



Asians in Dunedin: Not a new story

outlook

EDITION

Asians in Dunedin: Not a new story

Wardlow Friesen

February 2009



CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
ASIAN POPULATIONS OF DUNEDIN	2
CHARACTERISTICS OF DUNEDIN'S ASIA POPULATION	8
ASIAN ETHNOSCAPES OF DUNEDIN	13
CONCLUSIONS	17
APPENDIX	18
PROFILE	19

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to thank Professor Brian Moloughney and Associate Professor Martin Tolich for their contributive peer review comments on earlier versions of this report.

Cover Images: Courtesy of Dunedin City Council.

INTRODUCTION

The Octagon, in the centre of Dunedin, is dominated by St Paul's Cathedral, the Town Hall and other buildings harking back to Dunedin's European architectural heritage. Also in The Octagon is a statue of Robert Burns, Scotland's best-known poet, representative of the fact that Dunedin has long been known as the most Scottish of New Zealand cities. Less than half a kilometre away is the Otago Settlers Museum, celebrating the migrant history of Dunedin and the Otago region. But this museum does not just represent the history of European settlers; it also gives prominence to the Chinese settlers who feature prominently in the history of the region. The story of Asian Dunedin thus extends back to the gold rushes of the 1860s, but has been much enhanced in the past two decades with changes in New Zealand's immigration policy. Next to the Settlers Museum is the beautiful new Chinese Garden, a monument both to Dunedin's historical linkages to Asia and to contemporary linkages.

New Zealand has experienced remarkable changes over the past quarter of a century. From being relatively insulated from global trends, it has become one of the countries most influenced by globalisation as a result of economic, social, legislative and related reforms. One of these changes has been a substantial change in the ethnic composition of its population. A recent Asia New Zealand Foundation report has outlined the nature of this change in relation to the growth of New Zealand's Asian population and the demographic implications of this.¹ The 2006 New Zealand Census revealed an increasingly diverse population in terms of ethnicity and demography following 20 years of change since the introduction of the Immigration Act of 1987. The most notable aspect of this change has been the growth of populations of Asian origin, although other populations have also grown.

While the ethnic and demographic changes resulting from the change in immigration policy have been most pronounced in Auckland,² other parts of New Zealand have undergone considerable change as well, and Dunedin is one of these.³ Aspects that distinguish Dunedin include its long-term Chinese population, two recent mayors of Asian origin, Sukhi Turner (1995-2004) and Peter Chin (2004-present), and its role as a 'student city' with a high proportion of tertiary students, including many international students.

In this report, the Asian population is identified in two ways. The 'migrant' Asian population consists of those who were born in an Asian country, i.e. are 'overseas-born'.⁴ This population does not include New Zealand-born people, even though the children of migrants are sometimes described as 'second (or third) generation migrants'. The 'ethnic' Asian population is made up of all of those who identified themselves in the Census as 'Asian' or as one of the Asian subcategories, irrespective of place of birth. At the most detailed level, people may have identified with a regional or sub-national identity such as Taiwanese or Gujarati. More closely approximating national ethnic identities is the higher-level classification of Chinese or Indian, and this classification is often used in this report. Some tabulated Census data is only released at the 'highest' level such as Asian, Māori, Pacific or European, and this level is sometimes also used in this report. It should be noted that in some cases these higher-level identities have only been constructed recently, i.e. some migrants from Asia may have only become 'Asian' once they migrated to New Zealand.⁵ Another significant aspect of 'Asian' identity in Dunedin relates to the New Zealand/Kiwi-Asian (or Chinese) identity of those born in New Zealand, and in some cases having several generations of New Zealand heritage.

- 1 Richard Bedford & Elsie Ho (2008) *'Asians in New Zealand: Implications of a changing demography'*. Wellington, Asia New Zealand Foundation, Outlook paper 07.
- 2 Wardlow Friesen (2008) *'Diverse Auckland: The face of New Zealand in the 21st century?'*. Wellington, Asia New Zealand Foundation, Outlook paper 06.
- 3 For Christchurch see Wardlow Friesen (2008) *'Asians in Christchurch: the 'most British' city diversifies'*. Wellington, Asia New Zealand Foundation, Outlook paper 08.
- 4 Within this overseas-born population, there are small numbers whose ethnicity is not Asian, since they may have been born in Asia, but of a different ethnicity (see Bedford and Ho 2008:4). At the same time, some overseas-born of Asian ethnicity are not included as well, for example Indo-Fijians and some others born in countries beyond Asia.
- 5 Allen Bartley (2004) 'Contemporary Asian migration to New Zealand: challenging the "settler" paradigm'. In P. Spoonley, C. Macpherson & D. Pearson (eds.) *Tangata Tangata: the changing ethnic contours of New Zealand*. Southbank, Victoria, Thomson. p. 163.

ASIAN POPULATIONS OF DUNEDIN

THE OTAGO GOLD RUSH AND AFTER

Dunedin has enjoyed a long-term relationship with Asia. As was the case in the United States, Canada and Australia, the initial impetus for Chinese migration to New Zealand was a gold rush. Gold was discovered in Otago in the early 1860s and the first Chinese gold miners arrived in 1866.⁶ By the end of that decade there were more than 2,000 Chinese men working in and around the Otago goldfields, while a decade later there were about 5,000 Chinese in New Zealand, mostly still in this part of the South Island, with only nine women among them. This indicated the 'sojourning' status of the Chinese in this period, in which most migrants intended to make some money then return to China. The reality was that many did return to China, but a considerable number also stayed on in New Zealand, including many in Dunedin.

Although the majority of migrants had gone to the minefields in central Otago, from the beginning there had been some settlement in Dunedin as well. In particular these were Chinese who were able to act as intermediaries between new migrants, their families in China and the dominant British settlers. James Ng typifies these as three different kinds of specialist: the Chinese scholar who wrote letters etc. on the migrants' behalf; the merchants who provisioned migrants for the goldfields; and the commission agents and interpreters.⁷ This resulted in a cluster of Chinese settlement in Dunedin around Stafford, Hope and Carroll Streets, although this was not of sufficient scale to justify giving the area the title 'Chinatown'. Until quite recently, the name *Sew Hoy Oriental Foods* dominated the side of a low-rise building on Stafford Street.

The Chinese who stayed in New Zealand faced a series of discriminatory Acts, including the Poll Tax introduced in 1881 (and not fully repealed until 1944), which made it expensive for new Chinese migrants to arrive in New Zealand. While discrimination was particularly severe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it was not until 1952 that Chinese in New Zealand could hold full citizenship rights. James Ng asserts that this discrimination was less severe in Dunedin and the Otago region, perhaps because of the important role that the Chinese had played in the economic development of the area. Nevertheless, after the gold rush, the Chinese in Dunedin tended to move into economic niches that typified the Chinese in other parts of New Zealand as well: market gardening, groceries/dairies and laundries. Through time though, with an emphasis on education, many Chinese moved into other sectors, for example in the professions, as the account of Peter Chin's history, written by Manying Ip, attests.⁸

6 This section is derived from the following three references and an interview with James Ng. See James Ng (2003) 'The sojourner experience: the Cantonese goldseekers in New Zealand, 1865-1901' in M. Ip (ed.) *Unfolding history, evolving identity: the Chinese in New Zealand*. Auckland University Press, Auckland, pp. 5-30; Manying Ip (2006) 'Chinese' in *Settler and migrant peoples of New Zealand. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. David Bateman, Auckland, pp. 105-110; and Brian Moloughney, Tony Ballantyne & David Hood (2006) 'After gold: reconstructing Chinese communities, 1896-1913' in H. Johnson & B. Moloughney (eds.) *Asia in the making of New Zealand*. Auckland University Press, Auckland, pp. 58-75.

7 James Ng (2003) op cit., p. 10.

8 See Manying Ip (1996) *Dragons on the long white cloud*. Tandem Press, Auckland. Peter Chin's story is interwoven through this book.

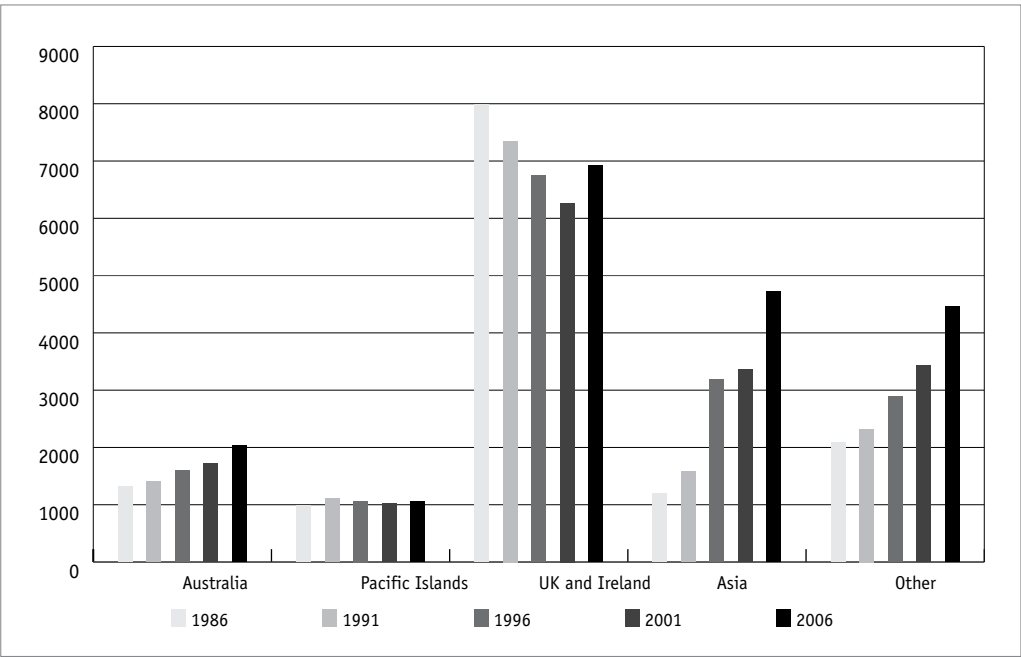
Dunedin has enjoyed a long-term relationship with Asia.

'NEW' ASIANS IN DUNEDIN

Just as in other parts of New Zealand, the 'new' Asian populations of Dunedin have their origins in the significant change in immigration policy of the late 1980s. The criteria for migrant entry into New Zealand were substantially changed with the implementation of the Immigration Act 1987. While earlier immigration policy had been based on preferred source countries, the new policy was based on individual characteristics, especially age, educational levels and/or work experience, and ability to bring investment capital into the country. These changes were specifically quantified by the points system introduced in 1991. One result of these two changes was a shift in the relative importance of migrant countries of origin. The United Kingdom has consistently been important as a source of migrants for New Zealand and for Dunedin, and this remains the case in the early 21st century, but other countries increased markedly in significance after the introduction of the new immigration policy of 1987.

The world regions that have contributed the largest numbers of migrants to Dunedin in recent decades are shown in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1: NUMBER OF OVERSEAS BORN BY AREA OF BIRTH, DUNEDIN 1986-2006



Source: Statistics New Zealand

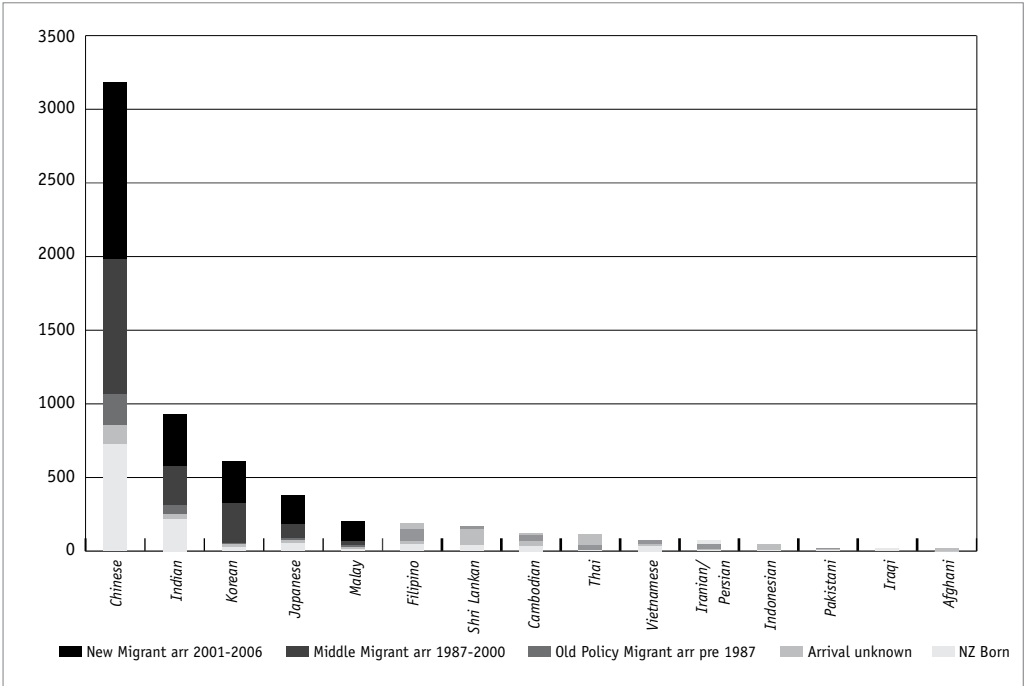
The UK and Ireland represent the largest birthplace origins for the migrant population of Dunedin, but these numbers have been in decline, since on the average this population has been ageing, because many from the UK arrived earlier in the 20th century. The reversal in this trend shown between 2001 and 2006 is a result of a substantial increase in migrants in this period for New Zealand as a whole, and especially from the UK since 2003. The most notable change in migrant numbers is for the population born in Asia, which increased from just over 1,000 in 1986 to nearly 5,000 in 2006. There is also a significant increase in the 'other' category, and particularly important in this case are migrants from Africa and the Middle East, adding to the ongoing diversification of Dunedin's population.

The diverse birthplaces of Chinese and Indian residents of Dunedin are particularly notable. The fact that nearly one-quarter of these groups is New Zealand-born should also be noted.

9 See Bedford & Ho 2008, op cit. p. 25.

The different migration histories of the various Asian ethnic groups are suggested in Figure 2, which shows the number of New Zealand-born within each group, and the number of migrants according to the time period in which they arrived.

FIGURE 2 ASIAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN DUNEDIN 2006: NZ BORN AT PERIOD OF ARRIVAL



Source: Statistics New Zealand

The group with the largest number of New Zealand-born are Chinese, and as already discussed some of these trace their ancestry back many generations in Dunedin. There are smaller, but still significant numbers of Indians who were born in New Zealand. For migrants, the time of arrival may have a significant impact on their demographic characteristics as well as on the level of English language skills, degree of integration into the labour force and other aspects of acculturation. While the number of Asians born in New Zealand is significant, the number of migrants who arrived before the change in immigration policy in 1987 ('old policy migrants') was relatively small, with Chinese migrants being the main examples.

For most Asian groups in Dunedin, a relatively large proportion arrived between 2001 and 2006. Of all Chinese migrants resident in Dunedin in 2006, just less than one-half had arrived since 2001, while for Indians and Koreans, this proportion was about one-half. This reflects the high rates of immigration in the period 2001 and 2003, reflecting reactions to the events of September 11, 2001 and the perceived safety of New Zealand. After a tightening of language criteria in late 2003, the number of migrants from Asia decreased considerably, although net migration statistics show that this trend has been reversed since the 2006 Census, but numbers are still much below the peaks of 2002 and 2003.⁹

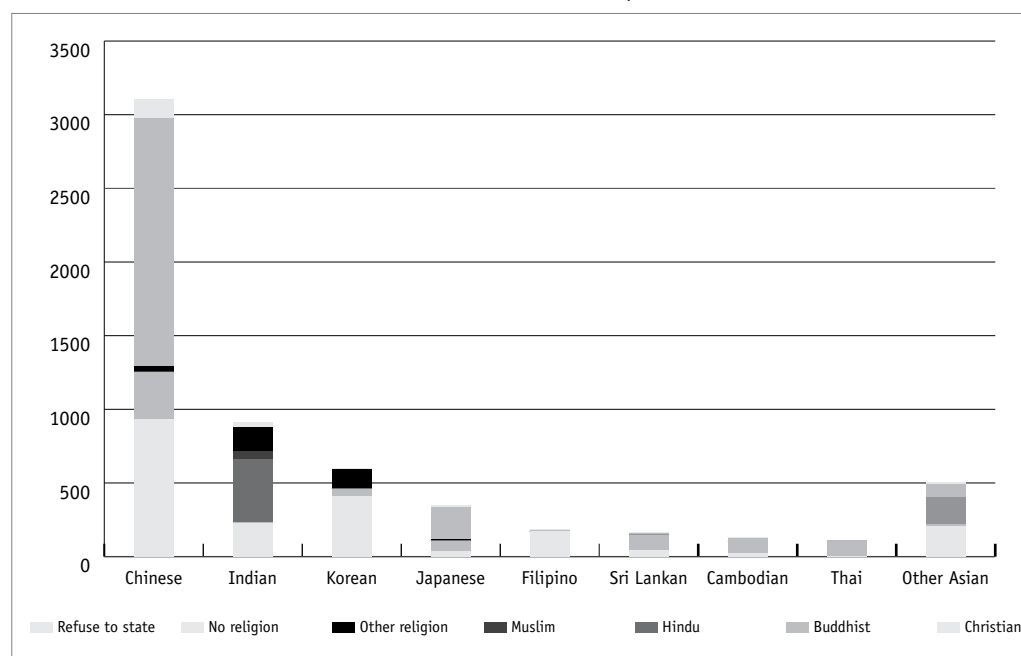
When birthplace and ethnicity are compared (Appendix 1), the diverse birthplaces of Chinese and Indian residents of Dunedin are particularly notable. The fact that nearly one-quarter of these groups is New Zealand-born should also be noted. Equally high or even higher proportions of Filipinos, Cambodian and Vietnamese are also New Zealand-born, although these groups are relatively small.

In 2006 the Chinese population was concentrated in the area around the University and towards the city centre, with proportions higher than 10 percent.

In the case of the latter two ethnicities, (Cambodian and Vietnamese), this is a result of relatively long-term residence, as many arrived as refugees during the 1970s and 1980s. The group with the most diverse birthplace origins was the Chinese, with about 40 percent born in the People's Republic of China but also considerable numbers born in Taiwan, Malaysia, Hong Kong and Singapore.

The religious diversity of the Asian population is shown in Figure 3, which shows the religious affiliations of some of the largest Asian groups in Dunedin.

FIGURE 3 RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF SOME ASIAN ETHNIC GROUPS, DUNEDIN 2006

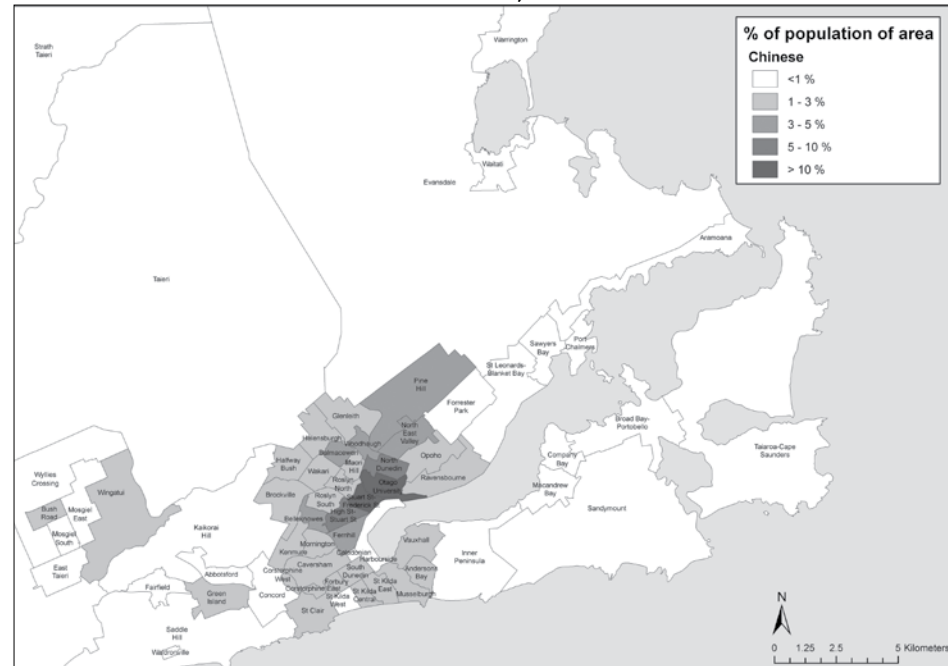


Source: Statistics New Zealand

A high proportion of Chinese and Japanese have stated 'no religion'. However, both have significant numbers of Buddhist adherents, and Christianity is important among the Chinese. The majority of Indians in Dunedin are Hindus, but there are also significant numbers of Christians, although the proportion of Muslims is relatively low compared with other centres of Indian population such as Auckland. Koreans and Filipinos are largely Christians, with the former reflecting the selectivity of migration from Korea, since this proportion of Christians does not represent the religious composition of Korea.

Considering the age structure of the Asian populations of Dunedin, it is not surprising that the geographies of settlement of these populations are centred on the University of Otago and the central areas of the city. In 2006 the Chinese population was concentrated in the area around the University and towards the city centre, with proportions higher than 10 percent. These include many students as well as staff of the University of Otago and Otago Polytechnic, as well as professionals and others employed in town.

FIGURE 4: DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE IN DUNEDIN 2006, % OF TOTAL POPULATION



Source: Statistics New Zealand

The Indian population is more dispersed, but as is the case with the Chinese there are pockets concentrated around the University (Figure 5). This is also explained by participation in the University and Polytechnic, as well as employment in the hospital.

FIGURE 5: DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN IN DUNEDIN 2006, % OF TOTAL POPULATION



Source: Statistics New Zealand

OUTLOOK Edition 09

7



CHARACTERISTICS OF DUNEDIN'S ASIAN POPULATION

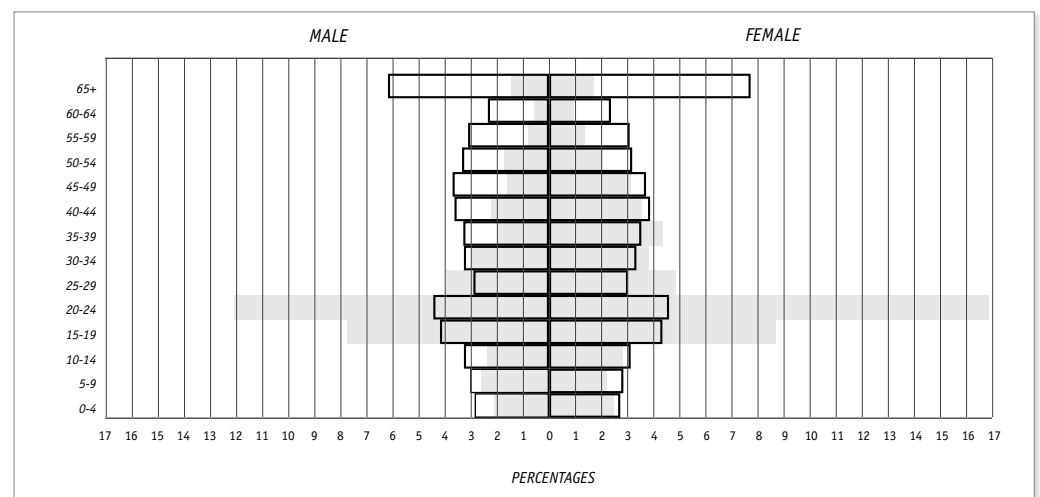
10 As a result of data availability at the detailed five-year cohort level, the population structures of the Otago region are used here instead of those of Dunedin City.

11 See Bedford & Ho 2008 for the national Asian populations, and, Richard Bedford & Elsie Ho (2008) *'Asians in New Zealand: Implications of a changing demography'*. Wellington, Asia New Zealand Foundation, Outlook paper 07, and, Friesen 2008a, and, Wardlow Friesen (2008) *'Diverse Auckland: The face of New Zealand in the 21st century?'*. Wellington, Asia New Zealand Foundation, Outlook paper 06, and Friesen 2008b for the Auckland and Christchurch comparisons.

DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE: AGE, SEX, FERTILITY

The Asian populations of the Otago region¹⁰ are more divergent from the national average for Asian groups and from the total regional population than is the case in Auckland and Christchurch.¹¹ This is particularly a result of the importance of tertiary education institutions in Dunedin. The structure of the Asian population in Otago is markedly different from the general population of the region (Figure 7), with much smaller proportions in the older age cohorts and substantially more aged 15 to 30.

FIGURE 7 ASIAN (SHADED GREY) AND TOTAL POPULATION (BLACK BARS) OTAGO REGION 2006

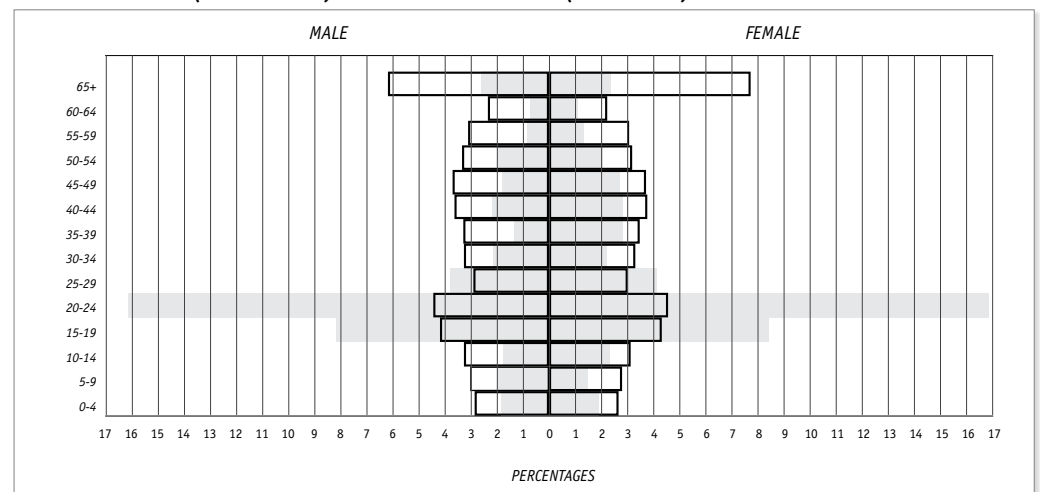


Source: Statistics New Zealand

The latter is readily explained by the presence of international students in Dunedin, and the fact that the 20- to 24-year cohort is so large suggests that there are many at the graduate level, as well as some who have stayed on after their studies have finished.

The Asian age-sex structure of Otago is to a considerable extent explained by the even more divergent Chinese age-sex structure, as shown in Figure 8.

FIGURE 8 CHINESE (SHADED GREY) AND TOTAL POPULATION (BLACK BARS) IN OTAGO REGION 2006

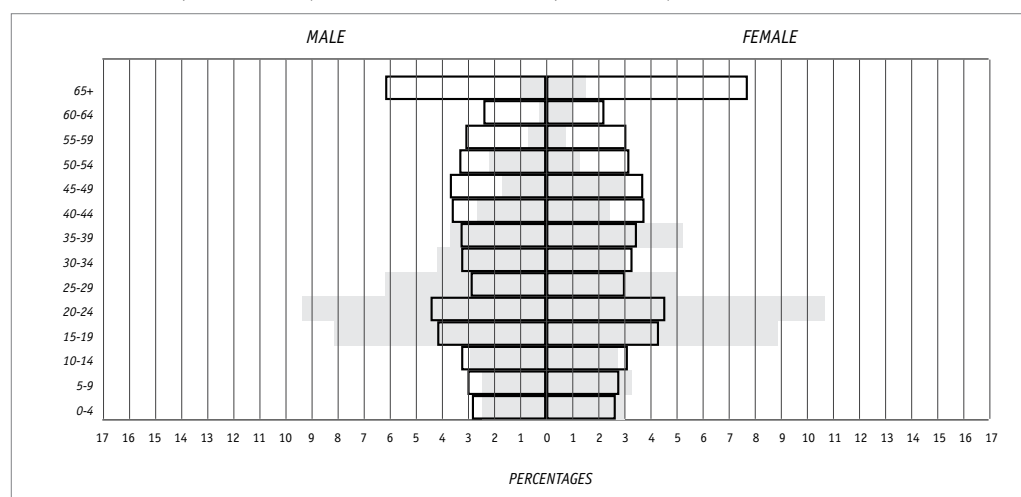


Source: Statistics New Zealand

The large size of the tertiary-education-aged cohorts is partly explained by the presence of considerable numbers of international students from China (as discussed later), but it also comprises the children of permanent residents and citizens. The smaller number of Chinese in the older age cohorts reflects the fact that this population is a result of the age-selectivity of the New Zealand immigration policy, but there are still some longer-term residents or New Zealand-born among this population.

The Indian population of Otago has an age-sex structure that is less divergent from the total population of the region than the Chinese (Figure 9).

FIGURE 9 INDIAN (SHADED GREY) AND TOTAL POPULATION (BLACK BARS) IN OTAGO REGION 2006



Source: Statistics New Zealand

The child and youth cohorts are quite similar to those of the general population, and the older cohorts are significantly smaller. It is the cohorts from 20 to 40 years that stand out as being much larger proportionately, and this is to some extent a result of the presence of international students, as well as the age-selectivity of immigration policy.

The age and sex characteristics of eight Asian groups in Dunedin are shown in Table 1 (page 10).

The proportions of these populations aged less than 15 are at a similar or slightly lower level than that of the total population, with the exception of the Filipino and Cambodian groups. At the other end of the age continuum, all Asian groups have much lower proportions of their population aged over 65 years, as a result of the recent nature of much migration of these groups and the strong emphasis on younger migrants in the immigration points system.

The sex ratio of Dunedin's population is 92 males for every 100 females, but the Asian population of the city is even more strongly female, with a sex ratio of 83 (Table 1, page 10).

12 Robert Didham (2004) *Fertility of New Zealand women by ethnicity. Based on the 1996 Census of Population and Dwellings*. Wellington, Statistics New Zealand. p. 9. These rates are age adjusted to overcome the unbalanced age structures of migrant populations as reflected in the age-sex structures of ethnic groups already shown in this report.

13 Ibid: 35.

14 Ibid: 39.

TABLE 1: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF ASIAN GROUPS IN DUNEDIN 2006

Ethnic group	population number	Age structure			Sex ratio
		% aged less than 15	% aged 15-64	% aged 65+	sex ratio (males / 100 females)
Chinese	3,186	11	85	5	92
Indian	927	15	83	2	85
Korean	609	17	82	1	80
Japanese	378	18	81	1	61
Filipino	195	23	75	2	52
Sri Lankan	171	11	86	4	63
Cambodian	123	20	76	5	100
Thai	120	10	90	0	60
Other Asian	507	16	82	2	80
Total Asian*	6,126	13	84	3	83
All ethnic groups	118,683	19	68	13	92

*** Note that these are total responses data, so total of all groups will be higher than Total Asian since some individuals may appear in more than one group.**

This imbalance is most marked in the Filipino, Japanese and Thai populations, which have an element of a higher incidence of intermarriage but also occupationally selective migration, for example of Japanese into the tourist industry and Filipinos into care-giving jobs. The one group that does not follow the pattern is the Cambodian population, in which there is an equal number of males and females, perhaps reflecting the longer-term residence of this group. It should be noted that for the smaller Asian groups discussed here, the numbers are relatively small and this may skew the percentages and ratios. Nevertheless, these patterns are similar to those found in these same groups in other areas of New Zealand.

Only very limited information is available on other demographic variables by ethnicity. For example, detailed analysis of fertility is rare and dated, and available mainly at the national level. One analysis of fertility by broad ethnic group is derived from the 1996 Census, so may not be fully representative of the ethnic groups a decade later. When the average number of children born per woman (Total Fertility Rate; TFR) is compared, the Asian rate of 1.88 is slightly higher than for Europeans (1.83) but considerably lower than for Māori (2.79) or Pacific peoples (2.84).¹² There is, however, a great deal of diversity within the Asian population. The TFR of refugee origin groups is highest at 2.63 for Khmer and 2.47 for Vietnamese women. Of the larger groups, Indian women have a TFR of 2.15, Chinese 1.83 and Korean 1.54, and the lowest rate is for Japanese women at 1.01.¹³ These rates partly reflect fertility rates in countries of origin, but also levels of education and marital status, with an expected reduction in rates for those with tertiary qualifications and an increase for those who are legally married.¹⁴

In Dunedin, 93 percent of all Asians said they could hold an everyday conversation in English.

LANGUAGE SKILLS AND EDUCATION

Language ability can be used as one indicator of the degree to which a population may be considered to have become integrated into a host society. Also, multiple language skills can be viewed as a valuable resource that migrants bring with them. In the 2006 Census, the language question asked: 'In which language(s) could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things?' and there may have been some variability in the interpretation of this question. Nevertheless, the responses are of interest in gaining some indication of the language skills of the population.

In the 2006 Census, 14 percent of Asians in New Zealand said that they could not speak any of the official languages of New Zealand (English, Māori, New Zealand Sign Language), and although we do not have any further breakdown we can assume that most of these are relatively recent migrants or older migrants who did not have to qualify under the minimum English language specifications of the immigration system.¹⁵ At the other end of the spectrum, 25 percent of Asians said that English was their only language, presumably mostly New Zealand-born Asians. The most common response from the Asian population to the language question came from the 61 percent of Asians who could speak English and at least one other language. Although the bulk of these spoke two languages, about 14 percent could speak three or more languages, a proportion much higher than all other ethnic groups except the Middle Eastern, Latin American and African group, which had a similar proportion. These multilingual abilities (three or more languages) were about five times as great within the Asian population as they were within the total population of New Zealand, and this resource might be considered to be one of the less-recognised benefits of immigration.

Table 2 (page 12) summarises the language abilities of the Asian populations of Dunedin, although these data may not fully represent the complexity of the language capabilities of these populations. In Dunedin, 93 percent of all Asians said they could hold an everyday conversation in English, a proportion lower than the 98 percent of the total population that made this claim. The group with the lowest percentage in this category, Korean at 86 percent, is the group with the most recent history of immigration, so it must be assumed that some of the dependants arriving with the primary migrants have not yet had time to acquire sufficient language abilities. For those Asian populations with their origins in countries with stronger 'English-speaking traditions' that date from colonial times, there is an expected higher proficiency in English, and especially notable are the Filipino, Indian and Sri Lankan groups.

15 These percentages exclude those who were too young to talk and various categories of 'not specified'. These and other unreferenced Census data come from both published and specially commissioned tables from the 2006 Census.

25 percent of the Asian population had a university degree, in contrast with only 17 percent of the total population of Dunedin.

16 Department of Labour (2006) *Life in New Zealand: settlement experiences of skilled migrants: results from the 2005 survey*. Wellington, Department of Labour, pp. 49-51.

TABLE 2: LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION CHARACTERISTICS OF ASIAN GROUPS IN DUNEDIN 2006

Ethnic group	Education aged 15+			
	% who could have everyday conversation in English	Multiple language indicator*	% no high school qualification	% university degree
Chinese	93	1.93	7	24
Indian	97	1.80	2	17
Korean	86	1.81	5	30
Japanese	95	1.79	5	26
Filipino	98	1.65	4	30
Sri Lankan	98	1.69	2	33
Cambodian	90	1.78	39	12
Thai	92	1.84	11	26
Other Asian	98	1.88	6	23
Total Asian	93	1.86	7	25
All ethnic groups	98	1.14	20	17

* Average number of languages specified on census form i.e. no. of total responses divided by number of people in group (not inc. 'too young to speak' and n.s.)

There are a number of possible measures of levels of educational qualification, but only two are used in Table 2, representing the two ends of the educational spectrum: those without a high school qualification and those with a university degree. In Dunedin, only 10 percent of the Asian population aged over 15 did not have a high school qualification in 2006, a proportion that was just under one-third of the proportion for the total population of the city. At the other end of the spectrum, 25 percent of the Asian population had a university degree, in contrast with only 17 percent of the total population of Dunedin.

Statistics showing that the Asian population of Dunedin has higher levels of education than the average are not surprising since New Zealand's immigration policy emphasises the educational levels of new immigrants and attributes considerable points on that basis. Further, the fact that a considerable proportion of the Asian population is undertaking tertiary education in Dunedin contributes to this. The main exception to the higher educational levels of Asian groups is the Cambodian population, since they did not arrive under the general immigration criteria; most arrived as refugees. At the same time, it cannot be assumed that all of the higher educational qualifications of these Asian groups have been 'imported', since recent Asian migrants have a high rate of participation in the education system.

A survey of skilled migrants showed that 52 percent of Asian migrants undertook further education and training in New Zealand, especially to improve their English language skills, upgrade an existing qualification and in general to get a better job.¹⁶

ASIAN ETHNOSCAPES OF DUNEDIN

The term 'ethnoscape' has been used in the social sciences in recent years to describe the impacts that new migrant populations make, including various kinds of interaction with the host population, especially in urban areas.¹⁷ These range from things visible in the landscape, such as people, housing, shops, restaurants, temples and so on, to less visible aspects such as language and changing attitudes, as well as different kinds of participation in social and political activities. In between are the visible but transitory phenomena such as festivals and markets. As noted in the introduction, the physical and cultural environment of Dunedin has evidence of English and Scottish migrant influences, but to a lesser extent also the influence of the long-term Chinese settlement in Dunedin and the Otago region

ASIAN MAYORS

Dunedin has the distinction of having two mayors of Asian origin in a row, continuously since 1995. Neither of these arrived with the 'new' Asian migration, nor are they necessarily representative of the increased political power of Asian voters. Instead, they illustrate the fact that the 'Asian history' of a place like Dunedin cannot be seen as a product of the past two decades.

Sukhi Turner was elected mayor of Dunedin in 1995 and remained in this position until retiring in 2004, after three terms. A Sikh, born in the Punjab, she moved to New Zealand in 1982 after marrying a prominent New Zealand cricket player, Glenn Turner. After serving on the City Council since 1992, she defeated the incumbent mayor in 1995 and became the first Green Party mayor in New Zealand. As well as being a well respected mayor, Sukhi Turner was known for expressing her views at the national level, ranging from support for the visit to New Zealand of the Dalai Lama to questioning some of the basic premises of APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation).¹⁸ In 2004 she was the first New Zealander to be awarded the Pravasi Bharatiya Samman Award for the Indian Diaspora by the Indian government in recognition of her work as mayor of Dunedin and more widely.

In 2004 Peter Chin, a New Zealand-born Chinese, was elected mayor of Dunedin. Born in Dunedin, he is a descendent of one of New Zealand's earliest Chinese families. While the family worked in the laundry business into the 1950s,¹⁹ Peter Chin received a law degree from the University of Otago in the 1960s and served as a lawyer until being elected mayor in 2004, although serving on the City Council for many years before this. He maintains that while Dunedin is still conservative in some ways, it has been accepting of its Chinese and other Asian populations for many years, and that since Sukhi Turner became mayor in 1995 there has been a conspicuous ethnic diversification of staff within the Dunedin City Council. Further, he says that one of his favourite activities as mayor is officiating at the citizenship ceremonies in which 30 to 50 migrants become citizens each month.

17 For example, see Stephen Shaw, Susan Bagwell & Joanna Karmowska (2004) 'Ethnoscapes as spectacle: reimagining multicultural districts as new destinations for leisure and tourism consumption', *Urban Studies* 41(10):PP1983-2000.

18 Sources for this section include www.dunedin.govt.nz/your-council/council-history; www.rediff.com/us/2001/oct/16nz.htm; en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sukhi_Turner; and www.scoop.co.nz/stories/CU0510/S00106.htm.

19 The Chin family is one of the case study families in Manying Ip's book *Dragons on the long white cloud* 1996, see earlier reference. Other information is from an interview with Peter Chin in August 2008.

THE CHINESE GARDEN

Emblematic of the long-term relationship of Dunedin and the Otago region with China is the newly opened Chinese Garden near the Settlers Museum in Dunedin (Figures 10 and 11).

FIGURE 10 ENTRANCE TO THE DUNEDIN CHINESE GARDEN



FIGURE 11 INSIDE THE CHINESE GARDEN



It was opened by the then Prime Minister Helen Clark along with a delegation from Shanghai and other dignitaries including the mayor, Peter Chin. The mayor has been the chairman of the Chinese Gardens Trust formed in 1997 and charged with the development of the Garden.

The Chinese Garden is described as one of only three authentic Chinese gardens outside China, and the only one in the Southern Hemisphere. It is one outcome of the 14-year-old sister city relationship between Dunedin and Shanghai. It was constructed by artisans in China, disassembled, shipped and reassembled in Dunedin at a cost of about \$6.5 million.

While international students made up 9 percent of the EFTS (effective full-time student) enrolments at the University of Otago in 2007, Asian students made up 16 percent of the total.

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

Many of the studies of the impacts of immigration and the resulting ethnoscares have mainly focused on the role of permanent resident migrants in bringing about change. However, even with a downturn in international student numbers in recent years, there are still more international students arriving in New Zealand each year than there are permanent residents. Although their impacts are not as great as those of permanent residents because their stays are shorter term and they are not usually accompanied by dependants, they are nonetheless major contributors to new ethnoscares, and we have already seen that they make up a significant proportion of the Asian population in Dunedin, especially of Chinese.

The number of international students arriving in New Zealand rose dramatically from the mid-1990s to peak at more than 120,000 in 2002, then declined to stabilise at about 95,000 in 2005 and 2006.²⁰ Of all international students in 2006, about 9,000 were in schools (about one-half from South Korea), 32,410 were in tertiary institutions such as universities and polytechnics (just over one-half from China), and the rest were in other institutions such as language schools.²¹ Thus, although data are not readily available, it is apparent that the English language schools attract large numbers of Asian students.

Dunedin is well known as a student city, with many domestic and international students choosing to study there. International students come from a great variety of countries, but Chinese are significant within this international student population. Enrolments at the University of Otago in 2007 showed that of the 2,546 international students, 436 (17 percent) came from China, 279 (11 percent) came from Malaysia and at least 388 (15 percent) came from other Asian countries.²² Although there has been a modest decline in the past two or three years in Asian international students in many tertiary institutions, the University of Otago has initiated new programmes to recruit students in Asia in an attempt to reverse this trend. Enrolment data for 2005 showed that Otago Polytechnic also had 198 international students, of whom 38 percent were from China. As well as these, there are significant numbers of Chinese and other Asian students enrolled in tertiary institutions who are permanent residents or citizens, so, for example, while international students made up 9 percent of the EFTS (effective full-time student) enrolments at the University of Otago in 2007, Asian students made up 16 percent of the total.

20 Terry McGrath, Paul Stock & Andrew Butcher (2007) *Friends and allies: the impacts of returning Asian students on New Zealand-Asia relationships*. Wellington, Asia New Zealand Foundation.

21 For data on school and tertiary enrolments see www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/international_education.

22 See www.otago.ac.nz/about/quickstats.html.

23 Paola Voci (2006) 'From Middle Kingdom to Middle Earth and back: Chinese media/mediated identities in New Zealand' in H. Johnson and B. Moloughney (eds.) *Asia in the making of New Zealand*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, pp. 163-184.

24 Ibid.

OTHER ASPECTS OF DUNEDIN ETHNOSCAPES

With the exception of the Chinese Garden, the visible aspects of Asian ethnoscapes in Dunedin are less conspicuous than they are in the larger cities of New Zealand, but nonetheless they are increasing. For example, multilingual signage at the Otago Museum in Dunedin features many Asian languages (Figure 12).

FIGURE 12 WELCOME SIGN AT OTAGO MUSEUM, DUNEDIN



At Chinese New Year, fireworks have become more spectacular every year. The number of Asian restaurants has increased in most parts of New Zealand in recent years, and Dunedin is no exception. The 'ethnic restaurant' pages of the Dunedin Yellow Pages online in 2008 showed there were about 20 Asian restaurants in Dunedin, mostly concentrated in the centre of the city. The largest number of these were Chinese, but they also included Korean, Thai, Cambodian, Indian and 'Asian fusion'.

The visible religious ethnoscapes of Dunedin are still predominantly Christian and European in origin, although in some cases these churches have services catering to Chinese or Korean components within their congregations. The Muslim population of Dunedin is relatively small (see Figure 3 on page 5) but it has a long history, with the first Muslims being present in the 19th century in the Otago goldfields. Near the University and Polytechnic is a mosque and Dunedin Islamic Centre and the presence of international students at the nearby tertiary institutions (e.g. from Malaysia) presumably accounts for the location of this facility.

There are only modest manifestations of Asian media in Dunedin, much less than in Christchurch. These mainly involve national-level media that are distributed in Dunedin. Examples of these include the free weekly Chinese-language *New Zealand Messenger* and *New Zealand Mirror*, the latter recording a circulation of 1,000 in Dunedin.²³ Also, the weekly broadcast of the Otago Chinese Student Radio Show takes place on Hills AM 1575.²⁴

CONCLUSIONS

The national ethnic projections by Statistics New Zealand, based on the 2006 Census and released in April 2008, are for a near doubling of the Asian population of New Zealand between 2006 and 2026 (medium projection). This increase, averaging about 3.4 percent a year, is significantly higher than the growth of other broad ethnic groups. Even more recently released are the ethnic projections for regions and territorial authorities and these include projections for Dunedin. The Asian population of the Auckland region is projected to grow at an annual rate of 3.8 percent by 2021, while for Dunedin this rate is projected to be 2.8 percent, which is still significantly higher than that of other ethnic groups. Thus, by 2021 the Asian population of Dunedin is likely to be about 10,400, an increase of 50 percent. However, it should be noted that in all broad ethnic population groups there has been an increasing incidence of intermarriage, so that many of those who declare Asian ethnicity in the future may also belong to another ethnic group.

The future composition of the Asian population of Dunedin will vary according to changes in New Zealand's immigration policy. China is by far the most important source of Asian migrants for Dunedin, and policy changes that emphasise language skills have been shown in the past to reduce flows from China, so such changes could slow down the rate of immigration into Dunedin. Even though South Asian migrants have tended to concentrate in Auckland, it may be that an increased proportion 'moves on' to other parts of the country, a phenomenon that was starting to become apparent in the 2006 Census. Recent diversification of migrant sources suggests the ongoing importance of Southeast Asia and countries such as the Philippines, and Thailand may become more important for Dunedin as it has for New Zealand as a whole.

The flows of international students have resulted in a youthful Asian population in Dunedin, especially for the Chinese population. In the short to medium term it seems likely that this will continue to be the case as the tertiary institutions continue to promote themselves in Asia. The population of permanent residents will slowly age and move closer to the general population, but if we assume that immigration of permanent residents will continue, the Asian population will continue to be rejuvenated to some extent.

Projections suggest that the ethnic composition of Dunedin's population will continue to evolve, and that the Asian component will continue to grow. Significant indicators such as the development of the Chinese Garden and the elections of two Asian mayors suggest that this evolution has been largely viewed in a positive way, and that this attitude is likely to continue into the future.

APPENDIX:

BIRTHPLACES OF 10 LARGEST ASIAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN DUNEDIN 2006											
Birthplace	Chinese	Indian	Korean	Japanese	Malay	Filipino	Sri Lankan	Cambodian	Thai	Vietnamese	Total, these Asian groups
New Zealand	729	219	24	54	12	45	27	36	0	15	1161
% New Zealand born	22.9	23.6	3.9	14.3	5.9	23.4	16.1	29.3	0.0	21.7	19.4
China, PR	1,287	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,287
Malaysia	378	45	0	0	162	0	0	0	0	0	585
Korea, Republic of	0	0	573	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	573
Taiwan	393	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	393
India	0	333	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	333
Japan	0	0	0	303	0	0	0	0	0	0	303
Fiji	0	180	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	180
Hong Kong (SAR)	156	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	156
Philippines	9	0	0	0	0	138	0	0	0	0	147
Thailand	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	114	0	135
Sri Lanka	0	0	0	0	0	0	117	0	0	0	117
Singapore	90	18	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	114
Cambodia	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	63	0	0	75
Viet Nam	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	48	60
South Africa	0	39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39
Other Asia	30	12	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0	57
All other	87	81	15	21	9	9	24	3	6	6	261
Total	3,183	927	612	378	204	192	168	123	120	69	5,976

Source: Statistics New Zealand

PROFILE: DR WARDLOW FRIESEN

Dr Friesen is currently Senior Lecturer in the School of Geography, Geology, and Environmental Science at the University of Auckland. His research focus has for a number of years been on the areas of migration and ethnic change, and his research and publication have focused on various groups including Pacific, Chinese and Indian migrants.

Other areas of research have included population change, international education, development in the Pacific, and urban change. He is a regular commentator in the media on these and related issues.

Between 2005 and 2007 he served as president of the Population Association of New Zealand and he remains active in this Association.

At the University of Auckland, he currently serves on the Centre for Pacific Studies Board of Graduate Studies and the Development Studies Advisory Committee, and was recently on the International Committee.

He also has considerable experience in consultancy on demographic issues and their planning implications for local and regional authorities. In the past 15 years he has supervised more than 40 graduate theses and dissertations, including seven PhDs, on a range of topics.

ASIA NEW ZEALAND FOUNDATION

The Asia New Zealand Foundation was founded in 1994 as a non-profit, apolitical organisation dedicated to building New Zealand's links with Asia. Through its activities in education, business, media, culture, research and policy, Asia:NZ aims to promote initiatives which deepen understanding and relationships between New Zealanders and the peoples of Asia.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Chairman: Hon Philip Burdon

Deputy Chairmen: Ken Douglas ONZ and
Richard Nottage

Jo Brosnahan, Mai Chen, Ruth DeSouza, Gavin Ellis, Tim Gibson, Lex Henry, Dr Manying Ip, Simon Murdoch, Rob McLeod, Tony Nowell, Michael Park, Vino Ramayah, Karen Sewell, Ken Stevens, Wally Stone, Henry van der Heyden and Hon Pansy Wong MP

ASIA:NZ STAFF

Executive Director, Dr Richard Grant
Deputy Executive Director, Adele Mason
Director, Culture, Jennifer King
Director, Communications, John Saunders
Director, Education, Vanessa Lee
Director, Business, James Penn
Director, Policy and Research, Dr Andrew Butcher
Media Adviser, Charles Mabbett
Schools Coordinator, Janine Chin
Young Leaders Network Coordinator, Melanie Crawford
Web Content Manager, Antonia Kokalova-Gray
Project Manager, Finance and Governance, Leigh Taggart
Project Officer, Culture, Monica Turner
Accountant, Sunita Soma
Executive Assistant, Paula McLaughlin
Administration Assistant, Deborah Dredge
Auckland Office Manager, Ezra Low
Project Officer, Policy and Research, Heather Judson

OUTLOOK RESEARCH REPORTS

Asia:NZ's Outlook papers aim to:

- strengthen New Zealand's research and policy analysis capability;
- share New Zealand-Asia related research and policy information across sectors;
- stimulate debate among policy-makers; and
- improve dialogue between researchers, policy-makers and practitioners.

Outlook editor: Dr Andrew Butcher

RESEARCH ADVISORY GROUP:

Professor Paul Spoonley, Dr Coral Ingley, Julia Brannigan, Nicholas Green, Associate Professor Martin Tolich, Dr Malcolm Cook, Associate Professor Manying Ip, Professor Brian Moloughney, Paul Lister, Associate Professor Val Lindsay, Dr David Capie, Stephen Toplis, Professor Gary Hawke, Carrie Murdoch, and Paul Lister

ISSN 1177-0031 (Print)

ISSN 1177-7893 (Online)

Published by the Asia New Zealand Foundation, February 2009.



ABN AMRO House
Level 7
36 Customhouse Quay
PO Box 10 144
Wellington, 6143 New Zealand
Telephone: 64 4 471 2320
Facsimile: 64 4 471 2330
Email: research@asianz.org.nz
www.asianz.org.nz

