

Asian Auckland: The multiple meanings of diversity

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Report



Research

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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. 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 Ph.Ds. on a range of topics.



Introduction

Introduction

This report considers Auckland's increasingly diverse and rapidly growing Asian population. In detailing the history and trends of Asian migration to the city and the ethnicities, locations and demographic and other characteristics of Asian groups, it provides insights into the Asian 'ethnoscape' and the contribution that Asians are making to their communities and to Auckland as a whole.

EMPLOYING CENSUS AND OTHER DATA

The content of this report is largely based on data from the 2013 New Zealand census, which was originally scheduled for March 2011 but postponed after the February 2011 Christchurch earthquake. It is supplemented by information from a variety of other sources.

The 2013 census took place 25 years after the enactment of the Immigration Act 1987, which comprehensively changed New Zealand's immigration system and resulting urban ethnoscapes, especially in Auckland. The report reviews some of the changes in this quarter century, focusing especially on those since the 2006 census.

DEFINING 'ASIAN'

Much of the attention paid to 'Asian Auckland' in recent years has related to the increase in immigration to New Zealand from countries in Asia. However, as well as those migrants who originate in Asian countries, there is also a significant New Zealand-born population of Asian 'ethnicity'.

This report uses both birthplace and ethnic identification data in considering Asian Auckland. Birthplace data enables us to discuss migrant populations originating in Asian countries, and to consider the places and patterns of migrant settlement and their impacts on Auckland. Ethnicity data facilitates an assessment of the situation of the broader groups, including the descendants of earlier migrants and the children of recent migrants.

While 'Asian' is widely used to describe a broad 'ethnic' affiliation (mainly for statistical purposes), it is important to note that relatively few people consider it their primary ethnic identity; instead, they identify with national identities such as Chinese, Indian, Korean and Filipino. It should also be recognised that, within these categories, there are many more specific ethnic identities, such as Cantonese, Sichuan, Gujarati and Tamil. However, census data does not allow a comprehensive analysis at this level.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

The report has four main sections:

- Section One considers migration and settlement in the national context, particularly since the 1987 immigration policy changes, which have had profound effects on the country's ethnic composition, especially in Auckland. The section emphasises that points-based permanent residence immigration is just one contributor to diversification; other migration categories include temporary work migration, international student movements and humanitarian migration.
- Section Two reviews the migration and settlement patterns of Asian migrants who have settled in the Auckland region. It describes the growing significance of this population in Auckland, the timings of immigration according to migrant groups, the relationship of ethnicity to birthplace, and the geographic spread of Asian settlement – all factors that show there is no singular 'Asian migration' as the media and politicians sometimes imply.
- Section Three provides examples of the recently evolving ethnoscaples in Auckland. It highlights the idea that, while there is debate about the merits of (Asian) immigration, many aspects of Asian ethnoscaples have value for both the migrants and the wider population. These ethnoscaples are represented in the neighbourhoods where migrants live, the foods they consume and sell, the festivals that celebrate their cultures, and some less tangible aspects of the Asian 'presence' in Auckland.
- Section Four considers the demographic and other characteristics of Auckland's Asian population(s), covering topics such as demographic structures, education and language skills, labour force characteristics and religion. Once again, it emphasises diversity, in the demographic structures of different Asian groups and in indicators of education, language skills and labour force participation. It also reveals another type of diversity, both within and between Asian ethnic groups, through religious affiliation.



Asian migration and settlement: the national context

Asian migration and settlement: the national context

This section considers the patterns of migration from Asia to New Zealand. It starts with a discussion of permanent residence migration, the form of immigration usually considered to have the greatest long-term impacts on both migrants and the host society. It then discusses other forms of migration that have become increasingly important in recent years, including student migration, the arrival of workers on short- to medium-term visas, and humanitarian immigration. The last has been a feature of New Zealand's immigration programme for many years, leading to the establishment of significant refugee populations with Asian origins.

PERMANENT RESIDENCE TRENDS

The Immigration Act 1987 signalled a turning point in New Zealand's migration history. While earlier immigration policy had been based on 'preferred country of origin', the new Act prioritised migrants' particular characteristics, especially age, education level, work experience and the ability to bring capital investment into New Zealand. In 1991 a points system was implemented, which quantified these characteristics.

These changes have led to much greater diversity in migrants' countries of origin. While the United Kingdom and Pacific countries have remained significant, the countries of Asia have become important new migrant sources.

Figures 1 and 2 show the number of permanent residence approvals for migrants from the countries of East Asia and South and Southeast Asia from April 1987 to March 2013 (March years). It is notable that the trend of each country relates to changes in New Zealand's immigration policy and overall economic, social and political

circumstances, as well as changes in the country of origin – seen, for example, in the sharp increase in migrants from Hong Kong leading up to its reintegration with the Peoples' Republic of China (hereafter China), and the sudden increase from Taiwan when political tensions increased with the China in the mid-1990s. More generally, liberalised regimes governing the movement of people and capital (including China's) have affected the number of migrants to New Zealand.

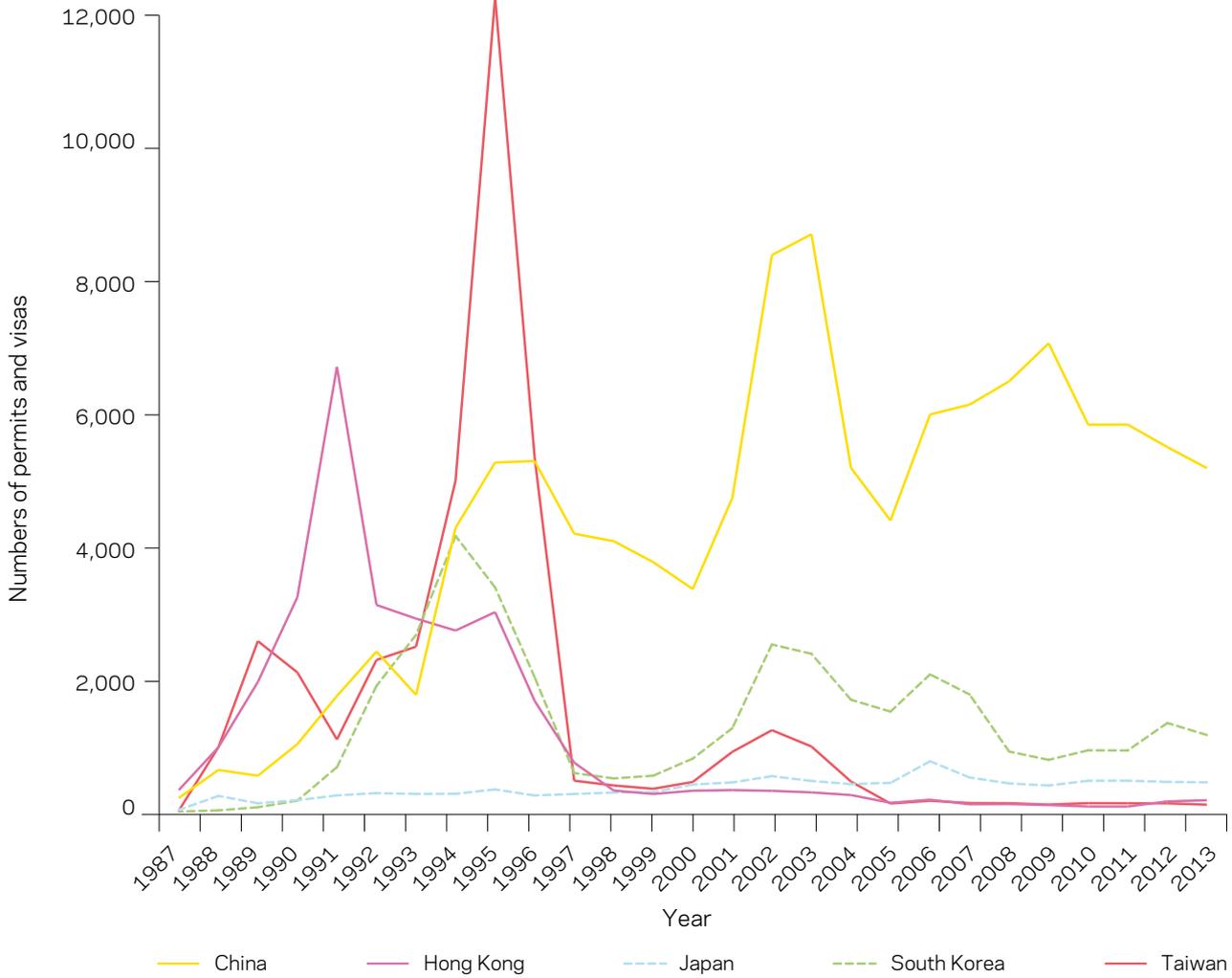
This increase in migrant numbers from Asian countries in the early 1990s paralleled two developments: increased economic, political and cultural connections between New Zealand and Asia; and the establishment of the Asia New Zealand Foundation in 1994 (originally as the Asia 2000 Foundation), with the goal of increasing New Zealanders' awareness and knowledge of Asia.

Since the last Asia New Zealand Foundation report on Asian Auckland, published after the 2006 Census,¹ there have been some notable changes in immigration trends.

The number of permanent residence migrations from the two largest Asian countries of origin, China and India, have never returned to the peak seen in the earlier part of the decade, but have fluctuated around an average of 6,000 and 4,000 a year respectively. The Philippines has been the only country with a significant increase since 2006, rising to between 3,000 and 4,000 per year. This has been partly facilitated by 'work to residence' schemes, which have become more important in this time.

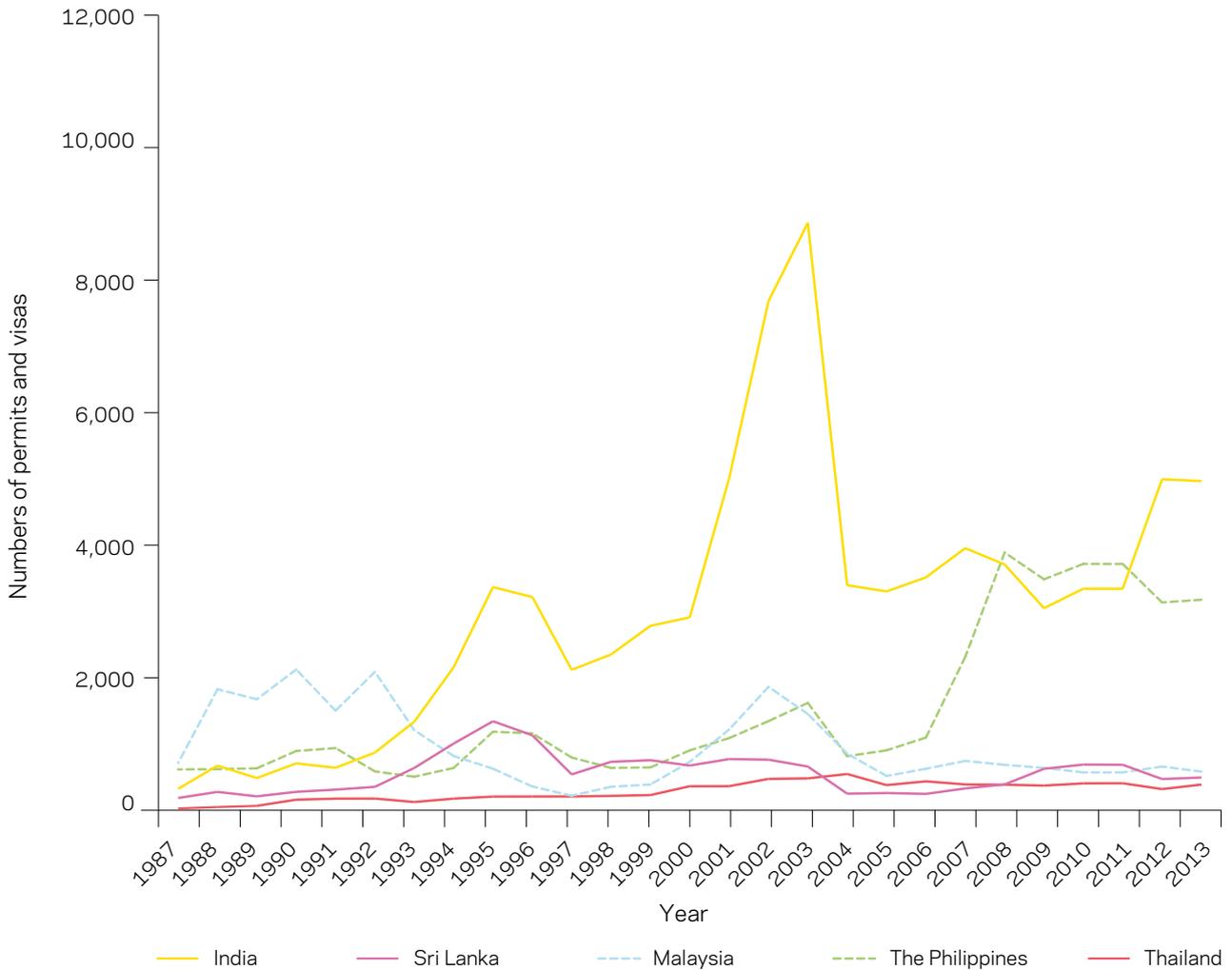
1 Friesen, W. (2008). *Diverse Auckland: the face of New Zealand in the 21st century?* Asia New Zealand Foundation, Wellington.

Figure 1. Number of permanent residence approvals from selected North Asian countries 1987-2013 (March years)



Data source: Immigration New Zealand

Figure 2. Number of permanent residence approvals from selected South and Southeast Asian countries 1987-2013 (March years)



Data source: Immigration New Zealand

As is the case in other migrant settlement countries, 'permanent residence' migrants in New Zealand are not always permanent. Immigration New Zealand data suggests that about 28 percent of all permanent residence migrants arriving between 1998 and 2011 had left New Zealand for six months or more by the end of 2011.² Among Asian migrants this number varied between countries of origin, with China as high as 40 percent and India at about 32 percent. Many of the 'outmigrants' from China had come in the 'Investor' category, with much lower rates among those who had originally arrived on work or student visas. The greatest number of outmigrants from India had come in the 'Capped Family Stream', with a rate of only 18 percent for those who had come on work or student visas.³

Table 1 shows the outcomes of immigration trends between the 2006 and 2013 censuses. Asian countries of origin that increased are shown in red (bolded) and those that decreased are shown in blue (bolded). In absolute terms, the largest increase was of about 24,000 from India, a proportionate increase of 55 percent. Close behind, at about 22,000, were the additional number born in The Philippines – the greatest proportionate increase of any country at 144 percent. The significant increase of about 15,000 in those born in Fiji (not an Asian country) is important because most of these new migrants were of Indo-Fijian origin.

The next largest increase from Asian countries was from China, with a net gain of about 11,000 people between the censuses; however, this represented an increase of only about 14 percent. Other Asian countries with increases of 1,000 people or more were, in rank order, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Thailand and Vietnam. In proportionate terms there were increases of 10 percent or more from Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Vietnam, Thailand, Afghanistan, Malaysia, Cambodia and Singapore. For each of these there are country-specific explanations related to political and economic conditions.

As shown in Table 1, several Asian countries of origin showed a decrease in New Zealand resident populations between 2006 and 2013. The most notable was South Korea, which declined by about 2,200 people as a result of both relatively low levels of immigration (as shown in Figure 1), on-migration to other countries and returns to Korea.⁴ The decline in populations from Taiwan and Hong Kong also appeared to result from return migration.

2 Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment. (2012). *Migrants in New Zealand: retention and onward migration, 1998-2011*. MBIE, Wellington.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

4 See Lee, J. Y. (2012). *Return migration of young Korean New Zealanders: transnational journeys of reunification and estrangement*. PhD thesis, The University of Auckland, Auckland.

Table 1. Forty largest usually resident populations in New Zealand

Birthplace	2006	2013	No. change	% Change
Total people	4,027,947	4,242,048	214,101	5.3
New Zealand	2,960,217	2,980,827	20,610	0.7
England	202,401	215,589	13,188	6.5
China, P.R.	78,117	89,121	11,004	14.1
India	43,344	67,176	23,832	55
Australia	62,634	62,613	-21	0
South Africa	41,676	54,279	12,603	30.2
Fiji	37,746	52,755	15,009	39.8
Samoa	50,649	50,658	9	0
The Philippines	15,285	37,299	22,014	144
Korea, Republic of	28,806	26,604	-2,202	-7.6
Scotland	29,016	25,953	-3,063	-10.6
Tonga	20,520	22,413	1,893	9.2
U.S.A.	17,751	21,462	3,711	20.9
Netherlands	22,101	19,815	-2,286	-10.3
Malaysia	14,547	16,350	1,803	12.4
Cook Islands	14,697	12,954	-1,743	-11.9
Germany	10,761	12,945	2,184	20.3
Japan	9,573	10,269	696	7.3
Sri Lanka	7,257	9,582	2,325	32
Taiwan	10,764	8,988	-1,776	-16.5
Canada	8,994	9,576	582	6.5
Ireland	6,888	9,042	2,154	31.3
Zimbabwe	8,151	8,100	-51	-0.6
Thailand	6,159	7,722	1,563	25.4
Hong Kong (SAR)	7,686	7,059	-627	-8.2
Wales	6,756	6,708	-48	-0.7
Cambodia	5,853	6,570	717	12.3
Vietnam	4,875	6,153	1,278	26.2
Iraq	6,024	5,481	-543	-9
Russia	4,581	5,469	888	19.4
Singapore	4,857	5,370	513	10.6
Indonesia	4,614	4,911	297	6.4
Northern Ireland	4,776	4,713	-63	-1.3
Niue	4,851	4,197	-654	-13.5
France	2,475	3,762	1,287	52
Brazil	1,761	3,588	1,827	103.7
Iran	2,793	3,084	291	10.4
Switzerland	3,012	3,066	54	1.8
Pakistan	2,211	2,853	642	29
Afghanistan	2,145	2,445	300	14

Other Migrations: Workers, Refugees, Students

Workers

There is a great variety of work visas besides those related to permanent residence. Most allow a migrant to stay and work in New Zealand for up to three years, with the exception of the 'Essential Skills' visa, which may allow residence for up to five years. Most short- to medium-term visas require the applicant to have a high level of education or skill, have a particular skill in demand in New Zealand, or be the partner of someone qualifying in another category. They require a minimum level of English language competency and in many cases a job offer in New Zealand, although a more general 'work search' visa is possible for those with high levels of education or skill.

Most countries of Asia have supplied work migrants in recent years, with an annual average of about 65,000 qualifying a year. Between July 2008 and June 2013 India was the largest source of short- to medium-term work migrants, with an average of 18,100 per year, followed by China (16,027), the Philippines (8,225), South Korea (5,722), Japan (4,659), Malaysia (3,700), Thailand (2,899), Indonesia (1,561), Taiwan (1,273) and Sri Lanka (1,173).⁵

The 'Working Holiday' visa is targeted at people aged 18 to 30 coming to New Zealand primarily for a holiday, with work or study as a secondary purpose. For most Asian source countries people on this visa are allowed to stay up to 12 months, with the exceptions of Malaysia and Singapore where the maximum is six months. Between July 2008 and June 2013 the average annual number of Working Holiday visa approvals was: Korea 1,862, Japan 1,774, Malaysia 1,196, China 951, Taiwan 604, Hong Kong 368, Thailand 93, Singapore 91 and Vietnam 20. (Note applicants from Vietnam and The Philippines became eligible in 2013.)

Refugees

New Zealand's refugee quota through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, of about 750 a year, has contributed to new Asian populations in New Zealand. Since the previous census in 2006, the largest number of

refugees by nationality were from Myanmar, with 1,952 Burmese refugees arriving between July 2006 and June 2013. The next largest group were 774 Bhutanese, mostly of Nepalese ethnicity and arriving mainly from Nepal following their expulsion from Bhutan. The fourth largest group were 453 of Afghani nationality, a result of the ongoing conflict in Afghanistan (large numbers had also arrived in the years before the 2006 census).

It is not possible to determine from the census how many of these refugees settled in Auckland, as immigration status is not counted. However, considering the locations during the census of these national populations, which are mostly made up of refugees, it can be inferred that about half of the Burmese, two-thirds of the Afghani and almost none of the Bhutanese refugees settled in Auckland. Most of the Bhutanese refugees were settled in Palmerston North, with other communities in Christchurch and Nelson.⁶

Students

New Zealand has promoted itself as a destination for international students since the 1990s. From the mid-1990s the number of international students rose steadily, peaking in 2002 at about 120,000 before declining to average about 94,000 per year in the following decade. This level was maintained from 2006 to 2013, with an annual average of 56,000 originating in Asian countries.⁷

China has consistently been the largest source of international students, although a significant decline occurred between 2006 and 2008, followed by a modest reversal (Figure 3). The other largest Asian sources of international fee-paying students in recent years have been South Korea, Japan and India, with the first two of these declining recently and the latter increasing significantly (Figure 3).

Within these four countries of origin there have been considerable variations in the types of education being undertaken; in 2013 35 percent of the Korean students were in primary and secondary education, Japan 22 percent, China 15 percent and India less than one percent. The largest proportion of international students was in private training establishments,

5 Original data extracted from Immigration New Zealand, www.immigration.govt.nz/migrant/general/generalinformation/statistics, accessed May 15, 2014.

6 See Department of Labour. (2011). *The Bhutanese refugee resettlement journey (3 volumes)*. Labour and Immigration Research Centre, DOL, Wellington.

7 Original data for this paragraph extracted from Education Counts.

with some variations between countries: India 66 percent, Japan 49 percent, China 43 percent and Korea 41 percent. India had the highest proportion in polytechnics at 25 percent, followed by China 15 percent, Japan seven percent and South Korea six percent. Auckland was the main centre of international education, with 60 percent of all international students located there.

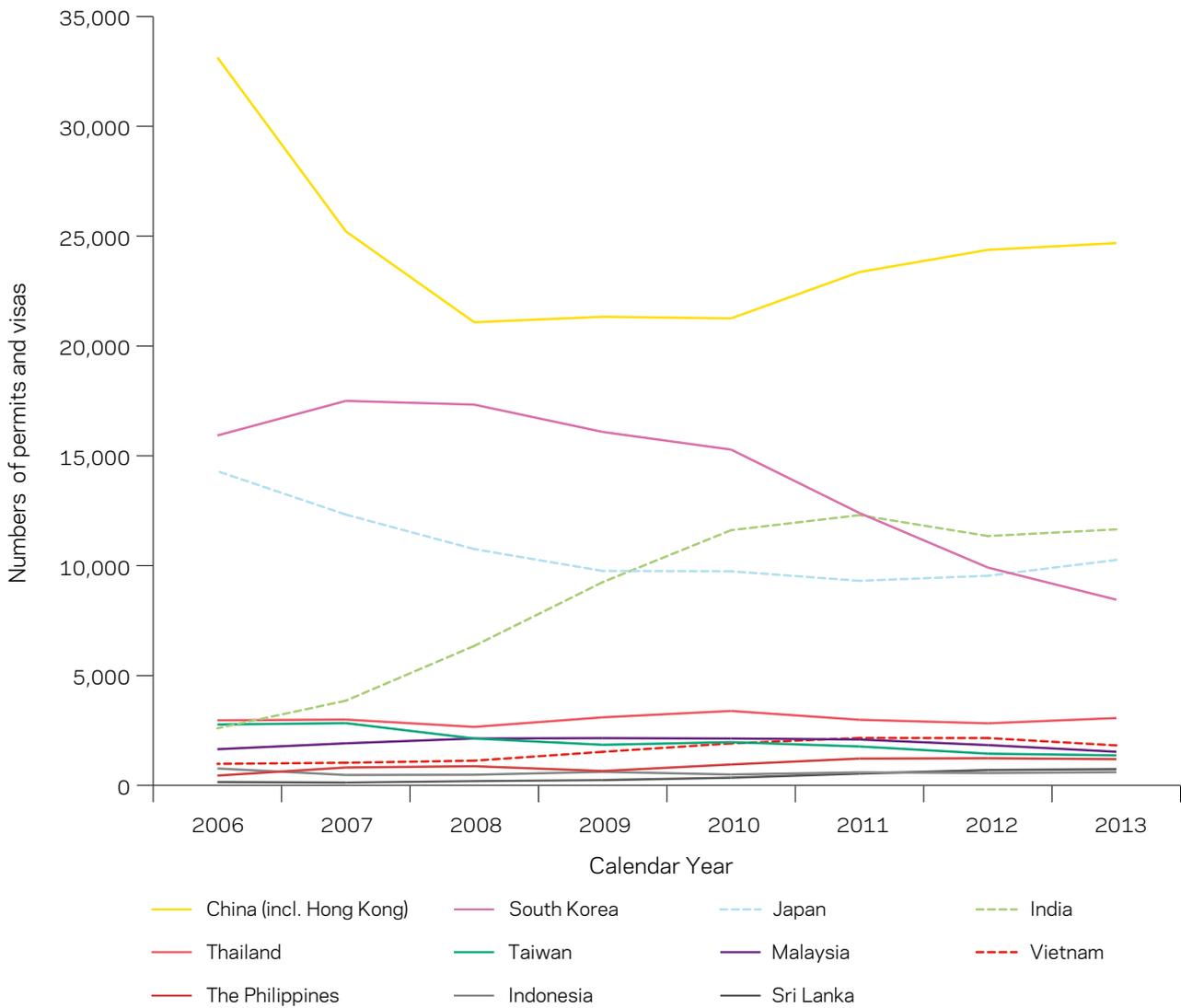
The political context of immigration

Although there seems to have been consensus among most political parties in recent years that immigration is important to the country's future, there is still some debate about immigration issues. The topic has entered the public discourse through the media and politicians' statements, with debates on subjects including the net migration level and its impacts, especially on the price of housing in Auckland.

In the year to mid-2014 New Zealand had close to 100,000 permanent and long-term arrivals, resulting in the highest net migration level for a decade (about +38,000). This led to calls to 'cut immigration', implying a reduction in the targets for permanent residence. However, the reality was that permanent residence levels had declined slightly in the preceding three years, then returned to a level similar to the average for the previous decade. The increased net migration was a result of two factors: the Australian economic downturn resulting in fewer New Zealanders heading there and more coming back; and the increase in short- to medium-term work visas, especially in relation to the post-earthquake Christchurch rebuild and young people entering on Working Holiday visas.

The public debate, however, illustrates that immigration remains a sensitive issue, despite the sense that politicians, and New Zealanders more generally, have increasingly accepted that significant benefits result from immigration and increased diversity. In comparison with reactions to high immigration levels in the mid-1990s, the public and political responses 20 years later do not seem to have generated the same level of negativity.

Figure 3. Number of international fee-paying students in New Zealand, by Asian country of origin, 2006 to 2013



Data source: Education Counts



Asian migration and settlement in Auckland

Asian migration and settlement in Auckland

The timing of Asian migration to Auckland

Figure 4 illustrates the relative importance to Auckland of Asian migrants arriving after the immigration changes of 1987. It shows the net change between censuses of migrants according to their birthplaces, so is a summary of both arrivals and departures (the latter including deaths).

While immigration from the UK and Ireland has continued since 1987, their total population in Auckland has declined slightly owing to the ageing and possible demise of earlier migrants, although with a revival after 2001 with a new cohort of migrants. In the same period the number of Pacific-born migrants has more than doubled and the Asia-born population has increased by about 16 times. By 2013 the Asia-born population comprised more than 200,000 usual residents.

Figure 5 shows the resident population of Auckland in 2013, which is the result of immigration inflows and outflows from Asian countries over many years. It shows the 10 Asian countries of birth with the largest populations in Auckland in 2013, according to the time periods in which they arrived in New Zealand. These arrival periods are important in relation to issues of settlement and integration, and have an impact on the characteristics of migrants from each country.

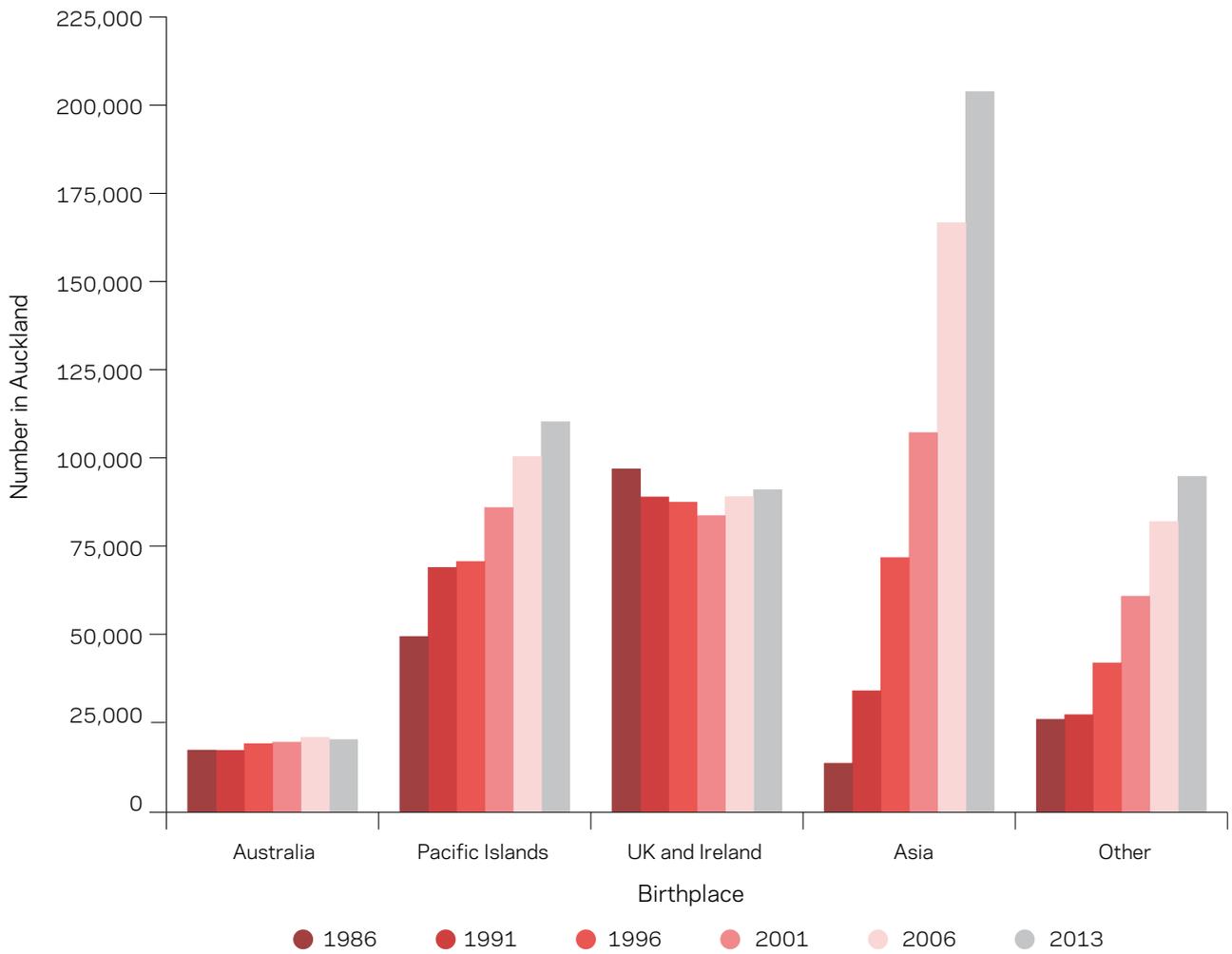
Although relatively few Asia-born migrants arrived before 1987, there were some populations of note. The largest number of 'old immigration policy migrants' were from India, and it should be noted that a similar number of Indian migrants in this period came from Fiji (not shown on this graph). The second largest number of earlier migrants were from China, with significant numbers

also from Malaysia, Hong Kong, Singapore, Vietnam and Cambodia. Many of those from the last two countries arrived as refugees in the 1970s and 1980s.

Figure 5 shows that some countries have a high proportion who are 'early new policy migrants' (arrived 1987-1996). This is the case for Taiwan, Hong Kong and Malaysia, from which specific circumstances encouraged emigration in the early 1990s, with relatively modest subsequent movements. In proportionate terms, 'middle migrants' (arrived 1997-2006) were especially significant for the three largest source countries: China, India and South Korea. 'New migrants' (arrived 2007-2013) are most important in relative terms for the Philippines, with more than half of all the usual residents in Auckland having arrived in the most recent intra-censal period.

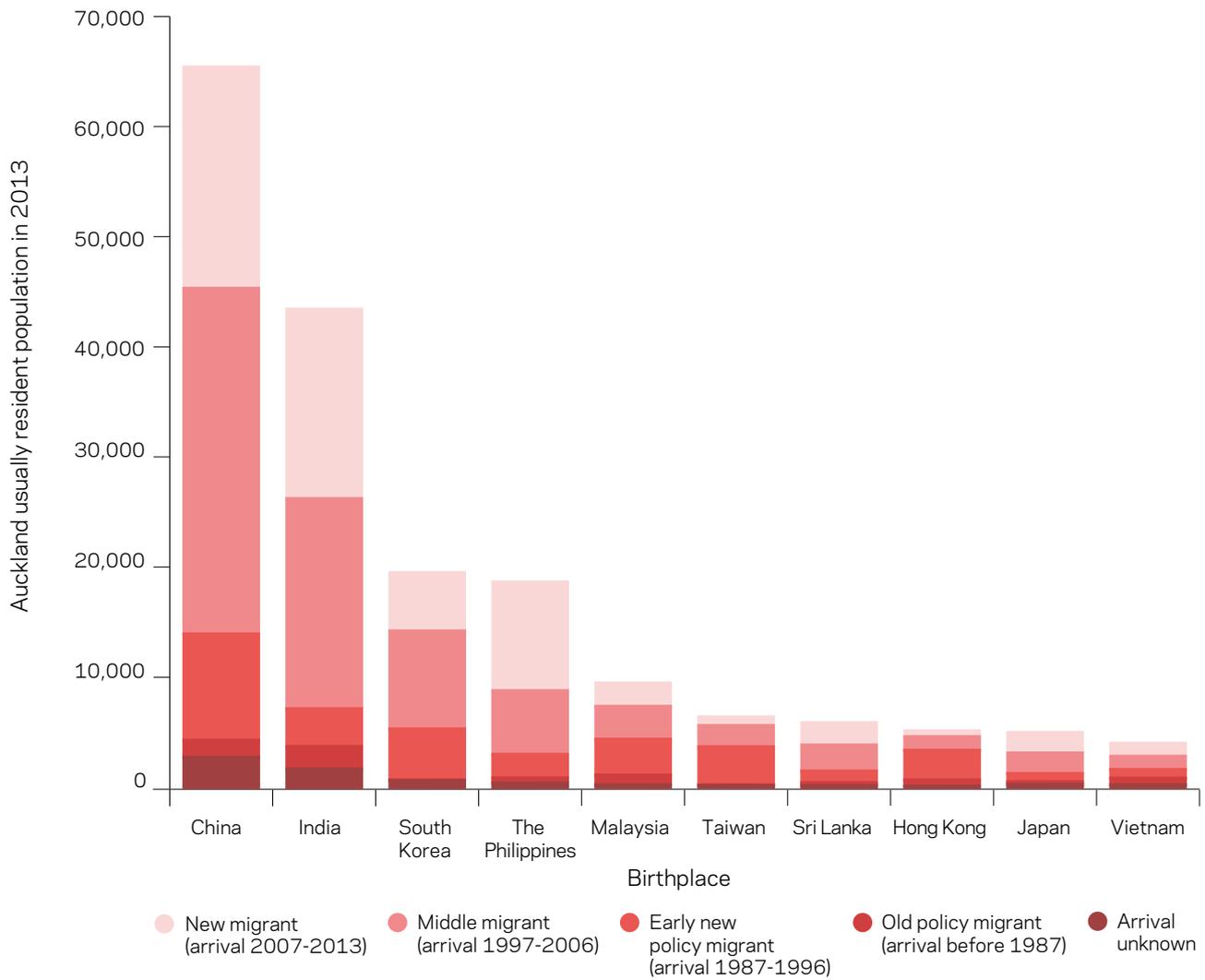
This period was also significant for the two largest migrant origin countries, China and India, especially the latter in proportionate terms, with just over 40 percent of all residents arriving in this period. Of the smaller migrant origin countries, 'new migrants' were especially significant for Japan, Pakistan and Myanmar (the latter two not shown in Figure 5), with 40 percent or more of their resident populations arriving between 2007 and 2013.

Figure 4. Number of overseas born by area of birth, Auckland residents 1986-2013



Data source: New Zealand censuses 1986-2013

Figure 5. Migrants of Asian origin by period of arrival



Data source: Statistics New Zealand 2013 Census customised data

Asians in Auckland by birthplace

The data discussed so far relates to 'migrant' populations, but it is important to note that a significant proportion of those identifying with an Asian ethnicity in the 2013 census were born in New Zealand (about 21 percent).

Table A (Appendix) compares country-of-birth data with ethnicity data from the 2013 census. It reveals a number of patterns:

- The earlier refugee populations have relatively high proportions born in New Zealand, as shown for Laotian, Cambodian and Vietnamese.
- Over 20 percent of the Chinese and Indian populations are New Zealand born. Some of these are descendants of much earlier migrations from the 19th century onwards, while others are the children of more recent migrants. These proportions have risen since 2006 as a result of recent migration.
- Koreans had the lowest proportion of New Zealand-born in 2013, due to their relatively recent immigration and significant levels of out-migration and return migration to Korea. This proportion was about twice the level of 2006, resulting from the longer-term average residence period since the previous census.
- Those of Chinese ethnicity come from a diverse range of birthplaces, reflecting the global Chinese diaspora. As well as China and New Zealand, significant birthplaces for those of Chinese ethnicity in 2013 were Malaysia, Taiwan, Hong Kong (SAR), Singapore, Cambodia, Vietnam and Indonesia, with more than 800 migrants arriving from each of those places. Pacific origins were notable for Chinese too, with nearly 500 each from Fiji and Samoa.
- In the early 1990s the birthplace origins of the Indian population were almost equally split between India, Fiji and New Zealand. By 2013 ongoing immigration from India had made this the largest place of origin, although India still only accounts for about 40 percent of the population, with another 30 percent from Fiji. Other countries of the Indian diaspora, such as South Africa and Malaysia, stand out as significant birthplaces.

- For most Asian ethnicities shown in the table, a single country of origin is predominant, even in the cases where there are significant diasporas. Probably the most evident case is Filipino, which has a large diasporic population but the great majority in New Zealand were born in the Philippines. Of course this does not exclude the possibility that some were resident in other countries before coming to New Zealand.

Geographical distribution of Asian populations in Auckland

Figure 6 shows the geographical distribution of all those who identified with an Asian ethnicity in the 2013 census. As mentioned earlier, this classification includes both migrant and New Zealand-born populations, and 'Asian' is not the primary identity for most people. Nevertheless, Figure 6 represents an aggregate impression of the presence of Asians in Auckland.

Significant clusters can be seen in the newly developed housing areas around Botany Downs and Dannemora, where three Census Area Units (CAUs), which may be approximated to suburbs, have between 60 and 80 percent of their populations classified as Asian. Throughout Auckland 15 CAUs have more than 50 percent Asian populations – in the southeast, in the central business district (CBD), in various parts of the Auckland isthmus and in central parts of the North Shore. In some cases these concentrations are largely Chinese or Indian, but in others there is a considerable mixture of these and other groups. Thus it is useful to consider the distribution of specific migrant groups.⁸

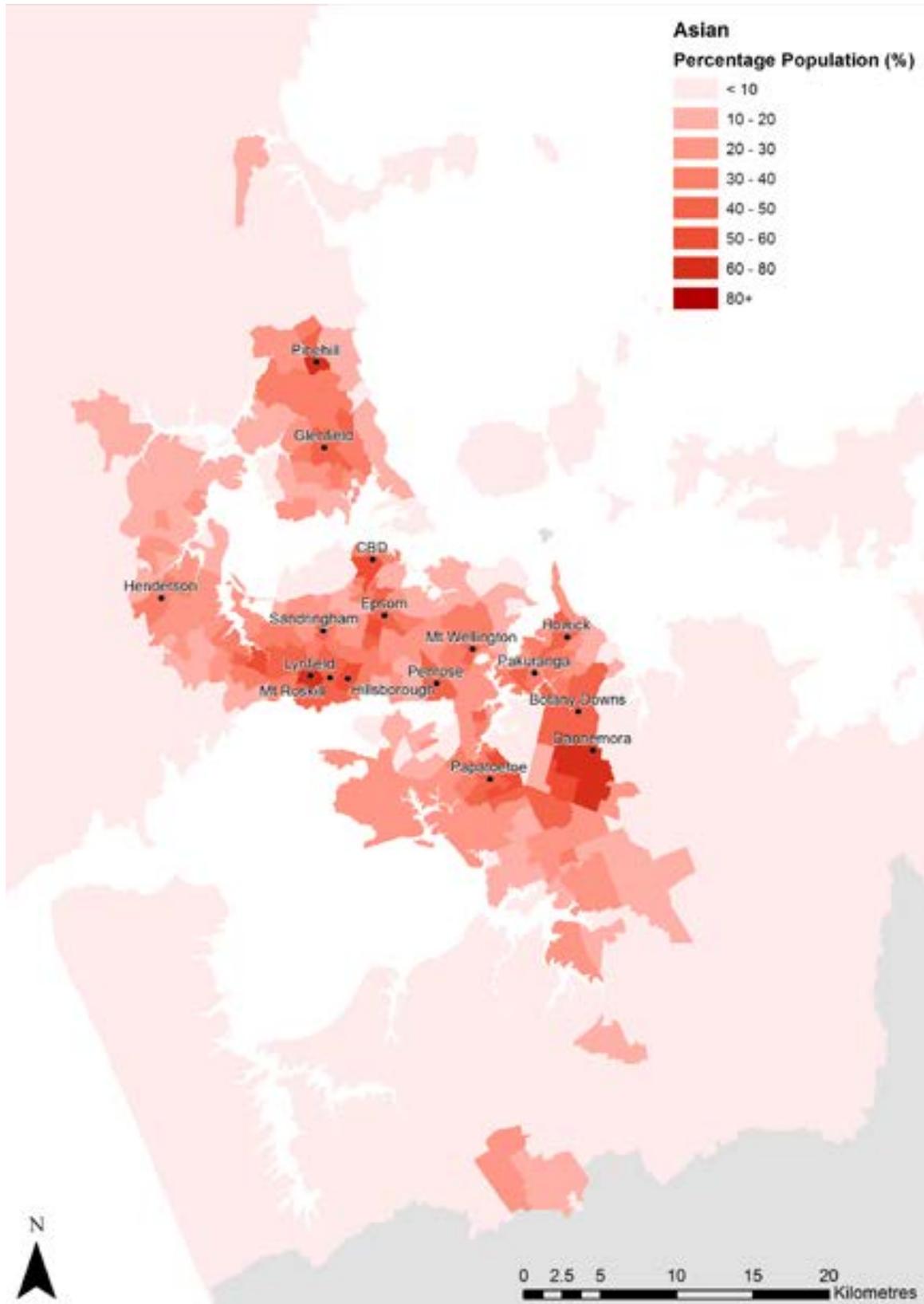
The geographical distribution of Auckland's Asian population varies considerably between groups. The largest and mostly widely dispersed migrant group is from China. Figure 7 reveals several clusters of China-born migrants, with the most obvious in the areas ranging from Pakuranga and Howick south towards relatively newer areas of settlement around Botany Downs and Dannemora, where China-born migrants comprise more than 10 percent of nearly all CAUs.⁹ Migrants from China are widespread within the Auckland isthmus, especially in the central and western areas and the CBD, which Xue and colleagues at the University of Auckland identify as distinctive 'ethnoburbs'.¹⁰

8 Interactive maps for both ethnic groups (aggregated and detailed) and ethnicity can be found at www.censusauckland.co.nz/census-area-unit-view.

9 Note the very different keys between Figure 6 and Figure 7 and subsequent maps.

10 Xue, J., Friesen, W., & O'Sullivan, D. (2012). Diversity in Chinese Auckland: hypothesising multiple ethnoburbs. *Population, Space and Place*, 18(5), 579-595.

Figure 6. Distribution of Asian population in Auckland



Another cluster of China-born population is obvious; running through the centre of the North Shore area, it has increased considerably since the 1990s and includes other Asian groups, especially Korean and Filipino.

Figure 8 reveals that the distribution of migrants from India has similarities with and differences from that of migrants from China. There are concentrations in some of the newer areas around Botany Downs and Dannemora, although most of these comprise less than 10 percent of the populations. In the south there are India-born clusters in Papatoetoe and Manurewa, which are distinctive from the China-born patterns. On the Auckland isthmus, especially in the central western area, there are similarities in the distribution of migrants from India and China, most notably in Sandringham, Mount Roskill and Hillsborough. These are areas of 'middling' cost housing, so a range of migrant groups find these areas affordable.¹¹ Migrants from India also make up more than five percent of the populations of many of the adjacent areas, and when other Indian groups are included, especially from Fiji, the proportions exceed 10 percent in some cases. A notable difference between Indian and other Asian groups is that there are relatively few Indian groups in the North Shore area.

Since the upsurge in migration from Korea in the mid-1990s, the North Shore area has been the focus of Korean settlement, with several CAUs near Northcross and Forrest Hill having more than 10 percent of their populations born in South Korea (Figure 9). These proportions are similar to those at the 2006 census, as Korean immigration has slowed considerably in recent years.

The most rapidly growing Asian migrant group between the 2006 and 2013 censuses was from The Philippines. As Figure 10 shows, the largest cluster of Filipino migrants is on the North Shore in and around the suburb of Glenfield – an area of medium-cost housing in comparison with the coastal areas further east. Other clusters can be found in suburbs such as Henderson in the west, Mount Wellington in the isthmus and Donegal Park, a relatively new suburb in the south.

Smaller Asian-born groups have distinctive population clusters in Auckland. Those from Taiwan and Hong Kong have settled in many of the same areas as migrants from the PRC, especially the newer suburbs of South Auckland. Vietnamese and Cambodian populations have been concentrated for many years in south-central areas such as Ōtāhuhu, Papatoetoe and parts of Manukau.

11 Friesen, W., Murphy, L., & Kearns, R. A. (2005). Spiced-up Sandringham: Indian transnationalism and new suburban spaces in Auckland, New Zealand. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31(2), 385-401.

Figure 7. Distribution of of PRC-born in Auckland

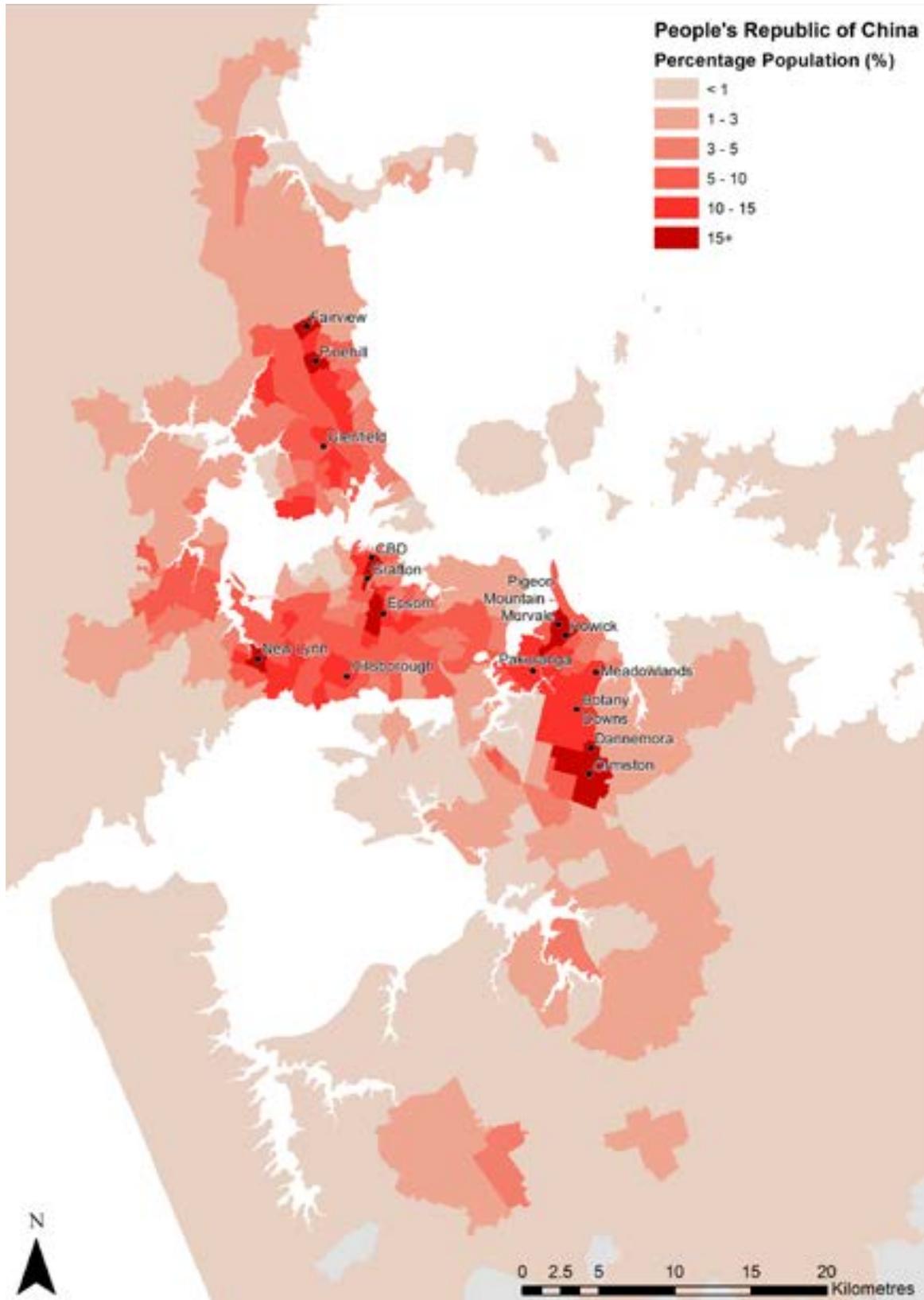


Figure 8. Distribution of India-born population in Auckland

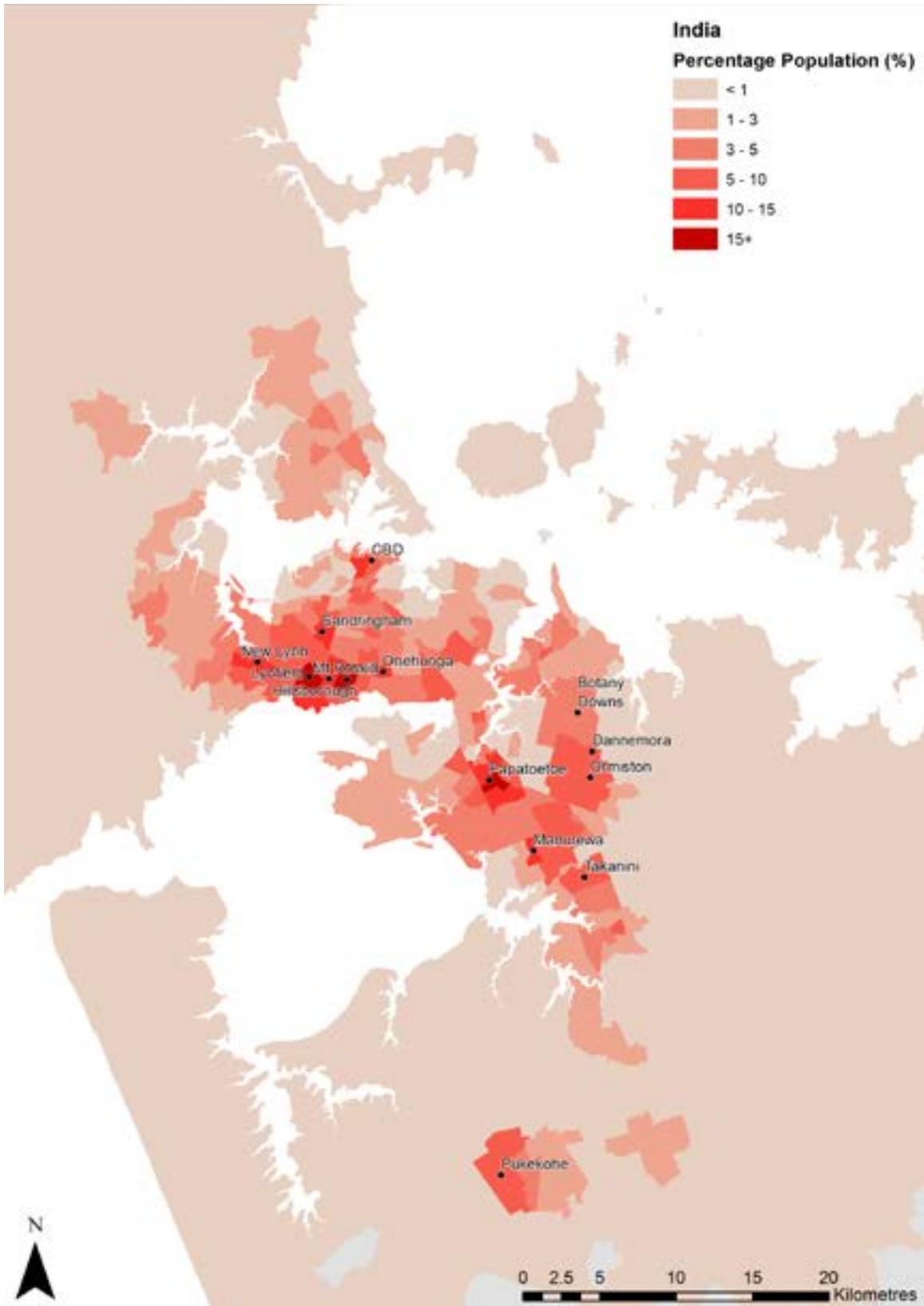


Figure 9. Distribution of Korea-born population in Auckland

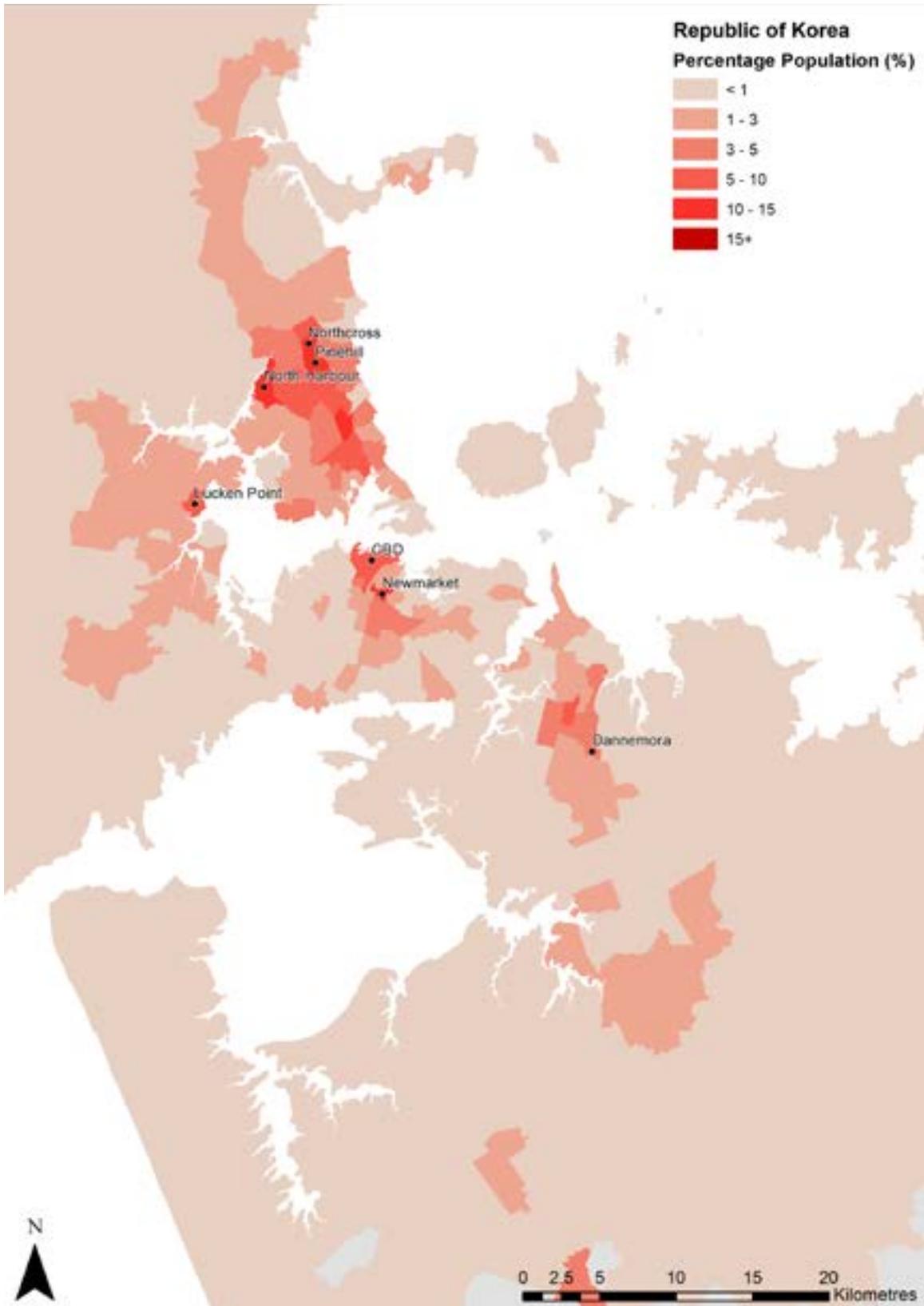
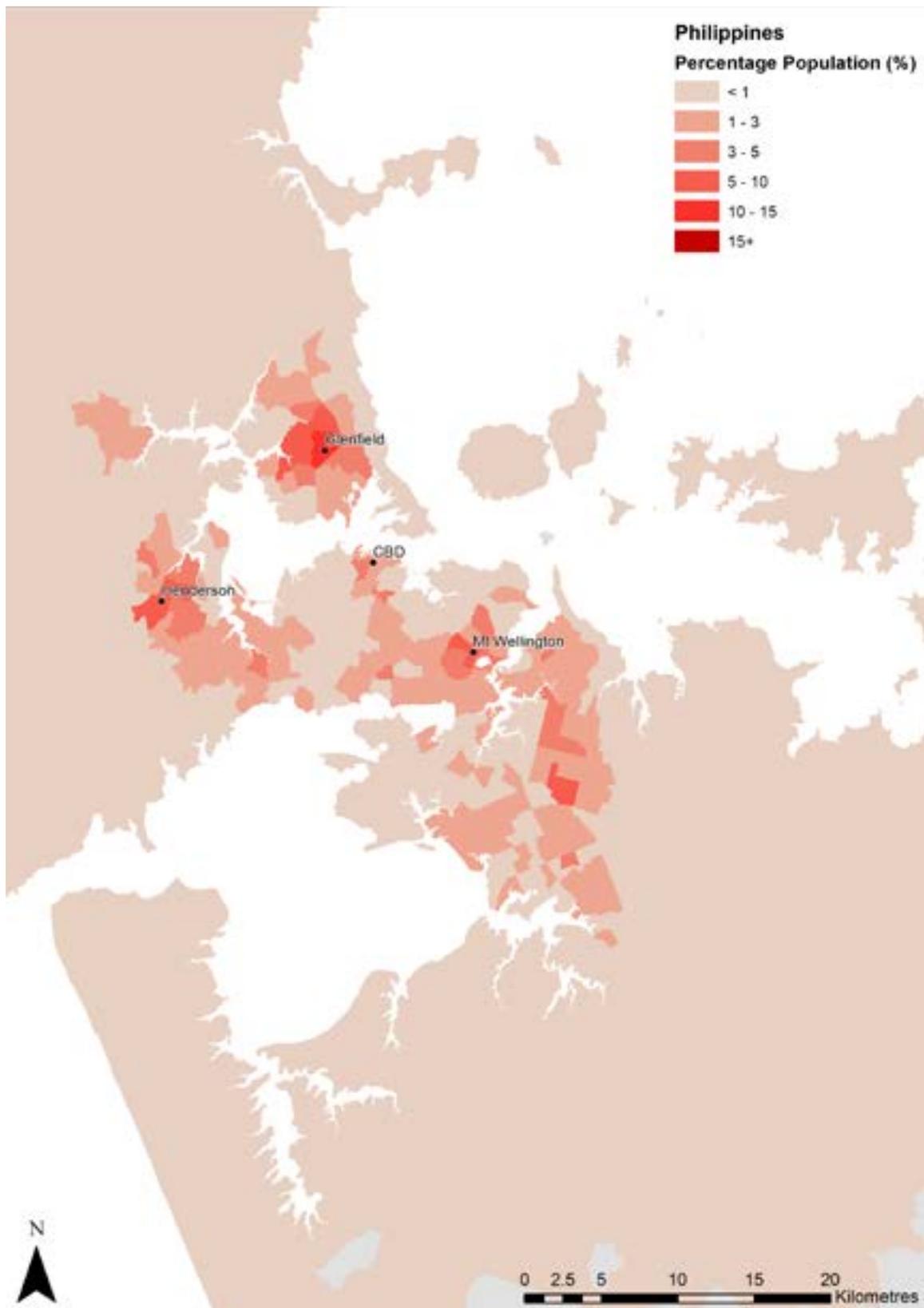


Figure 10. Distribution of Philippines-born population in Auckland





The evolving Asian 'ethnoscapes' of Auckland

5

The evolving Asian 'ethnoscapes' of Auckland

The 'clustering' of ethnic groups has been described in various ways. While this report has referred to Chinese clusters in 'ethnoburbs' in the Auckland region (based on their residential distribution and business activities),¹² other studies have used the terms 'ethnic enclaves' and 'ethnic precincts' to describe clusters of Asian 'ethnic' enterprises in areas or along major roads, such as Dominion Road.¹³

The concept of 'ethnoscape' is another way of viewing the ways in which Asian migrants have had an impact in Auckland. Coined by Arjun Appadurai, an anthropologist at New York University, it describes, "the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, migrants, refugees, exiles, guestworkers and other moving groups and persons", and by implication the phenomena associated with them.¹⁴

Ethnoscapes are related to, but different from, enclaves and precincts. Some aspects of ethnoscapes are tangible and visible in the landscape, such as people, shops, restaurants, houses and places of worship. Also tangible, but transitory and only visible at particular times, are phenomena such as markets and festivals. Some aspects are less tangible, such as language(s) heard in the street and used in the media, religious affiliations, 'public opinion' as represented by media coverage, art forms and transnational links to other countries.

As larger and more diverse Asian populations settle in Auckland, its Asian ethnoscapes continue to evolve, creating new and different spaces and senses of place. The following section presents several aspects of these ethnoscapes, with brief accompanying case studies as examples.

Residential neighbourhoods

Figures 7 to 10 show that different Asian groups have settled in diverse parts of the Auckland region, with distinctive concentrations according to group.

There are several types of concentration in terms of suburb age and housing type. The largest proportionate increases have been in 'greenfields' suburbs comprising areas of new housing and retail outlets. In south Auckland, new suburbs have spread southward from Howick since the early 1990s, such as Sommerville/Meadowlands, Botany Downs and Dannemora. Most have high proportions of Asian populations, with Chinese usually the largest group and Indian and Korean also significant. There has also been a great deal of greenfields development on the North Shore since the 1990s, with migrants commonly locating in the relatively new suburbs of Albany, North Harbour, Pine Hill and Northcross. In western Auckland, greenfields residential growth has taken place in various areas, especially around Henderson and Massey, and many Asian migrants have chosen to settle there.

12 See Xue et al. (2012).

13 For example, Cain, T., Meares, C., Spoonley, P., & Peace, R. (2011). *Half way house: the Dominion Road ethnic precinct*. Integration of Immigrants Programme: Massey University/University of Waikato; Spoonley, P. & Bedford, R. (2012). *Welcome to our world? Immigration and the reshaping of New Zealand*. Dunmore Publishing, Auckland, pp. 241-243.

14 Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. *Public Culture* 2(2), 1-24; quote on p. 7; this appears to be the first reference to 'ethnoscape'; see also Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalisation*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, pp. 48-65. The elaboration of ethnoscapes into physical and transitory and less tangible (metaphysical/cultural) aspects is that of the author of this report.

A second distinctive type of residential concentration for Asian migrants has been existing residential areas, notably the relatively expensive housing in eastern suburbs such as Epsom and Remuera. These areas comprise houses built 50 or more years ago and in some cases recently built 'in-fill' houses facilitated by subdivisions of residential sections. These suburbs are zoned for what are seen as prestigious public schools, Auckland Grammar School and Epsom Girls Grammar School, whose reputations appear to be partly related to the high average socioeconomic status of the surrounding neighbourhoods. Surveys of Asian migrants have shown that, for some, education for their children has been one of the primary motives for moving to New Zealand, with housing in a 'good' school zone often desirable.

Another type of Asian migrant residential concentration are 'middling' suburbs, with housing that dates from the 1930s and is more affordable.¹⁵ On the Auckland isthmus this includes suburbs such as Sandringham, Mount Roskill and Hillsborough, which have significant populations of Indians, Chinese and other Asian groups. Areas with similarly priced but more recently built houses include North Shore's Glenfield and Northcote.

Finally, the CBD is a unique type of residential area with a large Asian population. In 2013, 53 percent of the population of the three CAUs comprising the Auckland CBD identified with Asian ethnicities. The largest group were Chinese with about 5,000, followed by Indian (3,000), Korean (2,000), Filipino (800) and Japanese (600). A high proportion of these populations were tertiary students at the two universities in the CBD and those undertaking other kinds of education such as English language courses.

Virtually all of the CBD population lives in apartments, the great majority of which have been converted from office buildings or been purpose-built since 1991.¹⁶ The initial conversions of office buildings to apartments resulted from a surplus of commercial office space in the late

1980s, but demand quickly built up in the early 1990s to drive the construction of many new apartment buildings. This development paralleled increases in both permanent residence migration and international students in New Zealand through the 1990s and into the new millennium.

Case study - Dannemora and Botany Downs: migrant housing

In the past quarter century, the greatest population increase in the Auckland region has happened in the residential development 'corridor' running from Howick southward, on the southern 'metropolitan limits' of Auckland.

These limits were designed in the 1990s to prevent Auckland's residential development expanding into adjacent agricultural land (with the exception of some lifestyle blocks). The 'corridor' can be broadly characterised as Dannemora and Botany Downs, although there are many other suburbs within this broad area. In 1986, before the implementation of the Immigration Act 1987, much of this area was agricultural land adjacent to the suburbs of Howick and Pakuranga to the north, and Ōtara and Papatoetoe to the west. By 2013 about 47,000 people were living in the area, with just over half being Asian.¹⁷ About half of this population was Chinese, a quarter Indian, 15 percent Korean and smaller numbers of Filipinos, Sri Lankans, Cambodians and Vietnamese.¹⁸ This was in stark contrast to the neighbouring suburb of Ōtara, where 80 percent of the population was of Pacific origin and less than three percent were Asian.¹⁹

In some countries of Chinese settlement, new migrants have attracted considerable attention for their architectural preferences. For example, in Vancouver, Canada, the large houses often built by wealthy Asian migrants – with the objective of maximising land usage – have been described as "large, square properties on minimally-landscaped lots... giving rise to the uncomplimentary moniker of the 'monster house'".²⁰

15 See Friesen et al. (2005).

16 See Friesen, W. (2009). Gentrification and reurbanisation: the demographic transformation of inner city Auckland. *New Zealand Population Review*, 35, 55-74.

17 These numbers are based on the 10 CAUs of Meadowland, Millhouse, Kilkenny, Dannemora, Greenmount, Point View, Beaverstock Oaks, Ormiston, Donegal Park and Mission Heights. Total population 2013 Census: 46,968; Asian population: 23,961.

18 Friesen, W. & Kearns, R. (2010) Ōtara and Dannemora: contrasting landscapes and ethnic identities in two South Auckland suburbs, in J. Stephenson, M, Abbott, & J. Ruru (eds), *Beyond the scene: landscape and identity in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Otago University Press, Dunedin, pp. 93-110.

19 Ibid p. 99.

20 Ley, D. & Murphy, P. (2001). Immigration in gateway cities: Sydney and Vancouver in comparative perspective. *Progress in Planning*, 55, 119-194 (quote p. 148).

While comments like these are seemingly less prominent in Auckland than in Vancouver, the 'Asian' housing in areas such as Botany Downs and Dannemora has drawn some attention in the media and elsewhere.²¹ Houses commonly feature large pillared entryways (said to be an element of *feng shui*) and occupy large proportions of the sections on which they sit – a feature that is noticeable in many new residential developments occupied by a range of ethnicities.²² Nevertheless, a visit to these suburbs (and some scrutiny of real estate agency windows) reveals a range of housing styles and prices, including many modest, stand-alone houses and terraced housing and apartments.



Dannemora housing

**Case study – Glenfield and Northcote:
Diversifying North Shore**

In 1986 more than 90 percent of the North Shore population was European/Pākehā;²³ and the Asian population made up less than two percent. By 2013 the European percentage had declined to less than 70 percent and the Asian population was 24 percent.

Figure 6 shows the noticeable concentration of Asian populations through the centre of the North Shore, particularly in Northcote and Glenfield, where the Asian population ranges from 30 to 45 percent of the total population by CAU. In contrast to the new housing development of Dannemora in south-eastern Auckland, these are areas of older, affordable housing, much of it built from the 1960s onwards after the completion of the Auckland Harbour Bridge. There is a substantial Chinese

population in this part of the North Shore, but distinguishing features are the significant clusters of Korean and Filipino populations.

Since the increase in Korean immigration to New Zealand in the early 1990s (Figure 1), the North Shore has had the greatest concentration of Koreans, and this was still the case in 2013 (Figure 9). This reflects a kind of 'chain migration', in which the establishment of facilities catering to a specific ethnic group in turn attracts more members of that group. For example, Christian churches in a number of denominations have been an important aspect of Korean settlement on the North Shore.



Korean Jehovah's Witness Church, North Shore

As has already been shown, migrants from the Philippines made up the greatest relative increase in Asian immigration to New Zealand between the 2006 and 2013 censuses.

Although Filipino migrants have settled more widely in New Zealand than most other Asian groups, there is still a significant settlement in Auckland: 50 percent of the Philippines-born population were 'usually resident' there in 2013. The greatest proportionate concentration was in the two CAUs of Glenfield, with just over 10 percent of the total population of those areas born in The Philippines. When four adjacent CAUs are included, there were more than 2,000 Filipino migrants in this area of the North Shore, an increase of about three times since the previous census.²⁴

21 See Spoonley & Bedford (2012), p. 237.

22 Friesen & Kearns (2010), pp. 107-108.

23 Pākehā is the Māori term commonly used to describe people of European origin, although there has been some contestation recently as to whether other non-Māori migrant groups might also be described in this way.

24 Adjacent CAUs are Kaipatiki, Target Road, Witheford and Glendhu. Including Glenfield Central and Glenfield North, the 2013 Filipino population was 2,130 compared with 765 in 2006.

The Filipino ethnoscape is less obvious than some of the other Asian groups because of three factors:

- Many work in medical and other services rather than as entrepreneurs establishing small businesses, a feature that is more characteristic of Chinese, Indian and Korean groups.
- The Filipino cuisine is not well known in New Zealand, so there are few Filipino restaurants in Auckland.
- Filipinos' widespread use of English means that the signage of existing enterprises and churches is not distinctive.

Nevertheless, Filipinos are increasingly visible at cultural events such as festivals and in other ways.



Glenfield night market 2014

Restaurants, cafes, food courts, food markets

The proliferation of Asian food outlets is perhaps one of the most noticeable, and most frequently commented on, aspects of the changing Asian ethnoscapings of Auckland. It is sometimes described as part of a 'diversity dividend' resulting from the increased number and diversity of migrants coming to New Zealand. This 'dividend' tends to refer to the benefits of immigration for the wider population, and in the case of food is made conspicuous by the increasing adoption of Asian cuisines by non-Asian populations. However, while some Asian food outlets are 'shared' by Asians and non-Asians alike, others tend to serve the needs of specific Asian groups.

Earlier studies have estimated the number of Asian restaurants and cafes (but not including food courts) in Auckland at about 200 in 1996 and nearly 400 in 2007.²⁵ However, this counting exercise has become increasingly problematic as there is no definitive list of restaurants by region of origin, and defining 'Asian' restaurants is difficult as there are often fusions of cuisines within and beyond the 'Asian' category. One website that lists eating options (www.menumania.co.nz) has 406 'Asian' restaurants and cafes in Auckland in 2014, and while this may be assumed to be an undercount, the breakdown by national/ethnic type is interesting: Chinese 240 (including three Taiwanese), Japanese 155, Indian 144, Thai 101, Korean 44, Malaysian 37, Vietnamese 25, Singaporean six, Indonesian two and Filipino two.

Another way to consider the impacts of Asian food on Auckland ethnoscapings is to look at *Metro*, an Auckland lifestyle magazine in which food is an important topic. Since 2012 the magazine has published an annual list of the '100 Best Cheap Eats in Auckland' which purports to show the 100 best restaurants and cafes (mostly the latter) where you can get "... a decent feed for less than \$20".

While *Metro* may be seen as catering to middle-class Aucklanders, the food outlets' patrons come from a diverse range of socioeconomic and ethnic groups. Out of the 100 outlets listed in 2013, 75 were identifiably 'Asian' with a further six Middle Eastern, Turkish or Lebanese (also 'Asian' by some geographical classifications). Figure 11 shows a 'simplified' breakdown of these food venues, with Chinese comprising the largest outlet group and showing the greatest increase since 2012. Although the distribution shown in Figure 11 is similar to the overall numbers mentioned above, *Metro* notes that some cafes have fallen off the list since the previous year (e.g. Indian and Malaysian) because their prices have risen a little above the \$20 benchmark.

25 Yoon, H.-k. (2003). Recent East Asian immigrants and their contribution to multi-culturalism in Auckland, New Zealand. *Human Geography*, 55, 95-106; Friesen, W. (2008). *Diverse Auckland: the face of New Zealand in the 21st century?* Asia New Zealand Foundation, Wellington, p. 14.

The distribution in Figure 11 is said to be 'simplified' because it hides a great deal of diversity:

- Some cafes have hyphenated identities such as 'Chinese-Malaysian', 'Korean-Chinese', 'Malaysian-South Indian' and even 'Chinese-Indian', and have been allocated to the category listed first.
- Some categories have a great deal of regional diversification. For example: 'Chinese' includes cuisines from Taiwan, Sichuan, North China, Canton, Shanghai, Xi'an, Hunan and regional specialisations not identifiable from websites or published reviews; and Indian restaurants tend to be identified as North or South Indian, vegetarian or not, and halal or not. On-the-ground research also shows a diversity within these categories.

It is notable that only a limited range of the cuisines featuring in the 'cheap eats' are also represented at the 'top end' of the dining market. Using *Metro* as the measure, three of the top five restaurants of 2014 had a strong Japanese influence: Masu (in Skycity) was the 'supreme winner', with runners-up including Cocoro (in Ponsonby) with 'finalist, best chef' and "exquisite Japanese food", and Kazuyu (in Eden Terrace) a finalist in several categories, with chef Kazuyu Yamauchi offering "dining that is largely, and sublimely European".²⁶

At this end of the market there is much fusion between cuisines as well as an emphasis on an innovative food and restaurant ambience, often facilitated by considerable corporate investment. Of *Metro*'s 'top 50' restaurants in 2014, only four were identifiably 'Asian' (all Japanese), so the Asian impact tends to be more indirect, with restaurants incorporating elements with Asian origins. At the same time, it should be noted that there are many 'fine dining' Asian restaurants that fall between *Metro*'s 'cheap eats' and 'top 50' categories.

All of Auckland's larger suburban shopping malls have food courts, which in recent years have become dominated by Asian food outlets, with other options including hamburgers, fish and chips, and Italian and

Mexican food. Central Auckland also has a number of food courts that are independent of malls, and the larger ones have a range of Asian outlets not usually included in the considerations of restaurants and cafes discussed above. A sense of their diversity is apparent in the Asian options that make up about two-thirds of the outlets in three of the more popular central food courts:

- Atrium on Elliott has two Chinese and one each of Thai, Malaysian, Indian, Indonesian, Vietnamese and Japanese.
- Food Alley (in Albert Street) has two Chinese (pork buns, hot pot), three Thai (including Northern), two Malaysian and one each of Indian, Indonesian, Korean, Japanese and Vietnamese.
- International Food Court (Ponsonby Road) has one each of Vietnamese, Japanese, Malaysian, Chinese, Indonesian, Thai, Laotian and Indian.²⁷

Asian supermarkets and smaller shops selling Asian food ingredients are spread throughout Auckland, although they are concentrated in the central city and other areas with large Asian populations. Some are stand-alone operations while others trade under chain brands. For example, Tai Ping Trading Company has a warehouse and eight retail outlets in Auckland, of which four are franchises. Although the Asian supermarkets offer predominantly Chinese products, there is also a significant presence of Indian and Japanese outlets. Some carry pan-Asian selections of goods.²⁸

Day markets have been a feature of Auckland for many years, with the best known being:

- Ōtara Market, which has operated every Saturday since 1977. Originally a largely Pacific island market selling raw and cooked food as well as crafts and other products, it has diversified in the past 20 years to feature Asian stallholders and customers – a reflection of the increasing Asian population in nearby suburbs. A 2004 survey estimated that about half of the stallholders were Asian.²⁹

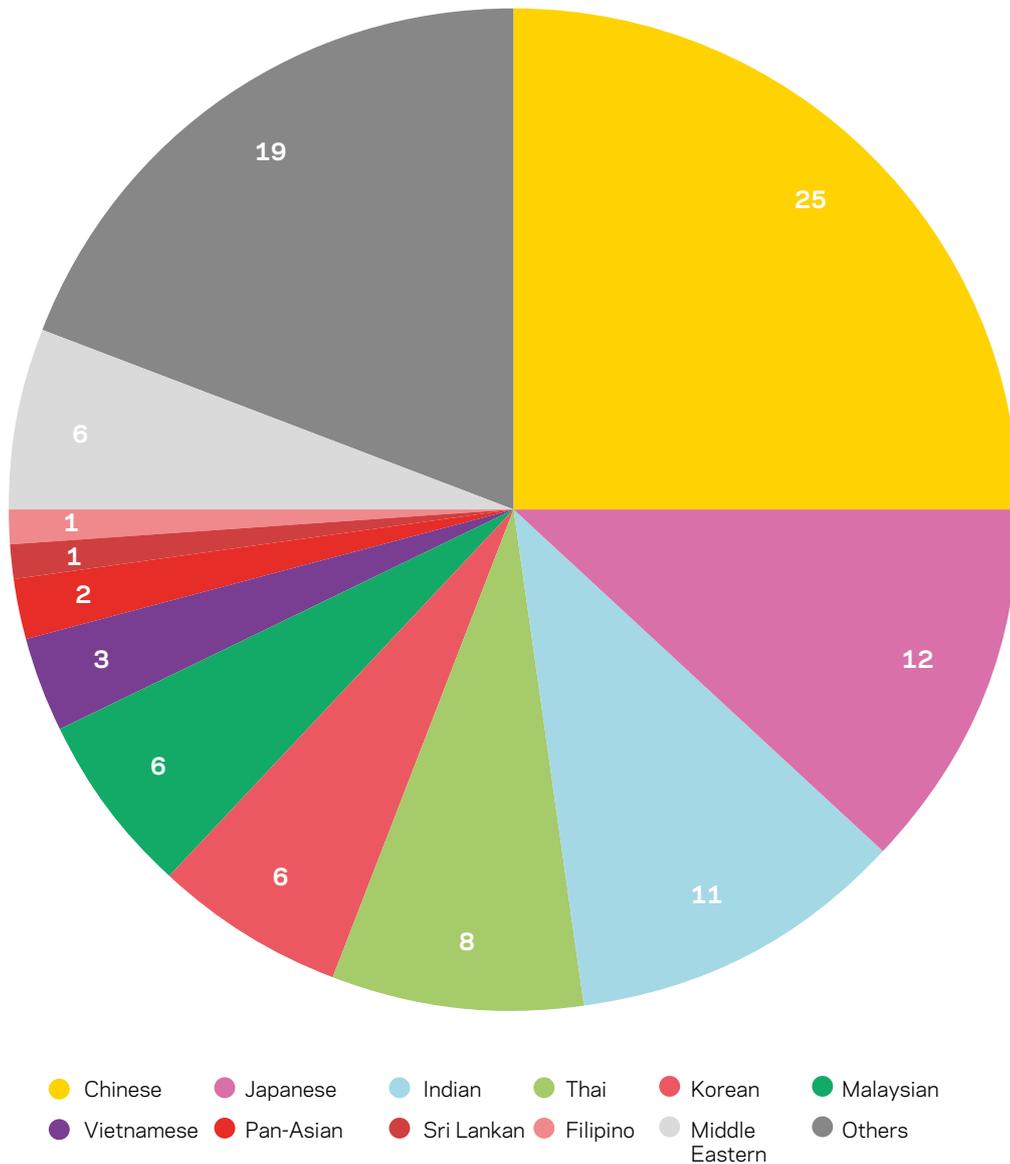
26 *Metro*, May 2014, pp. 81-102.

27 For more detail on other food courts, see 'A guide to Auckland's food courts', *The New Zealand Herald* February 1, 2011.

28 Forty (mostly) Asian Auckland 'supermarkets' are listed at www.yelp.co.nz/search?find_desc=asian+supermarket&find_loc=Auckland#.

29 Bruce Ringer, 'The origins of the Otara Market', Auckland Council Libraries, www.aucklandlibraries.govt.nz/EN/heritage/localhistory/countiesmanukau/communities/Pages/originoftheotaramarket.aspx.

Figure 11. Metro Magazine's '100 Best Cheap Eats in Auckland 2013' (by ethnic origin of cuisine)



Data source: Metro magazine, October 2013

- Avondale Market, which is known as New Zealand's largest one-day market. It attracts 15,000 to 20,000 people each Sunday and sells a large range of fruit, vegetables, fish, cooked food, crafts, electronics, 'car boot items' and more.³⁰ Its origins go back at least 30 years, but the influence of Asian sellers and buyers has been particularly notable in the past two decades.

Night markets are relatively new in Auckland. The first was established by a Chinese business woman in Pakuranga in 2010, and she and her husband now run five more in Glenfield, Papatoetoe, Onehunga, Whangaparaoa and Waitakere. Each operates for one night of the week in a shopping mall parking lot.³¹ On a typical evening at the Glenfield night market, about 100 of the stalls sell food; about two-thirds are Asian food stalls, covering the spectrum of national and sub-national cuisines.

Case study - Sandringham: Indian food neighbourhood

British names feature throughout the Sandringham area, from the suburb name itself to nearby Dominion and Balmoral Roads. However, the area's population has become decreasingly 'British' since the 1987 immigration changes: in the 2006 census about half of the population identified as European and about a third were Asian.³²

While Pacific and Māori populations have been settled in Sandringham for some decades, the most significant change has been the increase in Asian populations, especially Indian and Chinese. In the intra-censal period to 2013 the Chinese population was static but the Indian population continued to grow. One reason for this was that Sandringham and adjacent areas to the west and south had become increasingly identified as 'Indian', with significant numbers of others from South Asia also resident.³³

Another process that became apparent between the 2006 and 2013 censuses was increasing gentrification, especially in the north next to gentrifying areas such as Kingsland and Grey Lynn. Demographically this change was evident in a proportionate increase in those who identified as European (from 50 percent to 55 percent),

and a proportionate decline in the overseas born (from 45 percent to 43 percent), counter to the trends in many other parts of Auckland.

It was perhaps this combination of a greater Indian population and ongoing gentrification that resulted in the establishment of a distinctive 'Indian food neighbourhood' along Sandringham Road, especially in the main retail area. South Asian cuisines represented in this small cluster of popular restaurants and cafes include Gujarati vegetarian (Jai Jalaram), Mughlai (Bawarchi), Punjabi (Shubh), South Indian (Satya), Indo-Fijian (Taste of Fiji) and Sri Lankan (7 Siri), as well as several takeaway outlets, some attached to these restaurants and others separate. Some of the restaurants are halal, and some explicitly 'alcohol-free'.

This cluster of shops also has three well stocked Indian supermarkets, a 'Sri Lankan, Indian, Malaysian, Singaporean products trader', two halal butchers, small Indian dairies and other shops. The appeal of this food neighbourhood (called Little India by some) is reflected in the regular oversubscription to the monthly 'Sandringham Food and Spice Tour' of restaurants and supermarkets.³⁴



Paradise Restaurant and takeaway Sandringham

Case study - Dominion Road: elongated Chinatown?

Perhaps the most prominent ethnoscape in Auckland runs along Dominion Road, an arterial road bridging Mount Eden, Sandringham, Mount Albert and Mount Roskill. 'Asian' shops are densely clustered along several

30 Avondale market website: www.avondalesundaymarkets.co.nz/aboutus.html.

31 Based on fieldwork and Tan, L. (2014). Auckland's night markets: night fever. *The New Zealand Herald*, April 29.

32 See Friesen et al. (2005).

33 Sandringham here is considered to be the three CAUs with Sandringham in their name (North, West and East). Sources of information for this section are the 2013 and earlier censuses, as well as the article by Friesen et al. (2005).

34 Calder, P. (2014) Venturing beyond butter chicken. *The New Zealand Herald* April 2, www.nzherald.co.nz/lifestyle/news/article.cfm?c_id=6&objectid=11230370.

stretches, especially between Valley Road and Grange Road and Balmoral Road and Kensington Avenue, and particularly notable are the number and variety of Chinese restaurants, representing many different regional cuisines of China, Taiwan and nearby regions.

In 2012 the non-English signage featuring on these restaurants aroused the ire of New Zealand First leader, Winston Peters, who claimed they were an “eyesore” and represented a failure of the English language test as a requirement of immigration (*The New Zealand Herald*, May 18, 2012). However, many argued that some served mostly Chinese clientele, and that others who were attracted to this cuisine considered the signage part of the area’s ambience. The popular mini-fieldtrips through this area and its restaurants during the 2013 Auckland Arts Festival reflected the appeal of this diverse stretch of an ‘elongated Chinatown’.

A study by Trudie Cain and her colleagues at Massey University focused on the concept of Dominion Road as an ‘ethnic precinct’³⁵ where, as in many other migrant cities around the world, minority and migrant business activities are located in clusters of entrepreneurs of the same ethnicity and usually other migrant groups.

On Dominion Road, the great majority of business owners are Chinese, with others including Indian, Korean and New Zealand European/Pākehā. While the most common businesses are restaurants and cafes, the area also features enterprises such as retail outlets, real estate agencies, hairdressers and financial institutions. A small sample survey of consumers along Dominion Road showed that nearly half were China born; the next largest group were New Zealand born, followed by others born in a range of countries.³⁶



Mah Jong Parlour, Dominion Road

Festivals

Ethnic festivals have proliferated in diversifying cities worldwide. These celebratory features of ethnoscaping are more transitory than some of the physical aspects discussed so far.

Auckland’s largest Asian festival is the three-day-and-night Lantern Festival, held in Albert Park during the Chinese New Year. Displaying hundreds of lanterns, the Festival attracts large crowds representing the many (dominant and minority) ethnicities of Auckland, who come for the lanterns, music, dance, food and retailing. The Festival has been supported by the Asia New Zealand Foundation for many years, as has Diwali, the Indian ‘festival of lights’ later in the year. Diwali has been held in several Auckland venues over the years, but has settled recently in Aotea Square. Indians and non-Indians alike are attracted to the food, music, dance and retail stalls, with the highlight possibly being the annual Bollywood dance contest.

35 See Cain et al. (2011).

36 Ibid.

A range of other festivals also involves Asian groups. They include the International Cultural Festival, held in Wesley to the west of Sandringham, which provides an opportunity for smaller groups such as Indonesian, Thai and Burmese as well as African and European groups to display their distinctive cuisines, music, dance and identities. Other annual festivals include Japan Day, HaloHalo New Zealand (Filipino), the Auckland Indonesian Festival, Muslim Eid celebrations, and Chinese and Korean New Year (at Northcote).



Lantern Festival, Albert Park, Auckland 2014

Less tangible ethnoscapas: representations through media and the arts

The influence of the media

Media representations of Asian Aucklanders comprise those 'imposed' by mainstream media and those generated from within Asian communities by so-called 'ethnic media'.

During the 1990s there was much negative mainstream media comment on Asian (often Chinese) migrants' level of 'commitment to New Zealand', the apparent wealth of some migrants, and the impacts on services such as schools in Auckland.³⁷ An assertion that media attention had become somewhat more balanced by 2000³⁸ has been challenged to some extent by some media coverage

in the 21st century. At times the media has demonised Asian students as a threat to 'us' (in Auckland), while an article titled 'Asian Angst' in *North and South* magazine, which raised the spectre of an Asian 'crime wave' (among other things), caused considerable controversy about its accuracy and racial stereotyping.³⁹ However, the widespread reaction against the 'Asian Angst' article and its presumptions, and the subsequent censuring by the Press Council, do suggest that some progress has been made in recent years in relation to media coverage of issues of immigration and Asian migrants.⁴⁰

As an alternative to mainstream media, a great range of Asian media outlets has developed over recent decades. An enumeration in 2006 identified 15 Chinese and 12 Korean newspapers and magazines in Auckland, as well as nine Indian, three Filipino and four Japanese print media in New Zealand, mostly Auckland-based.⁴¹ More recent data comprehensively documenting the number of media is difficult to find, but one source notes that for the Chinese at the national level there are 'multiple print publications ranging from monthly to six days a week'.⁴² Further there are radio stations in both Mandarin and Cantonese, with three main stations as well as three Chinese Freeview stations and eight paid subscription channels on the Sky Asia platform.⁴³

Much of the Indian media is based in Auckland, but serves the Indian community throughout the country and even internationally. In 2014 there were an estimated seven print media publications (but possibly more), three main radio stations and well as at least one Freeview television channel.⁴⁴ High profile newspapers include the newspaper *Indian Newslink* and the e-zine *Global Indian* as well as *Radio Tarana*.⁴⁵ These media focus on migrant settlement issues and Indian lifestyles in New Zealand, as well as political issues, sport and many other issues in New Zealand, but also in India and Fiji.⁴⁶

37 Spoonley, P. (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*. School of Sociology and Social Work, Massey University: Palmerston North, pp. 86-106.

38 Ibid, p. 97.

39 Spoonley, P. & Butcher, A. (2009). Reporting superdiversity. The mass media and immigration in New Zealand, *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 30(4): 355-371.

40 Ibid. pp. 369-370.

41 Robie, D. (2009). Diversity reporting in Aotearoa: demographics and the rise of the ethnic media, *Pacific Journalism Review* 15(1):67-91.

42 Niche Media (2014) *Multicultural Media Environment*, Presentation at Unitec, November 13, 2014.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

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

46 Ibid.

Representation through the arts

Many cultural identities are maintained and transformed through art forms such as literature, theatre, visual arts and music. It is only possible here to mention a few examples of the Asian diasporic art forms that have developed in New Zealand in recent years.

The Chinese culture has been expressed through a variety of creative works by the Auckland-based Liang sisters, whose parents migrated to New Zealand in the 1970s:⁴⁷

- Renee Liang is a paediatrician, poet, short-story writer and playwright. Her first play, *Lantern* (2009), is the story of a Chinese family in contemporary Auckland at Chinese New Year, whose members are struggling to come to terms with their cultural identity in different ways. The play's success is illustrated in the fact that it featured as part of the Auckland Lantern Festival in 2014. Renee's other plays include *The First Asian AB* and *The Bone Feeder*, and she has recently been collaborating with Auckland Council on a writing programme for migrant women called *New Kiwi Women Write Their Stories*.⁴⁸
- Roseanne Liang is a film-maker who became well known with *Banana in a Nutshell* (2005), an autobiographical film about, among other things, the reaction of her parents to her "cross-cultural romance with a European Kiwi".⁴⁹ *A Thousand Apologies* (2008) is a series of television sketch comedies that "addresses the diversity of the pan-Asian experience in contemporary New Zealand", including themes such as 'diversity quotas' on television, cross-cultural flattery and 'I'm not racist, but...'.⁵⁰ In *My Wedding and other Secrets* (2011) she returns to the theme of cross-cultural romance (and more).

Cultural expressions of the global Indian diaspora are myriad but, among the arts, diasporic literature and film are probably the best known. In New Zealand these expressions are relatively new, but among those that have gained some profile is *Apron Strings* (2008), co-written by Shuchi Kothari and Dianne Taylor and directed by Sima Urale. Set in the culturally diverse suburb of Ōtāhuhu, the film is "the story of a young man searching for his [Sikh] Indian identity, which his mother has attempted to hide from him" behind a thin veneer of "Indianness".⁵¹ The mother's sister has a very different approach to integration to her 'new home' of New Zealand, proudly running a 'genuine' curry house in Ōtāhuhu, and the film develops themes of cross-cultural love, the significance of food, and mother-son relationships.⁵²

The plays presented by The Indian Ink Theatre Company – founded in 1996 by Jacob Rajan and Justin Lewis – are perhaps the most well known theatrical expressions of 'Indianness' in New Zealand. The first is *Krishnan's Dairy*, in which an Indian dairy owner's love for his wife is interwoven with Indian emperor Shah Jahan's love for his late wife, which inspired him to build the Taj Mahal.⁵³ The play uses humour, masks and live music to present and challenge stereotypes about Indian dairy owners and Indians more generally in New Zealand. This and Indian Ink's other four plays have played to sell-out audiences in Auckland for many years.⁵⁴

47 This paragraph is partly based on the following website, but also personal attendance of the author at plays, films etc.: www.nzasianleaders.com/new-zealand-asian-leader-members/renee-liang.

48 See <https://newkiwivomenstories.wordpress.com/>

49 www.nzonscreen.com/person/roseanne-liang.

50 www.youtube.com/watch?v=IVhmlgbWDdg.

51 Friesen, W. (2014). The Indian diaspora in New Zealand: identities and cultural representations, in O. P. Dwivedi (ed), *The new Indian diaspora*. Editions Rodopi: Amsterdam and New York, pp. 121-136 (quote p. 129).

52 Ibid.

53 Op cit. pp. 130-132.

54 Op cit. p. 130.



Characteristics of Asian populations of Auckland

Characteristics of Asian populations of Auckland

Demographic structures

The demographic structures of Auckland's Asian populations reflect the characteristics that migrants have 'brought with them' and the age selectivity of New Zealand's immigration system. In relation to the latter, the particular category through which a migrant enters the country is significant, with permanent residence, work permits and student migrant categories having different demographic profiles. Further, groups that have significant New Zealand-born populations, such as Chinese and Indian, have been influenced by factors within the country, as over time there tends to be a 'demographic convergence' of the characteristics of migrant and host populations.

Figure 12 compares the age-sex structure of Auckland's usually resident Asian population with that of the total population in 2013. The Asian population is proportionately larger among those between 15 and 34 years, reflecting the presence of students and people who had settled after completing their tertiary studies. Chinese, who are the largest component of Auckland's Asian population and have had a significant impact on the Asian demographic structure, have an age-sex structure similar to that of the total Asian population (see Figure 13). Although the proportions in the 20- to 34-year cohorts (20-24, 25-29 and 30-34) are much greater than in the total population, at about five percent for each cohort, they are more evenly spread than shown in the 2006 census, when the 20- to 24-year cohort comprised more than eight percent of the population for both males and females.⁵⁵ This reflects the fact that the number of international students from China declined in the period between the two censuses.

The Indian age-sex structure (shown in Figure 14) has some similarities to the Chinese, especially in the large cohorts aged 20 to 34 years. While similar to the structure in 2006, it is more pronounced – a characteristic that appears to reflect the increased importance of student migrants and those on working visas, with both groups having younger age profiles than permanent residents.

The Korean age-sex structure (Figure 15) is significantly different from the others, with distinctive bulges in the 15- to 24-year cohorts and the 40- to 54-year female cohorts. The younger bulge reflects the presence of secondary and tertiary students. Koreans make up the largest group of all international students at primary and secondary levels, although the disproportionate numbers in the 10- to 14-year cohort are not as apparent as they were in 2006, reflecting a downturn in the number of primary and intermediate school children. The bulge of those aged 40 to 54, especially women, may partly be explained by the presence of caregivers of some of these students, but also results from family immigration, which in some cases may involve male partners returning to Korea some or all of the time for work reasons.

The age-sex structure of the Filipino population (Figure 16) is also partly a result of family immigration with, as mentioned earlier, the upsurge in permanent resident Filipinos since 2006. Further, many Filipinos have come to New Zealand on work visas, with a disproportionate number of females in Auckland working as skilled and semi-skilled professionals in medical and care sectors shown in the disproportionate number of females in a range of cohorts.

55 Friesen, W. (2008). Op cit.

Table 2 lists some demographic characteristics of Asian ethnic groups with more than 2,000 members in Auckland.

On average these populations are younger than the total population, with a median age of 31 years compared with the all-Auckland 35 years. Most have a median age of between 28 and 32 years, with the exception of Afghani and Pakistani at 22 and 26 years respectively. The Afghani low median age can be explained by the family orientation of refugee admissions and the relatively large families typical in this group.

Despite the relatively narrow range of median ages, there is a great deal of variability in the distribution of broad age groups and the proportions that are in the groups generally considered 'dependent' i.e. below and above the 'working ages' of 15 to 64 years. Notable again are the Afghani and Pakistani populations, of which more than a third are aged under 15 years compared with the just under 20 percent average for all Asian groups.

The issue of ageing has been given much attention in most of the developed world in recent years. As migration is age selective it usually results in a younger population, and we have already seen that the median age of the Asian population is lower than that of Auckland's total population. Perhaps even more notable is the fact that the proportion of people aged 65 years and over is significantly lower in Asian groups than it is in all ethnic groups, at 6.2 percent compared with 10.8 percent (Table 2). This contrast is even greater when we consider some of the more recent migrant groups; for example, the older population makes up only 1.6 percent of the Thai and Pakistani migrants, with low proportions also for Filipinos, Japanese, Afghani and Malay migrants. In some cases these low proportions are diminished by large proportions in younger cohorts, as mentioned earlier.

Sex ratios are also affected by migration, and are dependent on the gendered nature of employment sectors as well as other factors. Table 2 shows the sex ratios by Asian ethnic group in terms of the number of males per 100 females in the population. There are disproportionate numbers of females among Thai, Japanese and Filipino groups, partly representing the inter-ethnic relationships in these groups but also some labour force selectivity, which can be seen, for example, in the many Filipinas working in the medical and care sectors. At the other end of the spectrum is the larger number of males in the

Pakistani, Indian, Sri Lankan and Afghani populations, as more single males have migrated from South Asia, some as students who have then transitioned to permanent residence.

Education and language skills

Education

The immigration system implemented in 1991 allocates points on the basis of (potential) migrant characteristics in relation to age, education, skills and investment potential – so it is not surprising that the average education indicators for migrants are higher than those in the total population.

Table 3 shows that in 2013 only 12 percent of Asians had no qualifications at Level 1 (that is the basic secondary school qualification, comparable to the former School Certificate) or above, compared with 17 percent for all ethnic groups. However, there is considerable variability between Asian groups in this indicator, as groups that have largely arrived under humanitarian immigration categories, such as refugees, are exempt from the points system – so there are relatively high levels of those in the 'no qualifications' category among Cambodians, Vietnamese and Afghanis. At the other extreme are groups that have mostly entered quite recently under the skilled immigration category, such as Filipinos, Sri Lankans, Indonesians, Malays and Koreans.

When tertiary-level qualifications are considered (Table 3), 33 percent of the Asian population aged 15 and over have some tertiary qualifications at Level 7 or above, compared with 25 percent for the total population. There is no great difference between the Asian and total population when considering postgraduate qualifications, although some Asian groups, notably Pakistanis, Sri Lankans, Malays and Indians, stand out as having high proportions. This may be partly explained by the fact that their data represent not only permanent residents but anyone classified as a 'usual resident' of New Zealand who has been or will be resident for at least one year – including international students undertaking university degrees.

Languages

Table 3 presents several language indicators. One of the census questions was, "In which language(s) could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things?". While the 2013 census counted a huge range of languages in the Asian population, the variables in Table 3 represent only a limited view of this diversity.

Table 2. Demographic characteristics of Asian groups in Auckland 2013

Ethnic group	Population number	Median age	% aged less than 15	% aged 15-64	% aged 65+	Sex ratio (males/100 females)
Chinese	117,795	32	17.8	73.5	8.7	89
Indian	105,942	31	20.5	74.1	5.4	106
Korean	21,981	31	16.9	79.3	3.8	90
Filipino	20,502	30	23.9	73.7	2.4	81
Japanese	6,720	30	27.8	69.5	2.7	61
Sri Lankan	6,393	32	19.7	74.1	6.2	104
Vietnamese	4,359	28	21.4	74.5	4.1	87
Cambodian	4,188	30	23.4	69.9	6.7	92
Thai	4,155	31	20.0	78.4	1.6	55
Malay	2,508	29	17.1	80.1	2.8	89
Indonesian	2,484	31	22.2	73.9	3.9	86
Afghani	2,421	22	35.6	61.7	2.7	102
Pakistani	2,253	26	35.2	63.2	1.6	112
Total Asian	307,230	31	19.8	74.0	6.2	93
All ethnic groups	1,415,550	35	20.9	68.3	10.8	94

A note below the main language question stated:

“Remember to mark English if you can have a conversation in English”, to make the point that the question did not only relate to ‘first languages’. The percentage of the population who can speak English relates to several factors, but especially duration of residence in New Zealand and the use of English in the country-of-origin education system. The latter explains the high proportions of Filipinos, Sri Lankans, Malays and Indians who could speak English, as it is one of the languages of instruction in their countries. As might be expected, the populations with mainly refugee origins had the lowest levels of English comprehension.

While the proportion of Asians who speak English is lower (82 percent) than it is for New Zealand’s total population (87 percent), by other measures the Asian populations have an important linguistic resource. While only 19 percent of all New Zealand residents can speak a second language, 62 percent of Asians can, and four times as many Asians speak a third language as the total population (13 versus three percent). Variations in the language abilities of Asian groups partly relate to linguistic diversity in their countries of origin, so it is not surprising that a high number of Pakistanis, Malays and Indians can speak three or more languages.

The linguistic abilities of different populations is summarised in the ‘multiple language indicator’, which averages the total number of languages spoken across each relevant population. The indicator shows that the average for all Asians is 1.8 versus 1.2 for the total population.

Labour force characteristics

The migration literature often focuses on the degree to which migrant and/or minority populations integrate with the labour forces in destination countries. As this is a very large and complex topic, it is only briefly discussed in this report, mainly in relation to 2013 census data.

Table 4 shows two indicators of labour force participation:

- The participation rate.
- The unemployment rate.

The participation rate

The participation rate is the percentage of a population (aged 15 and over in this case) that is in the labour force; it includes both those who are working and those who are unemployed but actively searching for work.

The Asian participation rates for both males and females are slightly lower than those of all ethnic groups, but there are considerable variations between the different Asian groups. As the largest group, Chinese have the greatest impact on this average, and Table 4 shows that they have a relatively low participation rate. One significant factor in this is the age structure in Figure 13, which shows a disproportionate number aged 20 to 34, of whom many are undertaking tertiary study. There is also a larger proportion in the older age groups (e.g. 65 and over) than in the other large Asian groups, showing the longer immigration history as well as some family reunification.

The lowest participation rates are among the groups who predominantly came as refugees, notably Afghani, Vietnamese and Cambodian, suggesting a slower process of economic integration. The highest rates are among groups with high immigration rates in recent years, notably Filipinos and Indians, of whom many are resident on work visas or have transitioned on ‘work to residence’ programmes. Also in this category are groups with high education levels, such as Sri Lankans, Indonesians and Pakistanis.

There are significant gender differences in participation, with females less likely to be working or looking for work. To some extent this reflects the national situation in which a proportion of women are raising children and thus not participating in the labour force. For some groups there are also gendered attitudes to wage employment.

The unemployment rate

Table 4 shows the percentage of people who are unemployed but actively looking for work. As with the participation rate, populations of refugee origin stand out with high rates of unemployment; this suggests a need for ongoing labour force integration programmes, including in English language acquisition, as suggested by the data in Table 3. Overall, the Asian unemployment rate is only slightly higher than that of all ethnic groups.

Table 3. Education and language indicators of Asian groups in Auckland 2013

Ethnic group	Highest education qualification (% of group)			Language indicators (% of group)			
	None (less than level 1)	Tertiary (level 7+)	Post-graduate (level 8+)	% Who speak English	Speak 2+ languages	Speak 3+ languages	Multiple language indicator
Chinese	13	34	9	75	59	13	1.8
Indian	10	33	11	89	61	18	1.8
Korean	7	28	6	73	65	3	1.7
Filipino	4	45	5	95	69	9	1.8
Sri Lankan	5	37	14	90	61	6	1.7
Japanese	8	26	5	83	70	3	1.7
Vietnamese	34	15	3	71	59	6	1.7
Cambodian	49	9	2	71	59	8	1.7
Thai	26	21	5	87	69	6	1.8
Malay	7	40	13	93	61	23	2.0
Indonesian	6	36	8	91	69	9	1.8
Afghani	37	11	3	71	64	12	1.8
Pakistani	9	45	22	86	71	28	2.1
Other Asian	11	37	12	88	59	15	1.8
All Asian	12	33	9	82	62	13	1.8
All ethnic groups	17	25	8	87	19	3	1.2

Figure 12. Age-sex structure total Auckland and Asian Auckland 2013

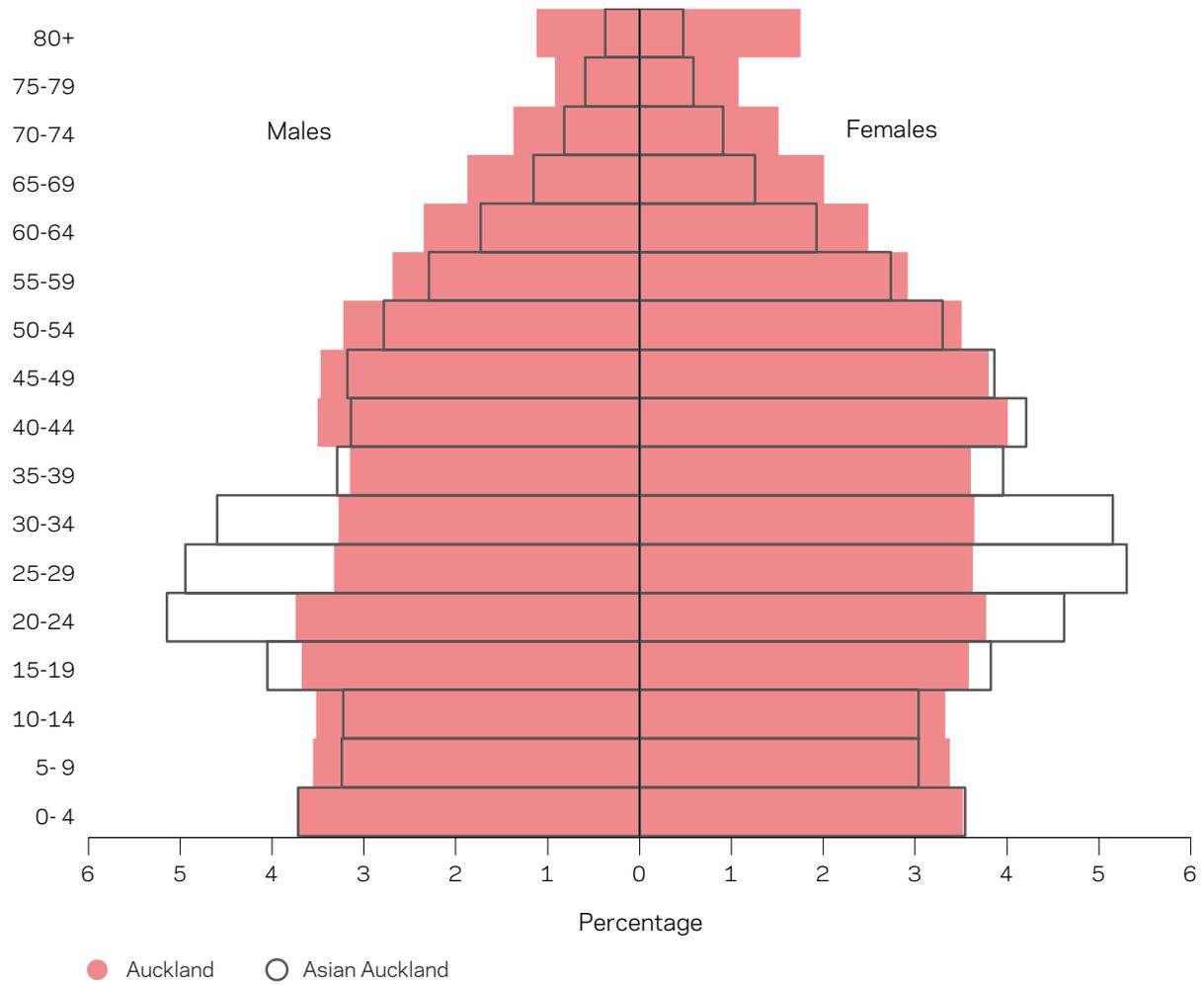


Figure 13. Age-sex structure total Auckland and Chinese Auckland 2013

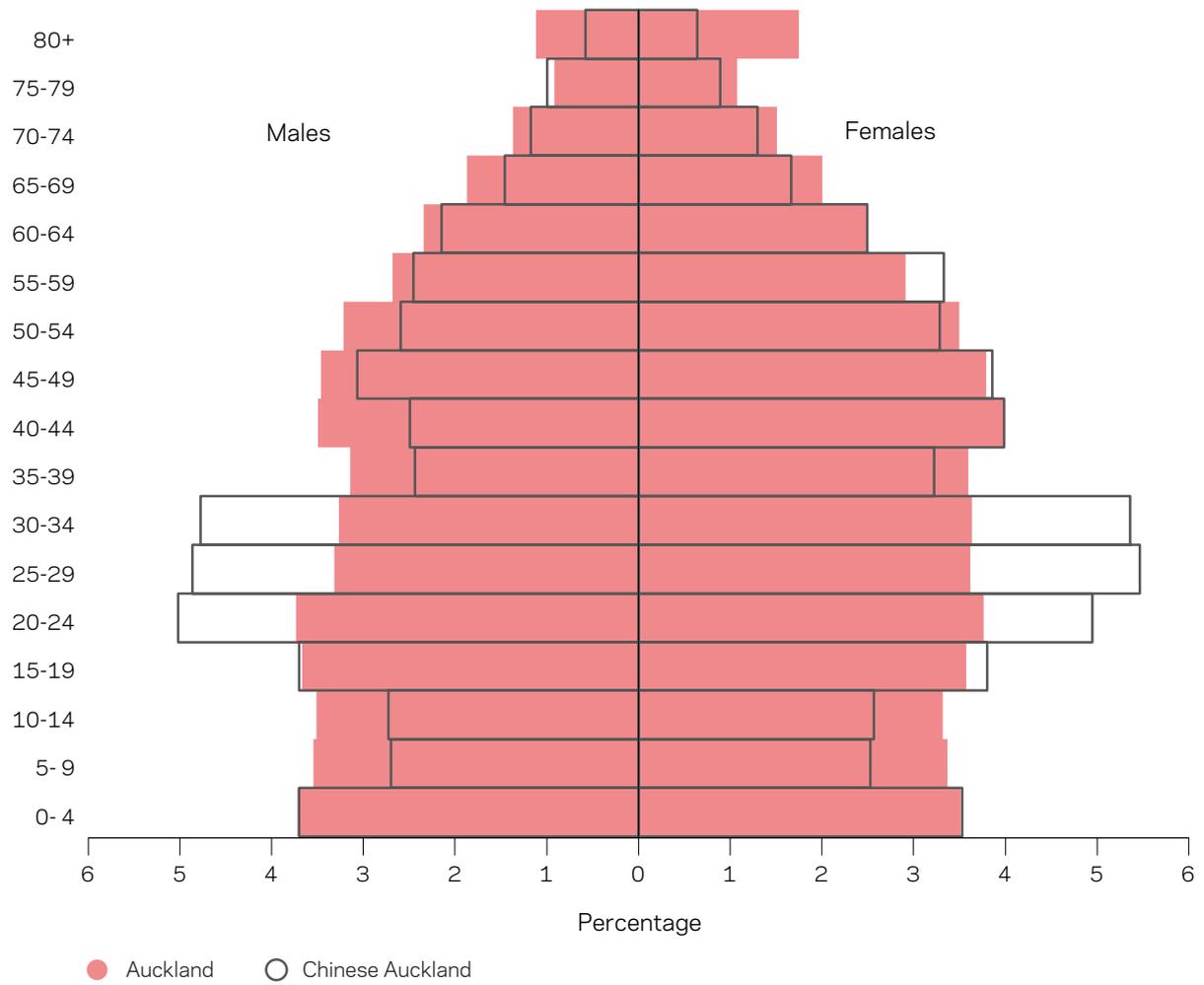


Figure 14. Age-sex structure total Auckland and Indian Auckland 2013

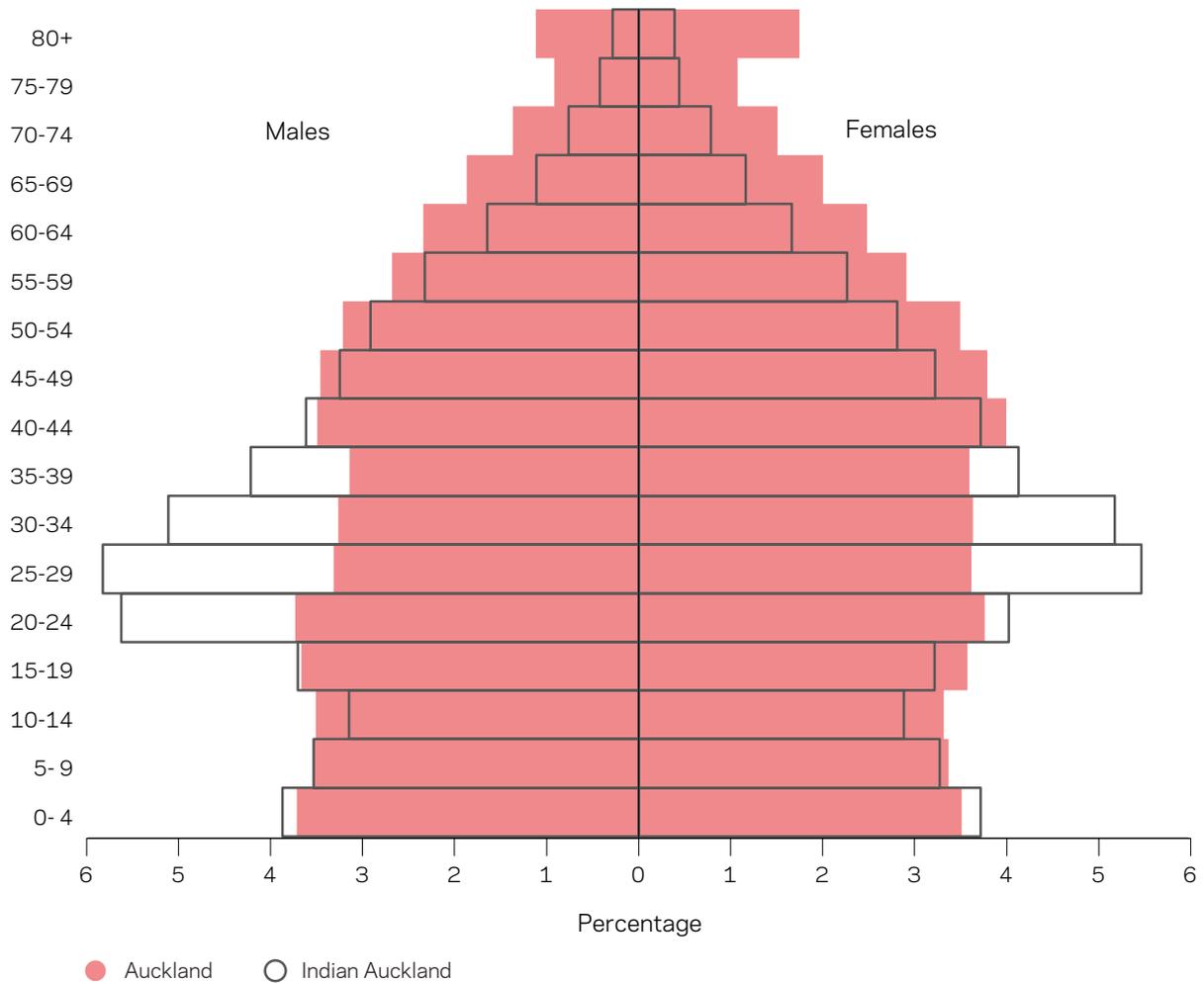


Figure 15. Age-sex structure total Auckland and Korean Auckland 2013

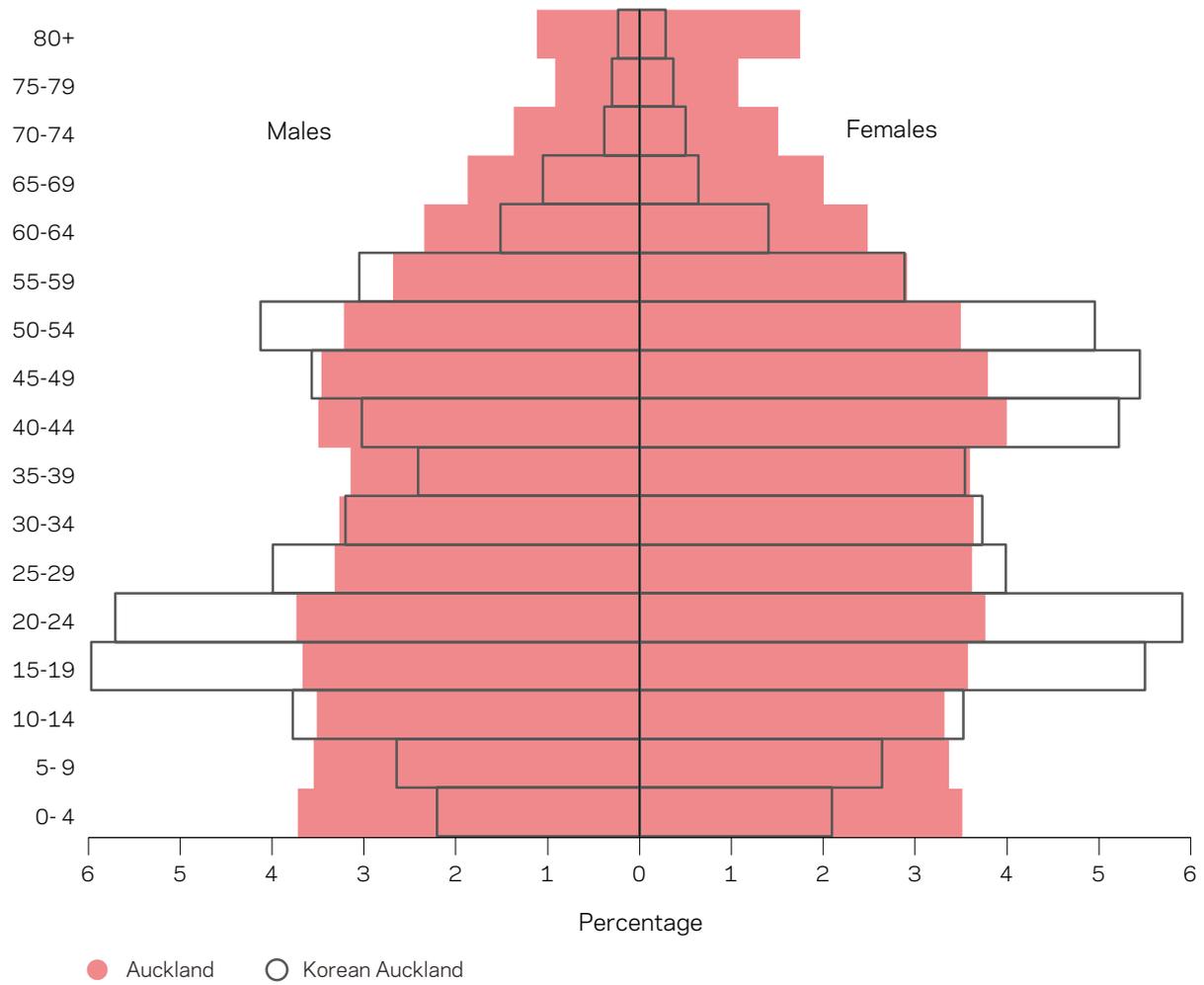


Figure 16. Age-sex structure total Auckland and Filipino Auckland 2013

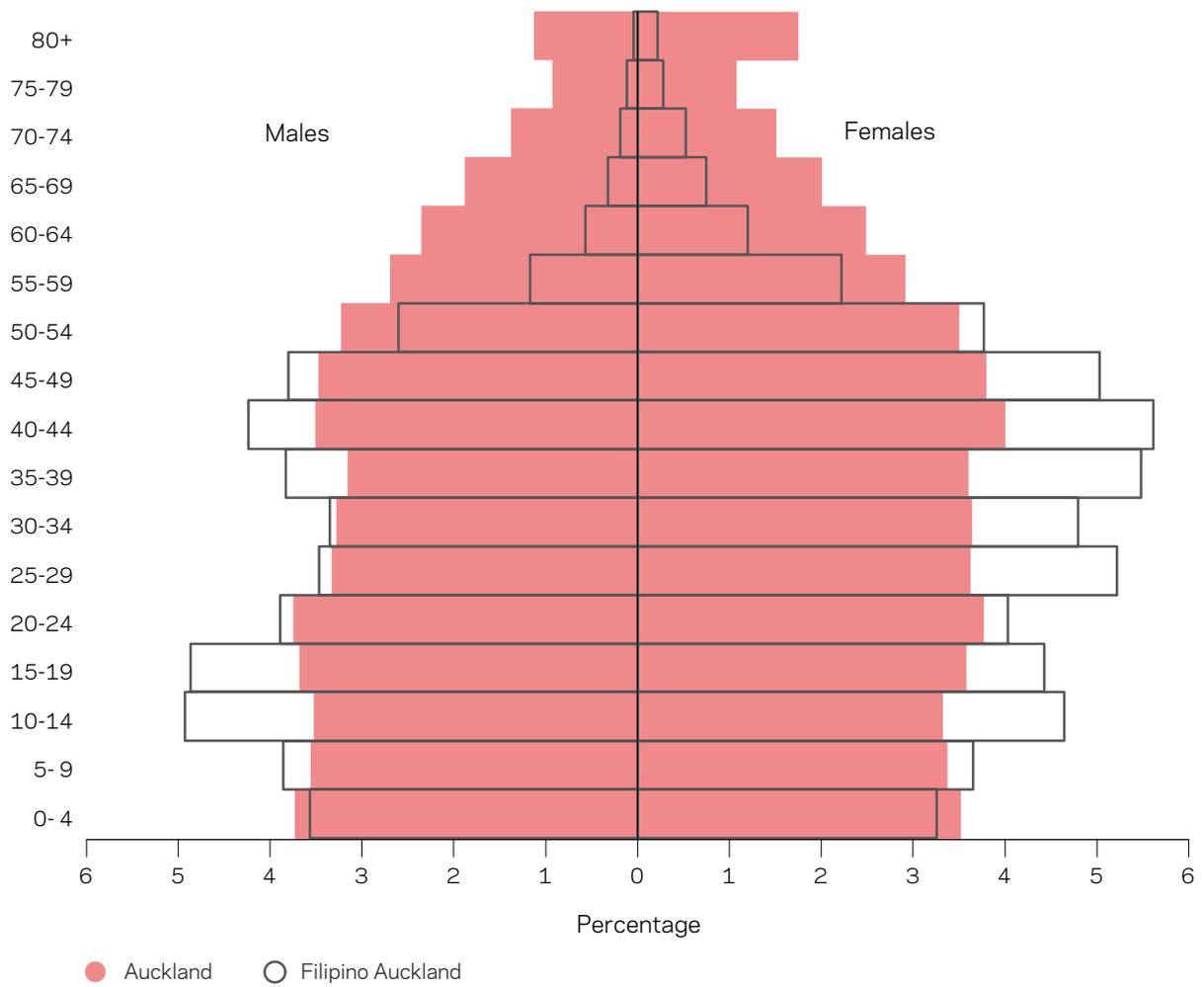


Table 4. Labour force characteristics of Asian groups in Auckland 2013, population aged 15+

Ethnic group	Participation rate (% in labour force)		Unemployment rate (% of labour force)		% of all workers in selected occupational groups			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Managers	Professionals	Sales workers	Labourers
Chinese	60	52	9	10	18	26	13	8
Indian	77	64	7	11	16	23	16	8
Korean	62	49	11	12	23	21	10	10
Filipino	82	76	7	7	8	26	13	10
Sri Lankan	79	63	7	12	12	32	11	9
Japanese	68	57	5	8	15	19	9	6
Vietnamese	60	50	16	15	11	14	12	13
Cambodian	63	52	10	13	10	7	18	20
Thai	64	60	9	12	13	8	10	15
Malay	69	61	11	11	14	30	12	6
Indonesian	75	66	7	10	9	23	12	15
Afghani	55	26	28	35	12	16	25	6
Pakistani	74	39	12	24	14	29	13	5
Other Asian	72	61	11	12	13	30	12	8
Total Asian	69	58	9	10	16	24	14	9
All ethnic groups	73	62	7	9	19	26	10	7

The occupational data in Table 4 is partial, identifying only four of the 10 occupational categories. The higher the average educational level is for a group, the higher the expected proportion of professionals, and we see this in the Sri Lankan, Malay and Pakistani groups. Of the larger groups, Chinese and Filipinos are similar to the national average; however, when considered against their education levels, there may be a level of underemployment among groups such as these.

Some aspects of the migrant experience in the labour force are difficult to analyse using census data; for example, the cliché of the 'taxi-driving engineer' does appear to have some truth in it. A study of employers and employees migrating from India to New Zealand after 2000, and settling in Auckland, showed evidence of downward occupational mobility resulting from factors such as a lack of local experience and connections, problems with credential recognition, and being overqualified for the positions available.⁵⁶ In many cases this resulted in individuals with high qualifications establishing small enterprises, especially in retailing and food provision, with many involving family members who were not paid formally.

Similar experiences were reported for Korean migrants. As shown in Table 4, a high proportion of Koreans are managers, presumably indicating their propensity for self-owned enterprises – in some cases because they arrived on business visas and in others because they could not find employment that suited their skills.⁵⁷ Chinese migrants tended to think that their jobs did not match their qualifications, even though many would have undertaken at least part of their tertiary education in New Zealand.⁵⁸

Religion

Religious affiliation is another aspect of diversification that Asian migrants have brought to Auckland. Figure 17 shows the proportionate breakdown of religions for the total Asian population and some of the larger Asian groups.

After the 2013 census it was noted that Christianity had become the largest religious category for the total Asian population. At the same time, in terms of total affiliation, 'no religion' was the largest category as this was the most common response from the large Chinese population, the predominant response from Japanese, and a significant response from Vietnamese and Korean. Among these groups, practices or affiliations that might be considered to have metaphysical aspects, such as Confucianism, are not considered formal religions.

Christianity's place as the largest broad affiliation in 2013 is explained by three key factors:

- Christianity has always been the largest religious affiliation for New Zealand's Korean population, with proportions considerably higher than in South Korea itself.
- As shown in Figure 17, Christianity has some following in all of the larger Asian groups.
- The Filipino group, which is almost totally Christian (more than 95 percent in this category) grew the most rapidly between 2006 and 2013.

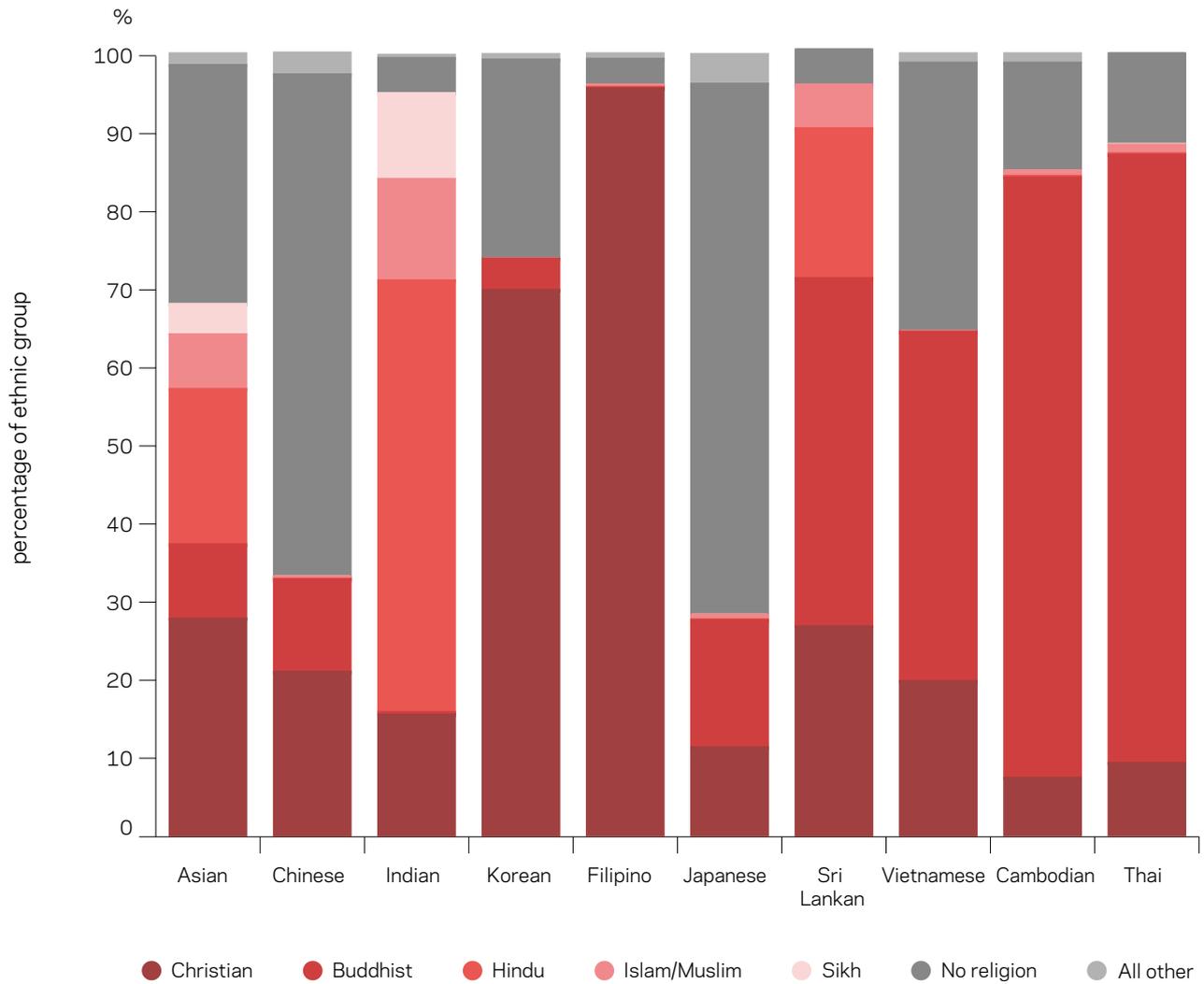
About three-quarters of the Filipino group affiliated as Catholic, with the rest associated with a range of Christian groups. In contrast, only about a quarter of Chinese Christians identified as Catholic, although a large number did not identify their specific Christian affiliations. About half of Koreans identified as Presbyterian and related groups, and nearly a third specified Catholicism. More than half of Indians identified as Hindus, with Christianity, Islam and Sikhism each comprising more than 10 percent of the population. Buddhism was by far the dominant religion among Thais and Cambodians and the largest for Vietnamese and Sri Lankans; it was also significant among Chinese and Japanese.

56 Lewin, J., Meares, C., Cain, T., Spoonley, P., Peace, R., & Ho, E. (2011). *Namaste New Zealand: Indian employers and employees in Auckland*. Integration of Immigrants Programme: Massey University/University of Waikato.

57 Meares, C., Ho, E., Peace, R., & Spoonley, P. (2010). *Kimchi networks: Korean employers and employees in Auckland*. Integration of Immigrants Programme: Massey University/University of Waikato.

58 Meares, C., Ho, E., Peace, R., & Spoonley, P. (2010). *Bamboo networks: Chinese employers and employees in Auckland*. Integration of Immigrants Programme: Massey University/University of Waikato, p. 53.

Figure 17. Religious affiliations of largest Asian groups in Auckland 2013



Data source: Statistics New Zealand 2013 Census



Conclusion

Conclusion

The theme of increasing diversity is central to this report and documented in several ways.

Asian migrants come to New Zealand for a variety of reasons. Although the majority are admitted on the basis of economic criteria, other motives often relate to perceptions that New Zealand has a 'clean and green' environment, a good education system, a vigorous democracy and a desirable lifestyle. Further, New Zealand has 'a relatively relaxed approach to settlement', so permanent residents have nearly all the rights of citizens, including the right to vote, and can generally hold dual or multiple citizenship.⁵⁹ These factors help to explain why migrants from Asia have continued to comprise a significant proportion of all new permanent residence migrants and are likely to do so in the future.

While permanent residence immigration has continued to be important, the types of migrant arriving in New Zealand have diversified:

- During the 1990s the number of international students arriving from Asia increased dramatically, and although these numbers have plateaued they are still significant.
- In the 2000s policy changes resulted in many more work migrants arriving, and their numbers continue to increase. In the seven years since the 2006 census, work permits have become an increasingly important element of New Zealand's immigration system; the number of work migrants entering the country are increasing steadily and they are coming from a diversifying range of countries, including many in Asia.

This student and worker migration has resulted in more diverse Asian populations in New Zealand in terms of age and sex composition, education types and skills. It has also provided a path to permanent residence that was not available earlier. The notable increases in Filipino and Indian migrant numbers can be partly attributed to these changes.

The ongoing diversification of countries of origin and migrant type means that at any one time the Asian population comprises a complex mix of New Zealand born, overseas born, citizens, permanent residents, temporary workers, students and tourists – all arriving for a variety of reasons and bringing with them a diverse range of demographic characteristics, skills and expectations.

This complexity is most apparent in Auckland, where migrant settlement patterns illustrate other aspects of increasing diversification and show there is no singular 'Asian migrant'. A significant number of people, notably within the Chinese and Indian groups, are *not* migrant; they comprise well established, New Zealand-born populations who have characteristics, identities and expectations somewhat (or very) different from those of migrant populations. Likewise, students and workers have quite different characteristics and legal rights from permanent residents and citizens, although many may aspire to become longer-term settlers.

The geographical distribution of Asian populations in Auckland reveals both diversification and consolidation between the 2006 and 2013 censuses.

Asian migrants have moved into many areas that have had relatively small numbers of Asian residents, contributing to considerable diversification in these areas. At the same time, some areas that were focal points for Asian settlement in earlier periods have consolidated their Asian populations, so that the number of areas with more than 50 percent of the population being of Asian origin has increased. This is the case both in areas of new housing development and in other built-up areas with facilities catering to migrant populations.

It can be debated whether this constitutes 'segregation' and whether it is a problem. In most world cities migrant groups cluster together for a variety of benefits, including settlement support and access to services and facilities catering to their specific needs. If the clustering is

59 Spoonley & Bedford (2012), p. 267.

essentially voluntary and not driven by forces of discrimination and exclusion, it is not accurate to describe this as resulting in 'ghettos'. Certainly Asian migrants' choice of residential neighbourhoods in Auckland is partly determined by income and housing affordability, but it appears that there is a significant element of choice within these constraints.

Clustering can be regarded as detrimental to migrant integration, especially in relation to English language acquisition. However, residential location is only one (albeit possibly the most important) aspect of successful integration; also important are labour force integration and pursuits that foster interactions with other ethnic populations, including day-to-day activities such as shopping, social events, religious gatherings and festivals.

The concept of 'ethnoscapes' enables us to visualise ethnic diversity in practice in Auckland. While the residential distributions of different Asian populations provide the basis for diverse ethnoscapes, new communities have also become part of both the physical and less tangible aspects of the Auckland landscape and society, providing spaces and opportunities for migrants while also serving as bridges to the dominant host society.

Examples of this immigration 'diversity dividend' include the rapid diversification of Asian food outlets, from restaurants to night markets, which is generally positively perceived by New Zealanders of various ethnicities. In addition, Asian festivals simultaneously enable minority populations to celebrate their cultures and attract large numbers of other ethnic groups, while the emergence of Asian diasporic art forms is proving popular with mixed audiences.

It is appropriate to conclude this report by considering the future of Asian migration to New Zealand and to Auckland. There are at least two significant reasons to assume that Asian immigration will continue to be important into the medium-term future:

- The demographic reality of ageing faced by New Zealand and most other countries in the 'developed' world. Declining birth rates, combined

with the sheer momentum of the baby boom generation approaching retirement age, will present a challenge in the next several decades for labour force provision and the support of older people through pensions and health care.⁶⁰ In this context immigration can be seen as beneficial in both countering the potential for population decline and contributing new members to the labour force. New Zealand's immigration policy is particularly focused on attracting educated and skilled migrants, but in the future there may also be a greater need for semi-skilled and even unskilled migrants, of whom many might originate in Asia.

- The political context. While there has been some political and media attention paid to the issue of whether 'migrant numbers' are too high at times, there appears to be broad political support for immigration to continue at levels similar to those experienced in recent years. The largest political parties, National, Labour and the Greens, support ongoing immigration, with some variations in their targets relating to migrant numbers and characteristics. The obvious exception to this consensus is New Zealand First, but even this party states that it is not 'anti-migrant'. Under the MMP electoral system, most political parties are endeavouring to incorporate 'ethnic' Member of Parliament 'list' candidates, including a number of Asian origin. In the 2014 election the Labour Party had five Asian candidates (or six if Azerbaijan is included) and the National Party had four. These candidates included Indians (five), Chinese (three) and Korean (one), and of these, four were elected.

Assuming no dramatic change in immigration policy in the next decade, the Asian population as a proportion of New Zealand's population will continue to increase. The Asian population is projected to grow at about three times the rate of the total population to 2026, reaching about 790,000 in that year.⁶¹ Given the likelihood that regional settlement patterns will be similar to those experienced in the previous quarter century, about two-thirds of this population will live in Auckland – with an estimated Asian population of 525,000 in 2026, comprising about 28 percent of Auckland's population.

60 Note that there is no compulsory retirement age in New Zealand, and that recent censuses have shown that an increasing proportion of the population aged 65 years and over are continuing in waged employment. This will moderate the economic impacts of ageing, but many of the essential issues of ageing will remain.

61 The most recent ethnic projections were made in 2010. The next projections will be run in 2015. See www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/estimates_and_projections/NationalEthnicPopulationProjections_HOTP2006-26.aspx.

This is not to say that Auckland will be the only place experiencing the impact of new Asian immigration. Other major urban areas, especially Wellington and Christchurch, continue to attract significant numbers of Asian migrants and the proportions of Asians have been increasing in many smaller centres. However, it is clear that Auckland will continue to be the focus of the greatest diversification of Asian populations in coming years, and perhaps serve as a template of change elsewhere.



Appendix

Table Appendix . Asian ethnic groups in Auckland 2013 compared to country of birth

Birthplace	Chinese	Indian	Korean	Filipino	Sri Lankan	Japanese	Vietnamese	Cambodian	Thai	Malay	Indonesian	Afghani	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Burmese	Laotian	Nepalese	Total Asian
New Zealand	27,663	23,001	2,334	2,817	990	1,800	1,065	1,218	858	486	525	687	612	222	177	321	69	64,092
% NZ born	23.4	21.6	10.6	13.7	14.3	26.8	24.4	29.1	20.6	19.4	21.1	28.4	27.2	20.4	16.8	39.1	12.9	20.9
China, PR	64,887	30	21	3	3	12	6	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	64,977
India	120	42,420	0	3	15	3	0	0	0	0	0	27	9	0	12	0	15	42,639
Fiji	456	32,814	3	3	6	9	0	0	0	3	3	0	3	0	0	0	9	33,291
Korea, South	57	15	19,143	0	0	9	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19,281
The Philippines	267	24	6	17,115	0	6	18	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18,426
Taiwan	6,321	3	3	3	3	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6,339
Sri Lanka	0	213	0	3	5,493	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	5,757
Japan	51	15	51	3	6	4,626	3	0	0	0	15	0	6	0	0	0	0	4,773
Hong Kong (SAR)	4,587	18	3	27	6	3	27	0	3	9	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	4,704
Viet Nam	846	12	6	3	0	3	3,027	39	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3,882
Cambodia	915	3	0	3	0	0	60	2,697	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3,534
Thailand	84	15	3	0	6	3	9	156	3,183	0	3	3	3	0	63	33	0	3,675
Malaysia	6,510	846	0	9	60	3	15	6	0	1,785	3	3	3	0	39	3	9	9,138
Indonesia	828	9	6	9	3	3	3	3	0	9	1,830	0	0	0	0	0	0	2,619
Afghanistan	9	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,536	0	0	0	0	0	1,575
Pakistan	3	210	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	96	1,476	3	3	0	0	1,821
Singapore	1,515	264	3	33	21	9	0	0	3	114	15	0	3	0	3	0	0	2,127
Bangladesh	0	162	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	813	6	0	0	1,002
Myanmar (Burma)	36	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	717	0	0	993
Nepal	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	414	423
Australia	279	294	48	36	24	18	21	9	12	9	12	3	0	9	3	6	3	792
South Africa	105	2,331	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2,475
UK and Ireland	213	603	12	12	39	18	6	0	6	12	6	3	30	9	3	0	3	987
Samoa	453	21	0	3	0	9	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	492
All Other	2,025	2,976	333	414	231	183	96	60	63	39	72	63	102	30	24	459	12	7,419
Total	118,230	106,329	21,981	20,502	6,906	6,720	4,362	4,188	4,155	2,508	2,487	2,421	2,253	1,089	1,053	822	534	307,233