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Beyond the metropolises: The Asian presence in small city New Zealand

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Report



Research

Contents



03	About the author
05	Introduction
12	Invercargill and Southland
21	Queenstown
28	Nelson
36	Napier-Hastings
43	Rotorua
51	Tauranga and Western Bay of Plenty
59	Conclusions
62	Appendix



About the author

About the author

Dr Friesen is currently Senior Lecturer in Geography in the School of Environment at The University of Auckland. His research focus for a number of years has been in the areas of migration and ethnic change, and 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, with regional focuses including New Zealand, the Pacific islands and Asia; areas in which he has travelled widely.

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 (PANZ) and he remains active in this association, including as editor of *New Zealand Population Review*. At the University of Auckland, he currently serves on the Centre for Pacific Studies Board of Graduate Studies and the Development Studies Advisory Committee. He also has considerable experience in consultancy on demographic issues and their planning implications at the national, regional and local levels. He has supervised over 70 graduate theses and dissertations, including 11 PhDs on a range of topics.



Introduction

Introduction

In the study of migration, much attention is paid to the role of larger cities in receiving migrants and developing diverse ethnic communities. In some cases, the cities where migrants tend to settle are called 'gateway cities'. Auckland is one of these since about 53 percent of New Zealand's migrants are settled there despite only having 34 percent of the country's population. Further, it has higher proportions of more 'visible' migrants – those that do not look like the 'mainstream' – with 65 percent of Asian and 67 percent of Pacific migrants. However, the gateway city metaphor suggests that some migrants may move on 'through the gate' and into the rest of the country. There is evidence that this is occurring in some cases, although there are also counter-movements of migrants into Auckland.¹ Also, there are large numbers of migrants who initially choose to settle in other larger cities and also in smaller cities, towns and rural areas, as well as some, such as refugees, who have relatively little choice in where they settle.

Figure 1, on page 8, shows the Asian population as a percentage of the total population of Territorial Authorities (TAs) in New Zealand. It confirms that the larger metropolitan areas of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch have the highest concentrations of Asian populations, but the intermediate-sized cities of Hamilton and Palmerston North also have high proportions (above eight percent) of Asian populations. Table A (in the Appendix) shows that there are many TAs throughout New Zealand in which the Asian population exceeds three percent, a proportion that had only been exceeded in Auckland City and Wellington City in the mid-1980s, before the implementation of the Immigration Act 1987. (Data for all broad ethnic groups are shown in Table A (Appendix), and are ranked from high to low for all TAs according to the percentage of their population which is Asian.)

An alternative way of considering the significance and impact of Asian populations in New Zealand is according to their rate of growth in recent years. Figure 2, on page 9, shows the percentage growth in the Asian populations of TAs between 2001 and 2013, and these data are shown in detail in Table A (Appendix). The figure shows that it is often the TAs with smaller Asian populations which have had high rates of growth and while this is partly based on small absolute base populations in 2001, it nonetheless is an indication of the dispersion of Asian populations through the country and suggests the relative impact these changes might have. It should be noted that the term 'Asian populations' is usually used in this report to emphasise that there is not a single 'Asian population', and in most cases more specific national/ethnic groups such as Chinese, Indian, Filipino, etc. are the focus of attention.

1 Friesen, W. (2012) "International and internal migration dynamics in a Pacific gateway city: Asian migrants into and out of Auckland", *New Zealand Population Review* 38:1–22.

The 'small city' context

The case studies in this report show trends in Asian migration and settlement that have affected most of New Zealand. The focus is on TAs which had between three and seven percent of their populations classified as Asian in 2013, and which in most cases have had high proportionate increases between 2001 and 2013 (see Table A, Appendix). Figures 3 and 4, on pages 10 and 11 respectively, show the longer term trends in the growth of Asian populations in the South Island and the North Island, starting with the population usually resident in each case study city or district in 1986, just before the Immigration Act of 1987.

Furthest south is Invercargill which has only three percent of its population enumerated as Asian but which had an increase of 170 percent in Asian population between 2001 and 2013. This is similar to the surrounding Southland and Gore Districts where, although the absolute Asian population is small compared to the larger cities, the relative increases are notable. For example, the Asian populations of Southland District increased by over 500 percent between 2001 and 2013. It is apparent in Figure 3, on page 10, and Table A (Appendix) that the cities of Queenstown and Nelson have also had steady and significant Asian population increases, with Queenstown's Asian population growing by 154 percent and Nelson's by 127 percent between 2001 and 2013. Queenstown, with 6.8 percent of its usually resident population associating with an Asian ethnicity in 2013, was chosen as an example of the impact of tourism, much of it originating in Asia, as well being the longer-term residence of Asian groups, some of whom have made lifestyle choices to live there. In 2013, 4.4 percent of the Nelson population had Asian origins, and this case study illustrates that it is an area where economic niches are developing in horticulture and tourism, but that it is also a significant destination for refugees.

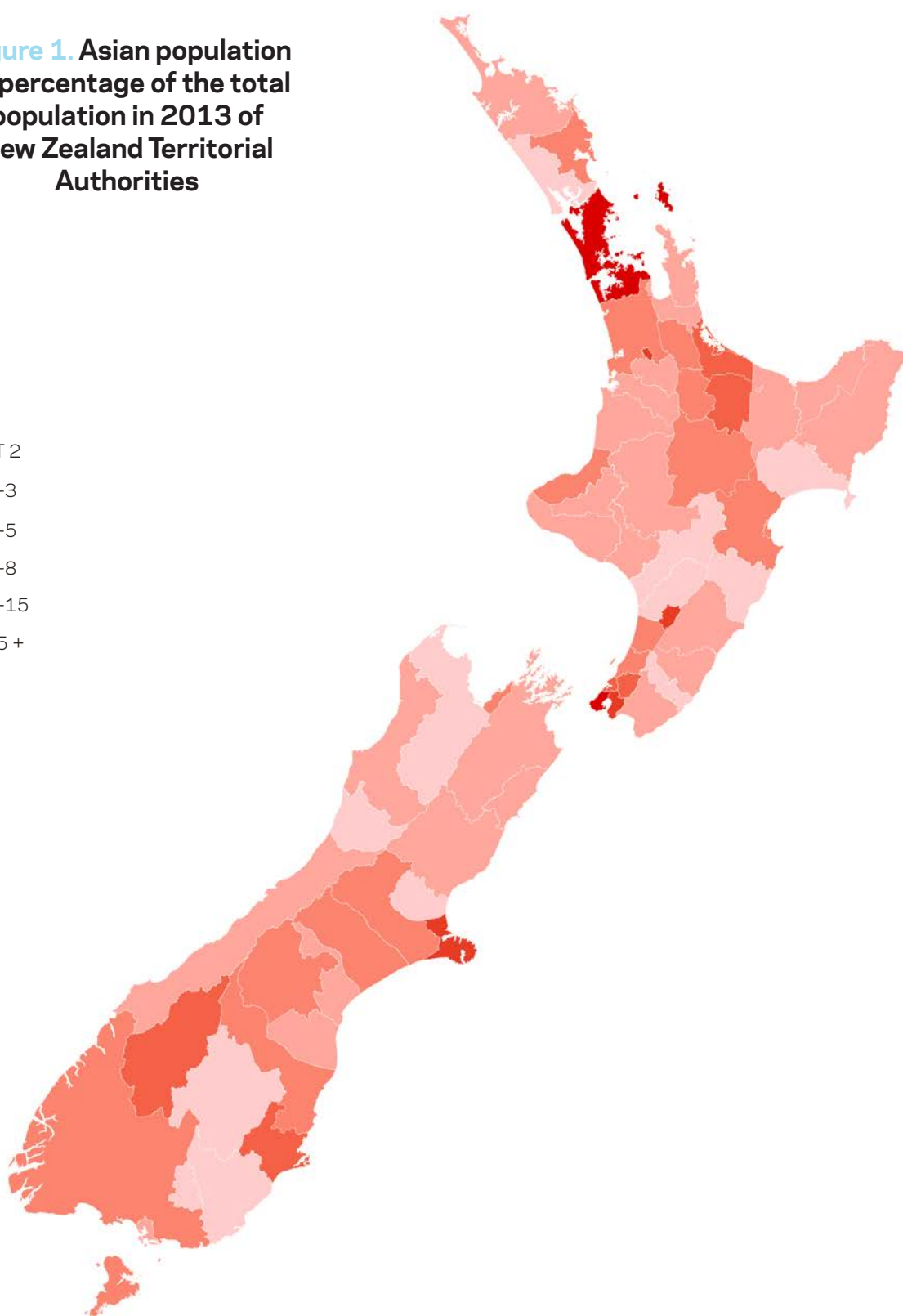
The Asian population changes in the North Island case studies between 1986 and 2013 are shown in Figure 4, on page 11. It should be noted that the populations involved are greater than those in the South Island case studies, but that the trajectory of change is similar. Napier-Hastings comprises two TAs, with the former being largely urban and the latter mixed urban and rural with a range of employment opportunities in agriculture and related processing. These TAs combined had 3.9 percent of their populations with Asian origins in 2013, and these populations had increased by about three-quarters since 2001. Rotorua is a well-known tourist destination, with rapidly changing tourist flows, but it is also a destination for international students, as are some of the other case study cities. In 2013, its Asian population comprised 6.3 percent of its population, increasing by 93 percent since 2001.

Tauranga has a rapidly growing population, both total and Asian, and has an expanding economy focused on its port and primary exports as well as growing as a retirement centre. The surrounding Western Bay of Plenty serves as part of Tauranga's economic hinterland and the growth of its Asian population has followed that of Tauranga to some extent. In 2013, Asian populations comprised 5.6 percent of Tauranga's and 5.1 percent of the Western Bay of Plenty's populations, having grown by 182 percent and 290 percent respectively since 2001.

Each case study emphasises features which are particularly significant in the city or region in question. However, this report also elaborates upon statistical trends and characteristics for all of the case studies, and considers ethnic groups in which change has been significant or unusual in the New Zealand context. It considers other aspects of emerging Asian ethnoscap (ethnic landscapes) such as the institutions which support migrants and refugees, including those that are generated within migrant groups such as ethnic associations, as well as those that are external to them such as government agencies and voluntary organisations.

Figure 1. Asian population as percentage of the total population in 2013 of New Zealand Territorial Authorities

- LT 2
- 2-3
- 3-5
- 5-8
- 8-15
- 15 +



0 50 100 200 300 400 Kilometers

Figure 2. Asian population according to percentage increase of New Zealand Territorial Authorities between 2001 and 2013

- LT 60
- 60-80
- 80-100
- 100-130
- 130-160
- 160-200
- 200 +

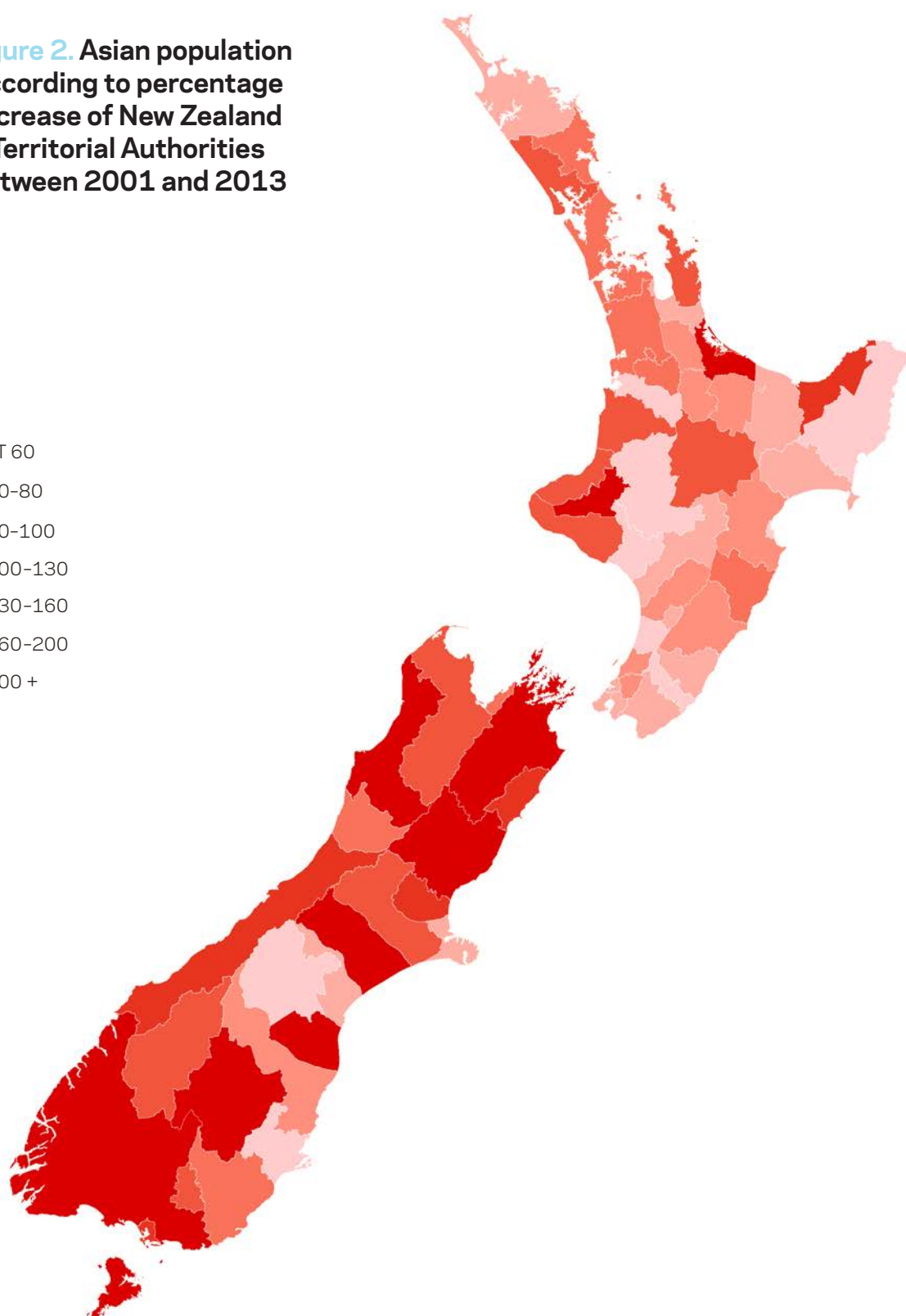


Figure 3. Asian populations of South Island case studies between 1986 and 2013

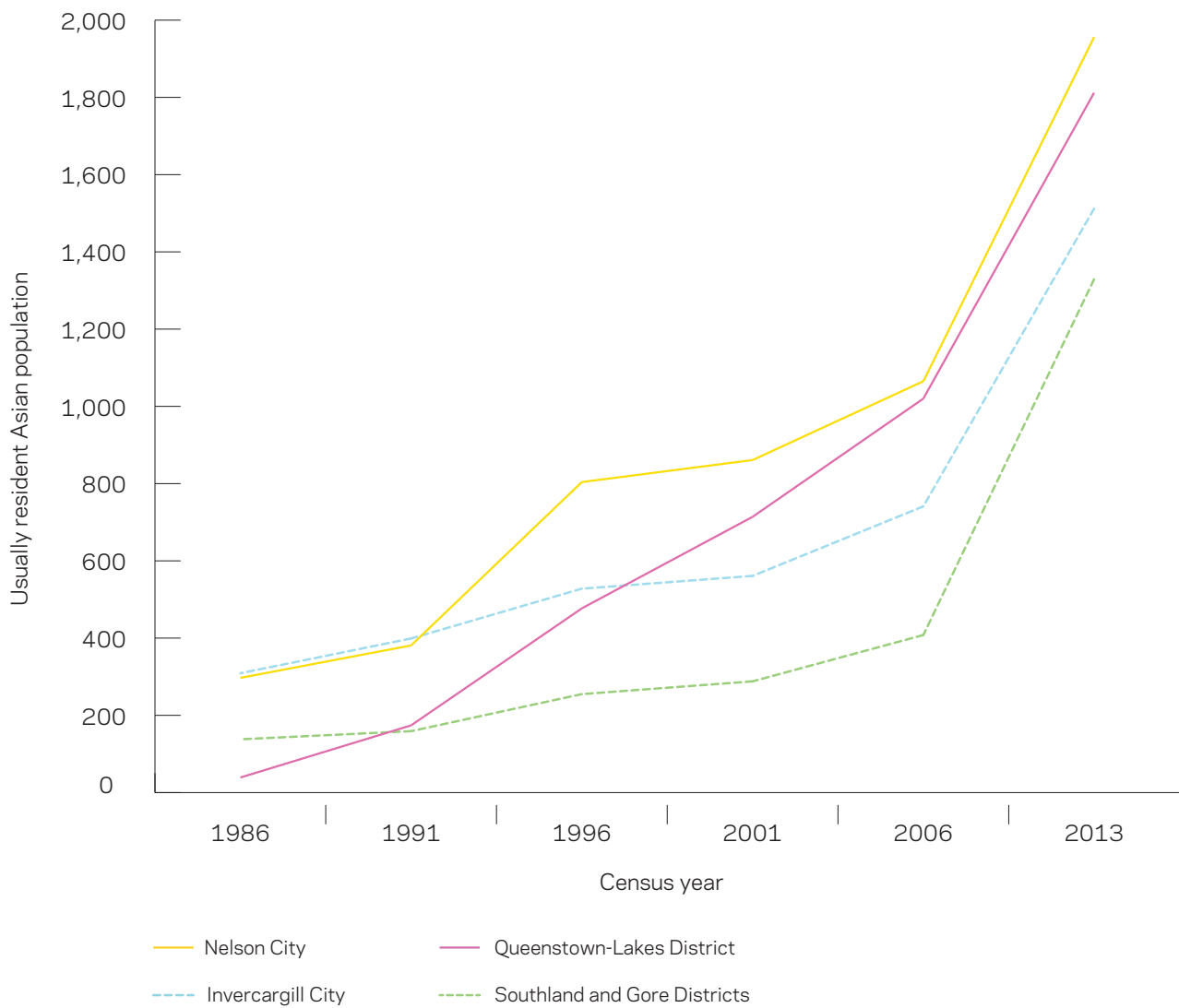
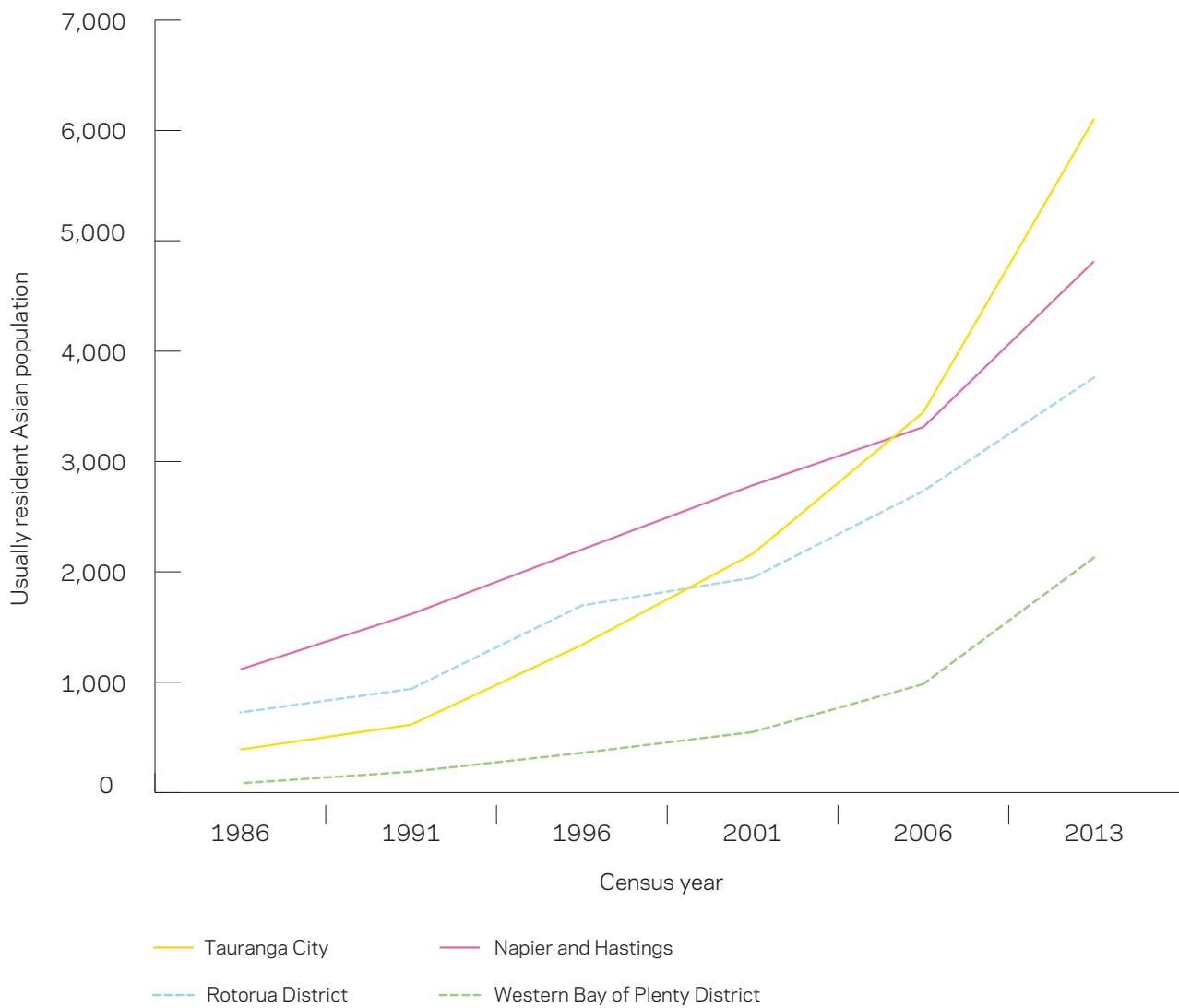


Figure 4. Asian populations of North Island case studies between 1986 and 2013





Invercargill and Southland

Invercargill and Southland

Population and economy

At the 2013 Census, the population of Southland was 93,339, showing a growth of about 2,500 since the previous census in 2006. This was the first census since the 1980s which had revealed population growth rather than decline in this region. Similarly, the Invercargill population was 51,021 in 2013 and has shown modest growth between the last two censuses, after a period of population loss since the 1980s. This reversal partly relates to economic changes discussed below.

While most of the attention paid to new migration has focused further north, significant changes in the Asian population have taken place in New Zealand's southernmost region as well. Southland's usually resident Asian population grew from 852 to 2,838 between 2001 and 2013, making up just over three percent of the region's population at the latter census. These are relatively modest numbers when compared to many other regions, but in proportionate terms represent the largest percentage growth (233 percent) of any New Zealand region over this period (see Figure 2, on page 9). This took place despite a net migration loss between 2008 and 2013 of about 1,250, mostly related to internal migration (less than in earlier periods).² This suggests that Asian in-migrants have been filling gaps created by out-migrants from the Southland region.

Southland's economy is driven by primary production. In 2013, 20 percent of all jobs were in the primary sector, mainly dairy and other farming, with a further 16 percent in manufacturing, especially in food and beverage processing from local agricultural production and the aluminium smelter at Bluff.³ Over the period 2003–2013, Southland's employment growth of 0.2 percent per year was well below the national growth of 1.5 percent, although there was strong growth in employment in dairying, especially in the latter half of this period. The growth in dairying resulted in the growth of Southland's GDP at a rate significantly above the national average.

Southland's employment rate is one of the highest in New Zealand, and its unemployment rate of 5.2 percent (in the year to March 2014) is below the national average of 6.1 percent. Another factor which may be seen as attractive to migrants, both international and internal, is the cost of housing: Southland has the lowest median house price of all regions (\$190,000), at about one-half the national average, and the lowest median rental cost per annum (\$11,000). These and related opportunities such as free tertiary education for domestic students in many courses, as well as the dynamic Southland economy are often mentioned by Invercargill's mayor, Tim Shadbolt as reasons why New Zealanders and international migrants alike should be heading to Invercargill.⁴

² Ministry of Business, Innovation and Enterprise (MBIE) (2014) *Regional Economic Activity Report 2014*, MBIE, Wellington. p. 49.

³ Statistics in this and the following paragraph come from *ibid.*, pp. 48–49, 55.

⁴ Interview with Mayor Tim Shadbolt, 2 December 2014.

Historical and contemporary Asian populations of Southland

Although the overwhelming majority of migrants to Southland in the second half of the nineteenth and through the twentieth century were of British extraction, the gold rush of the early 1870s introduced a significant Chinese population to the region. Round Hill, near Riverton and then called Canton, was said to have had

“the largest Chinese settlement in New Zealand and the southernmost in the world”

with about 500 Chinese inhabitants.⁵ Although many of these were miners, there were also merchants, shopkeepers, hoteliers as well as agents or partners of Chinese firms. The majority of the Chinese in Southland at this time were male ‘sojourners’ and most returned to southern China after the gold-rushes, but some stayed on, especially those who had intermarried with European or Māori women.⁶

For almost a century after the gold rushes, the migration stories of Southland and of Invercargill were of the settlement of British settlers, especially Scottish, related to the expansion of agriculture and the industries servicing it, with indigenous Māori playing a less visible role in this European narrative. As was the case elsewhere in New Zealand, there were a few Asians, mainly Chinese but in some cases a few Indians, who established themselves in niche activities such as market gardening or retailing. At the end of the Second World War (1945 Census) there were only 50, mostly male, Chinese enumerated in Southland, of whom 33 were in Invercargill.⁷ The only other evidence of Asian populations in Southland was one ‘mixed race’ male Indian!

Although Chinese finally received full citizenship in New Zealand in 1952, the immigration channels which had been all-but closed in the early twentieth century remained largely closed until 1987. As a result, relatively small numbers of Asians filtered through to Southland in subsequent decades, with censuses recording 43 Chinese and 16 Indians in 1961, 109 and 57 respectively in 1971, and 177 and 93 in 1981.⁸ Typically, at least half of the Chinese were in Invercargill, with small numbers located in other main towns in Southland, consistent with the idea that they had found economic niches in retailing and restaurants.

The Immigration Act of 1987 changed the dynamics of Asian immigration to New Zealand, and had impacts in all regions of the country, including the southernmost. Figure 5, on page 19, shows the growth of the larger Asian populations in Invercargill between 1986 and 2013. The largest groups of Chinese, Indian and Filipino have all increased by more than 100 percent between 2006 and 2013, though the reasons for this increase differs between groups.

In 2013, nearly one-half of all usually resident Chinese aged 15 and over were involved in study, with most of these being full-time students. In contrast, only about a quarter of Indians and Filipinos were studying. This is discussed further in the case study about international students below. Of those Chinese in Invercargill who were working, just over half were in the ‘higher’ occupational categories, with almost equal numbers being managers, professionals and technical and trade workers. Indians had similar proportions in these occupational categories, although a higher proportion were professionals. In both cases, workers were spread across the occupational categories, but with a higher proportion (about 20 percent) of Indians working as labourers. The economic sector of greatest involvement for Chinese was Accommodation and Food Services⁹. This sector was also important for Indians, but even more significant was Health Care and Social Services.

5 Sorrell, P. (ed.) (2006) *Murihiku: The Southland Story*, ‘The Southland to 2006’ Book Project Committee, Invercargill, pp. 74–75.

6 Ibid.

7 These included “full-blood” and “mixed-blood” Chinese. Source: *NZ Population Census, 1945, Vol. VIII: Race and Vol. VII: Birthplaces and duration of residence of overseas-born*, Census and Statistics Department, Wellington.

8 In each case, these numbers include those with mixed ethnicities, mainly including Chinese-European and Indian-European. Source: Census reports on ethnicity 1961, 1971, 1981.

9 Note that when economic sectors are capitalised, this is to show that these refer to the formal ANZSIC classifications, rather than being a more informal classification such as ‘tourism’ or ‘agriculture’.

The total population of Southland and Gore Districts combined is about 42,300, about 11,000 less than the population of Invercargill. Yet, these Districts, which consist of rural areas and relatively small towns, have nearly as many people who identified with an Asian ethnicity as was the case in Invercargill (1329 versus 1512). This runs counter to the idea that most Asian migrants in New Zealand settle in urban areas. A primary explanation of this is apparent in Figure 6, on page 20, which shows the dramatic increase in the Filipino population between 2006 and 2013, most of whom were working in the agricultural sector, especially dairying. About five out of six of these resided in Southland District, with the remainder in Gore District. The remarkable increase in Filipinos in Southland is discussed in the next section of this report.

The Chinese and Indian population of Southland and Gore Districts have also increased significantly in recent times, and their occupational profile is diverse, similar to the situation in Invercargill. The 'other Asian' category shown in Figures 5 and 6, on pages 19 and 20 respectively, also shows a significant increase in recent years. The largest groups in this category are Sri Lankan and Thai, perhaps reflecting the fact that employment opportunities in Southland are attracting an increasing diversity of migrant sources.

Case study: Filipinos in Southland

Figure 5, on page 19, shows the significant increase in the population of Filipinos in Invercargill in recent years, but Figure 6, on page 20, shows an even more remarkable increase in Southland and Gore Districts between 2006 and 2013. These graphs are based on usual residence data from the census, but some who know the Filipino community of Southland suggest that their numbers are considerably higher than the usual residence data show. There are likely to be some Filipinos who would be staying less than the one year 'usual residence' period, but others who may have not been enumerated or who were not sure about the period of their residence.

The boom in the Filipino population of Southland is largely driven by working opportunities in dairying, the largest employer in the agricultural sector. Between 2010/11 and 2014/15 (years to June), an average of 322 temporary work visas were granted each year to Filipinos for work in Southland as dairy farm workers, as registered in the Immigration New Zealand database, but this is likely to be an undercount since many work visas granted did not have the region of work specified.¹⁰ These opportunities have been facilitated by the expansion of the number of work visas in New Zealand generally, but the rapid jump in Filipinos arriving in Southland in 2008 and 2009 occurred after the Philippines was designated a 'comparable labour market' by Immigration New Zealand (INZ).¹¹ On the INZ website, this is explained in this way:

*"A labour market is the commercial environment in which people exchange their work for income and where employers and workers 'trade' on the demand for, and supply of, skills. If you do not have skilled employment or an offer of skilled employment, your work experience must have been gained in a comparable labour market in order for you to claim points."*¹²

Most of the countries listed by INZ as having a 'comparable labour market' are European or have predominantly European populations. Besides the Philippines, the only other Asian countries classified in this way are Japan, Malaysia, South Korea and Singapore.¹³ Addition to this list has been a significant factor in the increase in Filipinos arriving on work visas throughout New Zealand in recent years.

Filipino dairy workers have been regularly praised for the quality of their work, by the mayor of Invercargill, and in the media quoting dairy farmers who employ Filipino workers.¹⁴ Many are overqualified for the work they are doing, with some dairy workers being veterinarians trained in the Philippines, as well as those who have other professional qualifications. Some, who have been in New Zealand for a considerable period, have become farm managers, and it is notable that about half of the Filipinos in Southland District enumerated in the 2013 Census were classified as 'managers'.

10 Immigration New Zealand, W3 database.

11 Statistics New Zealand (2014) "International migration to and from Southland regions: 1996-2013". http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/Migration/international-travel-and-migration-articles/international-migration-to-from-southland.aspx, accessed 17 November 2014.

12 <http://glossary.immigration.govt.nz/comparablelabourmarket.htm>, accessed 24 March 2015.

13 Ibid.

14 e.g. S. McAvine (2012) "Immigrants top pick for farm work" *The Southland Times* 27 April 2012.



Filipino Community Centre of Southland, Invercargill.

While there has been praise for Filipinos in dairying, there has also been considerable criticism about the conditions under which some of them have to work. A study of Filipino dairy workers based in the Canterbury region, but with apparent relevance to Southland, identified a number of issues.¹⁵ Recruitment of Filipino dairy workers was sometimes exploitative, with high fees charged by recruitment agencies for relatively simple tasks. Hours worked in dairying are generally long, but a sample showed that the Filipino workers on average worked longer hours than other groups. Isolation and access to services in rural areas is another problem for workers who may have limited transport, and are used to living in urban areas. One reaction on the part of the workers was to form the Filipino Dairy Workers in New Zealand (FDWNZ), which is perhaps more advocacy group than union. Dairy farm owners have responded to this initiative and related media reports, and greater regulation has been implemented, including monitoring by Immigration New Zealand.¹⁶

The wider Filipino community in Southland is represented by the Southland Filipino Society (SFS), and the society attempts to represent permanent residents, permit workers and students.¹⁷ The Chair of this society thinks that the 2013 Census data does not represent the true number of Filipinos in Southland because of the transitory nature of some of the community, including some dependents of workers who may stay for part of the time, and some workers who may stay for shorter terms. She notes that while many Filipinos work on dairy farms, and in some cases, manage them, there are also professionals and semi-professionals such as accountants, nurses, rest home workers, dental assistants, welders and lab technicians. Many Filipinos who are on work visas aspire to permanent residence, but some of the visas which they hold (e.g. some of those for dairying work) are complicated and make transition to permanent residence difficult. The SFS runs the Filipino Community Centre of Southland in central Invercargill, said to be the first in New Zealand, which provides advice and support for the community as well as a centre for meetings. One of its activities is a series of seminars for dairy workers on issues of settlement, insurance, banking, legal issues and related topics. The SFS also initiates and supports participation of Filipinos in wider community events and celebrations.

Case study: International students of Southern Institute of Technology

While a small number of international students arrived in Southland under the Colombo Plan from the 1960s onwards, international education has mostly been a Southland phenomenon in the twenty-first century. Although the number of visas granted for international students coming to New Zealand declined in the mid-2000s, they have been stable in recent years, while Southland's student visas have increased, peaking in 2011.¹⁸

The largest tertiary institution in Southland, and the main destination of international students, is the Southern Institute of Technology (SIT) in Invercargill. It is unique in New Zealand in offering "Zero Fees" to New Zealand citizens and permanent residents as well as Australian

15 Tipples, R., Rawlinson, P., & Greenhalgh, J. (2012) 'Vulnerability in New Zealand dairy farming: The case of Filipino migrants' *New Zealand Journal of Employment Relations* 37(3):12-33.

16 See Immigration New Zealand (2012) *Are You Recruiting Migrant Workers? What Do You Need to Know? A Guide for Dairy Farmers*. INZ, Wellington. http://www.immigration.govt.nz/NR/rdonlyres/8AC453E2-4439-40E3-A10A-4F490132D80F/0/Dairyfarmersguide_vMay12.pdf.

17 Much of this section is based on an interview with Dorothea Hawkins, Chair of the Southland Filipino Society Inc., Invercargill, 1 December 2014.

18 Statistics NZ (2014) op cit.

citizens resident in New Zealand, meaning no base tuition fees for many courses. Although this does not apply to international students, SIT does have two scholarships which are designed to attract them. One is Zero Fees English (ZFE) Scholarships which are available in “Far East Asia, South America and certain European countries” and are to “help students improve their academic English language skills, assisting them to gain the IELTS entry requirements to move to a mainstream programme of their choice”.¹⁹ A second is the John Wright (JW) Scholarships, of which there are 25 full and partial scholarships each year available to students from India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal for “high achieving students who have a proven track record of outstanding achievements in either sports or academics”.²⁰ SIT also prides itself on the degree of pastoral care they provide international students, ranging from airport pickups to free travel and medical insurance, textbooks and various other kinds of support.²¹ Of particular interest is the offer to “help to find employment, including employment workshops, personalised C.V. assistance and graduate job search”;²² factors which SIT’s Pastoral Care Manager claims is a major drawcard to SIT since most students are able to find work in or near Invercargill if they are interested in it, both during and after their period of study.²³

An annual average of about 600 international students from Asia were enrolled at SIT between 2010 and 2013, comprising 83 percent of all international students in that institution. China was the largest source of students, with an average of 298 per year, followed by India with 195, and then much smaller numbers from Sri Lanka, Nepal, the Philippines and Japan.

New ethnoscapes and local perspectives on Asian impacts

The new Asian populations in Invercargill and in Southland have had an impact on the emerging ethnoscapes (ethnic landscapes) of the city and region. The physical aspects of these ethnoscapes are similar to those emerging in most parts of New Zealand. One of the most obvious is the proliferation of Asian restaurants. While there has been at least one Chinese restaurant in Invercargill for many years, by 2014 restaurants/cafes included at least five Chinese restaurants, three Indian, two Thai, two Japanese and one Korean, although some of these also served aspects of



Indian Café, Gore



Filipino and Asian Store, Invercargill

other Asian cuisines. Smaller centres in Southland have also diversified from the typically one or two Chinese restaurants to other Asian cuisines, such as in Gore where Chinese has been supplemented by Thai and Indian restaurants. The latter is part of a chain originally started by a Nepalese in Lumsden, but now with six restaurants/cafes in Southland and Otago and one in Auckland.

At least two new Asian grocery stores opened in central Invercargill in 2012: “Asian House” on Tay Street and “Between Sky Supermarket” on Kelvin Street. Slightly further out on Yarrow Street is the “Asian Filipino Store”, Invercargill’s first Filipino shop, supplying a range of goods from the Philippines not previously available. Another Filipino retail outlet is found in Winton, in the centre of the Filipino dairying workforce.

19 Southern Institute of Technology (2014) *International Prospectus 2014/2015*, SIT, Invercargill, p. 2.

20 Ibid; John Wright is a well-known cricket player who, having captained New Zealand, went on to coach both the Indian and New Zealand cricket teams, and was also “SIT Marketing Ambassador” for a period.

21 See <https://www.sit.ac.nz/International/>.

22 Ibid.

23 Interview with Ken McDonald, SIT Pastoral Care Manager, 1 December 2014.



Queen's Park Japanese Garden, Invercargill.

Many cities in New Zealand have sister-cities in other parts of the world, and Invercargill is no exception. Its sister city is Kumagaya in Japan, and the tangible evidence of this linkage is the Queen's Park Japanese Garden and the sculpture "Pacific Rim" by New Zealand sculptor Phil Newbury, which sits in front of the Invercargill City Council building, matching the one located at Kumagaya Town Hall in Japan. Another sister-city is Suqian in China which is said to be "one of China's fastest growing eco cities".²⁴

Less tangible ethnoscapings in Southland and Invercargill are those created by ethnic associations, which serve to foster linkages within ethnic groups as well as between them and others. The Southland Filipino Society has already been mentioned above. One that spans across ethnic groups is the Southland Multicultural Association (SMA) which is part of a nationwide network of multicultural associations catering to migrants from all parts of the world. Its aim is to

"make Southland a safe and welcoming place for newcomers, where we can all learn to appreciate, enjoy and celebrate our cultural differences and diversity".

Typical activities of the SMA include a food festival, potluck dinners and similar events featuring the diverse cultures of the people of the region.²⁵ The SMA also provides advice on settlement issues such as health care, employment law, housing and related issues.

An example of an ethnic association serving a specific group is the Otago Southland Chinese Association, Invercargill Branch. As its name suggests, it was started as a spinoff of an earlier group from Otago (Dunedin), but now has its own executive and agenda. It is made up of a mixture of both longer-term and recent migrants, though few New Zealand born Chinese, since the latter are rare in Invercargill.²⁶ One of the functions of the association is to bring together Chinese who previously had relatively little to do with each other because they were working in a range of occupations and have diverse backgrounds. Most of the members are permanent residents and citizens, with less input from international students as a result of their more transitory nature, and the fact they have their own linkages within the Southern Institution of Technology. The biggest event of the year organised by the association is the Chinese New Year, which largely involves members and their friends. Another regular activity is the organisation of trips to sports tournaments, especially the Easter Tournament in Dunedin, where the Invercargill group competes in lion dancing and table tennis.

Although new migrants from Asia appear to be generally accepted by the Southland 'public' as demonstrated in media coverage, this has not been universal. In 2008 there was considerable media coverage of day-to-day racism. Cases included mothers being ignored at day-care centres and the abuse in the streets of Asian students from SIT by (white power) skinheads and the resulting return home of two Indian students.²⁷ The Mayor says that he and others met some of the skinheads and did some straight talking with them that helped to resolve the situation to some extent.²⁸ He was not the only person to note that one of the merits of a city the size of Invercargill is that it is possible to resolve such issues on a face-to-face basis, as well as to get to know new migrant groups, things that are more difficult in bigger cities.

Although there may be ongoing problems of racism and issues of successful migrant settlement, Mayor Tim Shadbolt notes that Invercargill has evolved from one of New Zealand's last monocultural cities when he first became mayor in 1993 to something quite different, perhaps not fully multicultural, but rapidly evolving to recognise the Asian presence.²⁹

24 Article by Tim Shadbolt in *Southland Times* 5 July 2014.

25 See <http://www.southlandmulticultural.co.nz/>.

26 Information in this paragraph from Jim Wong (Chairman) and Margaret Young (Secretary) and a shared meal at the latter's house with the 'Invercargill sub-branch committee', 1 December 2014.

27 "Foreign students 'abused': meetings with skinheads planned" *Southland Times* 7 October 2008.

28 Interview with Mayor Tim Shadbolt, 2 December 2014.

29 Ibid.

Figure 5. Growth of Asian populations in Invercargill between 1986 and 2013

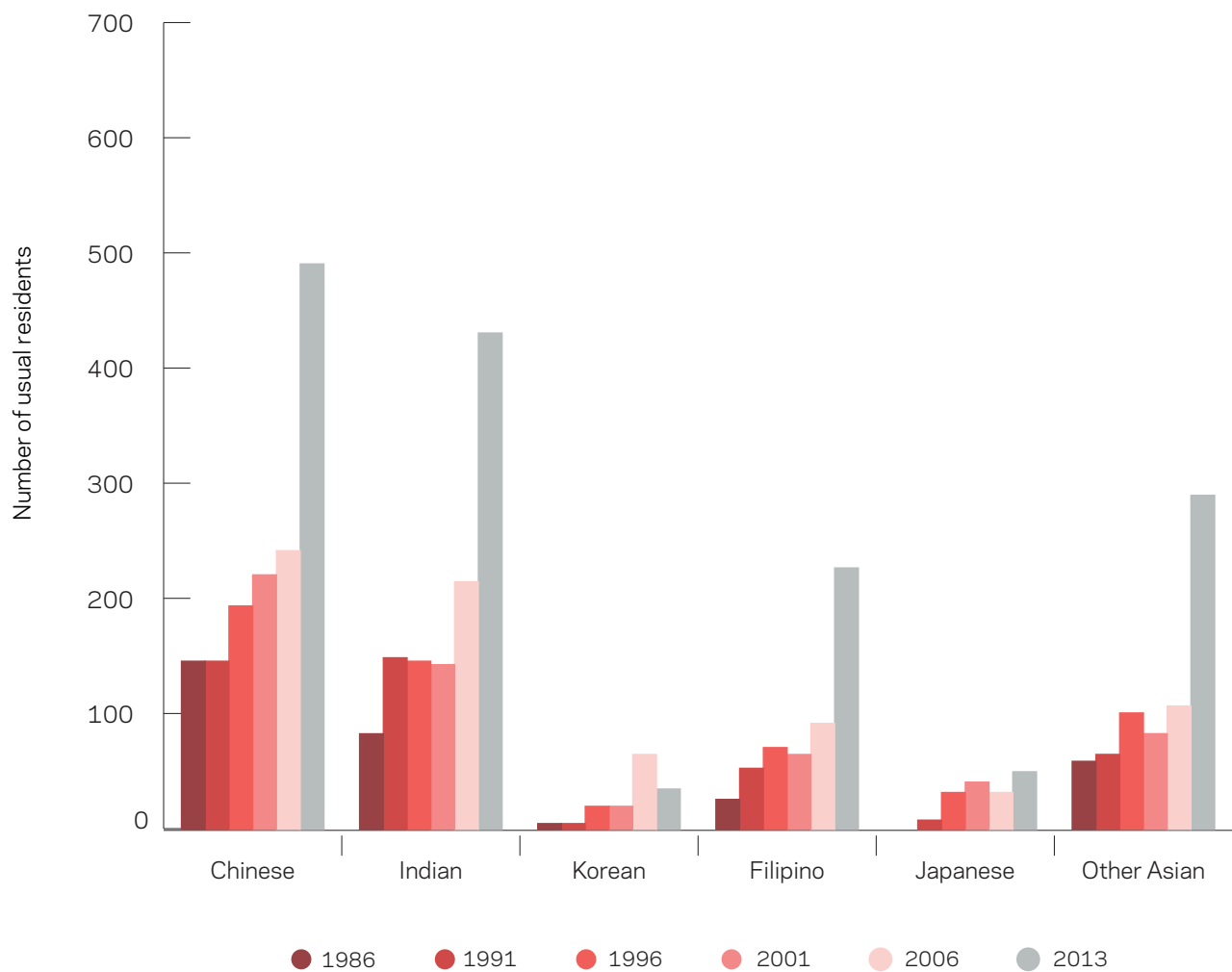
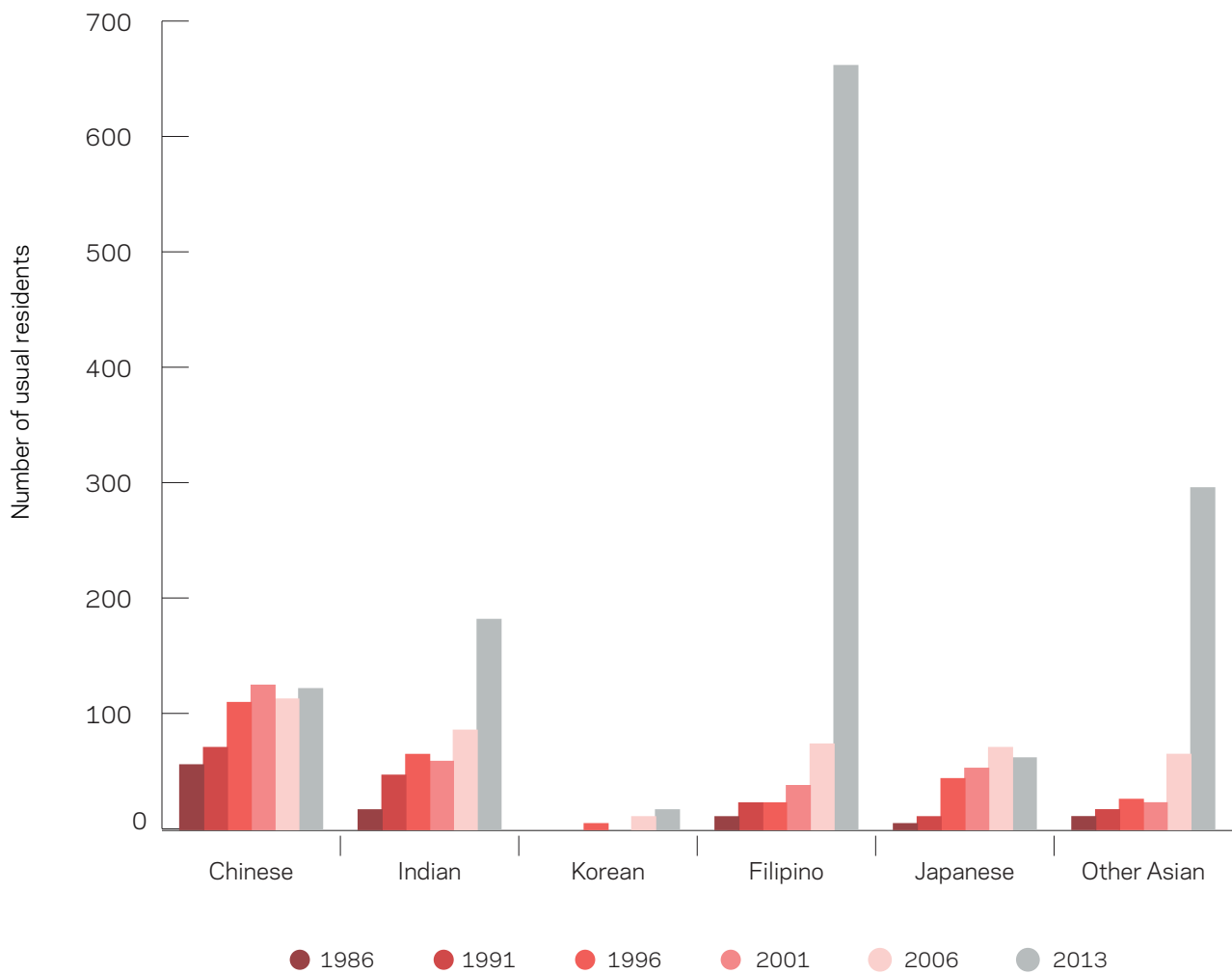


Figure 6. Growth of Asian populations in Southland and Gore Districts between 1986 and 2013





Queenstown

Queenstown

Population and economy

The usually resident population of the Queenstown-Lakes District in 2013 was 28,224.³⁰ This is the smallest population of the urban case studies presented in this report, but in recent years Queenstown-Lakes District has had the highest rate of population growth of any Territorial Authority in New Zealand, averaging just over four percent a year between 2001 and 2013. The Asian population was just over 1,800 in 2013, and this population grew at about twice the rate of the total population between 2001 and 2013.

The Queenstown-Lakes District is part of the Otago Region, and the economy of the latter is largely driven by Dunedin City (which has just over 50 percent of the economic activity of the Region). The largest sectors of the Queenstown economy in terms of employment are retail trade and business services, the former driven by tourism and the latter by real estate.³¹ The third largest employment sector, construction, is driven by both tourism and real estate, and these three employment sectors account for just over 70 percent of all jobs. This points to the fact that the two major drivers of economy activity and growth in the Queenstown-Lakes District are tourism and residential development, in the latter case for employees within the tourist industry but also for those choosing to live in this area for lifestyle reasons. In the period 2002–2012, the rate of economic growth in Queenstown was more than twice the national average, with average annual growth of 5.0 percent for GDP and 4.1 percent for employment (compared to national averages of 2.3 and 1.8 percent).

Historical and contemporary Asian populations of Queenstown

As in other adjacent areas of the South Island, the Queenstown area was first settled by Chinese migrants during the gold rushes of the 1860s onwards. Gold was discovered at Arrowtown in 1862, and when European miners headed to other gold rushes in the South Island, Chinese miners were invited to the area to rework the diggings. By 1876 there were about 4,000 in the 'Chinese settlement', and many mined and traded there for many years, some staying until 1928.³² The historic Chinese Settlement at Arrowtown has become a significant tourist attraction in recent years.



Chinese Settlement, Arrowtown.

Of the Chinese sojourners who arrived during the gold rush and did not return to China, the vast majority moved on to larger urban centres such as Dunedin, Christchurch, Wellington and Auckland, with the Census of 1945 showing precisely three Chinese and no Indians in Queenstown, and none in the adjacent borough of Arrowtown.³³

30 When statistics are presented for the Queenstown-Lakes District, it will often be referred to as 'Queenstown' in this report. This District includes Arrowtown and Wanaka.

31 This section is partly derived from *Otago Economic Overview 2012 (2013)*, Berl Economics, Wellington, especially pp 106–123.

32 Information in this paragraph is from 'Arrowtown: Where history meets nature' <http://www.arrowtown.com/arrowtown/history/>; and 'Arrowtown Chinese settlement', <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/photo/arrowtown-chinese-settlement>.

33 Source: NZ Population Census, 1945, Vol. VIII: *Race and Vol. VII: Birthplaces and duration of residence of overseas-born*, Census and Statistics Department, Wellington.

These numbers scarcely increased in subsequent decades; in 1961 there were four Chinese and no Indians recorded, in 1971, nine Chinese and five Indians and in 1986, 24 Chinese and six Indians.³⁴

The growth of Asian populations in Queenstown between 1986 and 2013 is shown in Figure 7, on page 26. It shows that all of the populations grew from a remarkably small base in 1986, with the Japanese being the largest population throughout this period, rising to 500 in 2013. This rise has taken place despite the fact that the estimated number of Japanese visitors to Queenstown has declined dramatically over the same period, and this is discussed further in the next section. The next largest Asian community is Indian which increased by 700 percent to just over 350 in 2013, while the relative increase of Chinese was more moderate at about 240 percent to just over 300. The number of usually resident Filipinos increased by ten times, admittedly from a very small base, while Koreans and Other Asian populations also increased significantly. Evidence that there is a relatively long-term resident Korean population is suggested by the presence of the Queenstown Korean Church associated with the Wakatipu Community Presbyterian Church.

The degree to which the Asian populations have increased as a result in tourist numbers can be partly inferred from census data. In each Asian group in Queenstown, an average of about 15 percent of people aged 15 and over were studying full-time or part-time, with the exception being Koreans, 30 percent of whom were studying in 2013. Over 80 percent were in the labour force with less than 3 percent of these being unemployed, and this was fairly consistent between different groups, although about 90 percent of Filipinos were employed. Of the employed Japanese population, just under one-half were employed in the Accommodation and Food Services sector, especially for those aged between 30 and 44 years. Retail Trade was the sector with the next largest numbers of Japanese. These two sectors were also important for employment of Chinese and Indian residents, with Filipinos being more concentrated in Retail Trade. Concentration in these two sectors emphasises the importance of tourism-related

work in attracting Asian workers to Queenstown and retaining them there. The working population of Asian origin are likely to be a combination of permanent residents, those on medium-term work permits and those on working holidays, although the census does not provide data on immigration categories. The term of many Asian working holiday visas is one year so it is not clear how many of these would have been enumerated as 'usual residents' in the census (minimum residence of one year), but it is known that Queenstown is a popular destination for working holidaymakers from many countries.³⁵



Queenstown Korean Church

34 These numbers include what was then Queenstown Borough and Arrowtown Borough within Lake County. Source: Census reports on ethnicity 1961, 1971, 1981.

35 Statistics NZ (2014) 'International migration to and from Otago region: 1996-2013', http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/migration/international-travel-and-migration-articles/international-migration-to-from-otago.aspx.

Case study: Tourism and Japanese community

The fact that the Japanese comprise the largest Asian resident group in Queenstown, and have for some time, may be attributed to their role in the tourism industry and the large number of Japanese tourists who visit Queenstown. However, the significant downturn in the number of tourists from Japan over the last decade has significantly impacted Queenstown, with numbers in the late 1990s averaging about 70,000 a year falling to only about 20,000 in recent years (Figure 8, on page 27). This parallels a national trend in which the number of Japanese visitors to New Zealand steadily declined between 2002 and 2011, before beginning a recovery starting in 2012. Despite this decline in Queenstown, the number of Japanese usual residents has continued to rise since the early twenty-first century, although proportionately this has been less than other Asian groups (Figure 7, on page 26). Of those usually resident in 2013, about 60 percent of all migrants arrived in New Zealand before 2006, suggesting that they are permanent residents or citizens rather than being reliant on work permits. This contrasts with usual residents from India, the Philippines and China, who had mostly arrived since 2006.

The established nature of at least part of the Japanese community in Queenstown is suggested by the existence of the Japanese Family Society of Queenstown, established in 2011, with a membership of 20 to 30 families.³⁶ It has two stated objectives. The first is to establish links between the Japanese and wider communities of Queenstown which involves participating in public events and multicultural activities. The second is to play a role in passing on Japanese culture to the children of Japanese residents. This involves a range of initiatives, including a 'Japanese supplementary school' teaching Japanese to primary-aged children after school, maintenance of a Japanese library, 'Japanese Q net', which is an emergency contact network with links to the Japanese embassy in Wellington, and a 'Japan kids club', which facilitates reading, crafts and other activities to maintain Japanese culture.

Evolving ethnoscapes and local perspectives on Asian impacts

As a major tourist destination for many years, Queenstown and the surrounding lakes area have had evolving Asian ethnoscapes (ethnic landscapes) resulting from the presence of tourists from Japan, Korea, China and many other Asian countries, as well as the residents from various Asian countries who service the tourist industry directly or indirectly. If there are an average of about 200,000 Asian tourists each year, and if each of these stayed only an average of two days, there would be 1,100 Asian tourists in Queenstown on any one day (although the reality is more cyclic than this). One of the physical manifestations of this has been the development of restaurants and cafés serving Asian cuisine. In early 2015 there were more than 30 which served Asian food, and ranked according to number these were Indian, Thai, "Asian" (with no further specification), Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese and Malaysian.

Queenstown has become a favourite location for the filming of India-based Bollywood movies. According to Te-Ara:

"Since the box-office success of Kaho naa pyaar hai (Say I Love You), filmed in Queenstown, New Zealand has been seen as an ideal location for such movies."³⁷

Attracting Bollywood and other moviemakers to Queenstown has become the role of a dedicated marketing arm of Destination Queenstown, the local tourism authority.³⁸ In 2010, a New Zealand Bollywood line producer, Uma Singh [co-owner of Kuran (NZ)] said:

"In the last 16 years we've shot 130 (Bollywood) movies in Queenstown and Christchurch mostly, another six or seven in Wellington, eight in Auckland and three in Rotorua."³⁹

The Mayor of the Queenstown-Lakes District Council, Vanessa van Uden, says the Council is increasingly looking beyond tourists themselves to recognise the increasing diversity of the Asian residential population.⁴⁰ She notes that the local high school has 36 different

36 This paragraph based on interview with Kana Takahasi, President of the Japanese Family Association, Queenstown, 4 December 2014.

37 Te-Ara. <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/indians/page-5/>.

38 <http://www.queenstownnz.co.nz/Media/filming-in-queenstown/>.

39 *Southland Times* 16 January 2010 'New Zealand wakes up: Good morning Bollywood'. <http://www.stuff.co.nz/southland-times/news/3234688/NZ-wakes-up-good-morning-Bollywood/>.

40 Interview with Mayor Vanessa van Uden, Queenstown, 3 December 2014.

ethnicities, including many Asian. She notes that although the Council has connections to some groups, such as Japanese and Korean, many migrant groups pay their rates regularly but do not engage much with local government or expect extra services from the Council. Nevertheless, some efforts have been made to connect with minority communities including a link to translate the Council website into many other languages, as well as a planned 'multicultural hui' in 2015.

Queenstown can be seen as a place where the 'Asian presence' is manifest across a continuum of residence and mobility types, ranging from tourism to permanent residency, and originating from many different Asian countries. The arrival of Asian tourists, especially from China, has been rising rapidly in recent years, and workers who speak the relevant languages will be increasingly in demand. Thus, the number of temporary workers from various Asian countries is likely to increase to service the tourism industry. Students are also attracted to a number of educational options available there. The lifestyle options which draw workers and students to this part of New Zealand are also likely to continue to attract permanent residents.

Figure 7. Growth of Asian populations in Queenstown-Lakes District between 1986 and 2013

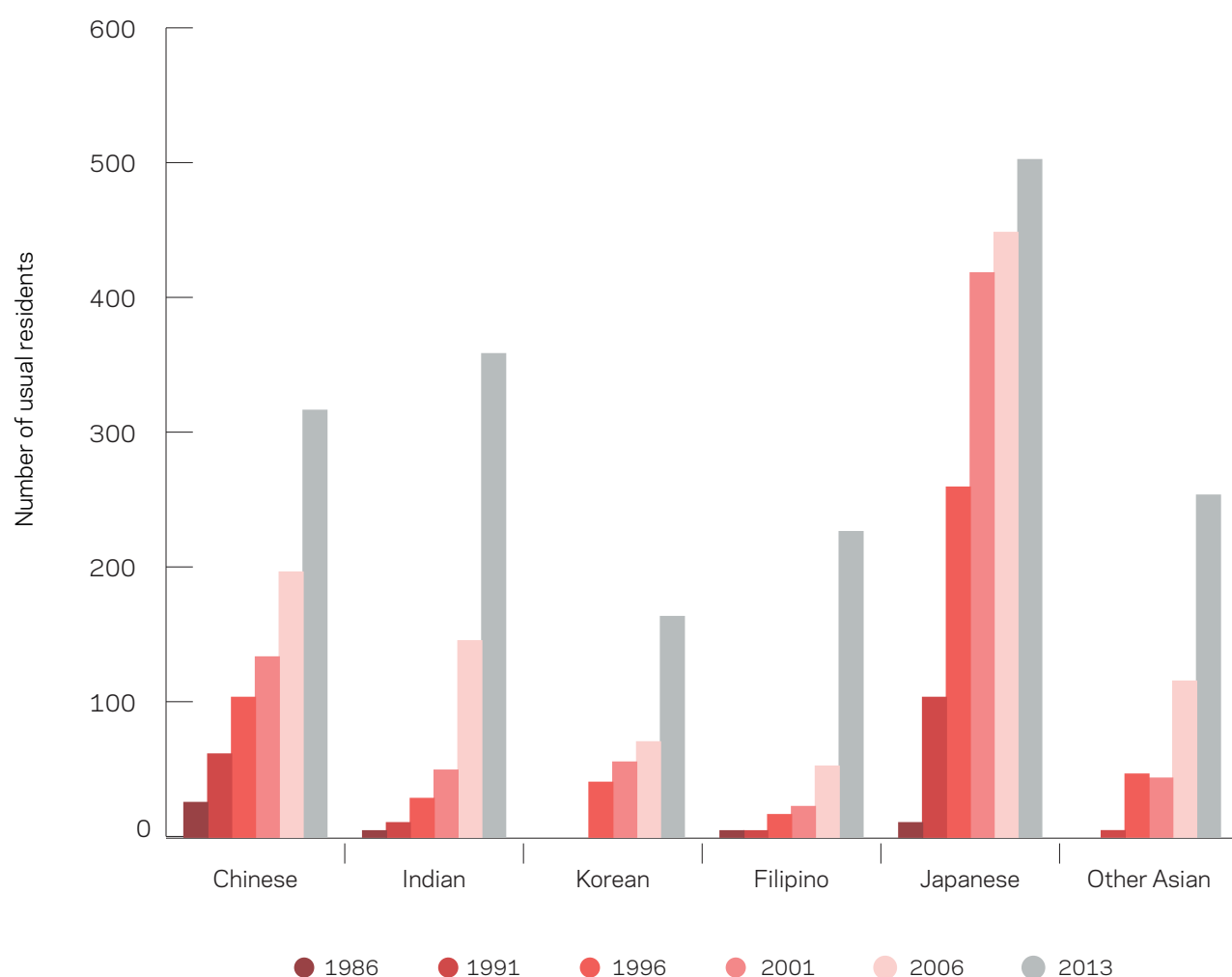
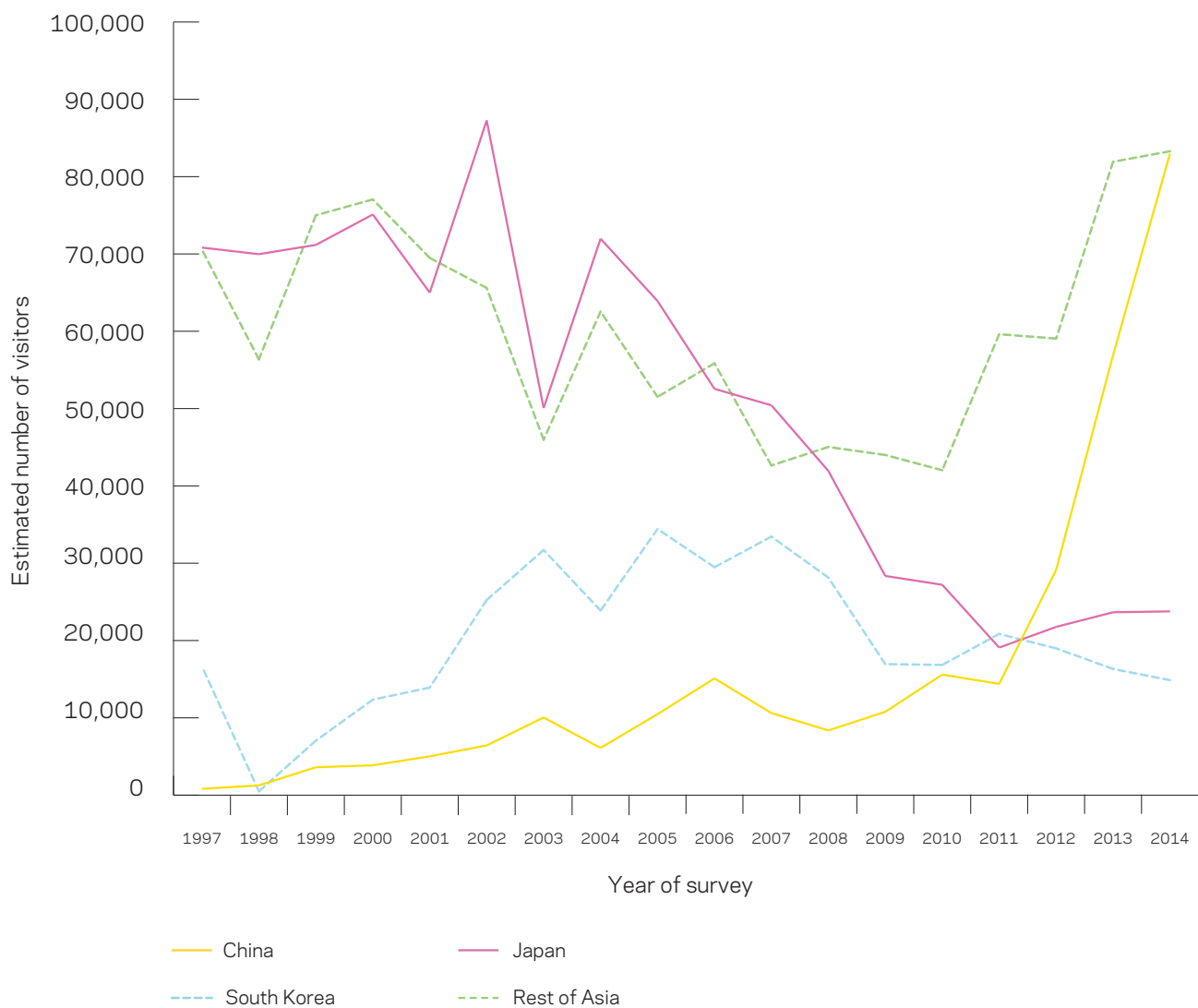


Figure 8. Asian visitors, by major country of origin to Queenstown-Lakes District between 1997 and 2014





Nelson

5

Nelson

Population and economy

The Nelson City Council area is largely urban, but to some extent Nelson City services the economic activities in the 'less-urban' Tasman and Marlborough Districts either side of it. The population of Nelson in 2013 was 46,437 while Tasman District had 47,154 people and Marlborough District 43,416. Between 1991 and 2013, the populations of these three regions grew at rates similar to the national average (1.26 percent per year), with Nelson at an annual average of 1.27 percent, Tasman slightly higher at 1.39 percent and Marlborough slightly lower at 1.24 percent.

In 2013, Nelson City had 1,956 people who identified with an Asian ethnicity, comprising 4.4 percent of the population, and this population had increased by about six times since 1986 (Figure 3, on page 10). The Marlborough District's usually resident Asian population number 1,182 and Tasman District's 885 (comprising 2.8 and 2.0 percent of their populations respectively). This section focuses on the Asian populations of Nelson, but the context of adjacent populations is relevant to some of the discussions.

Nelson has a surprisingly diverse range of economic activities for a small region.⁴¹ Its economy services the primary agricultural activities in surrounding areas as well as several specialised local activities, and has an above average share of skilled and highly skilled labour force, and a below average unemployment rate. Nelson is said to have a comparative advantage in fishing and aquaculture (fish farming), and is the location of New Zealand's largest independent science institution, the Cawthron Institute, which specialises in research and testing in marine and freshwater environment and industry. It is also the base for the two largest fish processing companies in New Zealand: Sealord, owned by Māori iwi and Nissui corporation of Japan, and Talley's, owned by the Talley family. The port of Nelson exports apples and pears, seafood and forest products and imports mostly fuel.

The broader area including Marlborough and Tasman is an important hub for horticultural and viticultural producers, and the presence of vineyards and wineries has been an increasing part of the tourist appeal of this part of the South Island.

Historical and contemporary Asian populations of Nelson

There is little evidence of any significant number of Asian residents in Nelson in the nineteenth century. While there were gold rushes in the vicinity of Nelson in the late nineteenth century, there doesn't appear to have been the degree of Chinese participation that was found further south. However, there are likely to have been occasional Chinese visiting and staying in the area in the decades after the gold rushes of the South Island, and most probably Indian itinerant traders who travelled around New Zealand in the early twentieth century.

The Census of 1945 recorded 60 Chinese in the Nelson Provincial District (two-thirds of whom were male), with 20 of this total residing in Nelson City.⁴² One Indian female was recorded in the whole province at this time. In 1961 the Nelson Statistical Area (SA, which replaced the province) the numbers were still minimal, with 59 Chinese and 19 Indian (17 of whom were 'Indian-European', whose numbers had increased in most parts of New Zealand after the independence of India in 1947), with about half in each case living in Nelson City. In 1971 the Nelson SA had 71 Chinese and 90 Indians, with the majority of Chinese living in Nelson City but only one-fifth of the Indians, suggesting different economic niches of these two groups. By 1981 these numbers had changed to 99 Chinese and 66 Indian.

41 The source for the economic and employment information in this paragraph is MBIE (2014), p. 34.

42 The numbers in this paragraph include mixed ethnicities. Sources are the same as for the Invercargill and Queenstown data.

The growth of the Asian populations of Nelson between 1986 and 2013 is shown in Figure 9, on page 35. The largest individual groups are Chinese and Indian, with both having increased significantly between 2001 and 2013, most notably the Indian population, which tripled over this period. The decline in Chinese between 1996 and 2001 appears to have been related to changes in the fishing industry based in Nelson. The Filipino population nearly doubled and Japanese showed an 80 percent increase since 2001. The greatest recent increases shown in Figure 9, on page 35, are of Burmese and Other Asian. In both cases this can be explained by the immigration of refugee populations; many of the Other Asian are Bhutanese. An overview of Nelson as a refugee centre is presented in the next section, and the case studies of Burmese and Bhutanese follow that.

The proportions of the usually resident Chinese and Indian populations aged 15 and over that were studying either full time or part time in 2013 was about 30 percent in each case. Of the Japanese, Filipino and Korean populations, 20 percent or less were students. About 40 percent of the Chinese who were employed were labourers, whereas the Indian workers were more spread across occupational sectors (managers, community and service workers, professionals, labourers). Filipinos were mostly community and services workers, labourers and professionals. These variations may be due to the different migration paths of the groups, with the high proportion of Chinese working as labourers suggesting that many are current or recently graduated students. Statistical breakdowns from the census are not available for Burmese and Bhutanese, but evidence from other sources on their activities is presented below. For Chinese, Indian, Japanese and Filipino residents of Nelson, Accommodation and Food Services were important economic sectors of employment, as was Manufacturing for Chinese, Retail for Indians, and Health Care and Social Assistance for Filipinos.

Migrants on temporary work permits accounted for some of the Asian residents of Nelson. Between 2010 and 2015, restaurant and café work was the most important economic sector for workers from India and China, while aged care and nursing were most significant for migrants from Philippines.⁴³

Case study: Nelson as refugee centre

There are six cities in New Zealand designated as refugee settlement centres: Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Hamilton, Palmerston North and Nelson. Despite the fact that Nelson has the smallest population of these centres and was only designated as a refugee settlement centre in 2007, it has a relatively large population of refugee origin, with an estimated 750 ex-refugees resident in 2012, a number which has continued to grow.⁴⁴ There are a range of institutions and individuals actively working to settle and integrate refugees.

Although Nelson was only designated as a refugee settlement centre in 2007, refugees have been settling there since the 1970s, mainly Vietnamese and Cambodians but also including small numbers of others. The first substantial group of Burmese arrived in 2001 (note that 'Burmese' as used here includes Burmese, Karen (Kayin), Kayan, Zomi, Chin and Rakhine). The Bhutanese started arriving in 2009, and are almost totally comprised of Lhotshampa people of Nepali origin, but originally resident in Bhutan, and forced out to refugee camps in Nepal from the late 1980s onwards.

A detailed report was written in 2012 called *Settling in: Refugees in Nelson* and this was researched and authored by a range of agencies working with refugees and former refugees.⁴⁵ It reports that there is "a pleasing level of collaboration" amongst these agencies, which include Refugee Services Aotearoa NZ (Refugee Services), Nelson Multicultural Council (NMC), English Language Partners (ELP), Settling In (Family and Community Services, Ministry of Social Development), Nelson Marlborough Institute of Technology (NMIT), New Zealand Police, Nelson Bays Community Law Service, Victory Primary School, Victory Community Health, Nelson Refugee Forum and "many others".⁴⁶ Since these are well documented in the *Settling In* report, only a couple of examples will be elaborated here.

The Nelson Multicultural Council (MNC) is one of many multicultural councils throughout New Zealand, however it is largely governed and funded locally. It describes itself as

43 Immigration New Zealand, *W3 database*.

44 Much of the general information in this section comes from *Settling In: Refugees in Nelson* (2012). Author(s) and publisher unspecified but report is available on Nelson Multicultural Council website: <http://www.nelsonmulticultural.co.nz/INFORMATION/Settling+In+Refugees+in+Nelson+Report.html>.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid., p. 5; significant among the "many others" is the Red Cross, which does considerable work with (former) refugees in Nelson.

"a non-government organisation which supports migrants, former refugees and people from minority ethnicities in the Nelson/Tasman region with their settlement process. It also promotes positive race relations through community education, ensuring people of all ethnicities feel empowered so that they can actively contribute to our community."⁴⁷

One thing that gives it a profile in Nelson is that it has a storefront presence in the downtown Multicultural Resource Centre which serves as a drop-in centre and information node for migrants, including many former refugees. In relation to the latter, one advantage of this resource centre is that it has an ongoing presence, whereas many of the services provided to former refugees are available only during the first year of residence in New Zealand, and then they are "on their own" to a considerable extent.⁴⁸ As part of its mission to promote race relations, the NMC has recently published a multicultural cookbook called *Around the World in Tasty Ways*.⁴⁹



Victory Community Centre, Nelson.

The Victory Community Centre is co-located with the Victory Primary School in the suburb of Victory, one of the lower decile areas of Nelson, and an area in which many former refugees live. Its mission/whakatakanga is

"to provide community-based, accessible and appropriate services and activities that support health and well-being,"

and its objectives revolve around providing services responsive to cultural diversity recognising the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi.⁵⁰ Services provided include health clinics, a gardening programme, a drop-in centre and general advice on settlement and integration issues.

Case studies:

Burmese and Bhutanese populations in Nelson

Between the census years of 2006 and 2013, there were 1,952 Burmese refugees admitted to New Zealand, the largest number of any national group over this period. It should be noted that refugee origin is classified by nationality, meaning the country that one has/had citizenship in rather than the country from which one came immediately before immigrating. In the case of Burmese, this may not always equate with ethnicity, since many of those displaced from Myanmar may not consider themselves to be 'Burmese' (more precisely 'Burman' or 'Bamar') and in the case of the Nelson population these include Karen (Kayin), Kayan, Zomi, Chin, and Rakhine.⁵¹ These and other minority groups have been discriminated against for decades by the Burmese military regime that was installed following a coup in 1962, and in some cases these groups have been in armed conflict with the government. Thus the minority groups form a high proportion of the refugees who have been in refugee camps in Thailand and Malaysia, but there are also many Burmese/Burmans as well who opposed the military dictatorship. In recent years, there has been some movement towards democracy in Myanmar. An election in 2010 resulted in a nominally civilian government, though one which was still partly controlled by the military. A by-election in 2012 (for a fraction of the parliamentary seats) resulted in a resounding victory for the National League for Democracy (NLD), led by Aung San Suu Kyi, who had been released from house arrest in 2010. These movements towards full democracy have been hailed internationally, but in 2015 the UNHCR estimates that there are still half a million people in nearby countries who are externally displaced from Myanmar.⁵²

A few Burmese arrived in Nelson as refugees in the 1990s, but most have arrived since 2000. Census data used in Figure 9, on page 35, shows that there were nearly 300 usually resident Burmese in Nelson in 2013. However, a demographic estimate made in October 2012 in consultation with community leaders suggested there were 459 people in Nelson with refugee origins in

47 See <http://www.nelsonmulticultural.co.nz/>.

48 Interview with Bridget Thomson, Coordinator, Nelson Multicultural Resource Centre, 12 February 2015.

49 Nelson Multicultural Council (2012). *Around the World in Tasty Ways*, MNC, Nelson.

50 http://victorycommunitycentre.co.nz/sites/default/files/docs/VCH_Rules_revised_apr13_0.pdf.

51 This section includes information from *Settling In: Refugees in Nelson* (2012), but also general news sources not specifically referenced.

52 These numbers do not include those internally displaced (c. 374,000 people) or stateless (c. 810,000 people). See <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e4877d6.html#>.

Myanmar.⁵³ This may be a result of some census undercount, but probably has more to do with the diversity of identities held by this group so that many may have self-identified as Chin, Kayin and so on rather than Burmese.⁵⁴ The largest group in Nelson, estimated in 2012 at 336, are Chin, originating in northern Myanmar, and who are predominantly Christian. The latter fact, and their support for the democracy movement after a military crackdown on the democracy movement from 1988 onwards, were significant reasons for them to be targeted by the military regime.⁵⁵ The next largest group were Kayin, with an estimated 55 people, and Burmese, with 42.

After arriving, most Burmese were unemployed for a period, but over time, most have entered the formal labour force.⁵⁶ The largest source of employment in 2014 was with Sealord in the fish processing plant, and the second largest employment source was in the horticultural sector working in orchards and fruit packhouses. Other types of employment ranged from working in supermarkets to semi-professional technical work. Most Burmese are in state houses or in private rental housing, especially around Toi Toi, and only a couple of families own their own homes.

Although there is no formal ethnic association of Burmese, sectors of the community meet for particular events such as the commemoration of the events of 1988, the Burmese New Year in April and Race Unity Day. Since the largest group, the Chin, are mostly Christian, they have tended to participate in 'mainstream' churches, while those who are Buddhist do not have a temple of their own, but sometimes use the Thai Buddhist temple located in a house in Richmond. Settlement support for the Burmese community seems to have improved significantly since 'the early days' with many being involved with some of the agencies mentioned above, including the Multicultural Resource Centre and the Victory Community Centre.

After Burmese, the second largest group of refugees entering New Zealand between 2006 and 2013 was Bhutanese, with 774 arriving in that period. Most of these have been settled in three cities: Christchurch, Palmerston North and Nelson. Bhutanese refugees in New Zealand originate from the Lhotshampa people of southern Bhutan, who are ethnically and linguistically Nepalese and Hindu, in contrast to the majority population of northern Bhutan who are ethnically Drukpas and Buddhist.⁵⁷ These two groups had lived together peacefully through the twentieth century until a new citizenship law in the late 1980s was implemented, which stripped many Lhotshampa of their citizenship and other rights. A period of protests and confrontation between the two groups resulted in the withdrawal of government services, human rights abuses, and the expulsion of many Lhotshampa in the 1990s. Others fled 'voluntarily', and by 2005, there were over 100,000 Bhutanese refugees, mostly in Nepal and some in India. Nepal has not allowed these refugees to become citizens or integrate into Nepalese society, and many Lhotshampa resist this possibility as well as resisting initiatives to resettle in other countries on the grounds that the just outcome should be resettlement in Bhutan. However, others have taken the opportunity to emigrate, since a political solution does not seem likely in the foreseeable future. Of those coming to New Zealand, most have arrived since 2009.

It has not been possible to get precise figures from the 2013 Census on the numbers of Bhutanese in Nelson, but a survey in 2012 estimated there were 112 residents originating from Bhutan. In early 2015 one former Bhutanese refugee who knows the community well estimated there were about 200.⁵⁸ The recency of Bhutanese settlement in New Zealand means that most of the older population do not speak much English, although there are many attending language classes at the Nelson Marlborough Institute of Technology (NMIT). Virtually all children are attending school and some have completed high school. In terms of employment, some adults are still unemployed as a result of problems with

53 Statistics from *Settling In: Refugees in Nelson* (2012).

54 It is not clear how these have been classified. In the full list of ethnicities coded from the census, none of the minorities within Myanmar have been coded, so some of these may have been put into categories such as "Southeast Asian not further defined" (1,271 in NZ), "Southeast Asian not elsewhere classified" (723), or "Asian not further defined" (4,623).

55 See Minority Rights Group International at <http://www.minorityrights.org/4497/myanmarburma/chin.html>.

56 Much of the information in this section is based on an interview with Mwe Mwe Htain, who arrived as a Burmese refugee in 2001 (12 January 2015).

57 The information in this section is largely derived from *Settling In: Refugees in Nelson* (2012) and an interview with Govinder (Tika) Regmi, President of the Bhutanese Society of Nelson, who arrived as a Bhutanese refugee in 2010 (12 January 2015).

58 Interview with Govinder Regmi.

speaking English, not having appropriate skills, and/or not having a driver's licence. Of those who are employed, the largest number work in horticulture (e.g. working in glasshouses near Richmond), with small numbers in other work activities such as construction, the Sealord fish processing factory, a cider factory and a couple in refugee services. Most families are housed in private rentals with a small number having Housing New Zealand houses, and three families "with secure jobs" have bought their own houses.

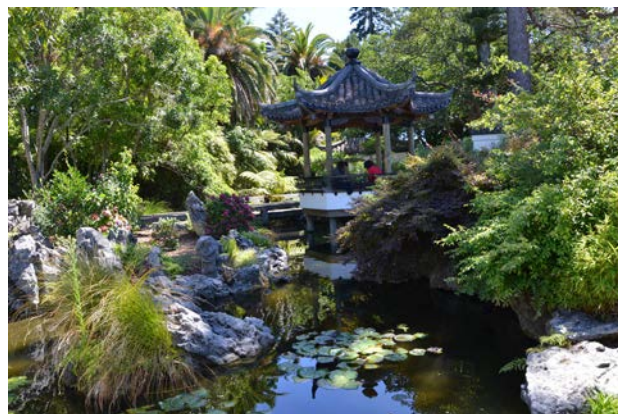
The Bhutanese Society of Nelson was formed in 2010, with a website still under construction. Its functions are mainly to support the settlement and integration of new migrants as well as to celebrate and maintain language and customs. The largest celebration is Dashain taking place in September or October, and celebrated by Nepalese Hindus worldwide. While this celebration would normally take place in a public hall in Nelson, other smaller celebrations are more likely to take place in homes.

Evolving ethnoscapes and local perspectives on Asian impacts in Nelson

The former refugee populations of Nelson have been the focus of discussion in this report because these differentiate Nelson from other centres of similar size in New Zealand. However, other Asian populations have also had an important impact on the evolving ethnoscapes (ethnic landscapes) of Nelson.

The largest Asian group in Nelson is Chinese, and their presence is felt in various ways. The New Zealand Chinese Association Nelson Branch organises various events, with the largest being Chinese New Year celebrations in January or February. A recent celebration, held at the Victory Community Centre in February 2015, served the dual purpose of being a social and cultural event for its own members as well as a means to reach out to the non-Chinese community in Nelson.⁵⁹ One of Nelson's sister cities is Huangshi, located in Hubei province of China, and this city of about two and a half million people has built the serenely beautiful Huangshi Chinese Garden near downtown Nelson. This linkage is symptomatic of linkages between Nelson and China which are less visible.

The Nelson Regional Economic Development Agency has strong linkages to China, and its CEO points out that these have developed over many years, and that Chinese interest in Nelson and its region relates to opportunities in wine, water, honey and other products as well as New Zealand's expertise in dairying.⁶⁰ Further, he emphasises the role of international students studying at Nelson Marlborough Institute of Technology (NMIT) in Nelson and the future economic and cultural linkages and opportunities which this creates between China and Nelson. There are an average of just over 1,000 international students at NMIT each year and, in the years 2010 to 2013, 90 percent of these came from Asia, with two-thirds of the Asian students coming from China. India provided about 15 percent of the Asian students and other Asian countries, including Japan, Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand had small numbers. An interesting example of Japanese entrepreneurship in Nelson is provided by a company called Urban Hippy whose tongue-in-cheek slogan is "It's the only miso made in Nelson, New Zealand".⁶¹ Takehito Maeda started the miso business in 2012 and prides himself on the fact that the ingredients are mostly locally sourced: soy beans from Motueka, natural sea salt from Blenheim, but there is no New Zealand rice available, so that comes from Australia!



Huangshi Chinese Garden, Nelson (sister city).

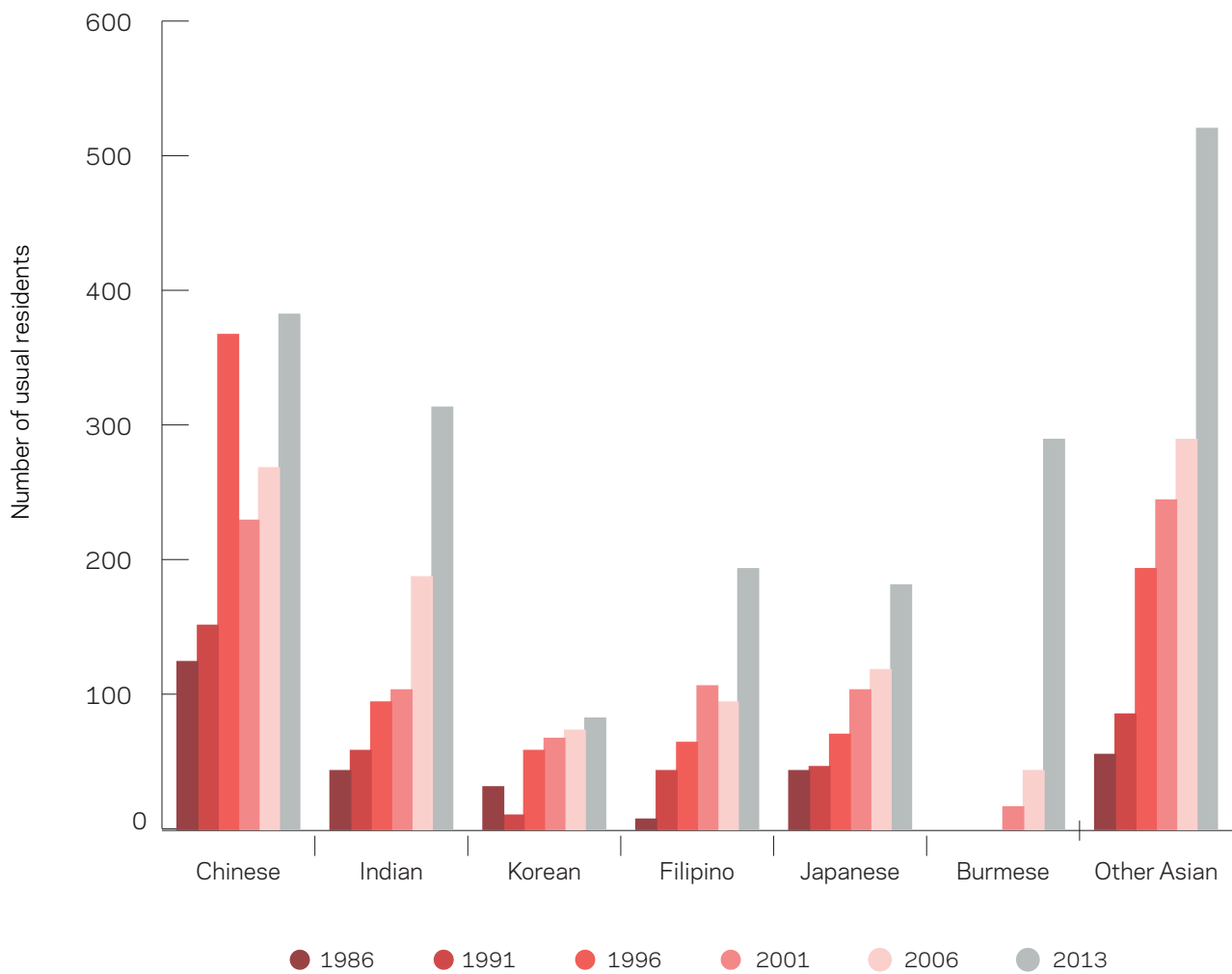
59 Nelson Media Agency. "Chinese New Year celebrations in Nelson". 9 February 2015. www.scoop.co.nz/stories/AK1502/S00159/Chinese-new-year-celebrations-in-nelson/htm, accessed 11 February 2015.

60 Interview with Bill Findlater, CEO, Nelson Regional Development Agency, 12 January 2015.

61 See <http://miso.co.nz/>.

The populations of Nelson and adjacent areas have grown at about the national average, resisting a trend for smaller 'regional' cities and regions to grow at a relatively slow rate compared to metropolitan regions, and this is partly a result of economic diversification into tourism, horticulture and viticulture. This growth has provided employment opportunities which have attracted a range of migrants from various Asian nations as well as from within New Zealand, both longer-term residents and shorter-term workers and students. This diversification has been supplemented by Nelson's unique situation as a small city designated as a refugee destination, accommodating national groups who do not normally arrive in New Zealand as permanent residents or workers. The help given in settlement and integration of both refugee and other migrant groups by individuals and organisations in Nelson makes it an interesting case study of the positive possibilities of interaction between migrant and host societies in New Zealand.

Figure 9. Growth of Asian populations of Nelson City between 1986 and 2013





Napier-Hastings

Napier-Hastings

Population and economy

The Hawke's Bay region is made up of four Territorial Authorities (TAs), of which Napier City and Hastings are two. Napier City is largely urban, while Hastings District comprises the city of Hastings as well as a considerable rural area and a few small towns. It surrounds Napier, so that Hastings District includes the economic hinterland of both Hastings and Napier. In 2013, the population of Hastings was 73,245 and Napier 46,437. These two units together are often referred to as Napier-Hastings, as they are at times in this report. Between 1991 and 2013, the populations of these two TAs have grown at about one-half of the national rate, with average annual growth of 0.6 percent in Hastings and 0.5 percent in Napier. This is considered to be a reasonable level of growth, since the national average is dominated by the large size and rapid growth of Auckland, and the reality that many 'regional' cities over this period had static or declining populations (39 out of 66 TAs had average annual growth rates below 0.5 percent, with 20 of these showing population declines). The Asian population of Napier-Hastings in 2013 was 4,884, or 4.3 percent of the population. This was a tripling of the Asian population since 1991, a rate that was about 2.5 times higher than the growth of the total population.

The Hawke's Bay has a comparative advantage in horticulture and viticulture, with some of New Zealand's best wines originating in the region, as well as considerable quantities of fruit and vegetables for domestic and international consumption.⁶² It follows then that food and beverage manufacturing is a significant employment sector, as are sheep, beef and grain farming and agricultural services. Wage levels are below the national average as a result of the relatively low wage levels in some of these economic sectors, and seasonality is a significant issue, attracting people on work visas, including some through the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme.

Tourism has been growing in recent years, especially those coming from within New Zealand, and attractions include the Art Deco reputations of both cities, and vineyard tours and stays.

Historical and contemporary Asian populations of Napier and Hastings

The Chinese historically have been the largest group in the Hawke's Bay, though their numbers have been relatively small through the first part of the twentieth century. In 1945 there were only 92 Chinese identified in the census, with males outnumbering females by three to one. These numbers slowly grew so that by 1961 there were 498 Chinese in the Hawke's Bay Statistical Area, and the much greater gender balance suggests the in-migration of families. Relatively little growth took place for two decades with the Napier-Hastings Statistical Division enumerating 547 in 1971 and Napier and Hastings Urban Areas together totalling 525 Chinese in 1981. The data are problematic, however, since in 1971 and 1981 rural areas appear to have been excluded.⁶³

The growth of the Indian population of Napier-Hastings and Hawke's Bay generally has been a recent phenomenon. In 1945, there were only four Indians recorded in the whole of the Hawke's Bay, and while 69 people had India as a birthplace, it seems these may have included many (European?) children of ex-colonial officials who had served in the 'British raj'. By 1961 there were 83 Indians (gender-balanced) in the Hawke's Bay Statistical Area. In 1971, the number appears to drop to 64 and in 1981, 72 were recorded. However, as with the Chinese, it seems that rural populations are not included in these numbers.

Figure 10, on page 41, shows that the Chinese population of Napier-Hastings was significant before the immigration changes of 1987 and has continued to grow in recent years. Until 2006 it was the largest Asian group in Napier-Hastings,

62 Ministry of Business, Innovation and Enterprise (MBIE) (2014) *Regional Economic Activity Report 2014*, MBIE, Wellington, pp. 26-27.

63 These numbers are problematic because of the changing published areas of enumeration. The 1981 data include the two Urban Areas of Napier and Hastings, while some of the earlier data appear to include all of the Hawke's Bay.

but the Indian population has grown more rapidly throughout the period since 1986 and by the 2013 Census it had become larger than the Chinese. Notably, the Indian population more than doubled between 2001 and 2013, and proportionately the number of Filipinos grew at an even higher rate.

For Chinese, Indian, Korean and Filipino populations, approximately 20 percent were studying full-time or part-time in 2013, while about a quarter of Japanese were in this category. Of international students a moderate number were studying at the Eastern Institute of Technology in Napier; average numbers between 2010 and 2013 were from: India 99, China 66, Philippines 51, South Korea 20, Thailand 15, and small numbers from other Asian countries. About 63 percent of the Chinese population aged 15 and over was in the labour force in 2013, about ten percent less than Indian and Filipino populations, suggesting longer-term residence and a higher proportion who were retired. All groups had between four and six percent unemployed in 2013. For the larger Asian groups, the largest occupational sector was labouring, with about 35 percent of Indian, 30 percent of Filipino and 25 percent of Chinese in this category. For all groups, a higher proportion of those in labouring and less-skilled occupations were in Hastings rather than Napier, reflecting the location of agricultural employment in Hastings, and the lower pay in this sector. Each Asian group had about 15 percent of its adult population occupied as professionals, with Chinese having more managers than Indian or Filipino, but the latter having a higher proportion of semi-professionals and community and social service workers. For Indians in the labour force, the greatest concentration of workers is in Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing, mainly in Hastings, but in both cities there are also significant numbers of jobs in Health Care and Social Assistance, Accommodation and Food, and Retail sectors. Smaller numbers of Chinese are more evenly spread between these same economic sectors.

Case study:

Minorities within a minority

Asians are a minority grouping in most parts of New Zealand, including Napier and Hastings. Within this minority, most attention, including in this report, has been paid to the larger Asian groups of Chinese and Indian, and to a lesser extent Korean, Filipino and Japanese. Yet within these groups, and beyond these groups, there are even smaller Asian groups that have their own settlement histories and issues.

Of the Asian groups not shown in Figure 10, on page 41, the largest is Thai, with over 200 members in Napier-Hastings, and this is larger than the Korean group. Other groups with more than 50 members each are Vietnamese, Sri Lankan, Cambodian and Indonesian. Interestingly, four of these five minority groups also practise what can be considered as a minority religion, Buddhism. Within Napier-Hastings, Buddhism is the fourth largest stated religious affiliation among Asians after Christianity, Sikhism and Hinduism, with just over 500 adherents.⁶⁴ Figure 11, on page 42, shows the Asian ethnicity of those who affiliate with Buddhism, showing that Thai are the largest group, followed by Chinese, Vietnamese, Japanese, Cambodian and Sri Lankan. Thai have had the largest influence, with the development and construction of the Pathumrungsawataram Monastery near Clive in Hastings District. Earlier, the Thai and Buddhist community was based at a transitional monastery in Tamatea, and the new monastery was opened in 2012 and features a Lotus temple dedicated to Queen Rungsi Wattana which serves as a hub for the Buddhist community of all ethnicities and origins. The fact that the Buddhist community is reaching out to the wider community is a continuation of the Thai community's involvement in cultural and multicultural events such as the Hastings Blossom Parade, the Thai and Laotian Food Fair (at Tamatea) and the staging of a Thai Extravaganza event at the Hawke's Bay Opera House Plaza.⁶⁵

A representative of the Sri Lankan community in the Hawke's Bay elaborates on his community's position as such a small minority.⁶⁶ He notes that part of the Sri Lankan population is not permanent, working in

64 This does not include No Religion and Object to State which numbers slightly higher than Christianity.

65 See http://www.nzherald.co.nz/hawkes-bay-today/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503462&objectid=11073843. See also <http://www.buddhistchannel.tv/index.php?id=50,3614,0,0,1,0#.VW5laWO bqDk>.

66 Discussion with Daya, Hastings District Council, September 2014.



Baitul Mokarram Masjid, Hastings.

horticulture, viticulture and in the meatworks. Permanent residents are more likely to be professionals, reflecting the relatively high educational qualifications of Sri Lankans migrating to New Zealand. The small size of the community means that many 'reach out' to other Buddhists (although a few Sri Lankans are Christian) and to other groups such as Indians. Further he notes that the Multicultural Association provides a forum for some of the smaller groups, since larger groups often have their own associations.

An even smaller religious minority than Buddhists among the Asian populations of Napier-Hastings are Muslims, comprising only about 240 usual residents in 2013. Although there is a Napier Islamic Centre (based in a private home), the only mosque in the region is the Hawke's Bay Baitul Mokarram Masjid (and associated Islamic Centre Trust) in Hastings. It is based in a building converted from another use rather than purpose-built as a mosque. Of those who use the Masjid, Asians are only a part; there are also significant numbers of others, including migrant Africans, and Māori who have converted to Islam.



Chinese Bridge, Napier.

Evolving ethnoscaples and local perspectives on Asian impacts

Physical evidence of Asian ethnoscaples (ethnic landscapes) in Napier-Hastings is still relatively rare. However, 'new' Asian religions are becoming increasingly visible through places of worship such as the Buddhist temple near Clive and the Muslim masjid (mosque) in Hastings already mentioned. Sikhs are served by Gurudwara Sahib (temple) in Hastings, although the Hindu population does not yet seem to have established an equivalent.⁶⁷ The Napier Somang Korean Church and the Chinese Christian Baptist Church in Napier serve particular sectors of the Korean and Chinese communities respectively.

Another aspect of physical Asian ethnoscaples developing in nearly all parts of New Zealand is the expanding number and diversity of Asian restaurants and cafés. Many of these serve multiple cuisines, so it is not possible to document the number of operations precisely. However, an estimate is that in the Napier-Hastings area (which includes Havelock North and some other nearby towns), restaurants/cafés by (first listed) Asian cuisine are: Indian 20, Chinese 18, Thai 14 (including 1 Thai/Laos), "Asian" 3, Indonesian 1, Korean/Japanese 1.⁶⁸

67 See http://www.nzherald.co.nz/hawkes-bay-today/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503462&objectid=11198526 and <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Gurudwara-Sahib-Hastings/184952688217745>.

68 Estimated from Zomato, <https://www.zomato.com/> June 2015.



Hawke's Bay International Cultures Day poster, 2015.

A more transitory aspect of Asian ethnoscares in the Hawke's Bay is the staging of festivals celebrating cultural difference, in many cases involving cultural performance groups coming in from other parts of New Zealand. Hawke's Bay International Cultures Day is held annually in Hastings, with the 2015 event celebrating its 15 year. Highlights of the 2015 event included the hosting of the Afghani national cricket team who were participating in the Cricket World Cup, and the performance of the Filifest Dance Group, a Filipino group based in Wellington who had performed the previous year in Napier.⁶⁹ A number of Asian groups are involved each year in the International Cultures Day promoting and celebrating their diverse cultures through performance, food and crafts. The annual Hastings Blossom Parade also has considerable input from multicultural and Asian groups, and in 2014 the Hawke's Bay Thai Buddhist community won the award for 'Best Natural Flowers' for their elaborately decorated float.⁷⁰ The growing Indian population in Hawke's Bay has resulted in the Diwali Festival of Lights becoming an annual event, held in the Napier Soundshell on Marine Parade.⁷¹ Supported by the Multicultural Association of Hawke's Bay and the Indian community, the highlights of the Diwali festival are traditional and Bollywood performances and a variety of Indian food.



Filipino Traditional Dances, Napier 2014.

Organised by the Multicultural Association of Hawke's Bay and supported by the Hastings District Council are the annual 'Asians in the Bays' awards:

"The Asians in the Bay awards recognise the contribution of the Asian community to the economic development of Hawke's Bay. The awards also celebrate the efforts of groups and organisations which have helped promote their own particular culture."⁷²

The award categories are: Best Asian Business; Best Asian Community Event; Best Asian Restaurant; Best Asian Practising Professional; Best Asian Community Group and Best Asian Student (Secondary School).⁷³

While the Napier-Hastings economy has been slowly growing, the Asian populations, especially Indian, have been expanding at a more rapid rate than the total population and taking advantage of employment in sectors which have usually had difficulty attracting sufficient workers, with horticulture and viticulture being prime examples. Various organisations, including local government, seem to have been particularly active in celebrating this increasing diversity and the contribution of migrants and longer-term Asian residents to the economy and society of the region.

69 Hawkes Bay Today "Dance group from Philippines to perform in cultural festival", 6 March 2015. http://www.nzherald.co.nz/hawkes-bay-today/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503462&objectid=11412911.

70 See <https://www.facebook.com/HastingsBlossomParade>.

71 See <http://www.eventfinder.co.nz/2014/hawkes-bay-diwali-festival-of-lights/napier>.

72 See <http://www.hastingsdc.govt.nz/asiansinthebay>.

73 Winners of these categories in 2014 can be found here: http://www.nzherald.co.nz/business-around-new-zealand/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503701&objectid=11307775.

Figure 10. Growth of Asian populations of Napier-Hastings between 1986 and 2013

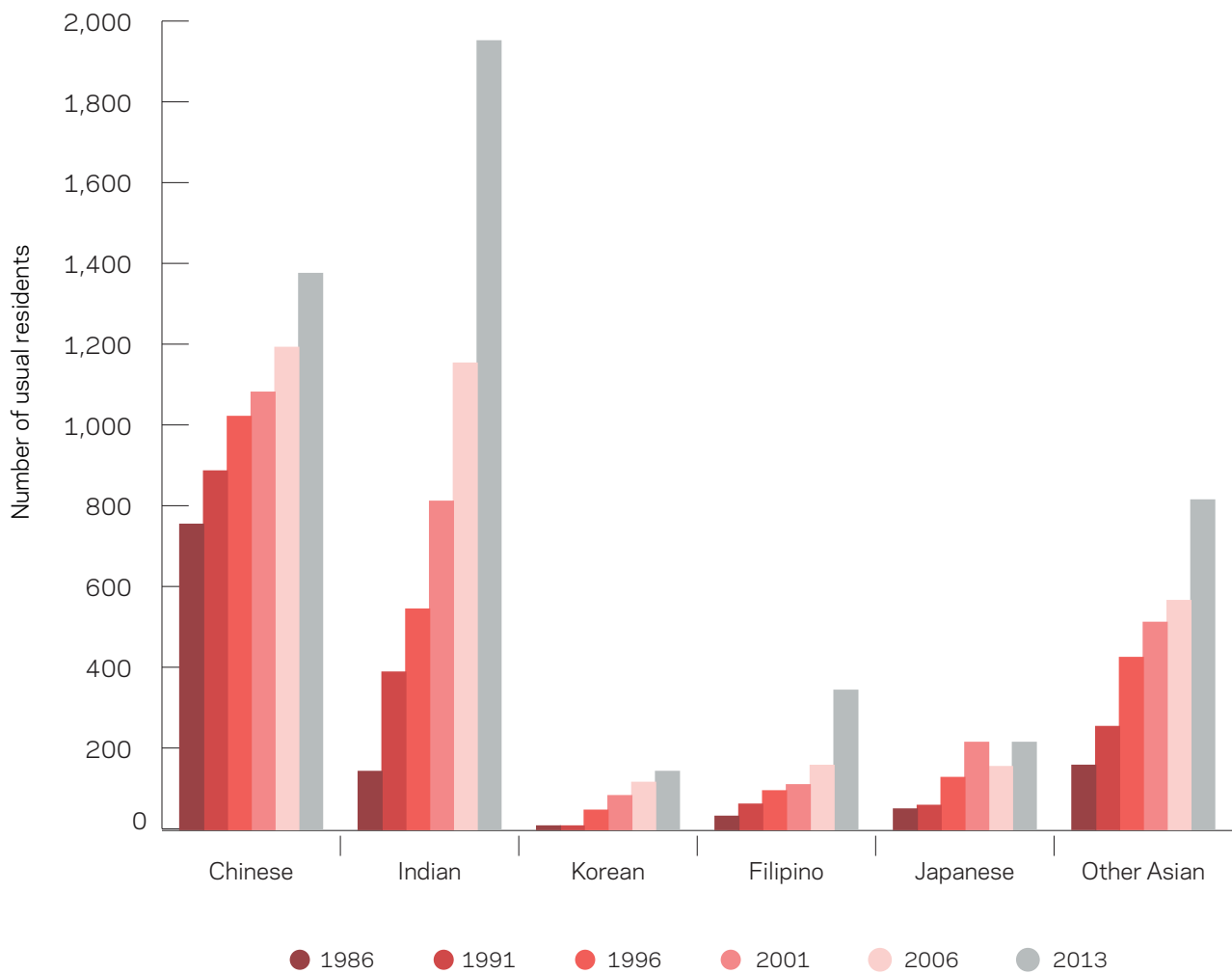
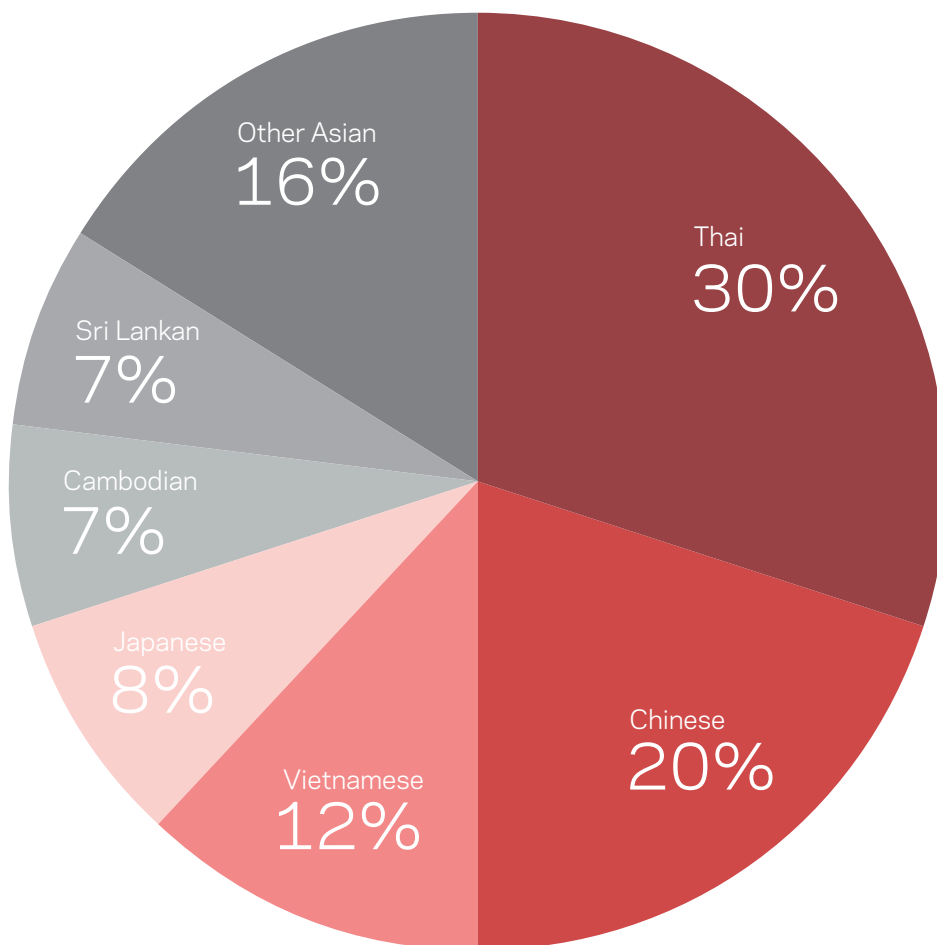


Figure 11. Ethnicity of Asian Buddhist population of Napier-Hastings in 2013





Rotorua

Rotorua

Population and economy

Rotorua's population in 2013 was 65,280, a figure that has remained fairly static since the census of 1996. This was in contrast to significant population growth within the Bay of Plenty Region, of which the Rotorua-Lakes District Council is a part, and reasons for this may be found in economic factors discussed below. The Asian populations of Rotorua, however, have grown more rapidly, having more than doubled between 1986 and 2013, although this growth was not as rapid as was experienced in some of the other case study cities reviewed in this report.

Between 2002 and 2012, Rotorua's economy grew by an average of 1.5 percent per year compared to a national growth average of 2.5 percent.⁷⁴ There was a considerable amount of variation over this period ranging from periods of decline between 2007 and 2009, and five percent growth in the last year of the period, which was twice the national average. Mirroring the relatively slow economic growth, employment grew by an average of 0.8 percent between 2002 and 2012 compared to the national average of 1.7 percent. This included a period of employment loss in 2009 and 2010 following the Global Financial Crisis.

In relation to contribution to GDP and in terms of comparative advantage, Forestry and Logging, Wood Product Manufacturing, Dairying and Agricultural Support Industries are the most significant economic sectors in the Rotorua-Lakes District.⁷⁵ This is followed by Accommodation and Food Services, largely supplying tourism. It should be noted that the contribution to GDP does not directly determine the significance of an economic sector to employment, and illustrating this is the fact that the relatively labour-intensive Accommodation and Food Services sector is the third largest employer (after Health Care and Social Assistance, and Manufacturing), employing over 3,000 people in 2012, or 10 percent of the labour force. The importance of tourism to the Rotorua economy, however, is much greater than this since tourism is not

separated out as an economic sector, and its impacts also affect employment in retailing, wholesaling, transport, recreation and other sectors.

Although tourists from within New Zealand account for over half, and Asian tourists only about 15 percent, of all visitor nights in Rotorua, Asia, especially China, is seen as the major growth market.⁷⁶ Figure 12, on page 49, shows that while there has been a decline in the number of Japanese and Korean visitors in recent years, the growth in the number of visitors from China and other parts of Asia (especially Southeast Asia) has more than compensated for this. Tourism organisation Destination Rotorua is actively pursuing semi-independent travellers (SITs) from China to replace the traditional tour groups, since SITs contribute more to the economy. One strategy is a Memorandum of Understanding with China Southern Airlines to help channel Chinese tourists through Rotorua. The presence of a large number of tertiary students from India has also resulted in the attraction of friends and family as tourists. Additionally, tourists, for example from China and India, are seen as possible future investors in the New Zealand and Rotorua economies.

Historical and contemporary Asian populations of Rotorua

There is little evidence of an Asian presence in nineteenth century Rotorua. As the tourism industry started to grow in the twentieth century, however, Indian migrants become apparent. In the 1920s Indian migrants from Gujarat started to arrive, most of whose backgrounds were in agriculture or retail trading and they undertook activities such as fruit-selling, bottle-collecting, scrub-cutting, labouring or cleaning.⁷⁷ By the mid-1930s some had started their own fruit and vegetable shops, and their numbers were sufficient to form the Bay of Plenty (Rotorua) Indian Association which continues to function to the present day.⁷⁸

74 Infometrics (2013) *Rotorua Annual Economic Profile 2012*.

75 Ibid, pp. 6-12.

76 Interviews with Oscar Nathan, General Manager, Destination Rotorua Marketing, and Cynthia Fang, Business Development Manager-Asia, Destination Rotorua, 19 February 2015.

77 Information from Harry Chhagan, ex-President of the BOP (Rotorua) Indian Association.

78 J. Leckie (2007) *Indian Settlers: The Story of a New Zealand South Asian Community*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, p. 145.

The Census of 1945 recorded seven people of Indian ethnicity and one Chinese, something of a puzzle considering the presence of Indians in earlier decades.⁷⁹ By 1961 the number of Indians had risen to 103 and Chinese to 43, and by the 1971 Census the Rotorua County had 187 Indians (similar numbers of males and females) and 58 Chinese (also gender balanced). Of these, about one-half of the Indians and three quarters of the Chinese were born in New Zealand. These numbers had risen slightly, so that by 1981 the Rotorua Urban Area had 207 Indians and 159 Chinese.

Figure 13, on page 50, shows changes in the Asian populations of Rotorua since 1986. In recent years, Indians have continued to be the largest Asian group, and their population nearly doubled between the 2006 and 2013 censuses to about 1,600. There were less than half this number of Chinese residents, but their number has continued to rise slowly. Proportionately, the number of Filipinos has increased substantially since 2001, with about 550 resident in 2013. The numbers of Koreans and Japanese have fluctuated in recent years, with the numbers actually declining between the last two censuses.

Just under one-quarter of the three largest groups, Indians, Chinese and Filipinos, were engaged in full-time or part-time study in 2013, suggesting the significance of Rotorua as a study destination even though it does not have a university. This is the topic of the next section of this report. Of Chinese, about 60 percent were working full-time or part-time, mostly the former, with only four percent being unemployed. Koreans had similar rates. Of the Indian population, 67 percent were working, but it also had a higher unemployment rate of seven percent. Three quarters of the Filipino population were working, with a 6 percent unemployment rate. In 2013, each of these groups was distributed widely between occupational categories with all having between 30 and 40 percent of their working members holding managerial or professional occupations, with Koreans being over-represented in management and Filipinos in professional occupations. Each group had between 31 and 37 percent of their population working in occupations usually considered to be less skilled (clerical, sales, machinery operators and labourers). This reflects the diverse structure of these groups ranging from permanent residents, often with

professional qualifications through to students and temporary workers finding job opportunities in tourism and related sectors. For all Asian groups except Filipinos, the highest employment concentrations were in Accommodation and Food Services, largely servicing the tourism industry. For Filipinos, the Health Care and Social Assistance sector was more important and for Indian workers, Retail Trade was a close second.

An ex-President of the Bay of Plenty (Rotorua) Indian Association sums up the current situation of Indian economic activity in Rotorua:

*"Now the new generation of Indians are running dairies, superettes, fish and chips, pizza outlets, bottle store, clothing shop, spicy shops and Indian restaurants [the first opened in 1990]... there are more than 50 businesses in Rotorua owned by Indians [mostly Gujarati]... There are a number of Indian professionals such as doctors, dentists, nurses, engineers, teachers, accountants who are running their own clinics and serving the Rotorua public."*⁸⁰

Case study: Indian tertiary students in Rotorua

One sector of the Indian population is more transitory than those that have been in Rotorua for one or more generations: tertiary students. Changes in New Zealand's immigration system in recent years have made it easier for international tertiary students to work while studying, transition to work permits and, for some, apply for permanent residency. This has attracted large numbers of new students to New Zealand from Asia who have enrolled in a range of institutions, from universities to polytechnical institutes (polytechs) to other tertiary providers. Many of these have chosen to study outside of the bigger cities, and Rotorua is one of the cities chosen, with Waiariki Institute of Technology/Whare Takiura being the most significant tertiary provider.

In the years 2010–2013, Waiariki Institute of Technology (WIT) had an average of 1,029 international students each year, and about 95 percent of these came from Asia. By far the largest group came from India, averaging 729 per year, followed by Philippines, 103 and China, 88.⁸¹ Smaller numbers came from Nepal, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Japan, Thailand and Malaysia.

79 Population Census 1945, Vol. VII Birthplaces and duration of residence of overseas-born, and Vol. VIII Race. There were 32 born in India and 6 born in China. Many of those born in India may have been the children of Europeans serving in British India.

80 Document written by Harry Chhagan, provided 18 February 2015.

81 Data source: Education Counts.

Although China has been the source of the largest number of international students in New Zealand throughout the twenty-first century, the number of students from India has grown the most rapidly since 2007. The number of Indian students at WIT (2010–2013) comprised one-quarter of all of those from India enrolled in polytechs in New Zealand, and was higher than any other tertiary institution in the country, including universities and Private Training Establishments (PTE). The International Education Director for WIT confirms that many are attracted to New Zealand by the possibility of work and permanent residency in the future.⁸² He goes on to say that they are attracted to Rotorua partly by the high level of pastoral care and sense of community:

“We have an advantage that Rotorua is big enough to have the facilities and resources needed for large numbers of international students but is small enough to still be a community.”

For many international students, Rotorua provides employment opportunities in the tourism sector, part-time while studying, and potentially full-time afterwards. On average, Indian students study at WIT for one to one and a half years and many study nursing, with others enrolled in diplomas in business, computing and culinary programmes.

Evolving ethnoscaapes and local perspectives on Asian impacts

Rotorua is a prime example of the presence of a mobility continuum relating to the ‘Asian presence’ in New Zealand. At the most mobile (i.e. least permanent) end of this continuum are tourists. As Figure 12, on page 49, illustrates, there are an average of about 100,000 visitors a year from China, and a similar number from other Asian countries. Even if these visitors only stay for an average of two days, that means there are an average of about 9,000 Asian visitors in Rotorua at any one time (averaged across the seasonal cycles of tourism). In the middle of the mobility continuum are students and workers on short to medium term work visas. Finally at the longer-term end of the continuum are those who have recently become permanent residents, and those who have lived in Rotorua for many years, and in some cases, generations. Resulting from this combination of Asian tourists, workers, students and residents are a range of ethnoscaapes, both physical such as restaurants, and less tangible phenomena such as new languages, religions and associations.



Asian shops, Rotorua.



'Multi Cuisine Restaurant', Rotorua.



Taoist Tai Chi Society, Rotorua.

⁸² Email communication with Graeme Rennie, International Education Director, Wairiki Institute of Technology, 14 May 2015.

The longer term residents are represented by a range of 'ethnic' and multicultural organisations. The Bay of Plenty (Rotorua) Indian Association has already been mentioned. It undertakes religious, cultural and recreational activities organised for its own community, including students, but also creates a bridge to the broader community. Hindus make up the largest religious group among Asians in Rotorua, and a Hindu temple, the BAPS Swaminarayan Mandir is near completion in central Rotorua.⁸³ Built in a traditional style, with five domes, it will serve the wider Hindu population in the Bay of Plenty.

The Rotorua Korean Association (RKA) also serves a number of functions. These include cultural celebration as well as advocating for the Korean community.⁸⁴ At times it has dealt with acts of discrimination against Koreans in shops, schools or elsewhere, sometimes because community members feel uneasy in dealing directly with the police. Despite a recent downturn, Koreans make up a significant part of the tourist population of Rotorua, and at times the RKA is called upon to deal with legal, medical and other problems confronted by Korean tourists. As well as this, the RKA maintains contact with local Korean War veterans and takes part in regular commemorations. Much of the Korean community is Christian and three churches serving Koreans have merged into the Galilee Korean Church in north-western Rotorua.

Chinese and Filipinos also have their own associations. The Rotorua Chinese Association serves various cultural and recreational functions, while the Chinese Business Association represents the sizeable Chinese business community. Filipinos are represented by two societies: Philippine Club of Rotorua and the Bay of Plenty Philippines Friendship Society and these tend to focus on church and sports activities serving Filipino permanent residents, students and those with work permits.⁸⁵

As well as the ethnic associations of individual groups, there are several institutions that work between cultures. Three that are active in Rotorua are Rotorua Multicultural Council (also known as Multicultural Rotorua), New Zealand Newcomers Network Rotorua, and English Language Partners. Each of these is part of a national association with organisations throughout the country. Multicultural Rotorua works with 17 different community groups (including the associations mentioned above), with projects including professional speaking for migrants courses, cooking classes, sports activities, and in general promoting multiculturalism within the community.⁸⁶ The Newcomers Network focuses on the integration of migrants, with activities including social events bringing people of different cultures together and 'buddy families' linking migrants and local families.

As a result of a combination of private and government initiatives, Chinese language and culture is widely taught in Rotorua primary, intermediate and secondary schools.⁸⁷ Initiated by a Chinese-speaking teacher, Laytee George, and initially funded by the Ministry of Education, the programme recruited and trained New Zealand teachers and Chinese teaching assistants. After two years the programme was so successful that schools agreed to fund it themselves, with support of various kinds from the New Zealand Chinese Language Association, Asia New Zealand Foundation, Chinese Ministry of Education and the Confucius Institute. Keys to the success of the programme include the ongoing training of the language teachers, an occasional cultural day for teachers and students and visiting experts from China.

83 See http://www.nzherald.co.nz/rotorua-daily-post/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503438&objectid=11203996.

84 This paragraph is based on an interview with James Choy, President of the Rotorua Korean Society and Rick Mansell, Coordinator, Linton Park Community Centre, 18 February 2015.

85 Information from interview with Chris Decson, 'Jesus is Lord Fellowship', 18 February 2015 and <https://www.facebook.com/BopPhilippineFriendshipSociety/>.

86 This paragraph based on interviews with Alexis LewGor, National President, Multicultural New Zealand, and Susanna So, 18 February 2015. See also <https://www.facebook.com/NewZealandNewcomersNetwork>, <http://www.nzfmc.org.nz/> and <http://www.englishlanguage.org.nz/>.

87 Asia NZ Foundation (2011) *Educating for Asia Case Study: Rotorua Schools Embrace Chinese Language and Culture*, Asia New Zealand Foundation, Wellington.

The Mayor of Rotorua, the Honourable Steve Chadwick, and the Rotorua Lakes District Council maintain active links with Asian communities in Rotorua as well as with Asia more generally.⁸⁸ Mayor Chadwick says that Rotorua is the “right size” to build a sense of community, and she has regular meetings and attends events involving ethnic communities in Rotorua, as well as regularly hosting delegations from Asia. One of the multicultural initiatives of the Council is Vision 2030 Tatau Tatau linking the Council with community (communities) focusing on partnership with Māori but reaching out to newly arrived migrants as well. Within the Council the Mayor has established a ‘People Friendly Portfolio’ led by a Councillor which has as its objective making the Council a more ‘people friendly’ organisation, including promoting multicultural values and links to ethnic communities as well as business groups such as the Chinese Business Association.

Rotorua has sister-city relationships with two cities in Asia, Wuzhong District of Suzhou City in China and Beppu in Japan, but Mayor Chadwick says there are also many ‘friendship cities’ without formal status but which are important to Rotorua in terms of tourism, investment and culture. These have developed from the many Asian delegations which the mayor hosts, partly drawn to Rotorua by its touristic appeal. These relationships demonstrate the range of relationships that Rotorua has with Asia and Asian populations, ranging from tourism through international students, permit workers and permanent residents of Asian ethnicity.

88 Based on interview with Mayor Steve Chadwick, 19 February 2015. See also <http://www.rdc.govt.nz/Rotorua2030/mayorsmessage/Pages/default.aspx>.

Figure 12. Number of Asian visitors, by major country of origin, to Rotorua between 1997 and 2014

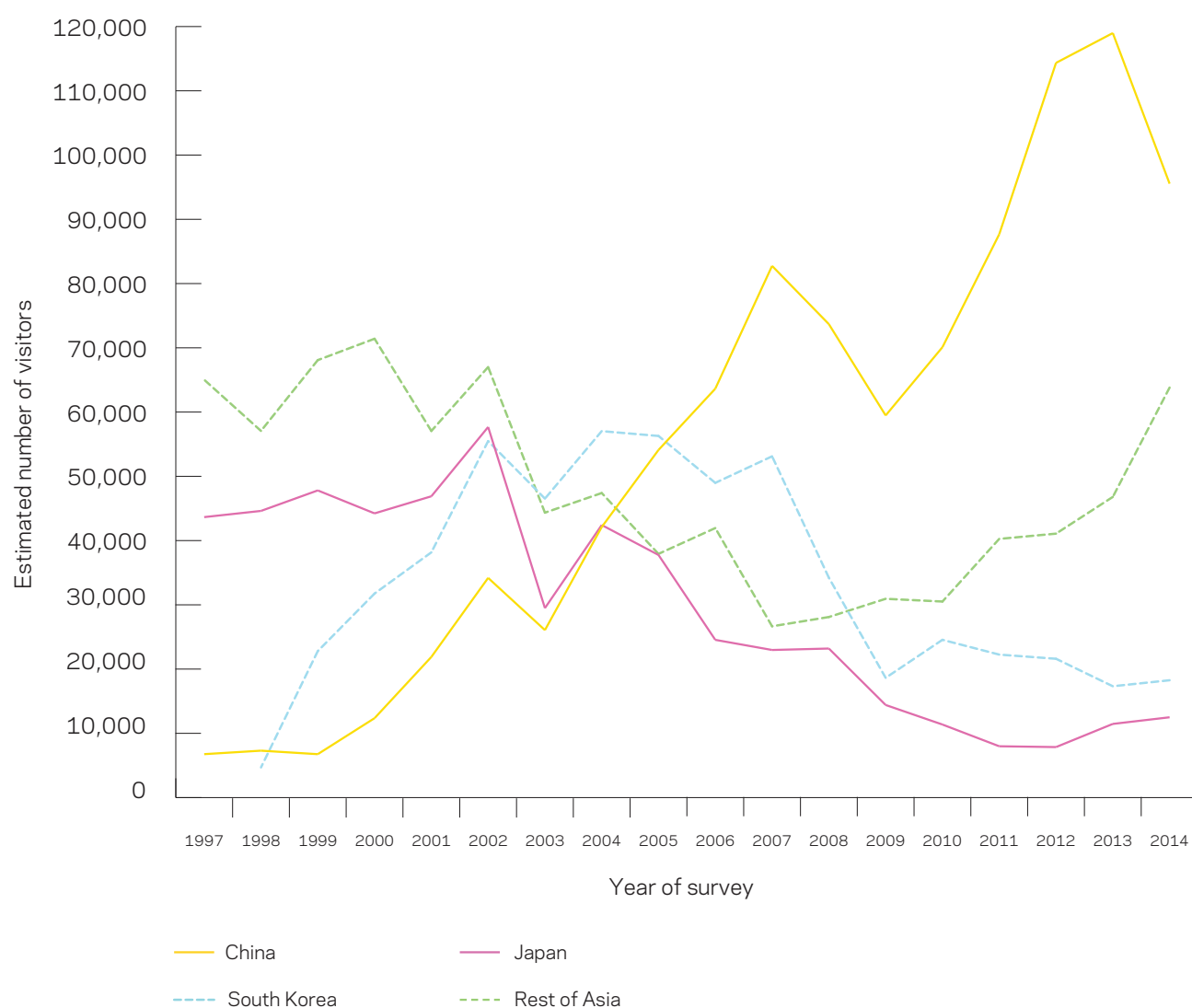
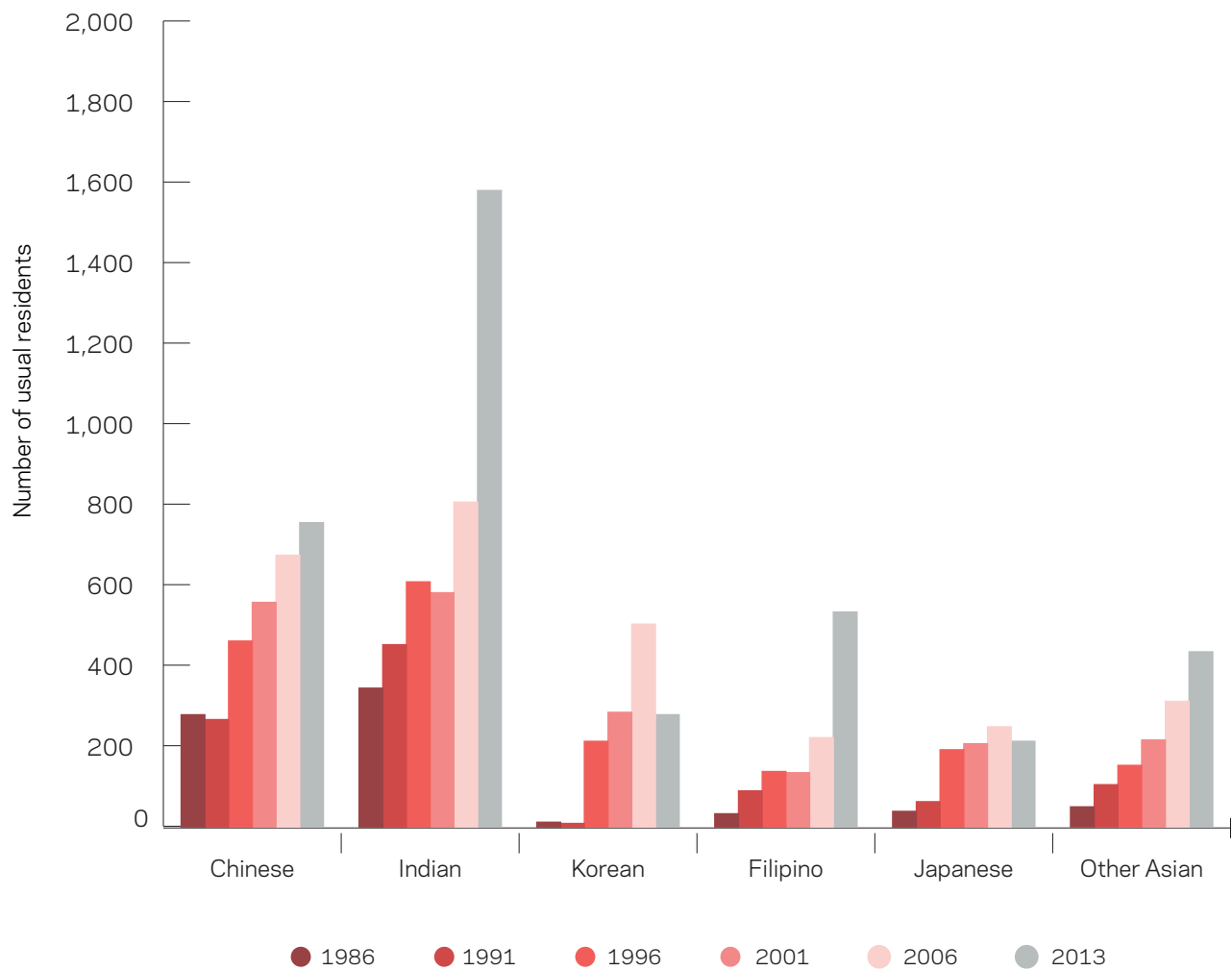


Figure 13. Growth of Asian populations in Rotorua-Lakes District between 1986 and 2013





Tauranga and Western Bay of Plenty

8

Tauranga and Western Bay of Plenty

Population and economy

Tauranga City and the Western Bay of Plenty District are part of the Bay of Plenty Region. Tauranga has been chosen as a case study because of its rapid growth in recent years, both in terms of total population and Asian populations. The Western Bay of Plenty is part of the economic hinterland of Tauranga and has been growing, but more slowly, and it is a good example of the impact of the dispersion of Asian populations into rural and small-town New Zealand.

The usually resident population of Tauranga City was 114,789 in 2013. Between 1991 and 2013, Tauranga's average annual growth rate of 2.5 percent was one of the highest of any Territorial Authority (TA) in New Zealand, after Queenstown-Lakes, Selwyn and Waimakariri Districts in the South Island. The Western Bay of Plenty District had a population of 43,692 in 2013 and it had grown more slowly (1.7 percent per year), but still above the national average (1.1 percent). The usually resident Asian population of Tauranga in 2013 was 6,105 while the Western Bay of Plenty had a further 2,130, and in both cases, the growth of this population in recent years was much more rapid than the growth of the total population. More people migrate into the Bay of Plenty from within New Zealand than migrate out to other parts of New Zealand. This is mostly the result of migration from Auckland and Waikato, especially for retirement purposes. Therefore the Bay of Plenty also has a population which is significantly older than the New Zealand average, and a lower than average labour force participation rate. This emphasises the role of retirement as an economic driver in the Western Bay of Plenty (including Tauranga) based not only on its proximity to the large population of Auckland but also a perceived favourable climate. Other economic growth

sectors include horticulture, domestic and international tourism, and the Port of Tauranga, which is now the largest port in New Zealand by value and volume.⁸⁹ Centred on the town of Te Puke, the Western Bay of Plenty is renowned for its kiwifruit production, and this industry has a significant reliance on migrant labour. In Tauranga and nearby areas, rapid population growth, especially of older age cohorts, has resulted in the highest employment growth taking place in the Administrative and Support Services and Health Care and Social Assistance sectors.

Historical and contemporary Asian populations of Tauranga and Western Bay of Plenty

There is relatively little historical evidence of an Asian presence in and around Tauranga and the Western Bay of Plenty until relatively recently, although it is likely that there were itinerant traders and perhaps occasional market gardeners and shopkeepers in the early twentieth century. Although most Indians in New Zealand were Hindu or Sikh, in the early 1930s, a Muslim, Ibrahim Joseph Musa, was operating two shops on Matakana Island, near Tauranga.⁹⁰ After being joined by his wife Bai Bibi, their son Mohamed was the first Gujarati Muslim to be born in New Zealand.

After the Second World War, the 1945 Census showed only 15 Indian and one Chinese in the Tauranga town district, with about half of the Indians born in India.⁹¹ This number grew only slowly so that by 1971 the census showed that the Tauranga Urban Area had 44 Indians and 48 Chinese, more or less gender-balanced compared to earlier periods when most were male.⁹² The census reported 46 born in India and 20 born in China; in this case

89 Ministry of Business, Innovation and Enterprise (MBIE) (2014) *Regional Economic Activity Report 2014*, MBIE, Wellington, pp. 22–23.

90 J. Leckie (2007) *Indian Settlers: The Story of a New Zealand South Asian Community*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, p. 113.

91 Source: *NZ Population Census, 1945 Vol. VIII: Race and Vol. VII: Birthplaces and duration of residence of overseas-born*, Census and Statistics Department, Wellington.

92 Source: *NZ Census of Population and Dwellings 1971: Birthplaces and Ethnic Origin*, Department of Statistics, Wellington. These numbers include those with mixed ethnicity e.g. 'Chinese-European'.

there may have been some born in India who were not ethnically Indian. By the 1981 Census, there were still only 60 Indians and 147 Chinese recorded in Tauranga.

The growth of Asian populations in Tauranga between 1986 and 2013 is shown in Figure 14, on page 56 and this shows that growth has been significant for all groups, especially since 2001. The growth of the Indian population has been greatest in recent years, tripling between 2001 and 2013. The Chinese population has been characterised by steady growth, nearly doubling between 2001 and 2013. Over this same period the greatest proportionate growth was found in the Korean population, which increased by about five times, followed by the Filipino increase of 3.6 times. In the Western Bay of Plenty, it is mostly the growth of the Indian population which is notable, increasing by over 1,100 between 2001 and 2013, an increase of nearly five times (Figure 15, on page 57).

Of the Chinese, Indian and Filipino groups, less than 20 percent of the adult population was studying in 2013, with higher proportions of Korean and Japanese in this category (but still less than 30 percent). On average, about 70 percent of the Asian population of Tauranga was in the labour force, with about six percent being unemployed. This proportion was lower for Koreans, as suggested by the data on studying, and even lower for Japanese, suggesting some may have retired in Tauranga. In the Western Bay of Plenty, the activity pattern of the Indian population is similar, with about 20 percent studying and 75 percent in the labour force, with five percent unemployed (included in the labour force). The occupational structure of the two largest groups is interesting. For Chinese, the largest proportion in Tauranga (24 percent) were technicians and trade workers, with 20 percent being professionals and 16 percent managers. In contrast, of the Indian population, the largest group were labourers (31 percent, followed by managers, 22 percent, and professionals, 13 percent). This suggests that among Chinese there are probably a higher proportion on various kinds of medium-term work visas. This seems to be confirmed in the Western Bay of Plenty, where proportions are even higher, with 56 percent of usually resident adult Indians being labourers. In 2013, the Accommodation and Food sector was the most important sector of employment for Chinese, Japanese and Korean workers, and the third most important for Indians. The Retail Trade sector was most

important for Indian workers, followed by the Health Care and Social Services sector which was second, with the latter being the most important for Filipinos. Many of the Indian workers in the Bay of Plenty are on work permits, showing that temporary migrants from India are most strongly represented in the occupations of farmers and farm managers, food trade workers, retail managers and accommodation and hospitality workers.⁹³

Case study: The diverse Indian population

Within the Indian population of New Zealand, there is a great deal of diversity, and this is the case in Tauranga and Western Bay of Plenty. Just less than one-quarter of the population was born in New Zealand, made up of the children of migrants, but also longer-term residents. About two-thirds were born in India while a further 8 percent were born in the Pacific, mostly Indo-Fijians. Data on language is only available for larger language groups, and this shows that only about one-quarter speak Hindi while 61 percent speak an 'other' language that is not English or Hindi. As shown below, the large number of Sikhs in the Western Bay of Plenty is likely to mean that Punjabi is widely spoken.

The religious affiliations of the Indian population of Tauranga City and Western Bay of Plenty District are shown in Figure 16, on page 58. It shows that Sikhs are by far the largest religious group, with a proportion of the Indian population that is nearly five times the New Zealand average. Conversely, the proportion of Hindus and Christians is about one-half the national average, while the proportion of Muslims is about one-fifth. Those who stated 'no religion' or 'object to state' comprised a similar proportion to that shown at the national level.

The predominance of Sikhs in the Western Bay of Plenty has a history. The first Sikhs in New Zealand arrived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and Hamilton and the Waikato generally were significant settlement areas. Many of these and subsequent Sikh migrants worked/work in dairy farming and in some cases, other agricultural sectors. Thus, involvement in both urban and rural activities in the nearby Bay of Plenty appear to be an extension of these historical precedents.

93 Immigration New Zealand, W3 database, data from 2010/11 to 2014/15.

One of the physical manifestations of Indian culture in the Western Bay of Plenty is the presence of places of worship. There are two Sikh gurudwara (temples) in the area (of an estimated 13 throughout New Zealand). Gurudwara are important places of Sikh worship, but they also serve broader community functions, and are renowned for their generous provision of food to Sikhs and non-Sikhs alike. In the small town of Te Puke to the south of Tauranga is the Gurudwara Sahib, at least partly built in a traditional style with domes. In contrast, the Sikh Sangat Gurudwara in Tauranga has used a converted commercial building to provide ample space for the large Sikh population in that city.

The Hindu community of Tauranga are served by the Sanatan Dharan Mandir (temple) in Tauriki. In 2009, a non-profit mandir development trust was established to raise the funds for the construction of a temple.⁹⁴ On the land purchased, a temporary mandir was established in a garage-like building and this has been the venue for many events in recent years, usually attracting 100 to 300 people, depending on the occasion. In February 2015, the foundations were being laid for a larger and more traditional mandir to be built, possibly in stages depending on finance. According to a member of the Mandir Committee, some Hindus used to use the Sikh gurudwara before there was a mandir, and Sikhs also contributed to the funding for the new mandir.

Evolving ethnoscaples and local perspectives on Asian impacts

The Sikh and Hindu places of worship are an example of the evolving physical ethnoscaples (ethnic landscapes) resulting from the growth of Indian populations in the Western Bay of Plenty area. Other religious manifestations resulting from the growth of other Asian groups include a Korean church near central Tauranga, and a Buddhist temple in Otumoetai. The Filipino religious presence is found in more than one Catholic church in the area, while the Tauranga Filipino Society serves social, sporting and related functions for the growing community.⁹⁵

One of the aspects of Asian migrant ethnoscaples that this report has had the opportunity to highlight is the range of migrant support agencies that are operating in different parts of New Zealand, and Tauranga and Western Bay of



Gurudwara Sikh Sangat, Tauranga.



(Interim) Sanatan Dharan Mandir, Tauranga.

Plenty provide an excellent example of these. These are comprehensively documented in a report published in 2010 titled *Settling In: Tauranga City and Western Bay of Plenty District Migrant Community Social Services Report*.⁹⁶ Recognising the rapidly diversifying population in Tauranga and Western Bay of Plenty, and the growing need for migrant and refugee support, the Settling In initiative was introduced in 2004. The initiative describes itself as follows:

"Settling In is a strengths-based community development programme that works directly with newcomer communities to help them find solutions to meet their own needs. The Settling In approach is highly collaborative and coordinators work with a range of government agencies and non-government organisations (NGOs), community organisations and refugee and migrant communities to pool resources

94 This paragraph based on an interview with Kuldip Kumar, Mandir Committee, Tauranga, 20 February 2015.

95 See <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Tauranga-Filipino-Society-Inc-New-Zealand/163785443673795>.

96 *Settling In: Tauranga City and Western Bay of Plenty District Migrant Community Social Services Report*. Tauranga City and Western Bay of Plenty Councils and Settling In Committee, April 2010.

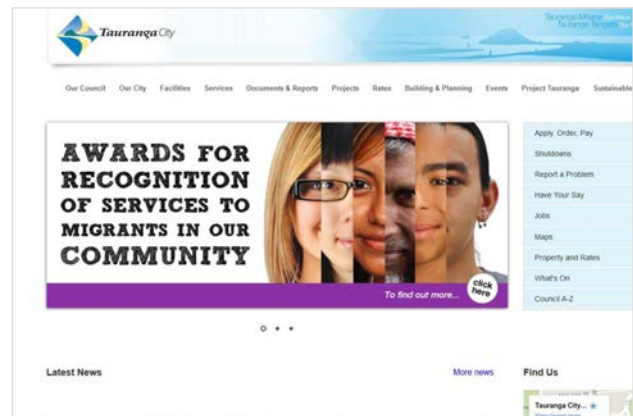
and expertise to achieve the best results. Family and Community Services (Ministry of Social Development) is responsible for implementing Settling In.⁹⁷

Some achievements of the initiative up to 2010 include: formation of the Chinese Culture Society and Bay of Plenty Chinese Language School; English language programme for older Punjabi women in Te Puke, delivered at the local Sikh gurudwara; English class for Korean mothers; and English class for Nepalese learners. The Settling In report outlines many other initiatives which provide migrant and refugee settlement support, but also the promotion of understanding of these groups within the wider community.

Many of the migrant and refugee support agencies identified in the Settling In report are highly reliant on voluntary labour. The Tauranga City Council and Western Bay of Plenty District Council in conjunction with the Migrant Support Network have recognised the work of individuals who have been providing voluntary support services to migrants. Initiated in 2014 and running annually are the Awards for Recognition of Services to Migrants in our Community

“to highlight the volunteer effort that goes into helping migrants to achieve their participation in their new chosen home.”⁹⁸

The Chinese Language School mentioned above operates within the Chinese Community School in Tauranga Girls' College.⁹⁹ The school runs Mandarin classes after school and on Saturday for learners of all ages, language levels and ethnicities. Learners can apply their language abilities to an NCEA high school qualification, but many of the 60-80 enrolled in any one year are learning Mandarin out of interest, because they have business or personal links with China, or for many other reasons.



Tauranga City's Awards for Recognition of Services to Migrants.

The Mayor of Tauranga, Stuart Crosby, notes that the changing demographics are highly visible in the growth of the number of Asians taking part in the citizenship ceremonies at which he officiates, and says that

“What it does is it brings in a fantastic mix when you bring new cultures into Tauranga.”¹⁰⁰

However, Ewa Fenn, president of Tauranga Regional Multicultural Society claims that Tauranga appears to be welcoming and tolerant of migrants “on the surface” but there can be underlying hostility when change has been rapid and when large groups of new migrants become visible. Optimistically, she adds that “tolerance builds up quickly” when people “get used to” and get to know more about new migrants.¹⁰¹ This is a comment that is probably applicable not just to Tauranga, but also to the many other case studies presented in this report.

97 Ibid. Executive Summary (no pagination).

98 http://econtent.tauranga.govt.nz/data/news/files/recognition_award.pdf.

99 Chinese Community School home website at <http://www.tgc.school.nz/CCS>. Also media report at http://www.nzherald.co.nz/bay-of-plenty-times/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503343&objectid=11070740.

100 “Tauranga heading for greater diversity”, *Bay of Plenty Times*, 4 February 2012. http://www.nzherald.co.nz/bay-of-plenty-times/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503343&objectid=11053398.

101 Ibid.

Figure 14. Growth of Asian populations in Tauranga City between 1986 and 2013

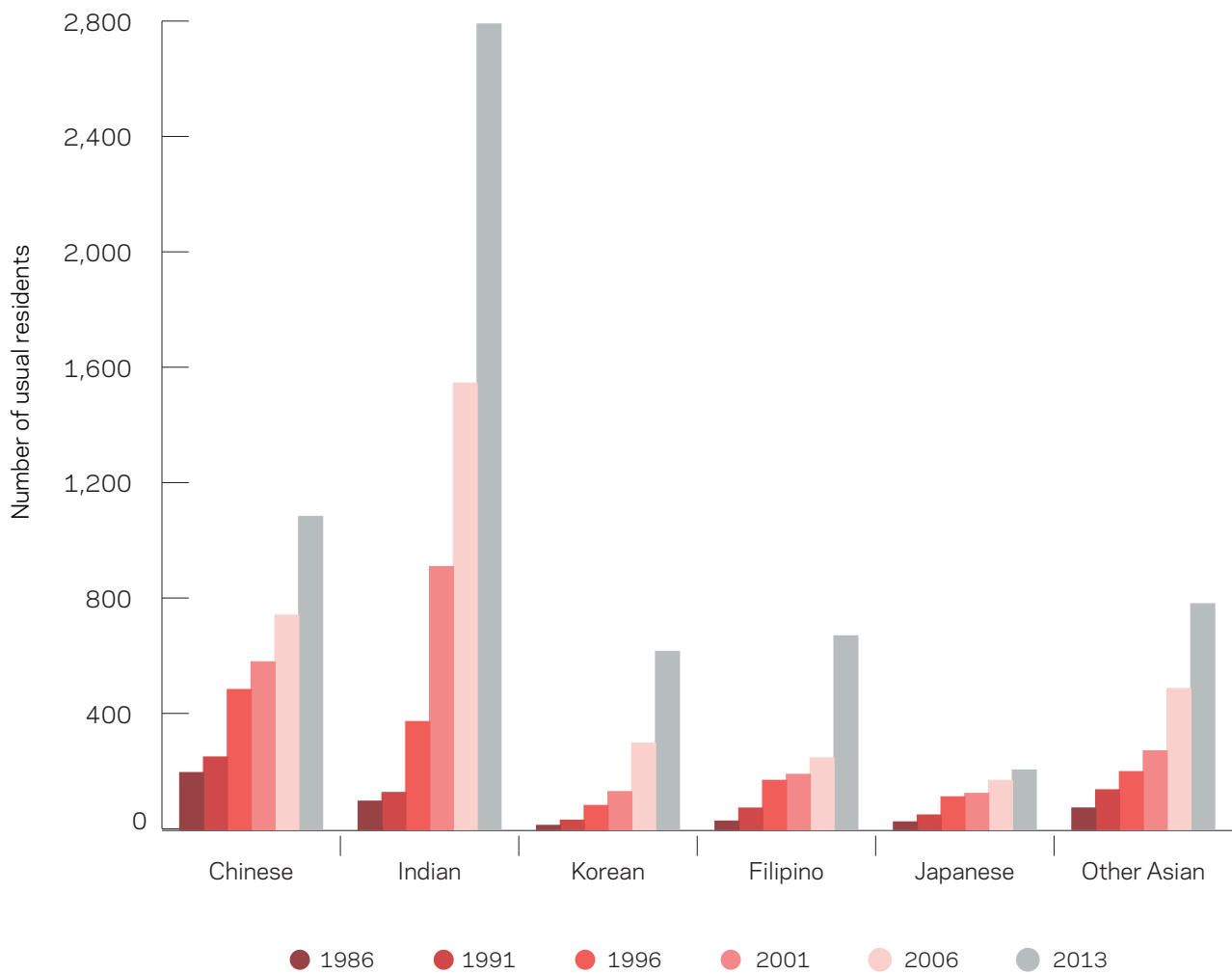


Figure 15. Growth of Asian populations in Western Bay of Plenty District between 1986 and 2013

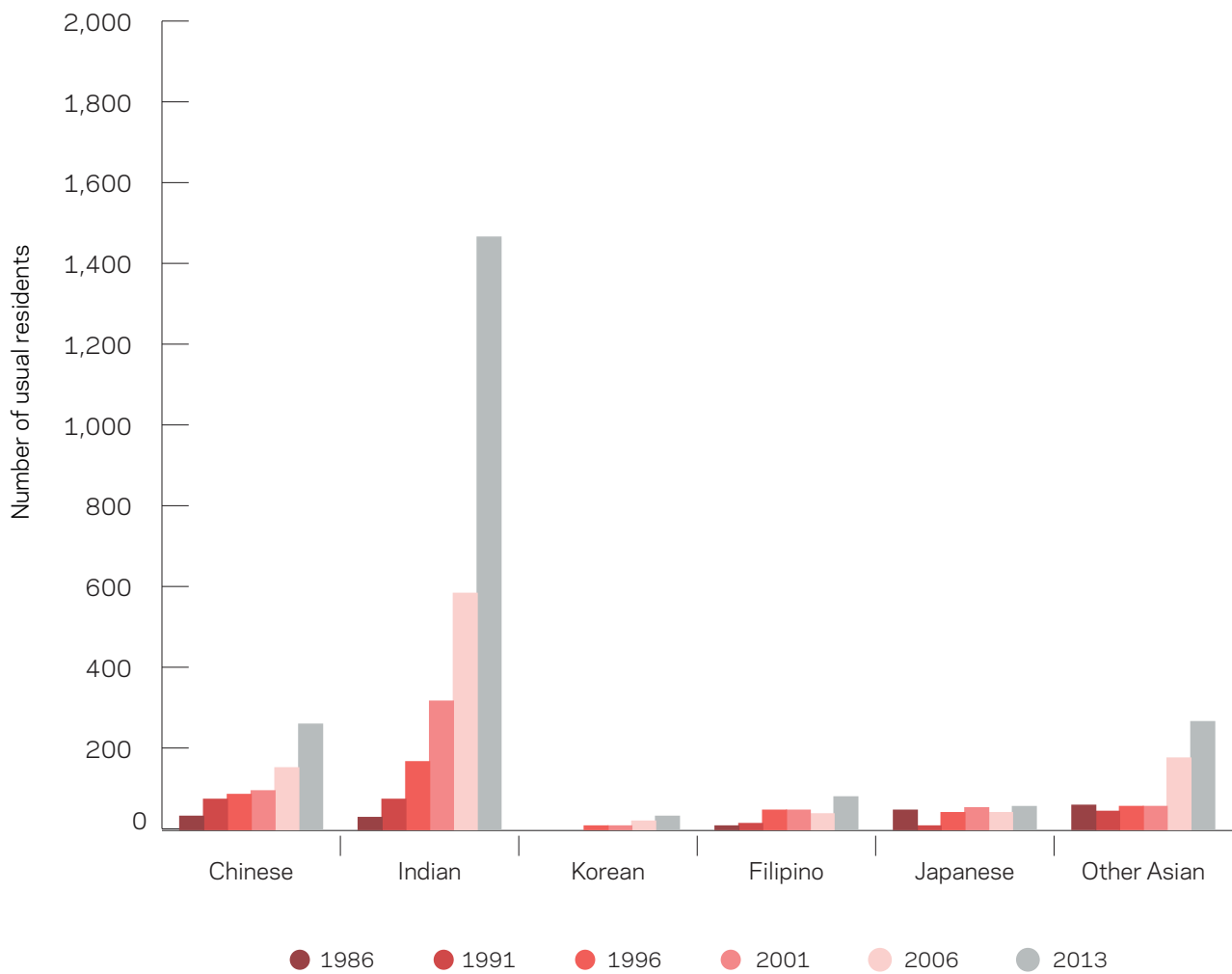
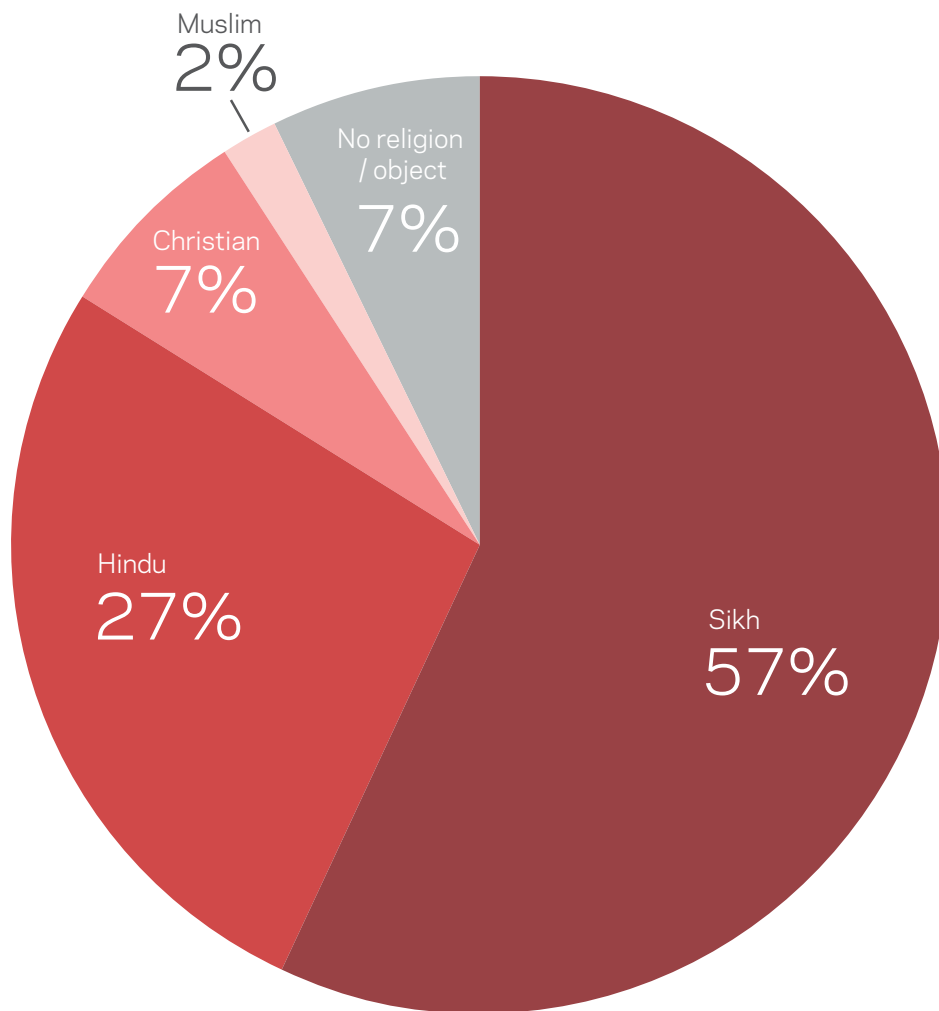


Figure 16. Religious affiliation of Indian population of Tauranga City and Western Bay of Plenty District in 2013





Conclusions

Conclusions

With a few notable exceptions, there has been very little research on the impacts of immigration, or on the characteristics of the Asian population in general, in the smaller cities, towns and rural areas of New Zealand. This can be justified on the basis that 78 percent of the Asian population of the country resides in the three largest cities of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. However, this report has shown that the impacts of immigration have been considerable in areas outside of these three metropolises, and the presence of relatively new populations originating in Asia have transformed the physical and transitory ethnoscapas (ethnic landscapes) of many parts of New Zealand. It has also shown the nature of the 'Asian presence' is not only about the settlement of permanent residents, but also about the more transitory presence of tourists, international students and people on work visas of various kinds.

The physical landscapes of many small cities have been transformed in recent decades in various ways by 'things Asian'. Where there were once maybe one or two Chinese restaurants or takeaways, there are now a diversity of Asian food outlets including restaurants, cafés, takeaways, and often Asian mini-marts. In some cases they are mainly patronised by the ethnic populations from which they arose, but in most cases they serve a pan-ethnic clientele. Also appearing as part of the new physical ethnoscapas are 'new' places of worship, such as Hindu mandir, Sikh gurudwara, Muslim masjid and Buddhist temples, but also including Christian churches with significant congregations of Chinese, Koreans and Filipinos. Other physical manifestations include Asian shops, signs, gardens, statues and architectural structures, resulting from the presence of both long-term and recently arrived Asian residents, but also in some cases relating to the linkages a particular place may have with another place in Asia.

There are other physical, but more transitory, aspects of Asian ethnoscapas that have rapidly changed in recent years. The most prominent of these are multicultural festivals celebrating diverse cultures, but also small – but growing – festivals, celebrating a specific culture originating in Asia. Other, usually positive, aspects of new ethnoscapas are the media reports of settlement stories, initiatives and events relating to Asian migrant populations. Agencies supporting new migrants and refugees are important aspects of the new ethnoscapas, as are the 'ethnic' associations which aspire to support new migrants, maintain culture and link in to 'mainstream New Zealand'.

Of course, the most important aspect of the new ethnoscapas in small city, small town and rural New Zealand may be considered both physical and transitory, that is people, with different looks, languages, cuisines, habits and abilities. The arrival of new Asian populations has stimulated a variety of responses in the small cities and adjacent rural areas of New Zealand. There have been cases of 'resistance' on the part of already-resident locals including racist incidents, although this report cannot claim to have undertaken comprehensive research on this topic. However, overall there seems to be a growing positive response to the changing ethnic composition in most places. This may be seen to be self-serving in those cases where the presence of Asian tourists or students is seen to make significant contributions to the local economy, but generally reactions appear to be more complex than this. A genuinely humanitarian impulse is obvious in the reactions to refugees. The many voluntary organisations and workers supporting refugee (re)settlement in Nelson illustrates this point, but in all of the case studies considered in this report, it is notable that many individuals and organisations contribute time and money to the welcoming and settlement of migrants of all sorts. This includes the pastoral care provided to international

students in educational institutions (sometimes using volunteers) as well as a range of other settlement agencies that provide support to students, workers, and permanent residents alike. As well as this, 'ethnic organisations' have been formed by specific ethnic groups that not only help in the settlement of their own groups, but also serve as a bridging mechanism to the wider society.

Despite the fact that Auckland is likely to retain by far the largest numbers of peoples with ethnic affiliations to Asia, no longer can it be considered *the* Asian city in New Zealand. The Asian populations of Chinese, Indian, Korean, Filipino, Japanese, Sri Lankan, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Thai and many other groups are increasingly part of the demographic fabric of most areas of New Zealand. This report has illustrated this reality with a series of case studies of smaller cities and their adjacent rural areas, but similar trends are found in many of the other regional populations throughout the country. Thus the challenges and opportunities of these changes must be dealt with by people and organisations in large cities, small cities, towns and rural areas alike.



Appendix

Appendix Table A

Asian population as percentage of total population of
Territorial Authorities and percentage change 2001-2013

Territorial Authority Area	2013 Census, ethnic group (grouped total responses), for the census usually resident population count										Percentage Asian change 2001-13
	European	Māori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	MELAA (9)	Other (10)	Total people stated	Not Elsewhere Included	Total people	Percentage Asian 2013	
Auckland	789306	142770	194958	307233	24945	15639	1331427	84123	1415550	23.1	102.6
Wellington City	139107	14433	8928	28542	4494	3354	182121	8835	190959	15.7	68.9
Hamilton City	93315	28605	6798	18477	2628	2163	134211	7401	141615	13.8	127.4
Lower Hutt City	66051	15879	10257	10896	1062	1512	93060	5181	98241	11.7	67.5
Palmerston North City	60045	12546	3396	7410	954	1596	76059	4020	80079	9.7	70.1
Christchurch City	273303	27768	10101	30717	3384	6276	325722	15750	341469	9.4	74.3
Queenstown-Lakes District	23163	1425	225	1812	705	555	26478	1746	28224	6.8	153.8
Porirua City	31047	10131	12738	3117	360	663	48612	3105	51717	6.4	71.2
Rotorua District	40350	22410	3018	3762	333	1026	59799	5484	65280	6.3	93.2
Dunedin City	101250	8865	2826	7107	1158	2505	114645	5601	120249	6.2	57.6
Upper Hutt City	32172	5337	1857	2283	378	750	38169	2010	40179	6.0	85.4
Tauranga City	91455	18678	2589	6105	744	1908	109539	5250	114789	5.6	182.2
W. Bay of Plenty District	33954	7557	996	2130	120	852	41466	2229	43692	5.1	290.1
Mackenzie District	3573	264	51	174	21	90	3927	228	4158	4.4	48.7
Nelson City	39717	4164	801	1956	210	945	44472	1965	46437	4.4	126.8
Hastings District	51735	16821	4137	2928	327	1275	68814	4428	73245	4.3	99.6
New Plymouth District	61323	11082	1251	2841	363	1476	70719	3468	74187	4.0	134.2
Ashburton District	26376	2196	1017	1179	282	504	29877	1164	31041	3.9	514.1
Southland District	25485	2829	240	1119	159	708	28386	1230	29610	3.9	440.6
Matamata-Piako District	26145	4491	477	1185	177	537	30312	1224	31536	3.9	88.5
Waikato District	46962	14406	2091	2232	228	1053	59400	3978	63381	3.8	102.5
Taupo District	23937	9030	834	1098	141	585	31131	1773	32907	3.5	140.8
Whangarei District	57078	18717	2055	2484	306	1416	71355	5637	76995	3.5	103.9

Appendix Table A Continued

Asian population as percentage of total population of
Territorial Authorities and percentage change 2001-2013

Territorial Authority Area	2013 Census, ethnic group (grouped total responses), for the census usually resident population count										Percentage Asian 2013	Percentage Asian change 2001-13
	European	Māori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	MELAA (9)	Other (10)	Total people stated	Not Elsewhere Included	Total people			
Napier City	45213	10428	1689	1887	285	1152	54324	2919	57240		3.5	43.3
Horowhenua District	23457	6486	1380	957	99	516	28455	1641	30096		3.4	44.5
Kapiti Coast District	41889	6198	1263	1554	192	1062	47103	2001	49104		3.3	83.0
Selwyn District	39696	3036	519	1371	258	975	43185	1410	44595		3.2	155.3
South Waikato District	14604	6762	2508	645	69	291	20757	1317	22071		3.1	82.2
Waitaki District	17865	1278	471	600	75	372	19590	1236	20829		3.1	95.1
Invercargill City	43749	7527	1590	1512	135	1122	49680	2016	51696		3.0	169.5
Wanganui District	32439	9141	1113	1149	159	771	39675	2478	42150		2.9	59.6
Westland District	6912	1050	90	225	39	258	7815	489	8304		2.9	188.5
Ruapehu District	7896	4821	261	327	18	168	11358	486	11844		2.9	11.2
Marlborough District	37041	4776	966	1182	246	1044	41517	1899	43416		2.8	205.4
Waimate District	6561	447	42	201	36	141	7095	441	7536		2.8	737.5
Waipa District	39468	6120	552	1221	159	834	44493	2175	46668		2.7	120.0
Thames-Coromandel District	22128	4149	393	645	78	528	25017	1161	26178		2.6	133.7
Waitomo District	5493	3531	363	210	24	129	8448	462	8910		2.5	137.9
Hauraki District	14430	3591	405	417	27	297	16941	870	17811		2.5	64.7
Opotiki District	3876	4518	222	183	18	93	7458	978	8436		2.5	165.2
Masterton District	19440	4170	732	546	57	474	22449	900	23352		2.4	66.1
Gisborne District	24504	19683	1539	975	156	624	40290	3366	43653		2.4	56.3
Kawerau District	2910	3474	237	135	6	66	5628	735	6363		2.4	60.7
Orohanga District	6849	2346	192	204	21	180	8634	504	9138		2.4	61.9
Whakatane District	19863	13032	759	702	63	522	29961	2730	32691		2.3	73.3
Buller District	9039	963	84	231	42	264	9873	600	10473		2.3	305.3

Appendix Table A Continued

Asian population as percentage of total population of
Territorial Authorities and percentage change 2001-2013

Territorial Authority Area	2013 Census, ethnic group (grouped total responses), for the census usually resident population count										Percentage Asian change 2001-13
	European	Māori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	MELAA (9)	Other (10)	Total people stated	Not Elsewhere Included	Total people	Percentage Asian 2013	
Kaikoura District	2955	600	36	78	24	63	3363	189	3552	2.3	150.0
Timaru District	39219	3132	480	981	192	942	42387	1542	43929	2.3	75.8
Hurunui District	10260	804	84	252	66	207	10983	546	11529	2.3	394.1
South Taranaki District	20727	6069	405	561	72	453	24993	1587	26580	2.2	146.1
Stratford District	7884	1011	48	192	9	186	8583	405	8988	2.2	220.0
Far North District	33036	22110	1884	1089	198	846	49728	6006	55731	2.2	72.0
South Wairarapa District	8244	1257	180	192	18	207	9135	393	9525	2.1	64.1
Taranua District	13590	3378	246	327	21	324	15942	912	16854	2.1	89.7
Clutha District	14637	1605	189	321	69	339	16059	831	16890	2.0	105.8
Kaipara District	14946	4101	519	354	48	300	17751	1209	18960	2.0	145.8
Tasman District	42189	3441	480	885	138	1083	45312	1839	47154	2.0	141.8
Manawatu District	23715	3924	420	486	69	714	26562	897	27459	1.8	98.8
Gore District	10497	1254	90	210	21	204	11565	468	12033	1.8	159.3
Grey District	11490	1155	141	222	39	315	12405	969	13371	1.8	105.6
Wairoa District	3687	4686	159	129	12	90	7443	444	7890	1.7	68.0
Waimakariri District	45318	3567	384	822	99	1020	48303	1689	49989	1.7	178.6
Central Otago District	16077	1302	228	276	45	414	17307	585	17895	1.6	206.7
Rangitikei District	10824	3270	519	210	15	330	13431	588	14019	1.6	84.2
Central Hawke's Bay District	10251	2706	282	168	42	243	12183	537	12717	1.4	115.4
Carterton District	7227	933	147	105	15	183	7908	327	8235	1.3	59.1
Chatham Islands Territory	417	339	6	3	0	21	567	33	600	0.5	-50.0
Total New Zealand	2969391	598602	295941	471708	46953	67752	4011399	230649	4242051	11.8	98.1