



CaDDANZ

Capturing the Diversity Dividend
of Aotearoa/New Zealand

Population Diversity in Aotearoa New Zealand: INSIGHTS FROM THE CADDANZ RESEARCH PROGRAMME

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Executive Summary

CaDDANZ was a New Zealand Government-funded project studying the impacts of growing population diversity in Aotearoa New Zealand. The project ran from 2014 to 2020 and was extended to March 2021 due to the effects of the global COVID-19 pandemic. Staffed by a multidisciplinary team of researchers, CaDDANZ aimed to identify changing demographics and the impacts of ethnic and demographic diversity on aspects of economic and social change.

This report has synthesised a bundle of key insights that could only have surfaced through the reflection on the interplay between the research questions that the original bid set out to address. While we, as a project team, did not intend to produce transdisciplinary or even interdisciplinary work on migration, diversity or the diversity dividend, setting a goal to synthesise something from the project as a whole has produced this report. Using social cohesion as a sorting mechanism for the insights has meant this overview is selective and high level. Not all the projects can be read against a social cohesion or even social inclusion lens. In particular, many of the econometric outputs explicitly addressed aspects of diversity as an economic dividend and that work is not highlighted in the synthesis.

Three broad themes are addressed

1. Immigration and diversity – understanding population trends
2. [Re] conceptualising ethno-demographic diversity in Aotearoa – Tangata whenua perspectives
3. Diversity in context – in different settings and over time

The report concludes with four high-level insights

1. Immigration policy needs to re-examine its position in relation to Tiriti o Waitangi where any Crown partnership relationship is currently lacking.
2. Despite social cohesion being a negotiated term, its use as a framing for the impacts of migration on both the host country and individual migrant lives is underpinned by its use in the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the terrorist attack on Christchurch mosques on 15 March 2019 and is preferable to the concept of a diversity dividend.¹
3. While ethnocultural diversity is the default for 'diversity dividend' research, the concept of the social organisation of difference has broader relevance to social justice-oriented policy development.²
4. The use of wide range of different methodologies is vital for the production of well-evidenced, theory-informed strategies and policies.

LIST OF SELECTED ABBREVIATIONS

CaDDANZ	Capturing the Diversity Dividend of Aotearoa/New Zealand
CaLD	culturally and linguistically diverse
CNSST	Chinese New Settlers Services Trust
DDS	Demographic Decision Support
ED	ethnic diversity
ELPNZ	English Language Partners New Zealand
ESOL	English speakers of other languages
ICT	information and communications technology
IDI	Integrated Data Infrastructure
MBIE	Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment
MC	multiculturalism
MPES	Māori, Pacific and Ethnic Services
NESB	Non-English-speaking backgrounds
NZP	New Zealand Police
OIA	Official Information Act
TEC	Tertiary Education Commission

1. Introduction and Overview of CaDDANZ Research Insights

1.1 PURPOSE AND OUTLINE OF THE REPORT

CaDDANZ was a New Zealand Government-funded project studying the impacts of growing population diversity in Aotearoa New Zealand. The project ran from 2014 to 2020 and was extended to March 2021 due to the effects of the COVID-19 global pandemic. Staffed by a multidisciplinary team of researchers, CaDDANZ aimed to identify changing demographics and the impacts of ethnic and demographic diversity on aspects of economic and social change.

This report thematically summarises the main findings of the CaDDANZ project. It provides digestible, policy-learning insights from across the extensive work programme.³ It also serves to direct readers to specialists in specific areas if more information, or a conversation, could be useful. The themes move from broad understandings of diversity and how it is contested in the migration context through to situated accounts in a range of settings where diversity is routinely negotiated. These are also sites where decision makers in governance, policy, planning and practice roles may positively influence social relationships such as workplaces, neighbourhoods and schools.

Each section presents findings, draws out insights and, where useful, speculates on how the research engages with issues of Māori sovereignty, pandemic response and border closure, and calls for increased social cohesion following the report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry report, *Ko tō tātou kāinga tēnei*, into the

terrorist attack on Christchurch masjidain on 15 March 2019.

With the extension of CaDDANZ into 2021, some researchers revisited their participants to ask for their reflections on coping with COVID-19. Where this occurred, we have included the updated reflections at the end of the relevant sections.

1.2 THE CONTEXT OF CADDANZ

Understanding population diversity is critical for decision makers. National averages in the age or ethnic composition of a population conceal significant subnational diversity. While economic growth and prosperity might be reported at a national level, population change at the local level results in housing shortages, empty shops, economic disparities and the failure to provide resources in a timely manner.

Over the six years of the CaDDANZ project, the context for immigration has shifted in unanticipated ways. In December 2018, Gallup estimated more than 750 million adults worldwide would like to migrate permanently from their homes.⁴ This included an estimated nine per cent of people living in Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia and Oceania. Worldwide and locally, however, aspirations to move have been sharply curtailed by the COVID-19 pandemic. When compared with September 2019 data, Stats NZ estimated that migrant arrivals were down 80 per cent in September 2020.⁵ Following several years of record high net migration, and growing numbers of people

on temporary visas, entry into Aotearoa New Zealand is now effectively restricted to citizens and residents.

COVID-19 provides an example of how our responses to challenges – health, social, environmental and political – enable and curtail human movement. Economically, Aotearoa New Zealand’s reliance on migrant workers to fill gaps in the horticultural, fisheries, medical and hospitality sectors (among others) has been highlighted by restrictions on international travel. But this is not the only shift that has had an impact on the project and how the findings can be understood.

Pressure to give force to te Tiriti and the UNDRIP⁶, both in response to increasing inequality experienced by Māori and to COVID, and the terrorist attack on Christchurch masjidain on 15 March 2019, also highlight the urgent need to reflect on the way diversity is framed and how government and civil society respond.

The ways society seeks to understand the social organisation of difference has material impacts. Concepts guide decisions at a policy level and, when operationalised within communities, help shape how people perceive and relate to others unlike themselves. These concepts emerge in particular historical and cultural contexts. Because they are not set in stone, the processes of analysis and reflection open up alternative and potentially more helpful ways of framing our worlds.⁷

This report draws on the work of researchers with different questions, perspectives, interests and methodologies. Findings are not always consistent, or conclusions universally agreed upon among the researchers. To use an analogy, each project has used a torch to shine a light on the diversity landscape. The torches are held by people with different interests and are directed at different parts of the landscape, and so different features of that landscape are illuminated. The diversity landscape is vast and

changing and views are only partial.

To counteract the multiplicity of views, we have chosen to address a single, policy-relevant question in order to bring some coherence to this body of work. Answering the call of the recent report of the Royal Commission into the terrorist attack on Christchurch masjidain, the question the writing group for this report settled on was:

What do the overall findings from this body of research imply for building social cohesion (including social inclusion) in this country?⁸

As has been mentioned, not all of the projects or outputs are able to be aligned with this perspective and outputs not cited here are available on the CaDDANZ website.⁹

Ko tō tātou kāinga tēnei draws on the work of Peace, Spoonley, Butcher, and O’Neill to frame social cohesion.¹⁰ In brief, this means paying attention to the ways in which the research may have insights for:

- 1. Belonging** – a sense of being part of the community, trust in others and respect for law and human rights
- 2. Inclusion** – equity of opportunities and outcomes in work, income, education, health and housing
- 3. Participation** – involvement in social and community activities and in political and civic life
- 4. Recognition** – valuing diversity and respecting differences, and
- 5. Legitimacy** – confidence in public institutions.

Policy debates around the concept of social cohesion above have been mooted before in Aotearoa New Zealand but found little traction. Peace and Spoonley’s reflections on this process, and the shortcomings of social

cohesion as it was formulated in the mid-2000s, provide useful warnings about pitfalls to avoid in attempting to mobilise policy and communities around social cohesion.¹¹ Their later focus on strengthening ‘cohesive ties’, also frames the particular insights pulled out for this report. In essence, compared with other potential policy framings such as social wellbeing and social inclusion or exclusion, the concept of ‘cohesion’ can be seen to conduce towards relationship building in and between communities.

While the Royal Commission was firmly (and rightly) grounded in religious and ethnic diversity, CaDDANZ research shows that these are not the only differences that matter in Aotearoa New Zealand. The concept of partnership enshrined in te Tiriti o Waitangi has been largely ignored by immigration decision making in Aotearoa, but arguments presented here assert that Māori have a much more significant role to play than has been accorded them until now.

The impact of COVID-19 and subsequent border closures undermines our confidence in predicted diversity trends and so population estimates generated by researchers pre-COVID-19 must be held with some degree of circumspection. However, Aotearoa New Zealand is diverse now, and insights about how we live with diversity and manage our institutions to support our diverse population continue to be relevant.

1.3 HIGH-LEVEL OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS

Perspectives from Te Ao Māori challenge what is tika in the way we treat others, including migrants, and the knowledge claims that can be made for research

Until recently, diversity-related research had been informed by Anglocentric approaches. In Aotearoa New Zealand, for example, migration

research tended to as one of many ethnic minority groups – rather than as partners to te Tiriti o Waitangi and Indigenous hosts to newcomers. This mirrors the absence of Māori input to policy decisions about migration. Compared with other policy areas, references to te Tiriti are noticeably absent from legislation such as the Citizenship Act 1977 and Immigration Act 2009. Reframing diversity and migration from an Indigenous viewpoint acknowledges the history of colonisation, the impact this has had on Māori communities, and their own relationships with newcomers. Changing the migration framework – from mainstream to manaaki – opens up different questions and different strategies for working towards social transformation.¹² See Section 3 for a more detailed discussion of Indigenous perspectives.

Declining populations in many areas of Aotearoa will become much more common in the future, while levels of ethnocultural diversity will continue to vary across regions. The tools and approaches for understanding and measuring diversity are evolving

Driven by different rates of natural increase, internal migration and external migration, as well as economic effects, the population of Aotearoa New Zealand is set to swell in some places but decline in most others over the next 30 years. By the mid-21st century, only areas around Queenstown, Canterbury, North Taranaki and parts of Auckland and Northland will still have growing populations supported both by natural increase and in-migration (national and international). While projections show population decline in many regions in the future, ethnic diversity will continue to be a feature in many regions (according to projections out to 2038). Auckland, Wellington and Waikato will remain the most diverse regions.

Tools for understanding, measuring and quantitatively representing diversity are evolving to support analysis of increasing

population diversity. As well as revealing current and future population dynamics, Section 2 also critically examines some of our taken-for-granted markers of identity (such as ethnicity) and outlines new methods and insights into the growth and distribution of (mostly) ethnocultural diversity in Aotearoa New Zealand across time.

People inhabiting diverse neighbourhoods find ways to negotiate diversity in everyday encounters. Expectations of host communities and newcomers enable and constrain positive social relationships as well as individual aspirations. Policy settings for housing and urban development risk intensifying social inequalities

Studies of the spatial distribution of diversity in Auckland show a slight tendency for people from the same ethnic groups to live near to each other. The chances of rubbing shoulders with somebody from a different ethnocultural background in neighbourhoods in Auckland is nonetheless high. While ethnocultural diversity may be the most visible axis of difference in neighbourhoods, it may not be the most salient to residents.

In ethnically diverse, working-class Avondale, for example, ethnocultural diversity was seen as commonplace and a source of pride. Discomfort at the neighbourhood level was linked to more affluent newcomers who were seen as uninterested in participating in established neighbourhood norms of low-pressure convivial interaction.

Within diverse schools, peer networks and positive relationships with staff are important contributors to student wellbeing. Analysis of long-term international students' experiences in school suggest the need to review monolingual teaching practices within mainstream classes

Multi-method studies of diversity in two secondary schools found students enjoyed relationships with their peer groups and

teachers, as well as school activities that brought students together. Students in one school also appreciated curriculum-led projects that enabled them to explore cultural differences and experiences of inclusion and exclusion. However, where long-term international students were framed narrowly as 'English language learners' instead of complex individuals, and school practices supported this view, student wellbeing was negatively impacted. Rather than an aid to student wellbeing, pull-out English instruction classes for students were seen by international students to exclude them from mainstream learning opportunities.

Diversity is attractive to business. However, the regulatory framework for migrant workers in Aotearoa New Zealand privileges some workers over others, creating conditions of social exclusion

The current shortage of workers for seasonal jobs because of COVID-19 border restrictions shows how critical international workers are to the Aotearoa New Zealand economy. Internationally, the evidence about the impact of diversity in workplaces is mixed. CaDDANZ research shows that diversity is attractive to business in cities with business owners paying a premium to locate themselves in areas with diverse local populations. The current regulatory environment for migrant labour sorts migrant workers into those with greater and lesser access to resources enjoyed by other workers in the country with migrants deemed 'low skill' the most disadvantaged group. Section 4 explores the implications of how the New Zealand Government manages immigration for work. It also includes a study examining the way diversity and migrants are portrayed in the media which is an important social influencer of people's attitudes to diversity.

Government and institutional responses to ethnocultural diversity have varied with

different challenges faced by mainstream organisations, organisations that work for migrants, and organisations that are run by migrants for migrants

The structure, culture, complexity and intent of larger organisations and agencies are critical to effective implementation of diversity strategies. For example, the New Zealand Police (NZP) were initially unable to give proper effect to their new Ethnic Strategy as the remit of Ethnic Services did not extend across the whole of the organisation. Understanding the service ecology of an organisation and how it works within a wider range of activities and competing demands is critical for maximising potential to implement policies and decisions. Complex funding streams for not-for-profit organisations results in precarious income streams and inefficiencies in service delivery. Social entrepreneurial models of response reflect last-ditch efforts to provide services related to direct demand that are not supported.

Related to the theme of work, Section 4 also examines how institutions have responded to diversity – particularly the way they manage their workforces and service their clients. Our review of government agencies' diversity initiatives shows varying progress towards building diverse and inclusive working environments. A case study of NZP demonstrates how the development of a diverse workforce needs to be supported at strategic and operational levels.

Analysis of settlement stories told from the point of view of new settlers suggest a combination of social, institutional and personal factors are important to successful settlement outcomes

Analysis across five stories of successful settlement from people who originated from China, Sri Lanka, India and Nepal show how the settlement process unfolds with enablers and barriers along the way. New migrants

benefited from structured orientations to Aotearoa New Zealand, although more information would have been useful at the point of arrival.

Offers of help from support services, their neighbours and, in some instances, casual contacts were both helpful and appreciated. For some, participation in the community, in voluntary or service roles, also assisted the settlement process. A sense of belonging was facilitated through forming social connections within their own ethnic communities and with achieving stable housing, new qualifications, employment and eventually citizenship.

New settlers relied on their strengths: skills, qualifications, determination and sometimes the support of their families. Competence in English language was an important enabler. Conversely, low English language proficiency was a barrier as was a lack of cultural understanding and outreach to newcomers from host communities. People felt excluded in learning and employment contexts when they sensed they were being viewed as problematic.

As with all large-scale research projects, there are unique benefits that accrue through the research that were not specifically anticipated but that contribute to the value of the project overall

The three standard aspects where research is routinely considered to add social value are: 1) through outputs, and 2) the quality of research, and 3) new standard-setting. In crude terms, the 185 peer-reviewed, and published articles, book chapters and books produced by CaDDANZ researchers contribute to all three measures of social value. New standards (aspect 3) have been written and critiqued through peer-reviewed material, and while there is no simple tool for assessing the value of the 800+ non-peer-reviewed outputs (including conference presentations, media engagements, commissioned reports, and

working papers), these do provide a measure of the quality of the research and its outputs (aspects 1 and 2).

The intangible additions include all the people-related attributes that come into human assemblage; knowledge inputs that are embodied in each researcher; behavioural change that occurs through the propinquity, trust building, and open-mindedness of the researchers; risk mitigation that occurs because of the group's credibility, reputation, existing networks and oversight; knowledge innovation that occurs because of the 'who and how' of the research team; and policy support and advice that flows through already established channels based on previous work and pre-existing relationships. Commitments to Vision Mātauranga are suggested as an approach to future migration-related work.

1.4 A SUMMARY OF INSIGHTS

Before progressing to a more detailed representation of the three research themes, this summary of the insights is drawn together by the writing group and sets out some potential implications for decision makers engaged in leading social cohesion and inclusion. The insights are posed as a set of 10 points for reflection for decision makers involved in creating the conditions for social cohesion in Aotearoa New Zealand.

While ethnocultural diversity is an important axis of difference for some people in some places, it may not be the most significant difference when considering social cohesion. For example, research in this report also highlights differences by gender, age and class, which shape peoples' preferences and concerns. The implication here is that policies and strategies for social cohesion need to take account of the differences in the community that are significant to the people who live there. The continuing trend of co-design, or other processes for including stakeholders

in decisions that affect them, would seem an important method for developing interventions for particular communities.

1.5 WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR SOCIAL COHESION?

The Royal Commission suggests that social cohesion is everyone's responsibility.¹³ Our research has identified that tangata whenua, local neighbourhoods, developers, workplaces, schools and government agencies all have particular roles in supporting new migrants, English language learners, and people from different age groups and ethnicities in particular. However, more can be done on every axis of engagement to enhance everyone's experience of living in a safe 'socially cohesive' Aotearoa. In this scenario, 'difference' is not a basis for discrimination or marginalisation. And the 'benefits' of diversity are seen not as an economic advantage to firms, but as being experienced positively by all.

1.5.1 Consider the host

The use of diversity discourse has obscured the processes of colonisation and marginalised the role of Māori as tangata whenua and Indigenous hosts in Aotearoa New Zealand. Drawing on Māori concepts such as manaakitanga and whakawhanaungatanga suggests a more humane framing for immigration than the current 'economic objects' view that underpins diversity as an economic asset and immigrants as units of work.

Encouraging a culture of hospitality, respect and proactive relationship building among different communities places more recent migrants on a more equal footing with Pākehā (established White settler migrants) and reasserts the rights of Māori as tangata whenua.

1.5.2 The lived experience in neighbourhoods

Expectations about levels of connection with neighbours shape satisfaction with the lived experience in neighbourhoods

Research showed different preferences for levels of connection within neighbourhoods that appeared to be related to age and class more than ethnicity.

Consider spaces for interaction between diverse inhabitants in neighbourhoods

Local institutions like libraries are critical sites for mingling with diverse others within communities. Local celebrations of diversity also help to build positive awareness of and comfort with difference. Safe, walkable spaces to mingle within neighbourhoods, including front yards with visibility to neighbours, also provide sites for low-pressure relationship building.

Impacts on older residents

Neighbourhood research found that the question of who needed to change to adapt to migration into an area was significant among older residents. The deeply felt cultural needs of older new migrants is an area that needs further research. The Chinese New Settlers Services Trust (CNSST) exemplifies efforts to provide nuanced elder care for older Chinese settlers.

1.5.3 Responsible urban development

Urban developers and community coordinators could reflect on the spaces and activities that can be used as community touchpoints supporting people through the life course. The implications of changing population dynamics through the gentrification process of housing renewal needs closer consideration.

1.5.4 Encourage inclusion in workplaces

Workplaces are important in providing sites where people meet diverse others. There is ongoing work in the public sector to make workplaces more diverse and inclusive. While representation is increasingly reported on, reports on progress for making workplaces inclusive of diverse workers is still lacking.

1.5.5 Policy responses to international students in high schools

Schools are mostly positive sites for intercultural interaction with peer networks and good relationships with teachers facilitating wellbeing. However, schools could reflect on their practices for identifying new English language learners as needing to be in special classes and consider including multilingual students in mainstream classrooms with exposure to the full curriculum to better support student wellbeing. In addition, schools that do well in developing positive wellbeing for migrants through a range of strategies including inclusive 'school pride' could be identified and their methods emulated more widely.

1.5.6 Institutional leadership in diversity

- Key government agencies, such as NZP, demonstrate promising responses to diversity (increased employment opportunities, staff training in diversity responses, adaptive responses to intercultural requirements in terms of dress code and language use, and positive outreach into communities of difference) but poor communication and limited funding of effort and purpose within an institution can hinder overall progress.
- Non-government agencies (NGOs), such as English Language Partners New Zealand (ELPNZ), demonstrate strong outreach and support to new migrant communities through English language teaching and employment support but multiple

and insecure funding sources, limited government awareness of the potential scope and contribution of such agencies, and a fragmented and incoherent not-for-profit agency landscape make access challenging for potential service users.

- New models of support for new migrants, such as those demonstrated through CNSST's wrap-around, social entrepreneurial approach, need to be more fully explored, evaluated and supported where strengths in a model are identified.

In addition to these six elements highlighted through the research, four further factors (7–10) that have the potential to contribute to positive social cohesion have been identified and require further research and evaluation in the future.

1.5.7 Theory-informed strategies

There are many theories and approaches informing prejudice reduction, racism and intercultural communication. For example, there is little evidence suggesting unconscious bias training is effective; there is some evidence that social modelling may be effective (that is, seeing people making friends across differences or reading stories about this); and there is some evidence that contact theory (being 'in the presence of') may not be enough exposure to difference to challenge preconceptions and prejudice. We suggest that continuing to seek new strategies and providing support for a range of evidence-based approaches (rather than any one one-size-fits-all approach) is desirable.

1.5.8 Encourage a media-led review of diversity messaging

Research found both subtle and unsubtle negative representations of migrants and ethnic communities in the media. Stuff New Zealand has led the way in reviewing their representations of Māori in their recent and historical publications and, from this, derived a set of guidelines for reporting. We suggest a

similar exercise could be undertaken to review the representation of ethnic minorities across all media.

1.5.9 Categorisation issues

At least four issues have emerged that relate to the ways in which categorisations are made in relation to ethnicity and migration.

- 1) *Data sovereignty* is a critical issue, not just for Māori. Māori data sovereignty implies that "Māori data should be subject to Māori governance ... supports tribal sovereignty and the realisation of Māori and Iwi aspirations"¹⁴. The implication is that not all data, including demographic data, are or should be freely available to decision makers working on behalf of the Crown.
- 2) *Ethnicity categorisations* used by Internal Affairs (and therefore also by other government departments) are particularly problematic as they identify only 'new' migrants as having ethnicity. Māori, Pākehā (New Zealand Anglo-European in this instance), and Pacific Island communities are differentiated from 'ethnic communities' seen to comprise those who self-define their ethnicity as Middle Eastern, Latin American, African, Asian and Continental European. This system displaces the potential role and place of tangata whenua as first peoples and hosts, places a burden of self-identification on some but not others, and makes 'exotic' those who are 'other than' the three groupings not identified by 'ethnic' status.
- 3) *Visa status categories are complex*. New migrants who have not been granted citizenship or residence rights are also classified according to visa status in many different ways and the complex classification systems have a direct (and often negative) impact on a migrant's access to services, particularly when they fall outside 'economic' status categories (older, retired family members, for example).

- 4) *Temporary migrant workers*, especially those deemed to be 'low skilled', are a least-protected category in terms of labour laws and remuneration, access to quality housing and general rights, but are regarded as 'essential' categories in economic terms. The inequalities engendered and reinforced within these categories requires urgent attention.

1.5.10 Common interests, rather than identification of difference, may facilitate social cohesion

Research in schools, neighbourhoods and workplaces highlights the potential of diverse people coming together to share common interests. Shared hobbies, clubs, sports and causes provide sites where differences are less important than the common activity people have coalesced around. Common interests can provide low-pressure environments where friendships are formed and people get to know each other through sharing activities and working towards a common goal. Maintaining public spaces that are accessible to all for shared activities (parks, sports fields, community rooms, community gardens, clubrooms, and libraries) is seen as important.

1.6 'DIVERSITY'?

Population diversity has been the central conceptual mooring of the CaDDANZ research programme. As a buzzword that has entered business, policy and academic discourses and is also commonplace in popular parlance, the term may seem self-explanatory. However, it is useful to unpack the ways in which the concept has been understood, operationalised and examined by CaDDANZ researchers over the course of the six-year programme. In particular, we wish to elucidate the debate over diversity as an object of study and knowledge production that has characterised, shaped and ultimately strengthened this research endeavour.

CaDDANZ was originally conceived to answer the overarching research question: How can New Zealand better prepare for, capture and maximise the benefits/dividend of an increasingly diverse population? The rationale for this proposal was a sense that observable rapid demographic change as a consequence of the settlement of migrants from throughout the world, temporary and circular international migration, growing ethnic diversity, population ageing, changing fertility patterns and urban growth would have a significant impact on Aotearoa New Zealand. In this context, CaDDANZ offered an evidence base to contribute to a better understanding of how diversity contributes to higher living standards, more effective policies and decision making to foster cohesive communities and an inclusive nation.

Both the research objectives above and the name *Capturing the Diversity Dividend of Aotearoa New Zealand* indicate that the programme of research tapped into two internationally and locally prevalent interrelated policy concerns. One was a concern about the impact of growing migration-led diversity (especially ethnocultural difference) on social cohesion in host societies; the other was the idea that it was possible to leverage the benefits of diversity, which are generated through the contributions migrants make to local economies. What links these two concerns is the conviction that in order to harness or maximise the benefits of diversity, the risks associated with it must be carefully managed. Even though placing a positive value on diversity and inclusion appears attractive, deconstructing the motivations and implications of such discourses reveals that diversity has been instrumentalised to further the neoliberal project of extracting value, generating economic growth and competitive advantage while, at the same time, diverting attention away from addressing pressing issues of systemic oppression.

Over time, we critically interrogated the

research programme's complicity in feeding into and reproducing problematic narratives. Rather than studying how Aotearoa New Zealand can maximise the benefits of diversity, we emphasised the need to examine the social organisation of difference and processes of stratification which can be defined as "historically produced arrangements of social hierarchy, differential power, cultural distinction, economic wealth, poverty and other material outcomes" (Vertovec, 2021, p. 4). Rearticulating these aims was given urgency in several ways: even though the CaDDANZ research proposal stated that a significant component of the research is concerned with the implications of diversity for Māori and with how Māori engage with diversity, team discussions with Māori colleagues highlighted that mana whenua and aspirations for tino rangatiratanga were sidelined in discourses of diversity and cohesion/inclusion at large and therefore also in a research programme entwined with these narratives. Secondly, international and domestic events such as Brexit, the Trump presidency, the Black Lives Matter movement, the white supremacist attack on Aotearoa New Zealand's Muslim community and the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic threw the need for critical and transformative research into stark relief.

As this Key Insights document and other outputs show, CaDDANZ research has made a critical contribution towards analysing the reproduction of structural inequities and the role diversity has played in such processes. Ara Tahu Kukutai and Arama Rata for instance, have drawn attention to the unhelpful separation of questions of immigration and settler colonialism which has resulted in sidelining tangata whenua in decisions about immigration policy settings.¹⁵ Rata has offered suggestions as to how concepts of rangatiratanga, manaakitanga and whanaungatanga can be used to reframe the diversity debate and how tikanga Māori could serve as a basis for engaging tauwi and the way newcomers are welcomed into the country.¹⁶ Francis Collins's work has illuminated

the ways in which an adherence to diversity dividend thinking has structured New Zealand's migration regime, effectively leading to state-led stratification through immigration policy settings that target 'valuable' highly skilled and entrepreneurial migrants, promote high levels of temporary migration and few opportunities for long-term settlement, and create precarity and exploitative labour relations.¹⁷ Jessica Terruhn's research on neighbourhoods as sites characterised by demographic diversity and inequities revealed that urban regeneration projects rely on diversity dividend rhetoric in order to justify state-led gentrification under the guise of mixed housing.¹⁸ She concludes that the diversity rhetoric benefits those already privileged while risking the direct or indirect displacement of existing low-income and disproportionately Māori and Pasifika residents.

To conclude, the following quote from Collins (2019)¹⁹, published in a special issue of the *New Zealand Population Review* titled *Capturing the Diversity Dividend? Diversity Matters in Aotearoa/New Zealand* encapsulates the evolution of CaDDANZ:

Does our knowledge only replicate or validate government and corporate claims that the focus needs to be on 'high priority' migrants, that the value of migration should be determined by 'success' in economic outcomes, or that migrants should be treated differently depending on who they are? Or does the knowledge generated in our research serve as a platform for critical conversations about the broader values of migration and diversity in Aotearoa, about the rights of people beyond economic productivity, and the significance of thinking about population futures in a context of ongoing settler colonialism and migration-led diversification?

2. Immigration and Diversity – Understanding Population Trends

This section overviews our work on population trends and measurement, including trials of a range of new methods and approaches for understanding population diversity. Diversity of age, ethnicity and location were the particular focus areas for this research. Population estimates provided here are pre-COVID-19.

2.1 SUMMARY OF KEY RESEARCH FINDINGS²⁰

- As te Tiriti partners, and as a growing and relatively youthful population population, Māori will continue to play a critical role in Aotearoa's future.
- Understanding population trends is critical for decision makers and planners. The *New Zealand Atlas of Population Change* provides local decision makers with a visual tool and evidence base for investment decisions for their communities.²¹
- Natural increase (births minus deaths), internal migration and international migration are all important drivers of population change and diversity and differ markedly by area.
- Population diversity by area and ethnic group contains as many opportunities as challenges and these need to be proactively engaged with by both policy-makers and community groups. Younger Māori and Pasifika will increasingly replenish the ageing working age population.
- Patterns of internal migration are highly age-specific, with older and younger members of the population moving for different reasons. Lifestyle factors play a part in the decision to move for some, alongside the better understood motivations of education and employment opportunities.
- Pre-COVID estimates show that in the medium term (2038–2043), many areas in Aotearoa New Zealand could switch from having growing populations to populations that are stagnating or even in decline. By the mid-21st century, only areas around Queenstown, Canterbury, North Taranaki and parts of Auckland and Northland are expected to have growing populations supported both by natural increase and in-migration. A few areas will be relying on in-migration for growth (parts of Wellington, Kapiti, Central Otago and Bay of Plenty), and fewer still will be relying on natural increases outweighing people moving away to continue growing. Currently, population growth is 'rewarded' while decline is seen as 'bad'. Policy needs to reflect the impact of population ageing on the potential for growth
- Overall, in the medium term, pre-COVID modelling showed Aotearoa New Zealand would become more ethnically diverse – with the growth of diversity in the currently less-diverse regions outstripping growth rates in the main centres. However,

Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch are expected to remain the most ethnically diverse places in the country and diversity there will continue to increase.

- Within Auckland's diverse suburbs, people of similar ethnic groups tend to concentrate together. This tendency is less pronounced for people with similar economic backgrounds.
- Workplaces remain a critical site for encountering people from different ethnic groups.

2.2 POLICY QUESTIONS THESE FINDINGS AND TOOLS MAY INFORM

- How is ethnocultural diversity economically and spatially organised in an area? How is this likely to change over time?
- How does anticipated population change potentially create patterns of economic wealth and hardship for different groups in different areas?
- Given what we know about the drivers of population change, what are the objectives regarding future population growth and the strategies available to decision makers?
- How are responses to the question of ethnic identification (e.g. in the New Zealand Census) informed by different world views and histories of diverse populations within local geographies?

2.2.1 *The limits and potential of diversity categories*

Drawing on the work of Patrick Broman and Tahu Kukutai²²

Both politics and processes can play a role in influencing how people report their ethnicities.

Census data are important for planning and resource allocation for diverse populations as well as for understanding identity. The ethnicity questions (among others) in the census are a site for identity negotiation as people can shape their affiliations in response to shifting political landscapes as well as institutional processes. For example, the recorded growth in Indigenous populations (including in Aotearoa New Zealand) has been linked to de-stigmatisation and a greater willingness to record Indigenous heritage. Methodologically, changes to the New Zealand Census question on ethnicity in 1996 encouraged reporting of multiple ethnicities, with subsequent censuses showing many people returning to pre-1996 responses when the question was changed back again.

European identification in the Aotearoa New Zealand Census shows stability over time when compared with other groups

Identity of the dominant group is particularly pertinent given growing ethnic diversity and the questioning of the privileges enjoyed by New Zealand Europeans which are a legacy of our colonial history. Scholarship examining what it means to be a person of European descent in Aotearoa New Zealand only began in earnest in the 1970s.

Broman and Kukutai examined identification with the New Zealand European ethnic category across five census periods between 1991 and 2013. Overall, compared with other groups, people identifying as New Zealand Europeans showed little fluidity in their ethnic identification between 1991 and 2013. More than 90 per cent of people consistently identified as New Zealand European across the study period, except during the period between 2001 and 2006. In 2006, this proportion dropped as large numbers of Europeans changed their responses to 'New Zealander', either alone or in combination. This change seemed to be driven in part by an

email campaign encouraging people to claim 'New Zealander' as an ethnic identity.

What could explain this stability in ethnic identification of New Zealand Europeans? Being a demographic majority means there is more choice for partnering within the group, rather than inter-ethnic partnering with its potential effect on identity. The category New Zealand European also captures a group with a wide range of origins. The common cultural characteristic of this group is arguably a shared position of colonial privilege. Notably, the claim to 'New Zealander' in the 2006 Census was most often made by New Zealand Europeans, which some have argued implicates the dynamics of settler/immigrant colonialism in national identity. In other words, the core identity of New Zealander was claimed by the dominant settler/immigrant population.

Recent global phenomena such as Black Lives Matter and more locally the massacre at the Christchurch mosques in 2019 further highlight the need to address inequalities linked to identity and privilege. The stability in the numbers of people self-identifying as 'New Zealand European' raises questions about how individuals resist or adapt to challenges they face to their dominant ethnic position from various quarters.²³

Are today's standard categorisations meaningful and therefore appropriate for our times? And, if not, how might we go about finding categorisations that will better serve us collectively and into the future?

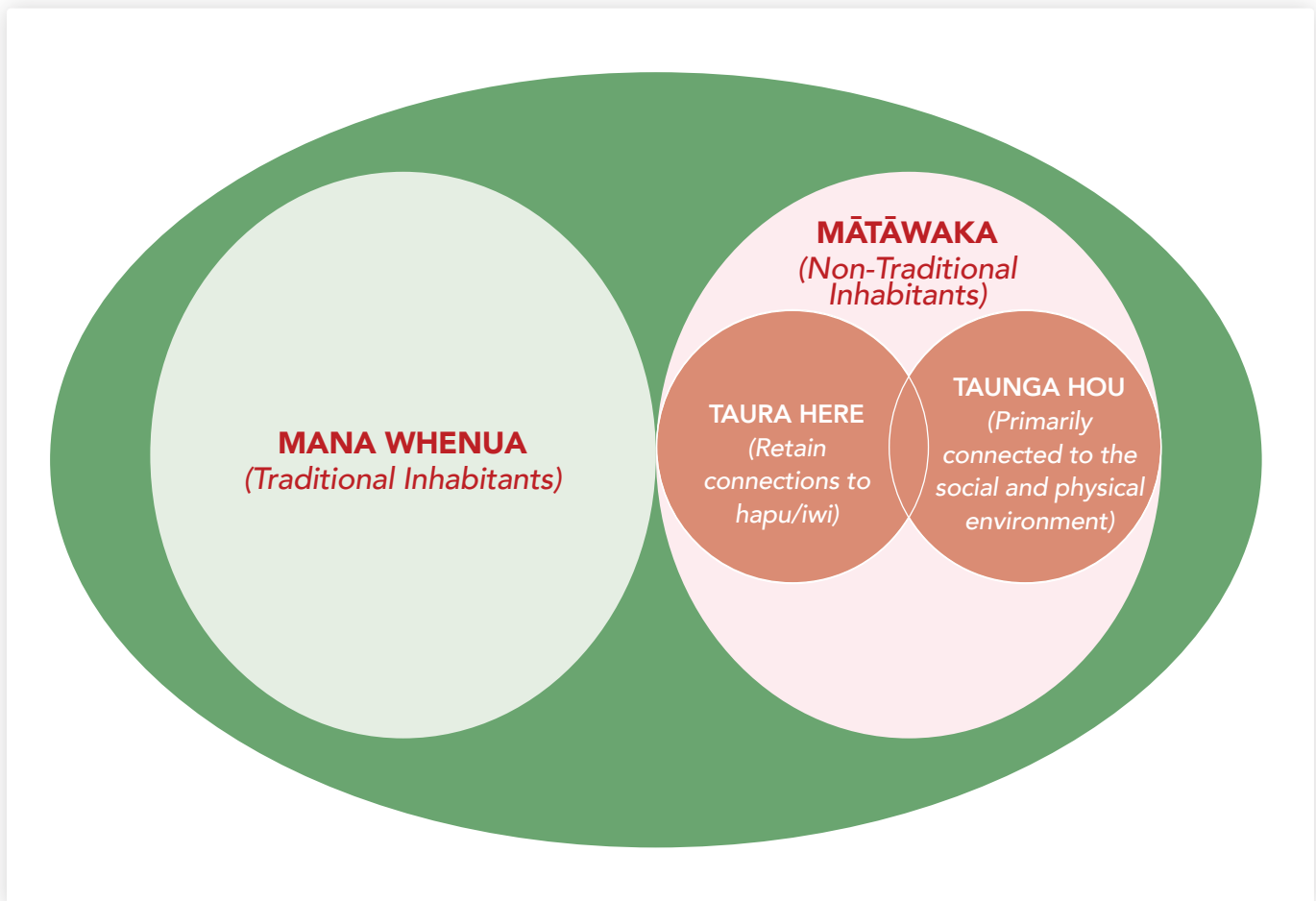


Figure 1: Heterogeneity of Māori in the regions

2.2.2 Māori heterogeneity varies across locations

Drawing on the work of John Ryks²⁴

Within policy and planning, Māori tend to be treated as a homogenous group.

Mana whenua (those with customary rights in an area) are often the only group formally engaged by government. However, given longstanding patterns of internal migration, many differently affiliated Māori may live and work in rohe other than their own and are excluded from decision making.

Ryks explored the diversity of mana whenua (traditional inhabitants of an area) and mātāwaka (non-traditional inhabitants). Non-traditional inhabitants were split into two further groups: *taura here* with iwi affiliations elsewhere and *taunga hou* (with no stated iwi affiliation but primarily connected with the social and physical environment).

Focused mainly in the Waikato, 108 census area units were examined. The study explored concentrations of each of the Māori groups and the social capital of these groups measured by two questions about unpaid work outside the home.

Across locations, the proportions of Māori who identified as mana whenua, *taura here* and *taunga hou* varied a great deal. For example, in Te Kuiti, 69 per cent of Māori were mana whenua while, conversely, in Te Puke 76 per cent of Māori were *taura here*. The spatial analysis showed higher mana whenua counts in areas that were in close proximity to marae and Māori land. Mana whenua reported significantly higher rates of social capital than other groups. High *taura here* counts appear to be related to factors such as industry and employment.

The research shows the diversity of the spatial distribution of the Māori population and raises the issues of representation and interests where policy making is place-based.

Some Māori agencies have representation from both mana whenua and mātāwaka (as does the Independent Māori Statutory Board in Auckland). However, where this is not the case, decision makers should be alert to the potential different interests of Māori groups within regions for policy making, while recognising mana whenua of the area.

2.2.3 Natural increase, internal migration and international migration all drive population change and diversity

Population decline is projected to become much more common in the future

Drawing on the work by Natalie Jackson and Lars Brabyn²⁵

Different policies are required to meet current and future population challenges depending on whether communities are in growth or decline

Understanding population trends and their drivers at a local level is critical for decision makers. Housing shortages, empty shops and economic hardship are some of the results of unmitigated changes to local populations. Where changes can be anticipated, the positive effects can be planned for.

Natural increase (births minus deaths), internal migration and international migration are all important drivers of population change and diversity, and differ markedly by area.

The online *New Zealand Atlas of Population Change* (<http://socialatlas.waikato.ac.nz/>) was developed with the support of CaDDANZ to visually communicate changes for subnational populations (e.g. urban areas, rural areas and territorial authorities).

The *Atlas* shows the interaction and population diversity resulting from the three main components of population change: migration, natural change (births minus deaths), and population ageing. It is accompanied

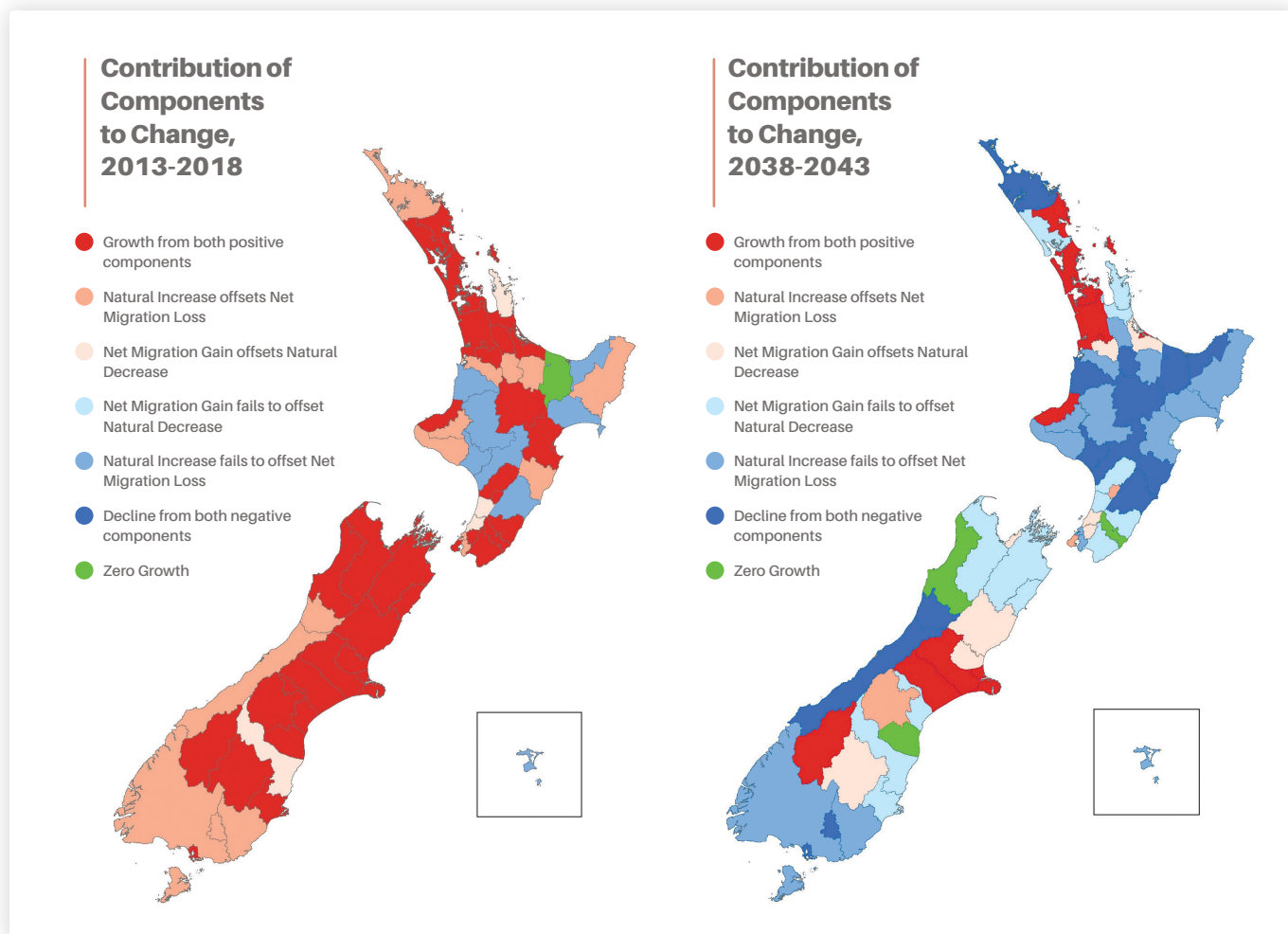


Figure 2: Drivers of Aotearoa New Zealand population: 2013–2018 and 2038–2043 (projected)

by supporting research, which extends its usefulness over other tools that deal only with mapping raw data.

As an example, Figure 2 shows growth (red) and decline (blue) scenarios for 67 territorial authorities over two periods: 2013–2018 (actual) and 2038–2043 (projected). Declining population projections will become much more common in the future where more areas will experience natural decrease and/or net outflows of people. By the mid-21st century, only areas around Queenstown, Canterbury, North Taranaki and parts of Auckland and Northland will still have growing populations supported both by natural increase and in-migration (national and international). A few areas will be relying on in-migration for growth (parts of Wellington, Kapiti, Central Otago and Bay of Plenty), and fewer still will be relying on

natural increases outweighing people moving away to continue growing.

In the last couple of decades, the rate of natural increase (births minus deaths) has been fairly even across areas. Net migration has been a significant component of the spatial variation in population change. These patterns are age- and location-specific.

2.2.4 Internal migration is an explanatory variable for population change in Aotearoa New Zealand

Drawing on the work of Lars Brabyn and Natalie Jackson²⁶

People move within Aotearoa New Zealand for many reasons. As shown in Figures 3 and 4, movement patterns are age-specific. Modelling that explains about 50 per cent of the variation

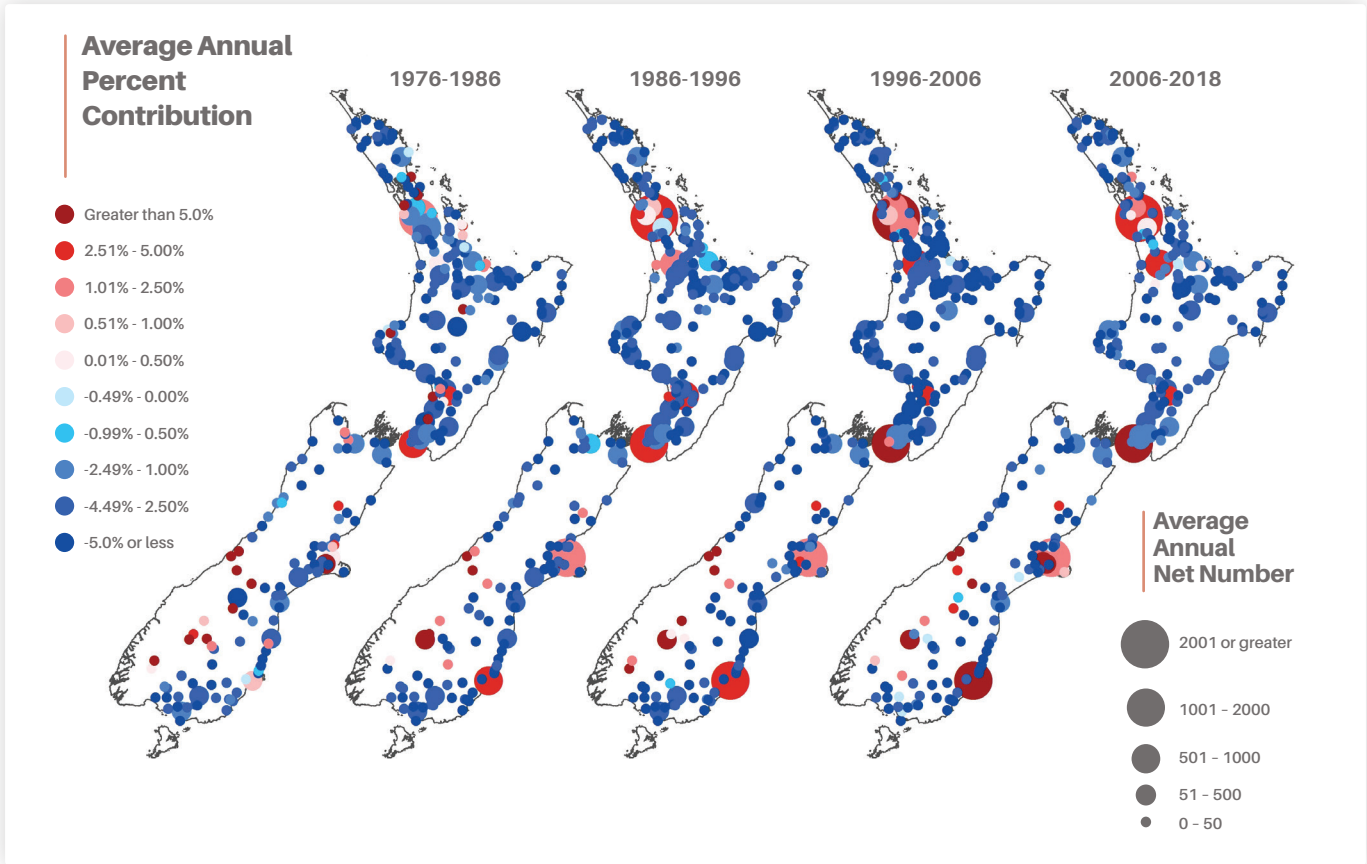


Figure 3: Movements of 15–24-year-olds by decade

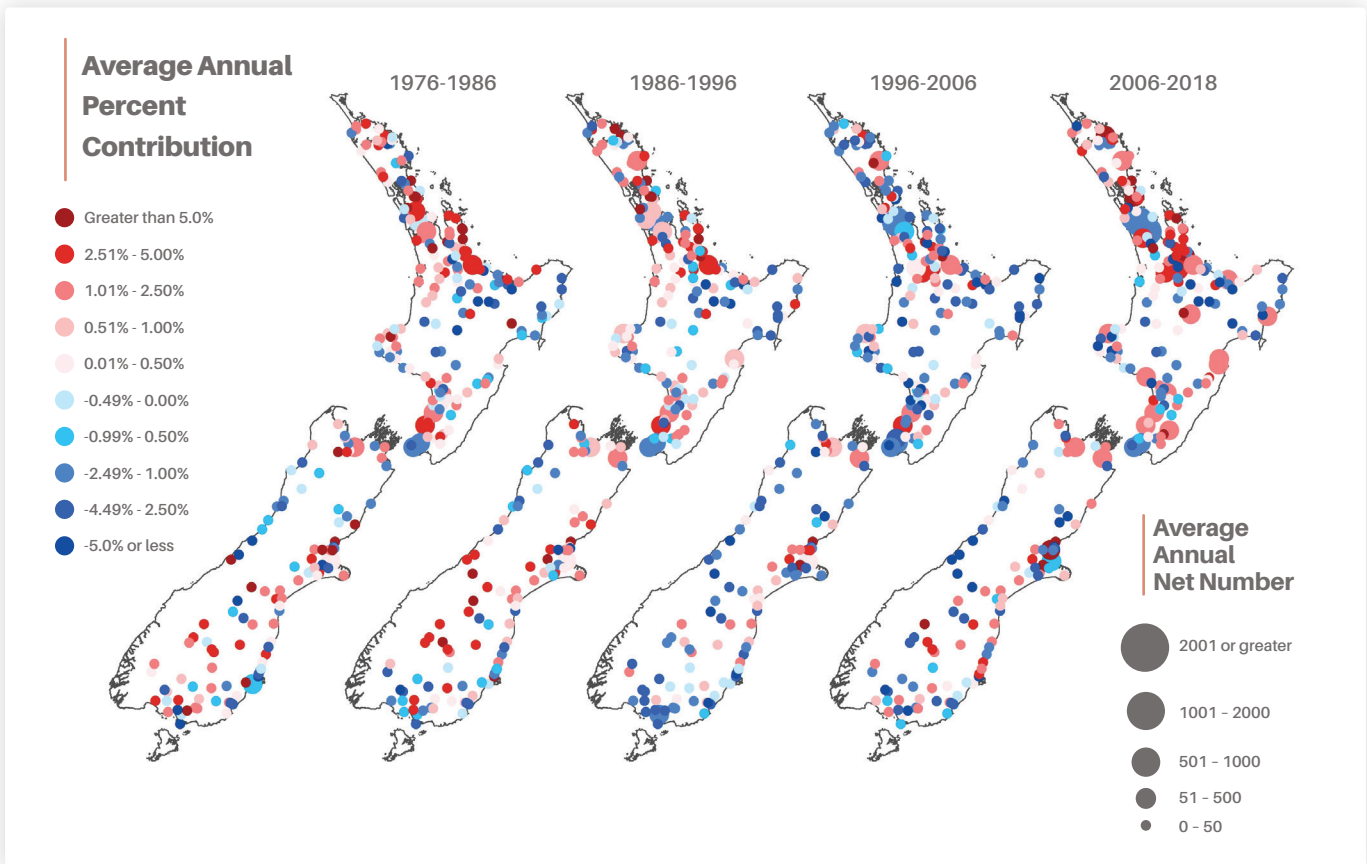


Figure 4: Movements of retirement-age people (65+) by decade

in the reasons people move suggests younger people (15–24 years) seek out education and employment opportunities in cities. People preparing to exit the labour market (55–64 years) are attracted to places with natural lifestyle features (water views, mountains, warm temperatures). Retirees (65+ years) tend to move away from small farming towns to slightly larger towns with access to international airports and warmer temperatures. Proximity to health services is also a factor for this group.

Taking account of the motivations to move for different age groups can help to shape policy responses to local population changes.

Policy and planning implications for areas that are growing are quite different to areas facing decline. Understanding the drivers of population growth and decline – natural increase or decrease, structural ageing and migration – could and should lead to different responses. See, for example, McMillan (2015)

and Wood (2017) for a review of strategies for managing decline.²⁷

Importantly, declining populations will still contain substantially growing older populations. This raises the question of what this could mean for immigration policy, as part of managing and mitigating the implications of population growth and decline

2.2.5 Aotearoa New Zealand is becoming more ethnically diverse and this is set to continue

Drawing on the work of Michael Cameron and Jacques Poot²⁸

While projections show population decline in many regions in the future for Aotearoa New Zealand, ethnic diversity has been increasing, and will continue to increase until at least 2038. Cameron and Poot examined national diversity from 1945 and regional diversity from 1996

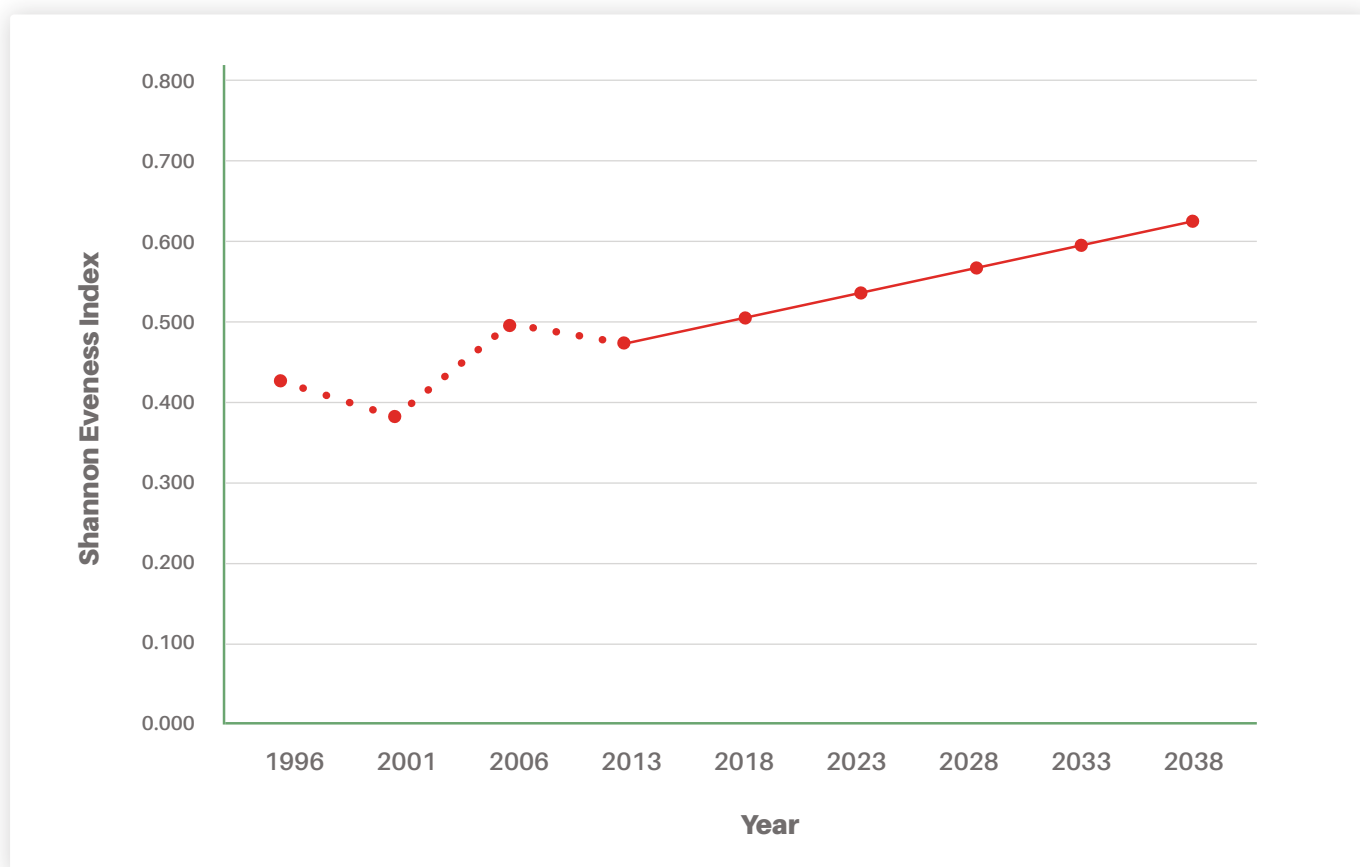


Figure 5: Ethnic diversity in Aotearoa New Zealand over time – Shannon-Evenness Index

until 2038.²⁹ In a further development, ethnic subpopulations were estimated for 37 groups until 2038 (Census Level 3 ethnicity codes). Previous estimates have generally estimated statistics only for Level 1 groups – European, Māori, Pacific, Asian, MELAA (Middle Eastern, Latin American and African) and Other. The refined estimates take into account age and gender distributions within ethnic groups using sex-specific cohort-change ratios between censuses (after Hamilton and Perry, 1962).³⁰

Using this data, summary diversity indicators were calculated using two methods: the Shannon-Evenness Index and the fractionalisation index. Both give a single figure indicating how diverse an area is. The fractionalisation index estimates the chances of meeting someone from a different ethnic group in your area; the Shannon-Evenness Index takes account of the number of groups in a population and the number of individuals in each group.

Both indicate that ethnic diversity in Aotearoa New Zealand will continue to grow into the future. Figure 5 shows projections of ethnic diversity based on the Shannon-Evenness Index out to 2038.³¹

2.2.6 Ethnic diversity differs between and across regions

Drawing on the work of Michael Cameron and

Jacques Poot, Natalie Jackson and Lars Brabyn

Based on their diversity indices now and in the future, Aotearoa New Zealand regions can be grouped into high, medium and low levels of ethnic diversity. Figure 6 shows regional groups in 2013 according to the Shannon-Evenness Index.

2.2.7 Ethnic diversity in the regions is growing faster than in the cities - but cities will remain the most diverse places

When looking at future trends in ethnic diversity, the regions don't change between high, medium and low categories. However, the regions that had relatively low diversity in 2013 are the regions that are projected to increase in diversity faster in relative terms (until 2038).

Within the medium-diversity category, we can expect greater growth in ethnic diversity in three regions: Manawatu-Whanganui, Canterbury and Otago (shown in orange in Figure 6). However, the level of diversity in the least diverse regions is unlikely to catch up to the level of diversity in the most diverse places.

2.2.8 Ethnicity is a greater source of diversity than economic variables in Auckland³²

The gap between the 'haves' and 'have nots' can be amplified if people live in neighbourhoods where a number of

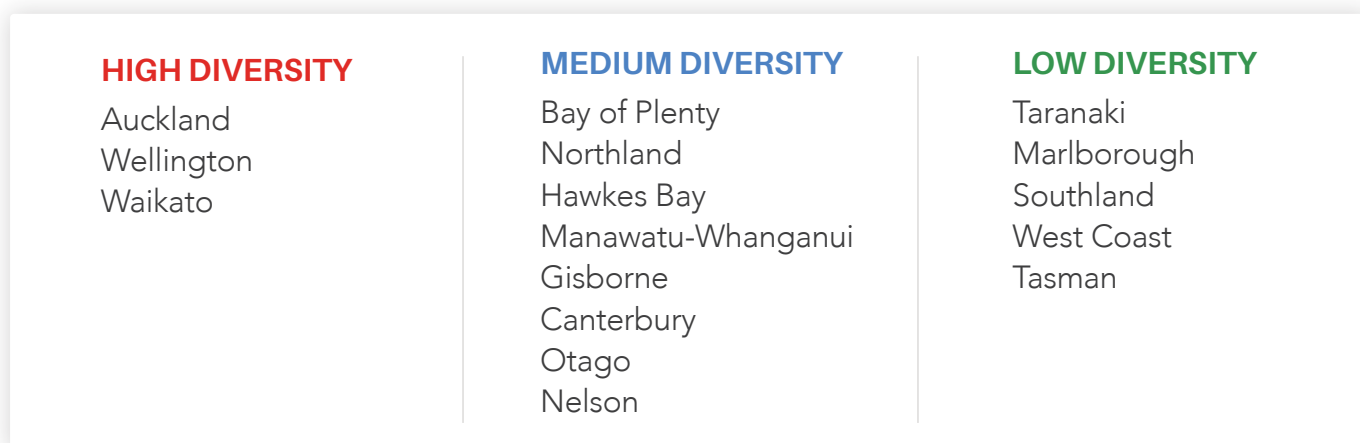


Figure 6: Regional diversity in 2013

inequalities concentrate. For example, a lack of secure and well-paid employment leads to low income, which in turn leads to people living in low-quality housing. Living in low-quality housing has negative impacts on health. Low income can also create barriers to access to good education, which in turn leads to low future employment opportunities for children, which reinforces income inequality across generations.

Mondal, Cameron, and Poot (2021) looked at whether people from different ethnic groups or with different economic characteristics tended to live in the same areas or whether they were spread across Auckland.³³ Within demography, this feature of spatial location is called 'sorting'. Groups of people are sorted when they tend to live together with similar others and away from groups who are different to themselves. This study examined census area units in Auckland around the size of a suburb (1500 people on average), between 1991 and 2013. Economic characteristics were examined using a number of variables (age, income, occupation and qualification) and combined into a single indicator. For ethnicity, Stats NZ Level 2 statistics were used. Using finer-grained ethnicity categories is an innovation for this kind of analysis.

Between 1991 and 2013, areas were more likely to be sorted by ethnicity than economic characteristics. Cultural and economic variables, however, are linked to some extent in areas with more ethnically diverse areas also more likely to be economically diverse. Even so, at the area unit level, there is considerable spatial difference in ethnic diversity but not so much in terms of economic characteristics. Figure 7 shows a choropleth map of the diversity scores

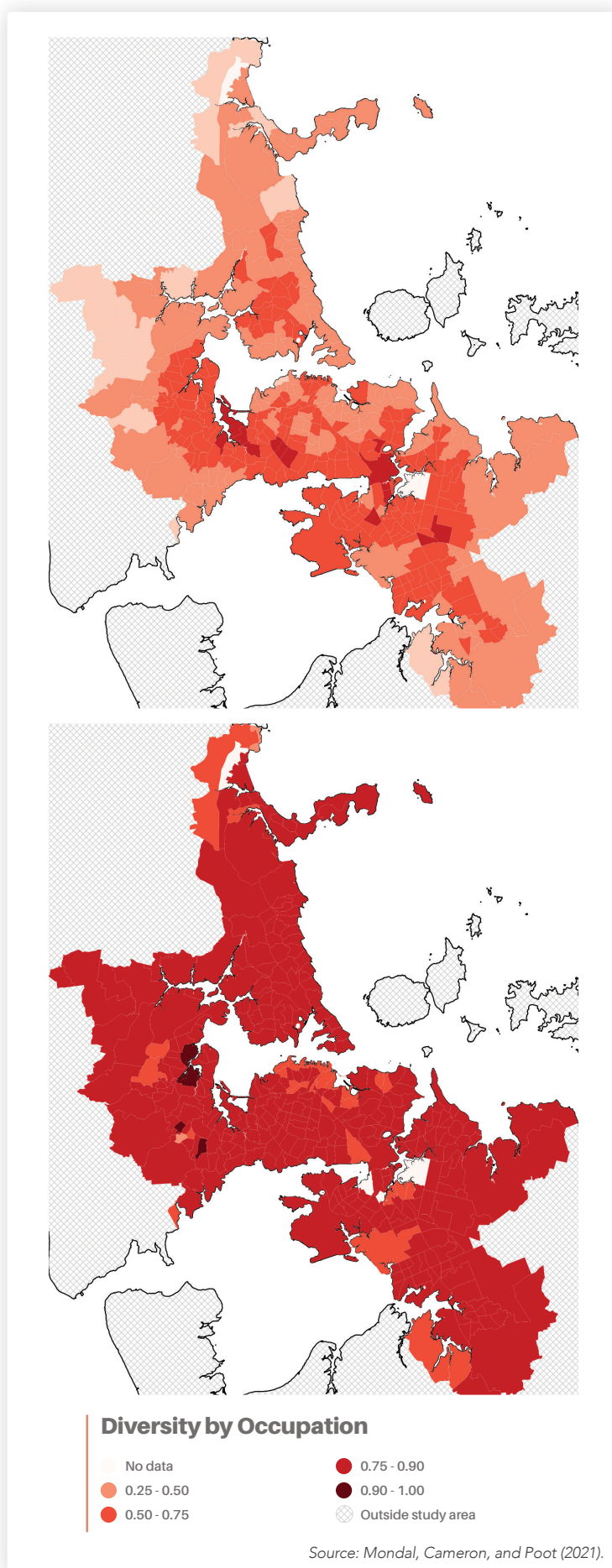


Figure 7: Ethnic and occupation diversity in Auckland

Ethnicity	Share of Ethnicity Responses 2013 (%)	Sorting Trends 1991-2013	Sorting Score 2013
Tokelauan	0.07		0.261
African	0.15		0.203
Tongan	2.35		0.202
Samoan	5.39		0.199
Latin American/Hispanic	0.09		0.198
Cook Island Maori	2.16		0.189
Niuean	1.08		0.159
Indian	5.41		0.136
Middle Eastern	0.60		0.131
New Zealand European	56.80		0.128
Chinese	6.27		0.124
Fijian	0.35		0.115
Other Asian	1.96		0.096
Southeast Asian	1.73		0.081
New Zealand Maori	8.43		0.061
Others	1.20		0.0031
Other European	5.78		0.026
Other Pacific Island	0.19		0.001

Table 1: Ethnic sorting from most- to least-sorted groups, 2013

of area units in Auckland for ethnicity and occupation in 2013 (entropy diversity index).³⁴ Lower values represent lower levels of diversity and are signalled by lighter colours on the map. The maps show the central urban area exhibits much greater ethnic diversity than the rural fringes. Occupation diversity is high in all areas.

Table 1 shows ethnic groups from the most to

the least sorted in 2013. The table also shows the trend in sorting between 1991 and 2013.³⁵ Higher scores mean higher sorting.

The most residentially sorted groups in 2013 were the African, Hispanic, Samoan, Tongan and Tokelauan ethnic groups. There was also growing residential sorting of the populations of Chinese to 2006 and Indian ethnicity to 2013.

Indian and Chinese people increasingly live with their co-ethnics. In Auckland, some groups of Chinese people were clustered in the wealthier suburbs of Remuera and Epsom, but most were concentrated in middle-priced suburbs (e.g. Mount Roskill and Mount Albert). The Indian population also had major concentrations in these areas. Explanations for concentrations of these groups, including Chinese and Indian, include proximity to tertiary institutions (high numbers of students) and groups seeking the advantages of co-locating, such as access to ethnic goods and services, and employment opportunities in ethnic businesses.³⁶

The least residentially sorted ethnic groups were consistently New Zealand European, Other European and New Zealand Māori. This implies that the shares of these three groups in each area do not vary much across area units.

Residential sorting by economic variables was strongest among the elderly, more educated, high-income people, and people in some specific jobs. This finding is consistent with earlier studies. However, as noted, economic sorting was much weaker than for ethnicity.

Why did this study show stronger evidence for residential sorting by ethnicity compared with economic characteristics? Sorting patterns differ according to how groups and areas are defined. Part of the reason for the findings is likely to be the chosen level of geographical aggregation. If smaller geographical units had been used, closer to neighbourhood level, then there may have been more residential sorting by these other characteristics. However, small cell sizes would become problematic when conducting this analysis across many groups and many small geographical areas.

People living in areas with more people like themselves (or co-ethnics) still meet diverse others at home and at work³⁷

The benefits of diversity can only be realised when people come into contact with each other. Maré and Poot (2019) looked at the distribution of diversity in Auckland, examining the chances of Auckland workers coming into contact with someone ethnically different to themselves in the areas where they worked and lived. The study comprised 473,559 employed Aucklanders across 359 census area units. Cultural diversity was based on country of birth



Figure 8: Difference versus diversity

(38 groups), with ethnicity breakdowns for the New Zealand-born (12 groups). Examining exposure to diversity at work (not just at home) as well as accounting for place of birth and ethnicity are innovations in this field of study.

Analyses distinguished between 'difference' and 'diversity' (see Figure 8). *Difference* is the chance of a person coming across someone from a different group to their own. The red actor in panel 1 has a high chance of coming into contact with a different actor – but the variety of actors is low (low diversity). *Diversity* is about the chances of coming across a mix of different people (panel 2). The red actor in panel 2 has a high chance of coming into contact with a mix of different actors (high difference and high diversity).

New Zealand-born Europeans are less likely to encounter 'difference' than other groups

The chances of walking out your front door and encountering someone from your own cultural group was higher than would be expected compared with what might be expected based on population statistics. There was a tendency for people from similar groups to cluster together a little. For example, South Africans have a 10.4 per cent chance of encountering other South Africans in their local area, though they make up only 3.1 per cent of the Auckland population. The same trend holds for workplaces.

However, the chances of meeting someone different were still high. Every group, except New Zealand-born Europeans, had at least an 89 per cent chance of encountering someone different to themselves where they live and more than a 92 per cent chance where they work. Exposure to difference was lowest for the New Zealand-born group as a whole. New Zealand-born people of European ethnicity, who account for 35 per cent of the usually resident adults in Auckland, had only a 58 per cent chance of meeting someone from a different ethnic group where they live.

Workplaces elevate exposure to diversity for New Zealand-born Europeans

Local diversity meant that the chances of meeting a variety of people when stepping out the door were still quite high. Average residential diversity varied greatly, from 67.5 per cent for people in the least diverse neighbourhoods to 90.6 per cent for people in the most diverse neighbourhoods.

Most people had at least a 77 per cent chance of a random encounter with someone from a variety of groups either where they lived or where they worked. For New Zealand Europeans, and residents born in England, exposure to diversity at workplaces played the strongest role in raising their overall exposure to diversity, despite relatively low exposure to diversity there as well.

2.3.1 Insights about diversity

Internal migration is an important explanatory variable for population change in Aotearoa New Zealand and this is patterned largely by age

Migration is one of the main components of population change, alongside natural changes and structural ageing. Understanding current and future spatial patterns and motivations for internal migration (which tend to be age-related) can help policy makers and planners make the best decisions for infrastructure, investment and services.

Demographic differences between ethnic groups have resulted in markedly different age structures, and these differ further by region. The differences contain challenges (population and workforce ageing) as well as opportunities (population and workforce replenishment)

Cities will remain more diverse than regions even though the gap has been closing

Ethnic diversity is growing across the country - but faster in the regions. However, cities

(Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch) will remain the most diverse areas in the country. Increasing regional diversity should nevertheless be taken into consideration in planning. Services are likely to require tailoring to the needs of different ethnic groups as well as plans for promoting inclusion in the wider population.

In Auckland, there is some residential sorting along ethnic lines

In residential Auckland, some ethnic groups tend to concentrate together in neighbourhoods although overall ethnic diversity within neighbourhoods remains high.

Workplaces are a critical site for mixing with diverse others

Workplaces are a critical site for interacting with diverse others. Implications for social cohesion in neighbourhoods is discussed in the neighbourhood regeneration section of this Insight.

2.3.2 Methodological insights

Framings of identity can change in response to the political landscape and institutional processes

When using existing data for analysis, it is important to be aware of the social and cultural contexts that shape questions and responses to the data. This reflection can lead to a deeper understanding of the limits and potential for

analyses in decision-making processes; for example, examining who asks the questions, who defines the response set, and in the service of what need or goal.

Diversity is dynamic and our ways of understanding it need to change too

Researchers have trialled several methods for summarising the level of cultural diversity in our research. Based on our experience, and with an eye to international research, we suggest fractionalisation is the simplest measure for a single indicator of the level of cultural diversity of an area. Fractionalisation estimates the chances of two random people being from different ethnic groups in a specified area (neighbourhood, region, nation).

2.4 Emerging research questions

- How is residential sorting patterned by a combination of ethnic and economic variables? What about other variables?
- How are local communities meeting the challenge of population change, particularly in areas of projected decline?
- How are local communities and workplaces engaging with the opportunities of population diversity, such as the relative youth of the Māori and Pasifika populations?
- How will measurement of diversity continue to evolve?

3. (Re) conceptualising Ethno-Demographic Diversity in Aotearoa: Tangata Whenua Perspectives



This section overviews the CaDDANZ project's work on alternative ways to frame dominant/common discourses on migration and diversity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Drawing on the work of Tahu Kukutai, Arama Rata and Faisal Al-Asaad³⁸

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The concepts that a government or organisation uses to understand the social organisation of difference have material impacts – they guide decisions at a policy level and, when adopted within communities, help to shape how we understand and relate to people unlike ourselves.³⁹ These concepts emerge in particular historical and cultural contexts. Because they are not set in stone, the processes of analysis and reflection open up alternative, potentially more helpful ways of framing our worlds.⁴⁰

Until very recently, diversity-related research has been informed by Anglocentric approaches. In Aotearoa New Zealand, for example, migration research has tended to treat Māori as being just another minority, rather than as partners to te Tiriti o Waitangi and Indigenous hosts to newcomers. In this section, we reflect on how Māori–migrant relationships might be fruitfully reimagined. First, we apply a Treaty-based approach founded on rangatiratanga and manaakitanga, which gives substance to the fullness of multiculturalism. Secondly, we use the lens of whanaungatanga, an approach

derived from interviews with Māori leaders active in building relationships with migrant communities.

The need to change the way we think about migration and diversity is underpinned by important historical and contextual issues.

3.2 COLONIALISM AND IMMIGRATION: WHY WE NEED TO CHANGE THE WAY WE THINK ABOUT MIGRATION AND DIVERSITY

Te Tiriti o Waitangi can be considered Aotearoa New Zealand's first immigration policy. Te Tiriti allowed foreigners to settle here, while protecting the “just rights and property” of Māori. History shows that the benefits of immigration accrued to the new settlers. Māori, increasingly a demographic minority, were stripped of resources, culture and rights to self-determination. The legacy of the first immigration policy is that today Māori occupy the lower rungs of the economic and social hierarchy.

Māori have also been excluded from policy making and research about immigration. Compared with other policy areas, references to te Tiriti are noticeably absent from legislation such as the Citizenship Act 1977 and Immigration Act 2009. “The treatment of immigration and Māori affairs as entirely separate spheres has effectively (and, we argue, deliberately) erased Māori from national conversations on immigration.”⁴¹

In this context, new migrants are expected to fit into an implicitly Eurocentric regime, providing a dividend of economic productivity and wealth to business-related, regional development, while Māori disproportionately bear the effects of increased pressures on housing, jobs and infrastructure.

3.3 POLICY FRAMINGS OF ‘DIVERSITY’ CONTRIBUTE TO THE MARGINALISATION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, INCLUDING MĀORI, AND OTHER RACIALISED MINORITIES

One of the more recent framings of demographic and social difference rests on the concept of diversity. Diversity was originally offered as a ‘neutral framing’ for differences within the population. But the way this concept has been taken up by the state and others has contributed to the sidelining of Indigenous peoples.

Diversity discourse highlights identities based on ethnicity, gender and sexuality, religion, language and other social differences, while structural problems of colonialism and its ongoing impacts on Māori are moved to the back of the agenda. In this discourse, Māori are just one among many minority groups that need to be considered in policy development and service delivery. Māori and new settlers are implicitly positioned in competition with one

another. Where resources are scarce, diversity discourse encourages minority groups to compete with each other in staking a share in resources administered by the Crown. Where diversity and multiculturalism are treated as the state’s answer to the problem of racial difference, the issue of who is in charge (Pākehā/Crown) remains unaddressed.

This positioning sidesteps a history of colonisation and Crown efforts to undermine Māori sovereignty. Diversity discourse ignores te Tiriti o Waitangi and the ongoing relationship between Māori and the Crown as *partners* in governing Aotearoa New Zealand. Instead, the Crown are the power holders with whom Māori and new settlers must negotiate for recognition and resources.

3.3.1 Separate spheres

Research on Māori and immigration-related diversity has often supported the separate spheres approach to Māori and immigration. Māori have been positioned as anti-immigration or anti-immigrants. Surveys in this area are quite commonly based on small sample sizes, resulting in dubious data quality, but are nevertheless reported on, sometimes in misleading ways. For example, an article stating “Māori dislike Asians more than any other group” in 2014 was based on a survey by the Asia New Zealand Foundation.⁴² The survey asked participants how warmly *New Zealanders* felt towards people from Asia. The higher proportion of Māori saying that *New Zealanders* felt less warm towards people from Asia was interpreted as *Māori* dislike – a misrepresentation of the question.⁴³

Kukutai and Rata’s (2018) research into factors associated with more inclusive imaginings of Aotearoa tell a more complex story. For example, they looked at attitudes towards ethnic diversity and multiculturalism and Māori culture in the General Social Survey of 2016.⁴⁴ The survey asked how important diversity and multiculturalism and Māori culture

were in defining New Zealand. Across the demographic and social-cultural variables they reviewed, the strongest support for diversity and multiculturalism came from people who also supported te reo Māori, had high levels of trust in other New Zealanders, or had a strong sense of belonging to New Zealand. Ethnicity was moderately associated with these responses. For example, Europeans were less likely than other ethnic groups to believe that diversity and multiculturalism are important. By comparison, differences in age and gender were only weakly associated with responses to this question. A similar pattern of findings emerged regarding beliefs about the

importance of Māori culture to defining New Zealand.

In Figure 9, colour gradients show the strength of the association between the selected variables and the importance of ethnic diversity and multiculturalism (top) and Māori culture (bottom) for defining New Zealand. Darker colours indicate a stronger association.

In defining New Zealand, Māori and ethnic minorities placed more importance than the European/Pākehā majority on their own and other cultures. This contrasts with research suggesting Māori are anti-Asian or anti-immigrant. In this analysis, European/Pākehā

Factors associated with the importance of multiculturalism (MC) and ethnic diversity (ED)

Support for te reo Māori	↑	High support for te reo Māori High support for MC and ED
Trust	↑	High trust High support for MC and ED
Sense of belonging to NZ	↑	High belonging High support for MC and ED
Ethnicity		Highest to lowest support: Pacific, Asian, Māori then European
Gender		Female more supportive of MC and ED
Age		Middle of the range more supportive of MC and ED

Factors associated with the importance of Māori culture

Support for te reo Māori	↑	High support for te reo Māori High support for Māori culture
Sense of belonging to NZ	↑	High belonging High support for Māori culture
Trust	↑	High trust High support for Māori culture
Ethnicity		Highest to lowest support: Māori, Pacific, Asian then European
Gender		Female more supportive of Māori culture
Age		Middle of the range more supportive of Māori culture

Figure 9: Factors associated with attitudes to diversity and multiculturalism and Māori culture

were on the less-supportive fringe of diversity attitudes. While 'diversity' research focuses on ethnic minorities, these findings suggest that far greater attention needs to be given to majority white groups and the ways in which their attitudes and actions might contribute to social exclusion.

Given Aotearoa New Zealand's history, the continued sidelining of Māori in immigration decision making and the paucity of quality research about Māori attitudes to diversity acceptance, it is little wonder that there is confusion and suspicion about migration among some Māori communities. The ways diversity research often portrays the relationship between Māori and others does not help to build positive relationships. However, this does not need to be the case. What might a reimaged Aotearoa look like?

3.4 REIMAGINING MĀORI-MIGRANT RELATIONSHIPS: FROM MAINSTREAM TO MANAAKITANGA

Manaakitanga “captures notions of mutual care and respect for people, honouring one another or power sharing, and the protection of our environments. For this reason manaakitanga provides a useful framework when envisaging a tika system for immigration.”⁴⁵

Many examples of manaakitanga already exist with “Māori groups throughout the country often going out of their way to take care of others. We see this when marae routinely open their doors to accommodate people in the face of natural disasters and accommodation shortages”.

Immigration policies based on manaakitanga would respond more fully to the plight of refugees, recognise the ties with Pacific neighbours and extend hospitality to new settlers without requiring them to bend to a Eurocentric ideal. “A system based on

manaakitanga would still address economic imperatives, as the mutual benefits – economic or otherwise – for immigrants and the nation would continue to be a key feature.” However, migrants would be viewed as much more than economic units.

The ability to extend care to others rests on mana. Without resources and authority, it is difficult for Māori to look after their own and care for others. For this reason, manaakitanga can be best realised where mana whenua are recognised as genuine authorities with ongoing rights to sovereignty and important contributors to the contemporary cultural fabric of Aotearoa. Māori inclusion in decisions about immigration is a small step towards self-determination (tino rangatiratanga):

Only when tino rangatiratanga is realised will Māori be in a position to fully express manaakitanga to manuhiri (guests). It is important to note that manaakitanga goes both ways; there are behavioural expectations placed on both tangata whenua and manuhiri. While our history proves that these expectations of care and respect have been grossly violated, there are now processes in place to address breaches of te Tiriti o Waitangi, and tauiwi have an opportunity to reciprocate manaakitanga by supporting Māori in their efforts to gain recognition and redress for Treaty breaches, and to realise tino rangatiratanga.

We note that, short of constitutional transformation, achieving tino rangatiratanga will be difficult. However we strongly endorse the point that “Māori and newer migrants have the opportunity to work together to create constitutional arrangements that are better suited to our diverse citizenry”

3.5 WHANAUNGATANGA AS A BASIS FOR MĀORI-TAUIWI OF COLOUR RELATIONSHIPS

Putting it simply, while Indigenous peoples may have a stake in the diversity game, it is rarely played on their own terms, even when those terms are mobilised around issues of race⁴⁶

The literature on decolonisation suggests that discourse has many negative implications for Māori and for the relationship between Māori and Tauwi of Colour (settlers of colour). Interviews with Māori leaders who have built relationships with Tauwi of Colour suggest a new way of framing Māori and migrant relationships based on the concept of whanaungatanga and processes of relationship building (whakawhanaungatanga).

3.6 WHANAUNGATANGA AND WHAKAWHANAUNGATANGA - ALTERNATIVES TO STATE DIVERSITY DISCOURSE

3.6.1 Whanaungatanga - relationships

In our research, Māori–Tauwi of Colour relationships were described as being consistent with whanaungatanga; that is, good relationships characterised as family-like, based on similar experiences, and bound in conditional solidarity.⁴⁷

Interviewees noted that their relationships with Tauwi of Colour were developed by treating others as family.

"I'm looking at the lady who's about seventy-something years old... How would I like my nanny to be treated if she was in a foreign country?... I find that so easy, because I treat them exactly how I treat my own nanny... that's how simple it is." (Matutaera)⁴⁸

Interviewees also noted that many migrants and refugees knew what it was like to have experienced invasion, and to have been displaced.⁴⁹ Like Māori, Tauwi of Colour might also have experiences of racism in Aotearoa. These shared similar experiences contribute to a sense of solidarity and provide a basis for relationships.

However, recognition of group differences is also important, and interviewees thought that experiences of commonality and difference between people could be issue specific. For example, Māori political projects that relate to gaining independence could be different to the political concerns of Tauwi of Colour, which may include racial equality within existing power structures. In this way, solidarity can be conditional and must be perpetually renegotiated.

3.6.2 Whakawhanaungatanga - building relationships

Our research identified ways of fostering good relationships between Māori and Tauwi of Colour – processes of whakawhanaungatanga (relationship building). These processes were grouped into four themes: positioning, power sharing, dialogue and cultural practice.

Positioning is about knowing yourself first in order to be able to share with and greet others, who in turn come with their own identities and histories. As Māori, sharing one's pepeha locates the speaker to particular lands and people and allows listeners to find points of connection. Pepeha are tribal sayings that reference particular geographic features and ancestors.

Power sharing comprised three sub-themes: manaaki (mutual respect), aroha (compassion, love, charity) and koha (reciprocal support). These themes encompass the idea of respecting others and expecting respect in turn (manaaki), approaching others with an open mind and willingness to share power (aroha),

and understanding that support given now by one group might one day be support received, given changing circumstances (koha).

Dialogue: Creating space for whakawhiti kōrero (dialogue) to occur was identified as a process for fostering good relations between Māori and Tauwi of Colour. Without first talking to generate understanding of an issue from all sides, it is difficult to form a solution.

Cultural practice: Sharing histories and cultural practices – like whakataukī – provides a basis for understanding across cultures – and importantly, help Tauwi of Colour to understand where they fit into Aotearoa.

“It is a fact that we do not have a decolonised education system, and we do live in a world shaped by media that are not about telling our stories. So I think the most powerful thing we can do... is actually talk about our histories... I truly believe that people... in knowing the history of this land, can get a sense of where they belong in it.” (Helen)⁵⁰

We propose whakawhanaungatanga as an alternative to settler colonial narratives of diversity and inclusion, with the potential to generate Māori-Tauwi of Colour solidarities towards transformative change.

3.7 INSIGHTS

Māori and migrants can be pitted against each other in debates about biculturalism versus multiculturalism, which is not helpful

Māori have been left out of policy decisions on immigration, ignoring their place as te Tiriti partners and hosts to newcomers. Diversity-related research has supported the separation of Māori concerns from migrant concerns. This situation is unhelpful and needs to change.

Māori knowledge, concepts and values have the potential to enhance the processes and outcomes of settlement.

The concepts of rangatiratanga, manaakitanga and whanaungatanga can be used to reframe the diversity debate and the way newcomers are welcomed into the country. These concepts see newcomers as more than economic units and Māori as partners with the Crown in making decisions about the future diversity of Aotearoa New Zealand. Māori already play a role in supporting diverse communities in many areas.

Māori rights and interests in immigration policy need to be recognised

Māori rights to tino rangatiratanga are guaranteed in te Tiriti o Waitangi and supported by the UNDRIP. To date immigration-related policy and practice in relation to Māori as 'hosts' has been symbolic (e.g., inclusion in citizenship ceremonies) rather than substantial. This needs to change. Without the influence of Māori values such as manaakitanga, the environment into which people enter will remain wedded to the priorities of the government of the day; i.e. newcomers will continue to be viewed only in terms of their economic contributions.

Creating a positive environment for diversity can look to people's experiences of belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand and trust in others

Support for diversity is patterned by many variables other than ethnicity, like a sense of belonging and trust and knowing your history and place in the world. Understanding the conditions of acceptance of diversity opens new pathways for social action. This research suggests a reciprocal relationship between aspects of social cohesion – like a sense of belonging – and acceptance of diversity within the community.

3.8 EMERGING RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- How are attitudes to diversity patterned by social-cultural and demographic variables?
- What factors contribute to Māori understandings of diversity/difference/migration? How are these in turn patterned by histories, experiences and locations?
- How has colonialism and displacement influenced Māori attitudes about migration and migrants?
- What are Māori aspirations to manaaki?
- What sorts of relationships do Māori want with migrants?
- Does it matter which migrants?
- How can shared benefits be created at the Māori–migrant interface?

4. Diversity in Context – In Different Settings and Over Time

4.1 INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES

Across the research, various insights relating to individual and family level emerged but were not definitive. The elements of interest are highlighted briefly below. All require further research.

4.1.1 Settlement journeys

Aotearoa New Zealand is a desirable settlement destination, perhaps more so now than ever

However, making 'home' in a new country is more complex than policy allows or considers. Considerably more work needs to be done to more fully understand and appreciate the stressors at the family and individual level. Aspects such as family unification, the vital role of grandparents in sustaining family life, and the capacity of family to ensure cultural groundedness are all under-researched.

4.1.2 Neighbouring

Ethnically diverse neighbourhoods welcome diversity and newcomers, easing the settlement journey. The welcome given to new migrants in areas of existing diversity often reinforce co-ethnic settlement. For neighbouring to work in ethnically homogenous or wealthier suburbs where homes are more closed off from daily interactions, new strategies are needed.

4.1.3 European New Zealander prejudice

Indifference to, or denigration of, new settlers

is more likely to come from 'white' New Zealanders. Motivation for an attitudinal shift is required, which is difficult to mandate but can be encouraged through education and public dialogue.

Workplaces can be enablers of identity development and expression – going beyond settlement and integration – but require employer commitment and sensitivities.

4.1.4 Non-traditional opportunities

Women, for example, can adopt new roles when they come to Aotearoa New Zealand. A woman who would not have been able to join the police force in their home country may be encouraged to do so.

A new migrant businessperson may develop social-mindedness through the experience of voluntary support from others when they arrive and may shift from being focused on business to develop an orientation to community work.

4.1.5 Diversity competence

It is evident that many new migrants carry the particular strengths that international experience brings – they often speak multiple languages, have broad cultural experience, and can operate in institutional settings beyond the stereotypical 'diversity training response'. This was particularly evident of recruits into the Police but further research would likely confirm these values in many professional and vocational settings.

4.1.6 Enterprising pathways

New migrants entering new contexts are often alert to accepting new pathways and entering into new careers. Moreover, such entrepreneurs may set up successful initiatives for other migrants, as is the case with CNSST.

4.1.7 Negative implications of settlement

The potential loss of skills, sense of belonging and dignity for some new settlers could/should be anticipated and better mitigated.

The importance of family to successful settlement and integration is underrated and insufficiently understood in the light of recent immigration policy changes.

4.1.8 Immigration policy

An emphasis on economic development as a driver for settlement policy appears to produce unforeseen and unnoticed (or ignored) negative consequences.

Immigration policy development could benefit from a comprehensive research programme and more participatory input (from Māori, ethnic communities, other government departments and not-for-profit agencies).

4.2 MIGRANT WORKERS

Drawing on the work of Francis Collins⁵¹

Policy settings for temporary migrant workers confer variable and unequal rights on different migrant workers. While some migrants deemed to have the skills in demand, or who possess significant capital for investment, are offered smooth pathways to residence rights and encouraged to support their family to settle with them, other migrants are subject to significant restrictions on their rights in the labour market, access to social resources, and ability to live with their families. These stratifications influence the quality of lives that migrants live and, in turn, shape the

character of neighbourhoods, towns and cities throughout Aotearoa New Zealand, as well as the ability of local government, the settlement sector and other agencies to support the inclusion of diverse populations.

Real problems exist with our national migration regime, which permits and promotes high levels of temporary migration and few opportunities for long-term settlement and inclusion.

It is commonplace to hear that migrant workers do the jobs that 'New Zealanders' don't want. This raises the question of why? Answering this question exposes some of the problems in sectors where migrant workers typically fill the gaps. Temporary migrants are granted fewer rights and access to services in Aotearoa New Zealand than permanent migrants have. Temporary migrant workers who enter the country through the seasonal workers programme, for example, receive low pay, work in areas that are out of the way and/or are unappealing, and often live in conditions, like shared accommodation, that are unappealing to locals.

This raises questions of fairness in relation to those people who are allowed to work here and who benefit the local economy. On the one hand, the government is able to "accumulate significant capital through additional taxes and productivity, while not increasing spending on social welfare, education and health for temporary migrants and international students and their families".⁵² The lack of fair treatment for people the government entices into Aotearoa to benefit the local economy needs to be resolved.

Case studies of Invercargill and Queenstown show how the recent decades of temporary migration have become central to their regional development. This research also demonstrates that the onset of COVID-19 border controls has disrupted this relationship, revealing key challenges associated with temporary

migration, specifically the mismatches between national framing and the management of immigration, and the path dependencies associated with population growth reliant on temporary migration.⁵³

4.2.1 Implications and questions

COVID-19 has highlighted the importance of temporary workers to Aotearoa New Zealand's economy

With immigration 90 per cent below pre-COVID levels, the flow of migrant labour has all but dried up. The media has repeatedly reported labour shortages across a number of sectors, particularly the horticultural sector, as summer harvests have become imminent.

The implications and questions here include:

- Are the sectors that rely on migrants sustainable? Or are they reliant on exploitative conditions that New Zealand citizens and residents would not tolerate and that would see them fold if they paid the true costs of labour?
- Would higher prices for commodities like food in turn widen inequalities in food security and access to other goods (like houses)?]

4.3 NEIGHBOURHOODS AND URBAN COMMUNITIES

Drawing on the work of Trudie Cain, Guanyu Ran, Jessica Terruhn, Janine Irvine and Junjia Ye

Support for diversity is patterned by many variables other than ethnicity, such as a sense of belonging and trust and knowing your history and place in the world. Creating a positive environment for diversity can look to people's experiences of belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand and trust in others. Understanding the conditions of acceptance of diversity opens

new pathways for social action. This research suggests a reciprocal relationship between aspects of social cohesion – like a sense of belonging – and acceptance of diversity within the community.

A growing body of social science scholarship recognises the importance of 'the local' because this is where diversity is lived and negotiated in everyday interactions.⁵⁴

Two CaDDANZ research projects examined how people negotiated diversity in their neighbourhoods in the Auckland suburbs of Northcote and Avondale. Both Northcote and Avondale have high levels of ethnic diversity driven by successive waves of local and international migration, and relatively low access to economic resources.

However, low socio-economic status was in flux and not uniform. At the time of the research, younger and more affluent couples were attracted to Avondale because of relatively affordable housing and Northcote was undergoing a large-scale housing development programme, which is bound to change the neighbourhood's demographic composition.

The Northcote study focused on the experiences of older residents, 65 years and older, from a range of backgrounds. The Avondale study focused on the practices of negotiating diversity with neighbours.

The findings presented here draw on both studies.

4.3.1 Community sites such as libraries, markets and shopping precincts foster a sense of community for older residents⁵⁵

At the time of research, Northcote was undergoing urban regeneration. For older people living in the area, the proposed movement of facilities like the local library were looked on with dismay. With some of the challenges of older age, such as limited mobility and diminishing peer groups, access

to local amenities and areas for mixing with people became even more important.

Routine interactions, regarded as building blocks of community, took place in fleeting encounters between strangers, in exchanges with local shopkeepers and staff in neighbourhood institutions, and between neighbours. In Northcote, the local library was a standout because it simultaneously offered a place to spend a few hours, for chatting with staff, and for observing and informally mingling with others. Mandarin-speaking residents in particular felt a sense of belonging because Mandarin texts were available as well as a Mandarin-speaking staff member.

Similarly, in Avondale, people saw the local market as a place that drew people together and fostered a sense of community. Speaking of the market, one participant said:

“Cause that’s the bumping space, you know, if you see the same person every week at the market you start to get to know that person, then you cross them in the street. Whole connections get built really slowly without any pressure.”

These sorts of pragmatic encounters within neighbourhoods served to manage the practicalities of co-existence, increase the sense of safety, and build a sense of community.

4.3.2 A reported decline in community was linked to several factors: people’s busy lives, ethno-linguistic diversity and redevelopment

In Northcote, older residents with long histories in the community felt a sense of community decline. They accounted for this through various social changes. One was the change in working lives. Compared with when they were raising their families, people were now working longer hours, everyone in the household

worked and people worked away from the neighbourhood, leaving few opportunities for encounters. Some participants with a migrant background also felt their commitment to childcare and family support roles impeded their ability to join communal activities.

With increasing diversity in these neighbourhoods, the lack of a common language caused some people to feel isolated. Both Pākehā and migrants sometimes had feelings of isolation from others in their communities because it was difficult to move communication beyond a simple greeting. For older residents, this was a noticeable shift from being able to chat to all the neighbours as in days gone by, to talking with only some of their neighbours. For newer migrants, difficulties with communication made it more challenging to connect with others and feel a sense of belonging to the community.

Migrants also felt a keen awareness and, in some cases, a sense of responsibility that the flow of migrants from Asia to Aotearoa New Zealand had resulted in changes to the demographic profile of the area and to the diversity of shops in the local town centre. They carried the weight of this change and were aware of their ‘otherness’ and status as relative newcomers. For some, it was up to them to learn English; for others, this awareness resulted in avoiding intercultural interactions.



In Northcote, the planned housing development and redevelopment of the town centre were expected to negatively affect community dynamics. The sheer number of

new houses planned for the area was expected to disrupt existing community relationships. Concerns here included lower-income families being priced out of the market and the breaking up of existing neighbourhoods with established social relations. Furthermore, with town centre regeneration, participants worried that the existing shopping centre which catered to local diversity and to low-income residents would suffer disruption with local businesses being forced out.

4.3.3 People living in diverse communities developed practices to aid their negotiation of difference⁵⁶

While there are many forms of diversity, people in the Northcote study were most aware of ethnic and linguistic diversity. As noted above, a lack of a common language was sometimes frustrating for both English speakers and speakers of other languages. Some people found it easy to make themselves understood in some contexts; for example, using pictures to decode a menu, using gestures to convey meaning, or using translation apps. But for others, their feelings of discomfort and embarrassment prevented them from even trying.

Culture-based festivals and events promoted feelings of cross-cultural connection and wellbeing. However, specific activities perceived as helping new migrants, such as tai chi or attending the local community centre, were places where English speakers were less inclined to go.



In these ways, activities and institutions were both sites of inclusion and exclusion. Joining in activities facilitated a sense of community among co-ethnics, while simultaneously generating a sense of exclusion for people from different backgrounds.

In Avondale, Terruhn and Ye observed that neighbours relied on adherence to tacit codes of conduct to maintain a sense of convivial community.⁵⁷ Diversity was simultaneously made commonplace and hyper-visible through negotiations of these codes of conduct. Possible tension arose where there was a mismatch in neighbourly expectations.

Terruhn and Ye found that among the various differences within the neighbourhoods they studied, class-based differences were a more explicit source of conflict than differences of age or ethno-linguistic background.

Ethnocultural diversity was commonplace and a source of community pride. However an influx of wealthier young couples from other parts of the city because they could not afford skyrocketing house prices elsewhere, was both noted by existing residents and regarded as a source of tension. The practice of building high fences around newly acquired properties implied to locals that newcomers were not intending to make the neighbourhood a site of social activity. Rather, it signalled a turn inwards and/or an expectation that socialising would happen elsewhere in the city with existing social networks.

While established people in Avondale saw themselves as working class and neighbourly in a low-pressure way – like greetings, chats over the fence and keeping an eye on properties while owners were away – the shutting away of newcomers suggested a rejection of these neighbourly norms.

Another notable feature of the Avondale study is that the focus on neighbouring came about as a result of sparse use of local public spaces. Sources suggested that this was in part due to

car reliance enabling people to travel further afield for supplies (to cheaper areas where it was easier to park). However, the lack of people in public spaces appeared to become a cycle in which, because there was no-one around, would-be users of public spaces were discouraged to linger. For one young mother, this was not from a perceived lack of safety but rather a discomfort from few people being around.

This finding compared with Northcote where older residents saw language as a barrier but were of that generation who expected closer neighbourhood relations. These findings suggest that expectations and assumptions shape responses to neighbourhoods – whether the norm is of closer or weaker connections with neighbours.

The Northcote study findings were workshopped with people and organisations in December 2020.⁵⁸ Participants in this workshop observed a heightened sense of community during COVID, with families and neighbours caring for each other and being kind. Organisations had no trouble finding volunteers during the period. Two issues raised that are pertinent to social cohesion were access to resources and whose job it is to do the work of integration in diverse communities.

Access issues related both to resources reaching older residents but also to providing free and low-cost resources and experiences to people who are financially challenged. It emerged that even when resources are free, like the Northcote gallery Northart, they were not necessarily accessible to residents. Here accessibility rested on assumptions and perceptions about who the particular resources are for. The gallery was not perceived to be for lower-income residents. This observation demonstrates that comfort in particular shared environments is shaped not only by ethnicity but also by class (income status). This reiterates the need to consider multiple interests in creating places, spaces and activities that are

geared towards community building.

Participants acknowledged that integration of migrants needed to be a two-way street with people from different backgrounds being prepared to learn a little about each other. Participants also agreed that more discussion is needed around demographic change and how individuals, organisations, businesses and local government might address diversity. The discussion also recognised that integration takes time and is not just determined by ethnicity but also by factors such as age and life stage and their associated responsibilities.

4.3.4 Neighbourhood regeneration: Benefiting some groups and marginalising others

Northcote, a diverse neighbourhood in Auckland, was the site of intense qualitative research into how diverse older residents create and maintain a sense of home and community. At the time of the research, Northcote was undergoing a large-scale housing development programme as well as revitalisation of the town's centre. This research looked at both the lived experience of locals as well as policy, planning and communication documents directed at Northcote's diverse residents. Implications for governance and planning of diverse communities are talked to here.



Consultation processes excluded the locals⁵⁹

The research found that older people accepted change as inevitable. However, they were

critical of how local developers, including the Council, sought to engage with them. Efforts to engage residents were complicated (online panels or complex planning documents). This failure to engage with people on the ground meant that some proposed changes would lead to exclusion of some groups. For example, while the plans talked about building community, marketing collateral targeted social and commercial opportunities that would appeal to wealthier groups. Smaller houses would not allow larger families to stay together and moving critical community facilities, like the library, would undermine the local place-based relationships. Lack of consideration of local voices left residents feeling powerless and excluded from the discussion of how the neighbourhood would look and feel in the future.

Planning documents traded off ethnic diversity for higher-income residents⁶⁰

Terruhn's examinations of planning documents, website content and community presentations related to the Northcote redevelopment, show that 'diversity' was used as a selling point for the planned housing development. However the documents failed to explicitly consider the potential impacts of the redevelopment on lower-income residents. For example, 80 per cent of the new housing was planned to be sold on the private market (with a transfer of some of this land from Housing New Zealand to private ownership). Terruhn's analysis shows that changing the socio-economic 'diversity' of the neighbourhood would potentially create benefits for developers, the existing homeowners who could see their house value increase, and those wealthy enough to be able to purchase a home in the new development. Casualties of the development would include people who may no longer be able to afford to rent in the area or afford the anticipated new neighbourhood amenities – contributing to further disadvantage for already marginalised groups. Drawing on research into an earlier and

similar (though larger) housing development in Glen Innes,⁶¹ Terruhn notes that such mixed housing developments amount to state-led gentrification with vast ramifications for low-income residents.

4.3.5 Insights

- Assumptions and cultural norms shape expectations of neighbourliness and perceived access to community resources. Ask: Whose interests?
- Diversity is more than ethnocultural difference. Social cohesion can build across ethnic and linguistic differences in low-pressure everyday acts of neighbourliness such as saying "Hello" across the fence or keeping an eye on a house when a neighbour is away.
- A sense of community for older people is built on relationships and feelings of belonging in the neighbourhood. There are multiple factors that contribute a sense of belonging.
- Community institutions, activities and spaces provide opportunities for socialising with different people.
- Policy settings for housing and urban development risk intensifying social inequalities.
- Remaking home – whether as a result of having a child, a change in life stage, moving to Aotearoa New Zealand and moving within neighbourhoods – is stressful and plays a role in shaping encounters with diversity. There is limited support at the individual level for settlement in new environments and this is a critical shortcoming in existing settlement services.

4.4 SCHOOLS

4.4.1 *Government's intentions for international students may be undermined by common policies and practices for teaching culturally and linguistically diverse students*

Drawing on the work of Jessica Terruhn and Paul Spoonley⁶²

The Government's International Student Wellbeing Strategy (2017) seeks positive education and wellbeing outcomes for all international students. Schools' and tertiary education providers' policies and practices enable and constrain these outcomes, even when the intention is to help.

CaDDANZ included two projects examining how school policies and practices affected the wellbeing and sense of belonging of diverse students. These studies engaged with both students and teachers, employing interviews, focus groups and observations, as well as data collection tools such as surveys of social networks.

One school was based in Auckland and had a high proportion of international students (10 per cent of the student population). The study focused on how school policies and practices shaped the wellbeing of international students who were English speakers of other languages (ESOL) students.⁶³

The second school was in Wellington with a smaller number of short-term international students, but a diverse student population (more than 75 nationalities and 40 languages spoken). The focus of this study was on how the school engaged with difference and diversity in the classroom and on the campus as a whole. Student participants were in Year 13 with some having a long history with the school.⁶⁴

Here we discuss insights drawing on both studies.

4.4.2 *Peer networks*

Making and maintaining supportive peer relationships was critical for students' sense of wellbeing and inclusion in both schools. Teachers and students were keenly aware of the negative impacts of isolation and tried to address these.

School activities that enabled peer relationships included school-organised sporting activities and clubs. Student-led associations around common issues, such as queer pride, also enabled positive relationships.⁶⁵ Students felt included where school events celebrated their cultural diversity such as Polyfest and Gay Pride. Conversely, the lack of school celebrations for some groups – for example, African students in Wellington – led these students to feel excluded.

Form classes, within year levels or across year levels, allowed students to build friendship networks. In one school, the tuakana-teina programme, which buddied Year 13 students with Year 9 students, helped students to feel included at the school.

Students and teachers remarked on how student friendships tended to coalesce around commonalities – often around culture, with different groups claiming their 'space' within the school campus. Students who felt comfortable with their friendship groups were not keen for classroom interventions that aimed to 'mix people' up. In the Wellington school, targeting one large friendship group based on a common cultural affiliation for 'splitting' up, was seen by teachers as unfair targeting because smaller groups based on ethnicity were not similarly treated.

For international students in the Auckland school, the sheer number of other international students was seen as a barrier to developing friendships with New Zealand peers. It was easy to hang out with students from similar backgrounds. Participants perceived that the burden of fitting in fell squarely on the

shoulders of the international students, rather than change being required of other students. In the Wellington school, the number of international students was deliberately limited to encourage international students to integrate into school life.

Students reported acts of discrimination in both schools and thought that teachers should play a more active role in policing this. Sometimes, discrimination was experienced outside of school; for example, on school buses. In other instances, discrimination occurred within the classroom through students saying mean things to each other. Bullying tended to be verbal rather than physical in Wellington.

4.4.3 Supportive learning environments

Relationships with teachers were also critical for students' wellbeing. Students from both schools reported positive relationships with their teachers. When teachers focused on students as individuals, with both teachers and students striving to develop positive relationships with each other, students felt included. Where relationships were thwarted – for example, by teachers being absent or classrooms being too big or disrupted to manage – this was experienced as a disadvantage. The competitive nature of school, coupled with high workloads, was perceived as negative to student wellbeing by both staff and students across sites. The academic achievement objective was seen as counter to the work-life balance or wellbeing objectives of the schools.

Students in the Wellington school said that efforts to weave diversity and multiple viewpoints and cultures through the curriculum supported a sense of inclusion and belonging among students. For example, a Year 13 sociology project that examined the topic 'Is [this school] a fair and harmonious society?' enabled students to engage with different groups within the school. The groups included Māori, former refugees and migrants, and LGBTI+ students. Analysis aimed to understand

the points of view of different groups and make recommendations for greater inclusion within the school.

Students in both schools sometimes perceived their culture or language as problematic or at least 'notable' for their teachers. In the Auckland school, for example, students were discouraged from using their home languages in mainstream classes. International students in the Auckland school generally perceived school efforts to support their English language learning as negative for their wellbeing. By contrast, students in the Wellington school felt their learning was affected in areas where the teacher's use of English compromised their understanding and was less than ideal; for example, where teachers wrote on the board in their home language (in these cases, German and Russian) or used non-English terms, sometimes without realising it.

4.4.4 Learning language and ESOL practices for international students

Both schools supported students with no or little English, providing separate classes where students could improve their English. In the school with short-term international students, the aim was to integrate students into mainstream classes as soon as possible, with support if needed. While many teachers in both schools saw ESOL classes as appropriate and helpful for students, international students in the Auckland school had quite a different perception of these classes. The expected duration of study may influence perceptions of ESOL classes; however, this is a question for future research.

Auckland students understood the intended purpose of ESOL classes and acknowledged the benefits of a supportive environment of fellow Mandarin-speakers for settling in. However, students thought that the disadvantages of being in classes that were separated from mainstream classes outweighed the benefits. Thinking specifically of academic achievement,

students thought that ESOL classes acted as a barrier to learning English, attending courses of their choice and entering higher streams. When asked to reflect on what they would do differently if they could start over, many students said they would learn English before they came to school so they could take full advantage of the learning on offer.

Viewing use of home languages in the classroom as problematic can negatively affect student wellbeing. This finding is consistent with international literature. If students are viewed as 'deficient' or seen primarily as English language learners, this can influence teacher expectation of the students, which in turn can affect the students' sense of self-worth.

4.4.5 Implications

- ***Relationships with peers and with teachers are critical for feeling included in diverse school environments***

Opportunities for students to develop peer relationships, such as in form classes and through buddying and sporting and cultural activities, enables friendships to develop across cultures and interests.

- ***Students feel included where they have positive relationships with their teachers***

Reviewing school policies, such as class sizes and staff wellbeing (leading to lower turnover), could lead to opportunities for stronger relationships with students.

Students feel valued when they are seen as individual learners, rather than perceiving that they are pigeon-held as English language learners. Schools could reflect on the potential exclusionary effects of separating English language learners into ESOL classes. A balance needs to be struck between supporting student learning and ensuring students access the mainstream curriculum.

- ***Terruhn and Spoonley suggest an alternative: Linguistically responsive practices***

In line with emerging international research,⁶⁶ this approach sees CaLD (culturally and linguistically diverse) students as assets for their linguistic and other abilities. Taking this approach would change classroom pedagogy as well as the self-perceptions of CaLD students and others' perceptions of them. Practices related to this change could include allowing CaLD students to speak their home languages in class to scaffold learning with their peers, rather than curtailing that practice, or having the ESOL specialist come into the regular classroom.

4.5 WORKPLACES

In 1986, the New Zealand Government changed its immigration policies from accepting migrants from preferred countries to a points system that encouraged immigration of skilled migrants and people with money to invest.⁶⁷ This change in policy is one among many that have contributed to the diversity in Aotearoa New Zealand's places of work.

The literature suggests that diversity can have positive and negative impacts on businesses and residents.⁶⁸ Positive impacts on business include access to a range of experiences and skills in tackling problems, generating solutions and creating innovation. However, if, for example, people from different backgrounds disagree on goals, finding a way forward may be more difficult in diverse businesses. Communication difficulties could also dampen the advantages of diverse workplaces. The evidence for the positive benefits of diversity varies across countries and sectors.⁶⁹

As noted in the population dynamics section, the workplace can be a site for stronger intercultural contact for some groups in Auckland who live in relatively less diverse neighbourhoods. For New Zealand Europeans,

and residents born in England, exposure to diversity at workplaces played the strongest role in raising their overall exposure to diversity, despite relatively low exposure to diversity there as well.

4.5.1 Impacts

Ethnic diversity can have positive benefits for businesses, increasing the pool of ideas and innovation and resulting in firm productivity. After controlling for characteristics of workers, rentals, size of city and employment prospects, our analysis suggests diversity tends to be attractive to businesses, especially in large centres (Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch).

Immigration legislation and regulations favour people who bring economic benefits to Aotearoa New Zealand. However, as noted in section 4.2, these policy settings confer variable and unequal rights on different migrant workers.

Ethnic diversity will also become increasingly important to businesses seeking to replenish their ageing workforces, with the Māori and Pasifika populations being markedly younger than the European and Asian populations

4.6 BUSINESSES

4.6.1 Diversity matters more for businesses than for residents

Drawing on the work of Dave Maré or Jacques Poot⁷⁰

Maré and Poot examined the impact of diversity on the attractiveness of areas to businesses and to residents in Aotearoa New Zealand between 1976 and 2013. They assumed that the value of diversity is reflected in local wage and rent premiums. Why? Because firms locating in high-wage, high-rent areas can compete only if there are productive advantages from locating there. Diversity might be one of those advantages.

4.6.2 Diversity has grown over time - more so in our big cities

For residents, the assumption is that people choose to live in areas where they will experience a good quality of life. This may be expressed in people accepting lower wages or paying higher rents to live in an area of their choice. Diversity might be one of the features of an area that make it attractive. This approach to valuing cultural diversity relies on comparing the variation in diversity across locations over time with changes in wage and rent premiums in those locations. Is there a link between changes in diversity and changes in wage and rent premiums?

Diversity was measured by people's place of birth using fractionalisation. This method estimates the chances of two randomly selected people being from a different group to each other. In the cities, the chances of meeting someone from a different group was 49.3 per cent in 1981 growing to 74 per cent in 2013. In smaller urban areas, the chances of meeting someone from a different group grew from 21 per cent to 38 per cent in the same period.

In contrast, a city's population has a weak preference for living near others who are culturally similar to them. However, the impact of diversity on residents depended on how much people were spending on housing. Where a large proportion of income is spent on housing (30 per cent or more), the impact of diversity disappears. If people were spending less on housing, then diversity was likely to make an area seem slightly less attractive.

Overall, the positive effect on quality of business more than balances the weak negative effect on quality of life, implying that diversity has a net positive effect on people's wellbeing.

Another interesting finding was that diversity was more attractive in earlier periods where the level of diversity was lower.

4.7 COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS (NGOS) AND GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Drawing on the work of Geoff Stone and Robin Peace

Three of the CaDDANZ projects piloted the development of institutional evaluations designed to understand the processes through which organisations deliberately worked towards embracing diversity in business orientation, HR practices and service provision. The organisations, each exemplifying an aspect of the service provider landscape, agreed to participate in working with the lead evaluator as a critical friend: a person who would spend significant time within the organisation observing practices, talking with staff and clients, and working closely with a lead individual in the organisation to develop a strategic understanding of the enablers and barriers at work in the diversity space.

English Language Partners New Zealand (ELPNZ) is a not-for-profit national provider of English language training to new migrants, supported in part by government grants. Māori, Pacific and Ethnic Services (MPES) is a national headquarters service within NZP, and Chinese New Settlers Services Trust (CNSST) is an example of a hybrid service provision – part business model and part charity, developed and run by ethnic entrepreneurs. Each evaluation revealed different insights about the complexity of service provision to new migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand and the challenges of recruiting and maintain a diverse workforce.

Much of this work also involved the development of innovative visual tools — maps, models, graphs, systems diagrams—that were actively used as ‘artefacts on the table’ to motivate discussion and debate during work sessions with staff and to provide alternatives to text representations of complex dynamics.⁷¹

4.7.1 ELPNZ

ELPNZ is challenged because of its inclusive approach to migrants, irrespective of their immigration status, while Government policy creates categories of migrants and differentiates entitlements and kinds and levels of resourcing and support accordingly.

The purpose of our evaluation of ELPNZ carried out in 2017 was to determine what was working well, what barriers were faced by the organisation, and where policy and service delivery could be improved.⁷² The evaluation examined the wider policy, legal and administrative factors, and operational context that constrains and enables good settlement outcomes. It also examined ELPNZ’s responses to increasing diversity and how other stakeholders consider these responses.

NGO intentions, principles and modes of operation are in constant tension with Government policy settings with respect to settlement support. ELPNZ takes an inclusive approach to newcomers, irrespective of their legal standing as permanent or temporary migrants, refugees or unrecognised asylum seekers. Government agencies, on the other hand, create policies that categorise newcomers and differentiate entitlements and kinds and levels of resourcing and support accordingly.

The evaluation found clarifying concepts and remits across agencies and with respect to Government intent was a necessary precursor to the development of an effective (integrated) service system for newcomers. ELPNZ’s position in the service ecology traversed all policy outcomes areas. Government funding, however, was (and is) targeted to English language provision for permanent residents. Overall, there appear to be some gaps and missed opportunities with respect to how services are funded and what services are identified for funding, and the funding regime is overly complex. In addition, more research is required to assess the extent and location of

unmet needs, as significant regional variation in migration is evident.

Barriers to more effective service provision lie in wider system constraints as well as some internal limitations like the need to update information and communications technology (ICT) and a more sophisticated monitoring and evaluation framework to provide timely feedback for organisational decision making and accountability to external agencies. When ELPNZ was followed-up in 2020, the ICT and monitoring and evaluation challenges had been met. On the back of COVID-19, new ways of reaching/accessing learners across geographies and sectors have been developed.

Three years on, after the COVID-19 lockdown, some systemic challenges remain

Contributors to ongoing complexity since 2017 include the restructuring of the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) and the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE). Key relationships have been lost and sometimes expertise related to ELPNZ's work has not been replaced. Restructures have also meant work in development, like strategies for language and literacy in the workplace, have fallen away after considerable time and effort was contributed by ELPNZ and other NGOs to a design process with TEC and other stakeholders.

A decision to tender out refugee settlement now means the Red Cross is not the only provider in the area – adding further complexity to the system and increased competition between NGOs working to help refugees settling in Aotearoa New Zealand. ELPNZ is seeking to build closer working relationships with the TEC, MBIE, Office of Ethnic Communities and Multicultural New Zealand. The latter two organisations have new chief executives. ELPNZ sees an opportunity for the Office of Ethnic Communities to negotiate access to services for the migrant workforce

and to better facilitate cross-sector discussions and connect communities.

ELPNZ's response to COVID-19 was seen by its outgoing chief executive as exceeding all expectations. Highlights of the response were transparent and frequent communications between head office and the regions and joint problem solving. Staff stepped up to learn new technologies for staying in touch with learners, which also meant learners previously not accessible were able to make use of ELPNZ learning opportunities. Non-teaching staff supported the wellbeing of newcomers to the country through regular contact. Funding certainty was important during COVID and an early decision by TEC not to claim back funding for under-delivery during this time enabled ELPNZ to reassure its staff about their job security.

The new normal will continue to include classroom-based programme delivery as well as online teaching and outreach to new sets of learners. Social media will likely play a larger role in reaching learners than it has in the past. At the time of writing, ELPNZ was looking to deliver English language training for specific work contexts, like dairy farming. While ELPNZ has focused on learners with lower levels of literacy, the new environment might mean training workers with higher levels of literacy in workplace English. These potential pivots might help the economic diversity dividend. They also contribute to the social, cultural and environmental outcomes that are important both to ELPNZ and the Government (Settlement Strategy).

Increasing NGO responsiveness to diversity

The reach of ELPNZ may also expand to learners in a more diverse set of circumstances: learners in different geographic locations, with different employment opportunities (rural, agriculture) and learners who have jobs and/or skills but limited English.

4.7.2 Public sector agencies address diversity, cohesion and integration through 'diversity' and 'inclusion' strategies. However, it is difficult to assess how well different communities feel included within departments⁷³

Twenty-five agencies responded to an Official Information Act (OIA) request in January 2019 asking about their definitions, aspirations and measures for 'diversity, cohesion and integration'. Without exception, the agencies interpreted the OIA request in terms of how they were managing their own workforces rather than any strategies, policies or programmes for the Aotearoa New Zealand public. The favoured way of framing workforce development was 'diversity and inclusion' – the current international standard for addressing how well people with different characteristics fare in employment. Government agencies' priorities tended to align with Government priorities and those set by the State Services Commission under Te Papa Pounamu – the group of state sector chief executives leading diversity work across the state sector.

Our literature review of intercultural cities documents showed that diversity is seen as both an asset and a challenge, mostly due to rising inequalities intimately tied to diversity. Problematically, 'demographic diversity' is viewed as a threat to social relations while 'cognitive diversity' is seen as the source of creativity, productivity and economic benefit. 'Interculturalism' aims to 'manage diversity' so as to maximise its advantages as intercultural practices involve everyone. While there are references to equality, the proposed strategies and practices are largely individualised and may not be able to address growing inequities. This also applies to addressing racism, a term largely absent from these documents.

In the light of these findings, Auckland Council strategy documents were also analysed and the researchers conducted a small number of key informant interviews. The research found that

Council demonstrated a critical engagement with diversity concepts. Diversity was seen as a demographic fact and the social benefits were highlighted. Along with diversity, inequality was seen really mattering. All of the interviewees viewed racism as an important issue which needs addressing. Small granular actions were thought to make a positive difference that could cumulatively amount to more significant effects. However, systemic-level change by Council on its own was not possible to achieve. There is a need to think about how change can be achieved at a more societal level in ways that that would require whole-of-Government approach.

OIA responses suggest agencies have made variable progress towards creating strategic impetus for diversity. Several agencies had diversity and inclusion strategies, some were developing them, and a few stated they have fully integrated diversity in their strategic and planning documents – making a standalone diversity document redundant.

For these agencies, the concept of diversity has extended beyond the four groups (gender, age, ethnicity, disability) that should be actively considered in the (then current) good employer conditions of the State Sector Act (1998). However, its lack of specificity potentially dulls its conceptual clout. Who is being talked about in diversity and inclusion policies? Where should action be directed?

One of the criticisms of diversity discourse is that it ignores the status of Māori as Treaty partners in Aotearoa New Zealand – it treats Māori as one minority among many. While ethnicity was included as a category in diversity responses nearly every time (21 of the 25 agencies), embedding the Treaty of Waitangi was a priority for only five of these agencies. We also noted that guidance on preparing public documents, like statements of intent and annual reports, did not specifically mention Māori, except in workforce provisions. In these ways, diversity discourse fell short in

acknowledging Māori as Treaty partners.

Publicly available reporting on measures of diversity and inclusion focused on gender and ethnic representation and pay parity. If assessment and reporting is not expanded to all groups of concern, prejudice and discrimination is likely to go unnoticed (by the world at large at least). Agencies had a range of tools for assessing inclusion. These tools canvassed how well a person felt they could contribute to the agency and whether they felt they belonged. However, measures of inclusion are not reported publicly, making it impossible for the public to know how inclusive an agency is. This is a concern for ensuring our government agencies publicly account for their diversity and inclusion agendas and programmes. Is inclusion another metaphor for assimilation, or are agencies changing their own practices in response to their diverse workforces?

4.7.3 The New Zealand Government has no evident or coherent cross-sector implementation plan to give effect to its Settlement Strategy

A coherent policy implementation plan operating across multiple government agencies and fortified by a comprehensive research and evaluation strategy would enable policy development and improved settlement outcomes. The New Zealand Government has a coherent set of five policy outcome intentions for newcomers across employment, education and training, English language, inclusion, health and wellbeing. To effectively implement these policy outcomes would require a coherent service system, yet no such system has been put in place. This implementation gap limits meaningful engagement with NGOs and civil society, including important discussions about means and ends.

Stone and Peace's evaluation of English Language Partners New Zealand (ELPNZ) in 2017 found that the service ecology of agencies responsible for providing opportunities

for migrants is fractured and complex. Our evaluation found no formal settlement system, but rather an informal, disorganised, and complex service ecology comprising policy and funding agencies, service providers, community networks, and advocacy and social support groups operating at multiple scales. This complexity limits meaningful engagement between and across these organisations about the means and ends for settling newcomers, which could inform policy learning and development and improve settlement outcomes.

Government's relationships with strategically important community organisations are largely transactional, siloed and defended

The fractured nature of the service ecology for settlers and migrants (discussed above), contributes to poor experiences of Government support by key community providers. With different agencies responsible for different areas of wellbeing (e.g. housing, education, employment, income support), community organisations need to deal with several agencies simultaneously to support their clients. While community organisations (like CNSST and ELPNZ) have an holistic view of their clients and relationships through which to provide support, the demands made by different government agencies make delivering this support time consuming and costly. This undermines goodwill and potentially constrains the positive social impact community organisations have. The situation also limits important policy feedback and puts organisations, valued services and underserved clients at [further] risk.

The English-language learning sector is underfunded and failing to reach all the areas of language need. This particularly affects those on temporary work visas

Stone and Peace's evaluation of ELPNZ also found that English language learning is funded on a differential basis depending on visa

categories. These funding distinctions set up inequalities for language learners wanting to contribute to the economy and participate in society. Pre- and post-COVID, ELPNZ has sought to find ways to fund learning for people who need it, including temporary migrants and people working in remote locations or without access to local learning centres. A move to online facilitated learning classes has enabled more people to access learning tailored to their circumstances.

Research by Collins in Invercargill and Queenstown also shows that local governments and organisations face challenges when trying to assist the inclusion of migrants on temporary visas who are not eligible for settlement support.⁷⁴

4.7.4 Some public sector agencies have some capacity and latitude to operate outside of their normal silos in response to new migrants; for example, the New Zealand Police

The New Zealand Police (NZP) demonstrate that being able to work outside the strict parameters of their perceived business model (provision of security) provides pathways to building trust with new communities. In the last 10 years, a range of outreach programmes such as the International Student Ambassadors Programme, Race Unity Speech Awards and the New Zealand Communities Football Cup, and in-house initiatives such as uniform flexibility, inter-faith prayer rooms, Muslim awareness cultural training and the employment of ethnic advisers reporting to the Chief Executive are examples.⁷⁵

New Zealand Police stands out for its public sector leadership in responding to [embracing] diversity, but more could be done at the strategic level

NZP have made real progress in responding to diversity, but more could be done at the strategic level; for example, giving more

priority to its Ethnic Strategy and structuring its resources and accountability requirements accordingly.

NZP have responded to ethnocultural diversity at strategic, structural and operational levels. At a strategic level, NZP have recently published their second strategy document aimed at improving policy responsiveness to ethnic minorities. The Commissioner holds a regular advisory committee made up of community leaders to receive feedback and to introduce them to changes in policing. Valuing Diversity is one of the core values of NZP.

Structurally, NZP has a group dedicated to responding to ethnocultural diversity: Māori, Pacific and Ethnic Services (MPES). Each ethnocultural group has its own leads who work on strategic and operational responses to diversity. At the operational level, NZP has a number of ethnic liaison officers who perform the role of community outreach and provide specialist knowledge to Police.

These developments have been in the making since the early 2000s and have positioned Police well, especially when responding to disasters such as the Christchurch Earthquake. However, more could be done to embed responsiveness to ethnic communities.

4.7.5 'Inclusion' is the big challenge - going beyond 'diversity'

Currently diversity response within organisations is seen in terms of meeting recruitment targets or ensuring that facilities are available to staff such as prayer rooms. However, when an organisation like NZP is able to survey staff about their sense of inclusion or recognition, evidence still appears that being 'other' still produces experiences of exclusion. This may be in relation to recognition for promotion and advancement, lack of positive mentoring experiences, or protection from micro-aggressions from colleagues. The gap between 'diversity' and 'inclusion' persists.

The experience of CNSST also demonstrates this gap. Absence of service provision for elder care that is responsive to the cultural needs of the elder Asian community has inspired CNSST to develop an independent elder care housing model where inclusion of cultural norms in the services provides comfort and security.

4.8 THE MEDIA AND SOCIETY

*Drawing on the work of Sandy Lee and Trudie Cain*⁷⁶

Aotearoa New Zealand news media dehumanise immigrants

Immigrants, refugees and ethnic minorities have often been portrayed in the media in negative ways. In some cases the portrayal is overtly negative, such as the elision between Islam and terrorism. In other cases references are more subtle, such as reports using metaphors like 'leaks', 'flows', 'floods' and 'waves' to describe the movement of immigrants. These metaphors are linked to natural disasters with the implication of migrants overwhelming host countries.⁷⁷ More subtle still are reports that represent migrants in a positive light – for example, focusing on the economic benefits they bring to a country – while ignoring broader aspects of their lives. This can result in a dehumanisation of migrant groups.

Focusing on both positive and negative media representations, Lee and Cain examined how immigrants and ethnic diversity were represented in the *New Zealand Herald* between July 2016 and June 2017.⁷⁸ Mindful of the varied positions different migrant groups occupy in society, they were interested in how the media treated diversity within migrant groups. They found that media reporting of immigrants and ethnic minorities focused on the economic benefits migrants brought to Auckland, through servicing key sectors or as entrepreneurs. However, alongside these

positive portrayals were reports on how migration created pressure on infrastructure (like housing). Another key theme linked migrants to criminality, both as victims and as perpetrators. Thus, migrants were ambiguously represented.

A closer examination of the framing of immigration and its impact on the city found that representations of immigration negated the needs, desires and aspirations of migrants. The people behind the headlines were obscured by talk of 'high immigration' and 'immigration policy' putting pressure on infrastructure. This framing leads to a logical conclusion that 'less migration' and a 'change in immigration policy' was the solution to the problem, rather than looking to other policies and strategies. These solutions ignored the rights of immigrants to a share in the social goods of society to which they contributed.

Asian immigrants in particular were subtly cast as morally inferior, portrayed as looking to benefit themselves at the expense of Aotearoa New Zealand citizens. For example, avaricious portrayals of Chinese property investors and the prevalent reporting of criminal activities in which minorities were implicated construed these immigrants as callous and lacking certain moral values. Lee and Cain argue that the framing of immigrants as economic commodities alongside portrayals of ethnic minority migrants as morally inferior created both public concern about the overall number of migrants, and anxieties about the presence and number of *Asian and ethnic minority* migrants in particular.

4.8.1 Implications

If we assume that media representations inform and shape dominant understandings of social phenomena, these findings are not trivial. With the recent efforts by the news media company Stuff to examine and apologise for their racist portrayals of Māori, it is timely for all media to examine their practices for reporting on

migrants and ethnic minorities. Given that migrants are important contributors to the sociocultural, political and economic fabric of Aotearoa New Zealand, media reporting needs to provide fuller, more rounded stories of migrants' lives. This means providing context when presenting complex sociopolitical stories, ensuring that there are balanced depictions of diverse migrants, and that well-recognised, authoritative voices are cited in asserting the humanity of migrants. Importantly, it also means amplifying the voices of migrants, while recognising that not everything a migrant achieves is attributed to their ethnicity or migrant status.

4.9 BORDER CLOSURE - COVID-19 RESPONSE

In this section, we present the emerging changes to the 'diversity' landscape in Aotearoa New Zealand brought about by the management of the COVID-19 pandemic. CaDDANZ researchers have added addenda to their research, and in some cases reinterviewed informants to update research findings in this new environment.

4.9.1 Every aspect of migration and settlement has been changed by the closure and subsequent management at Aotearoa New Zealand's borders

COVID-19 has highlighted the inequities of the two-tier migration system (temporary migrants versus permanent residents) and created a multi-tier welfare system.

- COVID-19 has exposed and exacerbated pre-existing inequalities and vulnerabilities.
- The state-level COVID-19 welfare response created a four-tier system: those unemployed because of COVID-19, who received income subsidies; the existing long-term unemployed, who got less; temporary relief packages for migrants; and the homeless, housed during the pandemic.

- Student migrants have been excluded, family members of some migrants have been unable to enter Aotearoa New Zealand, and some 'temporary' migrants have been unable to return to their country of origin, trapping them in limbo in Aotearoa New Zealand.

4.9.2 COVID-19 demonstrated the importance of relationships - our common humanity and connectedness to each other

COVID-19 has provided opportunities for:

- mana whenua to support all people in their rohe
- councils to offer their expertise and resources to community leaders and groups, and
- organisations to develop new approaches to meeting the needs of their communities.

4.9.3 Many of the issues we have highlighted here take a nationalist view, but COVID-19 also highlights the need to recognise the impacts that our actions have on other nation-states

These include:

- the impact of our trade deals on the Indigenous peoples and workers in the countries where we enact them, and
- the economic and social impacts for our Pacific neighbours of the losses associated with the freezing of the temporary migrant programme.

The challenge of using temporary migration as a solution for economic and community development in the regions has been highlighted by the pandemic

- National migration policies do not take account of the dilemmas faced by regional Aotearoa New Zealand.
- It is difficult for local authorities and

organisations to determine how many temporary migrants are in their areas, and what their needs are.

- In the regions, local organisations have been faced with the immediate crisis of emergency needs of temporary migrants.
- Planning for longer-term population and economic development in a context where border-crossing remains severely limited for the foreseeable future.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 FOUR HEADLINES

The CaDDANZ research programme produced multiple outputs, some concerned with delivering stories from aggregate statistical or geospatial data and others from in-depth qualitative investigations. Not all of the investigations spoke to issues of social cohesion or where migration stories fit in the public or administrative imaginations of the country writ large. The process of reflecting on the sum of the CaDDANZ parts is a relatively unprecedented approach to concluding a large, funded research project and has entailed significant challenge. This synthesis report has looked to highlight those insights that speak to the idea that migration into Aotearoa New Zealand embeds human beings in complex processes that are just beginning to be addressed. There is yet to be an effective debate or discussion in Government or, indeed in the public domain, that addresses what it means to live in a socially cohesive community. The reflection on the CaDDANZ body of research brought home to us, the authors of this report, that big questions about such things as host/guest, inclusion/exclusion, exposure/invisibility, service/lack of service and acceptance/prejudice remain overwhelmed by instrumental engagement with questions of who, how many, where and of what benefit to 'us' might new migrants be.

Table 2 synthesises particular examples of dimensions of cohesion that were evident in the CaDDANZ research. The main focus of this final conclusion, however, is to set out four of what we see as being the 'bigger questions' that need a more coherent research and policy response.

5.1.1 *How should manaakitanga and whakawhanaungatanga frame how we treat migrants coming to this country?*

The partnership obligations of the Crown are weakly represented in the migration space. Until the recent challenges issued by Māori, the New Zealand Government has presumed the status of host for new migrants. In doing so, they have set quotas, identified desirable migrant types, and set fees and time frames. They have persistently differentiated between 'refugees' and 'migrants' and between 'permanent' and 'temporary' applicants. They have identified pathways to residency and citizenship and generally used economic benefit criteria to seal these paths. This statutory approach is a colonial artefact that has been unreflexively applied since the 1840s and fails to accommodate partnership between the Crown and Māori as hosts to everyone who arrives (including longstanding Pākehā settler families).

Research in this report has noted the limitations of diversity discourse, particularly when its use obscures processes of colonialism. In Aotearoa New Zealand, redressing this issue requires a broader conversation about migration. Concepts such as manaakitanga and whakawhanaungatanga align with a more humane framing of immigrants as more than economic objects. Under partnership, a culture of hospitality, respect and proactive relationship building among different communities becomes differently possible.

The findings of CaDDANZ research has also informed recommendations in the New Zealand Productivity Commission inquiry into 'Immigration settings for New Zealand's long-term prosperity and wellbeing'.⁷⁹ Their

Cohesion Dimension	Findings - Enablers	Findings - Barriers	Implications
<p>Belonging</p> <p>A sense of being part of the community, trust in others, and respect for law and human rights.</p>	<p>Small acts of caring between neighbours facilitate a sense of belonging.</p> <p>Links to similar others (and services) facilitate a local sense of belonging for some groups. [Neighbourhood sorting; for example, Chinese and Indian.]</p> <p>Skills for communicating across language barriers, facilitate a sense of connection (using apps, gestures, pictures).</p>	<p>Lacking a common language can hinder the formation of deep relationships.</p>	<p>Policy needs increased capacity to operate at the local level.</p> <p>Translators (including in sign language) are a key community resource.</p>
<p>Participation</p> <p>Involvement in social and community activities and in political and civic life.</p>	<p>Neighbourhood institutions and shared spaces provide sites for meeting diverse others.</p> <p>Shared interests provide opportunities to connect across differences.</p>	<p>Embarrassment over potential miscommunication can hinder attempts to connect between people without a common language.</p>	<p>Accessibility of low-cost or free language teaching and learning opportunities – not just of the dominant language – encourages participation and communication.</p> <p>Local government involvement in the production and maintenance of shared, inclusive common spaces.</p>
<p>Inclusion</p> <p>Equity of opportunities and outcomes in work, income, education, health and housing.</p>	<p>Diverse neighbourhoods are attractive to businesses.</p> <p>Ethnically oriented institutions (like CNSST) provide for, and broker services to, client groups not well served by the mainstream.</p> <p>Government agencies that are able to respond effectively to diversity as both employers and in community-level engagements can set benchmarks for what works.</p>	<p>Temporary migrants are denied access to social goods</p> <p>International students experience conventional English-teaching strategies as exclusionary.</p> <p>Urban regeneration can exclude low-income residents.</p>	<p>Enablers and barriers identified in research require a focused policy response. Enabling factors point to strengths that can be amplified, while each barrier is a significant clue to a systemic issue to be addressed. These factors are not aggregates, and each signals the need for active policy response.</p>
<p>Recognition</p> <p>Individuals and institutions are capable and willing to value diversity and respect differences.</p>	<p>Local celebrations of diversity like cultural festivals build awareness and appreciation of diversity.</p> <p>Everyday settings in which ethnocultural and other differences are accepted as ordinary, such as local markets, sports events, libraries and schools.</p>	<p>Media is an influencer of social attitudes, and immigrants and ethnic minorities are often portrayed negatively or, at best, as economic contributors.</p> <p>Neighbourhood norms condition responses to difference.</p> <p>The discriminatory approach of some schools to international students as lacking skills because of poor English.</p>	<p>Attention to and critique of media messaging needed.</p> <p>Public and official support for celebratory and local events needed.</p> <p>Individual school responses to international students need closer scrutiny.</p>
<p>Legitimacy</p> <p>Confidence in public institutions.</p>	<p>Ceremonies and processes, (official welcomes with tangata whenua/mana whenua, gaining citizenship) are important markers of belonging for new migrants.</p> <p>Models for understanding the intersections and overlaps in settlement services offer clarification of the complexity of service ecology.</p>	<p>The settlement ecology for new settlers is fragmented and complex.</p> <p>Consultation processes about community regeneration exclude older people in diverse communities.</p> <p>Temporary migrant status is prejudicial to rights and recognition.</p>	<p>An interdepartmental task force would be required to unravel and clarify the settlement ecology as it currently exists. Duplication and/or absence of services, inequitable service distribution, regional disparities, and funding anomalies and disincentives reduce public confidence.</p> <p>Reconsider the rights of temporary migrant workers.</p>

Table 2: Dimensions of cohesion evident in CaDDANZ research

recommendations to Government are that: regular policy statements are issued on immigration; that capacity to accommodate new arrivals is considered; explicit acknowledgement of the Treaty of Waitangi interest in immigration policy is acknowledged; migrant workers should not be subjected to employer restrictions; and the number of temporary visas should be linked to residence pathways.

5.1.2 Who is responsible for building a socially cohesive polity?

Terms like 'diversity dividend', which informed the initial design of CaDDANZ, do not serve the aim of social inclusion and cohesion well. Emphasising economic benefits from migration and diversity frames people as only having economic value and suggests inadequate market responses to complex issues of social relations.

The Ko tō tātou kāinga tēnei report by the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the terrorist attack on Christchurch masjidain on 15 March 2019 suggests that social cohesion is everyone's responsibility. However, without a public discussion about what is desirable or not about 'cohesiveness', and then how might it be practically achieved if it is desirable, the 'everyone' claim can seem vacuous. Aspects of the CaDDANZ research demonstrate that, in agreement with the Royal Commission, social cohesion is seen as important by some businesses, communities and government agencies, who are all aware of responsibilities towards ensuring respect and equity across the groups with whom they engage, but also that behaviours and attitudes are siloed and fragmented.

Cross-party central government leadership is likely necessary. Migration is about people, not statistics or stereotypes. The media and some individual (socially influential, privileged, political) tendencies towards discrimination and scapegoating under which migrants

become political footballs during elections is an unacceptable response. Government departments, institutions, business and social services need mechanisms for joint conversations and local-level understandings of settlement complexity. This will enable them to join together to maximise cohesion across all settings (workplace, schools, social services, families, communities) and dimensions (belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition, and legitimacy).

Coordination and cooperation are critical to policy alignment, implementation and integration. The *Ko tō tātou kāinga tēnei* report makes a number of recommendations for a whole-of-Government approach to building social cohesion, including social-inclusion government.⁸⁰

Civic education in schools about the social organisation of difference is a necessary concomitant for new generations to be well-placed to live amongst those who are different from themselves.

5.1.3 Is ethnocultural diversity the most significant difference?

Ethnocultural diversity is commonplace in many areas of Aotearoa New Zealand, especially in the cities but increasingly in rural areas as well. The extent to which people in ethnically diverse communities rub along well together is not well represented in public discourse and the dynamics of everyday multiculturalism are not well understood.

Ethnicity, bound to language and culture, has great importance for ethnocultural community building, identity and belonging. Social difference understood as ethnic diversity has been the focus of most Government. However, this is not the only axis of difference that is important. The research also found differences by age and class which shape people's preferences and concerns. People at different life stages want different things from the

places they live. Younger people may be more concerned about education and employment opportunities, while older people want easy access to places for socialisation as they manage health or mobility issues. Preferences, opportunities and community norms may also differ along class lines. This is highlighted when more-affluent people move into a less-affluent neighbourhood. Or where free community resources are not accessed by some groups who do not see the resources as targeted at them (such as the example given in section 4.3.3 of an upmarket art gallery in working-class Northcote). Other axes may also be important and the CaDDANZ brief did not encompass research in relation to, for example, gender, sexuality, religion, language or disability.

Policies and strategies for building or enhancing inclusive social conditions conducive to cohesion need to take account of the differences in the community that are significant to the people who live there.

Research that looks across the social organisation of difference will be increasingly important as social media and public discourse underwrite the proliferation of identity positions in the twenty-first century. Government response to agreed, existing identity positions may need to be fundamentally rethought away from concepts of individual identity claims and towards recognition of where and how groups and cohorts are excluded from the privileges of full health, education, housing and social services.

The emerging trend of co-design and other inclusive communication strategies for including stakeholders in decisions that affect them is an important method for developing interventions for particular communities.

Policies and strategies for building or enhancing inclusive social conditions conducive to cohesion need to take account of the differences in the community that are significant to the people who live there. In the

context of population ageing, these policies and strategies must include effective resourcing of older/stagnating and younger/growing communities, and their subpopulations within.

5.1.4 Are new methodologies possible or desirable?

The role of funded research projects in providing researchers with time and motivation to explore new approaches has been well demonstrated across many of the CaDDANZ projects.

Issues of data sovereignty have introduced significant methodological challenge to routine demographic analysis, and not just in relation to migration.⁸¹ The new methods developed here entail full acknowledgement of the legitimacy of kaupapa Māori and mātauranga as methodological spaces. The examination of methodological bias unreflexively embedded in Western ways of knowing is perhaps the most pressing task in migration research.⁸²

Econometric and geospatial analyses of aggregate data exploring the distribution of difference and inequalities are critically important for broad-brush understandings. They have produced new approaches, such as the entropy approach to cultural and residential sorting,⁸³ and the new database of commuting flows in New Zealand, for use in the Stats NZ Data Lab or *The New Zealand Atlas of Population Change* are two of numerous examples in these spaces of aggregate data.⁸³ ⁸⁴ It is important to continue to fund data analysis derived from the New Zealand Census (utilising the Integrated Data Infrastructure (IDI) and other non-integrated administrative data) and purpose-built surveys. Ensuring bandwidth for big data set analyses and geospatial data manipulations is also critical.

Use of conceptual mapping tools, critical friend evaluation strategies and applied systems thinking have characterised the innovative institutional evaluation work undertaken by

Peace and Stone with English Language Partners New Zealand, New Zealand Police and the Chinese New Settlers Services Trust. Our research confirms the complexity of the system that migrants need to understand and negotiate to meet their needs and requirements for a better life. Initiatives aimed at improving social cohesion and social support are best understood by the part/s of the system these initiatives aim to influence and improve. Institutional evaluations and systems research approaches trialled during CaDDANZ proved to be time consuming and under-resourced. Nevertheless, they demonstrated potential for strategic influence within organisations and harvested new insights.

New and conventional approaches to qualitative data gathering such as 'go along' urban encounter research,⁸⁵ and media analysis demonstrate the need for continued emphasis on disciplinary orientations fostered by sociologists, anthropologists, geographers and political scientists and supported by the collection of non-numeric data.⁸⁶ The willingness of research commissioners to acknowledge and fund the contribution of social science to questions of economy and demography cannot be overstated.

5.2 A FINAL WORD

To summarise, aside from the specific questions and suggestions raised in each research output from CaDDANZ, this report has synthesised a bundle of insights that could only have surfaced through the reflection on the interplay *between* the research questions that the original bid set out to address. While we, as a project team, did not set out to produce transdisciplinary or even interdisciplinary work on migration, diversity or the diversity dividend, setting a goal to synthesise something from the project as a whole has produced this report. Using social cohesion as a sorting mechanism for the insights has meant this overview is selective and high level.

We hope it provides an opportunity for decision makers to see the broader picture (and fundamental inadequacy) of the diversity dividend approach to immigration and to consider or reconsider the relevance of *mātauranga Māori*, social cohesion, diversity as broader than ethnocultural difference, and the value of supporting and funding innovative methodological approaches to complex social issues.

Appendix A: CaDDANZ Projects Completed 2015–2021

1. ETHNO-DEMOGRAPHIC DIVERSITY

A range of interconnected projects, each with its own quantitative or qualitative method, fall within this theme.

- *EDD1*: Projection-based analyses of future ethnic composition using state-of-the-art *stochastic (probabilistic) ethnic population projections at national and subnational levels*.
- *EDD2*: A *spatial microsimulation model of Auckland city* demonstrates the likely changes in ethnic diversity at the *local* level across the city.
- *EDD3*: Summarising and monitoring diversity within the population requires identifying and using a range of multi-dimensional diversity measurements. In this project, the *operationalisation of diversity measures* innovatively extends common practices of measuring group diversity and spatial diversity to capture the properties of the joint distributions more effectively.
- *EDD4*: This project examines *intragenerational (individual), intergenerational (parent-child) and familial changes in ethnicity* in New Zealand through a novel analysis of longitudinal census data (1981–2013).
- *EDD5*: The relationships between *Māori cultural identity, and political and civic participation* is explored through statistical analyses of the inaugural and nationally

representative Māori Social Survey.

- *EDD6*: A *mixed-method project conceptualises and examines ethno-demographic diversity from an explicitly Indigenous standpoint*. It is informed by the high-level question: What are the unique and shared aspirations of Māori and migrants for living together productively? The project uses a mixed methods approach including semi-structured interviews with Māori and migrants living in areas with low, medium and high levels of diversity and focus groups organised in collaboration with Māori and migrant stakeholders.

2. SOCIETAL IMPACTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

The following projects concern the social, economic, political, cultural, environmental and infrastructural consequences of projected population change at national and subnational levels.

- *SIO1*: The impact of *ethno-demographic composition of firm employment on firm performance* is a complex issue, given that there are many positive and negative channels of influence. Using the Integrated Data Infrastructure, we investigate how firm innovation, productivity and growth are affected by demographic diversity, in the context of within-firm and agglomeration-wide determinants.
- *SIO2*: A second set of quantitative projects concerns estimation of the *impact of*

diversity on households in terms of wages received, wellbeing and housing markets.

- **SIO3: *Temporary Migration and Regional Development***. An examination of local government and organisation responses to managing and planning for the impacts of temporary labour migration.
- **SIO4: *'Urban encounters' and an understanding of commonplace diversity***. This research employs multiple research methods to reveal how everyday interactions, including practices of consumption (at events such as festivals/ethnic precincts) that occur in homogeneous/heterogeneous communities in Auckland impact on how difference is understood, negotiated and contested. Cultural diversity enhances urban vibrancy and consumption opportunities.
- **SIO5: *The Atlas of Population Change, which provides interactive Demographic Decision Support***. The atlas combines geographic information systems analysis and geo-visualisation functionality to assess population diversity statistics.
- **SIO6: *A spatial analysis of the heterogeneity of Māori focusing on the distribution of mana whenua and mātāwaka in urban areas and regional centres***. Customised iwi population data and geographic information systems are used to understand the spatial distribution of mana whenua and mātāwaka. The results of these analyses inform a discussion about the rights and interests of Māori in the regions as well as providing an understanding of the diversity of the Māori population and the benefits this diversity brings.
- **SIO7: Social cohesion, along with social mobility and economic performance in a hyperdiversified city such as Auckland occurs in *governed spaces***. This project,

titled *Urban Governance*, undertakes place-based analyses of integration initiatives that identify new governance arrangements focused on increas[ing] communication between diverse groups and [facilitating] social cohesion, economic performance and social mobility.

3. INSTITUTIONAL IMPLICATIONS AND RESPONSES

Both quantitative and qualitative projects contribute to this theme: developmental, impact and meta-evaluations, participatory action research, discourse analysis, and geographic information system mapping.

- **IIR1**: The focus of this project is on how key institutions have and are responding to diversity. The project involves those institutions that contribute to the state approach to diversity management/promotion, including to social cohesion, to develop *formative, developmental evaluations*.
- **IIR2**: A *participatory action research* (PAR) in two schools using a range of methods including Photovoice to investigate how diversity policy shapes students' experiences and understandings of diversity in practice (and place).
- **IIR3**: A *meta-evaluation* synthesising the characteristics of successful interventions in diversity planning across a range of institutions and populations to identify what works.
- **IIR4**: A *qualitative analysis of the diversity dividend's policy implications*. Involves interviews with CaDDANZ researchers and selective synthesis of key insights from across the research programme.
- **IIR5**: *Deconstructing discourse* uses participatory action research to understand

how difference is understood and articulated by school students in two differently diverse secondary schools in Auckland.

- *IIR: Visualising and articulating diversity* will invite members of the community to contribute stories of their experiences of diversity as autobiographical narratives in audio/video life histories or photographic images in contemporary New Zealand.
- *IIR7: An evaluation of the effectiveness of the Demographic Decision Support* system reveals the most efficient ways to disseminate the consequences of geo-referenced demographic trends and identify the strengths and weaknesses of the implementation of the support system at various organisations.

NOTES

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