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Immigration, Ethnic Diversity and Cities: A Literature Review for Auckland Council

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Immigration, Ethnic Diversity and Cities: A Literature Review for Auckland Council

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Prepared for the Research and Evaluation Unit (RIMU), Auckland Council

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1.0 Executive summary

This review presents insights from the international and national literature on the social impacts of immigration-driven ethnic diversity and cities, with examples of initiatives and infrastructure considerations at the city-level. The review also engages with the literature on indigeneity and immigration. This review has been undertaken to inform Auckland Council's approaches and considerations of ethnic diversity in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland.

The literature on ethnic diversity, migration and cities is complex and contradictory. What is clear, however, is the importance of understanding the national and local contexts (social, political, historical and economic), and the influence of those contexts on issues including language and categorisation, institutions and inequality.

The social impacts of ethnic diversity

Ethnic diversity, according to the literature, has both negative and positive social impacts. The negative impacts might be summarised as diminishing the elements of social cohesion (inclusion, belonging, participation, legitimacy and recognition) and therefore contributing to social fragmentation. Negative impacts occur where there is inequality, discrimination and fear of difference; they can lead to a lack of connection or shared vision for that community, as well as social disturbances. The positive impacts of ethnic diversity are the creation of innovation, vibrancy, and cultural and social prosperity, indicated through attachment to place, belonging and a shared vision. However, an underlying issue with framing the social impact of ethnic diversity in exclusively positive or negative terms is an inevitable centering of the impact on the majority culture with implicit biases about how a society, city and community should look, how its inhabitants should behave, and what they should or will value.

Literature on the social impacts of ethnic diversity on cities tends to measure how newcomers will adjust to the established and dominant cultural ways and institutions in order to indicate cohesion. Newcomers' sense of belonging and experiences interacting with the established communities are complicated by whether they are a visible migrant or not, and whether their cultural worldview is similar or not to those of the established communities.

City level initiatives on ethnic diversity

The literature on city initiatives illustrates the current dominance of the city-scale and the shift towards a focus on local, urban governance. Organisations and networks to connect cities promote the idea that they should be united in their approach to ethnic diversity, cohesion and migration, and learn from each other. In general, contemporary city initiatives favour an intercultural approach; frame it as part of a city's identity on the global stage; have an assumed level of universal applicability; and recognise the role of established communities in social cohesion. However, as Collins and Friesen point out, such international approaches prioritise global models of how to develop a successful city at the expense of local particularities. In the case of Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland this includes ignoring the importance of biculturalism and downplaying the socio-economic inequality that is interwoven with cultural difference and diversity in this city.¹

Ethnic diversity and infrastructure

A city's infrastructure includes its administrative and governing processes as well as its built environment. This review covers public transport, parks, libraries, museums, ethnic precincts, sport and public art, as well as the administrative aspects of urban planning and governance. Infrastructure is not neutral – it is influenced by political and normative ideas about users, transformation, interaction and improvement.

Some literature argues that urban infrastructure can be used to counteract social exclusion, provide opportunities for access, interaction, and equity of experience, while recognising that people use spaces in different and culturally informed ways. In this way, the built environment can be harnessed for interculturality or social cohesion in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland. However, it must be remembered that even where opportunities are provided, this will not ensure equality of outcome, and that sharing a public space does not guarantee public interaction.² It is also important to recognise that the discourse on using infrastructure as a way to promote diversity

¹ Francis Collins and Wardlow Friesen, 'Making the Most of Diversity? The Intercultural City Project and a Rescaled Version of Diversity in Auckland, New Zealand', *Urban Studies*, 48, 14, 2011, pp.3067–3085.

² N. Nasser, 'Social Cohesion and Public Space', 6 February 2016 <http://www.melasocialenterprise.com/social-cohesion-and-public-space-by-noha-nasser/> (Accessed 15 February 2017).

and social cohesion is also about governing and controlling that diversity and those interactions.³

Indigeneity and immigration

Bringing together the literature on indigeneity and immigration opens up new ways of considering ethnic diversity, inclusion, equity and belonging in a city within a settler nation, such as Aotearoa New Zealand. The underlying focus of much of the literature on ethnic diversity and social cohesion is about encouraging migrants to participate in the systems of the dominant culture, without recognising that those structures and institutions perpetuate exclusion and inequality. Highlighting shared experiences of discrimination, displacement and inequality between Māori and racialised migrants, exposes the cultural assumptions inherent in much of the literature. An indigenous framework involves asking different questions and addressing how existing power structures are part of ongoing inequality that undermines social cohesion.

Research gaps

More research is needed to understand how the issues raised in the literature relate to Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland. This suggested research focus aligns with the international literature that advises gathering local evidence in order to develop targeted and effective policies at a local government level. Importantly, the literature reinforces the need to examine social structures, critique dominant worldviews and question cultural assumptions in order to address underlying issues of exclusion and inequality. Auckland Council directed research on any of the research gaps outlined in Section 8 would benefit from being conceived and enacted collaboratively, with Māori and migrant communities and representatives following good research practice.

Conclusion

The review poses some critical questions for Auckland Council to consider. Given that Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland is facing rapid population growth and increasing ethnic diversity, the current level of resident positivity towards diversity can be

³ Marian Burchardt and Stefan Höhne, 'The Infrastructures of Diversity: Materiality and Culture in Urban Space – An Introduction', *New Diversities*, 17, 2, 2015, p.9.

leveraged to create change to support meaningful and sustainable equality of outcomes for all of Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland's residents, now and in the future.

Neo-liberal ideas about competitiveness, entrepreneurialism and creativity underlie much of the literature on the economic benefits of ethnic diversity for a city.

However, investigating the social benefits of ethnic diversity exposes the importance of addressing issues of inequality and exclusion in order to have the social benefits realised across all aspects of a city, for all residents. Such a vision involves a long-term approach, asking different questions, seeking multiple voices, and questioning existing power structures. Local government has an important role to play in recognising what it can do to facilitate and lead change, but also recognising how it is part of the problem through its need to impose order and govern.

2.0 Introduction

This literature review focuses on the social impacts of ethnic diversity and immigration – social cohesion, social capital, interculturalism, identity, belonging, and inclusivity – with examples drawn from international and national literature. This review has been undertaken to help develop research areas and inform possible policy development at Auckland Council. *The Auckland Plan*'s vision to develop Auckland into 'the world's most liveable city' includes being a city that celebrates diversity and promotes inclusivity and equality.⁴ The term 'diversity' in *The Plan* is broad ranging. This literature review is focused on one aspect of diversity: ethnic diversity.⁵ However, the intersectionality⁶ of age, gender, sexuality, class, migrant status, education, and/or disability in relation to ethnic diversity and inclusivity is recognised as fundamental to understanding the issues presented here.⁷ Where possible this review draws on research from settler nations that, like Aotearoa New Zealand, have complex and dynamic relationships between indigenous, old migrant and new migrant cultures.⁸

This review focuses on four areas:

1. the social impact of ethnic diversity;
2. city level initiatives that focus on diversity and inclusion;
3. infrastructure and ethnic diversity at the city level; and
4. the intersection between indigeneity and immigration.

⁴ Auckland Council, *The Auckland Plan*, Auckland Council: Auckland, 2012, point 186.

⁵ Ethnicity is a measure of cultural affiliation (in contrast to race, ancestry, nationality, or citizenship), is self-perceived and a person can belong to more than one ethnic group. Statistics New Zealand, *2013 Census QuickStats about Culture and Identity*, Wellington, 2014, Available from www.stats.govt.nz, p.31.

⁶ 'Intersectionality' refers to the interconnected nature of social categories.

⁷ Mai Chen recommends a 'diversity matrix' to understand the intersectionality of gender, race, ethnicity, age, religious affiliation, sexuality and (dis)ability when considering discrimination laws in New Zealand. See Mai Chen, *The Diversity Matrix: Updating what Diversity means for discrimination laws in the 21st century*, 2017. Available <http://www.chenpalmer.com/wp-content/uploads/The-Diversity-Matrix-A4-11.pdf>

⁸ The term 'settler nation' is used to keep the colonial process in the forefront of the reader's mind. However, it can be argued that such a term reinforces colonial frontier myths and masks both the violence of the colonial process and the ongoing colonial influence into the present day. For this argument see A.E. Coombes, ed., *Rethinking settler colonialism*, Manchester, United Kingdom: Manchester University Press, 2006.

Focus 1 (social impact) considers a broader outline of the issues, while Focus 2 (city initiatives) and Focus 3 (infrastructure) enable finer detail through examples. Focus 4 (indigeneity and immigration) is a critical yet under-examined part of the wider discourse on immigration internationally and within Aotearoa New Zealand.

As background to the four key foci, the review starts by outlining the themes of the broader literature (immigration and inequality, racialised migrants, economic focus, social cohesion theories and critiques, various policy approaches, decolonisation, diversity, everyday multiculturalism, media, and the city). It then presents some considerations about language and terms, before moving on to demographic and policy contexts for Aotearoa New Zealand and Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland. The review concludes by identifying research and knowledge gaps in the literature and posing questions for Auckland Council to consider.

3.0 Background

3.1 Themes in the broader literature

There is a general consensus that countries, cities and communities are diversifying and that this is only going to increase with patterns of migration and globalisation.⁹ This increasing ethnic diversity impacts on individuals, communities, organisations and government with the potential for negative (inter and intra-group tension, lack of social cohesion) and positive (social interaction, feeling safe, civic engagement, vibrancy) impacts at a personal, neighbourhood, city or national level. Places such as Canada have built a reputation for being proactive around ethnic diversity,¹⁰ while the New Zealand government has been less interventionist.¹¹ However, it is recognised that this may not be a sustainable approach for Aotearoa New Zealand's future of 'superdiversity'.¹²

There is disagreement over what new processes should look like, and whose needs should be prioritised. Some ideas of how to address a more ethnically diverse population are through methods such as multiculturalism or civic engagement: these see the underlying systems – education, government, economics – largely unchanged. Others argue for decolonisation of institutions and systems to address structural inequality and institutionalised racism. There is also the question over whom or what to focus the initiatives on: intercultural or intracultural, community-led, government led, young people, hosts, immigrants, indigenous/immigrant interactions. Even a goal of social cohesion is contested, with some arguing that notions such as 'diversity', 'social cohesion' and 'inclusivity' shore up dominant cultural norms and that heteroculturality and difference could be more empowering and transparent.

⁹ International Organisation for Migration (IOM), *World Migration Report: Migrants and Cities: New Partnerships to Manage Mobility*, Geneva, 2015; Robert Putnam, 'E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century. The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30, 2, 2007, pp.137–74.

¹⁰ Government of Canada, 'Diversity, Identity and the Social Cohesion Advantage' *Policy Horizons Canada*, http://www.horizons.gc.ca/eng/content/diversity-identity-and-social-cohesion-advantage#n142_01.

¹¹ Paul Spoonley, 'Superdiversity, Social Cohesion, and Economic Benefits', *IZA World of Labor*, 2014, 46, doi: 10.15185/izawol.46.

¹² Mai Chen, *The Superdiversity Stocktake: Implications for Law, Policy and Business*, Auckland, 2015; Mai Chen and New Zealand Law Foundation, *Superdiversity, Democracy and New Zealand's Electoral and Referenda Laws*, Wellington, 2015. Available: http://www.chenpalmer.com/wp-content/uploads/NZLF_Superdiversity_Electoral_Laws.pdf.

3.1.1 Immigration and inequality

The relationships between migration, ethnicity and inequality are an integral part of the literature on ethnic diversity and immigration. While such concerns underlie many of the policies, initiatives and research outlined below, an in-depth examination of this literature is outside the scope of this review. In the Aotearoa New Zealand context, the explicit connection between inequality and migration was highlighted by academics and those working in the sector at a recent symposium at the University of Auckland.¹³ One speaker said that inequality is at the heart of New Zealand's immigration policy – with people ranked (primarily on their potential economic contribution) to assess eligibility to become citizens, permanent residents or temporary residents.¹⁴ Such 'legislated inequality' goes on to shape unequal futures – in terms of economic inequality, but also inequality of rights.¹⁵ The question remains about what future repercussions – social and economic – such immigration policies will have.

The literature shows that while social cohesion is a multifaceted concept, inequality and economic disadvantage has the most detrimental impact on trust, participation, community cohesion, social capital and inter-ethnic relations.¹⁶ As ethnically diverse areas may also be places of heightened deprivation, this can lead to social fragmentation. Conflict or threat theory argues that where diversity and disadvantage meet this can lead to social tension based on competition for scarce resources – like housing and jobs. Addressing such issues requires a focus of resources and research into ways to reduce broader social and economic inequality and build strong communities.

¹³ Migration and Inequality: Engaged Social Science (esocsci) Research Initiative, 9 December 2016, Fale Pasifika, University of Auckland.

¹⁴ Kate McMillan, 'Inequality as Cause and Consequence of Migration?' Migration and Inequality: Engaged Social Science Research Initiative, 9 December 2016, Fale Pasifika, University of Auckland.

¹⁵ Francis Collins, 'Temporary Migration Policy and Inequality', Migration and Inequality: Engaged Social Science Research Initiative, 9 December 2016, Fale Pasifika, University of Auckland.

¹⁶ N. Letki, 'Does Diversity Erode Social Cohesion? Social Capital and Race in British Neighbourhoods', *Political Studies*, 56, 2008, pp.99–126; James Laurence, 'The Effect of Ethnic Diversity and Community Disadvantage on Social Cohesion: A Multi-Level Analysis of Social Capital and Interethnic Relations in UK Communities', *European Sociological Review*, 27, 1, 2011, pp.70–89; Neli Demireva, *Briefing: Immigration, Diversity and Social Cohesion*, 3rd revision, University of Oxford: Oxford, 2015, p.4.

3.1.2 Visible/‘racialised’ migrants

Much of the literature on social cohesion, immigration and ethnic diversity is focused on racialised migrants – issues of discrimination and social exclusion often revolve around differences between a newcomer’s own culture and the dominant culture of their host country. This is less of an issue where the newcomer’s culture is similar (historically, institutionally, socially) to the dominant culture of the host country. Differences can include things such as language, cultural practices, or religion. Migrants may experience exclusion through discriminatory practices in their host country – either on an institutional or an individual level.¹⁷ Migrants who come from countries or cultures that have a similar cultural heritage and history are less likely to experience these issues of structural and cultural exclusion. In the case of Aotearoa New Zealand, migrants from other white-settler nations (Australia, South Africa, Canada, the U.S.) or from Europe, the U.K. or Ireland are (for the most part) non-racialised migrants. Within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, people from the broad ethnic categories Asian, Pacific peoples, and Middle Eastern/Latin American/African (MELAA) can be said to be racialised by the dominant Pākehā culture (European/white British settler-heritage) in Aotearoa New Zealand. Dominance is not simply about numerical dominance within a population, but involves cultural dominance illustrated by institutions and systems such as central and local government, the legal system, education, and health. Policies to encourage inclusion may inadvertently ‘other’ visible migrants whilst simultaneously reinforcing whiteness as normalised.¹⁸

3.1.3 Economic focus for benefits of ethnic diversity

The literature on migration, diversity and cities is weighted towards a focus on economic arguments. The idea that diversity can play a part in economic growth is presented in the literature as both inevitable in an increasingly globalised world¹⁹ and

¹⁷ Statistics New Zealand, *Social Cohesion in New Zealand: From the New Zealand General Social Survey 2008*, Statistics New Zealand: Wellington, 2011, http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/Well-being/social-cohesion-nz.aspx (accessed 2 February 2017).

¹⁸ J. Herbert, *Negotiating Boundaries in the City: Migration, Ethnicity and Gender in Britain*, Routledge: Oxon, 2016.

¹⁹ IOM, *World Migration Report*.

beneficial for creating tourism or as a marketing strategy for a city identity.²⁰ Some of this literature mentions the social impacts of globalisation and migration, including that inequality can develop as a result of a 'two speed economy' – those who participate in the globally oriented economy and those who do not.²¹

Where social implications are posed, the coverage is more often on countering the potential social problems with the economic benefits. New Zealand's Office of Ethnic Communities' 2016 strategic vision, *Flourishing Ethnic Diversity*, outlines the social challenges and the economic benefits of ethnic diversity, but not the social benefits: 'Challenges, including social unrest, can arise when there is misunderstanding and mistrust between people in communities or between communities and government ... economic benefits of superdiversity can include increased innovation, better international connections and improved productivity'.²² A 2017 report *The New New Zealanders*, by policy think-tank New Zealand Initiative, directly addresses publicly expressed sentiment that migration is damaging to Aotearoa New Zealand with almost exclusively economic arguments about the value of migration.²³

The focus on economic benefits implies that without such tangible advantages, host communities would be less enamoured with welcoming newcomers. A danger of focusing too heavily on the economic benefits, without reinforcing the social benefits of migration is that where migrants are not able to contribute economically or are even an economic burden, then a tiered or dichotomous system of good/bad or desirable/undesirable immigrants can emerge.²⁴

²⁰ Marie Price and Elizabeth Chacko, *Migrants' Inclusion in Cities: Innovative Urban Policies and Practices*, UNESCO and UN-Habitat, 2012.

²¹ Greg Clark and Tim Moonen, 'The 10 Traits of Globally Fluent Metro Areas', The Brookings Institution: Washington, DC, 2013.

²² The Office of Ethnic Communities, *Flourishing Ethnic Diversity; Thriving New Zealand: Strategic Directions and Intent for the Office of Ethnic Communities 2016–2020*, Wellington, 2016, p.7.

²³ Rachel Hodder and Jason Krupp, *The New New Zealanders: Why Migrants Make Good Kiwis*, New Zealand Initiative: Wellington, 2017. Only a handful of the 150+ references related to social issues and most of those were on topics, (e.g. entrepreneurship and innovation) which are closely tied with economic arguments about the benefits of migration.

²⁴ Leti Volpp, 'The Indigenous as Alien', *UC Irvine Law Review*, 5, 2, 2015, pp.289–325. p.320.

3.1.4 Social cohesion: conflict/contact/bridging/bonding

Social cohesion refers to positive social relationships – it is the bond or 'glue' that binds people together.²⁵ The goal of social cohesion is for some way of keeping people connected to a shared view of what a given society values and how it operates. Social fragmentation is linked to negative population outcomes (e.g. ghettoisation, poor health outcomes, and crime), whereas social cohesion is linked to positive population outcomes (e.g. healthy, educated, and productive communities).

Social cohesion relates to the theory of social groups. Potential social groupings are numerous but commonly include age, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, culture, dis/ability, and religion. Such groupings have membership boundaries and criteria, are based on ideas of inclusion and exclusion, and interaction or intergroup relations are assumed to be complicated or even antagonistic.²⁶ Intergroup threat theory occurs when one group perceives another group to be in a position to cause them harm: real or symbolic.

It is often assumed that as communities, cities and nations become more ethnically and culturally diverse, the potential for social fragmentation increases. Events of social unrest, terrorism or rioting are held up as evidence that social fragmentation is waiting if social cohesion is not prioritised. For example Canada's policy discussion document states that 'If social cohesion is not made a policy priority, increased diversity in 2017 may result in more frequent incidences of social fragmentation.'²⁷ The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report on social cohesion similarly cites examples of social instability as evidence of needing to follow inclusive political process.²⁸ But social fragmentation can also be taken as evidence that ethnic diversity cannot work. On the back of social unrest and terror threats German Chancellor, Angela Merkel declared multiculturalism a sham and Britain's United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) leader Nigel Farage said

²⁵ P. Cloete and F. Kotze, *Concept paper on social cohesion/inclusion in local integrated development plans*, Department of Social Development: Republic of South Africa, 2009.

²⁶ W. G. Stephan, O. Ybarra, and K.R. Morrison, 'Intergroup Threat Theory' in T. Nelson, ed., *Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination*, Psychology Press: New York, 2009, pp.44–60.

²⁷ Government of Canada, 'Diversity, Identity and the Social Cohesion Advantage'.

²⁸ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), *Perspectives on Global Development 2012: Social Cohesion in a Shifting World: Executive Summary*, Paris, 2012.

multiculturalism was a failed experiment in political correctness.²⁹ Prior to these assertions, the 2001 Cattle Report – undertaken in response to race riots in northern cities in England – outlined that in Britain different ethnic groups were living ‘parallel lives’, with little in common and little contact and recommended a policy focus shift from multiculturalism to social cohesion. Such social cohesion requires a sense of shared values.

Although the literature points to incidences of social unrest as evidence of what a lack of social cohesion will mean, the research is not clear on whether there is a direct correlation between increasing ethnic diversity and social fragmentation. Despite this, the concern is certainly present throughout the literature that greater pluralism will lead to less cohesion. As Larsen notes, rather than social cohesion, it is often the absence of social cohesion or ‘social erosion’ that the literature focuses on.³⁰ This potential for social disintegration seems elevated where the diversity produces inequality. The OECD defines a socially cohesive society specifically around equity, where the society enhances the wellbeing of all its members, fights exclusion and marginalisation, creates a sense of belonging, promotes trust, and offers its members the opportunity of upward mobility.³¹

Social cohesion is a concept with multiple definitions and uses within the academic and policy literature. In its variation there is usually the incorporation of some or all of the ideals of belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition and legitimacy.³² These are all intangible social processes. There are three elements of social cohesion that are agreed upon in the literature. Social cohesion involves a shared vision (values, respect, community identity), a community (of varying scales – national, city, neighbourhood), and is a process (ongoing rather than as an outcome).³³ Degrees of social cohesion are measurable through aspects such as ‘people’s sense of belonging ... their ability to express their own identity, their experience of

²⁹ It is important to note that while multiculturalism is considered a process for entrenching division in the U.K. and Europe, in Australia it is viewed more positively. See A. Markus, *Mapping Social Cohesion: The Scanlon Foundation Surveys 2016*, Monash University: Melbourne, 2016, p.2.

³⁰ Christian Albrekt Larsen, *Social cohesion: Definition, measurement and developments*, United Nations, 2014, <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/egms/docs/2014/LarsenDevelopmentinsocialcohesion.pdf>.

³¹ OECD, *Perspectives on Global Development*.

³² Jane Jenson, *Mapping Social Cohesion: The State of Canadian Research*, Canadian Policy Research Networks: Ottawa, 1998.

³³ Markus, *Mapping Social Cohesion 2016*, p.11.

discrimination, and tolerance of diversity'.³⁴ There is an understanding that these are related to the contexts (social, political, cultural, historic) of the locality under consideration. But also that there is an assumption about an ongoing shared commitment by community to allow 'our stability and harmony, our prosperity and our shared sense of belonging and nationhood'.³⁵

Social inclusion, social mobility and social capital are considered 'lenses' through which to examine social cohesion. Social inclusion is about material aspects (such as inclusion or access to labour markets);³⁶ social mobility is the opportunity to move within or between social classes in society (such as through education or employment opportunities); and social capital can be defined as the collective value of 'social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness'.³⁷

Academics are divided over whether such inter-ethnic interactions enhance relationships (contact theory) or undermine them (conflict theory). 'Contact theory' argues that direct contact between ethnic groups leads to fewer discriminatory practices as relationships and personal experience replace ethnic stereotypes.³⁸ In opposition to this, 'conflict theory' posits that greater interaction between different ethnic groups reinforces perceived threats – to social identity, and scarce resources – to the status quo, thus reinforcing stereotyping, ignorance and discriminatory practices.³⁹ While these two theories take the same premise (inter-ethnic interaction) to provide support for conflicting outcomes regarding social cohesion, James Laurence, argues that inter-ethnic interaction both enhances *and* undermines social cohesion. He believes that interaction reduces social capital (networks and interconnectedness) but increases tolerance for diversity.⁴⁰ His argument is a good

³⁴ Statistics New Zealand, *Social Cohesion in New Zealand*.

³⁵ The Office of Ethnic Communities, *Flourishing Ethnic Diversity*, p.7.

³⁶ Larsen, *Social cohesion*.

³⁷ Putnam, '*E Pluribus Unum*', p.137.

³⁸ R.M. Stein, S.S. Post, and A.L. Rinden, 'Reconciling Context and Contact Effects on Racial Attitudes', *Political Research Quarterly*, 53, 2, 2000, pp.285-303; J.E. Oliver and Janelle Wong, 'Intergroup Prejudice in Multiethnic settings', *American Journal of Political Science*, 47, 4, 2003, pp.567–582; M. J. Marschall and D. Stolle, 'Race and the City: Neighborhood Context and the Development of Generalized Trust', *Political Behavior* 26, 2, 2004, pp.125-153.

³⁹ Putnam, '*E Pluribus Unum*'; see also Alberto Alesina and Eliana La Ferrara, 'Who Trusts Others?', *Journal of Public Economics* 85, 2002, pp.207-34; Lauren M. McLaren, 'Anti-Immigrant Prejudice in Europe: Contact, Threat Perception, and Preferences for the Exclusion of Migrants', *Social Forces*, 81, 3, 2003, pp.909–936.

⁴⁰ Laurence, 'The Effect of Ethnic Diversity and Community Disadvantage on Social Cohesion'.

reminder that 'social cohesion' involves a number of different factors and more than a singular process.

Building relationships is another facet of social cohesion. The literature debates whether policies and processes should focus on 'bridging' (strengthening relationships and networks *between* different communities) or 'building'/'bonding' (strengthening relationships, networks and culture *within* ethnic communities) for a goal of social cohesion. Social cohesion requires an appropriate balance between bonding and bridging. Government programmes tend to focus more on bridging as a way to enhance the connections between different groups of people,⁴¹ and because of an implicit concern that bonding within migrant groups reinforces their ethnic identity at the expense of integration.⁴² Related to this is the concept of strong ties (close family and friends) and weak ties (less intentional or explicit relationships) in promoting social cohesion.⁴³ It is generally thought that local government efforts should concentrate on 'weak ties', through promoting positive everyday inter-ethnic interactions.⁴⁴

3.1.5 Critiques of social cohesion

A policy of social cohesion is not without detractors who see the very real possibility that through social cohesion a dominant culture (often the one already in residence) will determine the cultural boundaries of social behaviour and expectation. Social cohesion as a desired outcome is about creating harmonious communities that in part rely on a level of shared values and integration. The process of bridging, a cornerstone of social cohesion, is not always possible given existing inequalities and discrimination.⁴⁵ Anita Harris explores how the concept of 'social cohesion' draws from twentieth century notions of civic life, participation and 'community' (as well as the implicit element of integration into the mainstream) that are not universal and do not necessarily resonate with all members of a twenty-first century, superdiverse

⁴¹ Government of Canada, 'Diversity, Identity and the Social Cohesion Advantage'.

⁴² Amy Clarke, 'Diversity Vs Solidarity: An Introduction to the Debate', *The Migrationist: A Collaborative International Migration Blog*, 21.11.2013, https://themigrationist.net/2013/11/21/diversity-versus-solidarity-an-introduction-to-the-debate/#_edn1.

⁴³ M.S. Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', *American Journal of Sociology*, 78, 6, 1973, pp. 1360–80.

⁴⁴ D. Easley and J. Kleinberg, *Networks, Crowds and Markets* (2010) cited in L. Chile and X. Black, 'Auckland Inner-City Residents' Experiences and Expressions of Community Connectedness', *Whanake: The Pacific Journal of Community Development*, 1, 2, 2015, p.2.

⁴⁵ Clarke, 'Diversity Vs Solidarity'.

city.⁴⁶ She also notes that in moving from multiculturalism to social cohesion, concepts such as social justice, rights and equity have been replaced by a focus on shared values, cohesion and harmony.⁴⁷

Urban geographer, Ash Amin says that instead of aiming for social cohesion, policies should address the assumptions of the host country in order to expand the 'core values' inherent in a concept like 'social cohesion'. Amin says that rather than social cohesion, the aim should be on accepting and learning to live with difference. Part of this is recognising that communities are culturally heterogeneous and socially variegated spaces with members who have multiple and hybrid affiliations, attachment to place, cultural values and practices, and that an imagined future of community cohesion or integration denies the value in that difference.⁴⁸ It is also important to remember that 'difference' is subjective and is constructed and enshrined through political, legislative, social and media discourses.

3.1.6 Various approaches: multiculturalism, interculturalism, integration

There is no consensus among those working in the area of ethnic diversity, integration and immigration over what approach is best, or most effective. It has been noted that this is the nature of policy development – each new approach critiques the one that came before it.⁴⁹

Multiculturalism advocate and political philosopher Will Kymlicka explains that it is best for cities to combine approaches – such as multiculturalism, civic integration, or everyday integration – as shown by measures of political participation, trust and social cohesion, with low levels of xenophobia and far-right extremism. Any approach presents potential issues such as coercion to change, hierarchies of ethnic minorities and only superficial commitment to multiculturalism. Kymlicka presents studies that

⁴⁶ Anita Harris, 'Young People, Everyday Civic Life, and the Limits of Social Cohesion', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 31, 5, 2010, pp.573–89.

⁴⁷ Harris, 'Young People' p.576.

⁴⁸ Ash Amin, 'Ethnicity and the Multicultural City: Living with Diversity', *Environment and Planning A*, 34, 6, 2002, pp.959–80.

⁴⁹ T. Tasan-Kok, R. van Kempen, M. Raco and G. Bolt, *Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities: A Critical Literature Review*, DIVERCITIES, Utrecht: Utrecht University, 2014.

show that migrants' psychological and sociocultural wellbeing is best when they can combine their ethnic identity within a new national identity.⁵⁰

Cherti and McNeil argue that policies of multiculturalism and civic integration have failed to create real change,⁵¹ and Amin critiques them for their Eurocentrism and inherent inequality.⁵² Cherti and McNeil argue that multiculturalism and national unity approaches are both flawed in their ability to produce 'inclusive, stable and fair social order'. They favour an 'everyday integration' approach, which aims to promote a stable social order while still allowing for internal diversity within ethnic communities, and for subtleties of everyday interactions.⁵³

Other academics put forward interculturality as an approach specifically because it comes from a different perspective – arguing that cultural diversity and social pluralism are beneficial *because* they challenge normative or dominant thinking.⁵⁴ Interculturalism is seen as a critique of multiculturalism, and one that posits celebrating diversity and pluralism in a solidarity-based, dynamic society – emphasising cross-cultural dialogue for cross-cultural collaboration. Some academics argue interculturalism should replace multiculturalism,⁵⁵ some that it should complement multiculturalism,⁵⁶ and some that it is not as strong as multiculturalism.⁵⁷

3.1.7 Decolonisation

Creating city-level policies for social cohesion and inclusiveness requires challenging traditional institutions and modes of operation. This includes 'open ways of rethinking the impacts of migration on urbanisation and cities as a benefit for all the natives and

⁵⁰ Will Kymlicka, *Multiculturalism: Success, Failure and the Future*, Migration Policy Institute: Washington, 2012, p.12.

⁵¹ M. Cherti and C. McNeil, *Rethinking Integration*, Institute for Public Policy Research: London, 2012.

⁵² Ash Amin, 'Multi-ethnicity and the idea of Europe', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 21, 2, 2004, pp.1–24.

⁵³ Cherti and McNeil, *Rethinking Integration*.

⁵⁴ Amin, 'Multi-ethnicity and the idea of Europe'; N. Meer, and T. Modood, 'Interculturalism, multiculturalism or both?' *Political Insight*, 3, 1, 2012, pp. 30-33

⁵⁵ P. Ghorayshi, 'Diversity and interculturalism: Learning from Winnipeg's inner city', *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 19, 1, 2010, pp.89-104.

⁵⁶ N. Meer and T. Modood, 'How does interculturalism contrast with multiculturalism?' *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 2011, pp.1-22.

⁵⁷ Michel Wieviorka, 'Multiculturalism: A Concept to be Redefined and Certainly Not Replaced by the Extremely Vague Term of Interculturalism', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 33, 2, 2012, pp.225–231, p.226.

the new comers, and to reflect on how to prevent urban conflicts'.⁵⁸ In an argument for decolonising institutional structures one academic articulates: 'Inclusion continues to be promoted as the antidote to many of the oppressions that hinder our material wellbeing. It is a corrective philosophy that finds its support in the basic belief that oppression happens exclusively through means of exclusion. Not enough of us have asked the questions: *included in what* and *under whose terms*?'⁵⁹ Such 'inclusion' presumes that the current state structures should and always will exist. Read this way, it is akin to 'assimilation, absorption and loss'.⁶⁰ True inclusion requires addressing institutional racism by dismantling structures and breaking the unconscious benefits white people have in settler nations, as such structures were designed precisely to stratify and exclude.⁶¹

The 2015 World Migration Report (WMR) addresses this conundrum for cities, recognising that trying to fit new systems into old structures might seem like an attractive option in the short-term, in part because 'The reality is that many cities are insufficiently resourced and motivated to become truly inclusive.' However, through this approach 'they remain socially and economically fragmented and exclusionary, and far from being able to become engines of global growth'.⁶²

3.1.8 Diversity critiques and alternatives

The term 'diversity' has faced increasing critique in public and academic discourse as a 'buzzword' that has either lost its meaning, or is simply 'how we talk about race when we can't talk about race' – because the word 'diversity' seems positive and hopeful, and avoids a discussion about what people find uncomfortable.⁶³ Ghassan Hage labels diversity a 'white concept', one that is used to mean 'other' and

⁵⁸ UNESCO and UN-HABITAT, *How to enhance inclusiveness for international migrants in our cities: various stakeholders' views*, Human Settlements and Socio-Cultural Environment, no.61, Paris, 2010, p.10.

⁵⁹ Moyo Rainos Mutamba, 'Resisting Inclusion: Decolonial relations between peoples of Afrikan descent and Original peoples', *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society*, 18 June 2014, <https://decolonization.wordpress.com/2014/06/18/resisting-inclusion-decolonial-relations-between-peoples-of-afrikan-descent-and-original-peoples/> (Accessed 13 February 2017). My emphasis.

⁶⁰ Volpp, 'The Indigenous as Alien', p.292.

⁶¹ Leigh Patel, 'Nationalist Narratives, Immigration and Coloniality', *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society*, 17 September 2015, <https://decolonization.wordpress.com/2015/09/17/nationalist-narratives-immigration-and-coloniality/> (Accessed 13.2.17); Tania Canas, 'Diversity is a White Word', *ArtsHub Australia*, 9 January 2017.

⁶² IOM, *World Migration Report*, p.190.

⁶³ Ellen Berrey, 'Diversity is for white people: the big lie behind the well-intentioned word', *Salon.com*, 26 October 2015.

maintains white, middle-class and male as the default or 'normal' group.⁶⁴ Diversity, Ahmed and Swan outline, is a 'happy' term used by governments to promote heterogeneity and avoid discussions on inequality and racism that accompany ethnic and cultural difference.⁶⁵

Research has also shown that when people say they 'value diversity' this is more 'happy talk' than valuing actual intercultural encounters.⁶⁶ Terruhn's work illustrates the way Pākehā (as the majority culture) may articulate or conceptualise ethnic diversity as positive, but do so only where such multiculturalism does not impinge on their cultural, social or economic security and dominance.⁶⁷ This reinforces the importance of understanding identities as contextual and shifting, as well as recognition of the superficial elements of 'accepting diversity' and the deeper and more confrontational level of dismantling privilege to allow for equity. U.S. writer Daniel José Older, in a session on diversity in literature, expressed dislike of the term 'inclusivity' because it feels like 'tolerance' and 'If you need a training to tolerate me, we're not going to be able to build.'⁶⁸ His alternative word to 'diversity' is 'revolution'! Another possible alternative to 'diversity', given by Jeff Chang is 'equity'.⁶⁹ Inherent in these alternatives is searching for a way to illustrate *real* change and addressing *real* inequalities. Addressing the deeper issues that cause structural inequalities and power imbalances involves a long-term, committed and well-resourced process.⁷⁰

Without investigating the terms, diversity discourse can actually further exclude through tokenism and ongoing 'othering'. The lens with which research assesses issues such as equity, agency, independence or empowerment may inadvertently be Western. It is important to use these terms in a way that is dynamic, nuanced and culturally informed. Many of these concepts in everyday life unfold in ways that are

⁶⁴ Ghassan Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Nation*, Routledge: Annandale, NSW, 1998.

⁶⁵ S. Ahmed and E. Swan, 'Introduction: Doing diversity', *Policy Futures in Education*, 4, 2, 2006, pp.96–100.

⁶⁶ J.M. Bell and D. Hartmann, 'Diversity in Everyday Discourse: The Cultural Ambiguities and Consequences of "Happy Talk"', *American Sociological Review*, 72, 2007, pp. 895-914.

⁶⁷ J. Terruhn, 'Conflicted Cosmopolitans: How Pākehā experience everyday multiculturalism in Auckland, New Zealand. In *2014 Conference Proceedings: Challenging Identities, Institutions and Communities*. Adelaide: University of South Australia, 2014.

⁶⁸ Tanwi Nandini Islam, 'How do you write about "diversity" when the word has become hollow?', *Elle.com*, <http://www.elle.com/culture/books/a35087/how-do-you-write-about-diversity-when-the-word-has-become-hollow/>. Accessed 1 February 2017.

⁶⁹ Jeff Chang, *Who We Be: The Colorization of America*, St Martins Press: New York, 2014.

⁷⁰ Canas, 'Diversity is a White Word'; OECD, *Perspectives on Global Development*.

multi-dimensional and relational.⁷¹ Herbert argues for qualitative research that provides individual stories to build a piecemeal or patchwork narrative that illustrates the variance within migrant experiences in a location (using intersectionality) and counters what can become a dominant or overarching narrative.

Policies of diversity – in institutions including government, higher education or workplaces – can actually obscure racism because their presence is taken as evidence of proactivity and addressing the problem.⁷² However, such policies are often superficial or seen as a ‘box to tick off’ rather than as an opportunity for textured, conflicting and multiple points of view.⁷³ Canas outlines some ways in which communities can be represented beyond superficial ‘diversity policies’ including: participation – not just token (where communities are informed/educated about a project to gain their support) but progressive (‘citizen-control’ – where communities come up with the idea and approach facilitators for advice, discussion or support);⁷⁴ seeking multiplicity of voices and narratives to disrupt a sense of one dominant voice; building community and nurturing long-term programmes through adequate resourcing.⁷⁵

3.1.9 Everyday multiculturalism

Everyday interactions are a feature in how people experience ethnic diversity in their communities. Academic terms such as ‘everyday multiculturalism’,⁷⁶ ‘ordinary cosmopolitanism’,⁷⁷ and ‘commonplace diversity’⁷⁸ indicate an important distinction between expressions and experiences of ethnic diversity that is celebration-based, one-off, or specialist and those sites where diversity and diverse cultural expression are normalised and negotiated. This includes mundane inter-ethnic interactions that may offer a personalised and local way of experiencing and developing connectivity and cohesion.

⁷¹ Herbert, *Negotiating Boundaries*, p.6.

⁷² Sara Ahmed, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*, Duke University Press: Durham, NC, 2012.

⁷³ Anna Holmes, ‘Has “diversity” lost its meaning?’, *The New York Times Magazine*, 27 October 2015.

⁷⁴ Sherry Arnstein, ‘Ladder of Citizen Participation’ cited in Canas, ‘Diversity is a White Word’.

⁷⁵ Ahmed, *On Being Included*, p.29.

⁷⁶ A. Wise and S. Velayutham, eds, *Everyday Multiculturalism*. Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2009.

⁷⁷ M. Lamont and S. Aksartova, ‘Ordinary Cosmopolitanisms: Strategies for bridging racial boundaries among working-class men’, *Theory, Culture and Society*, 19, 4, 2002, pp. 1–25

⁷⁸ Susanne Wessendorf, ‘Commonplace diversity and the “ethos of mixing”: perceptions of difference in a London neighbourhood’, *Identities*, 20, 4, 2013, pp.407–422.

Most academics working in this area sit on the contact theory side of social cohesion and ethnic interaction. They argue that everyday interactions are important points of contact⁷⁹ that can help reduce prejudice and improve tolerance of difference.⁸⁰ Still with the aim of promoting stable social order, ‘everyday integration’ enables people to articulate their own identity and it focuses on everyday concerns – as identified by people themselves, rather than big concept concerns.⁸¹

Cherti and Platt outline four areas of everyday life where individual and group identities are formed and negotiated, and where the possibility of new allegiances is constantly developed. These sites could thus be suitable for investigating ways to aid integration and social cohesion: childcare in early years (important area for both children and parents); patterns of shopping and consumption; leisure activities (opportunities for transformation and change in a new culture but also familiar experiences); and supplementary education.⁸²

3.1.10 Media

The media influences how debates on immigration and ethnic diversity are framed and how the public – both newcomers and established communities – receives them. Bauder, for instance, notes that media play a role in maintaining the separation between issues of immigration and indigeneity in public discourse when discussing immigration and immigration policy.⁸³ Likewise, New Zealand’s Human Rights Commission media analysis on race relations, ‘Talking about Ourselves’, concluded that the media both defines and reflects New Zealand’s ideas on race relations.⁸⁴

The literature shows the media to play an important role in people’s experiences of and feelings towards migrants, towards established communities, the concept of ethnic diversity and immigration. Markus outlines how the media uncritically report survey data on public attitudes towards immigration and diversity without context or

⁷⁹ Centre on Migration, Policy and Society [COMPAS], *Immigration, Faith and Cohesion*, York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2007.

⁸⁰ N. Johnson, *Integration and Cohesion in Europe: An Overview*, Institute for Strategic Dialogue: London, 2012.

⁸¹ Cherti and McNeil, *Rethinking Integration*.

⁸² Cherti and McNeil, *Rethinking Integration*.

⁸³ Harald Bauder, *Immigration Dialectic: Imagining Community, Economy and Nation*, University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 2011.

⁸⁴ New Zealand Human Rights Commission and Mediamine, ‘Talking About Ourselves: New Zealand’s Changing Face and the Role of our Media’, Human Rights Commission: Wellington, 2014.

interpretation – possibly because the objective is to ‘generate headlines, controversy, and reader engagement’.⁸⁵ Price and Chacko advocate for cities to ‘take a proactive role in allaying the fears and prejudices that may be fuelled by national media’ through ‘addressing negative media portrayals of migrants’.⁸⁶ They note that this is particularly important where low levels of inter-ethnic interaction occurs, leaving knowledge about different ethnicities to be based on media portrayals. Perceived threats (symbolic – such as to way of life and values, or real – such as personal safety) have real consequences, regardless of whether or not the perceptions of threat are accurate.⁸⁷ This is why media portrayals of immigrant groups and ethnic diversity have real consequences for intergroup interactions.⁸⁸ The media can also reinforce stereotypes (positive and negative) about immigrants through limited coverage of stories or experiences.⁸⁹ The media can help construct a positive city identity around diversity, and are crucial in distilling this identity in the public imagination.⁹⁰ Cruickshank argues that the New Zealand media has an important potential role in communicating social change, but that its current portrayal of immigration issues, and ‘lack of cultural awareness does not augur well for developing an appreciation of inclusiveness’.⁹¹

Social media is now part of the news media landscape and is some people’s only news source. Social media has also been shown to provide easy facilitation for stereotypes, misinformation and racial bigotry to flourish – in part fuelled by the

⁸⁵ Markus, *Mapping Social Cohesion* 2016, p.3.

⁸⁶ Price and Chacko, *Migrants’ Inclusion in Cities*, p.38.

⁸⁷ Stephan, Ybarra, and Morrison, ‘Intergroup Threat Theory’.

⁸⁸ See also Paul Spoonley’s comments about public attitudes towards Asian migrants: Paul Spoonley, ‘Aotearoa and its Asian Communities’, May 2014, <http://www.asianz.org.nz/bulletin/aotearoa-and-its-asian-communities>; and Russell Brown’s article and the accompanying public comments: Russell Brown, ‘Diverse Auckland: Are we there yet?’, *Hard News* on Public Address: <https://publicaddress.net/hardnews/diverse-auckland-are-we-there-yet/>.

⁸⁹ Elsie S. Ho, ‘Doing business in New Zealand: The experiences of Chinese immigrant entrepreneurs’ Presentation to International Conference on Middle Class Chinese Migrants in Australia: Settlement, Needs and Dilemmas, 15–16 February, 2002; Ho, E. S., ‘Multi-local residence, transnational networks: Chinese “astronaut” families in New Zealand’, *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 11, 1, 2002, pp.145-164; E. Ho and R. Bedford, ‘The Asian crisis and migrant entrepreneurs in New Zealand: Some reactions and reflections’, *New Zealand Population Review*, 24, 1-2, 1998, pp. 71–101.; Manying Ip and Wardlow Friesen, ‘The New Chinese Community in New Zealand: Local Outcomes of Transnationalism’, *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 10, 2, 2001, pp.213–240.

⁹⁰ Megha Amrith, ‘Policy Brief: Building City Identities in Contexts of Diversity’, Mayoral Forum on Mobility, Migration and Development, UNU-GCM, United Nations University Institute on Globalization, Culture and Mobility, Barcelona, June 2014.

⁹¹ Prue Cruickshank, ‘Communicating social change: Politics and immigrants’, in G. Dodson and E. Papoutsaki, eds, *Communication issues in Aotearoa New Zealand: A collection of research essays*, Epress Unitec: Auckland, 2014, pp.5–16, p.12.

anonymity it provides. Social media can also provide positive benefits: allowing messages of solidarity to be sent to victims of discrimination and highlighting incidents of everyday racism and abuse that are then picked up by mainstream and national media outlets.⁹² The potential of social media in understanding and creating community and belonging is a fundamental part of the future landscape and more research is needed in this area.

3.1.11 The city

While the nation-state used to be the measure of analysis and scale when discussing cultural diversity, more recent scholarship focuses on *the city*.⁹³ How cities function and provide for their residents has become a focus of the research, development and funding.⁹⁴ This shift has been noted in a range of areas, including that 'urban management responsibilities have generally been shifted from central to local governments, which have become main actors in urban decision making'.⁹⁵ The WMR concurs, stating: 'It is at the city, municipality and community level, at the interface of migration, diversity and urban management, where the care and administration of people takes place.'⁹⁶ Focusing on local rather than national policy initiatives may also be a better fit from an indigenous framework for local hapū.⁹⁷ Even with a local focus it is important to remember that people may have connections (such as through transnationalism or online communities) outside the physically bounded 'local area'.⁹⁸

The literature on social cohesion and ethnic diversity argues for the importance of understanding place, and the specifics of the local context (social, historic and political). Context sensitivity is crucial when designing policy approaches that will be

⁹² Aaron Leaman, 'Academic calls for better recording of hate crimes after Huntly Muslim attack', stuff.co.nz, 13 February 2017 (<http://www.stuff.co.nz/waikato-times/news/89319143/academic-calls-for-better-recording-of-hate-crimes-after-huntly-muslim-attack>).

⁹³ M. W. Varsanyi, M.W. 'Interrogating "Urban Citizenship" vis-à-vis Undocumented Migration', *Citizenship Studies*, 10, 2, 2006, pp.229-249; Nancy Foner, 'How exceptional is New York? Migration and multiculturalism in the empire city', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30, 6, 2007, pp. 999–1023.

⁹⁴ Ian Shirley and Carol Neill, eds, *Asian and Pacific Cities: Development Patterns*, Routledge: Oxon, 2013.

⁹⁵ M. Balbo and G. Marconi, 'International migration, diversity and urban governance in cities of the South', *Habitat International*, 30, 3, 2006, pp.706–15, p.707.

⁹⁶ IOM, *World Migration Report*, p.189.

⁹⁷ A. Fleras, and R. Maaka, 'Indigeneity-Grounded Analysis (IGA) as Policy(-Making) Lens: New Zealand Models, Canadian Realities', *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 1, 1, 2010, p.14.

⁹⁸ Tasan-Kok, et al., *Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities*, p.11.

meaningful and targeted. For this reason, local government is considered the most appropriate level to address migrant inclusion due to proximity to the lived experience of migrants and their host communities.⁹⁹ In Aotearoa New Zealand, there are marked regional differences in migrant diversity. From the 2013 Census, the migrant populations in Auckland (39.1%), Queenstown (32.3%) and Wellington (30.7%) are above the national population of 25.2% born overseas, but some regions have far fewer migrants – in Wairoa, just 6.1% were born overseas. This is a good illustration of why city-level, rather than national-based, policies may be better suited to address community needs.

3.2 Language and terms

As indicated in the above section on critiques of ‘diversity’ and ‘social cohesion’, words are powerful and contain within them inherent and sometimes unrecognised cultural assumptions. Terms such as ‘hyperdiversity’, ‘superdiversity’, ‘transnationals’, and ‘global city’ are attempts to capture the changing complexities of urban societies and inhabitants. Such complexities include multiple countries of origin, belonging to more than one home, layering of older and newer migrant groups, different religious affiliations, and multiple language groups.¹⁰⁰ Likewise, multiculturalism, interculturalism and transculturalism are ways to try and indicate complexity and dynamism in relationships that are layered and relational.

The different terminology reflects something of the social and historic context in which it appears.¹⁰¹ ‘Diversity’ is considered by Berg and Sigona to be a concept that draws from the heritage of multiculturalism, but is distinguished from it through a focus on local rather than transnational, and with a greater idea of intersectionality rather than ethnic grouping.¹⁰² But how far such changes in terminology really have led to radical new ways of thinking is debatable. As Berg and Sigona comment wryly,

⁹⁹ Price and Chacko, *Migrants’ Inclusion in Cities*.

¹⁰⁰ Ralph Grillo, ‘Reflections on Superdiversity by an Urban Anthropologist’, 2015. http://www.academia.edu/11968932/Reflections_on_Super-Diversity_by_an_Urban_Anthropologist.

¹⁰¹ For definitions and discussion of assimilation/neo-assimilation, multiculturalism/post-multiculturalism, interculturalism, intersectionality, and superdiversity, see Tasan-Kok, et al., *Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities*, pp.14–18.

¹⁰² Mette Louise Berg and Nando Sigona, ‘Ethnography, diversity and urban space’, *Identities*, 20, 4, 2013, pp.347-360.

the terms 'superdiversity'¹⁰³ and 'hyperdiversity' are often simply used in place of where 'multiculturalism' would have been used in the past.¹⁰⁴ Anita Harris also argues that 'social cohesion' has replaced 'multiculturalism' in terms of a policy focus for addressing increasing cultural diversity and trying to contain potential intercultural tension or violence.¹⁰⁵

The language used in research on this topic changes constantly. Maintaining awareness of the nuances of the language shifts can help avoid potential tensions or offence. The terms also differ depending on the historical, social and political contexts of the localities being discussed. Immigrant, migrant and newcomer are all terms used in the research. 'Newcomer' seems to be the current preferred term and it covers both the national and international movement of people. This means it is about engaging with a new location not just a different country, and recognises that cities have their own cultural nuances to learn. Another descriptor is 'new' followed by the national identity: 'New New Zealanders' 'New Americans', 'New Canadians'.¹⁰⁶ This is possibly to signal a sense of belonging to the nation state, but it could likewise be seen as an assimilative sweep. There are also attempts to indicate layers of migration through language: Dandy and Pe-Pua use 'emerging-', 'recent-' and 'long-established migrants'.¹⁰⁷ Some academics in this area use the terms 'ingroup' and 'outgroup' to describe social groupings, which automatically signals power differentials within groupings as well as intergroup tensions.¹⁰⁸

A shift in the discourse to focus on the cultural practices of host communities disrupts a previous implication that newcomers needed to do all the adjusting. This has led to

¹⁰³ Steven Vertovec, 'Super-diversity and its implications', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30, 6, 2007, pp.1024–54.

¹⁰⁴ Berg and Sigona, 'Ethnography, diversity and urban space'.

¹⁰⁵ Harris, 'Young People'.

¹⁰⁶ MyCity Academy in Nashville uses 'new Americans'. For 'new New Zealanders' see Hodder and Krupp, *The New New Zealanders*. It is also used in Canada (see for example <http://newcanadians.tv>). The term is not used in Australia now, possibly because it was used in the 1970s and is connected with a past era of migration and social policies.

¹⁰⁷ J. Dandy and R. Pe-Pua, *Research into the Current and Emerging Drivers for Social Cohesion, Social Division and Conflict in Multicultural Australia*, Australian Department of Social Services: Canberra, 2014.

¹⁰⁸ O. Christ, K. Schmid, S. Lolliot, H. Swart, D. Stolle, N Tausch, A Al Ramiah, U Wagner, S Vertovec, M Hewstone, 'Contextual effect of positive intergroup contact on outgroup prejudice', *PNAS*, 111, 11, 2014, doi/10.1073/pnas.1320901111; Rupert Brown, Hanna Zagefka, and Linda Tip, 'Acculturation in the United Kingdom', in D.L. Sam and J.W. Berry, eds, *The Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology*, 2nd Edition, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2016.

a rise in terms such as ‘receiving communities’, and ‘welcoming communities’.¹⁰⁹ Such terms emphasise the purposeful activeness of welcoming or receiving newcomers, rather than implying the community is somehow passive, automatically benevolent or socially and politically neutral.

The increasing focus on dialogue, exchange and discourse across, within and between different groups (while recognising the complexity and heterogeneity within such group clusters) has seen an increase in terms to capture this: ‘inter-group–’ and ‘intra-group–’ interaction, dialogue, communication, discussion, exchange, relations.¹¹⁰ This has been accompanied by considerations of the relationships across different minority or excluded groups – such as the work on indigenous and newcomers,¹¹¹ also called ‘inter-minority relations’.¹¹²

3.2.1 Complexity of ethnic categories

Racial and ethnic categories are racialised and constructed categories as opposed to clearly defined, biological ones. They are the product of historical and social grouping, often influenced by social status, moral ideologies and stereotyping and do not always recognise diversity and disconnection within these imposed boundaries. In the Aotearoa New Zealand context ‘ethnic’ often means not Anglo-Celtic, Māori or Pacific and is conflated with the terms ‘migrant’ or ‘newcomer’.¹¹³

There is a dynamic, relational and contextual aspect to ethnic classification and identity. Ethnic identification is influenced by context (historic, immediate, geographic, political) and purpose. As Kukutai and Callister outline, the New Zealand Census figures show that the number of people identifying with multiple ethnicities more than doubled between 1991 and 2006. This is particularly the case, they note, amongst younger people and Māori and Pacific peoples. They go on to explain that such identification is based on a range of factors including structural, personal and

¹⁰⁹ Susan Downs-Karkos, *The Receiving Communities Toolkit: A Guide for Engaging Mainstream America in Immigrant Integration*, Spring Institute for Intercultural Learning and Welcoming America: Denver, 2011.

¹¹⁰ Cherti and McNeil, *Rethinking Integration*; Brown, Zagefka, and Tip, ‘Acculturation in the United Kingdom’.

¹¹¹ See section in this review on indigeneity and newcomers.

¹¹² J. Berry, ‘Mutual attitudes among immigrants and ethnocultural groups in Canada’, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30, 2006, pp. 719-734.

¹¹³ Rachel Simon-Kumar, ‘Difference and Diversity in Aotearoa/New Zealand: Post-neoliberal constructions of the ideal ethnic citizen’, *Ethnicities*, 14, 1, 2014, pp.138–9.

contextual.¹¹⁴ There is also the interplay between self-identification, administrative ethnicity categorisation, and how others perceive a person's ethnicity.¹¹⁵ In New Zealand's 2006 Census, a five-fold increase in those who identified with the nation (selected 'New Zealander' as their ethnic group) exposes the constructed nature of ethnic categorisation, as well as the political context for ethnic self-identification.¹¹⁶

It can be argued that ethnic groupings are really only for administrative or statistical purposes. For example, the term 'Asian' hides a multitude of different languages, histories and cultures, as well as the many intergroup dynamics within that one category.¹¹⁷ Ethnic classifications that are ascribed to newcomers may only have meaning in relation to the host country's ideas of classification, not from the migrant's own sense of identity. The Independent Māori Statutory Board (IMSB) argues against ethnicity data (self-identification) for statistics related to Māori, suggesting that descent data is 'more relevant to Māori because it aligns with the concept of whakapapa'.¹¹⁸ Such a shift changes the 2013 Census numbers for Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau from a population of 142,770 (ethnicity data) to 163,920 (descent data).¹¹⁹ Migration and intermarriage mean that the number of cultures or ethnicities people identify with in Aotearoa New Zealand is increasing and that people may have multiple identifications.¹²⁰ However, as Kukutai and Callister argue, multiple ethnic identification presents challenges for reporting, analysis and dissemination and it is possible that a self-prioritised ethnicity approach is one way to help understand the complexity of ethnicity data and allow for meaningful data reporting and measurement.¹²¹

¹¹⁴ Tahu Kukutai and Paul Callister, 'A "Main" Ethnic Group?: Ethnic self prioritisation among New Zealand youth', *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 36, 2009, pp.16–31.

¹¹⁵ José Itzigsohn, 'The formation of Latino and Latina pan-ethnic identities', in Nancy Foner and George Frederickson, eds, *Not just black and white: historical and contemporary perspectives on immigration, race and ethnicity in the United States*, Russell Sage Foundation: New York, 2004, pp.197–216.

¹¹⁶ Tahu Kukutai and Robert Didham, 'In search of ethnic New Zealanders: Ethnic naming in the 2006 Census', *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 36, 2009, pp.46–62.

¹¹⁷ Wardlow Friesen, *Asian Auckland: The Multiple Meanings of Diversity*, Asia New Zealand Foundation: Auckland, 2015.

¹¹⁸ Independent Māori Statutory Board (IMSB), *The Māori Report for Tāmaki Makaurau 2016*, IMSB: Auckland, 2016, p.26.

¹¹⁹ IMSB, *The Māori Report*, p.26.

¹²⁰ Chen, *The Diversity Matrix*.

¹²¹ Kukutai and Callister, 'A "Main" Ethnic Group?'.

3.3 Contexts – demographic, legislative, policy

3.3.1 Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland population

Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland is a culturally and ethnically diverse city. Its population represents more than 200 different ethnicities and 39.1 per cent of Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland residents were born overseas (over half a million people).¹²² Nearly 30 per cent of people in the 2013 Census reported that they speak more than one language.¹²³ The Auckland region accounts for two-thirds of Aotearoa New Zealand's Asian and Pacific ethnic group populations and half of its MELAA ethnic group population. Although the proportion of overseas-born in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland increased 2.1% between 2006 (37.0%) and 2013 (39.1%), the proportion of migrants classified as 'racialised' or 'visible' increased proportionately more. These groups now make up 27.5 per cent of the population (Asian 15.4%; Pacific peoples 8.3%; Middle Eastern and African 3.8%). In contrast, non-racialised migrants (European/white British-settler heritage: British and Irish, European, Australian, North American) have only slightly increased or declined (Australian) in number and make up 11.6 per cent of Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland's total population.¹²⁴ Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland's dominance within the New Zealand population will increase: it is projected that 39 per cent of the total population of Aotearoa New Zealand will live in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland by 2043 (compared to 34% now).¹²⁵

There are further complications related to the variance of established communities within Aotearoa New Zealand. There is the fundamental relationship between established communities, newcomers and Māori. Māori, as tangata whenua, have a long history of migration, and of experiencing the migration of others to Aotearoa. This history is a violent one, of cultural and land alienation, but also a history of asserting indigenous sovereign rights, resisting cultural impositions and working collaboratively. Twelve per cent of the population of Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland are

¹²² For more on Auckland and migration trends see Amanda Gilbertson and Carina Meares, *Ethnicity and Migration in Auckland*, Auckland Council Technical Report TR2013/012, 2013.

¹²³ Statistics New Zealand, 'Half a million Aucklanders born overseas', <http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/qstats-culture-identity-auck-mr.aspx> (Accessed 17 February 2017).

¹²⁴ Auckland Council, *Auckland Profile: Initial results from 2013 Census*, Auckland, 2014, p.13.

¹²⁵ Statistics New Zealand, 'Subnational population projections 2013 (base)–2043 (update)', Released 22 February 2017, http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/estimates_and_projections/SubnationalPopulationProjections_HOTP2013base-2043.aspx, (Accessed 4 April 2017).

Māori, which represents 25 per cent of all Māori living in Aotearoa New Zealand.¹²⁶ Auckland Council recognises 19 mana whenua iwi in Tāmaki Makaurau who have a sovereign right as mana whenua to manaaki (welcome) manuhuri (visitors/newcomers).

3.3.2 Aotearoa New Zealand population

The ethnic diversity of Aotearoa New Zealand's population has increased over a relatively short space of time. Based on identification with at least one ethnicity in the groupings of European, Māori, Asian, Pacific peoples, and MELAA, there were increases within the Aotearoa New Zealand population across all groups between the 2006 and 2013 Census: European (+14%); Māori (+6%); Asian (+33%); Pacific peoples (+11%); MELAA (+35%).¹²⁷ There is also an age component to the ethnic diversity, with the major ethnic groups having different median ages, ranging from the European median age of 41.0 years to the Pacific people's median age of 22.1 years.¹²⁸ People in Aotearoa New Zealand are increasingly identifying with more than one ethnic group and this also has an age component: 22.8 per cent of children aged 0-14 years identify with more than one ethnicity, compared to 2.6 per cent of those aged 65 and older. There has also been a national increase in religious diversity between 2006 and 2013. Of those who identify with a religion 48.9 per cent identify with Christianity (a decrease from 55.6% in 2006), the number of people who identify with the Sikh religion more than doubled between 2006 and 2013, and 2013 saw increases in Hindu (+39.6%) and Muslim (+27.9%) affiliation. Religion and ethnic groups are interconnected. Those who recorded 'no religion' shown by ethnic group were: European, 46.9 per cent; Māori, 46.3 per cent; Asian, 30.3 per cent; Pacific peoples, 17.5 per cent; MELAA, 17 per cent.¹²⁹ The literature shows that the challenge of social cohesion is exacerbated where demographics change quickly and that the pace of change has the potential to create tension between newly arrived

¹²⁶ IMSB, *The Māori Report*, p.10.

¹²⁷ Statistics New Zealand, '2013 Census: Major Ethnic Groups in New Zealand': <http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/infographic-culture-identity.aspx> (Accessed 17 February 2017).

¹²⁸ Statistics New Zealand, *2013 Census QuickStats*, p.8.

¹²⁹ Statistics New Zealand, *2013 Census QuickStats*, p.30.

groups and established communities.¹³⁰

3.3.3 New Zealand legislative and policy context

From a national context, the principles of inclusion, anti-discrimination and human rights are enshrined in New Zealand legislation. The Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand and remains the basis of the relationship between Māori and the Crown (represented on a national level by the New Zealand government and by councils at the local level). The New Zealand Bill of Rights (1990) outlines the civic and political rights of all New Zealanders to freedom of expression, religious belief, movement, and the right to be free from discrimination. These apply to people in Aotearoa New Zealand, regardless of immigration status.¹³¹ The Human Rights Act (1993) is to ensure that all people in Aotearoa New Zealand are treated fairly and equally and provides mechanisms, including the Human Rights Commission, for addressing issues of discrimination.

The New Zealand Human Rights Commission identifies 10 factors in a framework for harmonious race relations:

- 1 the Treaty of Waitangi
- 2 freedom from discrimination
- 3 freedom of expression
- 4 safety
- 5 participation
- 6 equal opportunities (work, education, health and housing, and an adequate standard of living)
- 7 newcomers
- 8 education for diversity
- 9 the right to cultural identity (including language)
- 10 responsibilities to others.¹³²

¹³⁰ Hage, *White Nation*. Hage argues that control of immigrant numbers, place or origin, language tests etc. is about reinforcing white supremacy.

¹³¹ New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 'Rights of Migrants', *Human Rights and Race Relations. Whakawhanaungatanga a Iwi*, 2010, p.327.

¹³² New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 'Statement on Race Relations': <https://www.hrc.co.nz/your-rights/race-relations-and-diversity/race-relations/our-work/statement-race/> Accessed 19 January 2017.

Although all of the above 10 are interconnected, the two with most relevance to this review are: ‘newcomers’ and ‘education for diversity’. Factor 7, ‘newcomers’ is further explained as meaning ‘Newcomers have the same fundamental rights as the rest of us. We should welcome, inform and support them to settle and participate in the community’. While factor 8, ‘education for diversity’ includes that ‘we should all have the opportunity to acquire the knowledge we need for life in a diverse society, including an understanding of our history, the Treaty of Waitangi and diversity of our cultures.’¹³³

The government provides online information for new migrants across a variety of departments: Immigration New Zealand; Immigration New Zealand’s NewZealandNow website; New Zealand Police;¹³⁴ and the Office of Ethnic Communities.¹³⁵ A number of government agencies and departments have ethnic diversity strategies, with the New Zealand Police an early adapter, adopting their Police Ethnic Strategy in 2004.¹³⁶

The Police’s *Working Together With Ethnic Communities* defines these communities as those ‘whose ethnic heritage distinguishes them from the majority of other people in New Zealand, including Māori and Pacific Peoples’¹³⁷ (for whom they have separate strategies).¹³⁸ *Working Together* outlines two desired outcomes: 1. Police have the capability and capacity to engage with ethnic communities; 2. Culturally appropriate strategies are implemented within ethnic communities. Ways of achieving this include: encouraging a diverse police force to serve and reflect diverse communities; focus on Police management’s leadership; build competency within the force through training and new recruits; and have all levels of police building community relationships. On a practical level, the New Zealand Police’s information for migrants is easily available online, with officers in major centres demarcated as

¹³³ New Zealand Human Rights Commission, *Race Relations in Aotearoa New Zealand Whanaungatanga ā iwi: Statement on Race Relations*, Wellington, 2008, https://www.hrc.co.nz/files/7314/2405/1388/25-Aug-2008_11-45-29_Race_Relations_final_Aug_08.pdf.

¹³⁴ <http://www.police.govt.nz/advice/personal-community/new-arrivals>.

¹³⁵ <http://ethniccommunities.govt.nz/>

¹³⁶ New Zealand Police, *Working Together with Ethnic Communities: Police Ethnic Strategy towards 2010*, Wellington, 2004.

¹³⁷ New Zealand Police, *Working Together with Ethnic Communities*, p.4.

¹³⁸ *Haere Whakamua: Moving Forward 2001–2010 and Police Pacific Peoples Responsiveness Strategy*.

Asian Liaison Officer (ALO), Pacific Liaison Officer (PLO), and Ethnic Liaison Officer (ELO) and a list of languages those officers speak.

The Office of Ethnic Communities' strategic plan, *Flourishing Ethnic Diversity: Thriving New Zealand* outlines their vision and strategy to achieve ethnic communities that are strong and connected, and to have all New Zealand recognise the benefits of ethnic diversity.¹³⁹ For the purposes of the Office of Ethnic Communities, 'the term ethnic (mataawaka)... refers to people who are migrants, refugees, long-term settlers, and those born in New Zealand who identify their ethnicity as Asian, European, Middle Eastern, Latin American and African'.¹⁴⁰ Their aspirational vision is for flourishing ethnic diversity and a thriving Aotearoa New Zealand (socially, economically and culturally). Beyond this, they state that the outcomes must be tangible. One of their approaches is to facilitate and encourage connected communities through inter-community engagement as well as encouraging the more common intra-community interactions.¹⁴¹

Flourishing Ethnic Communities outlines four focus areas for the Office of Ethnic Communities that provide a framework for outcomes, each of which tie into two of Jane Jenson's five areas of social cohesion – inclusion, belonging, participation, legitimacy and recognition.¹⁴²

- Focus area 1 is about capability and capacity: Growing the knowledge and understanding of ethnic diversity within New Zealand through research to feed into inclusion and legitimacy.
- Focus area 2 builds on the increased knowledge from Focus 1 and delivering targeted services, creating opportunities and funding community-led initiatives to help connect people in ethnic communities to each other, wider society and government. This focus particularly relates to the indicators of belonging and participation.
- Focus area 3 builds on the foundation platform of Focus 2 to further those inter- and intra- community connections to encourage 'active citizenship' – where people are confident and have access to engage beyond their

¹³⁹ The Office of Ethnic Communities, *Flourishing Ethnic Diversity*.

¹⁴⁰ <http://ethniccommunities.govt.nz/story/about-us#direction>.

¹⁴¹ The Office of Ethnic Communities, *Flourishing Ethnic Diversity*, p.10.

¹⁴² Jenson, *Mapping Social Cohesion*.

immediate community and the day-to-day and start participating in civic institutions such as voting, or standing for election to boards. This connects with participation and legitimacy.

- Focus area 4 is about moving from tolerance of diversity to a deeper understanding, celebration and valuing of diversity and builds on the three other focus areas. Community-based celebrations, public projects, and information activities, led by community groups, or in partnership with them can help achieve this – which is linked to recognition and belonging.¹⁴³

3.3.4 Auckland Council context

The goal to make Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland the ‘world’s most liveable city’ involves celebrating diversity and promoting inclusivity and equality. The future outcome of which is presented in both social and economic terms: by being seen as an ‘inclusive, safe, tolerant city ... Auckland will continue to attract and retain people to live and invest here’.¹⁴⁴ *The Auckland Plan* lays out the vision for Auckland city, while a number of policy documents indicate how this vision can be realised. The two most relevant ones in relation to building Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland as an ethnically diverse and inclusive city are the *Thriving Communities Action Plan* (2014) and the *Empowered Communities Approach* (2016).

The *Thriving Communities Action Plan* has 7 principles: all are connected to newcomer experience of social inclusion but most clearly related is the principle of ‘Inclusion and Diversity’: ‘Successful societies are inclusive: they see the diversity of their citizens as a strength and an asset.’¹⁴⁵ To help build ‘connected, resilient and inclusive communities’ Auckland Council wants to encourage a community-centric/‘bottom up’ approach (support community-led developments; achieve better social outcomes) recognising levers and resources within Council and the community. Rather than applying one model for all social inclusion and community engagement, *Thriving Communities* advocates working from a common agenda – which is to promote equity and fairness and remove barriers to opportunity and

¹⁴³ The Office of Ethnic Communities, *Flourishing Ethnic Diversity*, pp.11–13.

¹⁴⁴ Auckland Council, *The Auckland Plan*, point 186.

¹⁴⁵ Auckland Council, *Thriving Communities Action Plan*, Auckland, 2014, p.11.

participation. Auckland Council hopes to achieve this through being flexible, responding to need, removing barriers, and being proactive.

In creating *Thriving Communities* Auckland Council worked with different groups within Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland to understand what the needs and areas of support are. *Thriving Communities* has incorporated some of these findings in the practical focuses of the approach. Community facilities are seen as a key place for community activity and need to be ‘fit for purpose’ – the focus from the consultation seems to be on their use for intra-community interaction. The directive then is that ‘Community facilities must be inclusive of all communities and promote social cohesion, such as inter-generational connections.’¹⁴⁶ Catering for a variety of needs will also help address the *Thriving Communities* Action 18: ‘to promote community hubs that might include multi-use facilities’.¹⁴⁷ *Thriving Communities* recognises gaps in the knowledge of who is and is not using facilities and why, what role community facilities play in social cohesion, and how facilities can reflect communities in the built environment.

The Auckland Plan identifies groups that can be ‘hard to hear’ including migrant groups, women and girls, older people, young people, children, Pasifika, rainbow communities, persons with disabilities and Māori. Capturing the needs of these groups – all of which are internally diverse – is important to developing policies that reflect and serve their needs. *Thriving Communities* aims to promote and facilitate good community engagement – through the use of advisory panels – and determine better ways of accessing children and young people’s thoughts.¹⁴⁸ It is also recognised that initiatives need to be measured and monitored to understand their impact. Such measures would need to ensure the impacts are considered from multiple perspectives.

Auckland Council’s Empowered Communities approach is about strengthening communities through meaningful engagement and participation in public and community life. The *Quick Guide* notes that it is ‘critical that the empowered communities approach is able to be implemented in ways that are culturally appropriate and effective. Ethnic communities, communities of identity and

¹⁴⁶ Auckland Council, *Thriving Communities Action Plan*, p.16.

¹⁴⁷ Auckland Council, *Thriving Communities Action Plan*, p.27.

¹⁴⁸ Auckland Council, *Thriving Communities Action Plan*, pp.29, 31.

communities of interest all need to be able to see themselves reflected in the empowered communities approach.¹⁴⁹

While Auckland Council policies indicate a desire to have culturally appropriate processes that reflect diversity, this poses an internal tension when taken alongside a push for increased participation in extant Council processes. Such processes, as this literature review outlines, are inherently and structurally exclusive.

3.4 Background summary

As this section indicates, the literature on ethnic diversity, migration and cities is complex and contradictory. What is clear, however, is the importance of understanding the national and local contexts (social, political, historical and economic), and the influence of those contexts on issues including language, institutions and inequality. In acknowledgement of this, the section includes an overview of Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland and Aotearoa New Zealand’s demographic, legislative and policy environments.

¹⁴⁹ Auckland Council, *Empowered Communities Approach: Quick Guide*, Auckland, 2016.

4.0 Social impacts of ethnic diversity

Across the literature there is coverage of the social impacts of ethnic diversity at a theoretical level – ideals of social unity and social cohesion – and an empirical level – case studies and qualitative measures of attachment to place and social unity measures. However, an underlying issue with framing the social impact of ethnic diversity in positive or negative terms is an inevitable centering of the impact on the majority culture – i.e. it asks ‘how does this change affect the life, city or nation, culture and environment that is already in place’? This conundrum at the heart of the question is not always addressed in the literature. Focusing on social cohesion has at its centre a range of implicit biases about how a society, city and community should look and how its inhabitants should behave, and what they should or will value. It is argued that integration will happen regardless of whether there are formal interventions and policies or not, but that such interventions and policies can help direct how integration occurs.¹⁵⁰

Literature outlining the positive social impacts of ethnic diversity focuses on indicators of social cohesion. These positive effects can be measured in terms of attachment to country, such as through civic participation (though this does not account for transnationalism, nor consider a disconnect with civic) or general social unity such as neighbourhood interactions, and people’s perceptions of belonging. Literature that looks at the negative impacts of ethnic diversity considers indicators such as lowered social trust, isolation, and exclusion. As discussed previously, whether a newcomer feels an affinity with the culturally informed practices of a country, or a sense of belonging, or how the established communities treat them, is complicated by whether they are a visible minority or not, and whether their cultural worldview is similar or not to those in established communities.

In local government, policy is designed to meet the needs of those already in residence and to promote stable order. Migrants who do not integrate into the host community contribute less socially and economically, and are more likely to destabilise communities, than those who do.¹⁵¹ For this reason, the policy-focused

¹⁵⁰ Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa), *Migration and Social Cohesion*, v.1, 2007.

¹⁵¹ Phoebe Griffith and Julia Halej, *Trajectory and Transience: Understanding and Addressing the Pressures of Migration on Community*, Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR): London, 2015.

literature tends to argue for migration policies that incentivise integration on a local level through actively addressing pressures, fostering good community relations and providing targeted support to the most isolated groups.¹⁵²

Diversity can strengthen social cohesion or undermine it. Low social cohesion, or social fragmentation, will cause economic and social declines (creativity and innovation will suffer, as will trust, reciprocity and social participation).¹⁵³ On the other hand, social cohesion will be shown through newcomers and established communities being respectful towards each other, a lack of discrimination, and feeling safe.

As Hickman and colleagues explain

Local feelings of belonging can be encouraged towards a positive acceptance of social and cultural pluralism through the improvement of the overall shared rhythms and realities of everyday life. This can be achieved through the delivery of services targeting the specific needs of new arrivals together with the long-seated needs of long-term residents, such as lack of employment and training/education and the associated lack of self-confidence. In this way, new arrivals become (and are perceived by the long-term settled as) an opportunity for, rather than a strain on, local resources.¹⁵⁴

4.1 Negative impacts: social fragmentation

In order to improve or achieve social cohesion, cities are urged to address social fragmentation. Social fragmentation, like social cohesion, does not have one clear definition but can include a lack of connections between groups within a society, different social groups living 'parallel lives' and/or an increase in social exclusion.

The WMR provides a list of things that might undermine social cohesion/equity

- Linguistic barriers
- Legal and administrative barriers
- Reduced access to social networks

¹⁵² Griffith and Julia Halej, *Trajectory and Transience*.

¹⁵³ Government of Canada, 'Diversity, Identity and the Social Cohesion Advantage'.

¹⁵⁴ M. Hickman, H. Crowley, and N. Mai, *Immigration and Social Cohesion in the UK: The rhythms and reality of everyday life*, Joseph Rowntree Foundation: York, 2008, p.161.

- Reduced knowledge of the local environmental and social context
- Inadequacy of skills for urban labour market
- Lack of representation, discrimination and xenophobia
- Other distinguishing characteristics such as gender, age, education, occupational skills and ethnicity may affect the migrant experience of exclusion or vulnerability.¹⁵⁵

4.1.1 Discrimination

Freedom from discrimination is part of social cohesion. Unlawful discrimination can prevent people's full participation in social and economic life, as well as affecting their mental and physical wellbeing. Research shows that for newcomers, feelings of vulnerability and experiencing discrimination will prevent integration and attachment to the established community, more so than a lack of job opportunities.¹⁵⁶

Based on the New Zealand General Social Survey (NZGSS) data, 'race' or 'ethnic group' was the most common reason given for discrimination by those classified as Asian (79.8%), Māori (49.0%) and Pacific peoples (45.5%), while age was the most common response from those in the European/Other group (25.4%). This ethnicity-based or racialised discrimination was not solely linked to migrant status: in 2014 people born in New Zealand (16.4%) reported similar levels of discrimination to longer-term migrants (19.0%) and migrants who arrived in New Zealand within the last five years (17.7%).¹⁵⁷ Therefore the discrimination is racialised.

While tackling discrimination is important, the research advises that

Migration-related social cohesion must go beyond anti-discrimination measures. ... Policies should prevent and reverse the social exclusion of immigrants, which is still the biggest single barrier to full integration; foster positive bonding between immigrants and local people; and, finally, promote

¹⁵⁵ IOM, *World Migration Report*.

¹⁵⁶ Jeffrey Reitz, 'Racial Inequality, Social Cohesion and Policy Issues in Canada,' conference on *Diversity and Canada's Future: Recognition, Accommodation and Shared Citizenship*, Institute for Research on Public Policy, Montebello, 13–15 October 2005, cited in Government of Canada, 'Diversity, Identity and the Social Cohesion Advantage'.

¹⁵⁷ New Zealand Ministry of Social Development (MSD), *The Social Report 2016: Te pūrongo oranga tangata*, <http://socialreport.msd.govt.nz/civil-and-political-rights/perceived-discrimination.html>.

social mobility for immigrants by improving labour market mobility, facilitating entrepreneurship, better skills matching, and encouraging education.¹⁵⁸

These measures address social exclusion through inter-group contact and equality of opportunities. Research indicates that such measures can help reduce fear of difference and, in turn, discrimination.

4.1.2 Diversity as a threat to dominant culture

A concern about increasing ethnic diversity tends to revolve around whether there will be disadvantages to those in the welcoming/host communities. As Paul Spoonley outlines, from a social cohesion perspective, this includes the challenge superdiversity poses to shared civic culture and values, issues of integration and equity, and willingness of national and local authorities to recognise and protect minorities.¹⁵⁹

Fear puts social cohesion at risk. The fear of the established communities that newcomers will not integrate is predominately fixed on newcomers from cultures dissimilar to those of the majority in the established communities. A review of a number of studies showed that where the majority group perceived minority groups preferred to maintain their own culture (over integration) this was *always* seen as a negative consequence of multiculturalism, whereas when it was perceived that the minority groups desired interaction or cultural adoption this was *always* positively associated with multiculturalism.¹⁶⁰ The results raise questions about whether policies that promoted cultural maintenance of minority cultures and ethnicities would be supported, especially if these were seen to be at the expense of interaction and integration. A majority culture perception that the cultural norms and values of the established community could be undermined can weaken social cohesion.

4.1.3 Parallel lives

The recent *Casey Review* looked at immigration and integration in the U.K. and found that many people from different ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds do not mix, that economic and social experiences are ethnically influenced, and that

¹⁵⁸ OECD, *Perspectives on Global Development*.

¹⁵⁹ Spoonley, 'Superdiversity, Social Cohesion, and Economic Benefits'.

¹⁶⁰ Brown, Zagefka, and Tip, 'Acculturation in the United Kingdom'.

inequality is causing divisions in British society.¹⁶¹ The *Report*, which attracted considerable criticism for being out of date and exaggerating the extent of Muslim separatism, argues that these ‘parallel lives’ will cause further social fragmentation if left unchecked. The *Report’s* recommendations ‘to help unite Britain’ focus on reinforcing ‘British values’. These are defined in numerous ways through the report, but essentially reflect liberal-democratic values. The *Report* also reinforces the need to have an open and continuing dialogue about difficult issues like racism and inequality.

4.1.4 Shared vision = Pākehā vision?

It is possible to see within the tone of policy documents a dominant, Western societal model that is ‘accommodating’ difference, rather than allowing diversity to shape the culture of society. The Ministry of Social Development’s (MSD) *Social Report* and the Local Government New Zealand’s (LGNZ) *2050 Challenge* similarly illustrate the conflict surrounding encouraging people’s maintenance of a strong cultural identity and promoting social cohesion. The *Social Report* says

Cultural identity is an important contributor to people’s wellbeing. Identifying with a particular culture helps people feel they belong and gives them a sense of security. An established cultural identity has also been linked with positive outcomes in areas such as health and education. It provides access to social networks, which provide support and shared values and aspirations. Social networks can help to break down barriers and build a sense of trust between people – a phenomenon sometimes referred to as “social capital”. However, strong cultural identity *expressed in the wrong way* can contribute to barriers between groups. Members of smaller cultural groups can feel excluded from society if others obstruct, or are intolerant of, their cultural practices.¹⁶²

Although ‘the wrong way’ is not clearly defined, it indicates that there is a *right way* and implies that this is the Western way. Terruhn’s qualitative research found her Auckland-based Pākehā participants were ‘conflicted cosmopolitans’ who, despite celebration of some aspects of cosmopolitan nationalism, also expressed a desire to

¹⁶¹ Louise Casey, *The Casey Review: A Review into Opportunity and Integration*, Department for Communities and Local Government: London, 2016.

¹⁶² MSD, *The Social Report*. My emphasis.

somehow control how that developed through preservation of a Pākehā core culture or norm.¹⁶³

The Quality of Life (QoL) 2014 survey showed that 53 per cent of respondents living in Auckland felt that the increasing number of people in New Zealand with different lifestyles and cultures from different countries makes their local area a better place to live. The most frequently cited reasons for this positive response were around increasing vibrancy, adding interest, and increasing the range of food and restaurant available.¹⁶⁴ Among those who felt that it makes Auckland a worse place to live, the most frequently mentioned reasons were around a lack of integration or English language skills, and the increased competition for jobs.¹⁶⁵ These responses indicate that diversity is viewed positively when it ‘adds on’ to the dominant culture, but not where it is seen to threaten or challenge the privileges of the dominant culture. This aligns with other research where participants were more likely to cite how globalisation and diversity opens opportunities for things like travel, cuisine and music, and rarely discuss the more complicated or difficult aspects such as openness, and humanist versus national interests.¹⁶⁶

4.1.5 Inequality

Inequalities prevent social cohesion and weaken social bonds. A major social impact of ethnic diversity is whether or not it will affect fairness and inclusion by producing inequalities and blocking social prosperity. Canada’s policy paper, ‘Diversity, Identity and the Social Cohesion Advantage’ outlines that policy makers need to consider how to reshape and restructure norms, institutions and identities in order to support optimal levels of social cohesion and a well-functioning society.¹⁶⁷ If ethno-racial diversity produces, exposes or undermines fairness and inclusion or calls into question common values and commitments, such diversity can weaken cohesion.

Hickman, Crowley and Mai’s research on immigration and social cohesion concludes

¹⁶³ Terruhn, ‘Conflicted Cosmopolitans’.

¹⁶⁴ The 2016 QoL survey did not ask the follow up question of why people felt increased diversity made their city a better place to live.

¹⁶⁵ Neilsen and Auckland Council, *Quality of Life Survey 2014: Results for Auckland*, Auckland, 2014, Available online: http://www.qualityoflifeproject.govt.nz/pdfs/2014/Quality_of_Life_2014_Auckland.pdf.

¹⁶⁶ Z. Skrbis and I. Woodward, ‘The Ambivalence of Ordinary Cosmopolitanism: Investigating the Limits of Cosmopolitan Openness.’ *The Sociological Review*, 55, 4, 2007, 730-747.

¹⁶⁷ Government of Canada, ‘Diversity, Identity and the Social Cohesion Advantage’.

that although current public debates link increasing immigration-driven ethnic diversity to the erosion of social cohesion, actually existent inequality unrelated to immigration – deprivation, disadvantage and long-term marginalisation – must be considered.¹⁶⁸ In contexts of deprivation, newcomers may be seen as competing for scarce resources (housing, recreational facilities, education, and employment), which potentially increases inter-group tensions.¹⁶⁹

Inequality affects the ability to achieve a shared vision by producing a range of negative flow-on consequences. Measures for inequality differ and there is disagreement over whether the focus should be on equality of outcome or equality of opportunities.¹⁷⁰ Even with a clear ethnic dimension to inequality in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland – seen in areas such as income, housing, health, incarceration, education – the issue is presented from a deficit angle rather than being seen as a systemic failure. It is harder to sell a vision of equality whereby some people have to devolve their social, economic, or political power and easier to present a fantasy about raising everyone's standard of living. Again, this is about maintaining existing structures, rather than dismantling them.

4.1.6 Social disturbances

Racially fuelled riots and hate crimes are upheld as evidence of a city or country's failure to promote social cohesion and inclusivity for an ethnically diverse population.¹⁷¹ Such social fragmentation is framed as a negative impact of ethnic diversity, but one that can be 'managed'.¹⁷² Dandy and Pe-Pua's extensive review on drivers for social division and conflict outlines many of the ways in which social cohesion is blocked through conflict, tension, riots and crimes.¹⁷³ The *Casey Review* argues that 'terrorist radicalisers, perpetrators of violence and hate, criminal gangs or groomers intent on exploiting and abusing vulnerable people' undermine cohesion.¹⁷⁴ Examples include the Cronulla riots in 2005 and the Northern England riots in 2001.

¹⁶⁸ Hickman, Crowley, and Mai, *Immigration and Social Cohesion in the UK*.

¹⁶⁹ Hickman, Crowley, and Mai, *Immigration and Social Cohesion in the UK*.

¹⁷⁰ Local Government New Zealand (LGNZ), *The 2050 Challenge: Future Proofing our Communities, a discussion paper*, Wellington, 2016, p.27.

¹⁷¹ Herbert, *Negotiating Boundaries*.

¹⁷² Council of Europe (COE), *The Intercultural City Step by Step Practical Guide for Applying the Urban Model of Intercultural Integration*, Council of Europe Publishing: Strasbourg, 2013, p.15.

¹⁷³ Dandy and Pe-Pua, *Research into the Current and Emerging Drivers*.

¹⁷⁴ Casey, *Casey Review*, p.16.

4.2 Positive impacts: social cohesion

In order to build cohesion a balance must be struck whereby a sharing of common values combines with respect for cultural diversity and differences, to together contribute to a shared sense of belonging.¹⁷⁵ New Zealand's Office of Ethnic Communities' Diversity and Inclusion Officers work to the strategy that 'to unlock the potential that diversity brings, we need the practice of inclusion'.¹⁷⁶

The WMR provides a list of things that might aid social cohesion/equity:

- Greater diversity builds community resilience through migrants' connections between host and country of origin communities.
- Partnerships between local government and migrant-led organisations/associations
 - a. provide social and emotional support and facilitate the perpetuation of culture and customs of places of origin.
 - b. promote civic engagement and political participation of migrants and their communities, improving their visibility and capacity to advocate for migrants with local authorities.
- Having a clear understanding of where migrants reside and how they are organised is a critical first step in formulating an outreach strategy in order to foster their inclusion in the life of cities.
- As employers, cities can diversify the public workforce and improve the intercultural skills of municipal staff. Successful strategies combine a mixture of change in organisational structures, including appointing a representative for integration or finding new cooperation partners, new ways of recruiting employees taking into consideration cultural diversity, and staff intercultural training.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ Price and Chacko, *Migrants' Inclusion in Cities*.

¹⁷⁶ New Zealand Immigration, 'Unlocking the Benefits of Ethnic Diversity', 2016: <https://www.immigration.govt.nz/about-us/media-centre/newsletters/settlement-actionz/actionz2/unlocking-the-benefits-of-ethnic-diversity>, Accessed 5 December 2016.

¹⁷⁷ IOM, *World Migration Report*.

4.2.1 Attachment to place

Within some migrant categories, the notion of attachment to place is not seen as important or desirable. Transnational migrants, for example, are defined either as having attachment to multiple places, or sometimes through a lack of attachment to any particular place. However, in the case of migrants without the economic options to be transnational, a sense of attachment to place is seen in the literature as both a safeguard against social fragmentation and an indicator of cohesion.

Feelings of attachment or not to place are not necessarily reliant only on migrant status or length of time in a country. Research from Canada has shown that some Aboriginal groups and Francophile Canadians show lower levels of attachment to Canada than recent immigrants,¹⁷⁸ and research from Britain has shown a similar thing comparing ethnic minorities' sense of attachment compared to white Britons'.¹⁷⁹

4.2.2 City Identity/Shared vision

Trying to determine a 'shared vision' is, as outlined previously, problematic when also trying to understand, promote and allow for diversity. However, some form of shared vision is a practical requirement for developing a starting point, or framework from which to shape and measure initiatives for equality within society.

Canadian national identity is tied up with its multiculturalism – showcased through cities such as Toronto and Vancouver – and being a leader of cultural and ethnic diversity. By recognising the advantages ethnic diversity has brought to Canada this can be used to promote intercultural understanding and social cohesion as part of the Canadian national identity.¹⁸⁰

Without a clear articulation of *why* (beyond economic arguments) migration and subsequent ethnic diversity might be encouraged, social cohesion and ethnic diversity sits as a legislative obligation, rather than a social vision for a city. A social

¹⁷⁸ Stuart Soroka, Richard Johnston, and Keith Banting, 'The Ties that Bind: Social Diversity and Cohesion in Canada,' in K. Banting, T. Courchene and L. Seidle, eds, *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada*, Institute for Research on Public Policy: Montréal, 2007, p. 585.

¹⁷⁹ Institute for Social and Economic Research, 'Ethnic Minorities living in the UK feel more British than white Britons', 30 June 2012. <https://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/2012/06/30/ethnic-minorities-living-in-the-uk-feel-more-british-than-white-britons>. Accessed 19 December 2016.

¹⁸⁰ Government of Canada, 'Diversity, Identity and the Social Cohesion Advantage'.

vision, clearly articulated by leaders, enables people to connect, participate and believe change is in their interests.¹⁸¹ Cruickshank gives an example of this in the negative reactions directed toward newly arrived business migrants in the 1980s and 1990s in New Zealand. She argues that the absence of a clearly articulated social vision from local and national authorities contributed to the negativity, which exacerbated divisions within New Zealand and fuelled racial tensions.¹⁸²

4.2.3 Innovation

Framing cultural and ethnic diversity as an opportunity and an advantage is a way of countering the negative framing that is implied when talking about 'issues' or 'solutions' for ethnic diversity. The dynamism and innovation for ideas, new structures, and new ways of thinking, that ethnic diversity provides is a key way in which ethnic diversity is shown to be an economic, social and political advantage.¹⁸³ The literature states that diversity and immigration drives innovation, but does not give clear examples of what this innovation looks like, or how it could be measured. For example, Chako and Price state that 'As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature'.¹⁸⁴ In this way, the innovation simply comes from difference – it is not tied to ethnic diversity but to supporting heterogeneity over homogeneity. Clark and Moonen similarly argue that more people will mean more ideas and innovation: 'In an increasingly knowledge-driven world, positive development in the global economy requires high levels of human capital to generate new ideas, methods, products, and technologies.'¹⁸⁵

4.2.4 Social and cultural prosperity

LGNZ's *2050 Challenge* provides a four pointed shared vision: social prosperity, cultural prosperity, economic prosperity, environmental prosperity.¹⁸⁶ While these are

¹⁸¹ P. Schlocky-Zalabak, *Fundamentals of organizational communication: Knowledge, sensitivity, skills, values*, Pearson/Allyn and Bacon: Boston, 2009, cited in Cruickshank, 'Communicating social change'.

¹⁸² Cruickshank, 'Communicating social change'.

¹⁸³ Phil Wood, Charles Landry and Jude Bloomfield, *Cultural diversity in Britain: A toolkit for cross-cultural co-operation*, Joseph Rowntree Foundation and Comedia: York, 2006.

¹⁸⁴ Chacko and Price, *Migrants' Inclusion in Cities*, p.57.

¹⁸⁵ Clark and Moonen, 'The 10 Traits', p.4.

¹⁸⁶ LGNZ, *2050 Challenge*.

intertwined, the two with most relevance to this literature review are ‘social prosperity’ and ‘cultural prosperity’. Social prosperity is when communities are

characterised by equality, social cohesion and inclusiveness— with freedom from prejudice across all dimensions including ethnicity, gender and religion. We also want our communities to promote inter-generational equity—meeting the needs of the present population, without compromising the ability to meet the needs of future generations.¹⁸⁷

Cultural prosperity means ‘our communities [are] to be empowered and enabled to express and celebrate their diverse cultural heritages, and recognise the particular cultural significance of Māori as tangata whenua of New Zealand’.¹⁸⁸

4.2.5 Vibrancy, celebrations, food, festivals

The 2014 QoL survey indicated that of those who view diversity in Auckland as a positive thing, the most frequently mentioned reasons were around increasing vibrancy, adding interest, and increasing the range of food and restaurant available.¹⁸⁹ This idea of recognising the cultural diversity in food or celebrations that ethnic diversity brings to a city is not just the view of the general public. An Office of Ethnic Communities press release states that ‘celebration of the Chinese New Year enriches our cultural diversity’ by recognising ‘that our cultural diversity is part of our national identity’.¹⁹⁰ Auckland Council’s publication *Our Auckland* recently described the annual Pasifika Festival as a ‘celebration of Auckland’s diversity’¹⁹¹ and Tourism New Zealand’s website coverage of Chinese New Year events states: ‘New Zealand prides itself on celebrating the diverse cultures of the many ethnic groups that inhabit this land.’¹⁹² Friesen identifies Asian celebrations, festivals and food availability as ethnoscapings that contribute to Auckland’s visible ethnic diversity.¹⁹³ Such celebrations can be marketed (as seen above) as a way of tangibly demonstrating

¹⁸⁷ LGNZ, *2050 Challenge*, p.12.

¹⁸⁸ LGNZ, *2050 Challenge*, p.12.

¹⁸⁹ Neilsen and Auckland Council, *Quality of Life Survey 2014*.

¹⁹⁰ Office of Ethnic Communities, ‘Celebration of the Chinese New Year enriches our cultural diversity’, 10 February 2017, <http://ethniccommunities.govt.nz/story/celebration-chinese-new-year-enriches-our-cultural-diversity%20?page=2> (Accessed 2 March 2017).

¹⁹¹ Auckland Council, ‘Festival Celebrates Auckland’s Diversity’, 21 February 2017, <http://ourauckland.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/articles/news/2017/02/festival-celebrates-auckland-s-diversity/> (Accessed 2 March 2017).

¹⁹² Tourism New Zealand, ‘Celebrating Chinese New Year’ 27 January 2017, <http://media.newzealand.com/en/events/celebrating-chinese-new-year/> (Accessed 2 March 2017).

¹⁹³ Friesen, *Asian Auckland*, pp.36-7.

that a city celebrates ethnic diversity, but it may just be in a superficial rather than meaningful way.¹⁹⁴ Or, as Witcomb phrases it, wanting diversity to be ‘the icing on the cake, but not the cake itself’.¹⁹⁵

4.3 Strategies

4.3.1 Evidence based research

The OECD advises that understanding social cohesion in a shifting world requires ‘better data, better assessments, better policies’.¹⁹⁶ Evidence-based research is important for developing targeted and effective policies at a local or central government level. The Metropolis Project, run through Carleton University in Canada, is an international project on immigration and integration designed to produce evidence-based research to inform policy development. One of the main aims of the project is to show how universities and academics need to be brought into the world of government through production of research that can then inform policy, legislation and programmes. Metropolis is involved with the Cities of Migration (CoM)¹⁹⁷ and Migration and Diaspora Studies (MDS) initiative.¹⁹⁸

The Council of Europe’s Intercultural Cities (ICC) programme encourages cities to collect their own data using the ICC benchmarking and index tools.¹⁹⁹ It suggests collecting information on the city’s demographics (facts), city policies and structure (inputs), what people know, feel and believe about migration and integration (impacts), and storytelling and the pulse of the community through onsite visits (informal stories).²⁰⁰ Knowing the needs of an individual city means that the local government can tailor developments and approaches.

Indicator frameworks are seen as important tools for qualitative and quantitative measures in the area of social cohesion and are important to measuring change over time. The Canadian government policy plan is to create an indicator framework for

¹⁹⁴ Stephen J. Shaw, ‘Ethnoscapes as Cultural Attractions in Canadian “World Cities”’, in Melanie K. Smith, ed., *Tourism, Culture and Regeneration*, CAB International: Cambridge, MA, 2007, pp.49–58.

¹⁹⁵ Andrea Witcomb, ‘Migration, Social Cohesion and Cultural Diversity. Can museums move beyond pluralism?’, *Humanities Research*, 15, 2, 2009, pp.49–66, p.60.

¹⁹⁶ OECD, *Perspectives on Global Development*.

¹⁹⁷ <http://citiesofmigration.ca>.

¹⁹⁸ <http://carleton.ca/mds/>.

¹⁹⁹ www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/Cities/Index/ICCindex_en.pdf.

²⁰⁰ Council of Europe (COE), *Intercultural Cities Brochure*, 2015.

social cohesion through qualitative and quantitative measures of social capital (networks and connections, social trust, membership and participation in organisations and social solidarity through committee service). The need for such a measure to produce disaggregated data would be imperative to direct policies towards specific groups and determine whether bonding (connections within groups) or bridging (connections between groups) dynamics were most important.

Annual data collection is a good way to determine change in elements of social cohesion. The Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion national survey began in Australia in 2007 (benchmark survey) and since then has been conducted annually from 2009-2016. Together this provides a large data set for Australian social research. It has enabled a way of determining social opinion with quantitative data, rather than simply relying on media reports about public opinion. For example, in September 2016 an online poll, reported by the mainstream media showed that almost half the Australian population supported a Muslim immigration ban. However the Scanlon Foundation survey – which uses probability-based method and is considered more accurate than online polling, showed more evidence of stability and social cohesion than of deterioration.²⁰¹ This indicates the importance of accurate data gathering, but also the benefits of time series data to see trends over time.

4.3.2 Measuring social cohesion in New Zealand

In 2005 Spoonley et al. outlined a potential policy and indicator framework for social cohesion in New Zealand,²⁰² and much of this information on social cohesion, experiences of belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition and legitimacy can now be gleaned from the New Zealand General Social Survey (NZGSS) and the QoL in cities surveys.²⁰³ Qualitative measures of social cohesion provide a snapshot with which to broadly assess social cohesion. These surveys also provide an opportunity to investigate potential differences between national data (represented in the NZGSS) and city-level data (as seen in the QoL).²⁰⁴ The NZGSS and the QoL in

²⁰¹ Markus, *Mapping Social Cohesion 2016*, p.2.

²⁰² Paul Spoonley, Robin Peace, Andrew Butcher and Damian O'Neill, 'Social Cohesion: A Policy and Indicator Framework for Assessing Immigrant and Host Outcomes', *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 24, 2005, pp.85–110.

²⁰³ MSD, *The Social Report; Quality of Life In New Zealand Cities*, <http://www.qualityoflifeproject.govt.nz/survey.htm>.

²⁰⁴ Quality of Life in New Zealand Cities, <http://www.qualityoflifeproject.govt.nz/survey.htm>.

cities generally find positive attitudes towards multiculturalism and increasing ethnic diversity.²⁰⁵ However, when people are asked about immigrants from specific countries or ethnic groupings, there is a differential towards which groups are seen by New Zealanders surveyed as more desirable. Such desirability is based on perceived similarity or difference to the majority culture – including perceptions about who will contribute and integrate and who will not.

The NZGSS, undertaken by Statistics New Zealand every two years since 2008, measures the wellbeing of the usually resident New Zealand population aged over 15 years.²⁰⁶ Between 2008 and 2012 the survey asked whether people felt a sense of belonging to New Zealand, and the data can be split to show responses based on migrant status.²⁰⁷ Government departments – for example to Office of Ethnic Communities – use this to measure whether their work on more resilient communities is achieving its desired outcome.²⁰⁸ Across the three surveys where this question was asked, 87 per cent of migrants felt a sense of belonging to New Zealand. This was compared with 98 per cent of New Zealand born.²⁰⁹ However, delving more deeply into the answers reveals a more shaky social cohesion than the 87 per cent figure would suggest. In 2008 those born in New Zealand were three times more likely to feel this belonging *strongly*. Those who said they did not feel they belong in New Zealand were twice as likely to report experiencing discrimination in the last 12 months (22%). The most common reasons given for perceived discrimination that occurs in the street or a public place of some kind are ‘my nationality/race/ethnic group’ (55%), ‘my skin colour’ (40%), ‘my dress/appearance’ (24%), and ‘the language I speak’ (14%).²¹⁰ Length of time since migration, as well as the broader political, social and economic context impacts on sense of belonging – with migrants who arrived before 2000 reporting they found it easier to express their identity (83%) than those who arrived after 2000 (68%) and those who arrive after 2000 twice as

²⁰⁵ Ron Johnston, P. Gendall, A. Trlin and P. Spoonley, ‘Immigration, Multiculturalism and Geography: Inter-group Contact and Attitudes to Immigrants and Cultural Diversity in New Zealand, *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 19, 2, 2010, pp.343–369.

²⁰⁶ For specifics on exclusions see Statistics New Zealand website: http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/Households/nzgss_HOTP2014/D ata%20Quality.aspx.

²⁰⁷ Statistics New Zealand deleted the question of belonging from 2014 onwards and extended the section on ‘social connectedness’.

²⁰⁸ The Office of Ethnic Communities, *Flourishing Ethnic Diversity*, p.16.

²⁰⁹ Hodder and Krupp, *New New Zealanders*, p.23.

²¹⁰ This is more than 100 per cent because of multiple answers.

likely to experience discrimination (20% compared to 10%).²¹¹ These figures give some indication of potential social cohesion, but also illustrate the complex nature of feeling such as belonging – predicated on areas including other people’s perceptions, length of residency in the new country, and visibility.

The NZGSS also provides insights into whether New Zealanders support diversity of values and different cultural expressions or favour integration, and responses indicate different preferences based on whether the person was born in New Zealand or not, what ethnic group they belong to, and their age.²¹² The QoL surveys (2010, 2012, 2014, 2016) have consistently found that a negative view of ethnic diversity in a neighbourhood comes from those who feel that immigrants did not integrate, did not learn English, and were too numerous.²¹³ So by that rationale, city-level policy that encourages opportunities for interaction between immigrants and host residents and promotes access to English-language classes could help with host residents’ sense that ethnic diversity is a positive thing for their neighbourhood.

The Capturing the Diversity Dividend of Aotearoa/New Zealand (CaDDANZ) programme is undertaking research that ‘measures, maps and analyses the complex societal impacts of diversity and the implications for businesses, households and communities of mobility, migration [and] indigeneity, ethnic identity, demographic change (including structural ageing and fertility) and urban/regional disparities’.²¹⁴ The three key foci of CaDDANZ are: ethno-demographic diversity; societal impacts and opportunities; and institutional implications and responses. All three of these areas will provide informative literature to feed into the literature on ethnic diversity and social cohesion once the findings become available.

4.3.3 Civic participation and urban governance

Proponents of social cohesion believe civic participation is a way of engaging diverse communities and promoting a sense of belonging to place. This can involve voting, sitting on boards, consultation on policy, writing to a MP, or volunteering. Where this

²¹¹ Statistics New Zealand, *Social Cohesion in New Zealand*.

²¹² Statistics New Zealand, *Social Cohesion in New Zealand*.

²¹³ Terruhn, ‘Conflicted Cosmopolitans’.

²¹⁴ http://www.caddanz.org.nz/massey/learning/departments/centres-research/caddanz/background/background_home.cfm.

is ‘meaningful participation’ this will have a positive impact on the migrant.²¹⁵

Welcoming immigrants is usually conditional upon certain behavioural standards and a sense that they are contributing.²¹⁶ For this reason, ensuring migrants are involved in urban governance²¹⁷ and/or civic participation has the twofold effect of increasing the diversity of voices being heard, but also indicating to the established communities that the newcomers are contributing, getting involved and have an attachment to place.

Civic participation does not mean silencing opposing voices – but instead provides a channel for those voices to be heard: The OECD says that

Giving space to dissenting voices is fundamental to the creation of a sustainable, socially cohesive society. The harnessing of civic participation and political feedback mechanisms is essential if growth processes are not to be derailed... Social cohesion will be enhanced by an inclusive, co-ordinated policy-making process.²¹⁸

LGNZ’s discussion document about future issues facing local governments argues for civic participation in promoting social cohesion.²¹⁹ Some cities have created programmes that specifically target newcomers to learn about and encourage participation in civic processes.²²⁰

Voting is an important part of civic participation. Although New Zealand legislation enshrines the right to vote (in elections and referenda) – for citizens, residents and permanent residents²²¹ – enabling people to exercise this right depends on the voting process and systems. ‘The transition to ethnic superdiversity – and the

²¹⁵ Government of Canada, ‘Diversity, Identity and the Social Cohesion Advantage’.

²¹⁶ A. Bell. ‘Being “At Home” in the Nation: Hospitality and Sovereignty in Talk about Immigration’, *Ethnicities*, 10, 2, 2010, pp.236-256.

²¹⁷ How local and central governments and key stakeholders decide how to plan, develop and manage urban areas.

²¹⁸ OECD, *Perspectives on Global Development*.

²¹⁹ LGNZ, *2050 Challenge*.

²²⁰ For example, see discussion later in this review on MyCity Academy (<http://www.nashville.gov/Mayors-Office/Neighborhoods/New-Americans/MyCity-Academy.aspx>) and Dublin’s Migrant Voter’s Project (http://citiesofmigration.ca/good_idea/did-you-know-you-can-vote-cities-and-democracy-at-work/)

²²¹ People whose visas have a set date to leave by (student visa, work visa, visitor permit) are not permitted to enrol to vote. <http://www.elections.org.nz/voters/enrol-check-or-update-now/who-can-and-cant-enrol>.

accompanying growth in linguistic diversity – means that the old assumption that elections could essentially be carried out in English and that this would not exclude anybody who was lawfully entitled to vote is no longer necessarily true.²²² New Zealand's voter turnout is declining, and a disproportionate number of those not voting are Māori and new migrants, as well as young people across all groups. (In the 2011 General Election 41.8 per cent of people aged 18-24 were 'non-voters' compared to only 5.2 per cent of those aged over 65.)²²³ In local government elections, voter turnout is also low, with only 38.5 per cent of enrolled voters voting in Auckland's 2016 local elections.²²⁴ The MSD sees voter turnout as an 'indicator of the confidence the population has in political institutions, the importance they attach to them, and the extent to which they feel their participation can make a difference'.²²⁵

Figures indicate that new migrants have an increasingly low voter turnout, with the concern that 'Over time, if new migrants continue not to vote, there is a risk that the existing under-representation of New Zealand's ethnic minority and immigrant populations in central and local government will increase, despite their numerical increase as a proportion of the population. This will have adverse impacts on social cohesion and ultimately on the New Zealand state's democratic legitimacy.'²²⁶

Lawyer and public commentator, Mai Chen advises improving voting numbers by removing obstacles to access (information in a range of languages, interpreters at voting stations), education (about the electoral system, reassurance about New Zealand's democratic system), and making voting compulsory for all people as part of civic participation, rights and obligations.²²⁷

Urban governance is considered key to migrant inclusion and community vitality, with the literature including recommended target areas and approaches. As well as

²²² Chen and New Zealand Law Foundation, *Superdiversity, Democracy New Zealand's Electoral and Referenda Laws*.

²²³ MSD, *The Social Report*.

²²⁴ Auckland voter turnout – 2010 was 51 per cent, 2013 was 34.9 per cent. The higher voter turnout in Auckland's 2010 election was possibly because it was the first vote since Auckland became a 'super city'. See Local Government New Zealand <http://www.lgnz.co.nz/home/nzs-local-government/vote2016/final-voter-turnout-2016/> and MSD, *The Social Report*.

²²⁵ MSD, *The Social Report*.

²²⁶ Chen and New Zealand Law Foundation, *Superdiversity, Democracy and New Zealand's Electoral and Referenda Laws*.

²²⁷ Chen and New Zealand Law Foundation, *Superdiversity, Democracy and New Zealand's Electoral and Referenda Laws*.

policies to build economic inclusion, the WMR recommends partnership with and inclusion of migrants in urban governance (work towards collaborative policy making and governance to accommodate diverse interests and that values migrants' resources, knowledge and connections) and that engaging in partnerships encourages social cohesion ('empowering migrants as actors in their cities of destination could also enhance their human and social potential for co-development').²²⁸

Ensuring visible representation, and strong leadership is seen to benefit migrant and host communities – from urban governance through to local community level. 'The members of local ethnic communities should be evident in sports and social clubs, on school boards, and among the voters and candidates in local body elections.'²²⁹ So programmes that can promote understanding of these systems work directly to get people into positions where their opinions are being sought and heard. Visible positions are important too, because then people see themselves represented.

The idea of the 'active citizen' draws from post-neoliberal rhetoric and efforts to build an inclusive state, where ethnic migrants are urged to contribute to their own communities and New Zealand in general. Alongside this argument, is a rights-based one, whereby ethnic migrants seek a multicultural recognition of difference. Rachel Simon-Kumar outlines these two opposing arguments for political involvement of and by ethnic migrants and the inherent tension between the two.²³⁰ If belonging is not a right of migrants, but instead predicated on certain behaviours – in this case, 'active citizenship' – what are the implications of this emergent discourse in terms of recognising cultural difference, or arguing for changes to the system? Migrants' rights are subsumed under rhetoric of contributing and aligning with the systems already in place.

The Scanlon-Monash index considers the following as markers of civic participation: voted in an election; signed a petition; contacted a Member of Parliament; participated in a boycott; attended a protest.²³¹ However, like all the 'modes of civic participation' they assume current systems are ones migrants and newcomers need

²²⁸ IOM, *World Migration Report*, pp.189–90.

²²⁹ New Zealand Immigration, 'Unlocking the Benefits of Ethnic Diversity', 2016.

²³⁰ Simon-Kumar, 'Difference and Diversity in Aotearoa/New Zealand'.

²³¹ Markus, *Mapping Social Cohesion 2016*.

to participate in. Protesting, boycotting, writing to an MP: these are all things that indicate a particular way of engaging with democracy, which might not align with all people's cultural values. For example, if migrants feel themselves to be in a guest-host relationship then they are probably less likely to speak out about things unless asked – as a mark of respect and perceived place.

4.3.4 Local government

Local governments can practice inclusive policymaking where the views of all stakeholders are incorporated, meaning those policies will have 'greater legitimacy and support, factors which ultimately determine their effectiveness'.²³² The Australian Human Rights Commission's 2015 digital resource to help guide local government to build social cohesion in communities outlines five steps: Get the local government ready; Engage the community to understand the issues; Build long-term partnerships; Take place-based, targeted action; Evaluate and share outcomes.²³³

LGNZ promote a collaborative approach between local governments, central government, the public and private sector, and communities.²³⁴ The potential to change the frame and the questions so that it decentres government and centralises community can be seen as echoing calls within the literature to decentre Pākehā positions.²³⁵

Christchurch City Council's multicultural strategy is still in the consultation stage. Their process has included a long period of community consultation – starting in December 2014 with a community discussion on 'The Changing Face of Our City'. This has fed into the creation of their draft strategy document released in June 2016 for further community consultation and available in 11 languages to aid engagement.²³⁶ The consultation document outlines the bi-cultural foundation for the strategy: 'From the Council's view, a multicultural strategy must challenge the Council

²³² OECD, *Perspectives on Global Development*.

²³³ Australian Centre of Excellence for Local Government and Australian Human Rights Commission, *Building Social Cohesion in our Communities*, 2015, <http://www.ancelg.org.au/socialcohesion>.

²³⁴ LGNZ, *2050 Challenge*, p.32.

²³⁵ Avril Bell, 'Recognition or ethics?', *Cultural Studies*, 22, 6, 2008, pp. 850-869.

²³⁶ <http://ethniccommunities.govt.nz/story/multicultural-strategy-released-public-consultation>

to work in a way that honours the founding document of our nation, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, while also supporting and welcoming newcomers.²³⁷

4.3.5 Social trust measures

Larsen concludes that measuring social trust (trust between citizens) is the most effective way to analyse social integration and social cohesion. In an age of (post) modern, highly differentiated societies, trustworthiness is the societal glue.²³⁸ Social trust can be empirically measured by asking people if they generally trust people, or not – and as such get a ‘rule of thumb’ of their everyday interactions, rather than focusing on specific instances. This has been done in the World Value Survey, which found that New Zealand was the only country out of 52 countries, where the “trustees” (57%) outweigh the “non-trustees”.²³⁹ Ongoing high trust is advantaged by previous measures of high trust – indicating that it is easier to maintain trust than to build it, or what Larsen calls ‘a virtuous circle of trust’.²⁴⁰

4.3.6 Host communities – Welcoming communities

It is not enough to focus policies on migrants’ ability to integrate, and learn the language and cultural nuances of their adopted country, ‘Efforts also need to be made to improve native-born citizens’ perceptions of immigrants.’²⁴¹ Those in the established community may have negative perceptions of cultural diversity in a number of different ways. As previously discussed, if it is an area of economic deprivation, then newcomers can be seen as threatening resources.²⁴² Newcomers can also be seen as causing a dilution of ‘national culture’ if they chose to maintain their own cultural norms.²⁴³ This illustrates an underlying assumption about the host culture as something fixed, normalised, and worth preserving.

Studies show that negative attitudes within host communities towards immigration stymie positive settlement outcomes for immigrants and contribute to community

²³⁷ Christchurch City Council, *Christchurch Multicultural Strategy: Our Future Together. Consultation paper*, June 2016.

²³⁸ Larsen, *Social cohesion*.

²³⁹ Larsen, *Social cohesion*, p.7.

²⁴⁰ Larsen, *Social cohesion*, p.25.

²⁴¹ OECD, *Perspectives on Global Development*.

²⁴² Hickman, Crowley, and Mai, *Immigration and Social Cohesion in the UK*.

²⁴³ Skrbis and Woodward, ‘The Ambivalence of Ordinary Cosmopolitanism’.

tension.²⁴⁴ Local authorities have a role to play in ameliorating these negative attitudes through educating host communities, facilitating and encouraging intercultural dialogue and supporting migrant organisations. As social capital is related to advantage and social mobility, local and national government can play an important role in creating policies to facilitate these.²⁴⁵

4.3.7 Community-led projects

Auckland Council support of community-led projects can be seen as enacting the Empowered Communities approach – recognising the knowledge and expertise in those communities. The policy advice says that part of what cities and municipalities can do is support (through funding and resourcing, upskilling and training, and networking and connections) community created, led and run initiatives. Participatory approaches are also viewed favourably: ‘engaging migrants in local partnerships builds trust among the migrants themselves, the city and the host community, and increases migrants’ visibility in the social fabric of the city’.²⁴⁶ Community-led or ‘bottom up’ approaches are thought to be more effective than ‘top down’ approaches.²⁴⁷ However, like the active citizen model, this approach can be criticised as an effect of a neo-liberal policy that focuses on entrepreneurial, self-led, localised, community-led projects and distances local government responsibility.²⁴⁸

Community-led approaches cannot happen in isolation – as low levels of social trust or social interaction, and high levels of inequality colour how such initiatives are received. Where there is social fragmentation or distrust, community-led initiatives promoting intra-ethnic events would reinforce a sense of ‘parallel lives’, or negative perceptions of particular groups. Where social trust and equality was promoted, then these would be seen as ways of strengthening communities. Strengthening communities builds trust within those groups and subsequently inter-group exchanges as well. The introduction of other kinds of spaces, languages and systems that strengthen cultural and social intragroup cohesion is not about

²⁴⁴ D. Lüken-Klassen, and F. Heckmann. *Intercultural Policies in European Cities: Good Practice Guide*, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions: Dublin, 2010.

²⁴⁵ Spoonley, ‘Superdiversity, Social Cohesion, and Economic Benefits’.

²⁴⁶ IOM, *World Migration Report*, p.190.

²⁴⁷ Amrith, ‘Building City Identities in Contexts of Diversity’.

²⁴⁸ Shaw, ‘Ethnoscapes as Cultural Attractions in Canadian “World Cities”’, p.52.

exclusion, but about bringing diversity and recognising that different cultural needs cannot always be met by mainstream, Western systems.

4.3.8 Ethnic media

While mainstream media may not provide representation for various ethnic minorities, 'ethnic, migrant, diaspora media plays an important and supporting role by providing an alternative to an increasingly homogenised mainstream media. For ethnic communities, access to such media gives them an avenue to understand more clearly issues affecting their community, a stronger sense of identity and social cohesion and a connection to a perceived transnational community.'²⁴⁹

Information on ethnic media in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland indicates that for 56 per cent of Pasifika communities, 78 per cent of Chinese communities, 58 per cent of Indian communities and 78 per cent of Korean communities, half or more of their media consumption is not in English. There are over 80 'ethnic media' companies who specialise in 'reaching ethnic audiences'. Media outlets include radio (primarily through Planet FM and Access radio), print publications, and through Freeview and subscription television channels.²⁵⁰

Radio is just one platform of ethnic media, but it provides a good example of the range involved: the Community Access Radio network in Aotearoa New Zealand covers regionalised community radio stations (8 in the North Island and 4 in the South Island). These stations 'provide a platform of representation for groups not usually heard in mainstream media'.²⁵¹ The shows deliver information and music in a range of different languages (Christchurch's Plains FM broadcasts in 15 different languages while Auckland's Planet FM lists 36 languages and cultures to select from).²⁵² This is about intra-group community – building strength and a sense of belonging.²⁵³

²⁴⁹ S. Noronha and E. Papoutsaki, 'The migrant and the media: Maintaining cultural identity through ethnic media', in G. Dodson and E. Papoutsaki, eds, *Communication issues in Aotearoa New Zealand: A collection of research essays*, Epress Unitec: Auckland, 2014, pp. 17–37.

²⁵⁰ Ethnic Media Information New Zealand (EMINZ), Niche Media Multi-Cultural Marketing and Creative New Zealand, 'Auckland Ethnic Media Factsheet', http://www.creativenz.govt.nz/assets/paperclip/publication_documents/documents/515/original/auckland_diversity_project_-_media_fact_sheet.pdf?1470893388.

²⁵¹ <http://www.accessradio.org.nz>

²⁵² <http://www.planetaudio.org.nz>

²⁵³ <https://www.newzealandnow.govt.nz/files/images/resources/Linkz-magazine-issue-63.pdf>.

4.3.9 Inter-ethnic relationships/contact

In superdiverse cities, local authorities are urged to prioritise integration and social cohesion, economic performance and social mobility – while recognising the complexity and difference inherent in all communities.²⁵⁴ One way of doing this is through promoting opportunities for inter-ethnic contact and relationship building. This strategy is encouraged as part of an intercultural approach in European cities – promoting ‘*encounter*’ through which the interaction of individuals are planned for in order to offer opportunities for increased sociality.²⁵⁵ This strategy is about providing opportunities, but there is unpredictability as to outcome – as the literature reveals.

The literature is split over whether increasing opportunities for inter-ethnic contact helps or hinders social cohesion. Political scientist Robert Putnam’s influential work argues that in the U.S., immigration and ethnic diversity has reduced solidarity and social capital at the neighbourhood level – both across ethnic groups, and within them.²⁵⁶ He argues that the lower levels of trust, altruism and community cooperation that accompany diversity leads people to ‘hunker down’ and become more isolated and withdrawn. However, he notes that in the longer-term, ‘successful immigrant societies have overcome fragmentation by creating new, cross-cutting forms of social solidarity and more encompassing identities’.²⁵⁷

Policy-advice tends to follow the line that more inter-ethnic contact is positive – by breaking down stereotypes and assumptions, and replacing them with personalised knowledge and empathy. New Zealand’s Office of Ethnic Communities’ strategic document adheres to this, working on ‘Providing opportunities for meaningful connections and mutual understanding’.²⁵⁸ The Welcoming Communities approach argues that contact will help educate host communities to reduce fear of the unknown around increasing ethnic diversity: ‘facts alone are rarely enough to change the minds of people who are unsure about refugees [and migrants]. Research and practice tells us that it is personal connections that make a difference in how people

²⁵⁴ Tasan-Kok, et al., *Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities*.

²⁵⁵ Tasan-Kok, et al., *Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities*.

²⁵⁶ Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, Simon Schuster Paperbacks: New York, 2000.

²⁵⁷ Putnam, ‘*E Pluribus Unum*’, p.137.

²⁵⁸ The Office of Ethnic Communities, *Flourishing Ethnic Diversity*, p.7

view each other.²⁵⁹ Christ and colleagues' research from the U.K. shows that the higher the levels of contact in a neighbourhood the more favourable the attitudes, leading them to recommend immigration and resettlement policies that: maximise opportunities for contact with majority members; avoid creating immigrant ghettos; and avoid resettlement in high deprivation areas as this leads to stereotyping.²⁶⁰ Oliver and Wong recommend residential integration for better relations²⁶¹ and Stein et al found that familiarity and tolerance is increased with contact, though this is reliant on the economic situation as well as the size of the migrant group in relation to the established community.²⁶² Ward and Masgoret argue that inter-ethnic interaction is positive, but only if it is cooperative and voluntary. Without these attributes, interactions can have unintended negative impacts on inter-ethnic relations.²⁶³ Chile and Black show that both formal and informal social interaction can help promote cohesion, with different needs based on age and life-stage.²⁶⁴

Leisure time is one way of providing opportunities for inter-ethnic contact (such as through sport) but research shows that whom migrants and host communities socialise with tends to reinforce the 'parallel lives' thesis.²⁶⁵ A U.K. analysis of leisure activities of recent migrants, settled migrants, and British people found that the leisure activities within these groups were remarkably similar, but *who* people socialised with was very different. Half of the recent migrants said in their first 6 months they spent no leisure time with British people (6% said they spent most of their leisure time with British people), by two and a half years settled still one quarter spent no leisure time with British people (and only one in five spent most of their leisure time with British people). For most migrants, leisure time was spent with people from their own country of origin or other migrants.²⁶⁶

There is also work on the importance of inter-ethnic relationships between minority groups, not just between the dominant culture and minority groups. It has been noted

²⁵⁹ Susan Downs-Karkos, *Welcoming Refugees*, Welcoming America.

https://citiesofmigration.ca/ezone_stories/todays-imperative-for-welcoming/

²⁶⁰ Christ et al, 'Contextual effect of positive intergroup contact on outgroup prejudice'.

²⁶¹ Oliver and Wong, 'Intergroup Prejudice in Multiethnic settings'.

²⁶² Stein, Post, and Rinden, 'Reconciling Context and Contact Effects on Racial Attitudes'.

²⁶³ C. Ward and A. Masgoret, 'An integrative model of attitudes toward immigrants', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30, 6, 2006, pp. 671-682.

²⁶⁴ Chile and Black, 'Auckland Inner-City Residents'.

²⁶⁵ See *The Casey Report*.

²⁶⁶ S. Spencer, M. Ruhs, B. Anderson B. Rogaly, *Migrants' Lives Beyond the Workplace*, Joseph Rowntree Foundation: York, 2007.

that creating opportunities for newcomers from different migrant communities to forge their own connections: ‘friendships that cross over invisible barriers between different immigrant communities’ is beneficial in establishing networks in the new country.²⁶⁷ This is also covered in the indigeneity/newcomer section of this review.

4.3.10 Work and work places

Huber shows that where immigrants are able to successfully integrate into the host country’s labour market – which involves securing jobs and remuneration commensurate with their education levels – they are more likely to integrate in general.²⁶⁸ Perhaps unsurprisingly, where a country’s policy is to select migrants based on their employment probability (as New Zealand does) this often means those migrants have higher education and proficiency in the host country language – and these attributes may help with social integration also. Addressing labour market issues involves numerous strategies including recognising commensurate international qualifications, facilitating workplace-hiring procedures to ensure staff diversity, and mentoring programmes. Such strategies, could achieve a dual outcome of integration through the labour market, and integration through a reduction in economic hardship.

4.3.11 Whole system or everyday approach?

Cherti and McNeil’s everyday integration approach for policy and analysis involves challenging imposed identifiers. Their concept is to ask people how they perceive of their own identity, their own place within the groups to which they are assigned, alignment or not with policy-based groupings. Their research has found that people’s self-identification usually revolves around everyday concerns rather than big concept concerns such as citizenship and national identity.²⁶⁹ This aligns with the points raised at the SOCSCI conference where people working with migrant and refugee groups said often the main issues newcomers were interested in addressing were practical things such as language, housing and employment.

²⁶⁷ Christopher Swope, ‘How Nashville is training a new generation of local leaders from its immigrant communities’, *Citiscopes*, November 22, 2016.

²⁶⁸ Peter Huber, ‘What Institutions help Immigrants Integrate?’, WWFForEurope Working Paper 77, Austrian Institute for Economic Research, 2015.

²⁶⁹ Cherti and McNeil, *Rethinking Integration*.

Cherti and McNeil's approach is in contrast with the 'city identity' approach – as it sees everyday interactions are the focus, rather than policy-level/whole systems approaches. In Aotearoa New Zealand for example, the LGNZ, recommends a whole systems approach that coordinates policy, planning, strategy and governance.²⁷⁰ Cherti and McNeil, however, argue that the policy level focus on unity is done at the expense of diversity of cultural values and practices and tends to use broad ethnic categories that are not reflective of how people identify themselves and which flattens out the complexity and intragroup diversity.

4.3.12 National or regional immigration policy

New Zealand's immigration policy is nationally determined, though Auckland's economic and population dominance (including as the city most migrants settle in) has led to consideration about regional development in New Zealand.²⁷¹ In Canada the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) allows provinces to determine requirements for permanent residents. This helps with effective and efficient systems as 'Each PNP is tailored to the province's/territory's specific needs to select nominees who will be able to settle into life and work in the region and to effectively contribute to the community.'²⁷² Australia has a state-government based skilled and business migration nomination system, through this states can support applications, while the Federal government has the final responsibility for determining visa allocation.²⁷³

4.4 Social impacts summary

Ethnic diversity, according to the literature, has both negative and positive social impacts. The negative impacts come down to how diversity might prevent the elements of social cohesion (inclusion, belonging, participation, legitimacy and recognition) and therefore contribute to social fragmentation. These are seen as occurring where there is inequality, discrimination and fear of difference, and can lead to different ethnic groups leading parallel lives, without connection or any shared vision for that community, or social disturbances in the form of hate crimes, or racial riots. The positive impacts of ethnic diversity are seen as creating innovation,

²⁷⁰ LGNZ, *2050 Challenge*, p.32.

²⁷¹ Paul Spoonley, ed., *Rebooting the Regions: Why low or zero growth needn't mean the end of prosperity*, Massey University Press: Auckland, 2016.

²⁷² <http://www.canadavisa.com/provincial-nomination-program.html>

²⁷³ <http://www.australia.gov.au/information-and-services/immigration-and-visas/state-migration-sites>.

vibrancy, and cultural and social prosperity, indicated through attachment to place, belonging and a shared vision. However, the framing of the social impacts of ethnic diversity on cities privileges an assumption that newcomers will adjust to the established and dominant cultural ways and institutions in order to indicate cohesion.

A number of strategies to promote the positive social impacts of ethnic diversity are cited in the literature, as well as ways of measuring the success of such strategies. These include generating evidence from the local area from which to build localised and meaningful policy; promoting civic participation and urban governance; focusing on the role of host communities; supporting community-led projects that are connected to local need; and developing inter-ethnic relationships and interactions.

5.0 City level initiatives, strategies and policies focusing on ethnic diversity

As mentioned in the background section of this review, the city has become the dominant scale in the discourse on ethnic diversity and immigration. The literature on city initiatives is an example of this shift towards local, urban governance. The examples below illustrate how various cities approach ethnic diversity, cohesion and migration, as well as how their experiences are considered models for other cities to follow. In general, contemporary city initiatives seem to favour an intercultural approach; frame the approach as part of a city's identity on the global stage; have an assumed a level of universal applicability (with some nod to local or national variation); and recognise the role of established communities in social cohesion.

5.1 Connecting cities

There are a number of organisations or projects that seek to connect cities working on ethnic diversity, immigration and interculturalism – so they can share success stories, pool resources, and learn from each other. Although each city has its own peculiarities of place – historical, social and political contexts – this open and support-based approach helps develop policies and approaches that are evidence based, direct spending, and support project sustainability. The genesis for much of this shared approach has grown out of European cities, which are connected through the European Union. Some of these organisations include Integrating Cities, Divercities, Intercultural City Projects, and Cities of Migration. The above resources recommend many things in common, including the importance of strong leadership, clear communication, involvement of all key stakeholders, improving cultural competence of current systems/institutions, and focusing on migrants and hosts. They also all include case studies or real examples as inspiration and demonstrating innovation. Most of these resources have been developed in Europe and therefore do not take into account the indigenous-settler-migrant dynamic that Aotearoa New

Zealand cities need to ensure is central to policy and governance mechanisms.²⁷⁴
The processes they encourage would require amending to be fit for purpose.

Divercities is a joint project across European cities on 'governing urban diversity'. The aim is to consider hyper-diversified European cities and consolidate information on creating social cohesion and social mobility, as well as economic performance. The project considered 14 cities as case studies, and produced reports on each city covering urban policies on diversity, governance arrangements and initiatives, fieldwork inhabitants, and fieldwork entrepreneurs.²⁷⁵ The literature review done as part of the Divercities project found that many cities increasingly emphasise the social mobility of citizens, and develop policies to guarantee equal opportunities, but not outcomes, for individuals.²⁷⁶

The Integrating Cities (Eurocities) toolkit is designed to provide practical advice for European cities to develop migrant integration policies and practice. The toolkit contains benchmark indicators against which cities can measure their current and future state against as well as inspiration from the 'best, most effective practice'.²⁷⁷ The toolkit sets out key factors, guide questions and examples so cities can learn from other cities but still tailor the approaches to their needs. Integrating Cities outlines 13 key factors for cities: public commitment; strategy; coordination and governance; migrant participation; engagement of non-municipal actors; raising awareness; municipal employment; staff development; needs assessment; welcome culture; conflict mediation; procurement; and monitoring and evaluation.

The Intercultural Cities (ICC) project developed because there were a number of European cities working in isolation on opportunities and management of diversity. The hope is that ICC will contribute to sustainability of these approaches, to political commitment to addressing diversity. ICC promotes an intercultural approach, believing that integration or multiculturalism without diversity is not the answer and instead wanting to see diversity as a challenge and an opportunity, not a problem.

²⁷⁴ For a discussion of how the Intercultural cities project may not be applicable in the Auckland context see Francis Collins and Wardlow Friesen, 'Making the Most of Diversity? The Intercultural City Project and a Rescaled Version of Diversity in Auckland, New Zealand', *Urban Studies*, 48, 14, 2011, pp.3067–3085.

²⁷⁵ City reports are available: <https://www.urbandivercities.eu/publications/city-reports/>

²⁷⁶ Tasan-Kok, et al., *Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities*.

²⁷⁷ Marcus Engler and Mixities, *Integrating Cities Toolkit: Promoting Cultural Diversity*, Eurocities: Brussels, 2012.

The ICC approach sees that cultural diversity allows cultures to thrive and that diversity stimulates innovation and creativity. In order to undertake the ICC approach cities need to ensure: cultural literacy and reciprocity; power sharing so that people with diverse backgrounds get involved in policy design; spontaneous and positive interaction in order to build trust and social cohesion; and the development of institutional capacity to deal effectively with cultural diversity and its challenges.²⁷⁸ The Intercultural cities programme is about supporting cities to develop and share ‘governance mechanisms and policies which enable migrants and minorities to become a resource for the local community’ using the ‘unique policy paradigm based on the concept of diversity advantage’.²⁷⁹

The ICC approach relies on: strong political leadership and commitment; public discourse; symbolic communication;²⁸⁰ alternative and participatory methods of citizen involvement; and public awareness campaigns.²⁸¹ ‘In order to realise the diversity advantage, we need to embed diversity into democratic institutions, learning environments, enterprises, artistic and welfare organisations, media, and the public realm.’²⁸²

The Cities of Migration project gathers information from those working in the area of migration and integration internationally and develops resources on city-level initiatives. In 2012 they produced the report *Good Ideas from Successful Cities*, which outlines various municipal leadership ideas for immigrant integration.²⁸³ The Cities of Migration believes that ‘Cities are uniquely positioned to learn from one another, and to adapt and replicate good ideas.’ This publication classifies the ‘good ideas’ under four sub-groups: inclusion, participation and belonging; cities at work; welcoming communities; and urban prosperity. Information on each idea is provided, with an end section ‘making it work for you’ which delineates the main ideas and indicates how it could be applied in a different context. Auckland and Wellington both feature – with an outline of the former Auckland Regional Settlement Strategy; the

²⁷⁸ COE, *Intercultural Cities Brochure*.

²⁷⁹ COE, *Intercultural Cities Brochure*.

²⁸⁰ Symbolic communication is the non-verbal communication that occurs through symbols (such as uniforms), whose meaning has developed over time and is culturally specific. Symbolic communication is an important consideration with intercultural communication.

²⁸¹ COE, *Intercultural Cities Brochure*.

²⁸² COE, *The Intercultural City Step by Step Practical Guide*, p.15.

²⁸³ Cities of Migration, *Good Ideas from Successful Cities: Municipal Leadership on Immigrant Integration*, Maytree Foundation: Toronto, 2012.

walking school bus initiative; and marae visits for migrants.

LGNZ is encouraging New Zealand cities to participate in a support network model (similar to those above) by creating the *2050 Challenge*. This discussion document outlines future issues facing local and national governments, recognises that long-term planning is fundamental to addressing larger scale foreseen future challenges (including increasing ethnic diversity), and advocates for a collaborative/shared local government approach.²⁸⁴

5.2 Welcoming cities/communities

A focus of the welcoming community initiatives is placing responsibility onto the established community, rather than inferring the newcomer has to make all the changes. Susan Downs-Karkos's *Receiving Communities Toolkit* is subtitled 'A guide for engaging mainstream America in immigration integration' and sets up a garden metaphor – whereby some approaches focus on the seed (the migrant) while welcoming communities is about 'preparing the soil in which it will flourish'.²⁸⁵ The concept of receiving or welcoming communities is addressing individuals and their roles as hosts, neighbourhoods, but also the institutions. *Good Ideas* notes that municipal governments are 'the nation's first responders when it comes to immigrant settlement and integration', and are 'the major political body within the local community'.²⁸⁶ For this reason, the welcoming communities approach can be seen to cover all aspects of life: employment, housing and language; community safety; health; education; and living together.²⁸⁷

Downs-Karkos' *Receiving Communities Toolkit* focuses on engaging everyday people in this movement, while recognising that other approaches need to be happening in conjunction with this one. Contact, communication and leadership are the three approaches Downs-Karkos' *Toolkit* outlines. The *Toolkit* focuses on case studies to provide practical advice and concrete examples to spur reflection and action. Under 'contact' there are examples of how communities have managed to create meaningful cross-cultural dialogue, even in the face of language barriers. The

²⁸⁴ LGNZ, *2050 Challenge*.

²⁸⁵ Downs-Karkos, *The Receiving Communities Toolkit*.

²⁸⁶ Cities of Migration, *Good Ideas*, p.45.

²⁸⁷ Cities of Migration, *Good Ideas*, pp.45–79.

Toolkit outlines that information sessions for resident communities are not enough, and that personalised stories greatly enhance engagement and meaningful contact. Communication focuses on media engagement and responsible coverage, as well as community spokespeople, necessary to counter negative public opinion about newcomers. Under the 'leadership' approach Downs-Karkos includes interviews with mainstream leaders to show how through their work as allies they have sent powerful messages of unity and integration, which are then emulated by the broader community.²⁸⁸

The Welcoming Communities Transatlantic Exchange (WCTE) is a programme that seeks to compare and learn from local and small initiatives in the U.S. and Germany around welcoming migrants and newcomers. Such an approach recognises the learning and inspiration that productive dialogue can create, as well as the strength in creating a network of practitioners and ideas to draw from. 'WCTE participants expand their networks and learn important new skills around issues such as community engagement, refugee outreach, positive communications, local policy development, evaluation, and many other areas critical for creating a welcoming community in which all members can thrive.'²⁸⁹

5.3 City identity

Having a 'compelling global identity' is one of Clark and Moonen's '10 traits of globally fluent cities'. Such an identity is 'not only to sell the city [in the international marketplace], but also to shape and build the region around a common purpose'.²⁹⁰ Although there is literature on creating a city identity around inclusivity or ethnic diversity, the economic drive behind such visions tend to mean diversity is considered in a superficial way: celebrations of multi-faith and multi-ethnic festivals, and attracting international cultural exhibits, arts, shows and tours.²⁹¹ These city identities are more 'city branding' exercises, developed from marketing strategies,

²⁸⁸ Downs-Karkos, *The Receiving Communities Toolkit*.

²⁸⁹ Welcoming Communities Transatlantic Exchange
<http://culturalvistas.org/programs/specialty/welcoming-communities-transatlantic-exchange/>

²⁹⁰ Clark and Moonen, 'The 10 Traits', p.20.

²⁹¹ Clark and Moonen, 'The 10 Traits', p.13.

and designed to make the city instantly recognisable, portray a sense of authenticity and uniqueness, as part of an economic and tourism strategy.²⁹²

There are also city identities that have more to do with being welcoming, than economic return. These include city identities such as 'inclusive cities', 'refugee city', or 'sanctuary city'. Sanctuary cities in America (including Seattle, New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Philadelphia) are places where undocumented migrants can cooperate with law enforcement in investigating crimes without fear of deportation. Their position is under question under the Trump Administration. In the U.K. the 'City of Sanctuary' movement is slightly different: working to 'foster a culture of municipal hospitality and an environment of support and understanding for people seeking sanctuary in the U.K., while working actively to dispel negative stereotypes about refugees'.²⁹³ They do this by bringing older and newer city residents together to create a place of welcome and interaction for refugees and asylum seekers.

Overall the drive behind city identity creation is to create a strong, clear message about a commitment to a particular agenda, and a shared vision. It has been shown through quality of life measures that there is a connection between quality of life and city image. 'Social inclusion in urban places does not just happen organically' but requires effort on the part of local governments, key stakeholders, migrants and current residents.²⁹⁴ In the Aotearoa New Zealand context, Prue Cruickshank argues that an important element is communicating the social vision for the social change that is occurring. She illustrates how the immediate economic and social context, as well as the historic one, feeds into the success (or not) of social cohesion and that people need to be 'brought along' with the process of change.²⁹⁵

Along with building a city identity, local governments need to ensure resources are allocated to enable the policy to become a reality. Local governments can prioritise and invest funds to build a city identity and to develop measures that tackle socio-economic inequalities and promote equal opportunities. Resources are required for

²⁹² Müge Riza, Naciye Doratli, and Mukaddes Fasli, 'City branding and identity', *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 35, 2012, pp.293–300.

²⁹³ *Cities of Migration, Good Ideas from Successful Cities*, p.22.

²⁹⁴ Brian Ray, 'The role of cities in immigrant integration', *Metropolis World Bulletin*, 5, 2005, p.1.

²⁹⁵ Cruickshank, 'Communicating social change'.

training schemes, for support to migrants in finding employment and housing, language classes and multilingual access to public services and information.²⁹⁶

5.4 Examples of international city-level initiatives

There are many examples of city-level initiatives, some of which have already been mentioned in this review, outlined in policy documents and publications.²⁹⁷ Alongside such case studies there is literature that provides checklists and indicators for cities to use to measure their current states and create a plan for moving forward.²⁹⁸ Below are just a number of initiatives chosen to provide a sense of the range and innovation that can be drawn from.

5.4.1 Political knowledge and engagement

MyCity Academy²⁹⁹

MyCity Academy is based in Nashville, Tennessee. The programme began in 2012 and was first-of-its kind in the U.S: It is considered a signature initiative of the Mayor's Office of New Americans. The idea is to identify leaders from within Nashville's many immigrant communities and give them a sense of how the local government works and how to resolve issues or access information. The course is free and takes 7 months, involving monthly sessions – meeting with leaders from Metro departments and tours of Metro facilities. Upon completion, participants 'graduate' from the MyCity Academy and become part of the Academy Alumni. Alumni are expected to communicate what they learn with friends, relatives and associates within their community, helping to explain the rights and responsibilities of life in their new country.

The programme has trained more than 130 people — some of whom, Nashville city officials hope, will go on to serve on local boards and commissions, run for public office and build a generation of civic leaders that reflect the new demographics of a

²⁹⁶ Amrith, 'Building City Identities in Contexts of Diversity'.

²⁹⁷ See for example, Cities of Migration, *Good Ideas*; COE, *The Intercultural City Step by Step Practical Guide*; Wood, Landry and Bloomfield, *A toolkit for cross-cultural co-operation*; Downs-Karkos, *The Receiving Communities Toolkit*.

²⁹⁸ Such as for example: *Intercultural Cities Index* based on the Intercultural Cities Model, which contains 66 indicators grouped into 10 indices; and *Indicators of openness and interculturalism: the city level* in Wood, Landry and Bloomfield, *A toolkit for cross-cultural co-operation*, Appendix 5.

²⁹⁹ <http://www.nashville.gov/Mayors-Office/Neighborhoods/New-Americans/MyCity-Academy.aspx>

changing city. One of the graduates from the inaugural year, Vanessa Lazón now runs the programme. Nashville's experience with MyCity Academy carries lessons for any city in the world that is coping with the question of how to integrate immigrants and refugees. The course is a valuable bridge between local authorities and immigrant communities who can otherwise become quite isolated.

Migrant Voters Project³⁰⁰

Like MyCity Academy, Dublin's Migrant Voters Project also uses the idea that training a number of people from a newcomer community will lead to peer education. The Voters Project provides voting education for young community leaders within migrant communities – and then they pass that information on to their communities. In an effort to encourage migrant voting, during elections, poster campaigns in 25 different languages are placed throughout the city. The Voters Project is driven by Dublin City Council's Office for Integration and honours their Declaration on Integration. The Declaration is a multilateral commitment from key leaders of state and city leadership to support the integration of immigrants within the economic, social and political life of the city of Dublin.

5.4.2 Language

Intercambio Uniting Communities (IUC)

IUC is a programme that connects volunteers with immigrant adults to teach them English, one-on-one in their home, and through group sessions at public facilities. Beyond this, they also provide a life skills course, information on American laws, finances, health care and culture and fun intercultural events like camps, music festivals and exercise classes. IUC co-founder Lee Shainis says 'Language is a segregator. Our instinct as humans is to avoid communication across language barriers because it's uncomfortable and we fear miscommunication resulting in conflict, so we've created an efficient system to use this barrier as the glue, as an excuse to bring people together across language barriers for an ongoing period of time to create friendships and create long-term unity.'³⁰¹ The IUC volunteers (i.e. members of the receiving community) report intercultural friendships (92%) and

³⁰⁰ Cities of Migration, *Good Ideas from Successful Cities*, pp.18–19.

³⁰¹ Welcoming refugees webinar script, <http://www.welcomingrefugees.org/sites/default/files/documents/resources/BuildingContactWebinarScript.pdf>

gaining a better understanding of migrant struggles (85%). This is an example of contact theory in action – building networks and social trust.

5.4.3 Governance

DiverseCity onBoard³⁰²

DiverseCity onBoard is an initiative that ‘seeks to change the face of city leadership by working to ensure that the governance bodies of public agencies, boards and commissions as well as voluntary organisations accurately reflect the diversity of the people who live and work’ in that city. The initiative started in Toronto in 2005, but has been replicated across Canada: in Calgary, Hamilton, London and Area, Montreal, Ottawa, and metro Vancouver. It was placed second in the 2011 international Intercultural Innovation Awards, which has led to international replication.

The process works through a number of different ways. It involves facilitating knowledge of board positions. People can go online to their local DiverseCity onBoard website, create an account and a profile and indicate their interest in joining a board. Public and Not-for-Profit organisations can also go online and indicate they have a board vacancy. It also provides governance training – a seven module course taught by experts on: board essentials; legal roles and responsibilities; finance fundamentals; commitment to diversity; risk management; strategic planning; and resource development. Graduates receive a certificate to indicate they have completed the course. However there are significant costs for individuals and organisations both for training and an annual ‘board matching’ fee.

5.4.4 Educating the public

Anti-Rumour Agents

An example of an innovative approach for tackling public misinformation and prejudices about migrants is found in the ‘Anti-Rumour Agents’ from Barcelona. This public awareness campaign sought to dispel common prejudices and stereotypes about immigrants – such as migrants taking resources, or putting strains on the health system – through training anti-rumour agents to know facts that can dispel such comments when publicly voiced. The campaign also involves a variety of media

³⁰² <http://diversecityonboard.ca>

platforms – websites, online videos, and a weekly comic book that explores a theme from the campaign in everyday life situations. The success of the campaign is about using new and innovative ways of getting the messages across, including through humour, which has managed to capture a new audience.³⁰³

5.4.5 Diverse stories

Living Library

Drawing from the Human Libraries concept developed in Denmark in 2000,³⁰⁴ Câmara Municipal de Valongo, Portugal, has a 'Living Library' that visits high schools and uses life stories from diverse local residents to engage young people – breaking down prejudice and stereotypes about diversity. Individuals from diverse backgrounds are the 'books', and the young people (14-18 years) can engage in conversation, learn about different experiences and cultural viewpoints and appreciate diversity. It is part of the municipal's aims for the city to value diversity, promote equality and active inclusive citizenship.³⁰⁵ This one project taps into a number of the recommended approaches for social cohesion – including providing space for inter-ethnic and inter-generational contact, engaging young people, and working with telling the stories of residents.

5.5 Examples of Aotearoa New Zealand city-level initiatives

5.5.1 Sport

ActivAsian³⁰⁶

This is a Harbour Sports initiative to get Asian residents on North Shore involved in sport in the community. It launched in 2009 and targets Korean and Chinese communities. ActivAsian provides information and aims to improve access to sport for Asian communities, as well as running a multicultural volunteer programme to encourage young Asian New Zealanders to get involved in volunteering. The initiative has created resources (a downloadable toolkit for engaging Asian communities), undertakes ongoing evaluation of programme success in engaging Asian

³⁰³ Cities of Migration, *Good Ideas from Successful Cities*, pp.20–21.

³⁰⁴ Erin Wentz, 'The Human Library: Sharing the Community with Itself', *Public Libraries Online*, 26 April 2013, http://publiclibrariesonline.org/2013/04/human_library/.

³⁰⁵ Cities of Migration, *Good Ideas from Successful Cities*, pp.70–71.

³⁰⁶ <http://www.harboursport.co.nz/harbour-sport/activasian/>

communities, and welcomes collaboration – so their educative purpose goes beyond their immediate community. ActivAsian is not specially for migrants – but covers the Asian community more broadly. As Asian migration to New Zealand increased 33 per cent between the 2006 and the 2013 Census, targeting the Asian community, increasing opportunities for contact, intra-group strengthening and encouraging volunteer work can all be seen as in line with social inclusion aims that will reach recent newcomers.

Auckland Council, Sport Auckland and SPARC have together created the *Connecting with Diversity: Auckland Sports Toolkit* which states that although many new migrants do not engage in sports, trying to get new migrants involved is a good way to reduce stress, promote healthy living, and provide inter-ethnic contact. The toolkit includes successful case studies, and tips and techniques for engaging with diverse communities.³⁰⁷ A three-year programme, Connect2Sport, accompanies the toolkit and works to increase migrant participation and volunteering in football and badminton.³⁰⁸

5.5.2 Connecting people

Albany Newcomers Network³⁰⁹

The Albany Newcomers Network is just one of the many local networks in the national New Zealand Newcomers Network.³¹⁰ Each network has its own agenda, relies on local involvement, and hosts a variety of education and social events. Albany run a 'Cosy Coffee Chat' morning where newcomers are encouraged to come, meet other people, and practice their English through conversation in a non-judgemental environment. They also have a ukulele session based on research that says music can help with language retention.

³⁰⁷ Auckland Council, Sport Auckland and SPARC, *Connecting with Diversity: Auckland Sports Toolkit*, n.d.

³⁰⁸ Connect2Sport:

<http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/EN/newseventsculture/communityfundingsupport/workingwithyourcommunity/Pages/connectingwithdiversity.aspx>

³⁰⁹ <http://www.newcomers.co.nz/regions/auckland/albany/>

³¹⁰ <http://www.newcomers.co.nz>

Learning from community

A lot of what is happening in this space is happening in local communities – by people, in response to local situations. This is an area where it is important to understand the academic engagement with these issues and topics, but not to forget about the examples and information that can be learnt from those working in community initiatives. These are where hands-on training, lesson learning, re-evaluation and application happen. For example, the coordinator for the Albany Newcomers Network has had difficulty reaching Chinese newcomers to her sessions, she advertised the session on Facebook but later found out (through seeing Chinese people using Wechat and Weibo) that Facebook is not such a common social media platform for Chinese communities. In another example, Jenny Lim, ActivAsian coordinator has drawn on Korean and Filipino staff to access those communities because as a Chinese-Malay-New Zealander she has access into Chinese communities but is not as easily able to connect with Filipino or Korean communities.

5.5.3 Practical help for newcomers

Passport 2 Drive (Hamilton)³¹¹

Begun in June 2015, this provides a driving school service for refugees and migrants – with a trained instructor and the use of an interpreter, who sits in the back of the car. Started by Hamilton Migrant Services Trust with funding from the Community Road Safety Fund of the NZTA, as well as assistance by WEL Energy Trust and Trust Waikato. The scheme recognises that, alongside learning English, getting a New Zealand driver's licence is an important part of settling in New Zealand and finding employment.

Auckland Regional Migrant Services

Auckland Regional Migrant Services (ARMS) runs free and low cost 'Living in Auckland' workshops for migrants. The focus of these workshops gives an indication of the services needed. The workshops are on: New Zealand education system; New Zealand health system, water and fire safety; housing; budgeting and financial systems; legal rights and responsibilities; Treaty of Waitangi; Immigration information; parenting in New Zealand; and driving. Alongside these there are one-off workshops,

³¹¹ <http://www.hmstrust.org.nz/passport-2-drive/>.

such as ‘Reducing social isolation’ for migrant and refugee women.³¹² Such workshops offer insight into potential areas of migrant and refugee need – as well as a good forum for connecting with migrant and refugee communities. That there is a crèche available and lunch provided also indicates an understanding of what is required to facilitate attendance. There does not appear to be coverage of local government services or access.

5.6 City level initiatives summary

This section outlines how various cities are ‘managing’ their ethnic diversity through a range of initiatives. These promote a sense of belonging, practical skills, civic participation and connections for newcomers, as well as educating established communities on their role in determining development in the face of increasing migration-driven ethnic diversity. However, as Collins and Friesen point out, such international approaches serve to prioritise global models of how to develop a successful city at the expense of local particularities. In the case of Auckland, this includes ignoring the importance of biculturalism and downplaying the socio-economic inequality that is interwoven with cultural difference and diversity in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland.³¹³ Without recognising structural inequality, an intercultural city approach in the context of Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland will likely lead to an increase, rather than a reduction, in distance and difference between people living in the city.³¹⁴

³¹² <https://settlement.org.nz/news/reducing-social-isolation-workshop/>.

³¹³ Collins and Friesen, ‘Making the Most of Diversity?’.

³¹⁴ Collins and Friesen, ‘Making the Most of Diversity?’, p.3068.

6.0 Infrastructure and ethnic diversity at the city level

Urban interactions between people occur in public spaces – and in cities these will be between people who are different from each other in multiple ways – including age, ethnicity, gender, class, religion, and sexuality.³¹⁵ These interactions occur on public transport, in parks, libraries, museums, ethnic precincts, through playing or watching sport or engaging with public art. Public spaces and urban infrastructure provides opportunities for common interaction, shopping and leisure.³¹⁶ Such encounters are part of the ‘everyday diversity’ of urban life and infrastructure can work to connect or disconnect social groups. Balbo and Marconi note that international migrants are particularly affected by urban exclusion, so creating spaces that are inclusive, recognisable, used by a range of different people, and provide opportunities for interaction, help provide an opportunity to reduce urban exclusion for migrants.³¹⁷

Burchardt and Höhne argue that materiality (buildings/structures) and diversity are often studied in isolation but actually are ‘entangled, mutually shape one another and should thus be studied in conjunction ... bringing research on urban infrastructures and on urban diversity into dialogue opens up new avenues for thinking about the politics and meanings of space.’³¹⁸ The things that facilitate or obstruct inclusion and interaction occur in places and to some extent are facilitated, shaped and produced by the material infrastructure. Infrastructure is more than just the tangible places, built environments and sites. A city’s infrastructure speaks to ‘administrative practices, knowledge, resources, policies, thereby incorporating normative ideas, ideal subject formations and specific modes of place-making’ and shaping urban spaces and urban people’s everyday practices.³¹⁹ Infrastructure is not neutral – it is influenced by political and normative ideas about users, transformation, interaction and improvement.

The ICC programme recommends considering place-making as fundamental to creating an ‘intercultural city’. This includes considering whether public spaces reflect the diversity of the community, and are used by all in the community, avoiding socio-

³¹⁵ Berg and Sigona, ‘Ethnography, diversity and urban space’.

³¹⁶ Hickman, Crowley, and Mai, *Immigration and Social Cohesion in the UK*, p.158.

³¹⁷ Balbo and Marconi, ‘International migration, diversity and urban governance’.

³¹⁸ Marian Burchardt and Stefan Höhne, ‘The Infrastructures of Diversity: Materiality and Culture in Urban Space – An Introduction’, *New Diversities*, 17, 2, 2015.

³¹⁹ Burchardt and Höhne, ‘The Infrastructures of Diversity’, p.2.

ethnic ghettoisation and ensuring police are undertaking an intercultural approach to local government determined city development.³²⁰ This approach is exactly what Burchardt and Höhne describe as the way local governments and large organisations seek to promote but also govern diversity – making diversity both the problem as well as the solution.³²¹

6.1 Ethnic precincts

‘Ethnic precincts demonstrate how cultural diversity shapes public spaces’ and as such provide an example of the way racialised migrants shape a city.³²² Ethnic precincts develop over time through the clustering of ethnic businesses and entrepreneurs in particular spaces that then start to become destination areas for social and economic intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic interactions. Local governments play a role in designating areas as ethnic precincts through helping to create or maintain the ethnic identity of the area – for economic, tourist, social or cultural gains for the city.³²³ The spatial, social and economic meanings attached to such precincts depend on a range of considerations such as whether someone is a shopper, a business owner, a local or a tourist.³²⁴ For example, research on the Balmoral shops, a Chinese ethnic precinct found that for non-Chinese shoppers the precinct was seen as a place for good value and food variety, convenience and a place for inter-ethnic socialisation. For Chinese shoppers and business owners the research found that the Balmoral shops provide friendship, familiarity and a sense of belonging.³²⁵

Ethnic precincts and local neighbourhoods are a good example of how the city develops in organic and historically informed ways, outside that which is planned for and proscribed. Neighbourhoods can develop over time to become places of inter-ethnic interaction to meet the needs of their community.³²⁶

³²⁰ COE, *Intercultural Cities Brochure*.

³²¹ Burchardt and Höhne, ‘The Infrastructures of Diversity’, p.9.

³²² Jock Collins and Patrick Kunz, ‘Ethnicity and Public Space in the City: Ethnic Precincts in Sydney’, *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal*, 1, 1, 2009, pp.39–70.

³²³ Price and Chacko, *Migrants’ Inclusion in Cities*.

³²⁴ Carina Meares, Trudie Cain, Hadyn Hitchins, Jesse Allpress, Susan Fairgray, Jessica Terruhn and Amanda Gilbertson, *Ethnic precincts in Auckland: understanding the role and function of the Balmoral shops*. Auckland Council technical report, TR2015/015, 2015.

³²⁵ Meares et al., *Ethnic precincts in Auckland*, pp.129–131.

³²⁶ Danielle Gri, ‘Social Cohesion Created through Public Spaces in Toronto’s Neighbourhoods’, *Technical Transactions: Architecture*, 6, 1, 2007, pp.375–378.

6.2 Transport

Inclusive urban environments rely on a range of public services and accessibility issues including the pricing and availability of public transportation.³²⁷ Public transport connects people, creates opportunities for work and education. But it has the opposite effect for those who cannot afford or access it. It is argued that good public transport systems in Toronto and Montréal enable new migrants to access both employment and social services.³²⁸ On public transport and diversity Burchardt and Höhne question, 'How do these infrastructures enable, circumscribe or constrain interactions between specific ethnic groups across the often invisible boundaries that crisscross contemporary mega-cities?'³²⁹

Recent research on the travel needs for an ethnically diverse Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland shows that little is known or reported on travel use for Pasifika, African or Middle Eastern Aucklanders, with more known about 'Asian' New Zealanders' transport use.³³⁰ International transport research shows that ethnicity affects transport use, with cultural factors playing a part in perceptions of car, active transport and public transport use, and with newer migrants having higher levels of active and public transport use. However, more Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland specific research is required to ascertain whether these patterns are replicated here. The report considers that income, employment location and job type, and residential location all impact on current transport needs, and that migrant reliance on part time employment, and residential location both indicate high public transport need.³³¹ The report also notes the importance of considering how ethnicity and age can combine to increase transport poverty and transport related social exclusion. The authors recommend planners engage with the plurality and intersectionality of ethnic populations, as well as developing culturally sensitive policies to respond to different transport needs based on cultural practices, migrant status and ethno-social need.

³²⁷ Ray, 'The role of cities in immigrant integration'.

³²⁸ Ray, 'The role of cities in immigrant integration'.

³²⁹ Burchardt and Höhne, 'The Infrastructures of Diversity'.

³³⁰ In this research the groups examined were non-Māori and non-Pākehā. Paul Spoonley, Muhammad Imran, Natalie Jackson, Robin Peace and Trudie Cain, 'Transport demand implications of changing population age and ethnic diversity in Auckland: A thought piece', A JMAC Report. Massey University, 2016.

³³¹ Spoonley, et al., 'Transport demand implications', pp.20–22.

6.3 Museums

Museums are part of the infrastructure of a city and are spaces where people both create and consume the narrative of the city. Kevin Coffee shows how 'Museums play a formative role in defining and reproducing those relationships through their policies and narrative practices. As importantly, how museums are construed, who uses them, and how they use them, are also defined within this web of relationships.'³³² Rosenberg believes a museum's role in social cohesion is through providing a safe place for difficult conversations and representations.³³³ Museums serve both educative and cultural functions, and can use these functions to help communities explore aspects of identity and community in a way to create connections and promote social cohesion.

Witcomb makes the case for museum exhibitions to enact diversity, rather than teach it. This means having diversity as part of every exhibition through intersectionality, multiple viewpoints, opening normative narratives 'from the inside out' and by bringing the audience into the dialogue so affect is used as an interpretative strategy. She argues that 'The real need to learn how to live together demands more than either a consensual or a pluralistic approach to representation.'³³⁴

6.4 Libraries

Libraries are an important part of a community – 'spaces for creating a harmonious society; where people can exchange their culture and thoughts; places where they can feel welcomed and a part of society'.³³⁵ In terms of their role in ethnic diversity and social cohesion, Auckland Libraries Advisor for Multicultural Services, believes joining a library is one of the top 10 things a newcomer needs to do. She says that for newcomers, seeing their language in the community collections provides a sense of belonging and connection, and checking services and information is provided in a

³³² Kevin Coffee, 'Cultural inclusion, exclusion and the formative roles of museums', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 23, 3, 2008, pp.261–79.

³³³ Tracy Jean Rosenberg, 'History Museums and Social Cohesion: Building Identity, Bridging Communities, and Addressing Difficult Issues', *Peabody Journal of Education*, 86, 2, 2011, pp.115–128.

³³⁴ Witcomb, 'Migration, Social Cohesion and Cultural Diversity', p.65.

³³⁵ Immigration New Zealand, 'Superdiversity and the public library', 11 May 2016, <https://www.immigration.govt.nz/about-us/media-centre/newsletters/settlement-actionz/actionz5/superdiversity-and-the-public-library> (Accessed 5 December 2016).

number of different languages also.

Having a diverse library staff is an important way of engaging with a diverse community and managing a diverse library collection. Research from Canada shows library staff support being part of an ethnically diverse staff but this is hampered by limited availability of qualified candidates. This research recommends education and awareness campaigns about the library profession, as well as greater diversity training, awareness and leadership within library organisations.³³⁶

Harris and Dudley outline the role of libraries in enhancing community cohesion, but also the need for indicators to determine the extent of the influence libraries have.³³⁷ Their research found that libraries provided social inclusion, but did not actively work towards social cohesion. The indicator framework they created has four areas (libraries as a resource, librarians as expertise, library as place, and library as symbol) that interact with three actions (library contributions to community cohesion strategies; delivering services in a way that is consistent with the principles of community cohesion; and working with local residents and groups to support viable networks of self-support and communication).³³⁸

6.5 Urban planning/urban governance

Planning academic, Patsy Healy defines planning as 'managing our co-existence in shared space'.³³⁹ Sandercock takes up this definition, and uses it to explore how such co-existence can happen in 'cities of difference' in ways that are transformative, rather than repressive. The literature on cities of difference and planning responses has been active since the mid-1990s, covering 'difference' along age, gender, cultural, dis/ability, sexuality and ethnicity lines (and combinations thereof). The planning system includes from 'plans, planning codes and bylaws, legislation, and heritage and urban design practices, to planners' inability to analyse issues from a multicultural perspective or to design participatory processes that bring racial and

³³⁶ Mary Kandiuk, 'Promoting Racial and Ethnic Diversity among Canadian Academic Librarians', *College and Research Libraries*, July 2014; Jack Hang-tat Leong, 'Ethnic Diversity at the University of Toronto Libraries', IFLA, 2013, <http://library.ifla.org/67/1/101-leong-en.pdf>

³³⁷ Kevin Harris and Martin Dudley, *Public Libraries and Community Cohesion: Developing Indicators*, Community Development Foundation: London, 2005.

³³⁸ Harris and Dudley, *Public Libraries and Community Cohesion: Developing Indicators*, p.37.

³³⁹ Healy, 1997, cited in Leonie Sandercock, 'When strangers become neighbours: Managing cities of difference' *Planning Theory & Practice*, 1, 1, 2000, pp.13-30.

ethnic groups into the planning process'.³⁴⁰ Sandercock draws on the historical legacy of urban planning as part of the Enlightenment dream of rationality for reformers who wanted cities that were clearly marked, and inhabitants who behaved in an orderly and managed fashion. She asks if this heritage is still behind ways planners still try to 'manage difference' in a way that is also about manipulation and control.³⁴¹

Sandercock outlines four main ways ethnic diversity challenges city planning, policies and practices: 1. planning systems reflect the norms of the culturally dominant majority; and 2. the planners themselves reproduce them – often unaware of the implicit biases and cultural assumptions (this can be seen in communication style, attitude toward disclosure, toward conflict, approaches to accomplishing task, decision making styles, and approaches to knowing); 3. that racism and xenophobia finds expression through the planning system, such as in disputes over a mosque location, or the use of community spaces; and 4. When Western planners come up against cultural values incommensurable with their own values (do they take a cultural relativism approach – even if it means supporting what they might view as sexist or classist beliefs or do they impose Western cultural norms around assumption of equality?).³⁴² She then outlines four possible responses to the challenge of ethnic diversity in cities: changing legislation to overhaul planning systems (which will take at least a generation, and requires social advocates undertaking powerful lobbying for change); a market response (shops and businesses develop to serve diverse community needs and planners adjust to accommodate their potentially different needs, though this approach can lead to ghettoisation); generate a dialogue; and an educational response.³⁴³

New Zealand-based planners, Blake van Veldon and Dory Reeves, follow the dialogue approach – arguing that public spaces can align with the diversity approach of interculturalism and be socially sustaining when designed through a forum with planners and citizens from different cultural identities to capture a wide variety of perspectives and needs. The idea is to bring different approaches and worldviews

³⁴⁰ Sandercock, 'When strangers become neighbours', p.14.

³⁴¹ Sandercock, 'When strangers become neighbours', p.22.

³⁴² Sandercock, 'When strangers become neighbours', pp.15–17.

³⁴³ Sandercock, 'When strangers become neighbours', pp.15–17.

into dialogue.³⁴⁴ These cross-cultural forums can take place in public spaces – integrated community projects, internet forums, networking sites, sports programmes, cultural festivals and urban parks.

6.6 Urban parks

As public spaces, parks can be used for recreational, aesthetic, or ecological purposes. They also are shown to have a role in understanding and promoting cultural diversity in a city.³⁴⁵ A document from the Parks Department in Washington outlines how different ethnic groups use and view the parks: blacks (sport, socialising and relaxing), whites (solo-use for walking or jogging, value aesthetic quality), Chinese (low park use, mostly older people for tai chi, aesthetic over functional appeal), Hispanic (socialising in large groups, food involved, socialising and relaxation).³⁴⁶ Although this is clearly oversimplified, it is nevertheless about recognising that there may be inherent cultural assumptions about park use and design that means not all ethnic groups will use it, or feel comfortable in that space.

Van Velden and Reeves argue for the use of temporary and permanent symbols in urban parks to ‘communicate different cultural identities and provide for cross-cultural representation and education’.³⁴⁷ They make a case for the use of flora in urban parks as a temporary symbol that provides symbolic, cultural and aesthetic representation, as well as linking to place – through local or indigenous flora. Indigenous plants also hold significance for Māori, so their use follows tikanga (correct procedure) – allows for the recognition and restoration of mauri (life force), as well as enabling kaitiakitanga (guardianship), and mātauranga (indigenous knowledge).³⁴⁸ Flora and planting styles have symbolic as well as external value for different cultures and recognising and incorporating these different meanings into urban parks indicates understanding and respect for difference, as well as

³⁴⁴ Blake van Veldon and Dory Reeves, ‘Intercultural Public Spaces’, International Planning Conference, Christchurch, 20–23 April 2010.

³⁴⁵ Setha Low, Dana Taplin and Suzanne Scheld, *Rethinking Urban Parks: Public Space and Cultural Diversity*, University of Texas Press: Texas, 2005.

³⁴⁶ Garrett Davier, ‘Cultural and Ethnic Minority Use of Open Space’, http://depts.washington.edu/open2100/Resources/5_New%20Research/Culture_OpenSpace.pdf.

³⁴⁷ van Veldon and Reeves, ‘Intercultural Public Spaces’.

³⁴⁸ These are only simplistic translations that do not adequately cover the complexity of the meanings of these terms. For more detailed explanations please refer to Haylee Koroi, *Indigenous Knowledge as Evidence in Local Government Decision Making: Challenges and Opportunities*, Auckland Council: Auckland, forthcoming.

capitalising on the opportunities diversity presents for innovation.³⁴⁹

Van Velden and Reeves argue that place-naming is a permanent symbol within public spaces that can encourage intercultural dialogue and socially inclusive communities. Cultural diversity in place-naming of public areas, can encourage attachment to place and visual and symbolic representation of cultural difference, local history and context. They recommend greater use in New Zealand of Asian, Pacific, African, Latin American and Middle Eastern names.³⁵⁰ This is an interesting concept but one that might be seen as a further extension of the colonial practice of claiming ownership and rights over place.

6.7 Public art

Public art is seen to have a role in social cohesion, representing diversity and inclusion, and prompting conversations about diversity. More than art in a public domain, 'public art is art which has as its goal a desire to engage with its audiences and to create spaces –whether material, virtual or imagined – within which people can identify themselves, perhaps by creating a renewed reflection on community, on the uses of public spaces or on our behaviour within them'.³⁵¹ Auckland Council's public art policy outlines that public art in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland should reflect the city's unique identity including the ethnic and linguistic diversity of its population.³⁵²

As part of their extensive review of the social impacts of culture and sport Taylor and colleagues concluded that 'Studies in general testify that cultural participation can contribute to social relationships, community cohesion, and/or make communities feel safer and stronger. A majority of studies also supports positive links between arts participation and social inclusion, suggesting that cultural participation results in an improved capacity for cultural citizenship, boosting confidence and developing social skills which lead to more effective engagement with the community at large.'³⁵³

³⁴⁹ van Velden and Reeves, 'Intercultural Public Spaces'.

³⁵⁰ van Velden and Reeves, 'Intercultural Public Spaces'..

³⁵¹ J. Sharpe, V. Pollock, and R. Paddison, 'Just Art for a Just City: Public Art and Social Inclusion in Urban Regeneration', *Urban Studies*, 42, 5/6, 2005, pp.1001–23, pp.1003–4.

³⁵² Auckland Council, *Public Art Policy*, Auckland Council: Auckland, 2014, p.6.

³⁵³ Peter Taylor, Larissa Davies, Peter Wells, Jan Gilbertson and William Tayleur, *A review of the Social Impacts of Culture and Sport*, CASE (The Culture and Sport Evidence Programme): Sheffield, 2015.

However, there 'is a dearth of evidence indicating that participation in arts activities leads to fundamental change in terms of social cohesion and civic renewal'.³⁵⁴

Research on urban design and place-making recognises the importance of public art in influencing civic culture.³⁵⁵ The Arts Council of England notes 'Perhaps the strongest way in which arts and culture contributes towards citizenship and social inclusion is by strengthening social capital – social relations and interactions between people that can have a range of positive effects. There is strong evidence that participation in the arts can contribute to community cohesion, reduce social exclusion and isolation and/or make communities feel safer and stronger.'³⁵⁶ This argument that public art can help enhance social cohesion, encourage active citizenship and provide a sense of connection to place is ubiquitous, though the evidence is hard to quantify.³⁵⁷ The lack of evidence on the social impacts of sport and the arts is raised in a 2015 British study which notes that 'there is an intuitive recognition that sport and culture provide social impacts and a substantial history of literature on this' but attempts at measuring and valuing these impacts are few and generally are only small-scale and cover immediate rather than long-term outcomes.³⁵⁸

Some research has found that public art either has little impact, or negative impacts on social cohesion where ethnic diversity is involved. Mattern's analysis of a city-led arts based community development process in California that was created along ethnic and class line actually divided the groups involved, rather than having a positive transformative effect toward social cohesion.³⁵⁹ Where inequality is a consideration, the benefits of art on social cohesion are compromised. Colomb's 2011 case study of urban regeneration in Roubaix, France demonstrates that cultural investments do not trickle down to deprived and marginalised populations without

³⁵⁴ Taylor et al., *A review of the Social Impacts*, p.81.

³⁵⁵ Sarah Schrank, *Art and the City: Civic Imagination and Cultural Authority in Los Angeles*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

³⁵⁶ Arts Council of England, *The Value of Arts and Culture to People and Society*, 2nd edn, Arts Council England: Manchester, 2014, p.33

³⁵⁷ C.L. Landry, Greene, F. Matarasso and F. Bianchini, *The art of regeneration: urban renewal through cultural activity*. Comedia: Stroud, 1996; P.J. Long, M. Welch, D. P. Bramham, J. Butterfield, K. Hylton and E. Lloyd, *Count Me In. The dimensions of social inclusion through culture, media and sport*, Centre for Leisure and Sport Research: Leeds, 2002; Sharpe, Pollock, and Paddison, 'Just Art for a Just City'.

³⁵⁸ Taylor et al., *A review of the Social Impacts*.

³⁵⁹ M. Mattern, 'Art and community development in Santa Ana, California: the promise and the reality', *Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society*, 30, 4, 2001, pp.301–15, p.302.

strong, proactive forms of political and public intervention and even then, socio-cultural barriers may remain difficult to overcome.³⁶⁰

One case study of a public art project with residents of a ‘super-diverse’ London Council Estate provides a good explanation of potential methodologies, challenges and opportunities of a public art project in collaboration with a local community. Gidley’s project involved life history interviews with residents of an ethnically diverse London council estate, and photographic portraiture taken with those residents. The project embodied the sense of the importance of ‘everyday multicultural’ as well as showing how ‘the sheer variety of lives and ways of life belie the homogenising generalisations of “the council estate” as rendered by the media, policy discourse and, indeed, social scientific pronouncements’.³⁶¹ As Gidley outlines, and echoing kaupapa Māori research practices, requesting such energy, engagement and buy-in from communities requires a duty upon the organising body to honour the time, energy, information and mana given through involvement, by ensuring a good, effective, responsive outcome and end product.³⁶² Public art in this way can be educative, empowering and provide an intersectional approach to thinking about a community.

6.8 Sport

Some research has shown how an activity focus such as sport is a good medium through which to promote social interaction.³⁶³ However, Taylor et al.’s extensive literature review on the social impact of culture and sport examined whether ‘social inclusion’ was a potential benefit, examining this in relation to sport, arts, heritage and museums, libraries and archives.³⁶⁴ In regards to sport they concluded that ‘Positive outcomes in studies include reduced social and ethnic tensions, and more

³⁶⁰ Claire Colomb, ‘Culture in the city, culture for the city? The political construction of the trickle-down in cultural regeneration strategies in Roubaix, France’, *Town Planning Review*, 82, 1, 2011, pp.77–98.

³⁶¹ Gidley, ‘Landscapes of belonging’.

³⁶² Ben Gidley, ‘Landscapes of belonging, portraits of life: researching everyday multicultural in an inner city estate’, *Identities*, 20, 4, 2013, pp.361–376.

³⁶³ M. Amara, D. Aquilina, E. Argent, M. Betzer-Tayar, F. Coalter, M. Green, I. Henry and J. Taylor, *The Roles of Sport and Education in the Social Inclusion of Asylum Seekers and Refugees: An Evaluation of Policy and Practice in the UK*, Institute for Sport and Leisure Policy, University of Loughborough and Department of Sports Studies, University of Stirling, 2005, http://firat.academia.edu/SebahattinDevecioglu/Papers/525846/The_Roles_of_Sport_and_Education_in_the_Social_Inclusion_of_Asylum_Seekers_and_Refugees_An_Evaluation_of_Policy_and_Practice_in_the_UK.

³⁶⁴ Taylor et al., *A review of the Social Impacts*.

collective action and community involvement through sport, particularly volunteering' while examples of social exclusion and sport were also found. More long-term evidence is needed to support the idea that sport can aid social inclusion and community cohesion in relation to ethnicity.³⁶⁵

6.9 City infrastructure summary

A city's infrastructure includes its administrative and governing processes as well as its built environment. How people encounter the city, how the city is presented, and how people change the built environment illustrate the dialogic process of urban infrastructure. The literature argues that urban infrastructure can be used to counteract social exclusion, provide opportunities for access, interaction, and equity of experience, while recognising that people use spaces in different and culturally informed ways. In this way, the built environment can be harnessed for interculturality or social cohesion in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland. However, it must be remembered that even where opportunities are provided, this will not ensure equality of outcome. A public park *can* be used by anyone (equality of opportunity), but that does not mean everyone feels equally welcomed in that space (equality of outcome). And sharing a public space does not guarantee public interaction.³⁶⁶ It is also important to recognise that the discourse on using infrastructure as a way to promote diversity and social cohesion is also about governing and controlling that diversity and those interactions.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁵ Taylor et al., *A review of the Social Impacts*, p.52.

³⁶⁶ N. Nasser, 'Social Cohesion and Public Space', 6 February 2016 <http://www.melasocialenterprise.com/social-cohesion-and-public-space-by-noha-nasser/> (Accessed 15 February 2017).

³⁶⁷ Marian Burchardt and Stefan Höhne, 'The Infrastructures of Diversity: Materiality and Culture in Urban Space – An Introduction', *New Diversities*, 17, 2, 2015, p.9.

7.0 The intersection between indigeneity and immigration

Literature examining the intersection between indigeneity and immigration is scarce, despite its relevance to the broader literature on immigration and ethnic diversity. This dearth is possibly because countries in Europe and the U.K. – where much of the immigration and ethnic diversity literature is generated – do not have indigenous and settler populations who both claim host status. It is a topic that is gathering pace: a 2013 inaugural conference, *Encounters in Canada: Contrasting Indigenous and Immigrant Perspectives* featured over 40 presentations by academics working in this area.³⁶⁸ For Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States (CANZUS), being settler-colonial nations complicates immigration issues. And while there are connections for indigenous peoples across these Anglo-settler democracies, indigenous politics are inherently local and tied to place. 'The intersecting debates surrounding identity, citizenship, and belonging' within indigenous and immigration narratives have been systematically separated within academic and public discourse,³⁶⁹ but seeing the connections between these histories and experiences can be fruitful for the field of migration studies.³⁷⁰

It is also important to note that concepts present in Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) find echoes in the international literature. The literature includes discussions on the importance of hosting, welcoming, taking care of people and the land, and an insistence that ethnicity policies be living documents; these are all principles inherent in kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga (hospitality) and Te Tiriti.³⁷¹ There are also research methodologies outlined above, from projects with migrant communities, that align with kaupapa Māori approaches relating to being respectful, ensuring research is purposeful, considering ownership and access over information, capacity building through research methods and dissemination, and recognising the expertise of others.

³⁶⁸ <https://encountersincanada.wordpress.com/abstracts-2/>.

³⁶⁹ Melissa May Ling Chung, 'The Relationships Between Racialized Immigrants and Indigenous Peoples In Canada: A Literature Review' MA Research Paper, Ryerson University, 2012, p.iii.

³⁷⁰ Harald Bauder, 'Editorial: Closing the immigration-Aboriginal parallax gap', *Geoforum*, 42, 2011, pp.517–19.

³⁷¹ These are only simplistic translations that do not adequately cover the complexity of the meanings of these terms. For more detailed explanations please refer to Koroi, *Indigenous Knowledge as Evidence in Local Government Decision Making*.

The literature covered in this section falls into two broad areas. One is about the connections between the state, colonialism, immigration and indigeneity. The other is about relationships between indigenous peoples and newcomers.

7.1 Relationship between indigeneity and immigration

The way central and local government institutions in New Zealand commonly divide the population into Pākehā, Māori, Pacific Peoples and 'other ethnic groups' places Māori outside the discussion on ethnic diversity and immigration. The 'host' society is represented through institutions, like government, that are a direct and ongoing form of colonialism. Māori become either absorbed into the 'we' of New Zealand settler society, or mentioned as part of New Zealand's history rather than present. For example, the Office of Ethnic Communities' 2016 strategic direction document on ethnic diversity does not include discussion of Māori in relation to 'flourishing ethnic diversity'. Apart from statistics on the ethnic breakdown of New Zealand's population, Māori are only mentioned in a very simplistic précis of the historical colonial process in the Foreword by the Minister for Ethnic Communities:

New Zealand has a proud history as a nation that is welcoming of diversity. Māori, our first peoples began this tradition in a formal sense in 1840 by entering into a partnership through Te Tiriti o Waitangi with representatives of the Crown. Since then we have welcomed people from all corners of the world.³⁷²

Such denial of New Zealand's violent colonial history and ongoing colonialism in favour of a simple foundation myth of nation building is similar to that seen in the U.S. relating to the 'nation of immigrants' myth.³⁷³ Leigh Patel says such national narratives inaccurately imply equal access and experience and are 'a malignant fiction deeply needed to sustain systemic structures'.³⁷⁴ Separating indigenous sovereignty and migration issues helps maintain current ways of framing issues of identity, belonging and citizenship by masking the perpetuation of colonial

³⁷² Foreword in The Office of Ethnic Communities, *Flourishing Ethnic Diversity*, p.2.

³⁷³ Volpp, 'The Indigenous as Alien', p.323.

³⁷⁴ Patel, 'Nationalist Narratives'.

inequality.³⁷⁵

Ranginui Walker argued in 1995 that Te Tiriti should be viewed as the first immigration policy – with the Preamble covering ‘Emigration both from Europe and Australia’ – and that failure to consult Māori over changes to this policy is a breach of Te Tiriti.³⁷⁶ Cruickshank reiterated this point in 2014: ‘Māori see the Treaty of Waitangi as forming the first immigration policy, allowing in British citizens. Thereafter, no consultation with Māori regarding immigration policy diversification has occurred.’³⁷⁷

Settlerism is presented in the immigration discourse as distinct from immigration. As Volpp explains, this settler narrative attaches ‘belonging’ to the term ‘settler’, while the term ‘migrant’ indicates a transiency and non-belonging to the land.³⁷⁸ Settlers position themselves as having made the society in which they live, with immigrants positioned as being invited to join that society. At the heart of this in the Aotearoa New Zealand context is an assumption about the ‘naturalness’ of the Pākehā settler process, their ‘right’ to be in New Zealand and to have imposed British institutions.

Understanding the history of indigenous and newcomer relationships as adjacent to and complicated by the colonial narrative is important. In an article on the relationship between Afrikans in Canada and Original Peoples, Mutamba argues that research into the history of relationships between Afrikans in Canada and Original peoples helps de-centre the white colonialists’ frame of reference and ‘decolonise’ the relationships.³⁷⁹ Chung also emphasises relationships between, within and across groups – the intersectionality between racialised immigrants, refugees and indigenous peoples.³⁸⁰ In a New Zealand context, some work has been done on

³⁷⁵ Anna Stanley, Sedef Arat-Koç, Laurie K. Bertram, Hayden King, ‘Intervention – ‘Addressing the Indigenous- Immigration “Parallax Gap”’, AntipodeFoundation.org, <https://antipodefoundation.org/2014/06/18/addressing-the-indigenous-immigration-parallax-gap/>, Accessed 19 December 2016.

³⁷⁶ R. Walker, ‘Immigration policy and the political economy of New Zealand’, in S. W. Greif, ed., *Immigration and national identity in New Zealand: One people, two peoples, many peoples?* Dunmore Press: Palmerston North, 1995, pp.282–302.

³⁷⁷ Cruickshank, ‘Communicating social change’, p.14

³⁷⁸ Volpp, ‘The Indigenous as Alien’, p.319.

³⁷⁹ Mutamba, ‘Resisting Inclusion’

³⁸⁰ Chung, ‘The Relationships Between Racialized Immigrants and Indigenous Peoples’, p.19.

Chinese and Māori relations³⁸¹ but more needs to be done on the history between settled racialised migrants, Pākehā and Māori.

The established settler community continues to shape the nation through policy that determines who is accepted into the country.³⁸² Residence and citizenship is granted by national policy and upon arrival immigrants' 'inclusion necessarily comes at the expense of Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination'.³⁸³ The following lengthy quote illustrates how newcomers have a potentially fraught relationship with both the state and indigenous in settler nations:

The very process of becoming a good, successful, moral, and respectable citizen with access to the resources of the state transforms newcomers into colonialists. In this sense colonialists are *produced*, as are colonised populations, through relationships to the state. This process is of course fraught, as immigrants, especially racialised, illegalised, and differentially incorporated immigrants, are not usually in a position to choose how and under what conditions they enter into a relationship with the state, anymore than they are able to redefine the moral contours of what constitutes a good citizen.³⁸⁴

It is not just the nation state that separates out newcomer and indigenous in the rhetoric. Indigenous people in settler societies have an incentive to not be connected to the immigrant population because rather than wanting to be included within the settler society's social and political framework, many indigenous groups want to challenge the system and assert their sovereignty as separate from it. Fleras and Maaka note that

Unlike ethnic and immigrant minorities who are voluntarily looking to settle down and fit in within the existing social and political framework, Indigenous peoples constitute forcibly incorporated nations who want to 'get out' of

³⁸¹ T. Kukutai, 'The Structure of Māori-Asian Relations: An Ambivalent Future?', *New Zealand Population Review*, 33, 2010, pp.129–51; Manying Ip, ed., *The Dragon and the Taniwha: Maori and Chinese in New Zealand*, Auckland University Press: Auckland, 2009; Manying Ip, 'Maori-Chinese Encounters: Indigene-Immigrant Interaction in New Zealand', *Asian Studies Review*, 27, 2, 2003, pp.227-252.

³⁸² Bauder, 'Closing the immigration-Aboriginal parallax gap', pp.517–9.

³⁸³ Mutamba, 'Resisting Inclusion'; see also Volpp, 'The Indigenous as Alien', p.292

³⁸⁴ Stanley, Arat-Koç, Bertram, and King, 'Intervention – 'Addressing the Indigenous- Immigration "Parallax Gap"'. Emphasis in original.

imposed political arrangements that deny, exclude, or oppress.³⁸⁵

This means that some indigenous groups have worked to distance their narratives from those of immigrants.³⁸⁶

The literature warns against trying to homogenise indigenous and newcomers' experiences of exclusion. Creating policy that connects indigenous and immigrants as groups that experience similar social, political and economic exclusion and racialisation places indigenous and immigrants as both minorities that need protecting through policy – but maintain Anglo-settlers as the 'norm' and places indigenous and migrant groups as 'ethnic other'. Placing 'indigenous subjects as indistinct from others into the national body',³⁸⁷ is to deny their unique position, and does not afford them any particular role vis-à-vis migrants – either in terms of policy or processes. Bauder summarises the separation of immigration and indigeneity thus: 'immigration is a necessary aspect of the national imagination in settler societies. A dialectical process of national identity formation involves first welcoming foreign strangers as immigrants and then integrating these immigrants into the fabric of the nation. Aboriginal peoples have no place in this national imagination of a settler society.'³⁸⁸ Thinking of indigenous as people with rights, rather than minorities, is fundamental to placing indigeneity on the policy agenda.³⁸⁹

There are however, connections that can be made in the nexus between indigeneity and immigration. Indigenous and immigrant experiences are connected if we recognise that both colonisation and racialisation exist in Aotearoa New Zealand, and influence our dominant social, economic, political and cultural structures. Addressing structural racism and exclusion can benefit both Māori and racialised newcomers who experience exclusion for entirely different reasons.

International policies regarding multiculturalism are not wholly applicable in New Zealand's bicultural environment, but Tahu Kukutai urges a shift in perception to see

³⁸⁵ Fleras and Maaka, 'Indigeneity-Grounded Analysis', p.15.

³⁸⁶ Bauder, 'Closing the immigration-Aboriginal parallax gap', p.517.

³⁸⁷ Volpp, 'The Indigenous as Alien', p.292.

³⁸⁸ Bauder, 'Closing the immigration-Aboriginal parallax gap', p.517. He cites Catherine Dauvergne, 2005. *Humanitarianism, Identity, and Nation: Migration Laws in Canada and Australia*. UBC Press, Vancouver.

³⁸⁹ Fleras and Maaka, 'Indigeneity-Grounded Analysis'.

how bicultural and multicultural policies intersect, rather than are oppositional.³⁹⁰ In New Zealand, work undertaken by CaDDANZ is starting to address this gap between biculturalism, multiculturalism and diversity, including a mixed-methods project from an indigenous standpoint that asks: What are the unique and shared aspirations of Māori and migrants for living together productively?³⁹¹

7.2 Alliances between indigenous and newcomers

Recognising that indigenous and racialised migrants may share experiences of displacement and exclusion,³⁹² has led to some academic and community work examining alliances between indigenous and racialised migrants. Chung's 2012 MA on the relationships between racialised immigrants and indigenous works to unsettle the oppositional discourse on indigenous and immigrant experience 'and build dialogue and cross-cultural collaboration in anti-racist activism and scholarship'.³⁹³

These alliances are also subject to critique. Anishinaabe scholar, Hayden King recognises the importance of allies when wanting to change societal processes, but questions whether the different agendas between indigenous people and their allies (white and racialised migrant) that lead to engagement can co-exist – because for indigenous people the goal is challenging colonial frameworks in economics, society and institutions that will ultimately undermine the advantages experienced by those allies.³⁹⁴ He notes that arguments for coalitions between indigenous and racialised immigrants are easier to make in academic theorising, than to actually find in concrete examples.

Zoe Todd argues for solidarity between indigenous people and 'settlers of colour' to recognise their mutual experiences as being disposed and displaced, by systemic

³⁹⁰ Tahu Kukutai, 'Never the Twain Shall Meet? Bridging the Indigenous-Migration Research Divide' presentation at *From Global to Local: Impacts of International Migration, Mobility and Diversity; Pathways Circuits and Crossroads* conference, 9-11 November 2016, Wellington.

³⁹¹ http://www.caddanz.org.nz/massey/learning/departments/centres-research/caddanz/background/background_home.cfm (Accessed 14 February 2017).

³⁹² D. Coleman, E.C. Glanville, W. Hasan and A. Kramer-Hamstra, eds, *Countering displacements: The creativity and resilience of Indigenous and refugee-ed peoples*, University of Alberta Press: Edmonton, 2012.

³⁹³ Chung, 'The Relationships Between Racialized Immigrants and Indigenous Peoples'.

³⁹⁴ Hayden King, 'The Politics of Indigenous –Non-Indigenous Coalitions', *Intervention – Addressing the Indigenous- Immigration "Parallax Gap"*, AntipodeFoundation.org, <https://antipodefoundation.org/2014/06/18/addressing-the-indigenous-immigration-parallax-gap/>, Accessed 19 December 2016.

racism.³⁹⁵ Using two examples from Canada, Todd outlines how art has helped newcomer and indigenous 'build relationships, spark dynamic collaborations and embrace the future'.³⁹⁶

Lewis Williams' participatory action research work, 'Aboriginal, Immigrant, Refugee Women Contributions to Ecological Well-being', underscores the mental health vulnerabilities that indigenous, refugee, and migrant women in Canada have, and works to bring these women together to find new ways of supporting, working, and connecting through a hui/talking circle model.³⁹⁷ The research has three aims: get a better understanding of the ways in which culture, migration, and the intersectionality of race, gender and class impact on migration and mental wellbeing; to influence policies and programmes from an interconnected perspective; and to build capacity of those involved. As well as using a process that values and honours different ways of thinking and communicating, Williams' approach is about building connections between indigenous, immigrants and migrants, without the involvement of the settler majority. She also aims to challenge the individualistic and commodity approach to viewing issues of migration, and replace that with a paradigm of interconnectedness.

The City of Vancouver Dialogues project (CVDP) worked to engage communities in a process of decolonisation and reconciliation through storytelling, with 'Dialogue Circles' as a key component. The initiative was originally conceived to bring together First Nation, urban Aboriginal and immigrant populations in the city, as well as promote inter-generational dialogue. The CVDP involved 2000 participants over a 19-month period in a range of locations. A major and recurring theme in these discussions was 'seeking understanding'.³⁹⁸ As themes emerged within the Dialogue Circles, participants saw connections in challenges of racism, identity, healing and language. This helped create bonds of understanding between and across

³⁹⁵ Zoe Todd, 'Enacting solidarity between displaced and disposed people: resistance through art in the Prairies', *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society*, 13 October 2015, <https://decolonization.wordpress.com/2015/10/13/enacting-solidarity-between-displaced-and-dispossessed-peoples-resistance-through-art-in-the-prairies/> (Accessed 13 February 2017).

³⁹⁶ Newcomers in amiskwaciwâskahikan: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1877098585847621/>

³⁹⁷ Lewis Williams, 'The contributions of Aboriginal, immigrant and refugee women to our ecological well-being: Summary for interested local groups', <http://www.ecald.com/Portals/49/Docs/Publications/Aboriginal%20Immigrant%20Refugee%20Women%20Contributions%20to%20Ecological%20Well-being.pdf>. See also <http://kalewiswilliams.com>.

³⁹⁸ City of Vancouver, *Vancouver Dialogues: First Nations, Urban Aboriginal, and Immigrant Communities*, 2001 cited in Chung, 'The Relationships Between Racialized Immigrants and Indigenous Peoples', p.43.

participants.³⁹⁹

7.3 Drawing from indigenous/newcomer frameworks

The theoretical examination and practical approaches of indigenous/newcomer connections and alliances can provide lessons for intercultural dialogue and process more broadly. Linda Archibald and Jonathan Dewar maintain that storytelling, arts, dance and music are important ways of communication and healing in indigenous cultures, and can be used in mainstream approaches as well as in interactions and engagement between indigenous and newcomer groups, to good effect.⁴⁰⁰ Parvin Ghorayshi argues that the intercultural intent behind programmes to build newcomer and indigenous alliances can have broader application. Where such programmes are motivated by 'addressing diversity and difference in ways that negate exclusion, discrimination, inequality' and a sense of shared national identity, they can address systemic exclusion in a way that multiculturalism has not.⁴⁰¹ An indigenous/newcomer focus may allow for an examination of deep levels of exclusion and racism that can then be brought to bear on broader intercultural relationship building programmes, including with mainstream or dominant culture communities.

Fleras and Maaka propose an indigeneity-grounded analysis (IGA) policy model to offset systemic institutional biases, and ensure intended outcomes and fair results.⁴⁰² This includes involving multiple indigenous stakeholders and operates using 'five first principles that both inform and legitimise a principled indigeneity perspective in policy (-making): indigenous difference, indigenous rights, indigenous sovereignty/indigenous belonging, and indigenous spirituality (including traditional knowledge).'⁴⁰³

Urban planning academic, Leonie Sandercock argues for collaborative and dialogic planning process that enables cross-cultural interaction in a mediated way, but that

³⁹⁹ Henry Yu, 'Nurturing Dialogues between First Nations, Urban Aboriginal, and Immigrant Communities in Vancouver', in Ashok Mathur, Jonathan Dewar and Mike DeGagné, eds, *Cultivating Canada: Reconciliation through the Lens of Cultural Diversity*, Aboriginal Healing Foundation: Ottawa, 2011, pp.301–308.

⁴⁰⁰ L. Archibald, and J. Dewar, 'Creative arts, culture, and healing: Building an evidence base', *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health*, 8, 3, 2010, pp.1-25.

⁴⁰¹ Ghorayshi, 'Diversity and interculturalism', p.91.

⁴⁰² Fleras and Maaka, 'Indigeneity-Grounded Analysis'.

⁴⁰³ Fleras and Maaka, 'Indigeneity-Grounded Analysis', p.14.

seeks transformation rather than simply collaboration. Such a process allows for people to speak their ‘unspeakable’ – fears, racism, hopes – with the intention that it will allow for education and transformation as opposing sides hear each other’s stories and connect through their emotional resonance. Sandercock explores this idea through the process and outcome of a ‘speak out’ in Redfern, Sydney, following disagreements over Aboriginal land use in the neighbourhood, and the development of three opposing sides and local Council involvement. The speak-out focused on storytelling, and followed local indigenous practices of ceremony that kept the process firmly as part of that locale, and signalled a fresh approach by local Council. The whole process was long and expensive (9 months and AUD\$50,000), but led to an outcome of genuine agreement, rather than a forced ‘deal’. Sandercock shows this as an example of local government responding to complexities in ethnically diverse communities in ways that are meaningful for a specific place, and a process that privileged an emotional, personal and narrative approach rather than a rational framework.⁴⁰⁴

Such an envisioning of a different framework, based on non-colonial paradigms is echoed by Sedef Arat Koç, who argues that indigenous-immigrant relationships need to be ‘based on a politics of mutuality, alliances, and shared perspectives ... and on the possibilities of dreaming a collective future based on new principles, radically different from the ones established by settler colonialism’.⁴⁰⁵ Place-based politics would allow for a reframing that acknowledges and addresses historical tensions and injustices in order to allow for an imagined co-existent peaceful future in a way that neo-liberal multicultural policies cannot because they do not address existing power structures.

7.3.1 Māori frameworks

Manaakitanga is about a dialogue and interaction between two groups – it involves and uplifts the mana of both – and is the foundation of healthy relations.

Manaakitanga is also about expressing concern, generosity, mutual respect, equality

⁴⁰⁴ Sandercock, ‘When strangers become neighbours’, p.22.

⁴⁰⁵ Sedef Arat Koç, ‘An Anti-Colonial Politics of Place’, *Intervention – Addressing the Indigenous-Immigration “Parallax Gap”*, AntipodeFoundation.org, <https://antipodefoundation.org/2014/06/18/addressing-the-indigenous-immigration-parallax-gap/>, Accessed 19 December 2016.

and humility and recognising the mana of the guests and the hosts. Claire Ruminy's thesis on rangatiratanga (self-determination)⁴⁰⁶ and immigration illustrates how the various discourses reaffirm the New Zealand government as the sole host, but that Māori find ways to assert their sovereignty through manaakitanga and teaching Te Tiriti to newcomers.⁴⁰⁷ As a newcomer, academic Ruminy sees that Immigration New Zealand granted her Permanent Residence, but being welcomed onto a marae was when tangata whenua granted her 'ethical residence'.⁴⁰⁸ Ruminy's framing sees roles for indigenous and the state in the immigration process.

The Director of the Office of Ethnic Communities, Berlinda Chin, says that considering the role of Māori is an important and difficult part of the ethnic diversity conversation: 'The tangata whenua and their relationship to manuhiri [guests] have to be a part of this conversation ...What is the role of Māori in inviting perspectives or in welcoming different people from different countries? How do ethnic communities respond to this invitation with respect?'⁴⁰⁹

In her presentation at the 2016 Pathways conference on migration, Precious Clark spoke of legacies of welcome from historic and current Ngāti Whātua perspectives, questioning what will happen to Te Tiriti in the context of population change and increased diversity in New Zealand, and whether the Crown's failure to manaaki could be redressed through the Crown and mana whenua (local Māori) together exercising the obligations of manaakitanga and kaitiakitanga for newcomers.⁴¹⁰ Clark also posed the idea that if mana whenua had an official role in welcoming newcomers in a way that expressed their cultural identity, this would send the message to newcomers that they too could maintain their cultural identity within this new country, rather than be expected to assimilate into Te Ao Pākehā (Pākehā world).

In Christchurch, the Interagency Network includes Ngāi Tahu, migrant and refugee

⁴⁰⁶ For a more detailed consideration of the complex meaning of Māori terms and concepts see Koroi, *Indigenous Knowledge as Evidence in Local Government Decision Making*.

⁴⁰⁷ Claire Ruminy, 'Rangatiratanga and Immigration: A Deconstruction of the Government as the Sole Host, 1987–2012', MA Thesis: University of Auckland, 2013.

⁴⁰⁸ Ruminy, 'Rangatiratanga and Immigration', p.4.

⁴⁰⁹ New Zealand Immigration, 'Unlocking the Benefits of Ethnic Diversity', 2016.

⁴¹⁰ Precious Clark, 'Legacies of Welcome: A Mana Whenua Perspective' presentation at *From Global to Local: Impacts of International Migration, Mobility and Diversity; Pathways Circuits and Crossroads* conference, 9-11 November 2016, Wellington.

services, Pākehā and NGO communities. It developed with a Māori kaupapa (programme), particularly around manaakitanga. This includes daily karakia (prayer), pōwhiri (welcoming ceremony), establishing a kaumātua group for elders, and sharing food and stories. Migrant and refugee advocate for Te Rūnunga o Ngāi Tahu, Sally Pitman, welcomes locals, migrants and refugees to her rohe (district), and tells them the history of the area, and the whakapapa (genealogy) of the meeting house they gather in.⁴¹¹ Colleagues from the agency acknowledge that Ngāi Tahu's right as mana whenua to manaaki people to the area has not always been well understood by the city or immigration services.⁴¹² The Interagency Network approach is an example of how an indigenous framework can provide a practical, meaningful and successful way to welcome newcomers to a city in Aotearoa New Zealand, while simultaneously forming relationships between newcomers, Māori and older migrant communities.

In a 2016 conference presentation, Tahu Kukutai outlined some questions to be investigated through her CaDDANZ research centering Māori in the immigration and diversity discourse:

- How do Māori understand diversity? How does this vary by social and ethnic context?
- 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?
- What does a Treaty-based approach to diversity look like?
- How can shared benefits be created at the Māori-migrant interface?⁴¹³

The list underscores how different questions are raised when the topic of migration and diversity is considered from a non-Western lens. Keeping them in mind when considering the topic of Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland's approach to social cohesion,

⁴¹¹ 'Ngāi Tahu manaaki newcomers', <http://nz.etuwhanau.org/Ngāi+Tahu+manaaki+newcomers>. As noted above, for a more detailed consideration of the complex meaning of Māori terms and concepts see Koroī, *Indigenous Knowledge as Evidence in Local Government Decision Making*.

⁴¹² 'Ngāi Tahu manaaki newcomers', <http://nz.etuwhanau.org/Ngāi+Tahu+manaaki+newcomers>

⁴¹³ Kukutai, 'Never the Twain Shall Meet?'

inclusion, and ethnic diversity would be a good way of keeping cultural assumptions in check.

7.4 Indigeneity and immigration summary

Bringing together the literature on indigeneity and immigration opens up new ways of considering ethnic diversity, inclusion, equity and belonging in a city within a settler nation such as Aotearoa New Zealand. The underlying focus of much of the literature on ethnic diversity and social cohesion is about encouraging migrants to participate in the systems of the dominant culture, without recognising that those structures and institutions can perpetuate exclusion and inequality. Highlighting shared experiences of discrimination, displacement and inequality between Māori and racialised migrants exposes the cultural assumptions inherent in much of the literature. An indigenous framework involves asking different questions and addressing the ways in which existing power structures contribute to ongoing inequalities that undermine social cohesion.

8.0 Research and knowledge gaps

This section highlights some of the research and knowledge gaps in the literature and signposts areas of potential further research. Understanding how the issues raised in the literature relate to Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland is perhaps the broadest and most overarching of the gaps. This suggested research focus aligns with the international literature that advises gathering local evidence in order to develop targeted and effective policies at a local government level. Importantly, the literature reinforces the need to examine social structures, critique dominant worldviews and question cultural assumptions in order to address underlying issues of exclusion and inequality. Auckland Council directed research on any of the topics below would benefit from being conceived and enacted collaboratively, with Māori and migrant communities and representatives following good research practice as outlined in Gooder's *Māori Responsiveness Plan Literature Review*.⁴¹⁴

8.1 The city: Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland

As the literature indicates, focusing on cities, rather than nations, provides more immediate ways of addressing issues of immigration, inclusion, diversity and equity. Each city has its own unique population number, make-up, and geography. While the lessons learned from international city examples or New Zealand national research can help direct Auckland's policies – understanding the peculiarities of Tāmaki Makaurau is preferable. There is a strong case made for focusing at the neighbourhood level, as well as for considering the interplay between city-level policies and neighbourhood level cohesion.⁴¹⁵

8.2 Social benefits

Much of the literature focuses on the economic benefits of migration, meaning a migrant's worth becomes hinged on their contribution to the nation's wealth.⁴¹⁶ However changing migration patterns, such as predictions of greater numbers of climate refugees, will impact on New Zealand cities with little clear or immediate

⁴¹⁴ Claire Gooder, *Māori Responsiveness Plan Literature Review*, Auckland Council: Auckland, 2015.

⁴¹⁵ Merlin Schaeffer, *Ethnic Diversity and Social Cohesion: Immigration, Ethnic Fractionalisation and Potentials for Civic Action*, Ashgate: Surrey, 2014.

⁴¹⁶ Leigh Patel talks about this in relation to immigrants and the settler imaginary. See Patel, 'Nationalist Narratives'.

economic benefits beyond an increased consumer base. More evidence on the social benefits of migration-driven ethnic diversity, as well as considering ways to promote such social benefits, could help with social cohesion in a more sustained way into the future.

8.3 Māori

Ruminy notes that *manaakitanga* and *rangatiratanga* are not part of the immigration discourse but, as fundamental ways of viewing immigration relationships for Māori, they should be. Both in the international literature on indigeneity and immigration, and in the Aotearoa New Zealand literature relating to Māori and immigration, further exploration is warranted on: indigenous perspectives on immigration and multiculturalism; immigrant perspectives on indigeneity; effective relationship building – government organised, indigenous organised, immigrant organised; and collaboration through arts and culture.

There is an indication in the research that regardless of government and NGO services and programmes for indigenous and for newcomers, without interconnectedness between these groups, racism, stereotypes, misinformation and isolation fuel tensions between them.⁴¹⁷ It would be worth exploring what alliances already exist between Māori and newcomers in a Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland context, and what can be done to build those connections. This reflects the emphasis in the literature of focusing on relationships between groups – and the multidimensionality and multidirectionality of those relationships.⁴¹⁸

8.4 Youth

Young people are the future of Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland. Research indicates young people have higher levels of multi-ethnic identification, multilingualism, and experience everyday diversity in their neighbourhoods. Research shows that social trust, established in youth, continues throughout a person's lifetime and therefore building social trust in young people has long-term benefits for social coherence.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁷ Ghorayshi, 'Diversity and interculturalism'; Chung, 'The Relationships Between Racialized Immigrants and Indigenous Peoples', p.51.

⁴¹⁸ Meer and Modood, 'How does interculturalism contrast with multiculturalism?'

⁴¹⁹ Larsen, *Social cohesion*, p.28.

The QoL Auckland 2016 Survey indicated that not having a sense of community and feelings of isolation are more common in under 25 year olds.⁴²⁰ However, the literature raises concerns about how much ideas about participation and civic life inherent in ‘social cohesion’ rhetoric resonate with youth.⁴²¹ As young people have grown up in a time of super-diversity, globalisation and individualisation – the questions need to be asked about their ways of imagining, forging and engaging in community.

Auckland Council’s *Thriving Communities* vows to ‘put children and young people first’. Research into young people’s perspectives and experience of being newcomers or being children of newcomers, their ideas on social cohesion and ideas of community, as well as research on how they form community and their key methods of communication are all worthy of exploring.

8.5 Social media and online communities

In the QoL Auckland 2016 survey 43 per cent of respondents cited ‘online communities’ and 33 per cent cited ‘people from work or school’ in providing social networks.⁴²² The rise in people’s use of social media for community creation might start to break down the place-based, local/neighbourhood/city dominance of community. Social media is becoming understood as a tool in both gauging and promoting social inclusivity, but also as a platform for wider interaction. The role of online communities and social media in the formation of social cohesion is a current gap in the literature.

8.6 Multi- and inter-lingualism

Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland is also Aotearoa New Zealand’s most multilingual region, with nearly 30 per cent of people reporting in the 2013 Census that they spoke more than one language.⁴²³ Michel Wieviorka argues that multilingualism and interlingualism should be considered alongside multiculturalism and interculturalism – to access and interrogate the perspectives of those who live and think outside of the

⁴²⁰ Auckland Council, *Quality of Life Survey 2016: Results for Auckland*, pp.67 and 80.

⁴²¹ Harris, ‘Young People’.

⁴²² Auckland Council, *Quality of Life Survey 2016: Results for Auckland*, p.70.

⁴²³ Statistics New Zealand, ‘Half a million Aucklanders born overseas’.

English language. Over 57,000 people in Auckland do not speak any English.⁴²⁴ The 'English-speaking world' is no longer an appropriate descriptor.⁴²⁵ Spoonley notes that superdiversity is testing the ideas of normative language use, and that technologies and online networking are adding to the complexity and possibilities.⁴²⁶ The impacts of these changes in language and symbolic communication will have on intercultural connections and social cohesion is an area that warrants further examination.

8.7 Intersectionality

Spoonley and Bedford identify the need for more research on legacies of immigration and migration within New Zealand – understanding how issues of identity, belonging, and connectivity feature in the lives of children or grandchildren of migrants.⁴²⁷ What is their role in shaping or problematising social cohesion?

There is an increase in people's identification with more than one ethnic group – and this is shown particularly in the younger members of New Zealand's population.⁴²⁸ There needs to be more work on multi-ethnicity and understandings of history, belonging and inclusion, as well as reframing data categorisation and analysis to recognise the intersectional nature of these identifiers.

New Zealand's major ethnic groupings are strongly demarcated by different median ages: European, 41.0 years; Māori, 23.9 years; Pacific peoples, 22.1 years; Asian, 30.6 years; and MELAA, 28.6 years.⁴²⁹ More research is needed on how age affects issues of social cohesion, identity, and exclusion and whether needs and services are age-related.

8.8 Inter-ethnic contact?

Because the literature is split on the issue of inter-ethnic contact, yet promoting such contact is often in the policy documents, further research is needed on whether

⁴²⁴ Statistics New Zealand, *2013 Census QuickStats*.

⁴²⁵ Wieviorka, 'Multiculturalism', p.226.

⁴²⁶ Spoonley, 'Superdiversity, Social Cohesion, and Economic Benefits'.

⁴²⁷ P. Spoonley and R. Bedford, *Welcome to our World? Immigration and the Reshaping of New Zealand*, Dunmore: Auckland, 2012.

⁴²⁸ Kukutai and Callister, 'A "Main" Ethnic Group?'.

⁴²⁹ Statistics New Zealand, *2013 Census QuickStats*, p.8.

increased inter-ethnic contact in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland creates better social trust and cohesion or whether it serves to reinforce racial/ethnic stereotypes and create further distance.

9.0 Conclusion

While this is a lengthy literature review, it is actually only a sample of the complex literature in this area. Rather than being seen as definitive it is presented to provide a basis from which broader conversations and research agendas might develop. This vast literature includes the theoretical and conceptual work – negotiating definitions, considering legal and policy frameworks, critiquing notions of the nation state – and the data-driven work of people’s lived experiences – addressing intersectionality, subjectivity, individual and pluralistic practices. This review recognises that the two inform each other, and are both part of evidence-based policy creation that does not just look at the case studies of what has worked, but also tries to understand the theoretical concepts behind such approaches.

The literature on ethnic diversity, social cohesion and migration does not illustrate a clear and direct way forward. Instead, concepts, approaches and evidence are contested across disciplines and areas, with multiple viewpoints, voices, stakeholders and strategies. This is the point. Trying to fit the literature into a concise or palatable nutshell would be reductive. Instead this topic invites critical thinking and engagement. The way forward is to accept the challenge of a future world that is different, being part of that difference, and allowing ongoing dynamic engagement with the changing conceptualisations, needs and constitution of Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland’s communities.

Although the city is an important scale to work with, as the literature shows, in settler nations addressing the colonial heritage is imperative if social cohesion or equity can be realised. This means striking a balance between the city and the national picture. As ways of forming and enacting community and communication continue to shift, including with the increasingly important role online communities play, current weightings towards neighbourhood or local area might be redundant in the future. Keeping an eye on shifting meaning of place and place-making it also important.

These policies require a long-term approach. The processes of immigration and ethnic diversity and developing interculturality have different stages, with challenges and opportunities along the way. International examples have shown that in the short

to medium term, cities and nations often experience the negative aspects of ethnic diversity: a decrease in solidarity and inhibition of social capital.⁴³⁰ This is a reminder to consider the long-term goal and gather longitudinal data, where possible. Such changes in need and situation also necessitate that an Auckland Council ethnic diversity policy should be a living document – reviewed periodically to ensure it continues to meet the needs of communities.

The literature is influenced by academic trends and cultural bias. These ideas are not produced in a vacuum by objective academics or policy makers. All those writing or enacting the ideas in this topic are, of course, influenced by their own experiences and identities, as well as the social, historic and political context in which they are located. As Fleras and Maaka eloquently put it,

Neither policy nor policy-making are neutral or value free. Rather, as socially constructed conventions, policy and policy-making are loaded with dominant values, Eurocentric ideals, and vested interests. So systemically embedded are notions about what is normal, desirable, or acceptable with respect to policy design, underlying assumptions, priorities and agenda, and process that even institutional actors are rarely aware of the logical consequences by which some are privileged, others excluded.⁴³¹

Implicit biases inherent in concepts and programmes like a ‘shared vision’ or ‘civic participation’ cumulatively lead to unintentional reproduction of the status quo in areas such as decision making that profoundly constrain the diversity and inclusiveness of institutions.

Internationally, reviews and reports on ethnic diversity and social cohesion are often produced in response to an event, such as a terror attack or a racial riot, which is taken to indicate social fragmentation. Such a context of heightened concern tends to encourage hyperbole, seeking quick solutions, and comfort in the status quo. Leveraging current strength in ethnic diversity could benefit future scenarios. Social cohesion measures show that Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland is in a relatively good place. It is in these times of relatively good levels of social cohesion and positive public response to diversity that some of the deeper structural issues can be

⁴³⁰ Putnam, ‘*E Pluribus Unum*’.

⁴³¹ Fleras and Maaka, ‘Indigeneity-Grounded Analysis’, p.2.

changed, re-examined, and dismantled – to enable the process of change to build in a long-term, slow, and thought out way.

The nexus between newcomers and indigeneity is where some of the most interesting and innovative ideas are being generated. This is possibly because it is focused on changing the structural inequalities apparent within the system and shifts the conversation from ‘us’ and ‘them’ on ethnic lines and instead brings intersectionality, different worldviews, and inequality firmly into the narrative.

The topic of migration-driven ethnic diversity is receiving increased public and academic scrutiny as issues of immigration, borders, belonging and equity occupy the political space. A forthcoming New Zealand edited publication, *Fair Borders? Entrance Policy in the Twenty-First Century*, reinforces the need to consider diverse perspectives when engaging in these debates and creating potential policies to address them.⁴³² This can help in our movement toward ‘a new imaginary of belonging’ that acknowledges cultural difference while forging a new commons based on values and principles that resonate across Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland’s diverse communities.⁴³³

⁴³² David Hall, ed., *Fair Borders? Entrance Policy in the Twenty-First Century*, Bridget Williams Books: Wellington, forthcoming June 2017.

⁴³³ Amin, ‘Multi-ethnicity and the idea of Europe’, p.4.

10.0 Issues for Auckland Council to consider

Developing a concrete set of ideals and/or a shared vision for Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland is important for practical policy creation. But does that allow for diverse voices and dynamism of need and vision? Will this simply mean a reproduction of implicit bias and status quo?

Is the approach council takes chosen to serve the organisation's needs (i.e. to align with policy objectives) or can newcomers and key stakeholders determine the approach?

Any process or policy led and developed by local government designed to promote social cohesion has an inherent tension (see for example Auckland Council's *Empowered Communities* or LGNZ's *2050 Challenge*). These institutions are situated within a Western cultural framework to the exclusion of others. Can this be reconciled? How?

In 'recognising diversity' is council (and other institutions) further reinforcing difference and discrete social groupings – and thus people's identifications with these groups? This is the tension between 'promoting diversity' and 'governing diversity'. As Burchardt and Höhne say, 'Diversity is at once the problem as well as its own solution'.

Can promoting diversity within community and having a shared vision for community be compatible goals? Or does the diversity sit underneath the shared vision? And if so, whose voice provides the language, framework, and goals for the shared vision?

Can council be truly community led – even if that means accepting different culturally informed exclusions? What about culturally informed gender inequality? Can that be accommodated?

What does a Treaty-based approach to diversity and inclusion look like?

Inequality prevents social cohesion. Diversity accompanied by powerlessness and inequality is undesirable. Addressing inequality involves addressing the privilege certain groups have – economically, politically, socially. Are those in positions of

power and privilege really willing to give up their privilege for the greater good of social cohesion? As a politically and socially dominant institution, is council willing to lead this power-devolution?

Is the priority 'equality of opportunity' or 'equality of outcome'? Equality of opportunity is easier to provide and is the option most cities take. It means the municipal authority is only responsible for providing access, but not for changing structures. Equality of outcome is a deeper and more difficult approach that recognises intersectional inequalities can affect outcome, regardless of opportunities.

If council draws from models created in Europe or the U.K., how do these speak to our place as a settler nation, as a bi-cultural country, to Te Tiriti?

These questions are designed to prompt Auckland Council staff to consider the ideas in this document not as abstract or distanced, but personal and applicable to their work developing Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland into 'the world's most liveable city'.

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