups’ culture in terms of identity and values” (p.54). Hostility arises between groups as they compete for resources and as in-groups feel threatened by out-groups because of worries over maintaining cultural identities. The hostility eventually results in negative inter-group attitudes and the expression of racism, prejudice, and other forms of discrimination towards out-groups.

Interestingly, Savelkoul et al. (2010) analysed negative attitudes towards Muslims in the Netherlands and found in favour of both contact and conflict theory. They first say that a relatively larger out-group resulted in a greater perceived threat and negative attitudes towards Muslims (Savelkoul et al., 2010). However, they also found that those who lived in areas with a relatively higher percentage of Muslims where contact was unavoidable became accustomed to the presence of the Muslims over time and perceived a lower level of ethnic threat (Savelkoul et al., 2010). Therefore, they concluded that their findings demonstrate the “complementary nature of both ethnic competition theory and intergroup contact theory” (Savelkoul et al., 2010, p.752). Schneider (2008) agrees, and says that the relationship between in-group and out-groups is actually curvilinear in shape as the size of the out-group increases. Schneider concludes that “a large outgroup does not only increase competition, but it also increases contact opportunities and familiarity with immigrants” (p.63). Putnam (2007) comes to a similar conclusion. Putnam (2007) concludes from his analysis of ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in the US that in the short-term diversity reduces “social solidarity and social capital” (p.137). In contrast to Savelkoul et al. (2010) and Schneider (2008), however, Putnam subsequently argues against both contact and conflict theory. Because both theories assume that attitudes towards difference must vary inversely Putnam (2007) says it had not been considered that diversity could reduce solidarity within in-groups and out-groups. This leads Putnam (2007) to conclude that diversity encourages people to “hunker down”; bringing out the “turtle in all of us” (Putnam, 2007, p.151). He labels this constrict theory. To alleviate these perceived effects of diversity Putnam (2007) encourages policy makers to reinvest in spaces such as community centres and athletics fields which can facilitate immigrant entanglement (Bell, 2006) and enable us to become more comfortable with diversity.

Abascal and Baldassarri (2015) propose that conflict theory can also be considered an extension of the contact theory under suboptimal circumstances rather than directly contradicting it. That is, suboptimal circumstances result in negative cross-cultural contact reinforcing cultural separation and stereotypes. Empirical studies of contact theory have often failed to prove the theory, as encounters (note: for the purposes of this thesis encounter and interaction are used interchangeably) largely do not take place under Allport’s (1954) optimal circumstances. As Valentine (2008)

critiques, “encounters never take place in a space free from history, material conditions and power” (p.333). Frantz Fanon (1992) observes in his essay, *The Fact of Blackness*, “You come too late, much too late, there will always be a world – a white world between you and us” (p.101). As Back and Sinha (2016) argue, it is easier to consider contact as an “opportunity” which provides the “social material for making convivial alternatives” (p.524) as opposed to acknowledging the historicity as Fanon (1992) does of ethnicities in an encounter. This can help explain Fozdar’s (2011) Aotearoa research—which concluded in contradiction to Ward and Masgoret (2008)— given Fozdar (2011) specifically focused on the bicultural colonial relationship in Aotearoa. Fozdar (2011) analysed how Māori and Pākehā talk about their cross-cultural friendships. The research explored the micro level processes of contact theory involved in the development and maintenance (negotiation) of cross-cultural friendships. Fozdar considered whether or not friendships between Māori and Pākehā improved race relations. Fozdar (2011) found through interviews with Māori and Pākehā that race is often described as “invisible in close friendships, but also as the basis around which a great deal of ‘relationship management’ occurs” (p. 383). The research highlights an “illusion of contact” where individuals simultaneously express closeness and guardedness in their cross-cultural friendships (Fozdar, 2011, p. 383). Fozdar (2011) says that such circumstances moderate the effect of contact. Therefore, Fozdar concludes that cross-cultural friendships may not provide the context for breaking down ethnocentrism as the contact theory predicts.

Both contact and conflict theories are limited because of their methodological underpinnings. Dixon et al. (2005) are critical of the way traditional social psychological research has been performed. They say that the literature has become removed from how diversity is lived. Dixon et al. (2005) observe that cross-cultural contact as performed in experiments does not represent “contact as it is practiced, experienced, and regulated in everyday life” (p.706). The authors are critical of the scholarship’s reliance on surveys and clinical experiments which produce a macro simplified understanding of the ideal conditions for contact. In these surveys and clinical experiments respondents are often asked to rate variables such as their frequency or quality of cross-cultural encounters. For example, in Putnam’s (2007) survey respondents were asked to report how much they trusted Whites, Blacks, Asian-Americans, and Hispanics (or Latinos). This ignores the actual lived

experiences of cultural diversity, and the diversity inherent in cultural groups. As Dixon et al. (2005) say, “as an unintended consequence, this approach has nurtured a strange incuriosity about how participants themselves make sense of their encounters with others within particular sociohistorical circumstances” (p.701). Further, Dixon et al. (2005) say social psychological research is limited because the surveys and experiments are constructed in a way that reflects how social psychologists conceptualise contact. They argue that such research is unable to fully capture the participants sense of contact, therefore, is of little use in the real world (Dixon et al., 2005).

Further, Dixon et al. (2005) caution that social psychological research largely aims to achieve a utopian world where prejudice reduction is maximised; however, this is an unrealistic ideal for normal everyday contact. This is because of the historical, political, and economic organisation of society that reproduces power asymmetries. These studies are unable to take account for all socio-economic factors that may also have a bearing on social cohesion, such as economic inequality, community infrastructure, and education. Dixon et al. (2005) say there is a gulf between the “idealized forms of contact studied by most social psychologists and the mundane interactions that characterize most ordinary encounters between groups” (p.700). Dixon et al. (2005) warn that because of this the “field is succumbing to a form of utopianism” (p.700). In doing so they critique the ability of social psychological theory to create change. The authors advocate for a “reorientation” of social psychological analysis to emphasise the study of everyday encounters that constitute the majority of cross-cultural contact (Dixon et al., 2005, p.709).

An understanding of everyday cross-cultural encounters is needed because traditional social psychological research provides an incomplete description of cultural interactions. It is incomplete because it largely does not provide a realistic account of everyday relations. Evidently the research on diversity and cross-cultural relations remains inconclusive. The balance of empirical evidence is contested by advocates of the contact and conflict theories, and, arguably, Putnam’s constrict theory. This leads me to take a more critical stance towards traditional contact and conflict theories and to centralise everyday encounters in my inquiry.

2.3 Everyday Multiculturalism

There is an emerging literature on geographies of encounter that is connected to the older tradition of contact and conflict psychology research. This writing considers ways in which ethnic and cultural difference is lived every day. It embraces an openness towards diversity and is a celebration of the potential ways and ethics of living together with difference (Noble, 2009; Valentine, 2008).

Geographies of encounter consider how people manage everyday social interactions and relations in multicultural environments. This approach is born out of the celebration of cities as sites of difference by academics such as Georg Simmel, Doreen Massey, and Richard Sennett. Sociologist Georg Simmel (1950) considered everyday contact across difference as crucial for the development of an individual. Further, Massey (2005) celebrates the ‘throwtogetherness’ of the city and sees this context as a myriad of stories in which we are all living. However, scholars Sandercock (2003) and Valentine (2008) have critiqued the failure of such writing to address how living in diversity is to be achieved sociologically and institutionally everyday. For example, while Sennett (1994) discusses urban design principles that celebrate cultural difference and facilitate interaction cross-culturally he reifies interactions and assumes that the right spaces will simply encourage harmonious ways of living with difference. Within the multicultural city there is a moral imperative to engage in cross-cultural interactions, according to Sennett (1994). However, he fails to consider the actual processes that this requires and those that are already being practised. The examination of encounters across difference that happen every day is what can be identified by terms such as cosmopolitanism, conviviality, or an everyday multicultural analytical perspective, and empirical space of investigation (Neal, Bennett, Cochrane and Mohan, 2013; Wise, 2005; Wise and Velayutham, 2009; Sealy, 2018; Semi et al., 2009). In particular, everyday multiculturalism offers a nuanced approach to exposing the lived reality of cultural diversity.

Scholars researching everyday multiculturalism consider it to be in contrast to existing —mostly macro— theoretical approaches to diversity and social cohesion research (Pratsinakis, Hatziprokopiou, Labrianidis, and Vogiatzis, 2017; Semi et al.,

2009; Wise and Velayutham, 2009). Advocates of everyday multiculturalism argue it is a more productive way of understanding diversity. Those researching multiculturalism from an everyday perspective describe it as “a grounded approach to looking at the everyday practice and lived experience of diversity in specific situations and spaces of encounter” (Wise and Velayutham, 2009, p.3). Therefore, those who study everyday multiculturalism undertake a bottom-up examination into how cultural diversity and difference is experienced, lived, and achieved on the ground. Amin (2002) has argued that this is important because “much of the negotiation of difference occurs at the very local level through everyday experiences and encounters” (p.959). This sentiment is echoed by Semi et al. (2009) who emphasise the importance of interacting with difference on a daily basis for better relations. To achieve this, they ask: what are the dispositions, discourses, and practices that underpin mundane situations of togetherness? (Semi et al., 2009). The macro frame of racial and ethnic relations remains important but local everyday negotiations of multiculturalism are important too, given this is what people actually experience in their day to day lives.

Everyday encounters and interactions considered to be practices of multiculturalism are mediated in ‘contact zones’ (Sealy, 2018). Everyday multiculturalism research often references Mary Louise Pratt (1992) who uses the term ‘contact zone’ to describe the “space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations” (Wise, 2009, p.22). Studies of everyday multiculturalism aim to consider the everyday interactions that take place cross-culturally in contact zones. Contact zones include both shared public or semi-public spaces, for example, cafés, parks, food courts, and markets. Everyday multiculturalism research largely focuses on micro and/or seemingly mundane contact zones where informal exchanges and routine encounters are more likely to take place.

One of the main academics in the field of everyday multiculturalism is Amanda Wise. Elaborating on Hage’s (1998) “multiculturalism of inhabitance” (p.223) Wise (2005) conceptualises multiculturalism as everyday place sharing. Wise (2005) seeks to emphasise hopeful encounters, those that in Wise’s words create “possibilities for opening up to otherness” (p.182). Wise (2005) says this positive focus aims to reflect the potential for nuanced forms of integration (Wise, 2005). In later research Wise

(2009) emphasises that research which investigates lived multiculturalism is not about assimilationist or integrationist exchange but is about “how cultural difference can be the basis for commensality and exchange; where identities are not left behind but can be shifted and opened up in moments of non-hierarchical reciprocity” (p.23). Wise (2009) argues that everyday encounters across difference are not necessarily about “conflict avoidance, conflict prevention, or indeed, not about conflict at all but about interchange that consciously or unconsciously produces permeable borders of being across difference” (p.24). Wise’s (2009) approach to researching cross-cultural relations is decidedly positive in this way.

Wise’s (2005) ethnographic fieldwork in the Sydney suburb of Ashfield has been particularly influential in the field of everyday multiculturalism. Wise (2005) describes her work in Ashfield as a “gateway to the city’s working-class multicultural suburban heartland” (p.172). Wise (2005) observed several locations such as senior citizen’s groups, for example the lawn bowls club, local shopping centres, and churches. Wise (2005) concluded that inherent to cross-cultural encounters in these contexts are specific manners, forms of recognition, gratitude, and hospitality, which can build a sense of belonging and trust. Wise (2005) emphasises “certain” (p.182) kinds of manners which are described as those that open up communication and create hopeful feelings of connection between diverse people. Examples are given of smiling, nodding, waving, and giving thanks. Wise (2009) later uses the term “quotidian transversality” to describe these manners. According to Wise (2009), quotidian transversality is the use of “mundane practices which produce transversal rooting and shifting across cultural difference” (p.25). In extension Wise (2009) articulates the process of quotidian recognition: “quotidian recognition recognises difference through everyday exchange and encounters, but also incorporates the inevitable transversal transformation of difference and the intersectional relations of care produced” (p.36). For Wise (2009) it is through this process of engagement that identities are destabilised and diverse others become positively interwoven.

Neal et al. (2013) also emphasise positive encounters with cultural difference. They are critical of the dominance of segregation literature in debates regarding how ethnic and cultural difference is lived and managed. Their analysis is informed by

research exploring Ghanaian and Somali migrant settlement in Milton Keynes, England. The research focused on policy responses to multiculturalism, such as integration interventions for community cohesion, and the intercultural experiences of Ghanaian and Somali communities in the city (Neal et al., 2013). It is observed by Neal et al. (2013) that the “entanglement of often multiple migration narratives and contingent attachments to newly multicultural spaces was a particular feature of many of the interview conversations” (p.313). For participants in their study the fluidity and flux of identities, as well as places, was a characteristic of the multicultural community. The authors conclude that everyday multiculturalism and conviviality theorising may be the “most appropriate and relevant way of describing and thinking about the rapid and ongoing reconfigurations of multiculturalism and cultural difference” (Neal et al., 2013, p.320). This is because everyday multiculturalism re-orientates discussion away from the crisis debates of separatism under multiculturalism and the conception of identity as an unalterable variable (Neal et al., 2013). It begins to consider the nature of competent culturally diverse communities.

Similarly, Pratsinakis et al. (2017) research the role of the neighbourhood in mediating the development of migrant cross-cultural friendships. They investigated migrant communities in Europe and found that the socio-spatial characteristics of the neighbourhood are important for the development of cross-cultural friendships. Pratsinakis et al. (2017) found that an environment of socialisation, and greater distance from the city centre, meant residents would be more likely to develop cross-cultural friendships. In particular, they argue that less formal social settings better facilitate the development of cross-cultural relationships. This is because less formal social settings are not as culturally demanding for immigrants. Ultimately, the researchers conclude that interethnic relations in everyday life follow a different logic than those represented in national discourses of multiculturalism and assumed by policymakers. This is because everyday multiculturalism “works as a cohesive force which resists and transcends fragmentation and division” (Pratsinakis et al., 2017, p.104). Like other studies of everyday multiculturalism (Blokland and Nast, 2014; Neal et al., 2013), Pratsinakis et al. (2017) conclude that positive cross-cultural interactions are not uncommon in diverse European cities. This is in contrast to

dominant public discourses and theorisations of separatism and diminishing social capital.

Blokland and Nast (2014) also challenge the common trope of culturally diverse neighbourhoods as ‘lacking’ community and social capital. Their research of two diverse neighbourhoods in Berlin, Germany, focuses on everyday encounters occurring in the ordinary spaces and situations of daily life. Blokland and Nast (2014) asked participants about their patterns of neighbourhood use, such as their use of schools, public transport, shopping streets, political and social participation, and local experiences of safety and trust. They observed that diverse groups within the neighbourhood had found ways to coexist (Blokland and Nast, 2014). Furthermore, they found that everyday encounters as opposed to personal networks and homogenous community narratives determine experiences of neighbourhood belonging (Blokland and Nast, 2014). Social space, which the authors call ‘comfort zones’, is produced through local daily routines which foster a sense of public familiarity; the process of recognising and being recognised (Blokland and Nast, 2014). The authors conclude that brief and incidental encounters are important to foster belonging in mixed neighbourhoods (Blokland and Nast, 2014). They are critical of the sociological argument which assumes local networks are crucial for belonging, and mixed neighbourhoods as too diverse to have community identity (Blokland and Nast, 2014). The authors say that people in diverse neighbourhoods may experience belonging in different ways (Blokland and Nast, 2014). They use Granovetter’s (1973) ‘absent ties’, similar to Wise’s ‘quotidian transversality’, to consider how daily routines in the neighbourhood increase public familiarity, thereby increasing people's sense of belonging (Blokland and Nast, 2014).

Further, Blokland and Nast (2014) suggest that if people experience diversity in their daily lives this can facilitate engagement with diversity in other contexts. They argue that experiencing diversity in everyday life “may well provide a laboratory that affects their political and social attitudes towards diversity in other spheres of their life” (Blokland and Nast, 2014, p.1157). Houston (2005) also proposes that “routine, prosaic, interactions between adults can erode long-standing stereotypes” (p.700). Gilroy (2004) has similarly discussed conviviality. In Gilroy’s (2004) writing—in which he sought to overcome race thinking based upon notions of homogeneity—he

highlighted “the ordinary experiences of contact, cooperation, and conflict across the supposedly impermeable boundaries of race, culture, identity and ethnicity” as important (p. xii). As with researchers of everyday multiculturalism, Gilroy (2004) emphasises how interactions, convivial culture, and the relational aspects of human encounters can destabilise static notions of identity. Gilroy is suggesting that increased diversity of urban areas promotes conviviality and cross-cultural sensibilities

Semi et al. (2009) provide an insightful analysis of everyday multiculturalism. They consider how Muslim immigrants’ children born in Italy practice everyday multiculturalism (Semi et al., 2009). In the interviews that were conducted with the children, Semi et al. (2009) found that the children were constantly enacting a “process of convergence and differentiation” (p.76). The children were considered to use cultural differences in deliberate ways to deliver an image that they considered suitable to the context (Semi et al., 2009). Semi et al. (2009) elaborate that the children highlighted or concealed difference; for example, reiterating ethnic representations portrayed by the media. They explain how such strategies either reinforce distinctions or break down boundaries of difference (Semi et al., 2009). Demonstrating, like Neal et al. (2013), how identities are not as static as multiculturalism assumes. It is evaluated that the children “never feel completely Italian or completely foreign, but rather both Italian and foreign, capitalising on difference as a tool for making distinctions but also combatting its potentially discriminatory use” (Semi et al., 2009, p.77). Semi et al. (2009) consider the study of everyday multiculturalism useful in re-orientating analysis to how social identities and practices are situated.

In their analysis Semi et al. (2009) emphasise that focusing on the everyday means cultural identities are not considered as static (Semi et al., 2009). Further, they emphasise that everyday multiculturalism is aware of the fluidity between the everyday context and dimensions that are not immediately visible; for example, pre-existing power relations. Indeed, the fluidity of the everyday and the subjectivity of the individual is privileged in their analysis (Semi et al., 2009). Semi et al. (2009) emphasise the importance of spatial practices, “namely the relations between people and the spaces they move in and reconstruct” (p.70), for understanding the essence of

a culturally diverse society. Semi et al. (2009) explain that it is only by putting together the relationship between an individual's opinions, their position in life, the place they inhabit on a daily basis, and in society, that we can weave together the fabric of everyday multiculturalism. This is because difference is a practise; those in diverse communities are constantly “doing multiculturalism” (Butcher and Harris, 2010, p.450).

Everyday multiculturalism literature documents how diversity is experienced as part of everyday life. The existing literature on everyday multiculturalism shows that being in, and living in, spaces of cultural diversity involves negotiation for both the majority and minority populations. So, can we create spaces where culturally diverse peoples in a community can come together, practise cultural maintenance, as well as equitable participation?

2.3.1 Everyday Multiculturalism Critique

It is worth reflecting on the limitations of everyday multiculturalism. In particular, asking what assumptions are made by everyday multiculturalism regarding how people share space and how people negotiate cross-cultural contact.

Valentine (2008, 2013) evaluates the transformative nature of everyday interactions. Valentine is concerned about the idealisation of cross-cultural encounter rhetoric stating that, it “romanticises urban encounters and is based on the assumption that contact with others will translate into respect for difference” (p.6). Valentine (2008) uses empirical data on white majority prejudice of minority and marginalised groups in the United Kingdom to illustrate how everyday civility and etiquette is not necessarily the same as respect for difference. Valentine (2008, 2013) differentiates between meaningful contact—which changes values and has lasting effects beyond the moment of contact—and contact across difference which leaves attitudes and values unmoved. Valentine (2008) articulates a “paradoxical gap” between “values and practices” (p.323) in geographies of encounter. Valentine (2008) illustrates this point by recounting how some participants suggested that behaving civilly in public while privately maintaining beliefs “is what Britishness is all about” (p.329). This is what can be articulated as ‘political correctness’. This etiquette, for example,

exchanging pleasantries with the shopkeeper or holding open doors, Valentine (2008, 2013) says is simply a display of tolerance. Because tolerance masks power relations and inequality, it does not equate to “mutual respect” (Valentine, 2008, p.329) and therefore minimises the possibility for the transformation of ethnocentric beliefs. Valentine (2013) says we must not be too quick to celebrate everyday interactions and their power to create respect for difference. Pratsinakis et al. (2017) agree, explaining that everyday multiculturalism “does not provide a measure of the degree to which everyday encounters translate to sustained close relations and the conditions under which this happens” (p.106). Amin (2012) is also skeptical, questioning if the positives of an ‘encounter’ can be scaled up, and to what extent lived experiences of cross-cultural contact can, on their own, counter the myriad ways through which everyday life is racialised. It appears then that positive interactions across cultures in the community may not lead to generally positive ideas about the wider cultural group. The positive bias of everyday multiculturalism can be considered overly optimistic in this sense. Therefore, to what extent do acts of everyday multiculturalism accurately represent prejudicial beliefs and ideas held by individuals? Further, to what extent does it disrupt those beliefs and facilitate meaningful relationships?

Similarly, the notion of what a true encounter or interaction is, is questioned. Sealy (2018) articulates this as a “conflation between contact and co-presence” (p.10). And, even more critically, Valentine (2008) says “many everyday moments of contact between different individuals or groups in the city do not really count as encounters at all” (p.326). Indeed, Brown and Hewstone (2005) argue that the effect of prejudice reduction through contact is moderated by how “present” an individual is during contact. Allport (1954) hypothesised that cross-cultural contact would reduce ethnocentrism, though stresses this would only be achieved under the right circumstances of contact. Therefore, not all encounters are equal in terms of their ability to reduce prejudice. Sealy (2018) adeptly summarises this by stating that under the everyday multiculturalism framework encounters are often “insufficiently conceptualized and problematized in relation to the claims made for them” (p.15). Therefore, everyday multiculturalism and other forms of geographies of encounter, such as cosmopolitanism and conviviality, all fail to consider what conviviality looks like, especially cross-culturally. Is everyday multiculturalism different to simply

being nice to others? And how does “otherness” affect this? Understanding the nature of contact itself, and not just assuming contact in general to have beneficially transformative qualities, is important. It can be concluded that how contact is understood and conceptualised in contact zones is important but remains under-investigated.

Sealy (2018) is critical of everyday multiculturalism for failing to account for the historicity of situations. Similarly, Matejskova and Leitner (2011) say there is a “Lack of sustained attention to the ways in which power relations among different groups influence the nature of actually existing interactions in urban spaces” (p.722). Geographies of encounter frameworks are good at considering immediate complexity but often fail to take into account the socially—for example, everyday sexism—and historically—for example, colonialism—rooted nature of everyday interactions. Because of this, geographies of encounter are often more observational than critical and largely unable to address the complex nature of cross-cultural relations.

This unawareness of history blurs difference in the present. Bell (2016) emphasises the importance of foregrounding ethnicity and cultural difference in encounters. In an ethnographic study of a building project in rural Aotearoa which brought Māori and Pākehā together Bell (2016) observes that the project provided a context for Māori and Pākehā to forge new relationships and enabled decolonising practices to be performed. Bell (2016) argues that for contact to be transformative of colonial and racist attitudes and values, it “cannot be based on a colour-blind stance that ignores and denies the importance of difference—differences that crucially continue to structure the life experiences of the non-white minorities in settler and European societies alike” (p.1182). Further, that reduced ethnocentrism can only be realised when we “both protect the difference of the other person”, and are “prepared to question our own views” (Bell, 2016, p.1181). In this way Bell (2016) diverges from both contact and conflict theories, as well as geographies of encounter. Neither theorisations consider the foregrounding of difference and history to be important in contact across difference. This is eloquently articulated by Sealy (2018) who says that while geographies of encounter research critiques multiculturalism for focusing on national identities and strict notions of cultural identities, everyday

multiculturalism is in danger of similar irrelevance if it does not consider the macro frame, historical and political, in which interactions take place.

Further, an ignorance of history means that everyday multiculturalism fails to recognise that it is also unevenly distributed (Ho, 2011; Sealy, 2018). Ho's (2011) analysis of schools as a site of everyday multiculturalism revealed that the positive tone of the large majority of everyday multiculturalism literature is unfounded. Ho's (2011) research shows that everyday multiculturalism is uneven in distribution, this is because spaces are culturally polarised. Ho (2011) explains that Sydney schools do not reflect the multicultural makeup of the city because they have become culturally and economically exclusive. According to Ho (2011) there is a high proportion of schools in Sydney where the majority of students come from white, English-speaking backgrounds which often fails to reflect the culturally diverse makeup of the area the school is located in. This cultural polarisation of Sydney schools limits cross-cultural interaction (Ho, 2011). Ho (2011) says that policy should be used to encourage a diversity of pupils at all schools because they can be important sites for fostering respect of the 'other' and smoothing the way to coexistence. However, this should not be purely based on the idealisation of "harmony" because conflict can coexist with respect for others (Ho, 2011, p.617).

Considering the aforementioned it is unsurprising that the dominant positive bias of geographies of encounter is critiqued. While everyday multiculturalism is not strictly positive, the negative elements of cross-cultural contact —prejudice and racism— are often under conceptualised. Back and Sinha (2016) say that to understand multiculturalism “equal weight must be given to the paradoxical co-existence of both racism and conviviality” (p. 517). Back and Sinha (2016), as well as Valentine (2008) suggest everyday multiculturalism is Allport's (1954) contact theory repackaged and critique everyday multiculturalism on account of this. In particular, they critique the reproduction of the positive bias of Allport's (1954) hypothesis in everyday multicultural research and caution against this. The focus on hopefulness is ignorant of the way in which negative interactions could undermine the positive interactions. Wise (2008) acknowledges “‘failed encounters’ and foiled attempts at cross-cultural exchange” (p.37), however only considers failed encounters from the point of view of a cultural misunderstanding as opposed to racism. By ignoring both

everyday tensions, as well as the historical context Sealy (2018) cautions that everyday multiculturalism consequently distorts that which it is trying to describe and expose. Like social psychological theory, everyday multiculturalism can be considered to provide an incomplete analysis (Sealy, 2018).

Admittedly, investigations into everyday contact are not always positive. Jennifer Lee's (2000) research considered everyday contact and avoidance between shoppers in White and Black neighbourhoods in the USA. Two themes emerged from her research (Lee, 2000). Firstly, the study recorded that Black customers were treated more negatively in White shopping areas than Black shopping areas (Lee, 2000). Lee (2000) observed that Black customers were subject to surveillance in White stores. For Black shoppers this meant that the customer client relationship was uneven (Lee, 2000). Secondly, in response to this treatment Lee (2000) documented how Black shoppers often chose to emphasise wealth to demonstrate belonging and reduce the salience of their ethnicity, similar to the negotiation of identity discussed by Semi et al. (2009). Lee (2000) says that documenting this goes some way to understanding the full range of cross-cultural encounters that happen. This therefore brings researchers a step closer to understanding how interventions, and possibly the positive transformation of cross-cultural relations can be achieved.

The everyday multicultural analysis performed by Semi et al. (2009) is useful to draw upon because their findings emphasise that everyday multiculturalism cannot just be a celebration of diversity. Investigations must look beyond the positive cross-cultural interactions to those that are problematic, where interactions are laden with prejudice and racism. Semi et al. (2009) constructively describe everyday multiculturalism as an investigation into the "situated, practical nature of the use of difference" (Semi et al., 2009, p.75). However, Sealy (2018) acknowledges that despite the aforementioned critiques of everyday multiculturalism, the focus on contact and conviviality is beneficial in that it "addresses popular media and political caricatured characterizations of multiculturalism" (p.15). I would extend this by saying that this leads to a better educated and productive public debate. This is because multiculturalism is neither bottom-up or top-down, neither micro or macro, and maybe neither positive or negative.

2.4 Spaces for Multicultural Engagement

Where conviviality takes place is the focus of Ray Oldenburg's (1989) concept of 'third place'. For Oldenburg third places are those places —other than home and work— which are lent to convivial interaction. Oldenburg (1989) believes, third places are “a generic designation for a great variety of public places that host the regular, voluntary, informal and happily anticipated gatherings of individuals beyond the realms of home and work” (p.16). These are places that are active in promoting a sense of community by offering a space for community to come together (Cabras and Mount, 2017).

Oldenburg (1989) advances a number of dimensions of third places: 1) They are on neutral ground; where “all feel at home and comfortable” (p.22). 2) They are levelers and inclusive; to achieve this Oldenburg says “Worldly status claims must be checked at the door” (p.25). 3) Conversation is the main activity no matter the purpose of the setting. 4) There is a regular crowd; becoming a regular requires trust which means you need to show up regularly and conform to “modes of civility and mutual respect” (p.35). 5) The setting has a low profile; Oldenburg considers the plainness of a third place important to “discourage pretension among those who gather there” and ensure people do not become “self-conscious” (p.37). 6) The mood is playful, this contrasts with peoples' involvement in other spheres, especially work. 7) They are a home away from home; according to Oldenburg (1989) third places engender feelings of inclusion and belonging without the exclusiveness of a club or being a member of an organisation.

For Oldenburg, third places, like contact zones, are important foremost because they unite the neighbourhood. They act as “ports of entry” for people moving into the neighbourhood, are sorting areas where residents can identify those they like and dislike, and learn to “be at ease with everyone irrespective of how one *feels* about them” (Oldenburg, 1989, p.xviii). Oldenburg (1989) makes the rather sweeping statement that “nothing contributes as much to one's sense of belonging to a community as much as “membership” in a third place” (p.xxiii). Oldenburg (1989) uses third places to caution that both “The city and neighbourhood suffer as well when there is failure to integrate newcomers and enlist their good services to the

betterment of community” (p.xviii). This is interesting when considering everyday multiculturalism, in particular, immigration trends.

According to Oldenburg (1989) a wide range of such “great, good places” (third places) exist. Jeffres, Bracken, Jian and Casey’s (2009) analysis of a US survey which asked people to identify third places in their community found a broad mix of third places such as community centres, cafés, restaurants, parks, and malls. Mehta and Bosson (2010) conducted similar interviews in Massachusetts. They found that interviewees largely considered third places to be “destinations to go to, gather, meet friends and neighbors, socialize, and watch people” (Mehta and Bosson, 2010, p.793). Interestingly Mehta and Bosson (2010) established that those interviewed in communities with comparatively higher diversity were more likely to say there were no third places in their community. They found that identification of third places was closely linked to participant’s characteristics, such as socio-economic position, age, and length of residence (Mehta and Bosson, 2010). Further, Hickman’s (2013) interviews with residents of low socio-economic neighbourhoods in Great Britain found third places particularly important for social interaction in such neighbourhoods. Hickman (2013) concludes that the importance of various third places differs by group.

Mehta and Bosson (2010) say that although Oldenburg (1989) identified destinations as third places he did not elaborate on the physical characteristics of those places. Further, Yuen and Johnson (2017) argue that Oldenburg’s theorisation of third places needs to be reassessed. They say Oldenburg idealises third places and does not account for complexities (Yuen and Johnson, 2017). In particular, Yuen and Johnson (2017) emphasise that they “believe third places exist not because the place is defined as public, but because of certain existing social dimensions” (p.297). Similarly, Purnell (2015) expands on Oldenburg’s (1989) conception of third place and analyses how the home can be considered a third place. Like Yuen and Johnson (2017), Purnell (2015) says the socialisations that are performed in a place are important: “The distinction of third place is not so much in the categorization of the building but rather in the use for which the space serves” (p.51). In particular, ritualistic practices like sharing meals with friends in the home, are important for the classification of third places.

Further, Yuen and Johnson (2017) distinguish that diversity is of more importance than Oldenburg's (1989) other characteristics of third places as a platform for community. They use this as a definer of third places, arguing that those which are inaccessible to a diverse range of people cannot qualify as third places at all (Yuen and Johnson, 2017). Oldenburg largely fails to consider diversity, only addressing the topic by describing third places as facilitating interaction in heterogeneous groups of people —“The full spectrum of local humanity is represented” (p.14)—nor overtly considered ethnicity. It can be assumed because of his thorough description of third places as levelers between socio-economic groups that this is the heterogeneity that Oldenburg (1989) was speaking to. Like Oldenburg (1989), Yuen and Johnson (2017) discuss socio-economic exclusion and posit that Starbucks is not a third place because of this. Sadly, like Oldenburg, their exploration of diversity ends here and they simply suggest researchers should be aware of intersectionality when exploring diversity and third places.

Oldenburg's (1989) theorisation of third places can be critiqued on a number of levels, in particular because it is not empirically grounded; it is largely based upon personal experience and observation (Williams and Hipp, 2019). This thesis acknowledges the concept of third place needs revision; especially for the context of this research which asks how multicultural and third places interact, an area not developed in Oldenburg's writing (Yuen and Johnson, 2017). However, his hypothesis that they are important contexts for social interactions remains useful. This research follows Williams and Hipp (2019) and conceptualises third places as providing the “socio-spatial opportunity structure for neighbor interaction and the development of cohesion over time” (p.2). Oldenburg's (1989) third place framework will be used in this research to explore the role of third place in cross-cultural social interactions.

Importantly, Amin (2002) emphasises that not all spaces are “natural servants of multicultural engagement” (p.967). Hoekstra and Dahlvik (2017) reflect on Vertovec's (2007) call for research to identify “key forms of space and contact that might yield positive benefits” (p.1046). They critique that, while there is good research on the exploration of the neighbourhood as a meaningful place for encounters, “there remains a lack of understanding of how specific contexts

condition encounters with difference” (p.1). Moreover, Amin (2002) and Valentine (2013) say that everyday etiquette is not enough to foster everyday multiculturalism. That interdependence needs to be fostered between cultural groups.

Amin (2002, 2013) addresses both of these critiques saying that interdependence can be engineered in ‘micro-publics’, a concept similar to third places (Oldenburg, 1989) which can also be considered contact zones (Pratt, 1992). Micro-publics are places, such as music clubs and communal gardens, where there are purposeful group activities. In this sense micro-publics differ from third places in that they are spaces of deliberate exchange as opposed to the more unplanned and loose interactions which occur in third places. In micro-publics Amin (2002) says people are encouraged to break fixed patterns of interaction and learn new ways of interacting. Amin (2002) perceives this as important for the disruption and destabilisation of “easy labelling of the stranger as enemy” (p.970). For Amin (2002) the sites of productive cross-cultural interaction are not those typically considered in policy discussions. Amin (2002) identifies that public spaces which are considered to encourage informal and casual encounters are limited in their capacity to improve cross-cultural relations. It is argued by Amin (2002) that the designing of public spaces to encourage feelings of inclusivity, representation, and safety, falls short. This is because even when these spaces are designed well, marginalised groups stay away. Power geometries limit the effectiveness of public space design. A similar case is put forward by Amin (2002) about social housing, in particular efforts to create an ethnic mix through specific placements in areas of social housing. This appears to be problematic though as lower socio-economic groups who access social housing are essentially asked to do the cross-cultural interactions and mixing for the rest of society (Amin, 2002). Amin (2002) explains that instead sites that make space for interactions and activities which are structured to require “interdependence and habitual engagement” (p.969) are important for cross-cultural interactions.

While Amin (2002) discusses the nature of local spaces where cross-cultural exchange can occur, Amin does not have empirical evidence to ascertain which sites are best for cross-cultural interaction. Therefore, like Oldenburg (1989), Amin’s (2013) work can be critiqued for its conceptual orientation and Amin’s lack of empirical fieldwork. This is why an everyday multicultural analysis is often useful,

as it is more likely to provide us with a grounded picture of what is happening. The extent to which Amin (2002) engages in empirical work is to urge us to question: “the nature of these sites, and what kind of engagement or outcome can be expected?” (p.967). Therefore, this thesis empirically investigates cross-cultural interactions and the kind of spaces where these encounters occur; an area not yet developed by Amin (2002, 2013) or Oldenburg (1989).

A number of academics go some way to answering Amin’s (2002) call to understand the nature of the sites of everyday multiculturalism (Neal et al., 2015; Shan and Walter, 2015; Watson, 2009; Wise, 2004). Watson (2009), contemplates market places in the UK as spaces where “encounter”, “inclusion”, “care” and the “mediating of difference” are encouraged (p.1577). The market facilitates encounter and interaction with difference because of the informality and openness of the space. While not all of those interviewed by Watson (2009) expressed accommodating views of difference, Watson (2009) concludes that overall expressions of hostility in market spaces are low and market places can be considered important for encouraging small encounters with difference that can challenge stereotypes. While Wise’s (2004) ethnographic study of the Sydney suburb of Ashfield focused on contexts of cross-cultural exchange and encounter, it does not explicitly consider the materiality of the locations which were identified in the field work. However, it was concluded by Wise (2004) that sites which had a diverse mix of people and could not clearly be associated with a singular ethnic group positively animated togetherness in difference. Neal et al. (2015) specifically focus their analysis of public parks on the “materialities” of parks that encourage encounters with difference. Resources within parks, such as playgrounds, and cafés were highlighted by Neal et al. (2015) as facilitating socialisation across cultural difference; or at least a sense of place sharing and sharing in common practices, which can break down perceptions of difference and associated stereotypes. Comparatively, overgrown and unkempt park grounds were considered to elicit an uninviting ambience which dissuaded socialisation. Like Neal et al. (2015), Shan and Walter’s (2015) analysis is explicit in its exploration of the impact of context in facilitating the coexistence of cultures. Their qualitative study of Chinese immigrants’ engagement in a community garden project on a university campus in Canada aims to consider how community gardens can encourage everyday multiculturalism. They discuss how human and non-human

beings foster everyday multiculturalism (Shan and Walter, 2015). To this end, they decentre humans in their study. Instead, they consider how the characteristics of the garden itself facilitates everyday multiculturalism. Indeed, the practice of gardening is considered to enable the “cross-pollination” of knowledge, foster a sense of community, and amicable coexistence between the participants (Shan and Walter, 2015, p.31). They emphasise that occupying the same space is not enough, “common engagements” such as the practice of gardening is needed for people to interact successfully (Shan and Walter, 2014, p.32). The place facilitates an activity that encourages positive cross-cultural interactions. Importantly they demonstrate that successful coexistence cross-culturally is achieved in micro-publics, such as community gardens where there is purposeful group activities.

While these studies are useful in beginning to contemplate what the nature, materiality, and spatial dimensions of locations of cross-cultural social interactions are, they fail to ask members of the community where they have interactions. The research site is predetermined, limiting the exploration of other possible locations of cross-cultural exchange and encounter. Therefore, this research will focus on which spaces the community identify as positive, and what materialities and spatialities make locations good for cross-cultural social interactions.

2.5 Where My Research Fits?

“It also requires the active construction of new ways of living together, new forms of spatial and social belonging. It is a long-term process of building new communities, during which such fears and anxieties cannot be dismissed but need to be worked through” (Sandercock, 2003, p.137-138)

According to social psychological theory, everyday multiculturalism, and explorations of Oldenburg’s (1989) third place and Amin’s (2002) micro-publics, places of encounter with difference take many forms. This research attempts to make a number of contributions to existing literature.

This research seeks to address the lack of scholarly discussion about where the public consider they have cross-cultural social encounters. Thereby, this research is identifying affinity and disjuncture between the academic discussion and lived reality

of where people have encounters with cultural difference. It poses the question: where do people experience cross-cultural social interactions? And, do the spatial dimensions of the place the encounter happens, shape the interaction? For example, does the physical space provide opportunities for positive or negative encounters? Indeed, there is a lack of understanding of how different places and the characteristics of those places animate encounters with cultural difference. This goes some way towards addressing Vertovec's (2007) call for research that identifies "key forms of space and contact that might yield positive benefits" (p.1046) and Hoekstra and Dahlvik's (2017) call for researchers to address the "lack of understanding of how specific contexts condition encounters with difference" (p.1).

This investigation seeks to understand where cross-cultural encounters play out in urban locations, specifically Newtown, Wellington. Semi et al. (2009) emphasised that, such research must take into account both the positive cross-cultural interactions and problematic daily experiences with conflict, discrimination, prejudice, and racism. Noted earlier, this research acknowledges that the link between contact with cultural difference, and reduced prejudice is far from straightforward. As Amin (2013) warns "A politics of interpersonal contact should be treated as an experiment without guarantees, which is not how current thinking on improving contact between people from different backgrounds sees the challenge" (p.7). In the Aotearoa context Bell (2016) similarly emphasises the importance of spaces which simply offer the opportunity for convivial cross-cultural encounters. Bell argues that "Everyday conviviality carries no guarantees, but works as a counter to the forces of colonial and racial domination" (Bell, 2016, p.1182). Therefore, the main theoretical frameworks used to understand cross-cultural social interactions in Newtown, Wellington, are everyday multiculturalism and third place. However, this research reflects on the strengths and weaknesses of both frameworks to critically contribute to these areas of research.

Constructing urban areas implies thinking about the interactions that will inhabit them. Fincher (2003) says that it is important to encourage urban planning that plans for encounter and supports interaction. According to Fincher (2003) places can be planned to make convivial encounters more likely, pleasant and less pained by anxiety. Similarly, James (2012) says that "the adoption of a more intercultural ethos

in urban planning requires a re-visioning of the city from an exclusionary colonial urbanism to an amalgamation of diverse ways of life and land use that together will sustain its population into the future” (p.249). This research will examine the spatial and material characteristics which foster amicable cross-cultural interactions and consider how urban design can integrate these insights into practice. It will offer recommendations rooted in empirical work that provide opportunities for convivial encounters across difference.

To date no research has asked the public where cross-cultural social interactions take place despite geographies of encounter pursuing a micro ethnographic research agenda. Considering it is often said that the diversity of national populations is running far ahead of national policy making, such research is of incredible importance in designing urban spaces for increased cultural difference. It should be noted that this research does not attempt to identify which third places are best for prejudice reduction, but to primarily establish whether there are continuities between third places, the characteristics of those places, and positive cross-cultural social interactions.

Chapter 3 Research Design and Methodology

This research is a Q-methodology study with Newtown, Wellington residents and local employees. The epistemological framework that underpins the research design is constructivism and the methodological approach is post-structuralism. These were primarily chosen because they privilege participants' voices. Qualitative information was collected from participants in the form of Q-sorts, semi-structured interviews, and a brief questionnaire. The information was quantified using Ken-Q factor interpretation software (<https://shawnbanasick.github.io/ken-q-analysis/>).

3.1 Research Epistemology: Constructivism

Constructivism asserts that individuals construct their own knowledge and reality through interaction with their specific context (Hershberg, 2014; Costantino, 2008; Howell, 2012). This is in contrast to other paradigms, such as rationalism and positivism, as Navon (2001) remarks, "for a rationalist, the mind unveils reality; for post-modernists, the mind invents reality whereas for constructivists the mind creates reality and claims that facts are produced by human consciousness" (p. 624). According to the constructivism paradigm there is no external objective reality from the individual (Costantino, 2008). Constructivism emphasises that knowledge is constantly redefined as an individual interacts with their surroundings. Therefore, knowledge is dynamic and situational and it can be understood to be constructed and constructing.

Discussing constructivism Holstein and Gubrium (2011) state that "everyday realities are actively constructed in and through forms of social action" (p.341). They further argue that "the hows and whats of the social construction process echo Karl Marx's (1956) maxim that people actively construct their worlds but not completely on, or in, their own terms" (p. 342). This research lends itself to a constructivist approach as constructivism asserts that context can affect cross-cultural encounters. A constructivist approach asks how, and why, participants construct meanings from their given context (Charmaz, 2006). A constructivist paradigm requires the researcher to understand the phenomenon from those experiencing it, and how the

experience is created through the individual's interaction with space. This research therefore also lends itself to a post-structural methodology.

3.2 Methodology: Post-structural

This research is informed by post-structural methodology. Like constructivism, post-structuralism seeks to understand as opposed to observe (Fawcett, 2008). The interactions between nature and society are examined, as well as the spatial consequences of these interactions are explored in a post-structural investigation (Murdoch, 2006).

Post-structuralism draws from Edmund Husserl's phenomenology —the study of experience through reflection which establishes meaning (Costantino, 2008) — and ethnography —observation and description of a phenomenon (Fetterman, 2008) — in focusing on subjectivity (Fawcett, 2008). Post-structuralism treats space and identity as closely interlinked. Space is considered to be made up of open and dynamic relationships. This perspective destabilises space as structured, and also regards the individual as a product of, and embedded in their environment (Fawcett, 2008; Murdoch, 2006). Post-structuralists recognise that there are many different relations existing in a space (Murdoch, 2006). Further, post-structuralism emphasises the diversity of people and how their own experiences feed into what they perceive to be knowledge, focusing on knowledge being situationally created (Fawcett, 2008). Thereby post-structuralism reinforces the constructivist epistemology. A post-structural approach to research will help me consider how the discourses of participants are a product of their context.

Post-structuralism encourages an analysis which is not based upon concern for academia but for the lived realities of cultural difference. It analyses the “operation of language, the production of meaning, and the ways in which knowledge and power combine to create accepted or taken-for-granted forms of knowledge and social practices” (Fawcett, 2008, p.667). Post-structuralism therefore requires the researcher to investigate the everyday and contemplate the relational and socially constructed nature of cultural difference.

3.3 Reflexivity and Positionality

Positionality frames relationships between researcher and participant. The researcher's positionality, as asserted by Chacko (2004), is "aspects of identity in terms of race, class, gender, caste, sexuality and other attributes that are markers of *relational* positions in society, rather than intrinsic qualities" (p.52) which critically affect the direction of research. Understanding our positionality is important because it is inherent in the power relations that mediate our relationship with research participants, how we do our research and how we are perceived.

I write from the perspective of being Pākehā and having grown up in Pākehā-dominant spaces. There are multiple complexities in performing cultural research as a member of the majority group. England (1994) ponders such research, asking "can we incorporate the voices of "others" without colonizing them in a manner that reinforces patterns of domination?" (p.81). England (1994) suggests integrating ourselves in the research process, "we need to locate ourselves in our work" (p.87), in recognition of the impossibility of creating non-subjective research. This requires paying attention to "reflexivity, positionality, and power relations" while performing research (England, 1994; Sultana, 2007, p.374). This approach is congruent with the framework required by constructivism; which requires the researcher to be reflexive throughout the research process because of the lens created by positionality. Constructivism asks how the researchers' relationship/position to the participant influences what information is created (Guba and Lincoln, 2005). Such questions require me to consider how my positionality, the context the research is conducted, my character and that of those I research with creates harmony or dissonance; thereby, shaping my research.

I have chosen Q-methodology and semi-structured interviews for my research. These methods are discussed in depth in the next section. However, I would like to note here that they have been chosen because of the trust these methods place in the participant and the control the participant has over constructing their own accounts. This is reflective of work by Ani Mikaere (2011) and Peake and Kobayashi (2002) who discuss what an anti-racist agenda looks like. Ani Mikaere states in *He Rukuruku Whakaaro: Colonial Myths, Māori Realities* (2011) that:

“For Pākehā to gain legitimacy here, it is they who must place their trust in Māori, not the other way around. They must accept that it is for the tangata whenua to determine their status in this land, and to do so in accordance with tikanga Māori. There is no doubt that many Pākehā will find this challenging: their obsession with control over the Māori-Pākehā relationship to date has been a powerful driver of the Māori-Pākehā relationship to date. Giving up control requires a leap of faith on the part of Pākehā...nothing less will suffice if they truly want to gain the sense of belonging they so crave, the sense of identity that until now has proven so elusive” (p.146-147).

In this cross-cultural research context this assertion is not only applicable to Māori/Pākehā relations but is largely applicable to all relations between Pākehā and minority cultural groups. Peake and Kobayashi (2002) also put forward an agenda for an anti-racist geography. They acknowledge the embeddedness of racism in geography stating that:

“Without an explicit effort being made to address and correct the consequences of the various (and often hidden) racist practices and discourses that permeate the epistemological foundations of geography and the institutional structures and practices that shape our work environment, geography will continue to embrace the colonialist heritage bequeathed upon it” (p.50).

Considering this, I am aware that despite earnestly advancing an anti-racist agenda in my work, racism can be inherent in the work of academics because of the situatedness of the discipline in history. Further Clyde Woods, quoted in Peake and Koyabashi (2002) asks us to question, “from what sources do visions of ethnic equality and sustainability emerge?” (p.56). This requires me to ask; why am I pursuing an anti-racist agenda? And in what ways might my research reinforce a racist agenda?

As a researcher I am aware of my own positionality, and am reflective of the way this influences my approach to research and interpretation of data. I recognise the following attributes which may set me apart from my research subjects: I am Pākehā, young, female, university educated, middle-class and I have limited experience of the

world beyond Aotearoa. However, Bhaba (2011) warns “Taking account of alterity in thought is very different from grasping it in action, in memory, in art” (p.17). This is problematic because Bhaba (2011) predicts that my disclosure of agency can never be sufficient for truly unbiased research. England (1994) similarly expresses that acknowledging and being sensitive to power relations does not alleviate or destabilise power relations. However, as Sultana (2007) argues, “the alternative of not heeding such issues is even more problematic” (p.383). I hope that a strong awareness of positionality and practising of reflexivity throughout the research process will help me conduct research that is as fair as possible.

3.4 Research Method

3.4.1 Case Study

This research is case driven. Case study research thoroughly examines phenomena within its context from a variety of perspectives (Baxter and Jack, 2008). Yin (2009) considers case studies to be appropriate when “‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context” (p. 1). Further, case studies are congruent with constructivism because constructivism is perspective-driven (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Yin, 2009). A case study approach will therefore be useful in considering how current cultural diversity is experienced every day. The case is people’s experiences of cross-cultural social interactions within the given context of Newtown, Wellington; a culturally diverse community.

3.5 Q-Methodology

Semi et al. (2009) say that everyday multiculturalism demands a specific methodological approach:

“a preference for listening and direct observation, devoting attention to the meaning attributed by the actors to their practices and situations, a preference for intensive analysis of specific cases and attention to the dynamics of relations, the construction of the image of the Other and the (lacking or distorted) recognition of this” (p.73).

In order to address these demands, Q-methodology was chosen because as it is an established methodology for researching subjectivity —individuals' points of view— and everyday rationale. Q-methodology was originally developed by physicist and psychologist William Stephenson in the 1930s (Stenner, 2009; van Exel and Graaf, 2005). Stephenson sought to provide a research method that could reveal the “subjectivity” (defined by Stephenson as the communication of viewpoints) involved in any situation (Brown, 1996). Q-methodology aligns with constructivist and post-structuralist approaches because it is sensitive to subjectivity and seeks to reveal an individual's beliefs and attitudes. The Q-survey was constructed to explore if there are particular third places in Newtown that act as sites for cross-cultural social encounters, and whether the spatialities and materialities of places affect this.

Q-methodology is both qualitative and quantitative (Brown 1993; Brown 1996; Stenner, 2009; Van Exel and Graaf 2005). As Duenckmann (2010) explains, it “combines mathematical procedures like factor analysis with a genuine constructivist and interpretive approach to ‘reality’” (p. 284). It can be considered as an inherently mixed methods approach (Ramlo and Newman, 2011). Q-method makes the subjective reality visible; it provides the building blocks for people to show the researcher their subjectivity (Brown 1993; Brown 1996; Van Exel and Graaf 2005). Further, it is a method which seeks to understand and compare opinions holistically and fully (Beckham Hooff, Botetzagias and Kizos, 2017). Because of this it is a good tool for assessing people's perspectives on topics which could otherwise be considered emotionally, politically, or culturally difficult to respond to. It gives participants a unique opportunity to simultaneously absolve and reclaim responsibility for their perspectives on a given topic. Therefore, Q-methodology is considered to be a relatively comfortable way for a participant to communicate about cross-cultural interactions.

Kitzinger (1999) says that Q-methodology is a useful method when a researcher seeks to identify homogeneous opinions in society. Q-methodology acknowledges the subjectivity of ideas and opinions but seeks to know if discourses are shared. Q-methodology questions if there is a pattern to these common discourses, for example, if they are shared by particular groups (Kitzinger, 1999; Wolf, 2013). Robbins and Krueger (2000) explain that in comparison to questions asked in a survey, for

example, “What proportion of a population believes X, what proportion believes Y, where X and Y are a predefined claims or concepts?” Q-method asks “How are X and Y related in the opinion and subjectivity of an individual, where X and Y are claims drawn from the language and ideas of the individual?” (p.640). Categories for a respondent to fall into are not imposed on them by the researcher (van Exel and Graaf, 2005). In this way Q-methodology is a suitable research method because it is not as restrictive as other research methods, such as surveys, and there is no right or wrong answer (van Exel and Graaf, 2005). As Wolf (2013) argues, Q-methodology recognises that “even in a very small-scale place or event, several patterns are likely to co-exist” (p.210). Q-method seeks to find what categories exist as opposed to identifying how many people fall into a category (McKeown and Thomas, 1988; Neff, 2011). Therefore, Q-methodology does not assume discourses. In this way Q-methodology aligns with a constructivist and post-structuralist focus on ensuring respect for the subjectivity of the participants throughout the research process (Robbins and Krueger, 2000). However, it is important for the researcher to maintain critical reflexivity, as Q-methodology does not necessarily examine the researcher’s subjectivity (Robbins and Krueger, 2000).

The Q-methodology process involves a number of stages. The researcher first identifies the concourse —“the flow of communicability surrounding any topic” which are matters of opinion, not fact (Brown, 1993, p.94) — and develops a subset of statements (the Q-set) from the concourse. Respondents (the P-set) are then presented with the Q-set. The P-set orders the Q-set according to their opinion. The P-set are asked to order from agree to disagree (Q-sorting) (van Exel and Graaf, 2005). The Q-sorts are then analysed by the researcher who looks for similarities and differences between respondent’s viewpoints. Specifically, considering clusters of subjectivity that exist, these clusters enable common viewpoints (factors) to be identified (van Exel and Graaf, 2005; Brown, 1993). The Q-methodology process I followed is similar to that described by Neff (2011). Figure 2 below shows the research process.

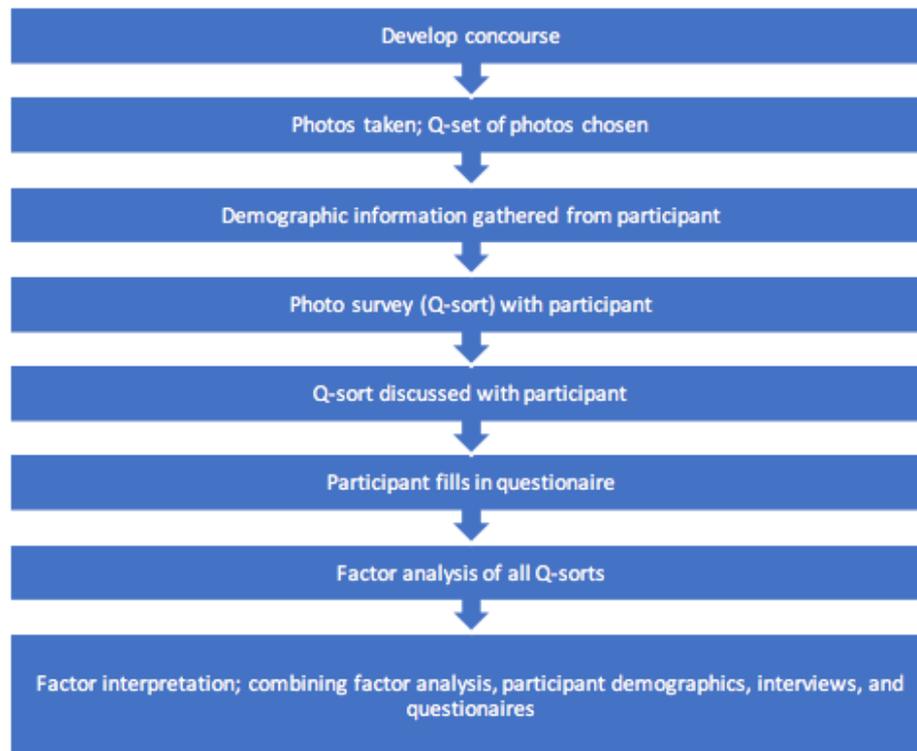


Figure 2 Research design (Neff, 2011).

Fundamental to Q-methodology is an understanding that only a certain number of viewpoints/subjectivities exist, thus a well structured Q-investigation will produce the same results when administered to another P-set; this replicability demonstrates the reliability of Q-methodology. Arguably, a strict understanding of this need for replicability is in opposition to constructivism and post-structuralism. However, it is inevitable that conclusions will be drawn in research which group subjectivities together, despite the situatedness of said subjectivities. Q-methodology simply provides a framework for bunching those subjectivities. I will describe Q-method more completely in the following sections.

3.5.1 Defining the Concourse

In Q-methodology the researcher first gathers a large and varied collection of statements about the topic they are researching from various communications about it (Beckham Hooff, Botetzagias and Kizos, 2017). The concourse can be obtained in a number of ways; for example, through interviews, media articles, or literature (van Exel and Graaf, 2005). It is most common for the concourse to be made up of written statements obtained from the aforementioned sources. However, statements included in the concourse can be “anything that people attach meaning to” (Addams and

Proops, 2000, p.8); the concourse is not restricted to written statements but can include or be made up of images (Addams and Proops, 2000; Brown, 1993; Beckham Hooff, Botetzagias and Kizos, 2017). The use of images is increasingly common in recent Q-methodology research (for example; Fairweather and Swaffield, 2001; Beckham Hooff, Botetzagias and Kizos, 2017; Thomson and Greenwood, 2017).

Given the abstract nature and complexity of this research (it involves the expression of perspectives which could potentially be politically and/or culturally confronting for the participant), its aim to tap into the subjective, and the potential variation in participants' ability to engage with written materials, images as opposed to written statements, made up the concourse and associated Q-set. This is because images can capture taken-for-granted aspects of the participants' community or life that prompt discussion (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004).

However, I had to be careful not to only include images that are “visually arresting” (Orellana, 1999, p.75). Visually arresting images are those that the researcher finds meaning in which is derived from their own positionality/culture as opposed to that of the participants (Orellana, 1999). Other researchers who have employed photography in their research have noted a tendency to take photos of things which they consider interesting or unique as an outsider (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004; Orellana, 1999). To mitigate this, researchers often ask the participants of their study to take their own photos (Clark, 1999; Clark-Ibáñez, 2004). However, due to time constraints I was unable to follow this method. Instead, I engaged a professional photographer who is a resident of Newtown to take the photos. I hypothesised because the photographer was a resident of Newtown they would be in a better position to take photographs that were representative of Newtown than I could. I recognise that the photographer has their own positionality. However, I considered it formative for my research to not take the photos in order to begin the process of relinquishing control over the direction of the research in favour of the participants, the residents of Newtown. However, it is important to note that I do not naively assume that the images used for the Q-set will be a complete representation of third places in Newtown. Therefore, I emphasise that this Q-methodology will illuminate

how the selected images are interpreted by the participant, hopefully providing some indication of their subjectivity.

Some direction was given to the photographer based upon the literature review I conducted. The aim of this literature review was to understand variables that affect social cross-cultural encounters and to identify specific third places where social cross-cultural encounters may take place. Based upon the literature review the photographer was advised to include pictures depicting the following:

- Cafés
- Parks and other green spaces
- Schools
- Playgrounds
- Youth centres
- Sports clubs
- Community centres
- Libraries

However, it was also advised that the photographer should react to and capture what they intuitively considered important on the day of photographing. A total of 38 different images were captured by the photographer. The aforementioned scenes stipulated to the photographer were all captured.

3.5.2 Defining the Q-set

The Q-set was selected from the photographs. The aim of this sorting is to select a range of photos — typically between 30-40 statements (photos) (Addams and Propps, 2000; van Exel and Graaf, 2005) — which reflects the diversity of the entire concourse (Neff, 2011). Out of the 38 photos, 34 were chosen (see Appendix E for the photos used in the Q-sort). Neff (2011) explains that the set does not have to be random or representative, but the statements should be diverse so that the participants have options. Four photos were eliminated. This was because they doubled up on locations already pictured. For example, the photographer captured six churches. Three of those churches were chosen to be included as statements:

Wellington Chinese Baptist Church, St Thomas' Anglican Church, and the St Anne's Catholic Church. These three were chosen because they were considered to provide a good cross-section of different culturally-affiliated churches in the community.

Participants were advised that if their church was not included in those three, they should choose one that could best represent their church. Below is a list of the photos chosen as statements for the Q-set:

1. Fruit and Vegetable Market
2. Bus Stop
3. Music Shop
4. Dairy
5. Athletics Stadium
6. Council Housing
7. Takeaway Shop
8. St Anne's Catholic Church
9. St Thomas' Chapel / City Mission
10. Park
11. Fire Station
12. Bookshop
13. Opportunity Shop
14. Halal Butchery
15. Community and Cultural Centre
16. Rest Home
17. Wellington Chinese Baptist Church
18. Public Seating
19. School Playground
20. Public Library
21. Café
22. Spice Shop
23. Sports Bar
24. Betting Agency
25. Salvation Army
26. Supermarket
27. Community Hall

28. Community Playground
29. Polish Association
30. Asian Food Market
31. Mission for Youth
32. Bar
33. Croquet Club
34. Restaurant

3.5.3 Participant Sampling and Recruitment —the P-set

The P-set — the participants—were then selected Q-methodologists argue that because viewpoints (rather than a particular set of variables) are the object of analysis in a Q-study a large number of participants is not needed (Brown, 1980; Sheed, 2014). Further, Q-method does not require participants to be completely representative of the case study area. As Neff (2011) explains, this is because Q-method does not “quantify” ways of thinking. Instead, it explores the attitudes of the case study population (Brown, 1980; McKeown and Thomas, 1988; Neff, 2011). McKeown and Thomas (1988) emphasise that because of this, it is not claimed that Q-method tells the whole truth; “no claim is made that the viewpoints exhaust the range of attitudes on a topic” (p.33). Q-methodology simply seeks to have enough participants to find a range of viewpoints that can be compared (Brown, 1980).

While the availability of participants is one criterion I employed for the participant sample, it was important I attempted to enable and give space for different cultures to participate, given the focus on cross-cultural interaction. Therefore, purposive sampling was used to assemble a P-set. Participants ideally had to live or work in Newtown, and be reflective of the demographics of the community, especially the cultural diversity (according to the latest 2013 census conducted by Statistics New Zealand). However, those under the age of 18 were excluded from the study to ensure participants understood the nature of the research and were able to fully agree to their involvement in the study.

To recruit participants, I advertised on Facebook pages such as, “Newtown Community Bulletin”, “Newtown Community and Cultural Centre”, and the

“Newtown School”. I had posters in various key community spaces, such as The Newtown Library, The Newtown Community and Cultural Centre, as well as in a variety of shops, such as Wellington Halal Meat, St Vincent de Paul Opportunity Shop, and Book Haven. See Appendix A for a copy of the advertising poster. Through my advertising I made connections with key stakeholders at the The Newtown Library and was invited along to playgroups at the Newtown Park Apartments (Council Housing) and Salvation Army. I was also invited to spend a day at the City Mission Drop-in Centre (City Mission). The playgroups and the City Mission were good spaces to talk with people and introduce them to the study. People were able to put a face to my name and become aware of who I was, which made the action of participating less intimidating (Chacko, 2004). Participants were incentivised with a koha from a range of Wellington based businesses: Fix and Fogg Peanut Butter, Wellington Chocolate Factory Chocolate, and Peoples Coffee. Despite continual efforts over a period of three months of recruitment and fieldwork I found it difficult to recruit participants from minority cultures. In total, 25 individuals completed the Q-sort. Of those, 18 identified as Pākehā, one as Hispanic, one as Korean, one as Japanese, one as Māori, one as Somali, and one as Turkish when prompted with the question: “What ethnicity do you identify with?”.

Elwood and Martin (2000) say the location qualitative researchers choose to conduct their interviews in is important to the outcomes of the research. This is applicable to Q-methodology; the location the Q-sorting is conducted has a significant effect on the participants’ responses to the research. The Q-survey was available for respondents to answer in hard copy at the Newtown Community and Cultural Centre, Newtown Library, and at the City Mission. I also gave the participants the opportunity to choose the location of their interview. This was to minimise people being excluded from participating in the survey due to individual resource availabilities. This was especially important for parents who needed to be able to look after their children at the same time. Conducting the interviews at the Newtown Community and Cultural Centre, Newtown Library, and the City Mission meant I often observed interactions, and was drawn into discussions with others there. This enriched my analysis and understanding of the community. For example, I spoke with the security guard at the Newtown Library, a number of employees of the Newtown Library, engaged in discussion with locals at the Newtown Community

and Cultural Centre between interviews, and chatted with volunteers at the City Mission. These individuals did not have the time to partake in the Q-sorting but were happy to provide anecdotes and to introduce me to others who could partake in the research. I was very thankful to these individuals for their assistance which greatly improved my research.

In accordance to Simons (2009) advice, I collected a brief history of my participants as part of the Q-sorting. Simons (2009) argues that it is important to have this information about your participants in a case study, because “Exploring individuals’ histories and the social context of their experience offers clues to such understanding and helps you interpret the meaning and effect of their role and experience in the case” (p.70). Obviously, in this study, the individual’s self-reported ethnicity was particularly important. However, other key variables such as gender and age are useful to frame the analysis of the research findings.

In total I conducted 23 Q-sorts with 25 individuals. Audio recorded discussions were undertaken with 18 of these individuals, and 20 of the individuals completed the questionnaire. 23 Q-sorts were conducted with 25 individuals, because four individuals chose to complete the Q-sort as two couples. I did not consider this problematic at the time of the Q-sorting because the individuals in these couples respectively discussed their choices with me in an audio recorded discussion and completed individual questionnaires, which helped my analysis. The discrepancies in the number of individuals who completed the interviews and questionnaires will be discussed in 3.5.5.

3.5.4 Q-sorting

Q-sorting involves participants ordering statements (photos) relative to one another (Watts and Stenner, 2012). Participants were asked to rank the statements in a way that is relative to their position (Brown, 1980). Specifically, the participants were asked to think about where they would go if they wanted to have a cross-cultural social interaction they liked. Participants ranked the photos from +4, which were photos that represented places they would have cross-cultural social interactions they like, to -4, which were photos of places they might have cross-cultural social

interactions they comparatively did not like. They were also instructed to rank photos that represented places they felt neutral about or that were not relevant to them, as neutral. The ranking was conducted on a sorting board that was marked on a negative to positive scale (−4 to +4) to create a Q-sort. See Appendix D for the explanation given to participants for the Q-sort. Figure 3 below displays the structure of the Q-board.

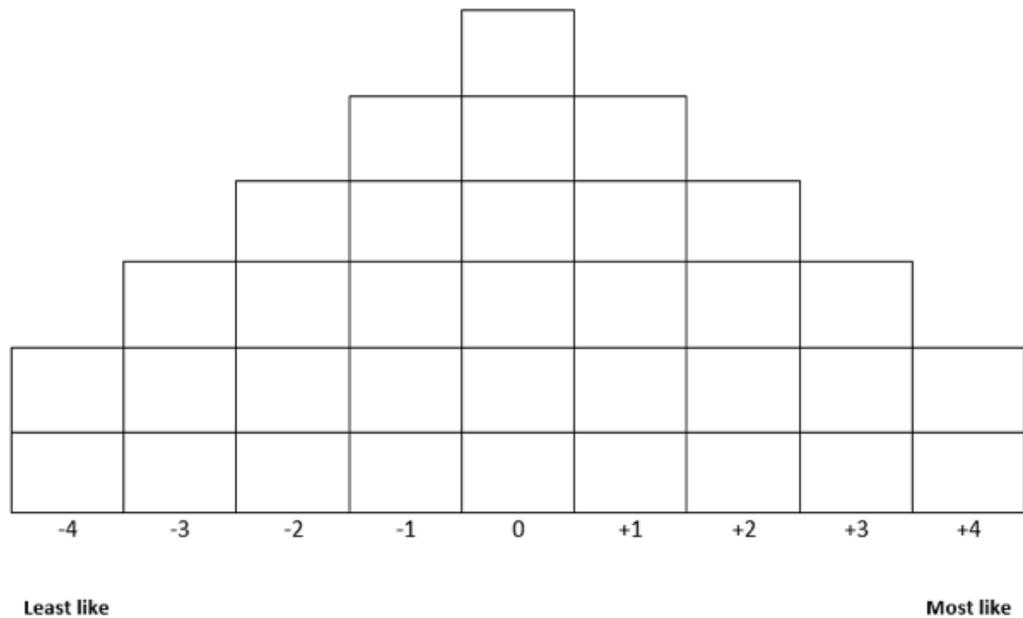


Figure 3: Q-board given to the participants for the Q-sorting exercise in the case study.

Participants are encouraged to make trade-offs between images; potentially creating a systematic rationale for their sorting. However, it is important to emphasise that while I have limited the number and range of photos the participants can rank, the participants can arrange the photos however they want (Neff, 2011). Barry and Proops (1999) emphasise that the scale provided “is a relative, not absolute, scale. It may be the case that a participant agrees with all of the statements; even so, a ranking is still possible” (p.341). However, some participants did not feel comfortable with the restrictive shape of the Q-board. Therefore, to maximise participant’s comfort, I allowed some participants to sort the photos outside the confines of the Q-board. This sometimes meant participants ranked the majority of their photos as positive. Restricting participants to the shape of the Q-board would have been counterproductive to discussion between researcher and participant if the participant did not feel comfortable conforming to the scale provided. Participants

had little difficulty ranking the “most like” photo statements, however, often struggled to rate the “least like” photos. Most participants did not rate photos below 0 because the photo represented a location that they might have a cross-cultural interaction they did not like. Photos were mostly rated lower because participants did not consider the location to animate encounters, let alone positive encounters. For participants, the sites rated low were often those that they had negative connotations about or in which they did not feel welcome. This demonstrates why it is important to accompany Q-sorts with other qualitative material: so that the researcher is interpreting the Q-sorts not purely from the rationale perspective of what the participant was asked to do by the researcher, but in the participant’s own words.

3.5.5 Q-sorts Supplemented with Interviews and Questionnaires

The interview and questionnaire step in Q-studies is particularly important (Brown, 1980). The aim of combining interviews and questionnaires with Q-sorting is to assist the researcher’s understanding of participants’ rationale behind their placement of statements (Brown, 1980; Gallagher and Porock, 2010; Wolf, 2014). Specifically, interviews and questionnaires are used to help interpret the results from the factor analysis. While the literature can be used to interpret the factors, it may not fully illuminate the participant’s unique rationale (Gallagher and Porock, 2010).

The questionnaire was completed at the end of the Q-sort by most participants. The questionnaire focused on the placement of images in the positions of highest salience. It was designed to accomplish two tasks: 1) Explicitly question the participants about the spatial dimensions of the locations they placed in highest salience; and 2) Ensure the participants had space to elaborate without the pressure of vocalising their feelings. See Appendix F for a copy of the post-photo sort questionnaire. The questions asked in the questionnaire are provided below in Table 1.

Post photo-sort Questionnaire Questions
1. What about the physical characteristics of those places you placed below "+4" make them a good place to interact with other cultures?
2. What about the physical characteristics of those places you placed below "-4" make them undesirable places to interact with other cultures?
3. Invitation to discuss any other photos
4. What other places do you think should have been included in the photo sort?

Table 2: Post-photo sort questionnaire questions.

Participants generally found it easy to complete questions Three and Four. However, participants often had difficulty answering questions One and Two. Often people struggled to find something about the physical characteristics of the places they had placed in highest salience at both the negative and positive ends that made them respectively undesirable and desirable. As the interviews progressed, it became clear that the participants struggled with their ordering because it was the provision of social activities—as opposed to the physical characteristics of a place—that drew people to places. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

Four participants did not complete the questionnaire. Two did not complete due to time constraints. One participant did not complete because they were breastfeeding during this part of the exchange so I verbally asked the questions. This appeared to provide a richer discussion of the questions. However, this may not have been the case for all participants given this participant was easy to converse with. Another did not complete due to written language constraints. During the interview this participant had told me that they came to Aotearoa with no English skills and had been unable to consistently access English language lessons. I assessed from this that requiring the individual to complete the questionnaire might provide undue pressure and the interview with this participant had already provided a lot of information. When conducting interviews, it was important to take stock of the participants written skills. I did not want to overestimate or underestimate a participant's capabilities and embarrass them.

Understanding the placement of all photos, not just those placed at polar opposite ends, can be just as informational. Therefore, while the questionnaire largely focused on the placement of photos in the position of highest salience, the simultaneous discussion had during the Q-sorting and the post-sort, open-ended interview explored

the placement of all photos, as well as anecdotal evidence that the participant wanted to share (Wolf, 2014). Participants were generally interested to engage in the self-reflection that this exercise required; for example, one was happy to admit “I think this is going to make me confront whether or not I actually interact with people, like especially people who aren't white” (participant C). An open and conversational interview approach was used; this naturally occurred for most participants as they spoke out loud while completing the ranking of photos. It was not uncommon for participants to use the vocalisation of their thoughts to clarify their rationale to me, and themselves. Unsurprisingly, participants drew on experiences and interactions they had to rank the photos. This provided for a rich narrative of information. The discussion was aimed at exploring the interactions the participant was engaged in at the different places, and to provide space for the participants to establish their rationale for the sorting of their photos. The Q-sort and photos acted as a good prompt for discussion (Brown, 1980; Gallagher and Porock, 2010). The discussion with participants often lasted longer than the sorting process and was audio recorded.

Completion of the Q-sorting, interviews, and questionnaires largely went well. A few difficulties are worthy of note. It was important for me to dress appropriately and not present myself in an imposing way, considering the diverse settings and individuals I was interacting with. I chose to do this because qualitative research is already complex enough; as McDowell (2010) says, it is a “contested social encounter riven with power relations” (p.160). Further, this was my first time conducting academic field work. At the beginning, I felt extremely underprepared. McDowell’s (2010) description of conducting interview research eloquently describes such feelings:

“And yet each time, before I go to talk to the people I have identified as important to the aims of my work, my heart thumps, my palms sweat and I wonder whether I have the energy, confidence and the sheer cheek required to persuade them to share with me the sometimes intimate and occasionally painful details of their lives for what might seem to them to be very little return.” (p.157)

While I was more comfortable with the fieldwork process by the conclusion of my interviews, I acknowledge that my feelings of discomfort and self-doubt—which sometimes led to shyness—meant that the field work did not always go as smoothly

as possible. However, sometimes this was also productive: when I held back participants had a lot of agency over the placement of photos. Throughout the process I was reflecting on the participant's comfort and allowing them to guide the process to the best of my ability; I understood the space I occupied as the interviewer and the power I held in conducting the interview, so attempted to remain attuned to how long the participant wanted to be there for. Sometimes I sensed this wasn't long, so would provide an easy out for the participant. Alternatively, some participants obviously wanted to have a chat with an "outsider" so I would encourage this to facilitate their comfort. I understand that my personal reading of the participant's comfort is not fail safe, but I ensured I was making an attempt to be attuned to how they felt throughout the process.

3.5.6 Factor Analysis and Interpretation

Factor analysis of all participants' Q-sorts is then conducted to identify a number of similar statement rankings and patterns among the Q-sorts (Neff, 2011). Factor analysis uses segments of commonality found in the data to reduce the complexity of the data (Watts and Stenner, 2012). The segments of commonality in the data are the factors. The factor analysis was assisted by specialist software, Ken-Q Analysis available from: <https://shawnbanasick.github.io/ken-q-analysis/>.

To begin with, Q-sort configurations are entered into an Excel spreadsheet, which is downloaded onto Ken-Q. As shown in Table 2, a correlation matrix is then created by intercorrelating Q-sorts (Watts and Stenner, 2012). This aims to understand the relationship between all the Q-sorts by measuring similarities and differences between each individual Q-sort (Watts and Stenner, 2012). The factors are subsequently drawn out of the correlation matrix.

Participant	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W
A	100	18	46	34	-2	14	24	20	-7	11	55	10	34	8	3	34	-9	53	24	4	8	-6	-2
B	18	100	28	62	57	-4	20	53	17	4	32	-3	14	59	17	9	34	41	-1	-15	13	-15	5
C	46	28	100	30	2	39	46	43	9	46	81	35	50	43	22	43	15	64	26	-1	38	-1	31
D	34	62	30	100	59	12	23	19	-2	29	19	16	38	64	-3	23	36	37	-5	-4	33	-1	2
E	-2	57	2	59	100	-4	0	6	-6	9	-9	2	2	55	-16	13	41	15	-35	-9	9	-19	-6
F	14	-4	39	12	-4	100	39	30	19	58	48	59	44	1	48	29	20	53	38	-9	38	3	38
G	24	20	46	23	0	39	100	27	21	51	57	46	59	6	51	63	33	48	43	26	41	9	14
H	20	53	43	19	6	30	27	100	26	25	53	18	39	28	32	9	21	39	46	-16	-2	-23	12
I	-7	17	9	-2	-6	19	21	26	100	29	27	26	32	-5	27	17	17	37	29	36	15	20	37
J	11	4	46	29	9	58	51	25	29	100	36	46	43	9	45	38	36	46	49	36	47	36	49
K	55	32	81	19	-9	48	57	53	27	36	100	41	62	29	37	49	1	76	44	9	26	-13	27
L	10	-3	35	16	2	59	46	18	26	46	41	100	51	-1	29	39	0	48	46	17	36	14	52
M	34	14	50	38	2	44	59	39	32	43	62	51	100	18	29	34	27	55	39	17	23	0	18
N	8	59	43	64	55	1	6	28	-5	9	29	-1	18	100	-8	21	26	30	-26	-10	10	-6	-3
O	3	17	22	-3	-16	48	51	32	27	45	37	29	29	-8	100	17	47	26	58	30	13	24	23
P	34	9	43	23	13	29	63	9	17	38	49	39	34	21	17	100	5	55	14	26	14	4	9
Q	-9	34	15	36	41	20	33	21	17	36	1	0	27	26	47	5	100	2	-10	-10	18	9	5
R	53	41	64	37	15	53	48	39	37	46	76	48	55	30	26	55	2	100	33	20	47	9	49
S	24	-1	26	-5	-35	38	43	46	29	49	44	46	39	-26	58	14	-10	33	100	39	10	21	18
T	4	-15	-1	-4	-9	-9	26	-16	36	36	9	17	17	-10	30	26	-10	20	39	100	16	49	28
U	8	13	38	33	9	38	41	-2	15	47	26	36	23	10	13	14	18	47	10	16	100	30	56
V	-6	-15	-1	-1	-19	3	9	-23	20	36	-13	14	0	-6	24	4	9	9	21	49	30	100	27
W	-2	5	31	2	-6	38	14	12	37	49	27	52	18	-3	23	9	5	49	18	28	56	27	100

Table 3: Correlation matrix.

A centroid factor analysis was then iteratively performed to identify divergence in the data and segments of common variance which become factors. Centroid factor analysis was used because all solutions remain possible at this stage while rotational possibilities are explored (Watts and Stenner, 2012). This is important as it means that the possibilities for both the criteria for the final solution, and the most meaningful solution, are kept open until the data has been as fully explored as possible (Watts and Stenner, 2012). As Brown (1980) says, while factor extraction is a mathematical process, factors should be found using judgmental methods and in “keeping with theoretical, as opposed to mathematical criteria” (p.33). Intuitively, three factors were identified as the most meaningful and Kaiser-Guttman’s criterion supported this (Brown, 1980; Watts and Stenner, 2012). According to the Kaiser-Guttman criterion, factors that have eigenvalues of less than one should not be considered—eigenvalue demonstrates statistical strength of a factor (Watts and Stenner, 2012). See Table 3 for eigenvalues. Therefore, it was chosen to keep three factors from the extraction. As shown in Table 3 the corresponding factor loadings (correlation coefficients) under the factor headings tell us the extent to which each individual Q-sort exemplifies each factor.

Participant	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
A	0.3429	0.3074	-0.3612
B	0.4091	0.5837	0.2784
C	0.6922	0.2382	-0.2053
D	0.4813	0.5061	0.3937
E	0.144	0.4905	0.5225
F	0.5713	-0.1874	-0.2364
G	0.7067	-0.0483	-0.1832
H	0.4657	0.2239	-0.1859
I	0.3859	-0.2131	0.0663
J	0.7361	-0.3403	0.1569
K	0.7432	0.1747	-0.514
L	0.5849	-0.2915	-0.1345
M	0.6856	0.0312	-0.2018
N	0.3196	0.668	0.3336
O	0.5122	-0.3263	-0.0403
P	0.5236	0.0244	-0.1415
Q	0.3326	0.0342	0.3143
R	0.8429	0.0974	-0.0751
S	0.4627	-0.4015	-0.4007
T	0.2531	-0.4453	0.1341
U	0.498	-0.1903	0.2535
V	0.154	-0.4967	0.3367
W	0.4508	-0.3877	0.1712
Eigenvalues	6.3274	2.7104	1.7769
% Explained Variance	28	12	8

Table 4: Factor loadings, eigenvalues, and explained variance.

Thirdly, varimax rotation was applied to the factors to further distinguish the factors. Watts and Stenner (2012) say that factor rotation achieves this by ensuring the factors are “suitably focused in relation to the data” (p. 119). This is done to produce a set of factors with highly correlated points. To achieve this, factor loadings are used as coordinates to map the perspectives present in the study while the original factors define the dimensions of the map. Factors are then rotated so that they are brought as close as possible to the different groups of highly correlated Q-sorts. This enables a more accurate analysis of the viewpoint of that particular group of Q-sorts. I chose the automatic varimax procedure in Ken-Q. The Ken-Q programme rotated the factors according to statistical criteria (Watts and Stenner, 2012). Varimax is considered an objective method for factor rotation (Watts and Stenner, 2012). Watts and Stenner (2012) explain that varimax rotation identifies “viewpoints that almost everybody might recognize and consider to be of importance” (Watts and Stenner,

2012, p.126). Thereby, it rotates the factors to maximise the amount of variance (Watts and Stenner, 2012).

A factor estimate is then created. A factor estimate is a weighted averaging of the Q-sorts that load highly on a factor. Watts and Stenner (2012) advise that when a Q-sort is included in a factor estimate, the researcher is making a statement about what approximates the viewpoint of that factor. A significant factor loading at $P < 0.01$ was calculated using the equation: $x = 2.58 \times (1 \div \sqrt{n})$, where n = the number of statements in the Q-set (34), and x = significant factor loading (Brown, 1980; Watts and Stenner 2012). To be significant at the $p < 0.01$ level, a factor loading needs to be 0.44 or greater. A stringent significance level of $p < 0.01$ was chosen for this research through trial and error. A less stringent significance level captured too many of the Q-sorts. Watts and Stenner (2005) also caution that a less stringent significance level, for example, $P < 0.05$, would “still mean that 1/5 of your significant factor loadings are likely to have occurred by chance” (p.88). This could therefore potentially influence the factor estimate to a greater extent than these Q-sorts should. Choosing Q-sorts to be included in the factor estimates aims to maximise the number of participants with significant loadings without compromising the reliability of the estimate. Based on the significance level, I flagged which Q-sorts to keep for the factor estimate. The chosen Q-sorts had to have a factor loading of 0.44 or greater and had to load significantly on only one factor. If a Q-sort loaded above 0.3 on another factor, it was not included. The chosen Q-sorts are considered to be defining of a factor (the participants with these defining Q-sorts are therefore called defining participants, and those who are not considered to have defining Q-sorts, non-defining participants). See Table 4 below. The Q-sorts chosen for the factor estimate are indicated with a tick.

Q sort	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
A	0.5482 ✓	0.0904	-0.1841
B	0.2627	0.7165 ✓	-0.0563
C	0.7019 ✓	0.2623	0.129
D	0.2297	0.7628 ✓	0.0896
E	-0.1086	0.7223 ✓	-0.0308
F	0.5387	-0.0887	0.3455
G	0.6381	0.0863	0.3474
H	0.5152 ✓	0.1888	0.021
I	0.206	0.028	0.3944
J	0.3883	0.1182	0.7194
K	0.9174 ✓	0.0357	0.0648
L	0.4639	-0.0888	0.4713
M	0.6505 ✓	0.1213	0.2717
N	0.1789	0.7796 ✓	-0.1408
O	0.3433	-0.0758	0.4968
P	0.4891 ✓	0.1013	0.2127
Q	0.0654	0.3396	0.3016
R	0.7057	0.3018	0.3696
S	0.512	-0.3779	0.3617
T	0.014	-0.131	0.5128 ✓
U	0.1803	0.2029	0.5242 ✓
V	-0.197	-0.0678	0.5834 ✓
W	0.1532	-0.0009	0.5995 ✓
%Explained Variance	21	12	14

Table 5: Rotated factor loadings and defining Q-sorts.

Importantly, six Q-sorts load significantly on Factor One, four on Factor Two, and four on Factor Three. Brown (1980) advises that at least two Q-sorts are required for a factor estimate to be reliable and Watts and Stenner (2012) say that three is better. The factor estimates in this study can therefore be considered reliable. The factor estimate is then created by weighting each flagged Q-sort on the basis of their individual factor loadings then converting this data into z scores. See Table 5 for z scores. The z scores are then used to create factor arrays which are Q-sorts organised to exemplify each factor as best as possible (Watts and Stenner, 2012). As shown in Figure 4, 5, and 6 in Chapter Four, these factor arrays are then used for factor interpretation.

Statement	Factor 1 Z-score	Factor 1 Rank	Factor 2 Z-score	Factor 2 Rank	Factor 3 Z-score	Factor 3 Rank
Fruit and Vegetable Market	1.26	5	1.23	5	0.13	17
Bus Stop	0.72	8	0.28	13	-0.38	21
Music Shop	-0.92	29	0.88	7	-1.98	34
Dairy	0.45	11	-0.07	18	-0.83	27
Athletics Stadium	-0.83	27	-0.09	19	0.13	16
Council Housing	-0.54	23	-0.74	25	1.57	4
Takeaway Shop	-0.03	16	-0.45	22	0.96	7
St Anne's Catholic Church	-0.07	17	-0.24	21	-0.25	19
St Thomas' Chapel / City Mission	0.67	9	-0.53	24	1.81	1
Park	-1.27	31	1.41	4	-0.54	24
Fire Station	-1.69	33	-1.01	30	0.5	10
Bookshop	-0.81	26	0.5	10	1.18	6
Opportunity Shop	-0.3	22	0.81	8	0.5	11
Halal Butchery	0.17	14	-0.77	26	-1.02	30
Community and Cultural Centre	1.51	4	0.36	12	0.56	9
Rest Home	-0.85	28	1.13	6	0.33	13
Wellington Chinese Baptist Church	-0.2	20	-0.87	27	-0.43	23
Public Seating	-0.68	24	-0.88	28	0.24	14
School Playground	1.73	2	0.16	15	0.36	12
Public Library	1.79	1	0.04	17	1.58	3
Café	1.51	3	1.81	2	-0.86	28
Spice Shop	-0.2	19	-0.9	29	-1.87	33
Sports Bar	-1.71	34	-1.93	33	-0.76	26
Betting Agency	-1.58	32	-1.93	34	-0.4	22
Salvation Army	0.38	13	0.4	11	1.69	2
Supermarket	0.64	10	0.69	9	1.19	5
Community Hall	1.25	7	0.22	14	-0.31	20
Community Playground	1.26	6	-0.1	20	-1.01	29
Polish Association	-0.12	18	-1.11	31	0.23	15
Asian Food Market	0.42	12	-1.47	32	-1.14	31
Mission for Youth	-0.27	21	-0.46	23	0.85	8
Bar	-0.72	25	1.9	1	-1.47	32
Croquet Club	-1.1	30	0.11	16	-0.6	25
Restaurant	0.12	15	1.63	3	0.07	18

Table 6: Factor z-scores.

Following the factor analysis, factor interpretation is conducted. Factor interpretation aims to understand the factors as viewpoints, independently of those who provided them (Brown, 1980). Together, the factor arrays, the interview, and questionnaire data is used to interpret the factors that emerge. Q-methodology is fundamentally holistic. To maintain holism at this stage the interpretation is conducted in a manner which ensures the viewpoint, represented by the factor array, is considered as a whole (Watts and Stenner, 2012). Watts and Stenner (2012) articulate this as interpreting the “whole item configuration” (p.149), thereby considering the “interrelationship” (p.150) of the many items within a factor. This is because the

significance does not just occur at the poles of the Q-sort distribution; the neutral space in the middle of the configuration can be just as meaningful (Watts and Stenner, 2012). Watts and Stenner (2012) warn that “any interpretation which disregards the item rankings in this area will almost certainly fail to capture the subtleties of the viewpoint being expressed.” (p.84). They advise that using the verbal interview and questionnaire data gathered from participants enhances the researcher’s ability to achieve a holistic interpretation of the factors (Watts and Stenner, 2012). Considering the interpretation of photos is thought to be more complex than written statement interpretation, interview and questionnaire data is particularly useful for factor interpretation (Robbins and Krueger, 2000). This means conducting a “distinguishing card content analysis”, which involves reading through the interviews and questionnaires of participants in the respective factors (Gallagher and Porock, 2010, p.297). The iterative process followed by Wolf (2014) is used to complete this final process. Wolf (2014) advises that:

“The only real ‘technique’ is a form of ongoing listening to the data, moving between one story and another to weave together an understanding consistent with the factors. By listening to unique stories and matching them to the factor patterns based on these same individuals’ Q sorts” (p. 10).

Watts and Stenner (2012) agree saying that when you are interpreting factors “your attention must continually oscillate between the individual items, on the one hand, and the whole story or viewpoint, on the other.” (p. 156). Q-methodology is holistic; therefore, the interpretation of the factors was based on an analysis of the whole item configuration congruent with the subjective information provided by participants.

3.6 Methodology Summary

The research this thesis addresses requires the researcher to understand the experiences of those in a culturally diverse community. The nature of this research requires a constructivist epistemology and post-structural methodology to be taken. This is because these lenses elicit an understanding of everyday multiculturalism which is overtly attentive to those experiencing it. Everyday multiculturalism requires a specific methodological approach—one which listens, observes, and is alert to subjectivities. Considering this, Q-methodology was chosen as the research

method because it is not as restrictive as other methods, such as surveys, and yet is not as demanding on participants as standalone interviews. Q-methodology was combined with semi-structured interviews and a short questionnaire to give the participants space to explain their Q-sorts and communicate in a way that they felt comfortable with. This also gave me confidence in interpreting the Q-sorts, and allowed me interpret the Q-sorts using the participants' own words. Ken-Q Analysis was used to quantitatively intercorrelate the Q-sorts by measuring similarities and differences in opinions. Common variance was distinguished and factors identified before factor analysis was performed holistically.

Chapter 4 Results

This chapter discusses the research findings, presenting the results of the data collected from Q-sorts, interviews, and questionnaires with Newtown, Wellington residents and local employees. As discussed in Chapter Three, the methodological approach followed uses a factor analysis procedure to interpret the viewpoints presented by the Q-sorts.

This chapter begins by presenting the three factors that were identified from the factor analysis. It then interprets these factors, based upon the Q-sorts, interviews, and questionnaires, to specify the distinctions between the factors (Wolf, 2014). Finally, the consensus statements will be discussed. This is to understand the correlations between the different factors. Correlations between factors provide important information about affinity and disjuncture in opinions across Q-sorts.

Three perspectives among the participants were identified. Factor One is identified as the Community Enthusiast (CE), Factor Two as the Out of Office Hours Coffee Drinker (OOHCD), and Factor Three as Values Social Services (VSS).

As previously mentioned in Chapter Three, the aim is to maximise the amount of variance captured by the final factors (Brown, 1980). High factor eigenvalues and variance values are considered a good demonstration of this. As shown in Table 4, Chapter Three, these three factors account for 41% of the total study variance. Watts and Stenner (2012) advise that a variance in the region of 35-40% and above is considered to be a good final solution. It is also important to note the correlations between factor arrays. The factors found in this study are not highly or significantly correlated (see Table 6 below). This means that the factors can be interpreted as singular. Each factor can be considered to reliably capture a different viewpoint.

	factor 1	factor 2	factor 3
factor 1	1	0.2803	0.1754
factor 2	0.2803	1	-0.018
factor 3	0.1754	-0.018	1

Table 7: Factor correlations

Table 7 below shows the three viewpoints that emerged from the factor analysis. These three factors are interpreted using the interview and questionnaire data below.

Statements	Factor One	Factor Two	Factor Three
Fruit and Vegetable Market	3	3	0
Bus Stop	2	1	-1
Music Shop	-2	2	-4
Dairy	1	0	-2
Athletics Stadium	-2	0	0
Council Housing	-1	-1	3
Takeaway Shop	0	-1	2
St Anne's Catholic Church	0	-1	0
St Thomas' Chapel / City Mission	2	-1	4
Park	-3	3	-1
Fire Station	-4	-3	1
Bookshop	-2	1	2
Opportunity Shop	-1	2	1
Halal Butchery	1	-2	-3
Community and Cultural Centre	3	1	2
Rest Home	-2	2	1
Wellington Chinese Baptist Church	0	-2	-1
Public Seating	-1	-2	1
School Playground	4	0	1
Public Library	4	0	3
Café	3	4	-2
Spice Shop	0	-2	-4
Sports Bar	-4	-4	-2
Betting Agency	-3	-4	-1
Salvation Army	1	1	4
Supermarket	1	2	3
Community Hall	2	1	0
Community Playground	2	0	-2
Polish Association	0	-3	0
Asian Food Market	1	-3	-3
Mission for Youth	-1	-1	2
Bar	-1	4	3
Croquet Club	-3	0	-1
Restaurant	0	3	0

Table 8: Factor estimates per factor; 4 most like, to -4 most unlike

4.1 Factor Interpretation

This section explains each of the factors found in the data analysis. The process of factor interpretation was described in Chapter Three. However, I would like to emphasise here that it is an adductive process which is undertaken to assist in understanding the distinctions between viewpoints (Wolf, 2014).

4.1.1 Factor 1: Community Enthusiast; always seeking to partake in the community

The first of the three perspectives is named the Community Enthusiast (CE). Generally, CE's say the spaces they experience as positive in terms of cross-cultural interactions, are publicly-owned community spaces. This perspective accounts for 21% of the variability in the study and is defined by six participants. The perspective is mostly represented by local council employees, stay at home parents, and teachers. The demographic information provided by the participants of the CE perspective is shown below in Table 8. The table includes demographic information for both defining and non-defining participants.

Participant	Ethnicity	Gender	Age	Length of residence in Newtown (years)	Education	Occupation	Other descriptors
Defining participants							
K	Pākehā	F	40	10 months	University	Resource Advisor, Council	Parent
C	Pākehā	F	24	3	University	Project Compliance Officer, Council	Anxious and Chatty
M	Pākehā	M	25	5	University	Web Designer	
A	Pākehā	F	30	7	University	Lawyer	From Hamilton
H	Japanese-Ainu	F	33	4	University	Early Childhood Education Teacher	
P	Pākehā	M	22	Employed in Newtown	University	Community Liaison Officer, Council	Not a local resident
Non-defining Participants							
R	European	F		12		Stay at home parent/ Hospice volunteer	
G	European	F	64	3	University	Teacher	Involved in community co-operation
F	Pākehā	F	36	6	University	Stay at home parent	
S	Pākehā	F	34	14	University	Stay at home parent	

Table 9: Demographic information provided by the CE respondents.

Table 9 below was used as an aid to interpret the factor. It lists the image statements that participants identified under CE ranked comparatively higher and lower than all other factors.

Items Ranked Higher by CE than any other Factor	Items Ranked Lower by CE than any other Factor
Dairy	Athletics Stadium
Halal Butchery	Park
Community and Cultural Centre	Fire Station
School Playground	Bookshop
Public Library	Opportunity Shop
Community Hall	Rest Home
Community Playground	Spice Shop
Asian Food Market	Croquet Club
Bus Stop	Supermarket

Table 10: Identification of statements ranked higher or lower by CE than by any of the other study factors.

CEs valued planned activities, gatherings, and events in the community. These events were usually held in spaces which are specifically designed for holding community events, such as the Newtown Community and Cultural Centre (+3) and the Newtown Library (+4). This group valued spaces that provide opportunities for events; for example, participant K noted the importance of the provision of activities over the quality of the space:

“Those random community centre places that you go to all the time that there is always people of different cultures and there is always, you know even if it’s just helping someone or whatever, anything, it’s just having the, I think it’s the time and the space, it’s not so much that they’re really great places, because they’re actually pretty crap”.

Participant K’s description also displays the way CE’s celebrate the mixing of culturally different people in these spaces. This group was positive about the way these spaces hold events that bring people together who may not usually socialise. For CEs, spaces where there is an existing mix of people were considered desirable and safe. They often spent time in spaces that were culturally diverse; for example, participant K also stated:

“We hang out at the library all the time, and there’s always loads of people in there from school, including lots of people from different cultures, lots of the mums, I guess generalising, who wear headscarves and their children”.

CEs also valued spaces in Newtown that they considered ‘cultural’ space, for example restaurants, which provide opportunities to interact with other cultures: “you are interacting with people from other cultures because there is no old burger place or whatever” (participant K). Another said that “whatever the ethnicity of the food that’s there it’s usually, it tends to be, people that like that food that go so you’re associating with that culture as well” (participant M). However, they also realised that restaurants are not particularly good places for social interactions and are more transactional in nature.

CEs were also relatively positive about local businesses, such as the Dairy (+1), and Halal Butchery (+1). CE’s sought out these local businesses because they were perceived to be places immigrants occupied; something these participants associated and celebrated about Newtown:

“I really like the greengrocers like that and the one that’s further down the street towards the school so we try and support those, like even if it’s just going in and buying an ice-cream for the kids on a hot day” (participant K).

These individuals considered activities that encourage people to engage for periods of time as important for cross-cultural interactions. They preferred organised activities and spaces that provided a talking point over chance encounters in more transactional or transitory locations such as the local Supermarket (+1), or in large local green spaces like the Park (-3) where one might be for other legitimate reasons. For example, participant P commented with respect to the Park:

“It’s a bit more space where I’d see people kind of keep to themselves. They’re just kind of going about their business whether its going for a walk with their dog, waiting for the bus listening to their I-pod or whatever, or exercising, doing runs”.

Similarly, participant K explained that these locations were rated low because they were “less structured and more kind of like loose”. In these spaces, they said people didn’t talk to one another regardless of cultural considerations. However, they consider these spaces important for children, and acknowledge that children interact freely in these spaces and acted as a sort of ‘social lubricant’, participant M noted:

“There will always be some other family or something just hanging round and the kids will join into the soccer game we are having so it’s always, usually, like, it’s usually a good time”.

CEs valued the reputation of Newtown as a multicultural place. However, they were aware of places in Newtown —that they enjoy going to— only catering to specific demographics. For example, participant C commented that the Bar (-1) made them feel: “uncomfortable because I’m now thinking about the fact that I’ve never really seen anybody who isn’t white there and that’s sad”. With regard to the Music Shop (-2) participant M said that it: “doesn’t feel like a place that fosters multicultural, it feels very niche”. The Bowling and Croquet Club (-3) was viewed similarly: “I’m sure it’s quite social and stuff, but it’s probably for the middle-class white person who goes there and can afford to drink beer and play bowls” (participant K). The Opportunity Shop (-1), was also rated comparatively low for this group because it caters to specific demographics. Participant C commented on the dichotomy between demographics that the Opportunity Shop makes apparent:

“Mostly people like me who are like young, white, and wanna buy clothes from the op shop...But the only, and I wouldn’t say it’s been negative, but the interesting thing is like, the only people I’ve seen trawling through the free bin outside aren’t white and I often am like oooh”.

CEs were also particularly negative about spaces which felt closed off. Participants explained that this did not necessarily mean physically closed off, but metaphorically closed, either because spaces catered to specific demographics, or the general atmosphere of a place was closed off. For example, the fire station (-4) was considered to be closed off, because it is "very utilitarian" (participant M). Further, these individuals often described locations such as the Sports Bar (-4) and Betting Agency (-3) as closed off, dim inside, and uncomfortable; and the rest home (-2) as a place that is “quite closed up, and not feeling like it’s very open...which is like really sad to me” (participant M).

Yet CE’s were not deterred by spaces that looked run down. As previously expressed by participant K, the quality of community spaces that they enjoyed were often “pretty crap”. Participant M described a café (+3) in Newtown as a positive place for

cross-cultural interactions because it has a “Newtown-y vibe, like it was not as polished”. Below in Figure 4 is the factor array for CE (Factor One).

Composite Q sort for Factor 1

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4
*◀ Fire Station	Croquet Club	***◀ Bookshop	Mission for Youth	Restaurant	Supermarket	***▶ Community Playground	***▶ Community and Cultural Centre	Public Library
Sports Bar	**◀ Park	**◀ Athletics Stadium	**◀ Opportunity Shop	Takeaway Shop	Dairy	***▶ Community Hall	Café	***▶ School Playground
	Betting Agency	***◀ Rest Home	Council Housing	St Anne's Catholic Church	***▶ Asian Food Market	Bus Stop	Fruit and Vegetable Market	
		** Music Shop	Public Seating	Polish Association	Salvation Army	** St Thomas' Chapel / City Mission		
			* Bar	Wellington Chinese Baptist Church	***▶ Halal Butchery			
				***▶ Spice Shop				

Legend
* Distinguishing statement at $P < 0.05$
** Distinguishing statement at $P < 0.01$
▶ z-Score for the statement is higher than in all the other factors
◀ z-Score for the statement is lower than in all the other factors

Figure 4: Factor array for CE (Factor One).

When questioned explicitly about the spatial and material characteristics of sites that were considered most positive (placed above +4), CE’s noted a number of defining spatial characteristics. These sites were identified as large, open places which had space for a number of people, for example, participant C commented that the positive spaces they identified:

“Feel like safe spaces for everyone because of the existing mixes of people- like the market is open and bustling but there’s enough physical space for movement and positive interactions”.

Additionally, these sites enabled people to engage in activities and discussion with others because they could accommodate people for lengthy periods of time. Respondents noted that often the activities provided are of no cost, or low cost. Therefore, the space has to be conducive to this. Finally, sites identified as positive were considered to be well lit (good lighting), bright (colourful), and reflect the diverse community of Newtown, for example, participant P stated that the positive sites did not look “too ‘nice’ or gentrified”. These spatial descriptions were in comparison to the descriptions given for those spaces CE’s considered comparatively negative (placed below -4). The more negative spaces were said to appear “closed off” and “small”. These spatial characteristics were attributed to the lighting, accessibility of the location, general atmosphere, and regular patrons which gave the impression of the spaces being “slightly dodgy” and uninviting. Respondents also discussed how negative locations catered to specific groups of people, either culturally, or economically. Further, negatively ranked places were described as only facilitating transitory and individualistic behaviour. This was compared to publicly owned community spaces which provided the infrastructure and materials for interaction with others.

4.1.2 Factor 2: Out of Office Hours Coffee Drinker; likes spending their spare time in diverse Newtown

The Out of Office Hours Coffee Drinker (OOHCD) largely considered privatised spaces, in particular hospitality sites, as positive for cross-cultural social interactions. This perspective accounts for 12% of the variability in the study and is defined by four participants. The perspective is mostly represented by public servants and students. The demographic information provided by participants that fall into the OOHCD factor are shown below in Table 9. The table includes demographic information for both defining and the single non-defining participant.

Participant	Ethnicity	Gender	Age	Length of residence in Newtown (years)	Education	Occupation	Other descriptors
Defining participants							
N1	European	M	52	4	University	Police Officer	Newtown coffee drinker, cafés/bars
N2	Pākehā	F	52	4	University	Manager, Police	Mountain Biker
D	Korean	M	23	8 months	University	Student	
E1	Hispanic	F	27	2	University	Advisor, Ministry of Education	
E2	Caucasian	M	26	2	University	Commercial Manager, Department of Internal Affairs	
B	Pākehā	F	25	2	University	Student	
Non-defining Participants							
Q	Turkish	M	40	4 months	University	Computer Engineer	

Table 11: Demographic information provided by the OOHCD respondents.

Table 10 below was used as an aid to interpret the factors. It lists the image statements that OOHCD ranked comparatively higher and lower than all other factors.

Items Ranked Higher by OOHCD than any other Factor	Items Ranked Lower by OOHCD than any other Factor
Music Shop	Takeaway Shop
Park	St Anne's Catholic Church
Rest Home	St Thomas' Chapel/City Mission
Café	Community and Cultural Centre
Bar	Wellington Chinese Baptist Church
Restaurant	Public Seating
	School Playground
	Public Library
	Betting Agency
	Polish Association

Table 12: Identification of statements ranked higher or lower by OOHCD than by any of the other study factors.

For the interpretation of the OOHCD viewpoint, all participant interviews were included in the analysis. While this is in conflict with “distinguishing card content analysis” (Gallagher and Porock, 2010), the interviews with participants E1 and E2 were not recorded and the interview with participant Q was considered to be useful so was included in this factor interpretation. Participant Q was not a defining Q-sort because they aligned with both OOHCD and Factor Three participants who access and interact at social service sites in Newtown. Participant Q aligned with both these factors as they had chosen to rank places which provided social services that they

thought were necessary for the community higher than places they went to and had cross-cultural interactions:

“these [Salvation Army, City Mission] are, more attractive than these [Café and Bar]. But for instance I would prefer the provision of these places [Salvation Army, City Mission] rather than these [Café and Bar] because they are more useful because we can go on living without bars but not, these are very useful socially”.

Therefore, it was considered appropriate to include participant Q’s interview in this factor analysis.

OOHCD valued social spaces that were colourful, and represented the diverse Newtown that they celebrate. They enjoy food spaces and bars for cross-cultural social interactions because they consider these spaces as welcoming to all. For them, often in contrast to the cafés in the central business district of Wellington, the cafés in Newtown appeared more down to earth and not exclusive. To this end, these individuals made comments such as, “Peoples Coffee because we really liked the vibe there you know; that really is more of a melting pot, a lot of Somali people and it has the sun” (participant N2) and:

“In general, cafés are good, they aren’t very elite or stylish, it’s a good place for us. Everyone, student, other international people, for instance in the city there are some places that are not only expensive but are you know very elite and you need to be careful how you are acting” (participant Q).

OOHCD also consider the Fruit and Vegetable Market as a positive space for cross-cultural social interactions because it is a lively space, and attracts a lot of people. For OOHCD the interactions across cultural difference did not have to be face to face conversational encounters. The act of place sharing and partaking in similar activities (not necessarily together); for example, reading a newspaper and consuming coffee at the local café with diverse others, was considered a cross-cultural encounter by OOHCD.

Spaces of consumption that provide the opportunity for socialising are frequented and viewed positively by these individuals because they spend a limited amount of

time within the Newtown Community. This is because they are work orientated as participant N2 noted:

“We’re in the city all week, we are up at 6am we’re gone from here early we’re gone all day we’re often not back until after 6pm so our activities in Newtown are quite limited really”.

OOHCD mostly socialised with people through work as opposed to people in their community. OOHCD participants did not have children living at home; this is considered to also have limited their involvement with others outside of work, as participant N2 stated:

“Whereas the kids growing up, you know I coached soccer, you got to know the parents of everybody, you know, it was much much easier, now things are way more work oriented so the people we socialise with have tended to be people through work, because that’s where our contacts are.”

OOHCD ranked the Rest Home higher than other factors. Analysis of the interviews illuminated why the Rest Home was rated so highly; for two participants the rest home represented the hospital where they worked: “so yeah the hospital, all walks of life obviously come into the hospital so you get a lot of interactions there, that’s why I put the rest home there I suppose” (participant B). For these individuals the hospital was important as a place of work but also as a place where they interacted with many different people from diverse backgrounds.

OOHCD rated the churches lower than those in other factors. For most, this was because the churches were not particularly relevant to them. However, for one individual the churches, and the Halal Butchery —because of its connection to Islam— were problematic. Participant Q said:

“I know this type of idea and conceptions and understandings of the world, it is a little bit dangerous because we know from Turkey, and they are gaining much more power. For instance, this is religion [pointing to the Halal Butchery] but this is reformist religion [pointing to the churches], you know a little bit tamed, you know, this is not tamed, a lot stronger and oppressive and excluding”.

Further, participant B had specifically negative memories associated with St Thomas' Chapel/City Mission: "I had to go there when I was young with my mum and give out food parcels and stuff and I just have negative memories of being in that particular building".

Like CE, these individuals also rate the Betting Agency and Sports Bar low. They consider these spaces as undesirable for cross-cultural social interaction because they are dark and reclusive spaces; Participant B's description of these spaces highlights this: "they're not really talking, and there's not really much interaction going on so as like a means of cross-cultural interactions, I don't feel like there's a lot of that going on".

For OOHCD these places also have negative connotations and are considered to attract social "ills". Below in Figure 5 is the factor array for OOHCD (Factor Two).

Composite Q sort for Factor 2

	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4
Sports Bar		* Fire Station	Halal Butchery	St Anne's Catholic Church	School Playground	* Bookshop	*▶ Rest Home	**▶ Restaurant	**▶ Bar
Betting Agency		**◀ Polish Association	Wellington Chinese Baptist Church	Takeaway Shop	*▶ Croquet Club	Salvation Army	**▶ Music Shop	**▶ Park	Café
	Asian Food Market	Public Seating	Mission for Youth	**◀ Public Library	Community and Cultural Centre	Opportunity Shop	Fruit and Vegetable Market		
		* Spice Shop	**◀ St Thomas' Chapel / City Mission	Dairy	Bus Stop	Supermarket			
			Council Housing	Athletics Stadium	Community Hall				
				** Community Playground					

Legend
* Distinguishing statement at $P < 0.05$
** Distinguishing statement at $P < 0.01$
▶ z-Score for the statement is higher than in all the other factors
◀ z-Score for the statement is lower than in all the other factors

Figure 5: Factor array for OOHCD (Factor Two).

OOHCD described a number of spatial and material dimensions that were important to them. Sites that were considered most positive (placed above +4) were described as “relaxed environments” that look “welcoming”, and are “bright, inviting, big places, and colourful”. For OOHCD it was important that these locations had the infrastructure for social activities, operate outside of 9-5 working hours, and were spatially and materially reflective of the multicultural “melting pot” of Newtown. Those sites identified by OOHCD as comparatively negative (placed below -4) were spatially considered to be “dark and dingy”. In particular, the negative connotations associated with such spaces meant they were often avoided and sometimes elicited anxiety associations in OOHCD respondents.

4.1.3 Factor 3: Values Social Services; partakes in services provided in the community

The third perspective, characterised by participants who Value Social Services (VSS), accounts for 14% of the explained variance in the study. It is defined by four participants. The participants that define VSS were interviewed at City Mission. The majority of the non-defining participants who load on VSS were members at St Thomas’ Chapel. The demographic information provided by participants in the VSS factor is shown below in Table 11. The table includes demographic information for both defining and non-defining participants.

Participant	Ethnicity	Gender	Age	Length of residence in Newtown (years)	Education	Occupation	Other descriptors
Defining participants							
W	Did not provide						
V	Māori	M	59	20	Literacy Aotearoa	Volunteer at City Mission Drop-in Centre	Lucky!
U	Did not provide						
T	Did not provide						
Non-defining Participants							
O	Somali	F	32	8	English lessons	Mother	Everyone is your family
J	Pākehā	F	30	2	University	Campaigner	Member of St Thomas' Church and Green party
L	Pākehā	F	24	2	University	Student Doctor	
I	Pākehā	M	49	15	University	Anglican Church Pastor and Mental Health Support Worker	I love Newtown!

Table 13: Demographic information provided by the VSS respondents.

Table 12 below was used as an aid to interpret the factor. It shows the image statements that VSS ranked comparatively higher and lower than all other factors.

Items Ranked Higher by VSS than any other Factor	Items Ranked Lower by VSS than any other Factor
Council Housing	Fruit and Vegetable Market
Takeaway Shop	Bus Stop
St Thomas' Chapel/ City Mission	Music Shop
Fire Station	Dairy
Bookshop	Halal Butchery
Sports Bar	School Playground
Public Seating	Café
Betting Agency	Spice Shop
Salvation Army	Community Playground
Supermarket	Bar

Table 14: Identification of statements ranked higher or lower by VSS than by any of the other study factors.

It is important to note that, in this group, seven of the participants did not conform to the Q-sort matrix. Further, three of the participants did not complete the demographic form and four of the participants did not complete recorded interviews. This was because these Q-sorts were conducted informally. I visited the City Mission, with the permission of the Kaihautū /Team Leader, on the 27 November 2018. I had not pre-arranged with individuals at the City Mission to do Q-sorting, because of this while I

was there they were primarily engaged in accessing the services offered by the City Mission. Therefore, the time they were able to provide me with on the day was limited. This restricted my ability to interview the individuals who completed the Q-sorting at the City Mission. The four participants who define VSS did not have recorded interviews or answer questionnaires. Recorded interviews with the other participants who loaded most on VSS (non-defining participants) have been used to substantiate this factor analysis.

VSS participants discussed numerous cross-cultural social interactions. These individuals typically interacted in spaces which were considered low cost, or no cost. In particular, free or low-cost places that provided food appeared to be a point of unification for this group. For these individual's, the City Mission/St Thomas' Chapel was a significant location. This was for mixed reasons: for some respondents it was their church, where they also partook in community meal initiatives provided for by the church on Sunday mornings. For example, Participant L said that:

“[the] breakfast before the service which is something that quite a big group come to; more people than come to the actual service, I've had a lot of interactions, especially with the homeless people in the community. There's like a couple of Samoan families and quite a lot of the figures that you see on Newtown streets are also part of my church community and so it's really, it's a place that I interact with people who I previously haven't”.

For others — those who I interviewed at the City Mission— the City Mission was a place that they frequented Monday to Thursday for breakfast, and lunch. These individuals knew one another well. On the day that I was there a volunteer played the piano and another played the guitar while the regulars socialised and ate. The participants were extremely positive about the space. For them it offered more than free food and subsidised meals, the friends they made and opportunity for social interaction in a safe space were equally valued.

For these individuals, other spaces that offered services in the community were also important for cross-cultural social interactions. For example, the Council Housing where a number of VSS respondents lived was positive for cross-cultural social interactions. Participant O describes how the community room in the Council

Housing was used by residents for a community meal that brought a diverse mix of people together: “they have a community room and the community room every fortnight has dinners there. They have community dinner and we love to be part of that”. Participant O also discussed a sewing group at the Council Housing which they noted they attended to talk and socialise with others as opposed to sew: “the lady she say oh you talk too much, and I say, the reason why I’m coming here to talk”. It was apparent that these activities which are provided within the Council Housing complex are incredibly important for facilitating the social interactions that VSS individuals partake in.

The Salvation Army and the Newtown Library were also positively viewed by VSS. For example, Participant O said “the library last year and this year become like our second house”. This respondent was also positive about the library hosting cultural events, for example the library hosted Eid al-Fitr, an important Muslim holiday. When asked who partook in the celebrations at the library, the respondent replied:

“There’s lot of people Muslim and non-Muslim which I like, I like everyone to be welcome because I have a lot of friends they're not all Muslim but I respect their religion they respect my religion”.

However, within the the VSS factor there was also dissent about the library as a positive space. In comparison to participant O’s enthusiasm for the Eid al-Fitr, participant I was negative about it:

“The library hosted the local Muslim community to have their annual Ramadan feast, which opens a whole, kind of, interesting range of questions about a council facility being used to host a religious event like that. If the churches wanted to have an Easter celebration at the library, would people say oh that's a religious thing, you can't come in here?”.

There appears to be some conflicting opinions within VSS. The library is also considered more of an individualistic space; participant L said: “I’d say I’ve had positive cross-cultural interactions there, but I also think that people go to the library to do their own thing and not necessarily to interact”. It can be implied from the accounts given by VSS individuals that it is not the space itself but the activities or services offered in that space that are significant for these individuals.

Unlike CE and OOHCD, VSS did not interact in privatised food spaces, such as cafés and restaurants. However, they do acknowledge local takeaway options as being important. Like the subsidised meals provided at the City Mission, this was also a low-cost option for participants. A number of individuals described cafés and restaurants in Newtown as exclusive spaces which catered to specific demographics, potentially negating cross-cultural interactions. Participant L observed:

“Cafés are something I wanted to talk about, that was the first thing I thought of when I saw the study, Newtown is this weird kind of dynamic where its really multicultural on the surface but a lot of the time people don’t interact outside of their cultural groups, and I’ve noticed in particular that there is eight or ten different kind of cafés but there is four or five that wealthy white people go to and four or five that other people who aren’t those and don’t fit into those two boxes go to. And so I love Newtown cafés, and fall into the wealthy white people group, I love going into Peoples, and those nice places, but, I think that they actually act as a separating factor to some extent and in theory you can go to a café, and have an interaction, a cross-cultural interaction and I’m sure that that happens sometimes but think that yeah, there is kind of a divide there yeah”.

Further, gender segregation for religious reasons means that spaces such as cafés are not good locations for cross-cultural interactions. For example, because gender segregation is sometimes a requirement for Muslims, participant O would not go to specific cafés because of the number of Somali men who go there.

VSS were more positive about the Betting Agency and Sports Bar than those in other factors. While some did socialise at the Betting Agency and Sports Bar and considered their interactions there relatively positive, others had not been there but saw these spaces as important for particular groups in the community: “The zoo bar, um that can be, I’ve never actually been in there but it’s sort of a hub for a particular demographic, I mean I guess it could be at worse a neutral” (participant I).

VSS felt there were places they did not belong. This may be because of socio-economic inequalities or potentially age, as opposed to cultural considerations, with one participant stating:

“there is a sort of café culture for the young and hipsters and stuff, so someone who is getting on in years a bit, and not so fashion conscious you go in there and it’s like oh, I don’t know if I quite fit in there, and not that people are unfriendly, but you sort of feel a bit, a particular demographic” (participant I).

Further, participant L saw the Music Shop as a space where they did not belong stating: “it’s somewhere that I would walk into and instantly want to walk out again I think just because it feels like people would look at me and say you don’t belong here”. Similar feelings were expressed by those at the City Mission, for them the Fruit and Vegetable Market was not a space that they felt was relevant to them. Below in Figure 6 is the factor array for VSS (Factor Three).

Composite Q sort for Factor 3

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4
**◀ Spice Shop	Halal Butchery	**▶ Sports Bar	Bus Stop	Polish Association	**▶ Fire Station	**▶ Bookshop	Public Library	**▶ St Thomas' Chapel / City Mission
**◀ Music Shop	Asian Food Market	**◀ Dairy	**▶ Betting Agency	**◀ Fruit and Vegetable Market	Opportunity Shop	**▶ Takeaway Shop	**▶ Council Housing	**▶ Salvation Army
	**◀ Bar	**◀ Café	Wellington Chinese Baptist Church	Athletics Stadium	School Playground	**▶ Mission for Youth	Supermarket	
		**◀ Community Playground	* Park	Restaurant	* Rest Home	Community and Cultural Centre		
			Croquet Club	St Anne's Catholic Church	**▶ Public Seating			
				Community Hall				

Legend
* Distinguishing statement at P < 0.05
** Distinguishing statement at P < 0.01
▶ z-Score for the statement is higher than in all the other factors
◀ z-Score for the statement is lower than in all the other factors

Figure 6: Factor array for VSS (Factor Three).

When asked to explain the material and spatial characteristics of sites that were considered most positive (placed above +4) VSS said that having space and facilities large enough to enable large groups of people to come together and share in a meal was important. Spaces which enabled this were considered to provide the opportunity for different cultures and socio-economic groups to come into contact with each other and interact as equals. Importantly, these spaces are open to all and operate regularly. Those sites VSS respondents ranked as comparatively negative are considered to be spatially defined as closed off, with no obvious invitation for them to come in.

4.2 Consensual Areas, Convergence and Divergence Across All Factors

Some photos in this study were ranked similarly across the factors. These photos are considered consensus statements: those that are not distinguishable between any pair of factors. Consensus statements are important to help one to understand the similarities across the viewpoints. However, it should not be assumed that consensus statements can be interpreted in the same way for different factors.

The consensus photos in this study were all rated as reasonably neutral. Photo 8, 'St Anne's Catholic Church', was a consensus statement with relatively neutral factor scores: CE (0), OOHCD (-1), and VSS (0) respectively. This was largely because only one of the participants I interviewed had any significant knowledge about the church. No participants had any knowledge of photo 17, 'Wellington Chinese Baptist Church' that enabled them to have a positive or negative opinion with factor scores: (0), (-2), and (-1). This was in comparison with the Supermarket. Everyone had been to the Supermarket, but all felt relatively neutral about it, participant S noted, "the most I'd get is one of the checkout people thinking my kids are cute. That will be the extent of it", and participant L said, "New World which I couldn't come up with any positive or negative things about". Statement 15, 'Newtown Community and Cultural Centre' was the most positively rated consensus statement across the factors: (3), (1), and (2). This is important when considering the implications of this study and which spaces are considered positive across factors to bring various groups together.

For the CE and OOHCD groups the Fruit and Vegetable Market —rated (2), (2) respectively— was a relatively positive space for cross-cultural social interactions. The Fruit and Vegetable Market was described by participant C (CE) as, “open and bustling but there’s enough physical space for movement and positive interactions”, and participant B (OOHCD) said, “I love going to the markets in the morning that’s where I go to kind of catch up with people, again people from everywhere coming in to the markets”.

The CE and OOHCD perspectives also rated the Salvation Army (1), (1); Mission for Youth (-1), (-1); and Council Housing (-1), (-1) relatively neutral. This suggests that, unlike VSS, these individuals do not access social services often. Both perspectives agree that the Sports Bar (-4), (-4), and the Betting Agency (-3), (-4) are not conducive to cross-cultural social interactions and are described by these viewpoints as having negative connotations.

However, these two perspectives do not share the same point of view on the Park (-3), (3). For CE, the Park is considered a transitory space which does not encourage interaction, participant K noted, “it’s just a big green space and nobody talks to each other, doesn’t matter what culture you’re in”. Further, participant S explained that big green park spaces like the Park were not as conducive to cross-cultural social interactions as other outdoor park spaces, especially playgrounds:

“I mean also like, we'd spend lots of time in the park but usually as a family and if we passed other families we probably wouldn't interact as much in that kind of context, whereas in this context the kids would play together and then we would sit and chat and stuff”.

In comparison, for OOHCD, the Park is important because the space provides opportunities for activities, as participant Q said, “they are free spaces for all people for recreation”. It should be noted that participants in OOHCD did not explicitly say they engaged in cross-cultural social interactions in the Park. They often referred to individualistic pursuits, such as wandering around the park. For them, the focus was more about the activities that could be performed in the parks, the open access, and sense of affinity for those engaging in similar activities.

The Bar —rated (-1), (4) respectively— was also a space of divergence for these two perspectives. Both groups discussed spending time at the Bar, but arrived at different conclusions about the positivity of the space. From the perspective of OOHCD, the Bar is a good space to socialise, it was described by participant N1 as a “funky sort of alternative, it represents more the types of, this to me represents a good bar [in comparison to the Sports Bar]”. CE does not disagree with this, but is critical of the demographic that the Bar caters too. People in CE discussed how the Bar was not particularly multicultural; for example, participant M said: “I see around, people that look like me. Um, fun place, but probably not for this purpose”. They are conscious of spaces being set up for different demographics.

The participants in the OOHCD and the VSS factors were both neutral about the Athletics Stadium (0), (0). This was because the space was not particularly relevant to either group. They were also both negative about the Asian Food Market (-3), (-3). While neither group explicitly commented on the Asian Food Market both groups were positive about spaces where socialising was the primary activity. The Asian Food Market is not a space that facilitates this.

Having said that, the OOHCD and VSS perspectives do not share the same point of view on which spaces are best for social activities. For example, the Bar (4), (-3) and Cafés (4), (-2) are considered positive spaces for cross-cultural social interactions by OOHCD, but not by VSS. This suggests a difference in socialising. OOHCD more often highlighted privatised spaces of consumption as positive spaces, in comparison to VSS’s favouring of spaces, such as St Thomas’ Chapel/City Mission, that provide free or low cost options for socialising.

CE and VSS factors are both neutral about the St Anne’s Catholic Church (0), (0); the Polish Association (0), (0); and the Restaurant (0), (0). For both factors St Anne’s Catholic Church and the Polish Association are considered neutral because neither group has an affiliation with either space. However, the Restaurant is sorted as neutral by the two perspectives for diverging reasons. For CE, Restaurants are places that they spend time in (if occasionally), but they recognise that these interactions are more transactional than social, participant M noted:

“I do love this taco place, it’s very delicious, but I’ll put that at like a 1 because its more of a transacting experience”.

Further, according to CE, restaurants are not positive for cross-cultural social interactions because they go with friends and family, as participant S explained:

“We would be going, unless we're intentionally going with, a cross-cultural friend, then we would be probably be going with our family or, or typically our close friends would be of the same ethnicity...And also I think I probably, I would, I would expect to see less people cross-culturally there...like the demographic is a bit more white middle class”.

In comparison for VSS, restaurants are a place where both socio-economic and cultural divides are visible. Different restaurants cater to different groups and therefore can act as a separating factor. For this reason, restaurants are not considered as positive by VSS.

Both factors, are positive about the Public Library (4), (3). These individuals are positive about the space because it provides a service to the community, and is a space that all feel safe and welcome. From the perspective of participant S (CE) the coordinators at the library work hard to create a good space for the community: “I think the library is doing a really good job of trying to create community space”, for this same participant the library had facilitated friendships: “I have made friends at the library and the library park”.

However, these two perspectives do not share the same point of view on the Fire Station (-4), (1). CE considers the Fire Station to be a “utilitarian” space, and while the accounts relayed to me by individuals in VSS do not suggest they would disagree with this perspective, for them the Fire Station is an important service provided to the community. Like the City Mission and the Salvation Army, they see the Fire Station as playing an important role in the community regardless of whether or not it facilitates cross-cultural social interactions and therefore were hesitant to rate it low.

CE and VSS also have opposite views about Cafés (3), (-2). This is interesting given their similar points of view on Restaurants. However, it is suggested by a number of respondents that fall under CE that they consider cafés to be more inclusive spaces

than restaurants. In particular, they are positive about Peoples Coffee. Participant C said: “I always have really positive interactions at Peoples. And I feel very comfortable there which is a credit to them really”, another said Peoples Coffee is: “very multicultural and I often find interactions there positive” (participant M), and also: “I always find when I go to Peoples, there’s really good people hanging around”. Participant C also explained that the setup of Peoples Coffee made it a positive space for cross-cultural interactions: “Generally feels like a safe space for everyone because of the existing mixes of people...the long tables outside allow for conversations, sharing the paper”. In comparison, VSS respondents see cafés, like restaurants, as too expensive, and a space they do not feel particularly comfortable.

4.3 Summary of Results

We know that daily negotiations and face-to-face encounters with difference are crucial for people to come to terms with difference and to discourage discourses of racism (Allen and Cars, 2001; Amin, 2002; Bell, 2016). However, as Amin (2002) points out, understanding about the “nature of these sites, and what kind of engagement or outcome can be expected?...is where the debate is on less firm ground” (p.967). This research shows that people are continually engaging in cross-cultural social interactions and acts of everyday multiculturalism in their community. Further, that places of cross-cultural encounter take many forms and that people experience cross-cultural social interactions in different ways. This research sought to investigate where the public consider they have cross-cultural social interactions. Subjectivity is inherent in this; however, Q-methodology made it possible to better understand these subjectivities.

This research has asked where cross-cultural social interactions take place in everyday life? This study substantiates the importance of Amin’s (2002) micro-publics, and Oldenburg’s (1989) third places. Similar to Amin (2002), this research confirms that spaces which offer activities that require interaction and collaboration tend to be positive spaces for cross-cultural social interactions. Such spaces generate opportunities for encounters, while the activities initiate engagement in shared interactions. Further, while Oldenburg’s third place suggests a more loose and impromptu interaction framework to Amin’s micro-publics, this type of interaction

resonated with the OOHCD viewpoint. The exploratory nature of Q-methodology has identified that spaces which are considered positive for cross-cultural interaction differ across the three identified viewpoints.

CE considered publicly owned community spaces and culturally diverse environments to be particularly positive for cross-cultural social interactions. Neal et al. (2015) confirm this and suggest that some individuals feel more social confidence in, and explicitly value spaces of existing ethnic mix. The CE also compares publicly owned community spaces to privatised spaces, such as restaurants, which are considered by this group to facilitate mostly transactional interactions. Semi et al. (2009) say that this differentiation is important when considering how interactions can facilitate the reconciliation of cultural differences. The way people engage in the consumption of culture through transactions, especially in shops and restaurants, is considered problematic given the commercial frame of the engagement (Semi et al., 2009).

Comparatively, the OOHCD viewpoint considered privatised spaces, especially hospitality sites, as most positive for cross-cultural social interactions. This was not because they sought to 'buy' culture at these sites. Instead, they enjoyed spending time in these spaces which they saw as reflective of 'diverse Newtown'. Sennett (1994) would describe this as a diversity of the gaze where people of different cultures occupy the same space without ever truly engaging or interacting across difference. Putnam's (2002) constrict theory also speaks to this. Therefore, the interaction at hospitality locations described by the OOHCD could be considered a tolerant indifference to others (Sennett, 1994). Sennett (1994) problematises such indifference and asks us all to pursue a future where there is active engagement across cultures and difference. Sennett (1994) puts forward a moral imperative for us all to engage in our multicultural cities. Sandercock (2003) says that the type of contact that the OOHCD has cross-culturally, is in fact inevitable in multicultural communities like Newtown. For Sandercock (2003) and others (Amin, 2002; Bell, 2016; Semi et al., 2009; Wise, 2004) the challenge is to activate interaction across cultures. To move from an indifference in shared spaces to an accommodation of difference, which according to them, can only be achieved through contact and interaction.

However, this is not to say that hospitality sites can only be instruments of economic exchange and transactional encounters. Cattell et al. (2008) explains that cafés can also act as important locations for chance encounters in the street to be turned into a more meaningful encounter. Further, Bell (2007) is adamant that locations of hospitality can embed the philosophy of place sharing at the heart of their business. This is what I heard from some respondents about Peoples coffee. The grassroots, unpolished atmosphere, long tables and shared newspapers created an atmosphere of inclusion and shared experience for some participants. This is in line with the argument made by Neal et al. (2015), that what is understood as ‘an encounter with difference’ is a matter for debate. It is argued by Neal et al. (2015) that an encounter should not be confined to an interaction with dialogue, but the act of place sharing can also be considered an encounter. This is because when individuals are accommodated in the same space and are partaking in similar activities, a sense of connection is animated. Swanton (2018) echoes this argument saying that traditional geographies of encounter scholarship “does important work, but it tends to frame encounters narrowly” (p.228). Swanton (2018) moves the description of an encounter away from the pure understanding of an encounter as an embodied face-to-face experience. Swanton (2018) documents how encounters with artworks and representations shape experiences of living in super-diverse communities. There is a gradient of encounter, for the OOHCD reading of a newspaper and consumption of coffee at the local café alongside diverse others is considered a cross-cultural encounter and should be recognised as such.

Spaces of busy activity, such as markets, are often the focus of ethnographic studies considering diversity (Cattell, Dines, Gesler, and Curtis, 2008; Watson, 2009). Some participants in this research identified the Fruit and Vegetable Market (CE and OOHCD both rated the market as (+3)) as a positive location because it was busy with activity. It was described by the participants as accessible and open, with an existing mix of people and a bustling atmosphere. This is in line with what is acknowledged in the literature. The market spaces studied by Cattell et al. (2009) and Watson (2009) are observed to animate social encounters with cultural difference because of the informality of transactional relations. The open but busy nature of markets, and an atmosphere of legitimacy to hang around because of shared purpose, are also factors that contribute to markets being inclusive spaces (Cattell et al., 2009;

Watson, 2009). In these spaces individuals have the time and space to become comfortable in their environment and to interact (Cattell et al., 2009; Watson, 2009). Further, Neal et al. (2015) say that spaces which are thought of as welcoming and inclusive can be considered this way because of the diversity of people in a space. However, as acknowledged by some of the respondents, markets and other spaces of economic exchange, such as shops, and restaurants are not as positive for cross-cultural social interactions as other locations because contact is often more fleeting than what could be considered desirable. This appears to be line with what is acknowledged in the literature (Amin, 2002; Valentine, 2008). In particular, Valentine (2008) does not believe that fleeting interactions, in locations like markets, can be considered positive or meaningful. As previously mentioned however, this point is not yet resolved; myself and others argue that the concept of encounter should be extended to include place sharing and does not need to explicitly involve extensive dialogue (Hall, 2012; Neal et al., 2015; Swanton, 2018).

Similarly, parks are considered spaces of loose and informal encounters. The Park is highly valued by OOHCD (+3). Neal et al. (2015) say that public parks are positive because there is a sense of engaging in mutual activities which engenders familiarity between difference. Similarly, children's playgrounds, which were strongly positive for CE, are locations of shared purpose. As was mentioned by a number of participants, these spaces are positive both for the children and supervising parents. The available literature on children's play areas shows that chance encounters at playgrounds can result in friendships developing over time between children, and between parents (Risbeth, Ganji, and Vodicka, 2018).

Arguably, community spaces are considered most positive across the three factors for cross-cultural social interaction. It is important to note that across the three factors there is divergence between the valuation of different community spaces. This largely reflects the differences in socio-economic position of the different participants in this study. For CE and OOHCD, these community spaces were the Community and Cultural Centre, and the Community Hall; while the Salvation Army Drop-in Centre and City Mission were most positive for VSS. However, the materiality of the different locations valued by the participants can be generalised. Spatially, the community spaces have a light atmosphere and ambience. Further, the

spaces cater to organised low cost or no cost activities where engagement and interaction across space is unavoidable, as individuals from diverse cultures find themselves having to share common social space. These community spaces were rated higher than more open spaces like parks and markets because there is little social pressure on individuals to make connections themselves; these environments were associated with more direct person-person interactions.

However, community spaces should not always be considered positive. Local traditions of use can elicit subjective meanings being attached to places overtime (Cattell, Dines, Gesler, and Curtis, 2008; Koutrolidou, 2012). This means the space can easily become territorialised by specific groups (Cattell, Dines, Gesler, and Curtis, 2008; Koutrolidou, 2012). Therefore, while the evidence from this research shows that community spaces are positive for the participants in this study, this may not be so for others.

For VSS spaces which functioned to provide social services were particularly positive for cross-cultural social interactions. Wise (2004) similarly concluded in her ethnographic study of the Sydney suburb of Ashfield, that spaces where people gather to help a cause, or join in a common cause; such as organisations which provide meals for the marginalised and homeless; are often positive spaces for cross-cultural social interaction.

It appears that negotiations of difference are significantly influenced by varying socio-economic practices. While not explicitly measured, observations during this study are in accordance with Ho's (2011) conclusion that everyday multiculturalism is uneven in distribution. Cross-cultural exchange is restricted because often low socio-economic standing coincides with migrant and Māori backgrounds (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). It became apparent through my time carrying out research in Newtown that cultural polarisation was compounded by socio-economic polarisation of spaces. Amin (2002) critiques policy initiatives, such as mixed housing initiatives for this reason. The equity of using social service schemes as a means to foster cross-cultural socialisation is problematised by Amin (2002) because the target of such schemes, lower socio-economic groups, are expected to do the mixing, enabling those in higher socio-economic brackets to avoid such obligations. However, this fact is largely underexplored in the literature elsewhere. Amin (2002) himself was

only able to quote Doreen Massey in personal communication. This observation made by myself and Amin (2002) further destabilises the notion of binary categories of difference, and emphasises the complexity of cultural relations, in particular the multiple divisions and differences in urban environments that affect relations.

There are definite continuities between third places, the spatial and material characteristics of those places, and likeable cross-cultural interactions, as Semi et al. (2009) say, “The tensions between space, grammars and interactions are ever present” (p.81). Locations where there is lots of physical space, an existing mix of people, and are light in atmosphere and ambience are considered positive. Further, spaces which are conducive to organised low cost/no cost activities are important as sites of cross-cultural encounter. In particular, those locations which provide the opportunity for individuals to spend extended periods of time in the space mixing, and interacting with others, is important. There was also consensus about the spatial dimensions of spaces that were not as positive for cross-cultural social interactions. Locations that were considered dark and closed off, with no obvious invitation to come in, were considered negative. Those which were more transitory in nature; such as parks, streets, and shops with no facilities for organised activities; were also considered comparatively negative.

Based on this research, it seems that Williams and Hipp’s (2018) articulation of third places as providing the “socio-spatial opportunity structure for neighbourhood interaction and the development of cohesion over time” (p.2) is accurate. However, to reflect the findings of this study, Oldenburg’s (1988) third place dimensions should be interpreted slightly differently. Therefore, the relevant dimensions of third places according to the super-diverse community of participants in this study are: 1) They are on neutral ground where there is diverse mix of people; 2) They are easily accessible and open to everyone; 3) There might be activities which encourage engagement with difference; 4) The setting has a low profile and reflects the people it serves; 5) The atmosphere and ambience is light. It seems that third places with these characteristics activate positive interaction across cultures. This is important because interaction across difference is fundamental for developing greater cross-cultural communication and understanding (Sandercock, 2003)

Overwhelmingly, this research suggests that there is a wide range of ways people interact cross-culturally and that all three viewpoints practice multiculturalism. It is important to emphasise that everyday multiculturalism seeks to understand the dynamics, intentions, and the meanings of multiculturalism for those who produce it daily (Semi et al., 2009). As emphasised by my discussion of reflexivity and the reasoning provided for my methodology, understandings and practices of multiculturalism are extremely relative and subjective. What I have presented as my results are reflective of individuals' perceptions and productions of multiculturalism in Newtown. As Semi et al. (2009) emphasise, to understand multiculturalism we must understand and respect an individual's own account, their position in life, the space they inhabit and the society they are part of.

Chapter 5 Discussion and Conclusion

In the age of super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007) we are concerned with how cross-cultural engagement, understanding, and respect can be developed. Emerging literature on geographies of encounter; in particular, everyday multiculturalism; proposes that interaction in spaces where difference is negotiated is an important factor in coming to terms with difference (Neal, Bennett, Cochrane and Mohan, 2013; Wise, 2005; Wise and Velayutham, 2009; Sealy, 2018; Semi, Colombo, Camozzi and Frisina, 2009). The purpose of this research is to address the lack of scholarly discussion about what spaces these are. Further, this research considers if there are third spaces which are particularly good for cross-cultural social interactions, and asks if the spatial and material dimensions of these places encourage the interactions. Specifically, this research has investigated where local Newtown residents and employees experience cross-cultural social interactions in and around their community. To achieve this, it seeks to answer a number of research questions. These are: 1) Are there places Newtown, Wellington, residents experience cross-cultural social interactions in and around their community? 2) What type of places help encourage positive cross-cultural interactions? 3) Do the spatial and material dimensions of these places shape the interaction?

This chapter considers how the research has responded to these questions by linking the literature presented in this thesis with the results presented in Chapter Four. To accomplish this, it also reflects on the significance of the research methods, presented in Chapter Three, to the findings. It then considers the limitations of this research before exploring the implications of the research in the political and public domains. Finally, it highlights new research questions, and topics emerging from the research.

5.1 Summary of Findings

This study substantiates the importance of Amin's (2002) micro-publics, reconceptualises Oldenburg's (1989) third places, and suggests that common understandings of encounters in the everyday multiculturalism literature can, and should, be extended to place sharing and engagement in common activities (Neal et

al., 2015). These findings are expanded on below with reference to the supplementary research questions.

Sites of Cross-cultural Social Interactions

This thesis began by analysing the substantial scholarship which examines cross-cultural encounters. It was noted that asking the public where they have cross-cultural interactions was often overlooked in this previous research. In answer to Amin's (2002) call to understand the sites of everyday multiculturalism researchers have tended to focus on predetermined research sites which limits the exploration of other possible locations of cross-cultural exchange and encounter. In suggesting that previous scholarship had failed to fully engage the public, this research set out to focus on spaces the public identify as positive, and what materialities and spatialities make locations good for cross-cultural social interactions. Q-methodology was used to develop this aim, and investigate where Newtown, Wellington residents have cross-cultural social interactions.

The Q-methodology was very useful in highlighting the residents' different viewpoints about where positive cross-cultural social interactions take place in Newtown, and in better understanding the current context of everyday multiculturalism. This research confirms the importance of space in cross-cultural social interactions. For the majority of participants, micro-publics are particularly positive for encouraging cross-cultural social interactions (Amin, 2002). For example, CE's considered publicly owned community spaces where there were purposeful group activities as most positive. On the other hand, some participants did not consider purposeful activities as important. For OOHCD the sharing of space and performance of similar discrete activities in these spaces animated feelings of encounter with diverse others. These participants did not have to be in direct contact with culturally different others to feel a positive sense of connection. This corroborates with the findings of Neal et al. (2015) who argue that understandings of everyday encounters should be expanded to include place sharing. Further, it signals to Oldenburg's (1989) literature on third place which does not establish purposeful activities as important for people to gather together, and describes more informal interactions. Super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007) means that places where there are encounters with difference take many forms.

Subsequently, this research demonstrates that identification of positive places is related to feelings of inclusion and belonging. For example, participant C said that positive spaces were those that: “generally feel like safe spaces for everyone because of the existing mixes of people”. While Oldenburg (1989) fails to explicitly discuss diversity in his theorisations of third place, he argues that places which foster a sense of inclusion and belonging are important for interaction and the development of neighbourhood cohesion over time. Hall (2000) too reminds us that true multiculturalism means inclusivity and the reasonable accommodation of all. Throughout this research and across the identified viewpoints feelings of inclusion and belonging were defining reasons for the positive rating of spaces.

The varied nature of the spaces identified by the different factors resonates with how Massey (2005; 2011) sees places as having multiple identities, and shaped in relation to wider geographies. The diversity of opinions between the three viewpoints can be considered characteristic of complex cultural relations. Ultimately, the diversity of the different viewpoints represents the diversity of spatial practices that are fundamentally driven by the diverse fabric of a multicultural, or more accurately a super-diverse society (Amin, 2002; Semi et al., 2009). As Amin (2002) says:

“Interethnic relations are played out as a neighborhood phenomenon, linked to particular socio-economic conditions and cultural practices that coalesce into a local way of life” (p.960).

The participants in this study represent diverse Newtown, in turn they have diverse socialising practices and identify a wide range of positive places. Therefore, while the three viewpoints prioritise different spaces for cross-cultural social interactions, all sites are legitimate as important locations of everyday multiculturalism.

These findings imply that there is no formulaic answer to the question about where positive cross-cultural interactions happen in a community. As Watson (2013) says, “it is neither a simple issue nor one to which a universal solution can be found” (p. 2). Fundamentally, research and decisions must be made on a community by community basis. However, it does appear that spaces which function as venues for activities that result in common engagements provide the context for positive cross-

cultural social encounters. Such engagement, whether it is a face-to-face encounter or not, can result in a familiarity which can in turn lead to cross-cultural respect and understanding.

Spatial Dimensions

This research has sought to show that materialities and spatialities of spaces can make them better at ‘bringing together’ culturally different others to practice everyday multiculturalism. This research has suggested everyday multiculturalism is a relational process, as spaces can elicit and animate social practices that increase possibilities of encounter and contact. Encounters, described by participants across the viewpoints, were often encouraged in spaces that individuals considered inclusive public space. Sometimes, the diversity of people who inhabit a space was explicitly sought out and valued by participants as a location where they felt comfortable to interact with others. Wise (2004) similarly noted that places which had a diverse mix of people and could not clearly be associated with a singular ethnic group positively animated togetherness in difference. Likewise, Yuen and Johnson (2017) argue that third places which are inaccessible to a diverse range of people do not qualify as third places at all. For CE and VSS participants, spaces that were closed off, either from the public, or from certain groups because of the existing demographic of patrons, were comparatively considered negative spaces for cross-cultural social interactions.

This research has also suggested that an encounter across cultural difference is not limited to an explicit interaction but can also be through the sharing of space and engagement in similar activities. Neal et al. (2015) describe this as elective practices which lead to “connective sensibilities” that are not dependent on direct exchange (p.463). Establishing the place sharing as routine further ignites a sense of connection to those others without direct interaction. The practice of place sharing is often routine; for example, in the context of this research: consuming coffee at a local café, or spending time at a market where there are numerous culturally different others. This echoes Purnell’s (2015) observation that third places can be defined by ritualistic practices, like the sharing of a meal, rather than the place itself. I acknowledge that this directly conflicts with Amin (2002) and Valentine’s (2013) stance that everyday

etiquette is not enough to foster everyday multiculturalism and Sennett's (1994) critique of the diversity of gaze. However, ultimately the sharing of spaces and participation in similar practices goes beyond everyday etiquette and Sennett's diversity of gaze. These critiques are more orientated towards a transitory passing acknowledgment of diversity; as opposed to the sharing of space and engagement in similar activities alongside others, which I argue transcends a diversity of gaze, and fosters a sense of affinity between diverse individuals. For this reason also, I argue that no participant can be said to be doing multiculturalism wrong. While the VSS viewpoint can be considered to fail to engage in direct interactions, VSS expressed a connection to diverse others in spaces which was achieved without direct interaction.

Materially, places which weren't too polished and had a 'Newtown-y' vibe that reflected the diversity of the community were considered positive. Sometimes this meant that these places were a bit rundown. This echoes Oldenburg's (1989) low profile classification of third places. Oldenburg argues that to be defined as a third place plainness is important, this is to: "discourage pretension among those who gather there" and ensure people do not become "self-conscious" (p.37). This was a material feature voiced in different ways by all viewpoints. While the CE and OOHCD valued 'Newtown-y' spaces, VSS felt that these places did not feel welcoming or inclusive and believed that these places were not for them. Again, this was linked to other demographic factors such as age and socio-economic position.

Places of cross-cultural social interactions take many forms and are also defined by certain groups who are determined beyond culture. Negotiations of difference are therefore significantly influenced by varying other demographics. In particular, this study highlighted that given the intersection of cultural and low socio-economic factors it is concerning that we are often placing the onus on those with the least resources in society to do the cross-cultural interactions and mixing for the rest of society (Amin, 2002).

5.2 Significance of Q-Methodology

The field work and research methods employed throughout this research sought to respectfully enable research to be undertaken with complexly different groups. By its

nature, Q-methodology de-centered the researcher, placed trust in the participant, and thereby made space for the respondents to speak in their own words.

The way this research used photos as statements (visual), and supported the Q-sorting with interviews (verbal), and questionnaires (written) encouraged participants to communicate in a range of ways, and hopefully in a way that they felt comfortable with. By encouraging participants to respond in a way they wanted to, the Q-sorting did not always follow the conventional conditions of Q-methodology. In my opinion, this should not be considered negatively by those who practice Q-methodology and who stipulate a strict adherence to the Q-grid. Ultimately, Q-methodology provides a platform for participants to express their own opinion, and, most importantly, leads to a rich discussion. Arguably, it meant a richer discussion than I would have elicited from my participants through interviews alone, this is for three reasons. First, conducting academic field work for the first time was an incredibly daunting process, the photos and Q-sorting reduced the pressure at the initial point of contact between myself and the participant, and acted as an excellent segue to further discussion. Second, pausing to consider the encounters that occur in the course of daily life can be a difficult task; for the participants the photos provided prompts which allowed the discussion to flow without panic or rush. Third, the photos and Q-sorting required the participants to organise and justify their thoughts in some way. To be able to sort the photos the participant had to grapple with what their rationale was for the sorting. The participants often vocalised these thoughts which meant that their voices could be privileged in the process of interpretation.

While I have emphasised that everyday multiculturalism is being practiced by everyone in this study, some participants expressed realisations that their cross-cultural interactions were not something they had explicitly considered before. For example, participant C said, “I think this is going to make me confront whether or not I actually interact with people, like especially people who aren’t white”. The methodologies used challenged participants to imagine and consider spaces where they did already interact cross-culturally, and new places they could go that could facilitate new ways of living everyday multiculturalism.

Back (2012) suggests that the methods researchers use should “move with the social world and develop multiple vantage points from which empirical accounts are

generated” (p.28). This research has sought to realise this. The mix of Q-methodology with semi-structured interviews meant that as a researcher I could observe, and then devote attention to listening to the meaning given by the participants to their choices. This made me cognisant of each participant’s specific case. The photos lacked substantial meaning without the personal stories that I was privileged to hear from the participants. This fulfills the call from Semi et al. (2009) for researchers who are investigating everyday multiculturalism to employ research methodologies that combine listening and direct observation in order to understand the meaning attributed by individuals to their situations. Q-methodology has been an excellent tool to understand the diverse views of Newtown residents.

5.3 Research Contributions and Future Research

These findings have theoretical importance. Interest in how multiculturalism is currently lived and the spatialities of cross-cultural relations in super-diverse communities have been on the rise in academia and policy circles. This thesis has contributed to the body of research that exists regarding where cross-cultural interactions play out in a community and how the materialities and spatialities of those locations animate positive cross-cultural interactions.

I built on the work of geographies of encounter academics and borrowed from literature on third places to better understand the locations of cross-cultural encounters. This is an area often overlooked in everyday multiculturalism literature, in which the ‘where’ is predetermined as an ethnographic case study, and emphasis is on the place itself, not the materiality and spatial dimensions of the place. This emphasis has allowed me to make a number of contributions to existing bodies of literature. The focus on where individuals think they have cross-cultural social interactions has addressed the failure of geographies of encounter literature to more fully give a voice to those experiencing super-diversity everyday. It has allowed them to tell me their patterns of place use and to what extent they come into contact and, potentially interact with difference. However, there is scope to extend the privileging of the individual in future geographies of encounter literature.

Considering existing debate about what constitutes an encounter, I would suggest further investigating how individuals understand different encounters with others,

and empirically examining what constitutes a meaningful encounter for different individuals.

This research has contributed to the discussion on what constitutes an encounter across difference. I have proposed that my participants have demonstrated that an encounter should not be conceptualised purely as a face-to-face embodied interaction, as geographies of encounter tends to do. However, I have not been able to give a definitive conclusion, because this research has not explicitly concerned itself with the study of what can be justified as an encounter, or indeed a transformational encounter. This is an important area of future research, however, I am led to believe that, given the complexity of cultural relations as demonstrated in this research, there is also no definitive answer to this question.

This research has also situated itself in third place literature. There is a lack of empirically based literature in this area. This research has explicitly addressed this as well as bringing the variable of cultural diversity into the consideration of third places which had not been adequately addressed before. Subsequently, revised conditions for third places were suggested based upon this research. This research empirically highlighted that places which animate the type of loose interactions privileged by Oldenburg (1989) can be particularly important when considering platforms for cross-cultural interactions. There is, however, a lot more empirical work that needs to be done to fully consider how diversity can be accommodated for in the third place literature.

I also note the implications for policy-makers and planners. The results of this research suggest that policy-makers and planners can encourage positive cross-cultural social interactions. Cross-cultural social interactions do not exist void of space. Importantly, there is convergence between the location, the spatial qualities of that location, and likeable cross-cultural interactions. Based upon the results of this research it is suggested that policy makers and planners concerned with creating environments in super-diverse communities should consider a number of recommendations: firstly, to encourage and assist community spaces with hosting events and initiatives for diverse groups; secondly, to maintain spaces in a way which makes them inviting, for example lighting spaces which are dimly lit or dingy. It is important for policy-makers and planners to ensure that there is a range of

different spaces in a community to foster different levels of engagement, from Council maintained spaces like parks and libraries, through to spaces that enable economic and social exchanges, like the market and fruit and vegetable shops. Policy-makers and planners must encourage a diversity of spaces that enable a range of different types of exchanges for a variety of people.

However, an important caveat must be noted: the materiality of spaces should not privilege gentrification. Efforts must be made to ensure that while spaces are maintained as inviting, they must be maintained in keeping with the character of the community and the group they serve. In the context of this research most participants placed a lot of value on spaces which were characteristically 'Newtown'. However, because of the contextual nature and complexity of cross-cultural relations, these recommendations should not be considered blanket policy prescriptions (Amin, 2002).

5.4 Limitations of this Research

This thesis offers a snapshot in time of Newtown and therefore is limited in a number of ways. Newtown is a continually evolving and changing community; as Massey (2005) reminds us, places are shaped in relation to wider geographies. Changing intersections of demographic factors could ultimately change the conclusions that have been reached in this thesis.

The photos that I chose to use for the photo statements also limit the outcomes of this research. The photos did not completely represent the third places in Newtown. To minimise the effect of this, participants were asked if there were any statements or opinions they thought might be missing from the Q-set. Participants indicated that they thought the hospital, private houses, and barber shops were missing. However, the hospital and barber shops are largely in keeping with the wider themes of the photos available for sorting, and the consideration of private houses was beyond the scope of this research. Further, other participants indicated that it was a good selection.

This thesis was also restricted by time pressures. I found it difficult to recruit members from minority cultural groups. I believe that spending more time in the community (longer than the three months of field work I allowed for) would have enabled me to develop a working relationship with a greater range of community groups to be able to engender trust and encourage a wider range of individuals to partake in the research. Furthermore, it would have been beneficial to have more time to follow up with participants who were unable to complete the recorded interview and questionnaire, as well as the Q-sort. This would have bolstered my interpretation of the factors with a richer data set, especially for the interpretation of the VSS viewpoint.

Another limitation was participants' interpretations of the conditions for the Q-sort. Interviews and questionnaires often showed that the individual's ordering of statements at the extremes did not comply with the provided Q-sorting instructions. I did not want to constrain the participants unduly, so I often prompted them by saying that the photos they placed at (-4) did not have to be the opposite of those they placed at (+4). Often participants did not feel as negatively as they felt positively about some places. Further, the locations rated comparatively lower were often not sorted because the participant would expect to have a negative cross-cultural social interaction at the place per the instructions. Instead, spaces were largely rated low because participants did not think they would animate encounters. This was largely because participants had negative connotations about, did not feel welcome to enter, or expected to be engaged in a purely transactional encounter in the space. Further, it positively reflects on the community and absence of negative cross-cultural interactions. Participants also found it difficult to remember it was about cross-cultural social interactions, with one participant acknowledging that: "I've got to keep remembering that it's about interactions, not about whether you like the place or not" (participant C). This misunderstanding could have been the result of the instructions not being robust enough. However, I was happy to give participants the freedom to interpret the instructions and to order the photos how they wanted, as long as they provided justifications for their ordering.

Finally, Q-methodology encourages the researcher to provide interpretations, often based on generalisations of opinions expressed by participants. It is ignorant to

assume that the information my participants entrusted me with can only be interpreted in one way because I bring my own lens to the information as a researcher. However, the aim of this research has been to make space for the voices of the participants in this study and I am confident I have done this to the best of my ability.

5.5 Conclusion

This research has explored how a community engages with their everyday lived reality of cultural diversity. In particular, which third places and micro-publics are important as sites of cross-cultural social interactions, and considered if the spatial and material dimensions of the spaces elicit encounters across cultural difference.

Situating this research in geographies of encounter and theorisations of third places, I have explored where diverse individuals have cross-cultural social interactions. With a particular focus on Newtown, Wellington, residents and employees, this research identified that there are three distinct groupings in the surveyed population: the Community Enthusiast; the Out of Office Hours Coffee Drinker; and those who Value Social Services. I have argued that these different groups have different patterns of socialising and value different spaces for cross-cultural social interactions. It has been established that community spaces—which are defined differently for the three groups—particularly provide opportunities for encounters across cultural difference.

It was identified that certain spatial and material qualities of spaces animate cross-cultural social interaction. In particular, people consider community spaces which are large, light in atmosphere, are low cost or no cost, and have positive connotations, as encouraging for cross-cultural social interactions. The diversity and existing mix of people in a space was often explicitly valued by participants too. In this research such spaces encourage cross-cultural social interactions.

The research showed that people experience encounters with cultural diversity differently. While this research acknowledges that there is debate about what constitutes a true cross-cultural encounter (Neal et al., 2015; Valentine, 2008, 2013),

I am overwhelmed with the positive way the Newtown residents and employees spoke of their different encounters with diversity in Newtown. Despite divergence between the viewpoints, no group can be said to be performing everyday multiculturalism correctly or incorrectly. The research alerts us to the fact that everyday multiculturalism is experienced in a variety of ways, and in a variety of locations around the community. Super-diverse communities must embrace this and provide space physically and emotionally to animate and encourage encounters across difference.

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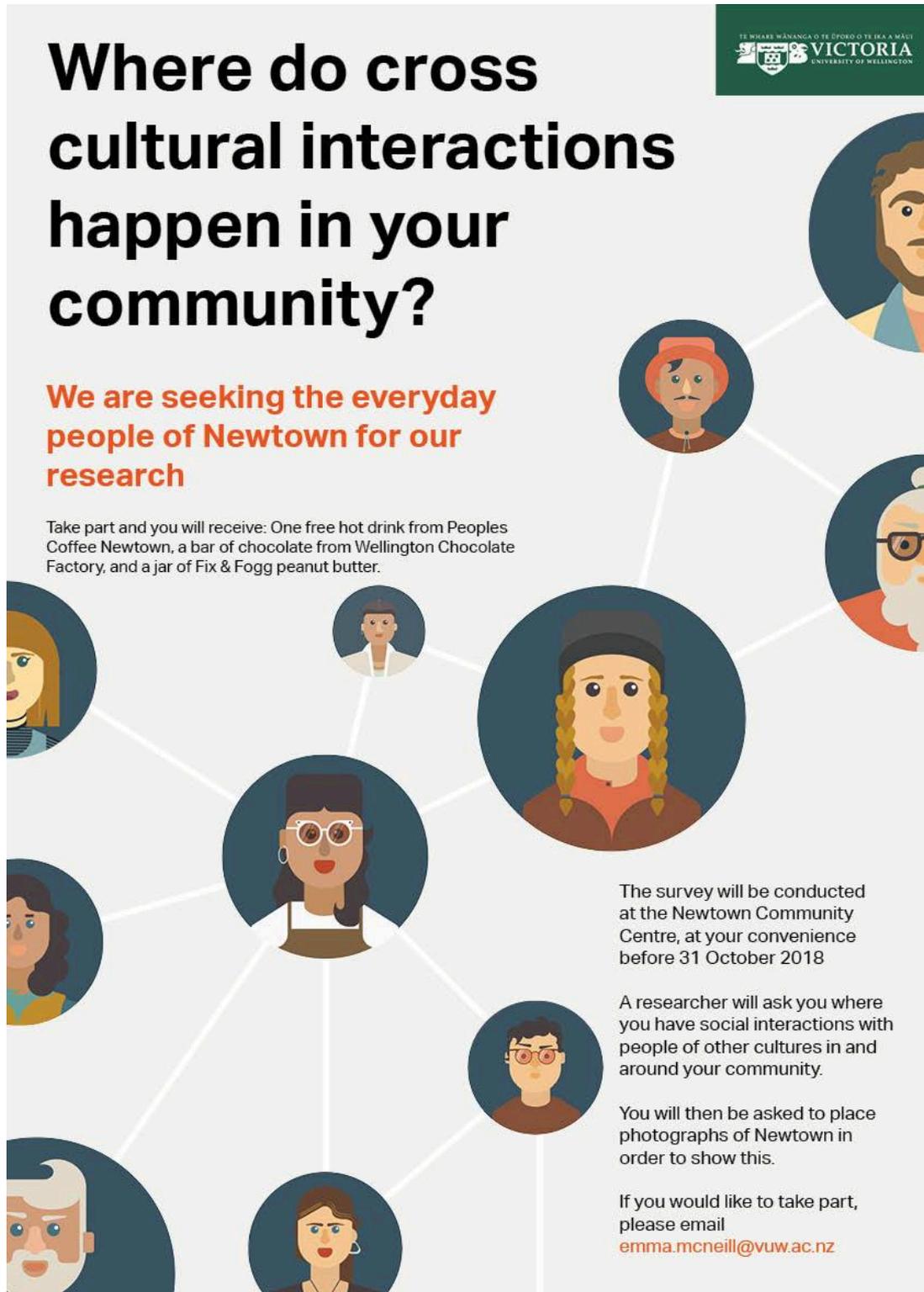
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Appendices

Appendix A: Survey Recruitment Poster



Where do cross cultural interactions happen in your community?

We are seeking the everyday people of Newtown for our research

Take part and you will receive: One free hot drink from Peoples Coffee Newtown, a bar of chocolate from Wellington Chocolate Factory, and a jar of Fix & Fogg peanut butter.

The survey will be conducted at the Newtown Community Centre, at your convenience before 31 October 2018

A researcher will ask you where you have social interactions with people of other cultures in and around your community.

You will then be asked to place photographs of Newtown in order to show this.

If you would like to take part, please email emma.mcneill@vuw.ac.nz

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI
VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Appendix B: Information Sheet for Participants



Cross-cultural Social Interactions and Third Places INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

You are invited to take part in this research. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to participate, thank you for considering this request.

Who am I?

My name is Emma McNeill and I am a Masters student in the Environmental Studies programme at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

What is the aim of the project?

This project considers the concept of third place (space in which community and social interaction happens) and seeks to consider everyday cross-cultural interactions in a diverse community; considering where they happen, with who and why? Thereby understanding the nature of cross cultural interactions and the relevance and role of third places in cross cultural interactions.

This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee 0000026149.

How can you help?

You have been invited to participate because you are a resident of Newtown and over the age of 18. If you agree to take part I will interview you at the Newtown Public library. I will ask you questions about the placement of pictures in your Q-survey. The interview will take approximately 30-60 minutes. I will audio record the interview with your permission and write it up later. You can choose to not answer any question or stop the interview at any time, without giving a reason. You can withdraw from the study by contacting me at any time before 1 October 2018. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed or returned to you.

What will happen to the information you give?

This research is confidential. This means that the researchers named below will be aware of your identity but the research data will be combined and your identity will not be revealed in any reports, presentations, or public documentation. However, you should be aware that in small projects your identity might be obvious to others in your community.

Only my supervisor, Rebecca Kiddle and I will read the notes or transcript of the interview. The interview transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed on 20 March 2024.

What will the project produce?

The information from my research will be used in my Masters thesis and an academic publication.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- withdraw from the study;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- receive a copy of your interview recording;
- receive a copy of your interview transcript;
- be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?

If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact:

Student:	Supervisor:
Name: Emma McNeill	Name: Dr Rebecca Kiddle
Email: emma.mcneill@myvuw.ac.nz	Role: Lecturer in Environmental Studies and Geography
	School: Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences
	Phone: (+64) 4 463 6119
	Email: rebecca.kiddle@vuw.ac.nz

Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Victoria University HEC Convenor: Dr Judith Loveridge. Email hec@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 6028.

Appendix C: Consent Form for Interview Participants



Cross-cultural Social Interactions and Third Places

CONSENT TO INTERVIEW

This consent form will be held for 5 years.

Researcher: Emma McNeill, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington.

- I have read the Information Sheet and the project has been explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions at any time.
- I agree to take part in a audio recorded interview.

I understand that:

- I may withdraw from this study at any point before 1 October 2018 and any information that I have provided will be returned to me or destroyed.
- The identifiable information I have provided will be destroyed on 1 December 2018
- Any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and the supervisor.
- I understand that the results will be used for a Masters Thesis and academic publication.
- My name will not be used in reports, nor will any information that would identify me.
- I would like a copy of the transcript of my interview: Yes No
- I would like to receive a copy of the final report and have added my email address below. Yes No

Signature of participant: _____

Name of participant: _____

Date: _____

Contact details: _____

Appendix D: Photo-sort Instructions



INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE PHOTO SORTING Q-SURVEY

These instructions will guide you through the photo sorting Q-survey step by step.

This study is about everyday cross-cultural interactions in and around your community. We are interested in where these interactions happen.

1. Take the deck of photos. All photos in the deck have been taken somewhere around Newtown. These are places you might encounter people different from you.

2. Think about if you wanted to have a cross-cultural interaction you like where would you go, and where would you not go?

3. Look at the photos carefully and split them up into three piles: a pile for photos that represent places you might have cross-cultural interactions you like, a pile for photos that represent places you might have cross-cultural interactions you do not like, and a pile for photos that represents places you feel neutral about, or that are not relevant to you.

Please use the three boxes "MOST LIKE", "POSSIBLY OR NOT RELEVANT" and "LEAST LIKE" provided.

We are interested in your point of view. Therefore, there are no right or wrong answers.

4. Take the cards from the "MOST LIKE" pile and look at them again. Select the two photos that represent places where you have the most likeable cross-cultural interactions, place them in the two last boxes on the right of the score sheet, below the "+4" (it does not matter which one goes on top or below). Next, from the remaining photos in the deck, select the three photos that represent places where you have the most likeable cross-cultural interactions and place them in the three boxes below

the "+3". Follow this process for all cards from the "MOST LIKE" pile.

5. Now take the cards from the "LEAST LIKE" pile and look at them again. Just like before, select the two photos that represent places where you have the least likeable cross-cultural interactions and place them in the two last boxes on the left of the score sheet, below the "-4". Follow this process for all cards from the "LEAST LIKE" pile.

6. Finally, take the remaining photos and look at them again. Arrange the photos in the remaining open boxes of the score sheet.

7. When you have placed all photos on the score sheet, please look over your placement once more and shift photos if you want to.

Appendix E: Photos



Statement 1 Fruit and Vegetable Market



Statement 2 Bus Stop



Statement 3 Music Shop



Statement 4 Dairy



Statement 5 Athletics Stadium



Statement 6 Council Housing



Statement 7 Takeaway Shop



Statement 8 St Anne's Catholic Church



Statement 9 St Thomas' Chapel/City Mission Drop-in Centre



Statement 10 Park



Statement 11 Fire Station



Statement 12 Bookshop



Statement 13 Opportunity Shop



Statement 14 Halal Butchery



Statement 15 Community and Cultural Centre



Statement 16 Rest Home



Statement 17 Wellington Chinese Baptist Church



Statement 18 Public Seating



Statement 19 School Playground



Statement 20 Public Library



Statement 21 Café



Statement 22 Spice Shop



Statement 23 Sports Bar



Statement 24 Betting Agency



Statement 25 Salvation Army



Statement 26 Supermarket



Statement 27 Community Hall



Statement 28 Community Playground



Statement 29 Polish Association



Statement 30 Asian Food Market



Statement 31 Mission for Youth



Statement 32 The Bar



Statement 33 Croquet Club



Statement 34 Restaurant

Appendix F: Post Photo-sort Questionnaire



PLACES OF SOCIAL INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS

Pre-photo sort questionnaire

1. What ethnicity do you identify with?

2. What gender do you identify with?

3. What is your age?

4. How long have you lived in Newtown?

5. What education do you have?

6. What is your occupation?

7. Any other descriptors you would like to add?



PLACES OF SOCIAL INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS

Post-photo sort questionnaire

1. What about the physical characteristics of those places you placed below "+4" make them a good place to interact with other cultures?

2. What about the physical characteristics of those places you placed below "-4" make them undesirable places to interact with other cultures?

3. Invitation to discuss any other photos

4. What places do you think should have been included in the photo sort?
