Commentary

Biculturalism, Cultural Diversity and Globalisation: Issues for Aotearoa New Zealand

David C. Thorns
(Emeritus Professor of Sociology, University of Canterbury, Christchurch 8140,
New Zealand; david.thorns@canterbury.ac.nz; First and Corresponding Author)

Tagaloa Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop
(Foundation Professor of Pacific Studies, Auckland University of Technology,
Auckland 1142, New Zealand; peggy.fairbairn−dunlop@aut.ac.nz)

Rosemary Du Plessis
(Associate Professor of Sociology and Gender Studies, University of Canterbury, Christchurch
8140, New Zealand; rosemary.duplessis@canterbury.ac.nz)

Abstract: Like many other nation states in Asia and the Pacific, Aotearoa/New Zealand confronts the challenges of increasing cultural diversity and its benefits. This paper argues that Te Tiriti O Waitangi/ The Treaty of Waitangi is central to understanding cultural diversity and the impacts of globalisation in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Attention to this founding document and its implications sets the scene for discussion of recent settlement trends. Presentations at a national workshop on cultural diversity are used to highlight the complexity of living in a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society. The paper concludes with reflections on how people in Aotearoa/New Zealand are reworking understandings of national identity while recognising the special status of Māori as indigenous people, their shared Polynesian heritage with citizens of Pacific Island descent, and appreciating and maintaining the cultural traditions of an increasingly diverse population.

Key words: biculturalism, multiculturalism, cultural diversity, globalization, New Zealand

Ⅰ. Introduction

Like many other nation states in Asia and the Pacific, Aotea-roa New Zealand confronts the challenges of increasing cultural diversity while also benefitting from an increasing range of languages, religions, cultural festivals and customary practices among its people. While in other national contexts the concept of 'multicul-turalism' is extensively used to articulate the goal of productive cultural diversity, in New Zealand attention has primarily been given to 'biculturalism' and the relationships between Māori, the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, the New Zealand state and both long established and newer settlers.

Te Tiriti O Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi, a treaty signed in 1840 between the British Crown and Māori leaders, is considered by many to be the founding document of the current New Zealand state. From the 1970s onwards, there has been increasing recog-nition of the political importance of this treaty, and the partner-ship it implies between Māori and the Crown/New Zealand State (Spoonley, Pearson and Macpherson, 1996). Recognition of the Te Tiriti O Waitangi has been associated with a commitment to 'biculturalism' which is manifest among other things in the status of Māori as an official language, the incorporation of Māori rituals into state occasions, the development of Māori language pre-schools, schools and tertiary education institutions and legal processes to address historical appropriation of Māori land and other material resources (Walker, 1990, Fleras and Spoonley, 1999).

A commitment to biculturalism and state action consistent with Te Tiriti O Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi informs the way government agencies operate and the contracts they make with non-governmental organisations to deliver services in local communities (Sibley and Liu, 2004). Many government and non-governmental organisations have Māori as well as English

names. This occurs against the background of a long period of dominance of British cultural, political and economic institutions in Aotearoa/ New Zealand and the numerical dominance of settlers from Britain (Walker, 1990).

Attention to other cultural traditions occurs against the background of the special status accorded to Māori culture as well as the negotiation of historical claims to land, taonga (treasures), flora and fauna, fisheries, foreshore and seabed that are associated with Te Tiriti O Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi. Current relationships between people of diverse ethnicities are shaped by a constantly negotiated relationship between Māori and the Crown as well as well as past and present population movements and processes of globalisation. This includes migration from pacific nations which share a pan-pacific (Polynesian) heritage with Māori.

In Aotearoa New Zealand social researchers and policy makers have increasingly focused on the impact of colonisation on land and resources that were alienated and the relationship between indigenous people and those who are more recent inhabitants. This includes recent waves of migration from Asia that have resulted in an increasingly ethnically diverse population. The intensification of ethnic and cultural diversity has challenged previous mono cultural ways of seeing New Zealand's national identity. Jonathan Mane-Wheoki recently articulated the limitations of this cultural exclusivity:

> So there was this narrow tunnel vision mono-culturalism that is an enemy of us all. And it is found not only in Pākehā society but in some narrow Māori fundamentalism and my guess is it is there in some Pacific communities as well. It is good to be reminded that identity and cultural identity spring out of communities of lived and shared experiences[1]

1. *Cultural Identities in a Globalising World* workshop, Bowen State Building, Wellington, 17 April 2009. Organised by the National Com-

Challenging and moving on from such limited horizons opens up new ways of thinking about how identities are being crafted in a more culturally diverse world. While some individuals and communities embrace this diversity, the rise of gated residential communities in Aotearoa New Zealand and internationally reminds us that retreat from difference is also evident (Dupuis and Thorns, 2008).

This paper begins with an introduction to Te Tiriti O Waitangi/ The Treaty of Waitangi and its importance in understanding the relationship of Māori to colonial and post colonial settlement. The is followed by some reflections on the relevance of the concept of 'globalisation' in the context of Aotearoa/New Zealand. The next section looks at the changing profile of the population in Aotearoa New Zealand and how this is expected to change over the next 20 to 30 years. The final section draws on contributions to a recent forum on cultural diversity to highlight the challenges and insights generated as people of diverse ethnicities and cultures negotiate and renegotiate their identities, meet their families' material needs and construct communities.[2]

Central to this discussion is the place of land in the Māori, world view as a spiritual, cultural, social and political as well as economic heritage/resource and the source of identity for the generations to come. The relationship between Māori and immigrants from pacific states is a major focus of attention, since Māori are both indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand and participants in a pan-Pacific culture with strong connections to the languages,

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mission for UNESCO, the Royal Society of New Zealand and the Building Research Capability in the Social Sciences (BRCSS) Network. Workshop programme and presentations available at http://www.royalsociety.org.nz/ tools/events/details.aspx?SECT=RSNZ_Events&ID=4677

2. Statement by Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, University of Auckland and former Director of Art and Collection Services at Te Papa: the Museum of New Zealand at the *Cultural Identities in a Globalising World* workshop.

belief systems and cultural practices of other pacific people.

Ⅱ. Attention to context ― Biculturalism and Te Tiriti O Waitangi

The first people to live in what is now Aotearoa/New Zealand were the Māori people who came in the 11th/12th centuries from across the Pacific. At that time the two main islands were uninhabited and Māori established settlements in both islands, but especially the warmer North Island. When later European maritime explorers and sealers and whalers sailed to these islands they re-named it New Zealand. European settlement was confined to coastal "whaling stations" in the 18th century. Māori referred to these Europeans as 'Pākehā' and many of their descendents now use this term to refer to themselves (King, 2004b).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Māori population was close to 100,000 and the Pākehā (European) settlers were around 1,000. However, by the 1830s, the number of European settlers had increased and more systematic settlement occurred. It was at this stage that the British Crown decided to formally annex New Zealand and instructed Governor Hobson to draw up a document for signing by representatives of the indigenous people. The result in 1840 was the Te Tiriti O Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi signed by representatives of the British Crown and rangatira (chiefs) representing hapu (extended families/clans) and iwi (tribes) (Orange, 1989). The signing of the Treaty was followed by extensive settlement from the British Isles and by 1860 settlers outnumbered Māori (Belich, 1988, Pool, 1991).

In exchange for the right to govern (kawanatanga) the Crown guaranteed to Māori continued exercise of rangatiratanga (chiefly authority). Equality between citizens of the Crown and hapu and

iwi Māori were guaranteed through the promise of equality before the law. Right from the beginning there was confusion over what had been agreed, partly as there were significant differences between the English and Māori versions of the treaty and ongoing differences about whether Māori actually ceded sovereignty to the British Crown (Orange, 1987; Belich, 1998; King, 2004b). Most of the hapu and iwi actually signed the Māori version, not the English version.

Even though New Zealand as a nation state had its origins in a Treaty between the British Crown and Māori, the story has been one of a continuing struggle to ensure that the Treaty rights have been honoured and adhered to in political practice (Spoonley, 2009a; Walker, 1990). It is also important to remember that colonisation was not just about the movement of people, but was also of ideas, and goods such as plants and animals. The ecology of the country was changed as New Zealand was transformed into a farm to supply food to the UK. For example, many plants and animals were introduced which subsequently became weeds and pests (e.g. gorse and broom as well as possums and stoats) leading to the endangering of aspects of the indigenous landscape.

The interpretation and application of the Treaty has been shaped by successive legislation which has largely favoured the English version and focused on Māori commitment to relinquish "governance to the British Crown'— which became represented by the Colonial Government. Aotearoa/New Zealand public policy through the 1950s and 1960s stressed the idea that it was "one nation" and most policy was aimed at assimilating those who were different into a common culture— the Anglo-Celtic culture of the majority of settlers and their descendants (Orange, 1989).

In the 1950s and 1960s there was strong migration of Māori from the rural areas to the cities resulting in a reversal of their population distribution from 75% rural based to 75% urban by the end of the 1960s. With this movement came widespread loss

of Māori language and culture. The number of native speakers declined and the educational system did little to foster the continuation of the Māori language. In the 1970s there was a cultural revival or Māori Renaissance based around the revival of language and claims based on the rights accorded Māori in Te Tiriti O Waitangi. The creation of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1973 to hear treaty claims began a process of legal redress and discussion about the Treaty and its relevance for citizenship and relations between peoples. Te Tiriti O Waitangi moved from the margins of political consciousness in Aotearoa/New Zealand to the centre of political debate.

The extension of the Waitangi Tribunal's activities from current to historic grievances in the 1980s and the initiation of a Treaty claims process to redress the breaches and alienation of land and resources was the next significant step in recognising the Treaty as a founding document in the construction of New Zealand's national identity and legislative and democratic framework (Walker, 1990). This has led to the destabilisation of the "one nation" ideology that officially underpinned New Zealand's sense of itself in the latter part of the nineteenth and earlier part of the twentieth century.

From the late 1980s, the revival of the Māori language and culture and a series of Treaty claims and settlements led to an increasing focus on what is referred to as 'biculturalism' and the Treaty as a foundation for relationships between two partners Māori and later European, Pacific, South and East Asian settlers and those of from other places and of different ethnicities. The assumed homogeneity of the country is no more and the new context is one that requires a reworking of the national identity embracing a more culturally diverse population against the background of the special status of Māori people and Māori culture articulated in the founding Treaty document. This makes New Zealand a relatively unique location for analysis of debates about globalisation and

multiculturalism and their challenges to the way people in this country understand themselves and their governmental and legislative practices.

Ⅲ. Troubling 'globalisation' and 'multiculturalism'

It is against the background these developments with respect to the Te Tiriti Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi that citizens in Aotearoa/New Zealand confront what is generally referred to as 'globalisation' and its impacts. Globalisation is a concept that has become widely employed to describe the changes that have taken place over the latter decades of the twentieth century and to characterise the present one (Holton, 2005; Held, 2000). However, it is a concept that is not without its problems. The term lacks consistency in meaning and is employed in variety of ways. Wallerstein (2000: 249) has noted that: "Globalization is a misleading concept since what is described as globalization has been happening for 500 years. Rather what is new is that we are entering an "age of transition." Wallerstein's comment raises questions about what are we transitioning towards — a more homogenous and integrated world or one that is more diverse culturally, socially and economically.

A key focus of the globalisation literature has been on the economic dimensions of the 'transition' Wallerstein identifies. The current debt and credit crisis has refocused our attention on the extent to which the world is an increasingly interconnected financial system. Market failures in the United States precipitated a wide ranging global recession that has had significant consequences for the generation of wealth and well being and the creation of sustainable livelihoods. In addressing the causes and consequences of the current global crisis it is important to recognise the structural inequalities that persist and to recognise that in the past thirty years global inequality has increased rather than

diminished (Stiglitz 2002).

Although many nations are tackling gender and racial discrimination, and human rights issues are being addressed via international conventions and national policy changes, there are still significant disparities in citizenship, mobility, freedom of expression and in human rights. This paper focuses on issues that flow from cultural globalisation and its implications for sustaining cultural diversity and building inclusiveness in Aotearoa and elsewhere. It focuses on issues that arise from cultural and ethnic differences rather than those that arise from gender, sexuality or class.

Globalisation as a form of western hegemony tends to deny history and adopts a very limited view of change. Globalisation is often seen as creating the rise of more globally oriented media that result in a greater homogenisation of the world. For some analysts such homogeneity is evidence of the ultimate triumph of modernity, built as this is on rationality and the drive for efficiency and standardisation (Ritzer, 2004, 2008; and Bauman, 2000). The flow of information via the new media of the internet, social web sites and through television mean that we are exposed as never before to information about global events and we may feel more connected to these than to our local cultures and neighbours. At a recent workshop Fairbairn-Dunlop commented on the challenges posed for cultural diversity by globalised communication systems:

> I (came to) the question, "Is multiculturalism, which implies cultural diversity and respect for difference, even realizable in a rapidly globalising scenario?" Or is it really a nonsense? If we look at the massification of ideas through travel, technology, everything you can think of, is cultural diversity a reality? For example, I can sit on one of the most isolated atoll in Tokelau and I will know more about Obama and the riots in Bangkok, than I do about what is happening on the

neighbouring island. If you know Tokelau, they can now tune into CNN and that is where they get their news about life··· they can see the clothes, the fashions and their English is getting better. How does cultural diversity fit within that?[3.]

Globalisation needs to be seen as a set of interrelated changes that span the economic, social, cultural, political and environmental dimensions of transformation. Attention to context is thus crucial. How global flows are both embraced and resisted, mediate national and cultural boundaries and get reworked needs to be at the centre of our analysis.

'Multiculturalism' has been widely used to talk about the diversity created by migration. But this concept does not resonate well with the experience of colonial societies where there is a need to recognise the rights of the indigenous people, whether or not these rights were protected by Treaty relationships. This is particularly relevant in Aotearoa New Zealand. In this context, a more "bicultural" perspective that recognises the significance of Maori/Crown relationships has been identified as a core basis for social and political development[4.] and the use of the term 'cultural diversity' is often employed rather than 'multiculturalism' to reflect the growing heterogeneity of cultural practices and languages that are the product of migration streams.

What this suggests is that no one concept can capture the range of experiences that have shaped relations between people of different cultures both now and in the past. Concepts such as 'multiculturalism' do not recognise the power relations and stru-

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3. Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop, contribution to the panel on Multiculturalism in a Globalising World ─ Different Perspectives, at the *Cultural Identities in a Globalising World* workshop, Bowen State Building, Wellington, 17 April 2009.
4. Relevant sources include Claudia Orange (1989) and Consedine and Consedine.

ctural relations between indigenous people and more recent settlers and may also obscure unequal access to resources and opportunities across the different ethnic groups. Participants at a recent New Zealand workshop on Cultural Diversity in a Globalising World argued strongly that attention to the special place of Māori under the Te Tiriti / The Treaty as Tangata Whenua should occur alongside the need to sustain and foster cultural diversity and recognition of the growth of multiple and overlapping ethnic identities (e.g. Māori-Samoan-Pākehā, Chinese-Indian-Tongan).

Ⅳ. Changing Profile of Aotearoa/New Zealand

The population of Aotearoa/New Zealand is currently 4.31 million. The composition of the population is undergoing a profound set of demographic changes based around the varying fertility rates across the population (Pool et al., 2007) and the increased diversity of migrant streams and the complex inter-ethnic nature of the populations giving rise to multi-ethnic identities. The data in Figure 1 shows the expected rates of increase of the main ethnic groups that make up the population. The European or other group is the largest component but it is the one with the lowest fertility rate so will decline as a proportion of the total population and may even decline in absolute numbers (lowest projection).

In contrast Māori, Pacific and Asian populations are all set to grow in absolute numbers and as a proportion of the overall population. For the Māori population the increase is predicted to be 1.4 percent a year to reach a total of 820,000 by 2026. The Pacific population will increase but at a faster rate, 2.4 percent, due to its age profile and fertility rate and is predicted to move from 300,000 to 480,000. The Asian population[5] has the fastest

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5. It is important to note that the population categorised here as 'Asian' is

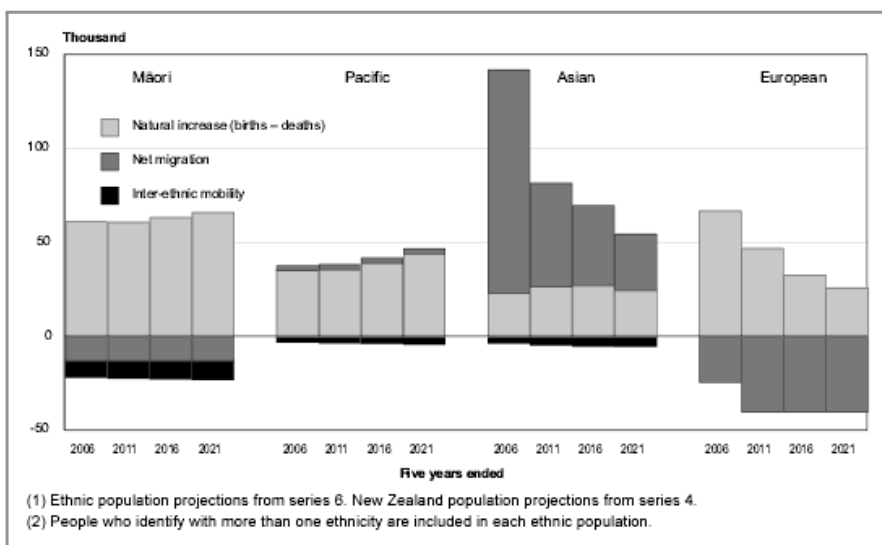**Figure 1.** Projected Ethnic Populations 2001(base)-2021.
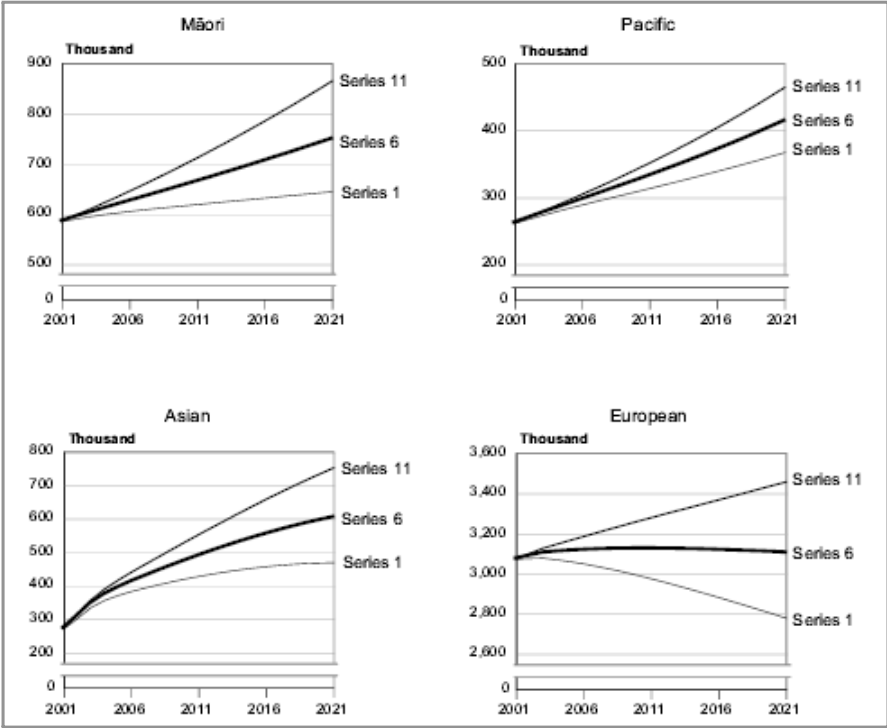
Source: Statistics New Zealand. 2004 Ethnic Population Projections: Issues and Trends.
        Prepared by Gillian Smeith and Kim Dunstan of the Demography Division, of
        Statistics New Zealand. June 2004, p. 10.
http://www.stats.govt.nz/reports/articles/ethnic-pop-projections-issues-and-trends. aspx

expected growth rate of 3.4% (largely as a result of in migration). An increase of 380,000 is projected by 2026 level bringing the total to 790,000. The Asian increase is largely driven by their net migration rate of five times the natural increase so the actual increase may well be influenced by migration policy and economic changes in New Zealand over the projected period. Figure 2 shows that Māori and Pacific population growth, in contrast to

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drawn from a range of countries with significant differences in language, ethnicity and religious affiliation.

Figure 2. Components of Population Change 2001(base)-2021

Source: Statistics New Zealand. 2004, Ethnic Population Projections: Issues and Trends. Prepared by Gillian Smeith and Kim Dunstan of the Demography Division, of Statistics New Zealand. June 2004, p. 11.

http://www.stats.govt.nz/reports/articles/ethnic-pop-projections-issues-and-trends.aspx

Asian increases, is mainly driven by births reflecting fertility rates averaging 2.6 whereas for European and Asian women these are between 1.7 and 1.8. Table 1 shows the age distribution with a higher proportion of older Europeans that contributes to the differential fertility rates and growth potential across different ethnic groups.

Over 200 ethnic groups were identified in the latest New Zealand census, making the country one of the most culturally diverse nations. Increasing diversity is reflected in the fact that 17.5% of people in New Zealand speak two or more languages. Current data indicates that a growing proportion of the population are multi-ethnic, sometimes identifying with three to four different ethnicities. Multiple responses were permitted to the ethnicity question in the 2006 census and a considerable number

Table 1. Projected Age Distribution of Ethnic Populations 2001(base)-2021

Ethnicity	Age Distribution (percent)					Median Age (years)
	<15	15-39	40-64	65+	Total	
2001(base)						
Māori	37	40	20	3	100	22.1
Pacific	38	40	18	3	100	21.4
Asian	23	48	26	4	100	28.6
Eurepean	21	34	31	14	100	36.9
Total NZ	23	36	30	12	100	34.7
2021						
Māori	30	38	25	8	100	26.8
Pacific	33	39	22	6	100	24.0
Asian	19	37	35	9	100	36.1
Eurepean	15	39	33	22	100	44.4
Total NZ	18	33	32	18	100	39.8

(1) Ethnic population projections from series 6.
New Zealand population projections from series 4.
(2) Owing to rounding, individual figures may not sum to give the stated totals.

Source: Statistics New Zealand. 2004, Ethnic Population Projections: Issues and Trends. Prepared by Gillian Smeith and Kim Dunstan of the Demography Division, of Statistics New Zealand. June 2004, p. 12.
http://www.stats.govt.nz/reports/articles/ethnic-pop-projections-issues-and-trends.aspx

of people chose to record their multiple ethnicities. This makes comparison with other years difficult, but highlights the complexity of cultural diversity in contemporary New Zealand.

The Auckland Urban area, New Zealand's largest, of 1.1 million represents one quarter of New Zealand in both demographic and economic terms. This region is where cultural diversity is greatest and likely to be so in the future. By 2016 one quarter of the city will consist of Asian communities, one quarter Maori and Pacifica communities and 50% Pākehā and international migrants. The 2006 Census also indicated that 40% of the Auckland population were immigrants (i.e. not born in New Zealand). There is only one international city that exceeds this level of immigrants and

Table 2. Population by Ethnicity 20006 – Auckland 2016.

Pākehā[6].	860,000 (+40,000)
Māori	83,000 (+40,000)
Pacific peoples	260,000 (+80,000)
Asian peoples	400,000(+200,000)

Source: Spoonley 2009b.

that is Toronto with 44-45 %. The Australian city with closest proportion of immigrants is Sydney with 34%. Auckland is thus now one of the most culturally diverse cities in the OECD, and has been transformed in the last 30-40 years. It has become a much more cosmopolitan city and easily exceeds the threshold of super diversity which is a city in which 25% of the population are migrants.

Auckland is currently made up of four cities North Shore, Waitakere, Auckland City and Manuakau in the South which has the greatest degree of ethnic diversity. By 2050 Manukau is expected to grow by around 340,000. During this period Manukau will become 32% Asian and 32% Pacific. This trend is already being seen in the new town of Flatbush, which is projected to be about 40,000 people in 10 years. In 2008, the population had already reached 10,000 and a random community survey using face to face interviews that year indicated that the town is currently about 50% Chinese and Indian and 50% European (Stone 2009). As Raewyn Stone (Senior Policy Advisor, Community Directorate Manukau City Council) stated at the Cultural Identities in a Globalising World Workshop:

> Manukau is the largest Pacific city in the world, a third (approx 86,000 people) are Pacific Islanders. Pacific Communities have been in Manukau since the 1950's, but until recently

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6. Pākehā is the term commonly used in Aotearoa New Zealand to refer to someone of European descent (King, 2004a).

their settlement issues were not really addressed. They had to "do it yourself" and often that meant quite considerable strain on Pacific families here as they cope with their own settlement, supporting relatives and the whole issue of sending remittances back to the islands.[7.]

The growing ethnic diversity of Manukau has posed challenges for the city's elected local government which is currently focused on the provision of urban development and community services that are responsive to this diversity.

Ⅴ. Lived Experiences of Cultural Diversity

Ethnicity and Identity

There is evidence that a sea change is taking place within the population of Aotearoa New Zealand that raises profound questions with respect to what now constitutes New Zealand's national identity. Increasing ethnic diversity challenges many of the taken for granted assumptions about who New Zealanders are and how the various strands that constitute the country might be woven together.

In a recent paper on multiculturalism Calhoun argued that identity is historically constituted and being reworked in a more heterogonous world emphasising that this is a continuing process (Calhoun, 2009). At the recent Cultural Identities workshop many presenters drew attention to the importance of seeing ethnicity as a social process rather than a simple property of a particular group (Poata-Smith, 2009). Participants shared stories that illustrated

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7. Statement by Raewyn Stone, Manukau City Council, to the panel on Responses to the Challenges of Cultural Diversity in a Globalising World: National, Local and Community Strategies, at the *Cultural Identities in a Globalising World* workshop, Bowen State Building, Wellington, 17 April 2009.

the interweaving of ethnicity and family relationships across the generations. Kathie Irwin, who opened and closed the Cultural Identities workshop, spoke about her own multiple ethnicities.

> My grandfather arrived in NZ aged 11 years old from the Orkney Islands, married a Maori woman. When he died he was a fluent speaker of Maori and was mourned by thousands of Maori at his death. How do you start your journey in the Orkney Islands and end that way if you haven't been able to with honesty, courage and integrity to communicate cross culturally?[8.]

Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop who contributed to the opening panel discussion stated:

> I cannot present a Pacific view, because the Pacific community in New Zealand comprises over 20 ethnic groups each with their own language and culture – nor can I present a Samoan view. So this is a personal view about multiculturalism or where I think the world is going in terms of Pacific peoples… from a New Zealand born Samoan who has a father that immigrated from Glasgow to NZ, ended up in Samoa, marrying a Samoan… raised a family in Samoa and migrated with their children in the 40's, then I was born. So this is very much multiculturalism and globalisation. For my own family, I have 5 daughters–one married to New Zealander of German descent, one to a Maori, one to a Tongan-Samoan and one to a Samoan.[9.]

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8. Kathie Irwin, contribution to the closing session of the *Cultural Identities in a Globalising World* workshop, Bowen State Building, Wellington, 17 April 2009.

9. Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop, contribution to the panel on Multiculturalism in a Globalising World — Different Perspectives, at the *Cultural Identities in a Globalising World* workshop, Bowen State Building, Wellington, 17

Research into migration between Tonga and New Zealand shows how identity construction and relationship building is often crucial to Tongan migrants who both sustain village ties and relationships with grandparents and negotiate South Auckland and its many "ethnicities". (Brown, 2009). This is evident in other ethnic specific Pacific migrant communities.

Understanding of national identity is often constructed through sporting engagement. Here too complexity is evident as All Blacks may carry mana as the New Zealand national team in a country that is passionate about rugby and also be identified in their countries of origin as Samoan and Tongan. For example, one recent All Black identified as Scots, Māori, and Pacific. Evan Poata-Smith argued that diversity exists within as well as between the various ethnic groups and this in part arises from the greater willingness and encouragement within Aotearoa New Zealand for people to embrace and celebrate their cultural roots rather than the imposition a mono cultural uniformity. Evan Poata-Smith commented:

> But how is diversity impacting on Māori communities themselves? Rather than seeing Māori as having to aspire to a set of abstract principles, I think what we need to do is recognise that Māori live their lives in many different ways and ultimately this reflects in a very creative response to the demands of different circumstances, i.e. urban, rural, young etc.[10]

A theme that came through the workshop was the impor-

April 2009.

10. Evan Poata-Smith, contribution to the panel on Multiculturalism in a Globalising World — Different Perspectives, at the *Cultural Identities in a Globalising World* workshop, Bowen State Building, Wellington, 17 April 2009.

tance of feeling secure in your own cultural identity before coming to the table and discussing cultural identity with others. Many young people appear to be much more secure in their own cultural identity than their parents' generation and innovatively move between and negotiate their participation and identities on the basis of the context and implicit and explicit expectation and cultural norms.

Creating "spaces"

The notion of "navigating cultural spaces" is a useful way to explore how people negotiate complex cultural identities in different environments. Nayar (2009) in an insightful account of how Indian migrant women move between their known ways of doing everyday tasks, and new occupations has used this concept to show how the women in her study experience moving in, retreating, reconfiguring, moving out of and moving between, their known culture and the new cultures they encounter in this society. Working though these challenges is a dynamic, interactive and ongoing process (Nayar, 2009).

The ease with which the women in Nayar's study navigate these different cultural spaces was determined by the alignment of values and beliefs between cultures, which either facilitated or impeded the process. The creation of safe places and opportunities for people to explore respectfully other peoples' values and contributions was seen as an important precondition to the development of appreciation of cultural diversity. In her contribution to the panel on responses to the challenges of cultural diversity in Aotearoa New Zealand, Diane Mara posed these questions:

> What are the "spaces" that exist for Pacific communities to articulate their views? Who gets to create these spaces/opportunities? And given that socially, politically and economically there are great intersections between poverty and poor health,

how do we get to articulate who we are and express who we are so we get some level of social justice and social equity?[11.]

Migration to New Zealand has been linked to skill deficiencies and labour market needs. The 1950s and 1960s significantly changed the distribution of the Māori population with strong migration to the cities and employment in the urban economy. In the same period, migration was encouraged from the Pacific to fill labour shortages that were initially short term, but over time contributed to the development of substantial Pacific communities and the birth of second and third generation New Zealand born Pacific people (Pearson, 1990).

There are ongoing and significant issues with respect to the role of migrant labour and the Pacific populations. New Zealand has long had schemes for seasonal labour to assist with its agricultural and horticultural industries. Various schemes have been used over the years the most recent one is the *Recognised Seasonal Employer* (RSE) programme workers from the Pacific. According to Diane Mara (2009), this scheme:

> "···brings back memories of the 50's and 60's when Pasifika people were brought in as labour migrants. Under this programme 2800 Pacific workers were brought in this year to pick fruit. Work 6 days a week from dawn to dusk. In the Hawkes Bay Today newspaper on Sat 21 March, Pacific workers were depicted as 'Godsend.[12.]

However, such schemes are based on temporary permits and involve pacific people filling in gaps in the labour market rather

11. Diane Mara, contribution to the panel on Responses to the Challenges of Cultural Diversity ― National, Local and Community Strategies, *Cultural Identities in a Globalising World* workshop, Bowen State Building, Wellington, 17 April 2009.

12. Ibid.

than becoming contributors to the wider community.

For Pacific people the ties to their community and extended families are important for the maintenance of their language, religion and cultural values. Further the repatriation of money from New Zealand back to Pacific Island communities is a very significant source of income that sustains Island populations.

Research has shown that despite an increased awareness of differences in cultural practices with respect to 'language', there is also a need to address the 'actions' of New Zealanders, in particular the attitudes and practices of potential employers. Many of the participants in the research conducted by Spoonley (2009a) talked of the difficulties they had with finding employment, which they believed was in part due to New Zealand employers perceptions of whether they would 'fit in' to the workplace (i.e. what style of clothes did they wear and how they spoke English). Promoting community readiness so that members of the New Zealand public are aware of the impact of their words and actions are a critical step towards welcoming migrants and helping them feel settled in an unfamiliar environment.

Diasporas and networks

Cultural diversity encourages us to reflect on the origins of the various groups within a population and their linkages both within the particular society and beyond. The extent to which they are connected across the world in global networks that provide economic and cultural support has been subjected to research and analysis. This is often now conceptualised as transnationalism with a greater recognition that migration is not just stimulated by economic push and pull factors but is also shaped by the existence of "diaspora" communities that provide support and assist in the cultural adaptation that comes with migration. Communities within Aotearoa New Zealand are no exception and there are substantial "global" communities of Māori, Pacific and

already by Evan, a lot of the Samoan youth call New Zealand home. They are not looking to a homeland, somewhere where they will return to for rejuvenation and spiritual enrichment. They are saying this is us in New Zealand now, in Otara, and this is what being a Samoan means.[14.]

Regardless of how people define 'home', connections with "homelands" are very important to how cultures survive in a context of migration. One thing that has significantly assisted these connections has been the growth of internet, email and skype and social networking sites that allow the exchange of news, stories, experiences and flows of knowledge. Technology can also cause tensions and disruptions where there are differences in generational knowledge and access that open up communities to a greater range of knowledge and experiences that can threaten existing authority patterns and cultural practices. The ICT, digital revolution has created new opportunities to stay in touch across national and international borders significantly impacting upon our ideas about identity and nationality (Miller and Slater, 2000).

Another significant vehicle for cultural maintenance is the celebration of festivals and growth of language papers and radio and other media. Recent research by Phoebe Li (2009) has explored the question of how the Chinese migrant community is represented in the emerging New Zealand based Chinese media. Her research has responded to these questions: What role media play in the process of migrants acculturation in NZ? How do Chinese migrants perceive NZ? What kind of aspirations do Chinese migrants hold concerning their new lives in NZ? How do Chinese migrants maintain their link with their homeland?

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14. Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop, contribution to the panel on Multiculturalism in a Globalising World — Different Perspectives, at the *Cultural Identities in a Globalising World* workshop, Bowen State Building, Wellington, 17 April 2009.

Ⅵ. Challenges

The growing cultural diversity within societies, especially those that have previously asserted an assimilationist stance towards migrants, creates a series of challenges. The first is the reworking of the understandings of national identity and how this can express and acknowledge the set of heritages that are present. In Aotearoa New Zealand the Treaty and the Treaty settlement process is central to assertions about national identity. Current Government policy is to have all claims settled by 2016. Whether this is a realistic goal remains to be seen as there are still many claims to be heard by the Waitangi Tribunal, although the date has now passed by which claims have to be formally lodged with the Tribunal.

Māori political activism and cultural renaissance challenge Pākehā New Zealand images of themselves and their sense of belonging and identity and contribute to ongoing debates about what being "Pākehā" means in the present context (King, 2004). The location of New Zealand within the South West Pacific and its growing trade and migrant connections with Pacific and Asia has led to a substantial reorientation of focus within policy away from Europe and the United Kingdom. The generation who referred constantly to England as 'home' is no longer the dominant one. The shifts create both a profound anxiety among some as their sense of identity and belonging is disturbed, but also presents a great opportunity - the opportunity to remake nationhood in a more inclusive and embracing way. To do so will require some "work and effort" as Kathie Irwin eloquently suggested at the Cultural Identities workshop:

> Pearls of Wisdom ─ a powerful Pacific image to honour and hold onto. Starts with grit, ugly, raw and uncomfortable grit and over time it grows and is polished and finally something

is created that is treasured and valued across all cultures in the world. We are making Pearls, we did some polishing today and if we allow ourselves to feel the effects then we will all grow into those Pearls of Wisdom.[15.]

Other issues to be confronted relate to representation and forms of governance. This has emerged as one of the most contentious issues in the plans to create a "super" city in Auckland amalgamating the 6 current administrative authorities ― 4 cities and 2 counties ― into a single city. A Royal Commission in 2009 recommended that 3 seats should be reserved for Māori on the new amalgamated Council which otherwise would be elected by the first past the post system. The government rejected the "special nature" of this pattern and argued Māori should be elected under the same conditions as all others. The proposed Council will have 20 councillors, 8 elected at large from across the city and 12 from wards. The government also rejected the idea of local boards and replaced these with advisory committees which do not appear to have any power or funding. This contrasts with the national electoral system in which there are currently 6 Māori seats and an MMP system that provides both constituency MPs and party list MPs to ensure that overall the distribution of seats represents the percentage of the votes cast for particular parties.

Concern within the wider Auckland community has grown as to how cultural diversity within the city will be represented especially as the restructured city will lose the local community boards that have played a significant local role in assisting the integration of the various cultural communities into the city. This debate raises the questions about how we constitute citizenship in a democracy where all permanent residents and citizens have

15. Kathie Irwin, contribution to the closing session of the *Cultural Identities in a Globalising World* workshop, Bowen State Building, Wellington, 17 April 2009.

access to a vote, and yet at the same time others might have special rights which arise out of their status as the descendants of the tangata whenua or indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Many Pacific Islands New Zealanders both recognise the special status of Māori as tangata whenua but also seek recognition for their cultures as uniquely of the Pacific – the region in which Aotearoa is located. Preservation of Pacific languages and culture may depend on actions in Aotearoa New Zealand as much as initiatives in pacific states. Attention to the status of Māori as tangata whenua combines with assertions by Pacific people for representation and resources to preserve their languages and cultural practices.

Finally, there are issues around power and who gets to be listened to and participate in public debate. What forms of representation are the most effective in what contexts? Are the ways we are doing things now the best way of doing things as the composition of people changes in Aotearoa New Zealand? Is the future going to look any different from the way it is now? If so, how? What responses are possible at the level of the individual, the household, the community, the city and the nation?

Diversity creates positive and negative responses. Attention often focuses on negative aspects of cultural difference, especially at election times when migrants can be used as scapegoats for social concerns (Chin, 2009). A downside of increasingly diverse communities in a context of competition for scarce resources is a rise in hate crimes and discrimination. The United Kingdom and Canada have been opening their doors to more migrants due to a shortage of labour and skills. In a time of economic recession migrants are an easy target when job losses are looming. A more positive response is to appreciate and value the skills and new ideas that migrants can bring, to use diversity as a source of economic stimulus and value the contribution that this diversity

can make to a dynamic and energetic nation state.

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Asian groups. The significance of these for the flow of talent and their economic power should not be underestimated. Paul Spoonley reflected at the Cultural Diversity Workshop on the size of the Chinese diaspora:

> amalgamate the trading that occurs between the Chinese diaspora, about 33 million people around the world, and ······. if you treated that as a separate economy, took out the People's Republic of China, but treated overseas Chinese communities as a single economy, it became the 3rd largest economy in the world.[13.]

The Pacific nations have amongst the largest diasporas of any countries in the world. The balance in Fiji between Indo-Fijians and indigenous Fijians has changed quite dramatically since the first political coup in 1987. A significant number of Indo-Fijians have migrated to New Zealand and Australia. With the continuing tensions and instability within Fiji it is likely that there will be ongoing movement outwards from Fiji. Fiji has further had a long association with the British Army with Fijians serving in the UK forces. This, together with the extensive involvement of Fiji in UN peace keeping, has extended the dispersal of Fijians over several continents (Teaiwa, 2009).

At the Cultural Identities workshop, Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop commented on the way in which for many Samoans New Zealand is now 'home'.

> We've got intermarriage, multi-ethnicity **and** we've got 3rd, 4th, 5th generation New Zealand born. And as alluded to

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13. Paul Spoonley, concluding comments in the panel on Investigating Migration, Cultural Identities and Transformation at the *Cultural Identities in a Globalising World* workshop, Bowen State Building, Wellington, 17 April 2009.

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