

Diverse Auckland: The Face of New Zealand in the 21st Century?

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EDITION

Diverse Auckland:  
The Face of New Zealand in the 21st Century?

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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*Front cover photo (Auckland) courtesy of Tourism Auckland New Zealand.*

# **DIVERSE AUCKLAND: THE FACE OF NEW ZEALAND IN THE 21ST CENTURY?**

Wardlow Friesen

# INTRODUCTION

- 1 Within this overseas-born population, there are small numbers whose ethnicity is not Asian, since they may have been born in Asia, but of a different ethnicity. At the same time, some overseas-born of Asian ethnicity are not included as well, for example Indo-Fijians and some others born in countries beyond Asia.
- 2 Allen Bartley (2004) Contemporary Asian migration to New Zealand: challenging the 'settler' paradigm. In P. Spoonley, C. Macpherson & D. Pearson (eds.) *Tangata Tangata: the changing ethnic contours of New Zealand*. Southbank, Victoria, Thomson. p 163.

**THE 2006 NEW ZEALAND CENSUS** revealed an increasingly diverse population in terms of ethnicity and demography. The 20 years leading up to this Census, following the introduction of the Immigration Act in 1987, witnessed one of the most dramatic transitions in ethnic composition that New Zealand has ever experienced. The most notable aspect of this change has been the growth of the populations of Asian origin, although other populations have also grown. With about two-thirds of all Asian migrants settling in Auckland, this region has been the focus of much of this change, and it might be claimed that Auckland represents 'the face of New Zealand in the 21st century' since we can expect changes in Auckland to foreshadow changes that will spread to other parts of the country. These recent and projected changes have important implications for New Zealand in terms of economic development and policy related to service provision, culture and education as well as for the evolution of national identity.

The Asian population of New Zealand and Auckland is identified in two ways in this report. The 'migrant' Asian population consists of those who were born in an Asian country i.e. are 'overseas born'<sup>1</sup>. This population does not include New Zealand-born people, even though the children of migrants are sometimes described as 'second (or third) generation migrants'. The 'ethnic' Asian population is made up of all of those who identified themselves in the Census as 'Asian' or as one of the subcategories of Asian irrespective of place of birth. At the most detailed level (level 3), people may have identified with a regional or sub national identity such as Taiwanese, Gujarati or Javanese. More closely approximating national ethnic identities is the level 2 classification such as Chinese, Indian or Indonesian, and this classification is often used in this report. Some tabulated Census data is only released at the 'highest' level (level 1) such as Asian, Pacific or European, and this level is sometimes also used in this report. It should be noted that, in some cases, these higher-level identities have only been constructed recently i.e. some migrants from Asia may have only *become* 'Asian' once they had migrated to New Zealand<sup>2</sup>.

## ASIAN DIVERSITY IN AUCKLAND

The Immigration Act 1987 radically changed the criteria for migrant entry to New Zealand. While earlier immigration policy had been based on preferred source countries, the new policy was based on individual characteristics, especially age, educational levels and/or work experience, and ability to bring investment capital into the country. These changes were specifically quantified by the points system introduced in 1991. One result of these changes was a shift in the relative importance of migrant countries of origin. The United Kingdom and nations of the Pacific have remained as significant sources of migrants, but the countries of Asia have markedly increased their importance as migrant sources for New Zealand. This has changed the ethnic composition of New Zealand, and with about two-thirds of all new Asian migrants settling in Auckland, the changes are most apparent there.

The relative importance of Asian migrants in relation to all migrants in Auckland is shown in Figure 1, below.

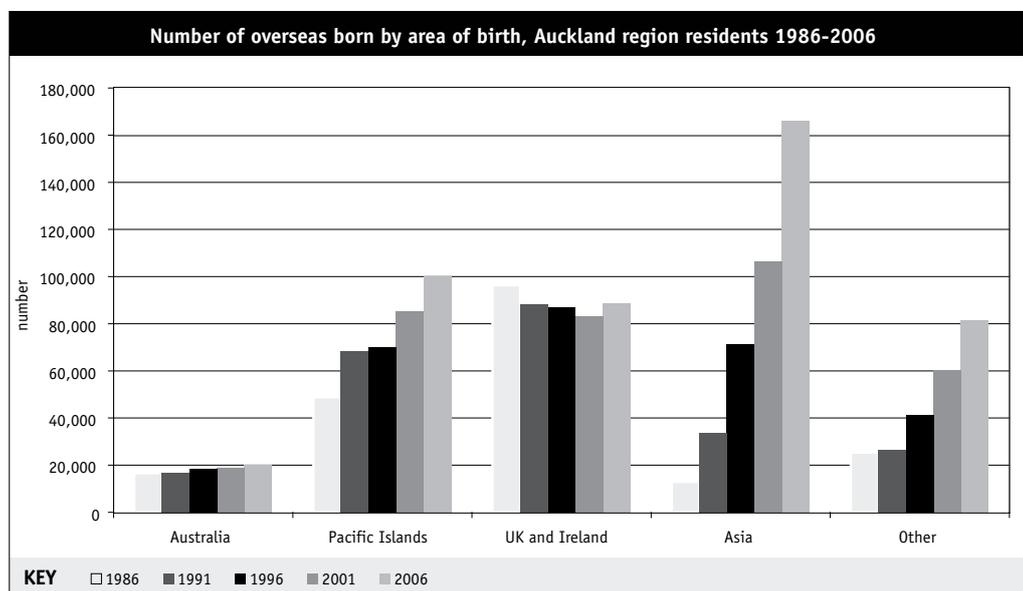
Between 1986 and 2006, the number of overseas-born Pacific peoples doubled, the number from the United Kingdom and Ireland declined with

a slight reversal after 2001, and the number of 'other' migrants (mostly from Africa) increased significantly. However, in absolute terms the Asia-born population increased by about 50 percent, more than all other world regions together.

The national origins of Asian migrants according to the time period in which they arrived is shown in Figure 2 (overleaf).<sup>3</sup> The time of arrival may have a significant impact on the characteristics of these migrant groups in relation to demographic characteristics as well as to the acquisition of English language skills, integration into the labour force and other aspects of acculturation. Overall, there are relatively few Asians in Auckland who arrived before the new immigration policy took effect in 1987 (note, however, that these data do not include New Zealand-born Asians). The largest numbers are from Fiji, reflecting a longer-term movement of Indo-Fijians into New Zealand. Migrants born in India and China are also noticeable as 'old policy migrants', and to a lesser extent some of the populations of Cambodia and Vietnam are in this category, arriving earlier as refugees in the 1970s and 1980s.

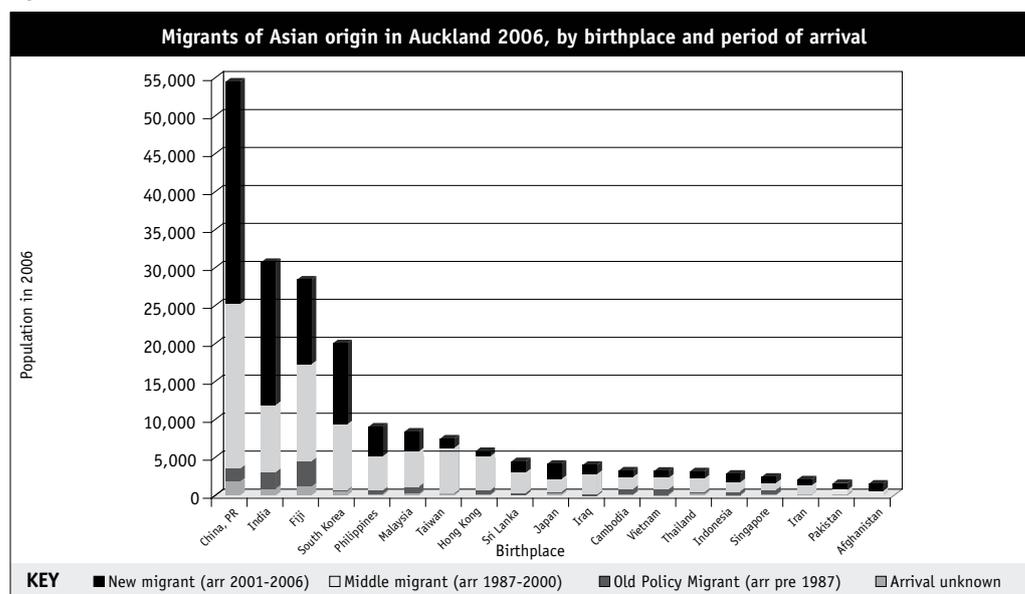
<sup>3</sup> Fiji is included in this figure because the majority of migrants from that country are of Indo-Fijian origin, and are a significant component of the Asian population of Auckland.

Figure 1



Nearly 20 percent of the Chinese and Indian populations in New Zealand were born in New Zealand.

Figure 2



One of the most notable aspects of Figure 2 is the large proportions of migrants in the larger groups who arrived between 2001 and 2006. For populations born in China, India and South Korea, more than one-half of their number arrived in this five-year period. This reflects the large influx between 2001 and 2003 partly reflecting a response to the events of terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001, then a perceived tightening of language and other immigration criteria in late 2003. This was less the case for some other Asian populations. The bulk of those from Hong Kong arrived mostly before the 'handover' to China in 1997, while the majority of those from Malaysia and Taiwan arrived in the 1990s.

When country of birth is compared to ethnicity (Appendix 1), it is obvious that some ethnicities have diverse birthplace origins. Some of the main points from this table are:

- Nearly 20 percent of the Chinese and Indian populations in New Zealand were born in New Zealand (these percentages were much higher in the early 1990s), reflecting their longstanding presence in New Zealand, in some cases going back to the 19th century.

- The Cambodian and Vietnamese populations have relatively high proportions of New Zealand born since many of them arrived as refugees from the 1970s onwards.
- Koreans stand out as making up the smallest proportion of the New Zealand-born population since their migration has mostly taken place since the early 1990s.
- The origins of the Chinese population illustrate the diversity of the Chinese diaspora, with substantial numbers being born outside China and Taiwan, especially in Southeast Asia, but also smaller numbers from many other countries.
- The migrant Indian population is largely from India and Fiji (in the 1991 and 1996 Censuses there were more from Fiji than India, but in recent years this situation has reversed), but also significant numbers from other countries, especially South Africa and Malaysia.
- Significantly increased numbers of migrants from a number of other Asian countries, including the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Indonesia, illustrate the diversification of New Zealand immigration streams in recent years.

Within some groups there is a great deal of diversity, and perhaps the Indian population is the best example of this, with a considerable variety of language and religious groups.

The diversity of the Asian population in Auckland is manifest in other ways than country of origin or national-level ethnicity. Within some groups there is a great deal of diversity, and perhaps the Indian population is the best example of this, with a considerable variety of language and religious groups.

**Table 1: Number of Indian language speakers enumerated in New Zealand Censuses 1996-2006**

	1996	2001	2006
Hindi	12,879	22,749	44,589
Gujarati	8,760	11,145	15,873
Punjabi	2,937	5,541	10,713
Tamil		3,810	5,634
Urdu	1,503	2,946	4,251
Bengali	1,353	1,464	2,265
Telugu		1,419	2,838
Marathi		861	2,562
Malayalam		588	2,136
Kannada		414	888
Konkani		210	588
Fiji Hindi	587	189	525
Kashmiri		54	81
Oriya		48	51

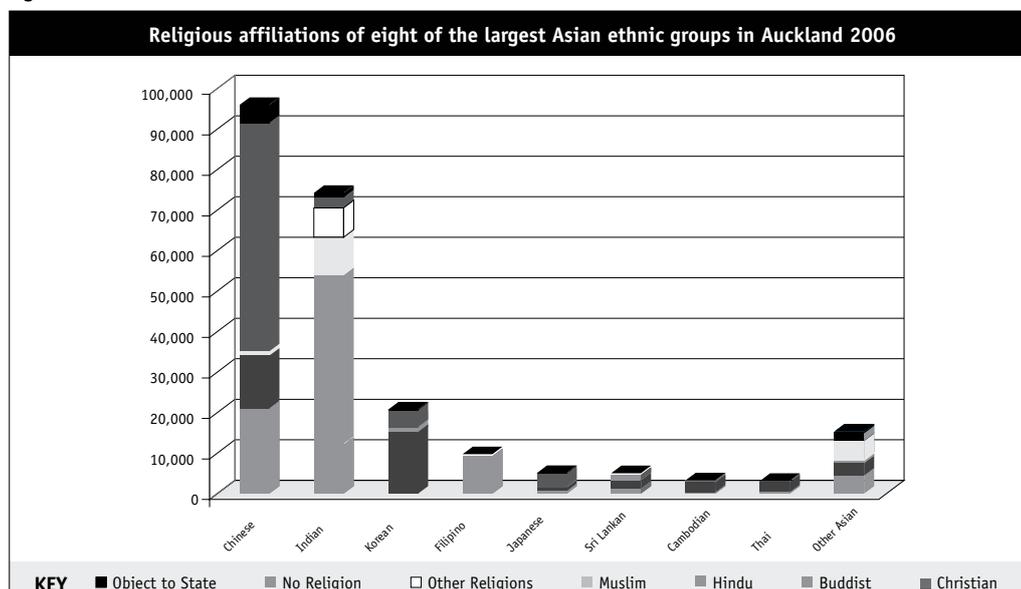
Source: New Zealand Censuses 1996, 2001, 2006

Note: The Census question allows multiple responses, so an individual may be counted in more than one group.

Table 1, at left, shows the number of Indian language speakers in New Zealand in the past three Censuses, and shows that each of these groups has steadily expanded. Fluency in these languages may not always equate to region of origin in India, since Hindi has been promoted nationally, so many will speak this as well as a language from their state of origin, and probably English as well. There are, of course, a significant number within the Indian population for whom English is their first language. In other Asian populations there is also linguistic diversity, with Chinese-speaking Mandarin, Cantonese (Yue) and several regional languages, and there is also notable diversity within the populations of Filipino, Sri Lankan, Indonesian, Afghani and Pakistani groups.

The religious diversity of the Asian population is shown in Figure 3, below, which shows the religious affiliations of the eight largest Asian groups in Auckland. A high proportion of Chinese have stated 'no religion', although within this category there may exist a number of quasi-religious practices such as those based on Confucianism that may not have been considered a religion by many Census respondents.

**Figure 3**



## The most widely spread are migrants from the People's Republic of China.

The Chinese population also has significant numbers of Christian and Buddhist adherents. The majority of Indians in Auckland are Hindus but there are also significant numbers of Muslims and Christians, as well as 'other religions', with the largest of these being Sikh. Koreans and Filipinos are largely Christians, with the former reflecting the selectivity of migration from Korea, since this proportion of Christians does not represent the religious composition of Korea. For the smaller Asian populations such as Japanese, Sri Lankan, Cambodian and Thai, religious affiliations tend to reflect the compositions in the home countries.

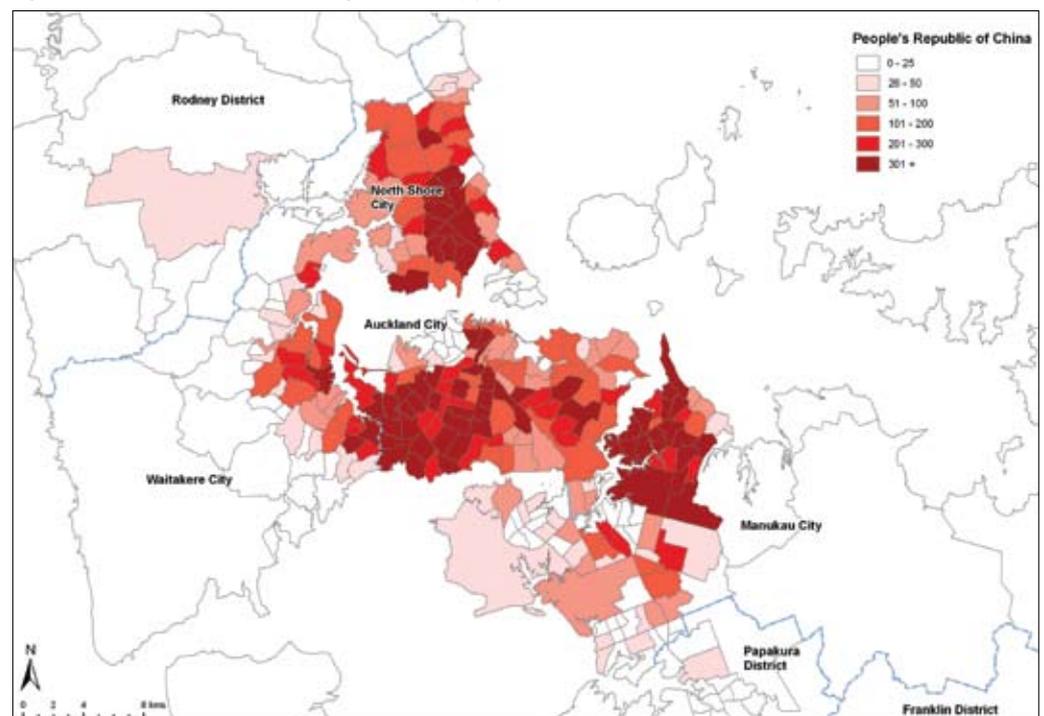
The settlement patterns of the Asian populations of Auckland show distinctive spatial differences. The most widely spread are migrants from the People's Republic of China (Figure 4), with a number of different clusters apparent in 2006. In Manukau City, large numbers are found in the established suburbs of Howick and Pakuranga as well as the newly developed suburbs along the East

Tamaki corridor. In Auckland city, some are located in the wealthier suburbs of Remuera and Epsom, but many more are in suburbs with 'middle-priced' housing such as Mount Roskill and Mount Albert.

The Chinese populations in these areas have increased rapidly over the past decade, representing migrants with high levels of education and skills but who are not as asset rich as some earlier migrants. The cluster of China-born migrants in North Shore City is also a relatively recent phenomenon.

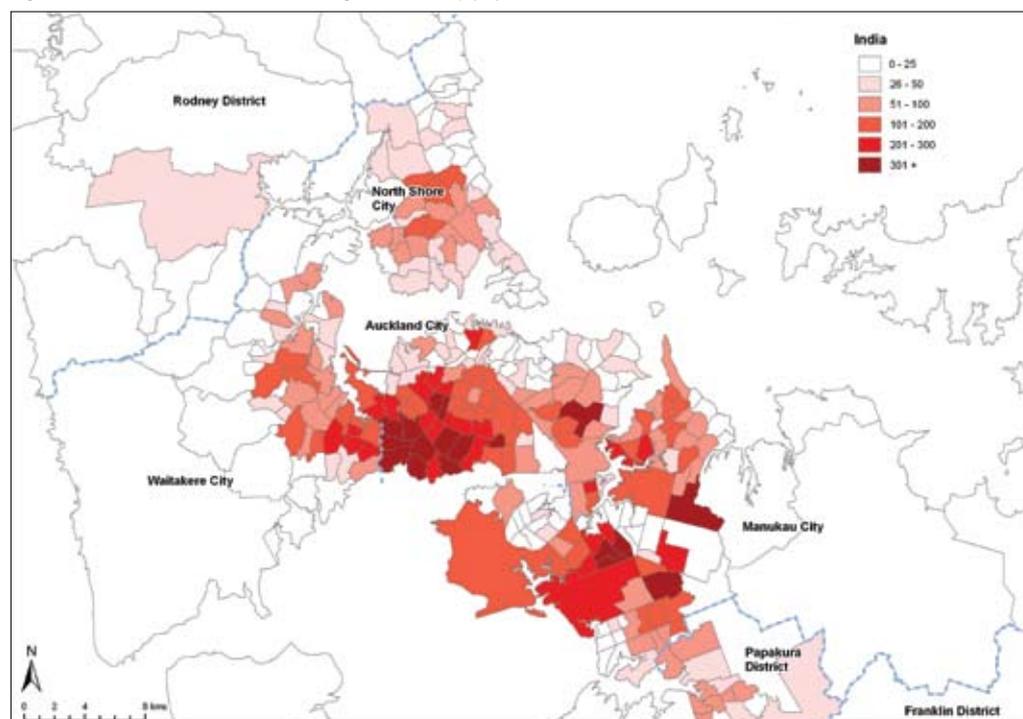
The population born in India shows a different pattern from the Chinese, although they also have a major concentration in the areas of Mount Albert and Mount Roskill (Figure 5). In Manukau City they tend to be more concentrated in areas around Mangere, although they are also present in the wealthier areas of Howick and East Tamaki.

**Figure 4: Distribution in Auckland region 2006, of population born in China**



There are some commonalities in the distribution of the larger Asian ethnic groups. All have some presence in the CBD of Auckland.

Figure 5: Distribution in Auckland region 2006, of population born in India



4 Manying Ip & Wardlow Friesen (2001) The new Chinese community in New Zealand: local outcomes of transnationalism. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 10, 213-240.

In the mid-1990s, Koreans were mostly concentrated on the North Shore, and their presence there was still obvious in 2006 (Figure 6 overleaf). However, in recent years, many Korea-born migrants have also settled in other parts of the region, notably East Tamaki, the central business district (CBD) and parts of Waitakere City.

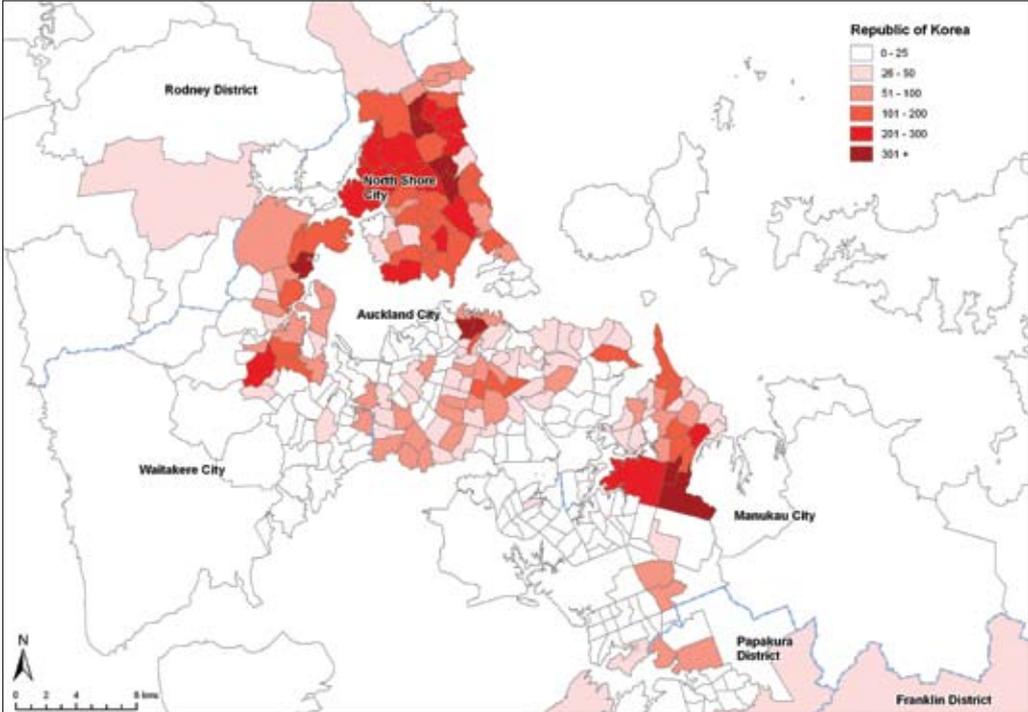
There are some commonalities in the distribution of the larger Asian ethnic groups. All have some presence in the CBD of Auckland, representing student populations but also some investment by Asians in the apartment market there.

At the other end of the spectrum there are relatively few Asians settled in the urban periphery and rural areas of the Auckland region, despite the fact that some migrants have stated that they came to New Zealand for environmental reasons<sup>4</sup>.

However, Auckland is still small, not intensively housed and access to 'environment' is still relatively easy.

Smaller Asian groups have some distinctive spatial settlement patterns in Auckland. Vietnamese and Cambodian populations are mostly found in southern Auckland, especially in Otahuhu, Papatoetoe and to the west of Manukau central. These may reflect the proximity of these areas to the refugee processing centre in nearby Mangere, but also more recently chain migration, where new migrants have settled in areas with cultural facilities ranging from temples to restaurants. The Japan born are mostly in Auckland city, especially the relatively affluent eastern suburbs, reflecting the fact that many of these are short- to medium-term residents working for corporations and within the tourism industry.

Figure 6: Distribution in Auckland region 2006, of population born in Korea



# CHARACTERISTICS OF AUCKLAND'S ASIAN POPULATIONS

## DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE: AGE, SEX, FERTILITY

Asian populations in Auckland have distinctive age-sex structures. When the Asian population of the Auckland region is compared to the total population of the region, it is shown to be slightly under represented in the child cohorts but have a higher proportion in the age groups between 15 and 30, reflecting the presence of many students (Figure 7). In the cohorts between 30 and 50, Asian male proportions are similar to that of the general population but females are over-represented, possibly supporting the idea that the phenomenon of the male 'astronaut spouse' is real<sup>5</sup>. In the older age cohorts, the Asian population is proportionately smaller as a result of the age selectivity of immigration criteria.

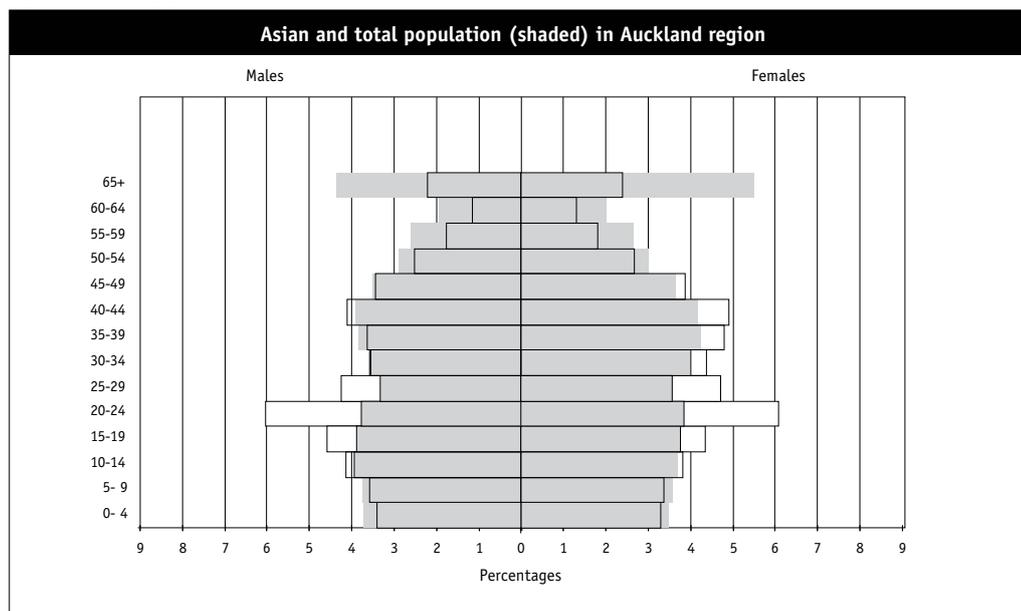
When groups within the Asian population are considered, the contrast to the total Auckland population is even greater. The importance of international students in the Chinese population is shown by the large proportions in the 15 to 30 cohorts shown in Figure 8. As a result of the large proportions of young adults in the

Chinese population, there is a relative under-representation in the youngest and oldest cohorts, the latter also a result of the recency of much Chinese migration to New Zealand.

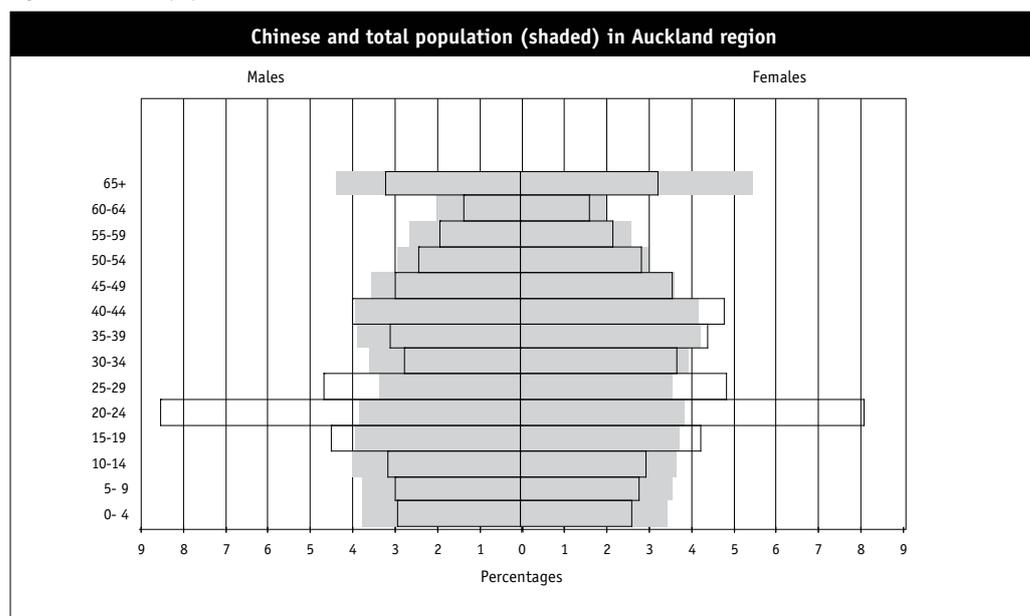
The age-sex structure of the Indian population is closer to that of the Auckland regional total, although there are still significantly larger proportions between 25 and 50 years reflecting the immigration criteria favouring these ages (Figure 9). The Korean population structure is least like the regional average (Figure 10). One significant difference from the other Asian populations is the presence of large numbers of school-age populations between 10 and 20, presumably largely a result of international school students in intermediate and secondary schools. In the cohorts over 35, it is particularly females that stand out, possibly representing caregivers of the school-age students.

<sup>5</sup> An 'astronaut spouse' is a spouse (usually male) who works and largely resides in his Asian country of origin, although may visit (but not necessarily live) in New Zealand for short periods of time.

Figure 7: Asian population in Auckland, 2006



**Figure 8: Chinese population in Auckland, 2006**



**Figure 9: Indian population in Auckland, 2006**

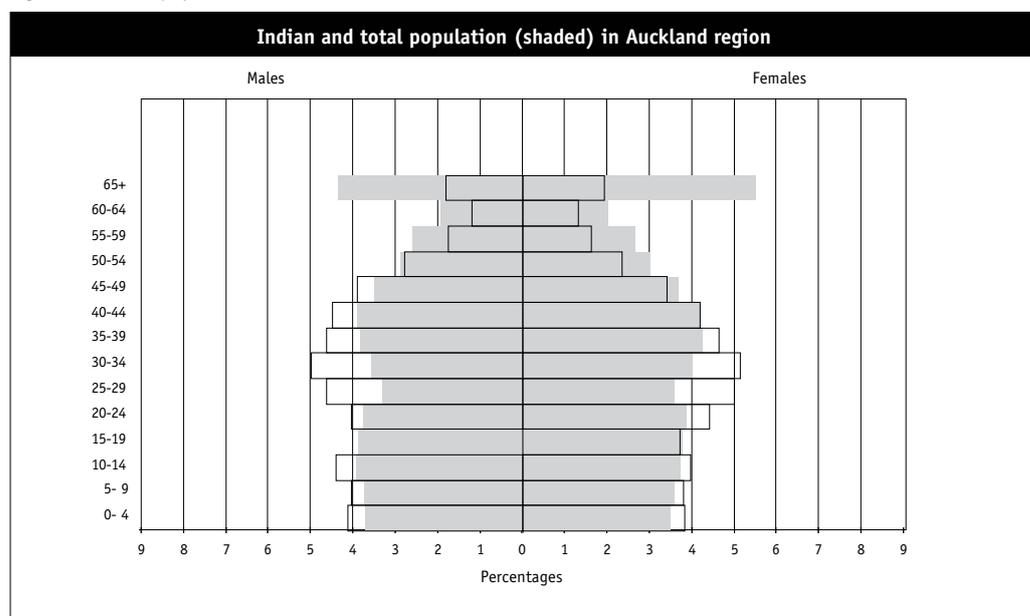
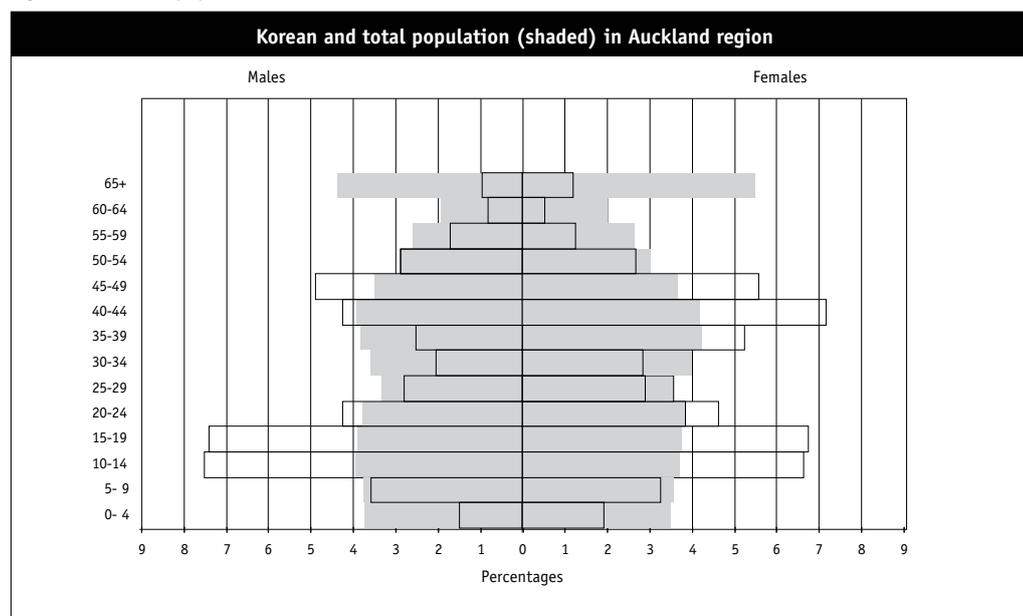


Figure 10: Korean population in Auckland, 2006



A summary of the age-sex characteristics and educational characteristics of the eight largest Asian groups and the relationship of these to the total Asian and total population of the Auckland region is shown in Table 2, below. For most Asian groups, the proportions aged less than 15 and those in the 'working ages' 15 to 64 are greater

than for the total population, as a result of the relative small size of the population over 65. Proportionately, the child dependency level of the Asian population is the same as that of the total population, but the aged dependency level is only one-half that of the total population of Auckland.

Table 2: Demographic characteristics of Asian groups in Auckland 2006

Ethnic group	Population number	Age structure			Sex ratio
		% aged less than 15	% aged 15-64	% aged 65+	(males/100 females)
Chinese	98,391	17	76	6	91
Indian	74,442	24	72	4	102
Korean	21,351	25	73	2	89
Filipino	9,819	27	71	2	76
Japanese	5,289	24	74	2	59
Sri Lankan	5,049	20	74	6	103
Cambodian	3,375	25	71	4	99
Thai	3,225	24	75	1	53
Other Asian	15,567	28	70	3	95
Total Asian	236,508	22	74	5	93
All ethnic groups	1,303,068	22	68	10	95

Source: New Zealand Censuses 1996, 2001, 2006

Note: The Census question allows multiple responses, so an individual may be counted in more than one group.

These multilingual abilities (three or more languages) were about five times as great within the Asian population as they were within the total population of New Zealand, and this resource might be considered to be one of the less-recognised benefits of immigration.

6 Statistics New Zealand (2004) *Fertility of New Zealand Women by Ethnicity*. Wellington, Statistics New Zealand. pg 9. These rates are age adjusted to overcome the unbalanced age structures of migrant populations as reflected in the age-sex structures of ethnic groups already shown in this report.

7 Ibid: 35.

8 Ibid: 39.

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

The female population of New Zealand and Auckland is larger than the male population, and for the total Asian population, with a sex ratio of 93 males for every 100 females, this is even more the case. This difference is explained by a low sex ratio for the larger populations of Chinese and Koreans, and considerable imbalances for the smaller Thai, Japanese and Filipino populations, partly reflecting inter-ethnic partnerships and marriages within these groups. The populations of Indians and Sri Lankans have a male predominance, suggesting a larger influx of single males from South Asia.

There is only limited information on other demographic variables by ethnicity. For example, detailed analysis of fertility is limited and available mainly at the national level. One analysis of fertility by broad ethnic group is derived from the 1996 Census, so may not be fully representative of the ethnic groups a decade later. When the average number of children born per woman (Total Fertility Rate; TFR) is compared, the Asian rate of 1.88 is slightly higher than that of Europeans (1.83) but considerably lower than that of Maori (2.79) or Pacific peoples (2.84)<sup>6</sup>. There was, however, a great deal of diversity within the Asian population. The TFR of refugee origin groups was highest at 2.63 for Khmer and 2.47 for Vietnamese women. Of the larger groups, Indian women had a TFR of 2.15, Chinese was 1.83 and Korean was 1.54, and the lowest rate was for Japanese women at 1.01<sup>7</sup>. These rates partly reflect fertility rates in countries of origin, but also levels of education and marital status, with an expected reduction in rates for those with tertiary qualifications, and an increase for those who were legally married<sup>8</sup>.

## LANGUAGE SKILLS AND EDUCATION

Language has been mentioned as an indicator of diversity, but language skills may also be seen as an indicator of potential integration with a host society. In the 2006 Census, the language question asked: 'In which language(s) could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things?' and there may have been some variability in the interpretation of this question. Nevertheless, the responses are of interest in gaining some indication of the language skills of the population. To the Census question, 14 percent of Asians in New Zealand responded that they could not speak any of the official languages of New Zealand (English, Maori, New Zealand Sign Language), and although we do not have any further breakdown, we can assume that most of these were relatively recent migrants or older migrants who did not have to qualify under the minimum English language specifications of the immigration system<sup>9</sup>. At the other end of the spectrum, 25 percent of Asians said that English was their only language, presumably mostly New Zealand-born Asians. Although this figure may also include migrants from Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia. The most common response from the Asian population to the language question came from the 61 percent of Asians who could speak English and at least one other language. Although the bulk of these spoke two languages, about 14 percent could speak three or more languages, a proportion much higher than all other ethnic groups except the Middle Eastern, Latin American and African group, which had a similar proportion. These multilingual abilities (three or more languages) were about five times as great within the Asian population as they were within the total population of New Zealand, and this resource might be considered to be one of the less-recognised benefits of immigration.

## 28 percent of the Asian population have a university degree in comparison with 20 percent of the total population.

More specific information about language ability within the Asian population of Auckland is shown in Table 3, below. Whereas 95 percent of the Auckland population could carry out an everyday conversation in English, only 84 percent of Asians made this claim. Among the specific Asian groups, only 70 percent of Koreans and 73 percent of Cambodians claimed competency in English, while 92 percent of Indians, 94 percent of Sri Lankans and 98 percent of Filipinos were in this category, perhaps reflecting both the greater prevalence of English in countries of origin and the relatively high educational levels of these populations.

Table 3 shows only two measures of educational qualification: the proportion of those aged 15 and over whose highest qualification is less than a high school qualification and those who have a university degree. Only 11 percent of the Asian population do not have a high school qualification compared with 20 percent of the Auckland population, while 28 percent have a university degree in comparison with 20 percent of the total population.

The main exception to this higher level of education is found among the Cambodian population, many of whom originated as refugees and therefore were not subject to the educational selectivity of the immigration policy after 1987. It is not possible to ascertain from the Census where tertiary qualifications were gained, so we do not know the degree to which these educational qualifications are 'imported'. For longer-term migrants, qualifications are likely to be supplemented within New Zealand, as shown by a survey of skilled migrants that showed that 52 percent of Asian migrants undertook further education and training in New Zealand, especially for the purposes of improving English language skills, upgrading an existing qualification and getting a better job<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Department of Labour (2006) *Life in New Zealand: settlement experiences of skilled migrants; results from the 2005 survey*. Wellington, Department of Labour. pp 49-51.

**Table 3: Language and education characteristics of Asian groups in Auckland 2006**

Ethnic group	% who could have everyday conversation in English	Multiple language indicator *	Education aged 15+	
			% no high school qualification	% university degree
Chinese	80	1.82	11	27
Indian	92	1.91	10	31
Korean	70	1.63	6	21
Filipino	98	1.83	5	41
Japanese	87	1.71	6	22
Sri Lankan	94	1.74	4	37
Cambodian	73	1.77	46	5
Thai	88	1.81	27	16
Other Asian	84	1.93	18	24
Total Asian	84	1.83	11	28
All ethnic groups	95	1.34	20	20

\* Average number of languages specified on Census form i.e. number of total responses divided by number of people in group (not including 'too young to speak' and n.s.).

# ASIAN ETHNOSCAPES IN AUCKLAND

- 11 Jingjing Xue (2008) *The Chinese Ethnurb in Auckland, New Zealand – A Spatial Approach*. Masters thesis in Geography, Auckland, University of Auckland.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 These are the number of restaurants listed in the 2007 Auckland Yellow Pages, and do not include a number of generic 'Asian' restaurants. Not included in these numbers are many small operations in food courts and malls.
- 14 See Hong-Key Yoon (2003) Recent East Asian immigrants and their contribution to multi-culturalism in Auckland, New Zealand. *Human Geography*, 55, 95-106. Quoting a study by Ruth Withers (2000) *Eating Out, a Global Experience: a study of Auckland's ethnic restaurants, 1972-1999*, Masters thesis in Geography, Auckland, University of Auckland.

The term 'ethnoscape' has been used in the social sciences literature to describe the impacts that new migrant populations make in a host society. These range from things visible in the landscape such as people, housing, shops, restaurants and temples through to the less visible aspects such as language and changing attitudes, with the latter often being represented by media coverage. In between are the visible but transitory phenomena such as festivals and markets. Paralleling the increase in Asian populations in Auckland have been rapidly changing ethnoscapes.

## RETAILING AND RESTAURANTS

There is a great deal of evidence of the rapid development of Asian retail enterprises in the changing ethnoscapes of Auckland. Anyone who knows the region well will identify clusters of Asian retailing and restaurants in areas such as Upper Queen Street, Dominion Road, Sandringham Road, New Lynn, Somerville and Dannemora, but nearly every part of the region has some evidence of this phenomenon. However, detailed research on the development of Asian retailing in Auckland is rare. One recent study uses the Chinese Directory, a hard copy and online directory of Chinese businesses in the Auckland region<sup>11</sup>. This Directory yielded 1,700 Chinese business addresses and an analysis of their location showed strong clusters in areas such as those already named, but also a widespread distribution of Chinese restaurants, supermarkets, bakeries, IT shops and religious and community services, among others. These Chinese businesses largely had owners of ethnic descent and served the Chinese population. In some cases, these facilities were located in areas of high Chinese population density, while in other cases they were in areas of high business concentration, such as the CBD and Newmarket, and served a clientele much wider than the Chinese community<sup>12</sup>.

One of the most conspicuous changes in Auckland ethnoscapes, regularly referred to anecdotally as being a positive aspect of immigration, is the growth in 'ethnic' restaurants. In 2007 there were

just fewer than 400 identifiable 'Asian' restaurants and cafes, as well as many more outlets in food courts and malls. With almost equal numbers were Indian (77), Thai (75), Chinese (73) and Japanese (73)<sup>13</sup>. Smaller numbers of Korean, Vietnamese, Turkish, Mongolian, Malaysian, Cambodian and Persian restaurants were also present. These numbers represent, on the average, a doubling of these cuisines from a study ten years earlier<sup>14</sup>.

## FESTIVALS

Highly visible manifestations of Asian ethnoscapes in Auckland are the festivals that have developed in recent years. Possibly the largest is the Asia New Zealand Foundation Lantern Festival held around the Chinese New Year, running over three days each year and attracting large crowds of Chinese and others. Focused on specially commissioned lanterns, the Festival also features music, dance, food and retailing. At the other end of the year is another, Indian 'festival of lights', Diwali, which has also grown rapidly to become a major event in recent years. It attracts Indians and non-Indians and has a similar range of cultural forms to the Lantern Festival, including an intensely contested Bollywood dance competition. The Auckland International Cultural Festival features ethnic groups from various continents and provides a niche for smaller ethnic groups, including some from Asia such as Indonesians and Burmese. A range of other Asian festivals held in Auckland, usually every year, includes the Festival of India (pan-Indian), Eid (Muslim) and dragon boat races (Chinese origin), as well as a number of Asian film festivals and smaller-scale festivals in particular neighbourhoods.

## RELIGION

On a physical level, the evidence of the emergence of diverse religious practices of the Asian population of Auckland is dramatic. New Hindu temples include the Bhartiya Mandir on Balmoral Road in Sandringham and the Radha Krishna Mandir, which is part of the Mahatma Gandhi Centre in Eden Terrace. The Tsu Ming

While there may be more balance in media representations of Asian populations, the issues of public perception and racism are important issues that are much wider than media coverage.

temple in Greenlane is the oldest Buddhist temple in Auckland, while the recently built Chinese Mahayana Buddhist Fo Guang Shan temple in Botany is testament to the large numbers of Chinese Buddhists in South Auckland. There are also a number of other Buddhist temples specifically serving Cambodian, Vietnamese and Lao populations. A number of gurdwara represent the Sikh population, with the Takanini Gurdwara, built at a cost of \$8 million, being perhaps the most dramatic. With a high proportion of the Korean population in New Zealand professing Christianity, their presence has become visible as some have integrated with existing Christian congregations in many areas, especially central Auckland and the North Shore, and this is manifest in services in Korean signposted outside many churches. However, this integration is not always the case and in some cases, on the North Shore, Koreans have taken over churches, rather than mixing with existing congregations. Bilingual Christian churches serving the Chinese population are also conspicuous, and even smaller ethnic groups such as Indonesian and Burmese are also represented in this way.

Beneath the visible aspects of religious ethnoscapas are a number of issues. Bilingual Christian churches can be seen as effective mechanisms of integration with the host society, and this has been especially the case for Korean and Chinese populations<sup>15</sup>. At the same time, religious diversity introduces an extra dimension to the complexity of ethnic identity and this is perhaps most obvious within the Indian community. In some cases Hinduism has been promoted as the epitome of 'Indian' culture and the prominence of the Diwali festival in Auckland is an example of this. However, significant Sikh, Muslim, Christian and other religious sectors of the Indian population are not adequately incorporated within this representation of 'Indianness', but even within the Hindu population, regional and linguistic groups are increasingly celebrating their own festivals<sup>16</sup>.

Prominent among these celebrations are the Durga puja by the Bengalis, Kavadi by the Tamils, Onam and Vishnu by the Malayalees, and Ganesh Chaturthi by the Marathis<sup>17</sup>.

#### MEDIA AND PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

Another visible aspect of Auckland's Asian ethnoscapas are 'ethnic' media. In mid-2004, there were at least 20 Chinese language newspapers, mostly free and mostly based in Auckland, representing a newspaper for every 5,000 Chinese in the country<sup>18</sup>. There were also three television channels and three radio stations with significant Chinese language content, as well as three magazines and several websites serving the Chinese population<sup>19</sup>. The Indian community of New Zealand is also well served with media, including several hard copy and online newspapers and a dedicated radio station, once again mostly based in Auckland but serving the whole of New Zealand<sup>20</sup>. These media outlets serve a range of purposes: news of the various 'homelands', local news of interest to each community, promotion of cultural events, advice to new or prospective migrants and international students, business news, and information on the property market<sup>21</sup>. Television and newspaper outlets also exist for other Asian groups such as Korean and Japanese.

Another aspect of media presence relates to the way that the presence and impacts of migrant or minority populations are reported in the mainstream media. In the early and mid 1990s, there was considerable negative press coverage of new migrants, especially 'Asian', usually as represented by Chinese. This coverage tended to focus on issues of 'commitment to New Zealand', impacts on services such as schools and the wealth of some migrants<sup>22</sup>. However, Spoonley asserts that by 2000, media coverage had become more balanced and that '... the experiences and views of the Asian communities were given more prominence'<sup>23</sup>.

15 Kevin de Leeuw (2007) *Faith and Community: the significance of the ethnic church for Chinese and Korean migrants in Auckland*. Masters thesis in Geography, Auckland, University of Auckland.

16 Sekhar Bandyopadhyay (2006) *Reinventing Indian identity in multicultural New Zealand*. In Henry Johnson & Brian Moloughney (eds.) *Asia in the Making of New Zealand*. Auckland, Auckland University Press. pg 134.

17 Ibid.

18 Manying Ip (2006) *Chinese media in New Zealand: transnational outpost of unchecked floodtide?* In W. Sun (ed.) *Media and the Chinese Diaspora: community, communications and commerce*. London, Routledge. pg 187.

19 Ibid pg 188.

20 Wardlow Friesen (2008) *The evolution of 'Indian' identity and transnationalism in New Zealand*. *Australian Geographer*, 39(1):45-61.

21 Ip 2006 op cit; Friesen 2008 op cit.

22 Paul Spoonley (2005) *Print media representations of immigration and immigrants, 1993-2003*. In A. Trlin, P. Spoonley & N. Watts (eds.), *New Zealand and International Migration: a digest and bibliography*. Palmerston North, School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work, Massey University. pp 86-106. See also Paul Spoonley and Andrew Trlin (2004), *Immigration, Immigrants and the Media: Making Sense of the Multicultural New Zealand*. Palmerston North: New Settlers Programme, Massey University.

23 Ibid pg 97.

There are more international students arriving in New Zealand each year than there are permanent residents.

- 24 See Ravi Palat (1996) *Curries, chopsticks and Kiwis: Asian migration to Aotearoa/New Zealand*. In P. Spoonley, C. Macpherson & D. Pearson (eds.) *Nga Patai: racism and ethnic relations in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Palmerston North, Dunmore Press. pp 35-54; Terry McGrath, Paul Stock & Andrew Butcher (2007) *Friends and Allies: the impacts of returning Asian students on New Zealand-Asia relationships*. Wellington, Asia New Zealand Foundation. pg 9; Ip & Friesen 2001 op cit.
- 25 See [www.hrc.co.nz/home/hrc/newsandissues/onthebrightsidejanuary2008.php](http://www.hrc.co.nz/home/hrc/newsandissues/onthebrightsidejanuary2008.php).
- 26 McGrath et al. 2007 op cit. See also, Ministry of Education (2007), *International Enrolments in New Zealand 2000-2006*. Wellington: Ministry of Education.
- 27 University of Auckland (2007) *Annual Report 2006*. Auckland. pp 10-11.

While there may be more balance in media representations of Asian populations, the issues of public perception and racism are important issues that are much wider than media coverage.

A number of studies have identified the presence of racism against both new migrants and international students, although incidents tend to involve unknown people rather than work or school colleagues<sup>24</sup>.

Specific anti-racism initiatives, many in relation to the Asian communities of New Zealand, have been undertaken by various agencies including the Human Rights Commission (HRC), and while the success of these is hard to gauge, there appears to be a growing number of positive initiatives from all sectors of society as reported in *On the Bright Side: Paenga Hihiko Kohi-t tea*, a newsletter published by the HRC<sup>25</sup>.

## INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

There are more international students arriving in New Zealand each year than there are permanent residents, and although their impact may be shorter term, they are major contributors to new ethnoscapes. The number of international students arriving in New Zealand rose dramatically from the mid-1990s to peak at more than 120,000 in 2002, then declined to stabilise at about 95,000 in 2005 and 2006<sup>26</sup>. Asian students comprised about 87 percent of all international students, with about two-thirds coming from China. Of Asian international students at the tertiary level, about one-third study in Auckland and this represents a more even spread through New Zealand than is the case for permanent residents from Asia. As well as international students, high proportions of students at tertiary institutions in Auckland are permanent residents of Asian origin. For example, there were just over 13,000 Asian students at the University of Auckland in 2006, comprising about 35 percent of the student population, and about three-quarters of these were permanent residents or citizens<sup>27</sup>.

As a result, there are large numbers of Asian students concentrated in central Auckland where the largest tertiary institutions are, and this has helped to sustain the demand for inner-city apartments. In the 2006 Census, the three CBD Census Area Units of Auckland contained about 6,700 Asians, comprising 47 percent of the population of this area. Students comprise a high proportion of this number and have had a visible impact on the central city in terms of the nature of cafes and restaurants, places of entertainment (e.g. karaoke), shops, patronage of public transport and so on.

# IMPLICATIONS FOR NEW ZEALAND

## DEMOGRAPHIC FUTURE

Ethnic projections by Statistics New Zealand assume that the Asian population of New Zealand will continue to grow as a proportion of the total population, and this seems plausible unless there is a substantial change in immigration policy in the future. Regional projections also assume that Auckland will absorb a disproportionate share of this growth, with an estimated growth of about 51 percent for the Asian population up to 2016 compared with 46 percent for New Zealand as a whole. However, it should be noted that the Asian ethnic composition of all other regions in New Zealand is increasing and although Asian populations are not projected to increase as rapidly as in Auckland, in almost all cases the Asian population is projected to increase at a rate considerably higher than that of any other ethnic group. Thus, some of the implications of change in Auckland will also have relevance in other parts of New Zealand.

The future composition of the Asian population of Auckland and New Zealand will vary according to changes in New Zealand's immigration policy. While China and Korea are likely to remain important sources of migrants for many years, policy changes that emphasise language skills have been shown in the past to reduce flows from these countries, and this is a likely outcome if similar changes were to be implemented in the future. South Asia, especially India, is also likely to remain an important source of migrants, although it is less affected by language criteria because of the prevalence of English in the education system. Recent diversification of migrant sources suggests the ongoing importance of other sources in Southeast Asia and potentially the increased importance of Central Asia.

As well as a diversification of migrant sources, the identities of the population within New Zealand will continue to diversify. In 2006, about 10 percent of the New Zealand population identified with more than one broad ethnic group, and this was especially the case for people aged less than 15 years. The Asian population

identifying with more than one broad ethnic group was slightly lower, at 8 percent, but 18 percent of those under 15 years of age had more than one ethnic identity. Thus, over time an increasing proportion of the Asian population will also have European, Maori, Pacific and/or other identities. As well as this potential multiple identification, within particular groups there are layers of identity as we have seen with the Indian ethnic group.

Flows of international students have resulted in a youthful population, especially for Chinese and Koreans who have had the most significant numbers in recent years. The scale of international education flows varies with conditions in New Zealand and in the countries of origin. Demand will probably continue for some years, although in the longer term English language secondary and tertiary education will increasingly become available in China and other countries of Asia. Whether this would decrease the demand for English language education in New Zealand is debatable.

Overall, the age structure of Asian populations may look increasingly like that of the general population as these populations age. This is particularly the case since the birth rate of the Asian population is similar to that of the population of European origin and lower than that of the total population. However, Asian populations are likely to remain younger because they are rejuvenated by migrant inflows regulated by age-selective immigration criteria. Thus, over the longer term, there will be steady demand for education facilities stemming from both migrant and New Zealand-born Asian youth, and we have already seen the impacts of the much-diversified ethnic population within Auckland schools, and can expect these to continue. At the other end of the age continuum, the older Asian population will continue to remain a smaller proportion of all the Asian population than for the total population, although over several decades this gap will diminish. In the medium to longer term, then, the Asian population will increasingly become part of the debate around the provision of pensions, retirement facilities and geriatric health care.

As the Asian population of New Zealand has increased, it has become obvious that the future of New Zealand and the identity of 'New Zealanders' are influenced by cultural, social, political and personal linkages to Asia that are well beyond the economic.

28 There are some possible indicators of integration that are not discussed here, but might have some potential for future research. One is the degree of uptake of citizenship, but the acquisition of citizenship in its own right may not be a good indicator, since this may be done for pragmatic reasons, and there may still be many other adjustments that have not been made.

29 Department of Labour (2006) *Life in New Zealand: settlement experiences of skilled migrants; results from the 2005 survey*. Wellington, Department of Labour. pp 60-62.

30 Ip & Friesen 2001 op cit; McGrath et al. 2007 op cit.

31 Ron Johnston, Michael Poulsen & James Forrest (2007) The geography of ethnic residential segregation: a comparative study of five countries. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 97, 713-738.

32 Friesen 2008 op cit.

33 Note that the impact of 'New Zealander' response category to the ethnicity question in the Census is deeply problematic and there is considerable technical literature on this.

#### INTEGRATION, CLUSTERING

There are a variety of possible measures of the success or otherwise of the integration of Asian migrants. The long-awaited and detailed Longitudinal Survey of Migrants, by the Department of Labour, which will consider both positive and negative outcomes, will be available in 2009 and this should provide empirical data for further analysis of the integration of Asians<sup>27</sup>. Other studies have given some indication of outcomes.

A survey of skilled migrants showed that economic factors, such as lack of job opportunities and high taxes, were seen by Asian migrants as the most negative aspects of settlement in New Zealand, while the slower pace of life, climate and natural beauty were seen the most positively<sup>28</sup>.

Other surveys suggest that many Asian migrants have encountered hostility and racism, but these incidents were relatively rare, with a common comment being that neighbours and workmates had become friends<sup>29</sup>. Although unemployment and underemployment have been common among recent Asian migrants, over time many have managed to acquire appropriate jobs through persistence or retraining and the acquisition of a marketable New Zealand degree.

Mapping of the spatial distributions of Asian populations in Auckland does reveal a significant level of clustering. Whether this is a problem is a matter of perspective. Using segregation indicators, it can be shown that the concentration of the Asian population is not as great as that of some ethnic minorities in the United States or the United Kingdom<sup>30</sup>. Further, within a 'politics of difference' it can be asserted that there are advantages for ethnic groups to be clustered together, for example to facilitate the formation of associations and the provision of 'ethnic' goods and services<sup>31</sup>. Thus, while a 'Chinatown' may serve as a tourist attraction, it usually also serves as a zone of familiarity for Chinese in the area. However, if spatial concentrations become too intense, there is also the potential that many migrants will not be able to improve their English language skills or participate in cultural activities beyond their own groups. This may be especially the case for older migrants and those who are

employed by 'ethnic businesses' run by members of their own ethnic groups. For those employed within the general workforce and those within the education system, residential clustering may be less of an issue in this respect.

#### IDENTITY AND THE FACE OF "NEW" NEW ZEALAND

One of the most profound ways in which Asian immigration and new ethnoscapes are impacting on Auckland, and ultimately on New Zealand, is in the development of identities. The multiple and layered identities of Asian migrant populations in New Zealand have already been discussed in this report. However, Asian migration is also having a significant impact on identity beyond the Asian population itself.

It can be said that New Zealand/Aotearoa has a (mostly unwritten) bicultural constitution that recognises Maori as tangata whenua, but also has a multicultural population, so the challenge is to find a balance between those two realities. This has major implications for identity and service provision at all levels. Recognising the market potential of Asia, governments have increasingly asserted that New Zealand is not only a Pacific nation but also an Asian nation, or at least an Asia-Pacific nation. As the Asian population of New Zealand has increased, it has become obvious that the future of New Zealand and the identity of 'New Zealanders' are influenced by cultural, social, political and personal linkages to Asia that are well beyond the economic. While the media, statistical agencies and some of the public often use 'Asian' as if it represents a single identity and voice, most 'Asians' may not consider this as their primary identity, even if at times it serves a political or social purpose. It seems unlikely, and possibly undesirable, that there will ever be an acceptable single definition of 'New Zealander', since the debate about national identity in New Zealand is likely to involve multiple layers of identity, both in terms of individuals and in terms of groups and society more generally<sup>32</sup>. The Asian contribution to this debate has been especially important in Auckland in recent years, but increasingly this debate will become important in most other parts of New Zealand as Asian populations and influences diffuse throughout the country.

# APPENDIX 1: COUNTRY OF BIRTH AS COMPARED TO ETHNICITY, 2006 CENSUS

Birthplace	Chinese	Indian	Korean	Filipino	Japanese	Sri Lankan	Cambodian	Thai	Vietnamese	Malay	Indonesian	Iraqi	Iranian/ Persian	Afghani	Pakistani
New Zealand	18,114	14,517	1,266	1,491	1,137	549	750	537	657	249	363	267	297	282	288
% New Zealand born	18.4	19.5	5.9	15.2	21.5	10.9	22.2	16.7	20.7	13.8	17.1	11.5	13.4	15.3	18.9
China, PR	53,961	36	15	0	9	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0
India	33	29,664	3	3	6	9	0	0	3	3	0	0	57	0	12
Fiji	393	23,670	3	3	12	6	0	3	0	0	12	0	3	0	0
Korea, Republic	57	12	19,644	0	3	0	3	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Philippines	201	21	6	8,088	3	0	0	0	15	21	0	0	6	0	3
Malaysia	6,060	747	3	9	3	69	9	3	18	1,341	6	0	0	0	3
Taiwan	7,416	0	3	3	15	3	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hong Kong (SAR)	5,304	21	6	18	3	12	0	3	27	0	0	0	3	0	0
Sri Lanka	0	198	0	0	3	4,167	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0
Japan	24	3	51	3	3,900	3	0	3	3	0	9	0	0	0	3
Cambodia	921	0	0	0	0	0	2,334	6	33	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vietnam	900	0	3	0	0	0	51	3	2,316	0	0	0	0	0	3
Thailand	111	18	0	3	3	6	180	2,598	6	0	0	3	0	0	0
Indonesia	936	15	3	9	6	0	3	0	6	27	1,659	0	0	0	0
South Africa	81	2,112	24	0	0	6	0	0	0	15	3	0	0	0	0
Iraq	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,887	15	0	0
Iran	3	18	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	39	1,746	9	0
Singapore	1,467	201	3	6	6	21	0	0	3	84	9	0	0	0	3
Afghanistan	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	1,473	3
Pakistan	3	273	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	54	1,134
Australia	228	243	57	21	15	15	3	6	15	9	12	0	3	3	3
England	117	372	9	6	12	24	0	3	0	9	3	12	6	0	12
All Other	2,061	2,289	252	156	153	156	42	48	63	42	48	111	63	18	54
<b>Total</b>	<b>98,391</b>	<b>74,442</b>	<b>21,351</b>	<b>9,822</b>	<b>5,289</b>	<b>5,049</b>	<b>3,375</b>	<b>3,222</b>	<b>3,174</b>	<b>1,809</b>	<b>2,124</b>	<b>2,325</b>	<b>2,214</b>	<b>1,839</b>	<b>1,521</b>

# ASIA NEW ZEALAND FOUNDATION

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

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