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Report



Research

Relations and Relationships: 40 years of people movements from ASEAN countries to New Zealand

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About the author

Dr Kate McMillan is a Senior Lecturer in Comparative Politics at Victoria University of Wellington. Her research and teaching interests focus on immigration, citizenship and media politics.

Kate has published numerous articles and book chapters on New Zealand's immigration policy, New Zealand's Australian diaspora, the role of the news media in New Zealand politics, the representation of women in the New Zealand news media, and immigrants' voting rights and electoral participation in New Zealand. Current research projects focus on the electoral participation of Asian immigrants in New Zealand, and the future of human mobility arrangements such as the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement.

In 2012 Kate was awarded a Knowledge and Expertise Exchange Europe-New Zealand Fellowship to Lund University, Sweden. In 2008 she spent six weeks based at the University of Massachusetts as a Fulbright Study of the US Scholar Awardee. In 2008 she was also a visiting scholar at the Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies at the University of California, San Diego. Her research has received funding from the European Commission, the New Zealand European Union Centres Network and Victoria University of Wellington.

Introduction

In a column to mark the 40th anniversary of New Zealand's dialogue relationship with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Chief Executive of New Zealand's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Brook Barrington, imagined a future in which 'the people of New Zealand and Southeast Asia forge ever-closer links of co-operation and friendship'. New Zealand and ASEAN, he said, 'need to understand each other better – our histories, our cultures, our perspectives and our values. People-to-people links help achieve this'.¹ This report, commissioned by the Asia New Zealand Foundation to commemorate the 40-year relationship, looks at one aspect of people-to-people links in the past 40 years: the movement of nationals from ASEAN countries to New Zealand. It discusses three broad categories of people flow: students, immigrants and refugees, and short-term visitors such as tourists, businesspeople and those visiting friends and family.

There has been a slow but steady increase in the number of people visiting New Zealand on a permanent or temporary basis from ASEAN countries since 1975. While overshadowed by the much larger movements from China and India, the growing significance of ASEAN people flows is illustrated by the Philippines' status as the fourth-largest source country of those granted New Zealand residence approvals since 2006.² People movements from ASEAN countries to New Zealand have also greatly diversified since the 1970s. Where early flows were dominated by refugees from Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, contemporary movements include highly skilled

professionals intending to live permanently in New Zealand, young people on working holiday visas, seasonal horticultural workers, full-fee-paying students, tourists, touring artists, musicians and scholars, refugees, and business visitors. Nor has this movement been one way. New Zealanders have increasingly seen the ASEAN countries as attractive destinations in which to work, live, study, do business and holiday.

Such flows have undoubtedly increased New Zealanders' understanding of Southeast Asia and increased awareness of New Zealand in Southeast Asia. Formal relations between New Zealand and the ASEAN countries are enhanced by such relationships. Attesting to the importance of people flows as a way of increasing awareness and understanding of Asia, respondents to a 2016 survey of New Zealanders' perceptions of Asia identified personal contact with Asian people as one of their most important sources of knowledge about Asia.³ An additional finding of the same report – that the more knowledgeable people were about Asia, the more likely they were to feel positively towards Asia and Asians⁴ – provides evidence for the view that people movements have a central role to play in enhancing political, economic and social relations between New Zealanders and people from ASEAN countries.

Most people movements from ASEAN countries to New Zealand currently occur at a bilateral level. There are, however, an increasing number of ways in which the processes of regional integration and people movement overlap. Currently in this space are the scholarships that New Zealand provides for ASEAN students to study at New Zealand universities, the ASEAN Young Business Leaders Initiative run by the Asia New Zealand Foundation, fora held by the ASEAN New Zealand Business Council, ASEAN Fellowships announced by the Prime Minister in 2016,⁵ and a number of Special Work Category Visas that flow from the ASEAN Australia New Zealand Free Trade Agreement. Both bilateral and ASEAN-centred people movements are considered below.

¹ Brook Barrington, 'New Zealand's 40th Anniversary', *New Zealand International Review*, Vol. 40, No. 4, July/August 2015, p. 2.

² Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, *Migration Trends and Outlook 2014–2015*, New Zealand Government, 2015, <http://www.mbie.govt.nz/publications-research/research/migrants---monitoring/migration-trends-and-outlook-2014-15.pdf>, p. 45.

³ Asia New Zealand Foundation and Colmar Brunton, *New Zealand's Perceptions of Asia and Asia People: 2015 Annual Survey*, Asia

New Zealand Foundation, March 2016, <http://asianz.org.nz/reports/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Perceptions-of-Asia-2015-Report.pdf>.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Audrey Young, 'New Zealand to insert millions into ASEAN relationship', *NZ Herald.co.nz*, 22 November 2015, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/business/news/article.cfm?c_id=3&objectid=11549460.

The report is divided into six sections. The first section on page 6 provides some context for the New Zealand-ASEAN relationship after 40 years of formal dialogue, as well as a brief overview of the drivers of people movements within the ASEAN region. The second section on page 10 looks at New Zealand's experiences hosting ASEAN students in the past 40 years. The third section on page 18 looks at patterns of permanent and temporary migration to New Zealand from the ASEAN countries during that time, including those of refugees.⁶ The fourth on page 32 discusses the rare instances of irregular migration to New Zealand from Southeast Asia, while the fifth section on page 35 presents data on the number of short-term visitors to New Zealand for the purposes of tourism, visiting family and friends, and doing business. The sixth section on page 41 looks ahead to how existing demographic and migration trends are likely to affect future people movements to New Zealand.

Although the focus of this report is on the one-way movement of ASEAN nationals to New Zealand, it must be emphasised that people movements in the other direction will be of growing importance to the New Zealand-ASEAN relationship. ASEAN is a hugely diverse and dynamic region with much to offer and teach New Zealanders looking for experiences and opportunities abroad.

For the New Zealand-ASEAN relationship to prosper it is important that increasing numbers of New Zealanders become literate in Southeast Asian languages and cultures and develop an appreciation for the experiences and perspectives of those in Southeast Asian countries. This can be best achieved through spending time in the region.⁷

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⁶ It is important to note that while categories such as 'student', 'temporary worker' and 'immigrant' are useful for assessing trends and identifying new developments, distinctions between them are frequently blurred. Many individuals fit more than one category or transition over time from one to another.

⁷ For information on New Zealand's diaspora in Southeast Asia, see Robert Didham, *Intersections: Southeast Asia and Diaspora Engagement*, Asia New Zealand Foundation, 2009: <http://asianz.org.nz/reports/report/intersections>.

New Zealand- ASEAN relations and people movements: A background

New Zealand-ASEAN relations and people movements: A background

New Zealand became a 'dialogue partner' of ASEAN in 1975. As several scholars have noted,⁸ New Zealand's early interests in ASEAN were primarily security related, although there was already a growing perception by 1975 that the ASEAN countries could be an important market for New Zealand goods following Britain's entry to the European Economic Community in 1973.

Since 1975 ASEAN has grown from its original five members to ten, and from an economically weak, turbulent region riven with confrontation between communist and anti-communist powers to a stable, prosperous region, albeit one also characterised by large economic disparities between member states.

New Zealand has, likewise, redefined its relationship with ASEAN during this period. Early inklings that ASEAN would emerge as an important trading partner have been confirmed, perhaps beyond even the wildest hopes of that time. ASEAN has become New Zealand's fourth-largest trading partner; the value of two-way trade in 2015 between New Zealand and ASEAN exceeded \$15 billion.⁹

Several initiatives in recent years demonstrate New Zealand's recognition of the increasing importance of its relationship with ASEAN, and its commitment to deepening that relationship. Among the most important of these was the upgrading in 2015 of the ASEAN-New Zealand Comprehensive Partnership 2010-2015 to a Strategic Partnership and, in 2012, the creation of the ASEAN Australia New Zealand Free Trade Agreement. New Zealand also regularly participates in ASEAN-centred regional institutions such as the East Asia Summit, the ASEAN Regional Forum and the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting Plus (ADMM+). Further diplomatic acknowledgement of the importance of the relationship came with the appointment of a New Zealand ASEAN Ambassador, a position first held by Ambassador David Taylor concurrently with his role as New Zealand's Ambassador to Indonesia and then, in 2014, by Ambassador Stephanie Lee as the first appointee to a dedicated ASEAN Ambassadorial position.

People movements are an important component of New Zealand's economic relationship with ASEAN. Of the \$5,961 billion New Zealand earned in exports to ASEAN countries in the year until December 2015, more than \$1 billion was in services, including personal travel (\$397 million) and education travel (\$302 million).¹⁰ Visitor numbers from ASEAN countries increased by nearly 10,000 between 2014 and 2015, although they remained constant as a proportion of total visitors to New Zealand at 4.6 percent. Permanent migration from ASEAN countries to New Zealand increased by more than 2,000 people between 2014 and 2015, with immigrants from ASEAN countries constituting 8.9 percent of New Zealand's total intake of permanent migrants in 2015.¹¹

⁸ Ian MacGibbon, 'The defence relationship', Jim Rolfe, 'Coming to terms with the regional identity', and Gary R. Hawke, 'The Economic Relationship', all in Anthony L. Smith (ed.) *Southeast Asia and New Zealand. A History of Regional and Bilateral Relations*, Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, New Zealand Institute of International Affairs in Association with Victoria University Press, 2005, pp. 1-93; David Capie, 'New Zealand-ASEAN: A 40 year dialogue', *New Zealand International Review*, Vol. 40, No. 4, July/August 2015, pp. 3-5; Paul Sinclair, 'New Zealand's defence relations with ASEAN', *New Zealand International Review*, Vol. 40, No. 4, July/August 2015, pp. 6-9.

⁹ Statistics New Zealand, 'ASEAN-New Zealand Trade, Services and Investment: Year ended December 2015', 2015, http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/industry_sectors/imports_and_exports/trade-investment-migration-factsheets.aspx.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Recognising the potential of people-to-people links to deepen and extend their relationship, ASEAN and New Zealand identified a 'People Strategy' as one of two key platforms of the Strategic Partnership announced in 2015 (the other being a 'Prosperity Strategy'). It aims to 'build stronger connections between ASEAN's and New Zealand's people and communities' through 'training, scholarships, exchanges and greater flows of people in both directions'.¹²

The People Strategy explicitly identifies the experiences of mobile ASEAN nationals and New Zealanders as a tool of foreign policy. And, if done well, people movements to and from ASEAN countries can play an important role in improving the lives of potentially many thousands of individuals, thereby also strengthening relations between New Zealanders and nationals of the ASEAN countries, and between their governments. Students who have positive experiences in New Zealand, for example, will return home having formed strong personal relationships with New Zealanders and with an understanding of and appreciation for New Zealand's values and cultural norms. They have the potential to be ambassadors for New Zealand's political and economic interests in ASEAN, particularly if they attain leadership positions in their home countries or abroad. They are also, as Rod Oram notes, a valuable talent pool for New Zealand employers, who can benefit from 'their business and language skills, their knowledge of their home countries and their ability to be bridges between the cultures of New Zealand and their home countries'.¹³

Temporary and permanent migrants to New Zealand likewise enrich New Zealand society by bringing with them linguistic, cultural and religious diversity, which can, when made accessible and comprehensible to a non-Southeast Asian New Zealand public, enhance New Zealanders' understanding of and appreciation for the ASEAN region. Skilled migrants from ASEAN countries not only fill important gaps in the New Zealand labour market, but also bring valuable professional connections with colleagues in their home countries, thus increasing our connectedness with professional enterprises abroad. Alongside investments in the New Zealand economy,

entrepreneurial migrants from ASEAN countries offer an understanding of the business practices and opportunities in their home regions. Oram argues that too often New Zealand businesses fail to 'tap into this rich vein of immigrant expertise, overseas connections, capital and entrepreneurial drive'.¹⁴

However, while the governments of New Zealand and the ASEAN countries see 'people-to-people' links as playing an important role in fostering positive political, security and economic links, the individuals who move are rarely themselves motivated by this goal. People move for a great variety of personal reasons, and will judge their travel, study, work and migration experiences on their own terms. Governmental or industry language that suggests, even implicitly, that 'people movements' or 'people flows' are akin to movements of goods, services or capital, runs the risk of appearing to commodify such movements and should thus be used with caution. It is employed here with the caveat that people flows and movements are understood to be qualitatively different from those of goods, services and capital.

Before moving on to look at specific movements of people from ASEAN countries to New Zealand, it is worth looking briefly at the context in which people movements occur within Southeast Asia itself, some features of which have implications for New Zealand's experience with people movements from the region.

Southeast Asia has long been a hub of immigration and emigration. Intra-regional migration in ASEAN countries accounted for more than a third of the world's total cross-border migration in 2013.¹⁵

The region includes primarily migrant-sending countries (the Philippines, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, Myanmar, Indonesia) and others that are primarily migrant-receiving countries (Singapore, Brunei Darussalam), while Thailand and Malaysia are both migrant-sending and migrant-receiving countries. Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia are also important transit countries for undocumented migrants from within and outside the region, and hubs of both people smuggling and human trafficking. The Philippines, Indonesia, Vietnam and Myanmar are four of the world's largest labour-surplus countries.¹⁶

¹² Association of South East Asian Nations, 'Plan of Action to Implement the Joint Statement for ASEAN-NZ Strategic Partnership 2016-2020, Kuala Lumpur', 22 November 2015, <http://www.asean.org/asean/external-relations/new-zealand>.

¹³ Rod Oram, *Getting to Know the Neighbours: Building New Zealand-Asian business relationships*, Asia New Zealand Foundation, 2011.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Kwen Fee Lian, Md. Mizanur Rahman and Yabit bin Alas, 'Making sense of inter and intraregional mobility in Southeast Asia', in K. F. Lian et al., *International Migration in Southeast Asia*, Singapore, Springer, 2016, p. 2.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Economic inequalities are a major driver of regular and irregular migration¹⁷ within ASEAN. Higher wages and labour shortages in Thailand, for example, act as a drawcard for labour migrants within the Greater Mekong Region that includes Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, which have all been sources of large refugee flows to Thailand in previous decades. Much labour migration to Thailand is undocumented. Sustained levels of economic growth in both Malaysia and Singapore have seen both countries experience high levels of migration from the other ASEAN states, again, in the Malaysian case, characterised by a high level of irregular migration. Scholars have identified a third migration sub-system in the region as the Brunei-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines—East Asia Growth Area, established in 1994, which sees high numbers of irregular migrants from the Philippines and Indonesia move through Malaysia's easternmost state, Sabah, on the island of Borneo.¹⁸ The Philippines has long exported its excess labour force to America, Europe and the Middle East. Human rights abuses and political persecution have been the causes of significant refugee flows across land borders from Myanmar to Thailand and Malaysia, and by boat to Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand.

Irregular modes of migration expose migrants to great vulnerability in the form of labour exploitation and trafficking, something that is even more true where the receiving state is unable or unwilling to accommodate and protect the rights of migrants. Legal, voluntary and planned migration, on the other hand, is most likely to lead to positive outcomes, especially if the receiving societies have the capacity and willingness to protect the human rights of migrants. In the case of ASEAN countries, much intra-regional migration still falls towards the irregular end of this spectrum.

For New Zealand, on the other hand, geographical isolation has made effective border control a reality. Nonetheless, the dynamics of irregular migration within Southeast Asia have the potential to spill over to New Zealand, as do the politics associated with such migration. New Zealand's need for workers and its strong labour protection laws and comparatively high salaries will ensure that it remains an attractive destination for skilled and unskilled migrants from the region. But greater levels of migration from the ASEAN region to New Zealand bring with them the risk that people smuggling or human trafficking rings will become involved in such migration. New Zealand agencies are already alert to these risks, including an awareness of the important middle-man role that recruitment agencies play in countries such as the Philippines and India, and the potential they raise for workers to experience exploitation when such agencies are used to secure work in New Zealand. In addition, irregular migration within Southeast Asia has led to requests for New Zealand to be part of a wider 'regional solution' to irregular migration and asylum-seeking.

These are challenging issues that require a clear understanding of the migratory pressures caused by uneven economic development, human rights abuses, natural disasters, conflict and environmental degradation. The provision of legal, planned methods of people movement can act as a release valve for such pressures. New Zealand has a role to play in both providing opportunities for legal entry to New Zealand and helping the ASEAN countries to increase their own capacity to manage regional migration, and assisting with addressing the problems that lead to irregular migration.

¹⁷ 'Irregular migration' is a term given to a range of cross-border movements that occur outside the regular migration channels operated by states. It can include both legal and illegal forms of cross-border movement, ranging from minor visa infringements to asylum-seeking, people smuggling and human trafficking.

¹⁸ Fernando T. Aldaba, 'Migration governance in the ASEAN economic community', in K. F. Lian *et al.* pp. 201-202.

Students from ASEAN countries

Students from ASEAN countries

New Zealand's most formative experience with people movements from Southeast Asia was perhaps that of providing education to young students who were part of the Southeast Asian 'Colombo Plan' - which was described as a 'cooperative venture for the economic and social advancement of the peoples of South and Southeast Asia'.¹⁹

Around 3500 students from South and Southeast Asia came to New Zealand on Colombo Plan scholarships between the 1950s and 1970s,²⁰ with the largest number coming from Malaya, North Borneo and Sarawak (later the Federation of Malaysia). Others came from Vietnam, Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia, Burma, India and Ceylon (later Sri Lanka).²¹ Their subject choices reflected the development needs of the region at that time: engineering, dentistry, agriculture, statistics, home science, accounting, railways, broadcasting, mining, telecommunications, tourism, architecture, commerce and arts. Qualifications in these subjects were often not available in the students' home countries.²²

With the establishment of the Wellington English Language Institute in 1961, many Southeast Asian students also received English language training prior to enrolling in such courses.²³ A number of privately funded students from ASEAN countries also arrived in New Zealand during this period, attracted by the educational opportunities and low student fees New Zealand then offered to international students.

Positive and enduring links forged during the 1950s, '60s and '70s between students from Southeast Asia and New Zealand have been frequently noted, often with reference to the advantages of these links for New Zealand's trade and defence relations with ASEAN countries. Many such students went on to hold senior positions in government and business in their home countries, creating what Andrew Butcher has described as a 'deep reservoir of goodwill'²⁴ towards New Zealand in those countries. A recent expression of this enduring sentiment was seen in 2011, when Christchurch suffered a devastating earthquake. A group of Vietnamese who had studied in New Zealand between the 1950s and mid-1970s, but who were then spread around the globe, rallied to raise money to support the relief effort. 'We spent our early years in New Zealand', they said, 'and have always had fond memories of the country and her people. We were given not only an education, but also hospitality and love by the people of New Zealand. We have been longing to have an opportunity to do something to express our love and gratitude to the New Zealand people who kindly and generously helped us in our education and training and also instilled in us a sense of personal responsibility.'²⁵

¹⁹ The Colombo Plan, History, <http://www.colombo-plan.org/index.php/about-cps/history>.

²⁰ University of Otago, 1869-2019 - Writing a History <https://otago150years.wordpress.com/tag/colombo-plan>.

²¹ Jenny Collins, 'Perspectives from the periphery? Colombo Plan scholars in New Zealand universities, 1951-1975', *History of Education Review*, Vol. 41, No. 2, pp. 129-146.

²² Ibid

²³ Collins, p. 133.

²⁴ Andrew Butcher, 'Friends, foreign and domestic: (Re)converging New Zealand's export education and foreign policies', *Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 5, Issue 4, November 2009.

²⁵ Scoop, 'Former Vietnam students give to Christchurch quake relief', media release, 7 April 2011, <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/AK1104/S00199/former-vietnam-students-give-to-christchurch-quake-relief.htm>.

Malaysian businessman Tan Sri Halim Saad illustrates how influential the experiences of international students can be. Saad was in one of the last intakes of Colombo Plan students in New Zealand, graduating from Victoria University of Wellington in 1977 with a Bachelor of Commerce. Since then he has become a prominent business leader in Malaysia, with interests that include engineering, infrastructure, telecommunications and energy developments. He has also maintained a keen interest in deepening

the economic, social and educational relationships between New Zealand and Malaysia. In 1996 he co-funded the establishment of a Chair in Malaysia Studies at Victoria University, and he sponsors the biannual Saad Lecture series, given by a prominent Malaysian. More recently Saad has initiated collaboration between his tertiary education institution, Kolej Yayasan Saad, and the Universities of Auckland, Canterbury and Victoria to provide training for Bumi Putra (indigenous)

Malaysian accounting students, in which students begin their degrees in Malaysia before completing them in New Zealand. Fifty Malaysian students are already studying in New Zealand at these three universities. A similar arrangement has been entered into with a tourism training organisation in Malaysia and Queenstown Resort College.²⁶

Such stories feed a commonly held view that Colombo Plan-era scholarships and foreign student admissions were a form of development aid that paid generous foreign policy dividends. However, with the introduction of a policy in 1989 that allowed New Zealand educational institutions to charge international students much higher fees than domestic students, 'education as aid' largely gave way to 'education as trade'.²⁷ The more overtly instrumental policy of 'export education' has seen the provision of education to foreign students become New Zealand's fifth-largest export industry, valued at \$2.85 billion in 2015.²⁸ This figure is overwhelmingly dominated by earnings from international students in New Zealand (\$2.75 billion), although revenue generated by New Zealand education providers located abroad also makes a contribution (\$104 million).²⁹

By far the largest proportion of overseas students in New Zealand comes from the Asian region, with China the single largest source country (30,179 students enrolled in New Zealand in 2014), followed by India (20,227 in 2014).³⁰ A small but significant number of students, however, come from the ASEAN countries (Figure One on page 13), with the number of students from the Philippines increasing most significantly since 2010. As Figure Two on page 14 demonstrates, the majority of nationals from ASEAN countries studying in New Zealand do so at tertiary institutions, including Institutes of Technology and Polytechnics (ITPs), Private Training Establishments (PTEs) and universities. A much smaller number of students from ASEAN countries, mainly Thais, study at primary and secondary schools in New Zealand.

²⁶ "One of Victoria's most remarkable graduates" receives an honorary doctorate, *Victorious*, 17 November 2015, <https://www.victoria.ac.nz/news/2015/11/one-of-victorias-most-remarkable-graduates-receives-honorary-doctorate>; 'Tan Sri Halim bin Saad', New Zealand ASEAN 40th Anniversary Awards, <http://www.nzasean40.com/recipient/tan-sri-halim-bin-saad>.

²⁷ Nicholas Tarling, *International Students in New Zealand: The making of policy since 1950*, Auckland, New Zealand Asia Institute, University of Auckland, 2004.

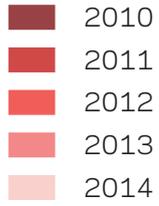
²⁸ Education New Zealand, 'The Economic Impact of International Education', 2015, <http://enz.govt.nz/markets-research/general-research/the-economic-impact-of-international-education-2014>.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Education New Zealand, 'China', 2015, Education New Zealand, 'Southeast Asia', 2015, <http://www.enz.govt.nz/markets-research/china>.

Figure 1.

ASEAN students enrolled in New Zealand educational institutions 2010-2014



Source: Education New Zealand, 2016.

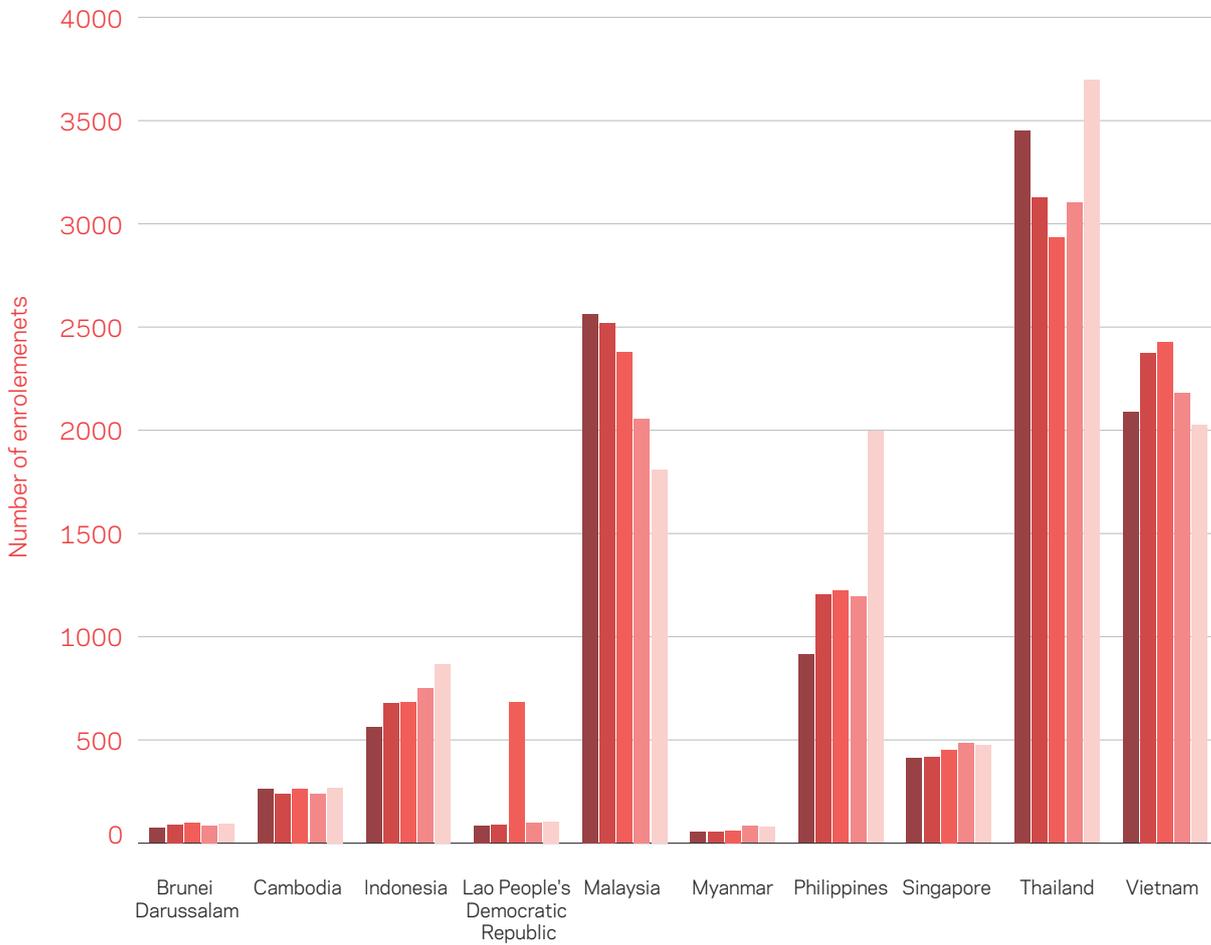


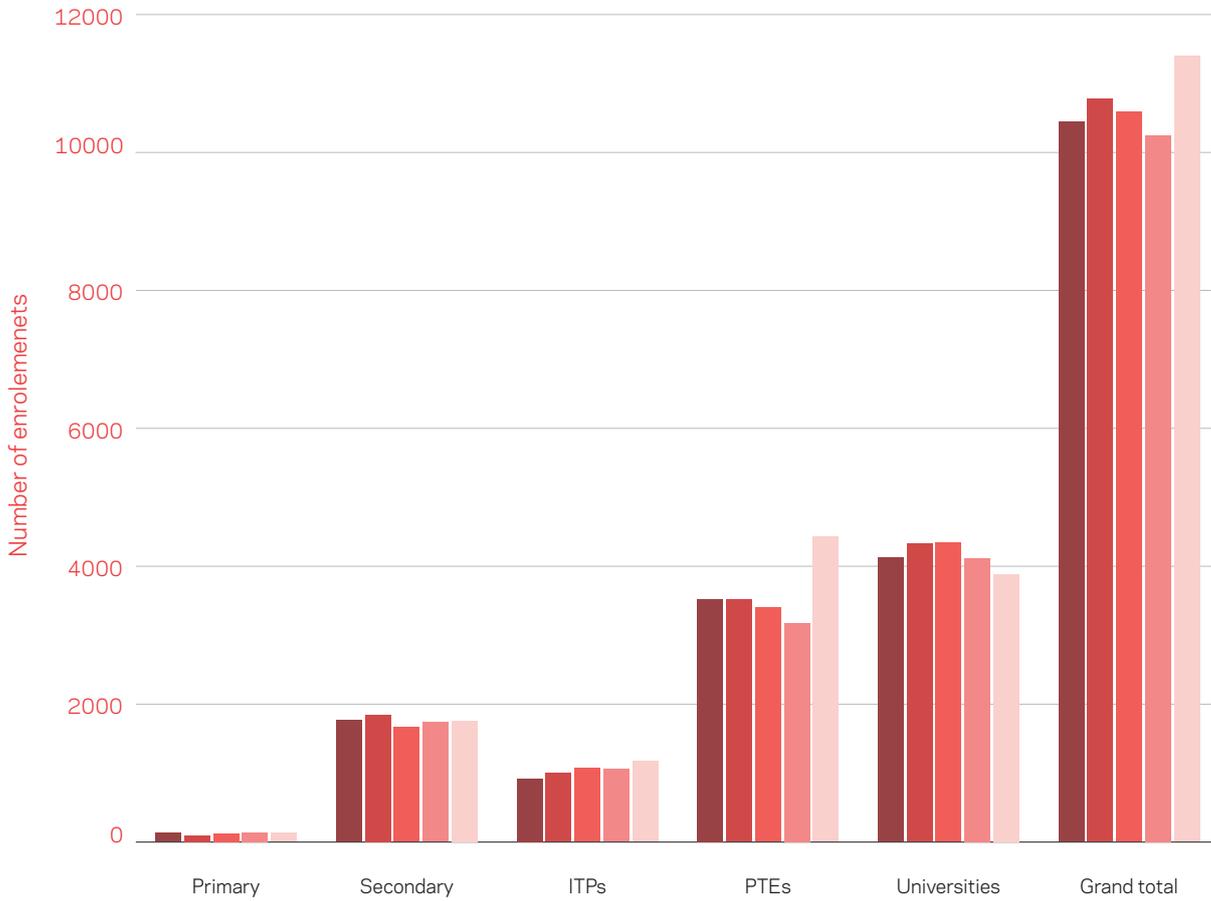
Figure 2.



Enrolment of Southeast Asian students by sector 2010-2014

- 2010
- 2011
- 2012
- 2013
- 2014

Source: Education New Zealand, Student Visa Dashboard November 2015, http://enz.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Regionalpercent20visapercent20dashboardpercent20Novemberpercent202015.pdf.



The quality of New Zealand's education system means it is an area where New Zealand will continue to have much to offer the ASEAN countries, and economic growth in some of the ASEAN economies will increase those countries' demand for high-quality education. The revenue that students from ASEAN countries generate for New Zealand educational institutions makes cooperation in this area mutually beneficial.

New Zealand officials and educationalists have been conscious for many years of the dangers of treating international students as 'cash cows'.³¹ In 2011 Andrew Butcher and Terry McGrath cautioned that international students who have had negative experiences in New Zealand may become 'poisoned alumni' with the potential to damage New Zealand's reputation abroad.³² Research by Colleen Ward and Ann-Marie Masgoret in 2004³³ on the experiences of international students found that 35 percent of their sample (which included students from non-ASEAN countries) said they had no New Zealand friends, and 55 percent said that they 'never' or 'seldom' interacted with New Zealanders in a social setting. Only 29 percent found New Zealanders to be 'friendly to foreigners', while 70 percent said they would like more New Zealand friends. Language difficulties were experienced as a particular barrier to the creation of friendships, even with friendly New Zealanders.³⁴ Butcher and McGrath's work some years later found that 'frequently Asian students [in New Zealand] encountered large numbers of other Asian students. Therefore their socialisation occurred among co-nationals and other international students'.³⁵

An interesting initiative developed by Victoria University of Wellington (VUW) to respond to international students' desire for more contact with domestic students is its International Buddy Programme, introduced in 2011. The Programme matches international students with domestic or international students already enrolled at VUW. Buddies commit to spending at least an hour a week with the incoming international students, and 'to be a friendly face, and a source of first-hand knowledge

regarding the Wellington and Victoria University lifestyle'.³⁶ Between 50 and 70 percent of the buddies enrolled since the programme's introduction have been New Zealand students.³⁷

In some respects it is unsurprising that the experiences of contemporary fee-paying students from the ASEAN countries have been found to be quite different from those of their Colombo Plan scholarship-holding counterparts. For a start, around three times as many students from the ASEAN region study in New Zealand each year than the total number of those who studied here under the Colombo Plan between the 1950s and the 1980s. Today's ASEAN students study a broader range of subjects at a broader range of institutions, and are much more likely to work in New Zealand while they study – and many of them seek to stay in New Zealand after they finish their studies. And although international students pay much higher fees than domestic students, the significant cost of tertiary education for all students creates financial pressures that were largely absent when Colombo Plan students were studying in New Zealand. All of these contextual factors present New Zealand educational institutions with a complex set of challenges in dealing with the needs of a growing cohort of international students.

Recent research into the experiences of international students, however, suggests that New Zealand tertiary institutions have taken on board some of the earlier negative research findings. A 2011 study conducted by BERL, using a sample of 7,029 international students studying at New Zealand universities or ITPs, found that 88 percent of those studying at universities and 90 percent of those studying at ITPs were very satisfied or satisfied with their experiences. Of those studying at universities, 78 percent said they would recommend the institutions where they were studying to people thinking of studying overseas, and 84 percent of those studying at ITPs said they would say the same about their New Zealand institutions.³⁸ In contrast to Ward and Masgoret, the BERL researchers found

31 Terry McGrath, Paul Stock and Andrew Butcher, *Friends and Allies: The impacts of returning Asian students on New Zealand-Asia relationships*, Asia New Zealand Foundation 2007, <http://asianz.org.nz/reports/report/friends-and-allies/friends-and-allies>.

32 Andrew Butcher and Terry McGrath, 'A sin of omission: New Zealand's export education industry and foreign policy', *Social Policy Review*, No. 23, 2011, p. 275.

33 Colleen Ward and Ann-Marie Masgoret, 'The Experiences of International Students: Report on the results of the national survey', June 2004, p. 52, http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0006/15288/040604-final-report-for-printers.pdf.

34 Ibid.

35 Andrew Butcher and Terry McGrath, 'A sin of omission: New Zealand's export education industry and foreign policy', *Social Policy Review*, No. 23, 2011, p. 269.

36 Lulu Shanaher and Kelly Atherton, 'International Buddy Programme', *JANZSSA*, August 2015, pp. 3-4, <http://static1.1.sqspcdn.com/static/f/1209240/26439950/1438727193353/08+August.pdf?token=EkrpOqWVlsb1nrkN-MCR%2B317SvqA%3D>.

37 Ibid.

38 Amapola Generosa, Wilma Molano, Fiona Stokes and Hillmarè Schulze, 'The satisfaction of international students at New Zealand universities and ITPs', a report prepared for the Ministry of Education, BERL, 2013, http://thehub.superu.govt.nz/sites/default/files/42383.The-Satisfaction-of-International-Students-in-NZ-Unis-and-ITPS_0.pdf.

that international students were 'generally satisfied with how well they integrated with people in New Zealand'.³⁹ Malaysian students, who formed the second-largest group of respondents to the survey, had the highest satisfaction rates out of the three top groups of respondents (China, Malaysia and India), with 95 percent of respondents saying that they were satisfied with their overall university experience.⁴⁰

Not all students from ASEAN countries are in New Zealand as full-fee-paying students. Continuing the earlier tradition of 'education as aid', 225 New Zealand ASEAN Scholar Awards are available each year from 2016 (up from 178),⁴¹ funded by the New Zealand Aid Programme and managed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Priority is given to applicants from the less developed member states of ASEAN. In addition, the government announced in 2014 that it would fund 103 scholarships for New Zealand students to study at top Asian universities, including those in Thailand, Cambodia, Myanmar, Laos, the Philippines, Malaysia, Vietnam, Singapore and Indonesia.⁴²

Another form of educational development assistance is provided by New Zealand to some of the less-developed ASEAN countries via the English Language Training for Officials (ELTO) programme, now run by Accent Learning. The programme, available to officials from Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Indonesia, as well as those from Mongolia and Timor-Leste, provides seven weeks' training at the Nelson Marlborough Institute of Technology or the Eastern Institute of Technology, followed by 14 weeks at the English Language Institute at VUW. More than 800 officials from Asia have undergone this training since 1992, funded by the New Zealand Aid Programme,⁴³ and in November 2015 Prime Minister John Key announced a 67 percent increase in the number of ELTO awards for ASEAN nationals.⁴⁴

New Zealand has also joined a number of other countries in establishing partnerships with ASEAN-based educational institutions. An early example of this kind of collaboration was the establishment in 2002 of the Greater Mekong Subregion Tertiary Education Consortium Trust (GMSTEC), a partnership between VUW, the University of Canterbury and universities in Australia, Thailand, Vietnam and China. Although currently in abeyance, the GMSTEC aimed to provide New Zealand and Australian expertise to tertiary institutions in the Greater Mekong Subregion to increase the research and teaching capacity of the staff, as well as their English language competency.

More recent collaborations between New Zealand and ASEAN countries' tertiary institutions allow students to gain New Zealand qualifications taught solely or in part in their home countries. A number of such partnerships have been developed, for example with Vietnamese institutions. VUW has a partnership with the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam in which first-year students can enrol in courses taught by local instructors in Vietnam delivering content based on VUW syllabi and moderated by VUW staff. The students can then go to Wellington to complete the degree, gaining a VUW degree.

Similarly, Auckland University of Technology (AUT) offers students at the Vietnam National University courses towards an AUT Bachelor of Computer and Information Sciences degree, which can be finished either in Hanoi or in Auckland, and is working with the Posts and Telecommunications Institute of Technology University in Hanoi to allow its IT students to do courses in Vietnam that will count towards the AUT degree.⁴⁵ Massey University, too, has partnered with the Vietnam National University, delivering Bachelor of Business Studies degrees in which students spend two years studying in Vietnam and two in New Zealand.⁴⁶

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Audrey Young, 'New Zealand to insert millions into ASEAN relationship', *NZ Herald.co.nz*, 22 November 2015, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/business/news/article.cfm?c_id=3&objectid=11549460.

⁴² Steven Joyce, '103 PM's Scholarships for Asia announced', 19 May 2014, <https://www.national.org.nz/news/news/media-releases/detail/2014/05/19/103-pm-s-scholarships-for-asia-announced>.

⁴³ Accent Learning, 'About ELTO', 2016, <http://www.accent.ac.nz/elto/about-elto>.

⁴⁴ Audrey Young, 'New Zealand to insert millions into ASEAN relationship', *NZ Herald.co.nz*, 22 November 2015, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/business/news/article.cfm?c_id=3&objectid=11549460.

⁴⁵ AUT, 'International Partnerships', 2016, <https://www.aut.ac.nz/study-at-aut/study-areas/computer-mathematical-sciences/?a=210383>.

⁴⁶ Massey University, 'First cohort of Vietnamese students welcomed', 2011, http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/about-massey/news/article.cfm?marticle_uuid=62BA238D-CC1D-747E-ED9D-8A4922BB6EFD.

Funding for ASEAN students to study in New Zealand is also available from at least one of the ASEAN countries. For example, under the guidance of the Indonesian Directorate General of Higher Education, which has signed agreements with five New Zealand universities, the Indonesian Endowment Fund for Education funds scholarships for Indonesian students who wish to study at overseas universities, including VUW, which currently hosts around 15 Indonesian students under this scheme.

Such partnerships between New Zealand and ASEAN countries' tertiary institutions – currently operating or under development in at least Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Vietnam – are likely to proliferate in the coming years. Some New Zealand universities are also basing ambitious growth projects in part on anticipated growth in international student numbers, with the ASEAN countries predicted to be significant sources of such students.

In light of these developments, the BERL report's finding that 'the strongest influence on international student satisfaction, both in New Zealand universities and ITPs, was their learning experience'⁴⁷ should serve as a strong reminder to New Zealand institutions that efforts to maintain educational quality and standards will play a central role in maintaining their attractiveness as education providers. Similarly, the BERL survey's finding that 'living and support services'⁴⁸ had a very significant impact on whether international students were happy with their experiences in New Zealand emphasises the need to ensure that the supply of quality accommodation and support for international students keeps up with demand.

Laila Faisal knows what it is like to be an international student. She came to Wellington as a scholarship student from Indonesia in the summer of 1998. Now she helps students from all around the world with their own studies. After graduating from VUW with a Diploma in Teaching English as a Second or Other Language, and a Master of Arts in Applied Linguistics, she went on to get jobs with VUW's Language Learning Centre and then the Asian Studies Institute. She now works as a Learning Advisor at VUW, helping both local and international students, either individually or in groups, to develop learning skills so that they can optimise their learning experiences. 'It is a really satisfying job because I feel I am contributing to the success of students at VUW. Coming from a different cultural

background helps me to empathise with students, and work better at understanding where they are coming from.' Laila, who loves the multicultural nature of Wellington and the fact that she can walk everywhere, keeps in close contact with family and friends in Indonesia, as well as with Indonesian friends in Wellington. She also makes sure that the Indonesian culture still plays a huge part for her daughter, whose father is a 'Kiwi'.



Laila Faisal

⁴⁷ Generosa et al., 2013, p. 12.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

Migrants from ASEAN countries

Migrants from ASEAN countries

Refugees from ASEAN countries

The first significant flows of migrants to New Zealand from Southeast Asian countries were composed of refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. In total almost 11,000 refugees from these three countries were resettled in New Zealand between 1975 and 1993: 5,200 Khmer (Cambodians), 4,500 Vietnamese and 1,200 Lao people,⁴⁹ establishing New Zealand's first Southeast Asian communities. The Vietnamese and Khmer intakes between 1975 and 1992 remain New Zealand's largest-ever refugee arrivals from single countries.⁵⁰ Often collectively referred to as the 'Indochinese' refugees – a hangover from the period of French colonial rule – the term acted to conflate and obscure a distinct but related series of events in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, each of which created ongoing refugee flows for two decades from the 1970s. The pivotal year was 1975.

On 17 April 1975 the Communist Party of Kampuchea (the Khmer Rouge) took power after a five-year civil war. Despite the brutality of this regime, during which up to three million people may have perished, levels of surveillance were such that few people were able to escape and refugee flows were comparatively small. It took the Vietnamese

invasion and overthrow of the Khmer Rouge regime in 1979 to provide people with the opportunity to escape, triggering a massive refugee flow. Hundreds of thousands of Cambodians fled across the border to Thailand, many on the edge of starvation. Camps established on the Thai-Cambodian border continued to accept Khmer refugees for more than a decade after the Vietnamese invasion, and one of the main camps, Site Two, was not closed until 1993.

Two weeks after the Khmer Rouge took power in Cambodia the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong overthrew the United States-backed South Vietnamese government in Saigon, leading to an exodus of Vietnamese from that country. Fleeing both the new communist regime and the threat of starvation and extreme poverty after decades of war, these Vietnamese 'boat people' attempted to reach the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Hong Kong and Korea across the South China Sea in overcrowded, often unseaworthy vessels.⁵¹

By the end of 1975 a communist government had also been established in Laos. Large flows of refugees were generated in the fighting that led up to the establishment of the communist-led Lao People's Democratic Republic, a significant group among whom were Hmong people who had been recruited as anti-communist fighters by the CIA. Many thousands of Hmong fled to Thailand, fearing reprisals from the new government.⁵² As a result of these and subsequent events more than three million people fled Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos between 1975 and 1993.⁵³

New Zealand's response to these refugee flows was complicated by conflicting demands: concern about the capacity and willingness of the New Zealand population to accept Asian refugees; worry that by taking refugees from the region New Zealand would offend the newly unified Vietnamese government (New Zealand recognised the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in July 1976); and growing pressure from both the local and the international communities to resettle refugees in New Zealand.⁵⁴

49 Rachel Stevens, *Immigration Policy from 1970 to the Present*, New York, Routledge, 2016. Ann Beaglehole, 'Refugees – 1970s–2003: refugee groups', Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 13 July 2012, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/refugees/page-4>.

50 Paul Spoonley and Richard Bedford, *Welcome to Our World? Immigration and the reshaping of New Zealand*, Auckland, Dunmore Press, 2012 p. 162

51 Man Hau Liev, 'Refugees from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam (formerly Indochina)', in Stuart Greif (ed.), *Immigration and National Identity: One people, two peoples, many peoples?*, Palmerston North, Dunmore Press, 1995.p.100

52 Martin Stuart-Fox, *A History of Laos*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 177.

53 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, *The State of the World's Refugees 2010*, <http://www.unhcr.org/3ebf9bad0.pdf>.

54 Ann Beaglehole, *Refuge New Zealand: A Nation's Response to Refugees and Asylum Seekers*, Otago, Otago University Press, 2013, pp. 79-86.

Early signs of how controversial the question of New Zealand's response to the Southeast Asian refugee crisis would be domestically were evident in debates over 'Operation Babylift'. An American plan to remove orphaned babies from Vietnam ahead of the impending North Vietnamese victory, Operation Babylift was in part motivated by fear that children born to American fathers and Vietnamese mothers would be targeted by the new anti-American regime. The babies were to be given up for adoption to families in America, Canada, Europe and Australia. Not all babies removed were of mixed parentage, however, and many may not in fact have been orphans. The idea that New Zealand should participate in the plan faced stiff opposition at home. A number of civil society organisations argued that it was wrong to remove children from their own countries and cultural heritage, and that to do so would be, as future Prime Minister but then President of Labour's Youth Advisory Council, Helen Clark, argued, a further undesirable example of foreigners attempting to 'impose solutions on the Vietnamese'.⁵⁵ New Zealand's caution with respect to Operation Babylift meant that only three Vietnamese children were brought to New Zealand.⁵⁶

The New Zealand government also deliberated extensively over whether the communist victory in Saigon meant it should grant asylum to the South Vietnamese students then studying in New Zealand under the Colombo Plan, and the South Vietnamese Embassy staff employed in Wellington. After some period both groups were granted asylum.⁵⁷

As the extent of the refugee crisis became apparent, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) appealed to New Zealand to contribute to international efforts to resettle some of the Vietnamese refugees. New Zealand agreed, but on the condition that those selected had had their refugee status verified by UNHCR and possessed skills that would be useful to New Zealand.⁵⁸ On these terms, an initial intake of 210 largely well educated Vietnamese refugees from Thai camps arrived in New Zealand in 1977. They were scattered throughout the country and matched with community sponsors in each host centre. Anxious about public backlash, the government was at pains to reassure the public that the refugees would not place a burden on society.⁵⁹

However, an intake of 210 refugees in the face of the hundreds of thousands seeking refuge was viewed by the international community as inadequate. New Zealand came under increasing pressure from UNHCR, the United States and Thailand and Malaysia (each of which was hosting many tens of thousands of refugees) to increase its intake.⁶⁰ A commitment in 1979 to settle an annual quota of 600 'Indo-Chinese' refugees (later raised to 650) still compared unfavourably with Australia's commitment that same year to take 10,500.⁶¹

While New Zealand's rates of acceptance were low compared with Australia's, Canada's and the United States', in some instances New Zealand took refugees who had been overlooked by other countries,⁶² and consideration was given by the government of the time to the advantages of developing communities of Khmer, Lao and Vietnamese who would be able to welcome incoming refugees. A number of places were made available to the families of refugees already settled in New Zealand. New Zealand made a further 900 places available in 1979 and continued taking refugees from this region until the early 1990s.

On arrival in New Zealand the refugees were granted permanent residence. This gave them legal equality with other citizens and residents, eligibility for welfare support, the rights to free primary, secondary and tertiary education (much higher domestic fees were introduced in 1990), to free hospital care, to work and to vote in national and local elections, and the ability to become New Zealand citizens after a period of three years.⁶³ They were housed during the initial six weeks after arrival at the refugee reception centre in Māngere, where they were provided with food, accommodation, recreational facilities, medical care, translation services, English lessons and information about how to settle into New Zealand society. They were then 'resettled' into different New Zealand communities, assisted by community volunteers.

55 Roberto Rabel, *New Zealand and the Vietnam War. Politics and diplomacy*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2005, pp. 340-341.

56 Ian McGibbon, *New Zealand's Vietnam War. A history of combat, commitment and controversy*, Auckland, Exisle Publishing, 2010; Beaglehole, 2013, p. 124.

57 Rabel, 2005, p. 343; Beaglehole, 2013, p. 81.

58 Man Hau Liev, 1995.

59 Beaglehole, 2013, p. 88.

60 Ibid, 2013, pp. 88-89.

61 Ibid, p. 89.

62 Ibid, p. 92.

63 The residency requirement for New Zealand citizenship was raised to five years in 2005.

Nhu Bich Chung (Nikki), a child at the time her parents escaped from Vietnam, recounted to Radio New Zealand journalist Lynda Chanwai-Earle in 2016 how difficult things were for her parents when they arrived in 1980 as one of six refugee families in Masterton, and with no English. All their possessions had been left behind or stolen at gunpoint on the voyage by sea from Vietnam to Malaysia. Nikki found herself the only Asian child at her school. Nonetheless, she said, she and her parents were 'full of gratitude' for the support and opportunities they received in New Zealand. Today she runs the popular Nam D cafes in Wellington, serving traditional Vietnamese food such as banh mi (Vietnamese baguettes).⁶⁴



Nhu Bich Chung (Nikki)

Life for the Vietnamese, Laotian and Khmer refugees in New Zealand was far from easy during their first few years here. A lack of English, separation from and loss of family and friends back home, not being able to find work appropriate to their skills, being members of cultural and ethnic minorities and adapting to the New Zealand weather were among the challenges the refugees faced, often while they were also suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder.

Established Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian communities exist in a number of New Zealand cities as a result of refugee flows from 1975, along with temples and monasteries, ethnic media and community associations. In Wellington, for example, a Cambodian Buddhist temple was established in the suburb of Island Bay in 1985,⁶⁵ and later the Thien Thai Vietnamese Monastery was established in Upper Hutt.⁶⁶ A Cambodian radio show, Khmer Voice, or Samleng Khmer, broadcasts news from Cambodia and New Zealand twice a week in Auckland on Planet 104 FM, funded by NZ On Air.⁶⁷ The Vietnamese Friendship Association has existed in Auckland for many years, and its long-term President, Nguyen Phu Dang, received a Queen's Service Medal for services

to the Vietnamese community in 2009.⁶⁸ However, a number of Vietnamese who were resettled in New Zealand as refugees later migrated to Australia, attracted by job opportunities and the larger Vietnamese community there.

Forty years after those first flows of Southeast Asian refugees, New Zealand is one of 25 countries that take an annual quota of refugees. In 1987 the government set the number of quota refugees it would receive at 800 per annum, although that number was lowered in 1997 to 750 (plus or minus 10 percent) when the government agreed to cover more of the costs of refugees' transportation to New Zealand. Priority is given to selecting refugees from the Asia-Pacific; 40 percent of the annual intake is set aside for refugees from the region.

Since the mid-2000s Myanmar has been New Zealand's largest source country of refugees, with more than 2,000 refugees from Myanmar accepted to date.⁶⁹ Civil war, the persecution of ethnic and religious minorities, widespread human rights abuses by the Tatmadaw, (Burmese army), forced labour, and forced displacement for development and resource extraction⁷⁰ are among

⁶⁴ Lynda Chanwei-Earle (Producer), 'Voices: "Boat People" - a Vietnamese family remembers', Radio New Zealand, 18 January 2016.

⁶⁵ Man Hau Liev and Rosa Chun. 'Cambodians - Facts and figures', Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30 March 2015, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/cambodians/page-3>.

⁶⁶ Trung Tran. 'Vietnamese - Culture, language and work', Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 10 December 2014, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/vietnamese/page-2>.

⁶⁷ See the Khmer Trust, <http://nzkhmertrust.tripod.com/kvr.html>.

⁶⁸ The Governor-General, 'Nguyen Phu Dang', 17 September 2009, <http://gg.govt.nz/node/2087>.

⁶⁹ New Zealand Immigration, 'Refugee and Protection Unit: Refugee Quota Branch Arrivals Statistics', <https://www.immigration.govt.nz/documents/statistics/rqbarrivalsstatpak.pdf>, March 2016.

⁷⁰ Global Witness, 'Jade, A Global Witness Investigation into Myanmar's "Big State Secret"', October 2015, <https://www.globalwitness.org/jade-story>.

the reasons for hundreds of thousands of Myanmar nationals seeking refuge outside the country.⁷¹ Myanmar is a hugely diverse country, with more than 100 ethnic groups and innumerable distinct languages. Although the majority of the 54-million-strong population are Buddhists, there are also significant Christian populations and a smaller number of Muslims. Power is concentrated in the Buddhist Burman ethnic majority, but a number of other significant ethnic groups resist 'Burmanisation' and have been engaged in fights for autonomy that date back, in some cases, to independence in 1948. A majority of the refugees whom New Zealand has accepted belong to one of the country's main ethnic minority groups.

Prior to being resettled in New Zealand, most Myanmarese refugees were living in refugee camps along the Myanmar-Thai border in Malaysia.⁷² Thailand and Malaysia provide asylum for many thousands of these refugees annually, just as they did for their Cambodian, Vietnamese and Lao neighbours during the 1970-1990s. But as neither country is a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention, life within the camps is severely constrained. Inhabitants are unable to leave the camps or gain employment, and have only limited access to UNHCR support.⁷³

Recent media reporting about the refugee situation in Myanmar has focused on another group of refugees in Myanmar – the Rohingya. Primarily based in the Rakhine state in the west of the country, the Rohingya have been denied citizenship since 1982 as the Myanmar government, along with much of the Myanmar population, views them as illegal migrants from Bangladesh. Conflict between the Muslim Rohingya and the Buddhist majority in the Rakhine state escalated into communal violence in 2012, leading many tens of thousands of Rohingya to attempt to escape by boat.⁷⁴ As the plight of the Rohingya boat people began to receive international

attention, and evidence emerged of human trafficking rings operating within Thailand and Malaysia, the governments of Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Myanmar and Bangladesh began a series of meetings to develop an effective response to the crisis. Indonesia and Malaysia agreed to take thousands of refugees on a temporary basis.⁷⁵ ASEAN came under pressure to develop a regional response to the Rohingya crisis, a challenge made especially difficult by ASEAN's principle of non-interference in the affairs of other ASEAN members.

Much hope is now placed in the ability of the new government of Myanmar, led by the National League for Democracy, to stem the flow of refugees from the country and make conditions safe for the repatriation of hundreds of thousands of Myanmar's refugees now living outside the country.

A decade after first receiving refugees from Myanmar, several New Zealand towns and cities have small but significant communities of Myanmarese,⁷⁶ concentrated in some of the New Zealand cities designated as refugee resettlement centres: Auckland, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Wellington and Nelson. Nelson, for example, received its first refugees from Myanmar in the early 1990s, since which time more than 450 have settled.⁷⁷ By 2015 the Myanmar community in Nelson comprised members of all of the main ethnic groups, although the majority are Christian Chin. Several languages and dialects are spoken.⁷⁸

71 Human Rights Watch, 'World Report 2015: Burma', <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2015/country-chapters/burma>.

72 New Zealand Immigration, 'Refugee Quota Factsheet: Myanmar. New Zealand Refugee Quota: Burmese Refugees', n.d., <https://www.immigration.govt.nz/documents/refugees/myanmar.pdf>.

73 Human Rights Watch, 'Ad Hoc and Inadequate: Thailand's treatment of Refugees and Asylum Seekers', 2012, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2012/09/12/ad-hoc-and-inadequate/thailands-treatment-refugees-and-asylum-seekers>.

74 ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights, 'Disenfranchisement and Desperation in Rakhine State. Drivers of a Regional Crisis', October 2015, http://aseanmp.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/APHR_Rakhine-State-Report.pdf.

75 *The Guardian*, 'Indonesia and Malaysia agree to offer 7,000 refugees temporary shelter', 20 May 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/20/hundreds-more-migrants-rescued-off-indonesia-as-pope-calls-for-help>.

76 The term 'Myanmarese' is used here to describe all ethnic groups originating from Myanmar. The alternative term, Burmese, is often used in this way but can also be used to describe the majority Buddhist ethnic group in Burma.

77 New Zealand Immigration, 'Refugee and Protection Unit: Refugee Quota Branch Arrival Statistics', March 2016, <https://www.immigration.govt.nz/documents/statistics/rqbarrivalsstatpak.pdf>.

78 'Settling In: Refugees in Nelson', <http://www.nelsonmulticultural.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Settling-In-Report-Nelson.pdf>.

The Myanmar Ethnic Association was established in Nelson in 2015, which represented all the different Myanmar ethnic communities living there. A sign of the developing maturity of the Myanmar communities in New Zealand is the establishment of a national organisation based in Wellington, the New Zealand National Myanmar Ethnic Council. The organisation's goal is 'bringing all the different Myanmar ethnic communities in New Zealand together to support each other'.⁷⁹ Some concern is expressed by this organisation that the media and political attention currently focused on the Rohingya has obscured the ongoing needs of other ethnic minority refugee groups from Myanmar, both within and outside the country.

If Myanmar ceases to be a source of refugees in the next few years it is possible that New Zealand will no longer receive a significant proportion of refugees from the region. Nonetheless, other flows of forced migration in the region may result from climate-related factors such as extreme weather events, sea-level rises and agricultural productivity losses.



Christalin Thangpawl of the New Zealand National Myanmar Ethnic Council

Permanent migration from ASEAN countries

When New Zealand became home to thousands of refugees from Southeast Asia in the 1970s and 1980s it was a largely bi-ethnic country, dominated by its Anglo-descent majority population. Vestiges of historical anti-Asian sentiment⁸⁰ remained in the form of an exclusionary immigration policy and a subsequent absence of significant migration from Asia. Since the early 1990s, however, New Zealand has transformed into a highly multicultural society with one of the highest rates of immigration in the OECD, much of which comes from Asia.⁸¹

Changes to New Zealand's immigration legislation in 1987 removed a long-held preference for migrants from 'traditional source' countries (primarily the United Kingdom and Ireland), opening up immigration to a much more diverse inward flow than had been the case previously. An emphasis on migrants who could bring skills, capital and entrepreneurship henceforth characterised New Zealand's immigration policy. New immigration policy and law changes in 1991 introduced a points system similar to Canada's and radically increased annual immigration rates.

A significant feature of the post-1991 changes was a dramatic increase in migration from Asia: by 1993, 53 percent of all residence approvals were given to people from Asia;⁸² 57 percent by 1994. As Malcolm McKinnon has noted, this new migration flow was 'the first wave of migration dominated by people non-kin to the domestic population since Pakeha displaced Maori as the majority population in the 1850s. It... therefore presented New Zealanders with a conceptual challenge as well as a new experience'.⁸³

New Zealand's orientation towards migration from Asia was part of a wider policy of 'Asianisation' of New Zealand's economic links. Sir Don McKinnon, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, set out a strategy to this effect in 1993. His argument was that the world's economic activity then revolved around three poles - the United States, the European Community and Asia - and that New Zealand needed to be closely associated with one of them. The Asia-Pacific region, he argued, was 'our neighbourhood' and it

⁷⁹ Christalin Thangpawl, President New Zealand National Myanmar Ethnic Council, interview with the author, 25 February 2016.

⁸⁰ Richard Bedford and Paul Spoonley, *Welcome to our World? Immigration and the Reshaping of New Zealand*, Palmerston North, Dunmore Press, 2012, p. 95

⁸¹ OECD, *Data: Migration*, Organisation for Economic Develop-

ment, 2016, <https://data.oecd.org/migration/foreign-born-population.htm>.

⁸² New Zealand Immigration Service, *Immigration Fact Pack*, December 1994, Issue 1.

⁸³ Malcolm McKinnon, *Immigrants and Citizens. New Zealanders and Asian immigration in historical context*, Wellington, Institute of Policy Studies, 1996, p. 50.

offered 'excellent economic opportunities'.⁸⁴ The domestic manifestation of Asianisation was to be the presence of many new Asian residents and citizens in New Zealand.⁸⁵

High levels of inward migration after 1991 saw the proportion of the population born overseas rise to 25 percent by 2013, with Asia the most common region of birth among immigrants. Three out of the top four source countries for immigrants were Asian. More resident visas were granted to Chinese citizens than to citizens of any other country in 2015/16, followed by those granted to Indian nationals, then British nationals. In Auckland, one in four people was of Asian ethnicity or national origin.

Despite the phenomenal growth in migration from the broad Asian region, and the high levels of mobility within the ASEAN region, the number of migrants to New Zealand from the ASEAN countries remains comparatively low (Table One). The 2013 Census identifies 77,733 people normally resident in New Zealand as being of one or more 'ASEAN ethnicities', but this figure excludes almost all those who only identified themselves as ethnically 'Chinese' or 'Indian' (some may have given multiple responses, and they may be counted under another category). Another measure of the population who come from an ASEAN background is to look at place of birth: 87,714 people resident in New Zealand in 2013 were born in an ASEAN country. If people of ASEAN-background are defined as either people born in an ASEAN country or who identify themselves with one or more of the ethnicities specifically associated with an ASEAN country, then the 2013 Census counted over 104,000 people of an ASEAN background living in New Zealand. This still understates the true number of people in this group because people born elsewhere, including New Zealand, may be children or grandchildren of people originating in the region and identifying with ethnicities that fall within Chinese, Indian, European, among other, ethnic groupings.

Nor has there been any significant growth in the number of resident visas being granted to nationals from ASEAN countries in the past few decades. Since 2010 fewer than 400 resident visas have been granted annually to nationals from all ASEAN countries except the Philippines (Figure Three on page 25).

Table One: Resident New Zealand population of people who identify with an ASEAN country national origin or ethnicity, 2013

Filipino	37,299
Cambodian	6,570
Thai	7,722
Malaysian	16,350
Vietnamese	6,153
Indonesian	4,911
Burmese	2,118
Laotian	843
Singaporean	5,370
Brunei-Darussalam	342
Total	77,733

Source: Census 2013, Statistics New Zealand, 2014

⁸⁴ Tim Murphy, 'Asian emphasis on new agenda', *The New Zealand Herald*, 18 March 1993.

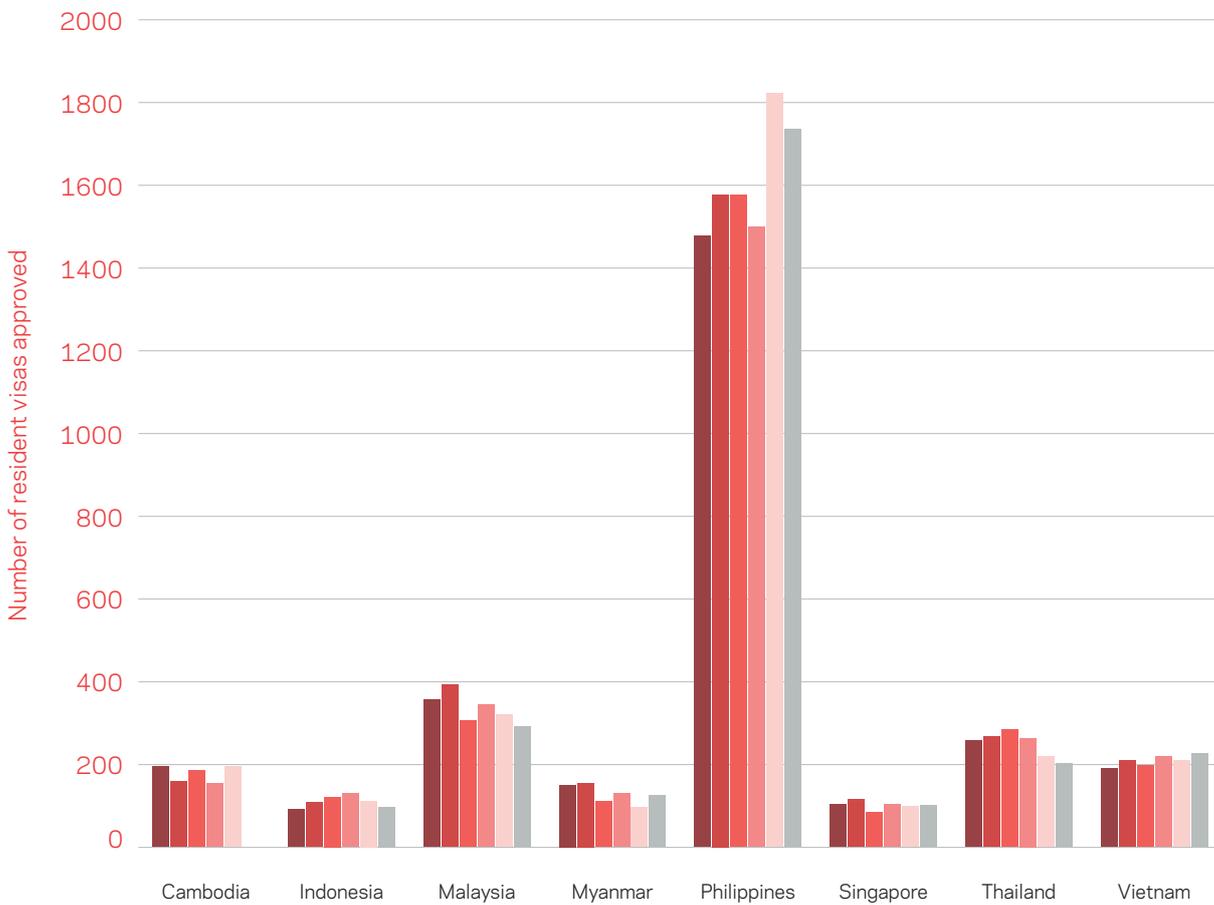
⁸⁵ Kate McMillan, 'Citizenship Under Neoliberalism: Immigrant minorities in New Zealand 1990-1999', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2001.

Figure 3.

Resident visas issued to nationals from ASEAN countries 2010-2016

- 2010/11
- 2011/12
- 2012/13
- 2013/14
- 2014/15
- 2015/16

Source: New Zealand Immigration, 2015, <https://www.immigration.govt.nz/about-us/research-and-statistics/statistics>.



By far the largest number of residents from ASEAN countries in New Zealand come from the Philippines; around 40,500 were resident in New Zealand in 2013. Significant migration from the Philippines is comparatively recent, with most Filipinos arriving in New Zealand after 1991. Many of those who arrive as permanent migrants are medical and IT professionals, including doctors, nurses and dentists. Increasing numbers of Filipino technicians and electricians have also been migrating to New Zealand.⁸⁶

It is not surprising that the Philippines has proved particularly responsive to specific labour shortages in New Zealand. Emigration and remittances continue to play a large role in the Philippines' economy, and the country sustains a large industry dedicated to facilitating labour emigration. Large disparities between wages in the Philippines and those available in many other countries act as a driving factor in such emigration. Under pressure to protect the interests of Filipinos abroad, the Philippines government has sought to enter agreements with receiving countries that guarantee the proper treatment of Filipino overseas workers. New Zealand signed such an agreement with the Philippines government regarding the recruitment and treatment of Filipino workers in 2008.⁸⁷

New Zealand's ageing population has created a demand for workers to meet the health and care needs of older people that cannot be met domestically. Around a quarter of New Zealand's nurses are from overseas, with the Philippines the largest source country.

Filipino workers also responded in high numbers to skill shortages in Canterbury following the Christchurch earthquakes. Over 60 percent of the buildings in Christchurch's central business district were damaged in the 2011 quake, along with tens of thousands of residential homes. Unable to meet the labour requirements of the clean-up and rebuild from the local workforce, New Zealand Immigration sought migrant workers to fill engineering, surveying and project management jobs, as well as trade specialists such as drain-layers, electricians, carpenters, painters, tilers and glaziers.⁸⁸ Filipinos made up almost 30 percent of the overseas-born workers who arrived in New Zealand in the couple of years following the 2011 earthquake.⁸⁹

A third sector in which Filipino workers have become prominent is the dairy industry, New Zealand's biggest export industry, between 2010 and December 2015. The industrialisation of the industry has seen the number of cows and the rate of milk production increase dramatically, along with the need for workers. New Zealand dairy farmers have become increasingly reliant on temporary labour migrants to meet this demand, and by far the largest number of them are Filipinos.⁹⁰ New Zealand Immigration estimated that around 1,700 Filipinos were employed on dairy farms around New Zealand in 2015. As it was those recruited to work on the Canterbury rebuild, this group of migrants was overwhelmingly male.

⁸⁶ Karl Walrond, 'The Filipinos', Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2015.

⁸⁷ New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 'Memorandum of Understanding on Labour Cooperation Between the Government of New Zealand and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines', 4 November 2008, <http://www.parliament.nz/resource/0000110169>.

⁸⁸ Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 'Canterbury Skill Shortage List, 2014', <http://www.immigration.govt.nz/NR/rdonlyres/6E0E1E3B-0029-4146-8631-9C890E64CFA7/0/canterburyskillshortagelist.pdf>, accessed December 2015.

⁸⁹ Statistics New Zealand, 'International Migration to and from the Canterbury Region 1996-2014', 2014, http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/Migration/international-travel-and-migration-articles/international-migration-canterbury-1996-2014.aspx#Canterbury_EQ.

⁹⁰ Paul Callister and Rupert Tipples, 'Essential' Workers in the Dairy Industry', Institute of Policy Studies Working Paper 10/10, 2010, <http://ips.ac.nz/publications/files/254c2a424af.pdf>.

Temporary workers

Many of the Filipino migrants working as nurses, construction workers and dairy workers in New Zealand have entered New Zealand on temporary work visas, often with the hope of transitioning to permanent resident visas. They are part of the growing stream of migrants who have moved to New Zealand on one of a range of temporary visas introduced in recent years: working holiday schemes, essential skills lists, horticulture and viticulture schemes, and a family stream that allows partners of citizens, permanent residents, students and work visa holders to work in New Zealand.⁹¹

The international literature on temporary labour migrants suggests that such migrants are more vulnerable to exploitation than migrants on permanent visas, or locals. Poor working conditions, low wages, a lack of choice as to occupation, the withholding of visas, and high recruitment charges have been found to be most common amongst unskilled temporary migrant workers, particularly when there are large wage disparities between the home country and the host country, where English is not commonly spoken, and where ethnic or gender inequalities compound wage and skill inequalities.⁹²

Exploitative work conditions are not common in New Zealand. Evidence emerged in 2015, however, that some Filipino workers in Canterbury during the post-earthquake rebuild had been charged exorbitant fees by recruitment agencies in the Philippines, were being underpaid, and had been misled as to the likelihood of their being able to gain work visas or transition to permanent resident status in New Zealand.⁹³ There have also been numerous media reports of Filipino nurses being exploited by the employment agencies they used to arrange their visas, with prospective workers being told they would be employed as nurses in New Zealand but arriving to find they were contracted to do less highly

paid work as caregivers in aged-care facilities.⁹⁴ New Zealand's Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment continues to monitor and work on these issues.

Filipino dairy workers have also encountered difficulties in New Zealand. In 2015 a recruitment agent responsible for facilitating Filipino dairy workers' visas was arrested and charged with having falsified the information about applicants' previous work experience on a large number of visas. The situation caused grave anxiety for the workers concerned, of whom many had invested significant amounts of money in coming to New Zealand and who were now threatened with having to return to the Philippines accused of visa fraud.⁹⁵ The situation also exposed the dairy industry's dependence on Filipino workers, with the Chair of Federated Farmers' Otago Dairy division, Stephen Crawford, saying that if large numbers of Filipinos had their visas cancelled as a result of fraudulent visa applications, the effects on the dairy industry would be 'devastating'.⁹⁶ Conscious of the effects of a large-scale deportation of Filipino workers on both the industry and the workers themselves, New Zealand Immigration tightened up its processes for vetting visa applications but denied only a small number of Filipino visa renewals. A new challenge for dairy workers has arisen in early 2016, with signs of a significant downturn in the dairy industry.⁹⁷ The implications of this for Filipino workers have yet to be seen.

Most of the Filipino dairy workers, nurses and construction workers currently in New Zealand arrived under the temporary 'Essential Skills' list. But, as noted above, there are a number of other temporary work visas available to ASEAN workers. The number of nationals from ASEAN countries granted temporary work visas in New Zealand has more than doubled in the past decade in all seven countries for which data are available, and more than tripled since 1997/98 for all except Cambodia (Figure Four on page 28).

91 Keith McLeod and David Mare, *The Rise of Temporary Migration and its Impact on the Labour Force*, Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2013, <http://www.mbie.govt.nz/publications-research/research/migrants---economic-impacts/rise-of-temporary-migration-in-NZ-and-its-Impact-on-the-Labour-Market2013.pdf>.

92 Sylvia Yuan, Trudi Cain and Paul Spoonley, *Temporary Migrants as Vulnerable Workers: A literature review*, Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, March 2014.

93 Wendy Searle, Keith McLeod and Natalie Ellen-Eliza, 'Vulnerable Temporary Migrant Workers: Canterbury Construction Industry', July 2015, <http://www.mbie.govt.nz/publications-research/research/migrants---settlement/vulnerable-temporary-migrant-workers-canterbury-construction.pdf>.

94 Michelle Robertson, 'Nurses "tricked" into signing bonds', *Sunday Star-Times*, 22 April 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/sunday-star-times/latest-edition/6786387/Agents-trick-nurses-into-signing-bonds>.

95 Radio New Zealand News, 'Immigration Fraud Won't Target Workers', 21 October 2015, <http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/national/287621/immigration-fraud-won't-target-workers>.

96 Radio New Zealand News, 22 October 2015, <http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/national/287679/filipino-exodus-would-be-devastating-to-dairy>.

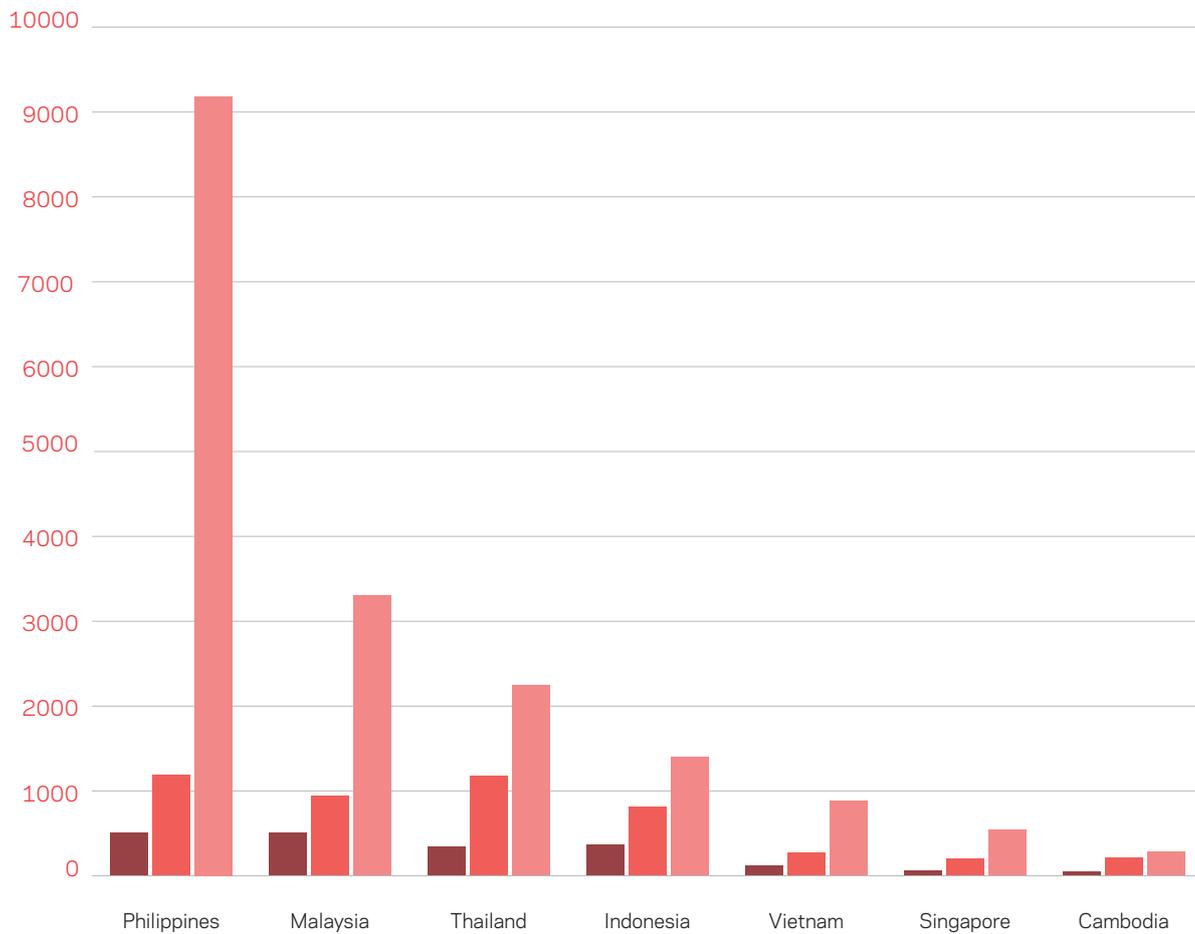
97 Bill Moore, 'Dairy industry's woes a long way from over', *NZFarmer.com*, 26 February 2016, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/business/farming/dairy/77247697/dairy-industrys-woes-a-long-way-from-over-says-new-yorkbased-analyst.html>.

Figure 4.

Temporary work visas issued to nationals from ASEAN countries:
1997/98, 2004/05 and 2014/15 compared



Source: New Zealand Immigration.



Some of these workers enter New Zealand under the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme, which brings workers from the Pacific Islands, India, the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and Vietnam to pick and pack grapes and other fruits and vegetables. Introduced in 2007, the RSE scheme aims to promote 'circular' migration from New Zealand's closest neighbours. The idea is that workers will come for the picking/packing season, return home for the rest of the year, then, having already been trained and gained experience in the work, return the following year. Since its introduction ASEAN country nationals have constituted

16-20 percent of the total number of workers entering New Zealand under the RSE scheme (see Table Two). To date no evaluation has been carried out of the outcomes of the RSE scheme for any of the Southeast Asian nationals working in it, but evaluations of the outcomes for Pacific workers have been largely positive.⁹⁸ A similar evaluation of outcomes for nationals from ASEAN countries would help to identify the extent to which the scheme is delivering benefits to workers from Southeast Asia, and whether there are any specific difficulties faced by workers from those countries.

Table Two: Workers in the RSE scheme from ASEAN countries and as a proportion of total RSE workers 2007-2014

Country of origin	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14
Indonesia	249	271	271	304	299	303	305
Malaysia	364	374	406	375	317	273	308
Philippines	80	76	75	74	74	68	68
Thailand	195	684	727	827	658	565	588
Vietnam		1				1	
Total ASEAN workers	888	1,406	1,479	1,580	1,348	1,210	1,269
Total RSE scheme workers	4,486	6,821	6,216	7,091	7,009	7,456	7,855
Nationals from ASEAN countries as percent of total	19.7	20.6	23.7	22.2	19.2	16.2	16

Source: Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, <http://employment.govt.nz/er/rse/strengthening/spp-update/RSE-SPP-Dec2014.pdf>.

⁹⁸ David McKenzie and John Gibson, 'The Development Impact of a Best Practice Seasonal Worker Policy', Policy Research Working Paper 5488, The World Bank, 2010, http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1718246; Paul Merwood, *Return Migration and Earnings of Workers in New Zealand's Recognised Seasonal Employer Scheme*, Wellington, Department of Labour, 2012, <http://www.mbie.govt.nz/publications-research/research/migration/return-migration-and-earnings-of-workers-in-nz-rse.pdf>.

Another group of temporary migrants in New Zealand come via working holiday visas, under which young people aged 18-35 from 42 countries can work for 6-12 months while they are on holiday in New Zealand. Some of the ASEAN countries receive an annual quota of visas: Malaysia (1,150 six-month visas); Philippines (100 12-month visas); Singapore (200 six-month work exchange visas); Vietnam (100 12-month visas); and Thailand (100 12-month places). People on these visas are permitted to work for up to 20 hours per week.⁹⁹

As mentioned above, however, those on temporary visas do not always return home when their visas expire. A significant and growing group of ASEAN migrants to New Zealand are, for example, students granted permanent residency after they complete their studies. The number of students from Malaysia,

Vietnam, Indonesia and the Philippines who have been granted permanent residency five years after they commenced their studies in New Zealand has been steadily growing since 2008, although their proportion of the total number remains more or less constant. International students who have completed New Zealand qualifications are considered by New Zealand Immigration to be a valuable pool of potential migrants; they hold New Zealand qualifications and, after spending at least three years in New Zealand, they are familiar with English and with New Zealand values and cultural practices. Unlike migrants who apply for residency offshore they have had the chance to 'try before they buy', and therefore know what to expect if they settle in New Zealand, which likely increases the likelihood of their wanting to stay in New Zealand.

Table Three: Number of international students from ASEAN countries in 2007/08 and percent of those granted permanent resident visas by June 2013

Source country	Number approved 2007/08	Percent granted residence by 30 June 2013	Number approved 2008/09	Percent granted residence by 30 June 2014	Number approved 2009/10	Percent granted residence by 30 June 2015
Malaysia	666	11	712	10	759	9
Vietnam	301	13	491	15	654	13
Philippines	128	62	216	57	201	56
Indonesia	102	22	123	19	151	19

Source: Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2015.

⁹⁹ New Zealand Tourism, 'Working Holiday Visas', <http://www.newzealand.com/int/working-holiday>, accessed January 2016.

The history of permanent and temporary migration from ASEAN countries depicted in Table Three reflects broader patterns in New Zealand's immigration history. Largely excluded from migration to New Zealand by immigration laws that gave preference to British settlers, Southeast Asian migrants have only arrived in New Zealand in significant numbers since 1991. They are now part of the Asian population boom that has transformed New Zealand's demography. In line with an international swing towards temporary migration

schemes, New Zealand's current immigration policies¹⁰⁰ are providing opportunities for a growing number of Southeast Asians to move to New Zealand on a temporary basis, often with the prospect of a path to more permanent residence. While the numbers remain small, the example of rapid growth in permanent and temporary migration from the Philippines indicates that ASEAN countries will become a much more significant source of migrants to New Zealand in the future.

Samson Phommachack's face may be familiar. As a 15-year-old he was one of several students from Wainuiomata High School selected to star in the TV comedy series *Seven Periods with Mr Gormsby*. Now in his 20s and with degrees in both international business and tourism management, he is a co-founder of Wellington digital technology firm Vizbot. After participating in the R9 Accelerator¹⁰¹ for young entrepreneurs, he and his Vizbot partners came up with the idea of developing a web platform to digitise the currently laborious off-line process of applying for local government building consents.



Samson Phommachack (left) with a delegation from Laos

Samson finds that his experience as a Laotian New Zealander has helped him to appreciate how young ASEAN entrepreneurs approach things differently from their New Zealand counterparts. Growing up in Wainuiomata, where his parents and grandparents settled after leaving Laos as refugees in the 1980s, Samson was part of a small, close-knit Laotian community for which the Buddhist temple in Stokes Valley was a focus of worship. He learned Laotian as a child and has since been back to Laos four times, most recently in 2015 when he returned to his family village to become a Buddhist monk, something Samson describes as a 'life-changing event'.

His first graduate job was with Education New Zealand, where he coordinated New Zealand's education fairs, school roadshows and alumni events in Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Vietnam, as well as a number of non-ASEAN countries. Participating in the Asia New Zealand Foundation's Leadership Network has allowed Samson to connect with young entrepreneurs from ASEAN countries, from whom he thinks New Zealanders have much to learn. He's been struck by the incredible level and speed of innovation occurring in the ASEAN countries, as well as their more socially oriented approach to

entrepreneurship. 'People there tend to come from a really different starting point. They are more likely to start with a community problem, then try to think of a solution at that level before thinking of other applications for that solution. In New Zealand there's more of a tendency to start at a smaller, specific level, then try to scale up. Enterprises in New Zealand could learn a lot from ASEAN entrepreneurs' community-centred approach to creating solutions and growing businesses.' Longer term, Samson would like to contribute to some of the work being done by young entrepreneurs in Laos.

¹⁰⁰ Keith McLeod and David Mare, *The Rise of Temporary Migration in New Zealand and its Impact on the Labour Market*, Wellington, Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2013, <http://www.mbie.govt.nz/publications-research/research/migrants---economic-impacts/rise-of-temporary-migration-in-NZ-and-its-Impact-on-the-Labour-Market2013.pdf>.

¹⁰¹ See: <http://www.r9accelerator.co.nz>.

Irregular migration from ASEAN countries

Irregular migration from ASEAN countries

As noted in the background section, Southeast Asia is a hub of irregular migration. New Zealand, however, has had only limited experience with irregular migration from the ASEAN region or, for that matter, any region. Most of those who have an irregular migration status in New Zealand have arrived legally but subsequently breached the terms of their visas. New Zealand has yet to experience a mass arrival of asylum seekers by boat, although Prime Minister John Key said in 2014 that intelligence reports suggested New Zealand was being 'talked up' by people smugglers as a destination¹⁰² and, in 2015, that people smuggling¹⁰³ to New Zealand by boat was a 'credible risk and threat to New Zealand'.¹⁰⁴

There have been numerous convictions for immigration fraud and other Immigration Act offences in New Zealand, of which some have involved ASEAN nationals. In 2015, for example, a Thai national was found guilty of deceptive and exploitative practices in facilitating the entry and employment in New Zealand of two Thai masseuses, one of whom was employed as a prostitute, despite immigrants not being permitted to enter New Zealand for the purposes of working in the sex industry.

New Zealand's first prosecution for human trafficking was heard in 2015 but did not result in a conviction.¹⁰⁵ Concerns were raised in 2011 about the exploitative work conditions experienced by crews on foreign boats, particularly Indonesian, Vietnamese and Myanmar crews on Korean-owned boats fishing in New Zealand's Exclusive Economic Zone, some reports of which described under- or non-payments of wages, physical and sexual abuse and mistreatment and other human rights abuses of the crew.¹⁰⁶ New Zealand responded by requiring all foreign vessels fishing in New Zealand's waters to 'reflag' as New Zealand vessels to ensure they are obliged to comply with New Zealand's labour and health and safety laws.¹⁰⁷

Despite the comparatively low incidence of irregular migration in New Zealand, the New Zealand government recognises the issue as a very important one in the region, and that countries such as Indonesia bear an enormous economic and social cost from being both a source and a transit country for irregular migrants.

New Zealand is an active participant in regional attempts to address people smuggling and human trafficking, particularly through the Bali Process on People Smuggling, Trafficking in Persons and Related Transnational Crime. Co-chaired by Australia and Indonesia, the Bali Process is a regional, multilateral process that works to raise regional awareness of human trafficking and people smuggling, and to facilitate cooperation among member states in dealing with the causes and consequences of irregular migration.¹⁰⁸ All of the ASEAN countries are members, along with 35 other countries, the International Organization for Migration, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, and UNHCR.

¹⁰² Tony Wall and Tracy Watkins, 'People smugglers' bid to sail first boat to New Zealand', *Stuff*, 25 May 2014, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/10081304/People-smugglers-bid-to-sail-first-boat-to-NZ>.

¹⁰³ 'People smuggling' and 'human trafficking' are frequently used interchangeably, despite important differences. 'Smuggling' occurs when a person consents to being and pays to be illegally transported across a national border, whereas trafficking occurs when an individual is taken from home as a result of duress or deception for the purposes of exploitation, either within or across a national border. It can, however, be difficult in practice to distinguish between smuggling and trafficking; individuals may consent to be smuggled across an international border but then find themselves in an exploitative situation on arrival, exposed to forced labour, slavery, debt bondage or the withholding of travel and identity documents. While the acts of people smuggling and trafficking in persons are illegal under international and New Zealand laws, those who are trafficked are victims of that crime rather than themselves criminals.

¹⁰⁴ Aimee Gulliver, 'People-smuggling boat "credible risk and threat

to New Zealand"', *Stuff*, 2 June 2015, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/69027808/peoplesmuggling-boat-credible-risk-and-threat-to-nz>.

¹⁰⁵ Jonathan Carson, 'Brothers found not guilty of New Zealand's first human trafficking charges', *Stuff*, 20 December 2015, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/crime/75274861/brothers-found-not-guilty-of-new-zealands-first-human-trafficking-charges>.

¹⁰⁶ Ministry for Primary Industries, 'Ministerial Enquiry into Foreign Charter Vessels', 2011, <http://www.mpi.govt.nz/news-and-resources/consultations/ministerial-enquiry-into-foreign-charter-vessels>; Thomas David Andrew Harré, 'Human Trafficking for Forced Labour at Sea: An assessment of New Zealand's response', Master of Laws thesis, University of Canterbury, 2013, http://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10092/8377/thesis_fulltext.ionid=0814EF6CE-C2AA44B7BD2AD283DB39A0F?sequence=1.

¹⁰⁷ Michael Woodhouse, 'Opening Address to the Prevent People Trafficking Conference', *Beehive.govt.nz*, 11 April 2013.

¹⁰⁸ See the Bali Process website: <http://www.baliprocess.net>.

New Zealand is a co-chair with Sri Lanka of the Bali Process Working Group on the Disruption of People Smuggling and Trafficking in Persons Networks. In 2015 the Working Group developed a Joint Period of Action under which Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Maldives, New Zealand, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand worked with Interpol to investigate and disrupt trafficking and smuggling networks. A second Joint Period of Action is now planned. A milestone in cooperation was reached at the sixth Regional Ministerial Conference of the Bali Process in March 2016, when participants confirmed their commitment to a 'comprehensive regional approach' to irregular migration, 'based on the principles of burden sharing and collective responsibility'. For New Zealand, such burden-sharing is likely to see it continue its contribution to the Bali Process.

Tourists and other short-term visitors from ASEAN countries

Tourists and other short-term visitors from ASEAN countries

Short-term visitor arrivals to New Zealand from ASEAN countries follow two major trends. First, for all categories of visitor except tourists there has been a steady rise, particularly among those who are coming to visit friends and relatives in New Zealand. For tourists, however, growth has been exponential aside from serious dips during the Asian financial crisis in the late 1990s and the global financial crisis a decade later (see Figure Five on page 37).

Much of the short-term flow of people to New Zealand from ASEAN countries is accounted for by movements from five countries: Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines (Figure Six on page 38). Visitors from Singapore, the largest ASEAN source country of visitors, are primarily in New Zealand on holiday (34,650 in May 2015-April 2016),¹⁰⁹ although significant numbers also come to visit friends and family or as business travellers. Tourism is also the number one reason for Malaysian, Thai and Indonesian travellers, with visiting friends and relatives a distant second reason. Tourist numbers from the Philippines are much lower, with most short-term visitors from the Philippines arriving to work or to visit friends and family.

Figure 5.

All short-term ASEAN visitors by purpose of travel 1979-2014

- Business
- Holiday / Vacation
- Visit Friends / Relatives
- Convention / Conferences
- Education
- Unspecified / Not collected
- Other

Source: Statistics New Zealand.

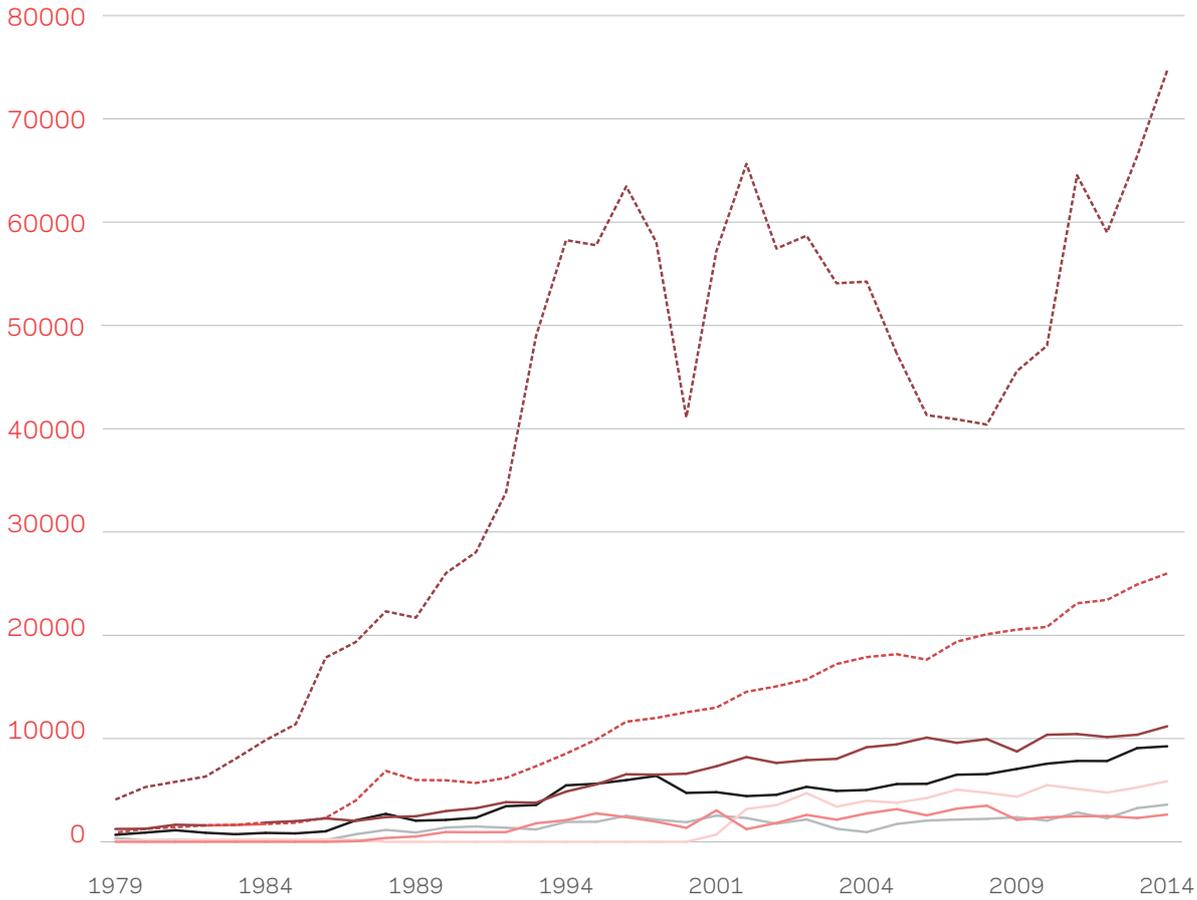


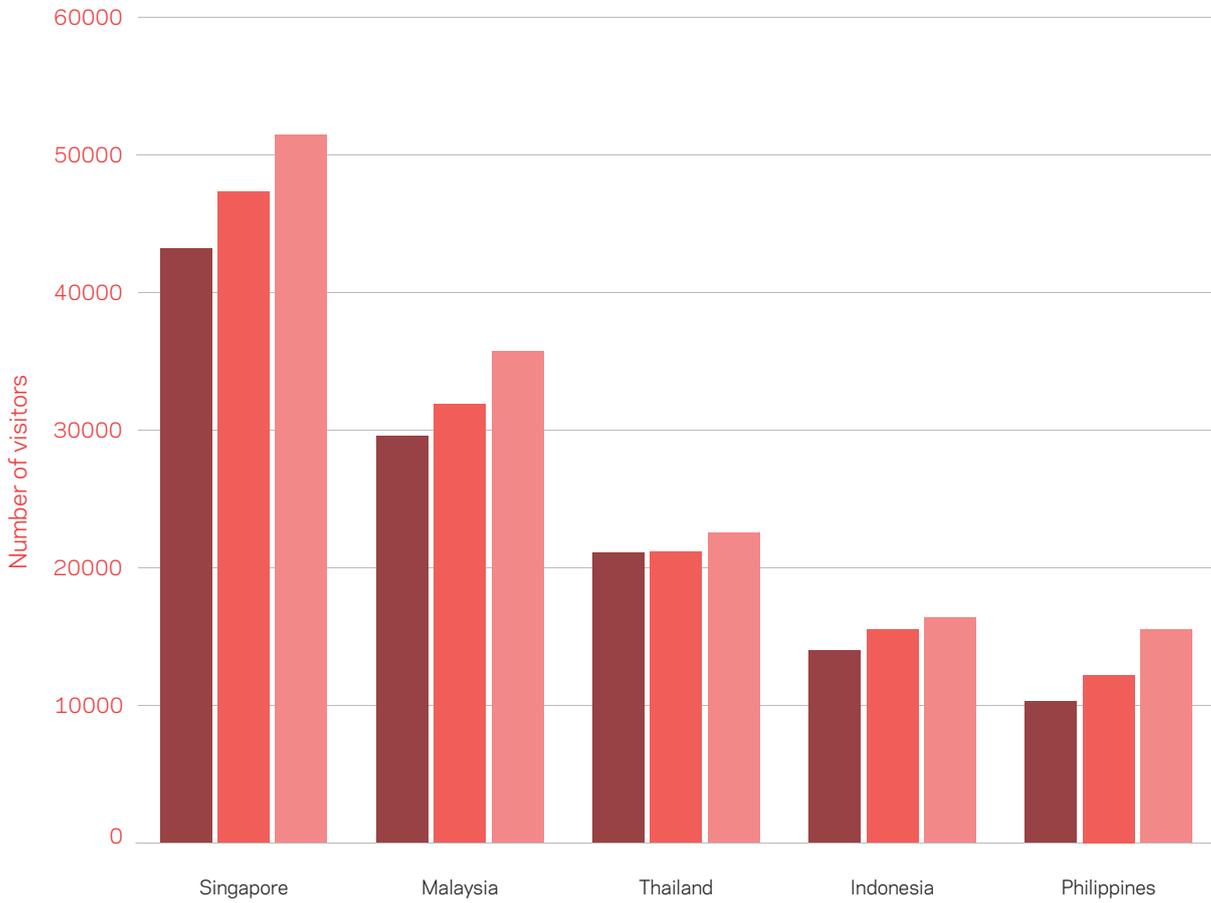
Figure 6.



Overseas visitor arrivals from ASEAN countries 2014-2016

- YE 2014
- YE 2015
- YE 2016

Source: Tourism New Zealand: <http://www.tourismnewzealand.com/media/2357/tnz-south-and-south-east-asia-market-update-may-webinar-2016.pdf>.



Tourism and dairy have vied for a number of years for the position of New Zealand's number one export earner. In December 2015 tourism re-took that place from dairy for the first time in five years, credited by some people to the release of *The Hobbit* movie in 2013, after which there was a 40 percent upswing in visitor numbers.¹¹⁰ Also important in increasing visitor numbers are the growing middle classes in a number of economies that previously did not generate tourists, particularly those in Asia. Seven out of New Zealand's top 12 sources of tourism are from the Asian region, with three ASEAN countries, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand, now New Zealand's eighth, 11th and 12th largest markets respectively.¹¹¹ The number of tourists to and from Southeast Asia is expected to grow further with the introduction in September 2016 of flights from Wellington to Singapore via Canberra and, in June 2016, direct Air New Zealand flights from Auckland to Ho Chi Minh City.¹¹²

The third-largest group of short-term visitors to New Zealand from ASEAN countries are business visitors, the largest number of whom come from Singapore. Facilitating business visitors is considered by the current government to be a priority, and to this end in 2012 it funded the Asia New Zealand Foundation to establish an ASEAN Young Business Leaders Initiative. This programme is now a two-way exchange, enabling young (under 40 years old) business leaders from ASEAN countries to network with business leaders and entrepreneurs in New Zealand, and vice versa. It is designed to provide young ASEAN and New Zealand business leaders with insights into the business opportunities and practices in each other's markets, with an eye to facilitating business deals and joint ventures between New Zealand and ASEAN countries.

One recent participant in the Young Business Leaders Initiative was Indonesian Indradi Soemardjan, Director and co-founder of a sustainable coffee business based in Java, PT Javanero. Attending the Young Business Leaders Initiative meeting in New Zealand in 2014 led him to a meeting with café owner Jason Hall, who now sells Soemardjan's coffee through his Ripe Coffee Company's business and in his Ripe café in Petone.

¹¹⁰ Amanda Cropp, 'International tourism overtakes dairy to regain top spot as our biggest export earner', *Stuff*, 24 December 2015, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/business/75443924/International-tourism-overtakes-dairy-to-regain-top-spot-as-our-biggest-export-earner>.

¹¹¹ Tourism New Zealand, 'Market Stats Feb 2015-Jan 2016', <http://www.tourismnewzealand.com/markets-stats>.

¹¹² Justin Lester, 'Opinion: New Singapore Airlines route "opens Wellington's front door"', *Stuff*, 4 February 2016, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/business/76570886/Justin-Lester-New-Singapore-Airlines-route-opens-Wellingtons-front-door>.

Soemardjan's experience highlights the potential benefits for both ASEAN and New Zealand of increased personal contact between potential business partners. For him, the personal relationship is a crucial part of doing business: 'The roaster is very important – he's like the chef. The roaster [Ripe's Clint Agar] is coming out to visit next month to see the harvest and taste the beans. They [Agar and Jason Hall] will tour the West Java plantations and some of the Central Java regions. We are going to send our third shipment. This is how business should be done; it should be personal. We want it to go beyond commodity. We want them to go and visit the growers in the mountain, which they did last time – we toured with them in the mountain region of West Java. We speak directly with the roaster and he gives us feedback about each bag; he can say something like, "Number 56 was great, when was that harvested?" or "Number 92, that bag was a bit drier". We learn a lot from them on how to develop consistency... Growing coffee is not like making screws where you can make it all standardised, but we are doing what we can to standardise production of coffee. Ripe is able to report back on what the customers like'.¹¹³

For their part, visiting the areas in which the coffee is grown and meeting the growers have allowed Ripe's owners to provide more detailed information to consumers about the coffee they sell than is normally possible. Their website identifies the regions where and altitudes at which coffee is grown, the coffee varieties used, the drying processes and the number of contributing farmers and the size of their farms, and provides this artisanal description of the coffee's taste: 'Pine and cedar fragrance. Rose water. Lime acidity. Brown sugar sweetness. Clean and bright'.¹¹⁴



Indradi Soemardjan

A highlight for Soemardjan of his New Zealand trip was hiring a campervan with his wife and touring the South Island. 'We really saw what it was like to be in New Zealand. We went to Queenstown, Arthur's Pass, mountains on the West Coast. The South Island is approximately the same size as Java, which has a population of 130 million – that's about 65 percent of Indonesia's population. It's smaller than the South Island! We loved the chance to be somewhere without people around for miles and miles'.¹¹⁵ He credits the trip to New Zealand with having opened his eyes to the concepts of sustainability and product traceability. Beyond developing his relationship with the Ripe café owners he has gone on to become an Indonesia-based resource for New Zealand businesspeople and entrepreneurs. In February 2016, for example, he met a number of representatives of Kea New Zealand (an expatriate New Zealanders' organisation) at the New Zealand Ambassador's residence in Jakarta to discuss how to improve trade between Indonesia and Kea members.

¹¹³ Interview with the author, 19 February 2016.

¹¹⁴ Ripe Coffee Company website: <http://ripecoffee.co.nz/shop/indonesia>.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

Looking ahead

Looking ahead

Given its comparative geographical proximity and its combined population of more than 600 million, it is perhaps surprising that levels of people movement from the ASEAN region are not much higher than they are. In comparison with migration from China and India, for example, levels of permanent and temporary migration from the ASEAN countries remain low, as do student and tourist numbers.

Whether this will change in the longer term depends on a number of factors, of which one is the economic growth predicted for the region following the creation of the ASEAN Economic Community in December 2015. Migration scholars have long observed that increases in economic development are frequently associated with increases in migration as 'a certain threshold of wealth is necessary to enable people to assume the costs and risks of migrating'.¹¹⁶ We might expect, therefore, economic development in some of the ASEAN countries to lead to greater levels of emigration. If this happens, ASEAN's youthful population may become a more important source of immigrants to New Zealand than is the case at present, particularly if, as some analysts predict, ageing in China leads to that country becoming a migrant-attracting rather than migrant-sending country.¹¹⁷

Migration flows are also, however, determined by prior migratory networks and traditions, as well as historical linkages with and economic opportunities in potential receiving countries. These traditions do not exist at present in New Zealand for most ASEAN countries, with the exception of migration from the

Philippines, the example of which demonstrates that, once established, migratory flows can increase rapidly. In the short term at least it seems likely that the largest source of immigrants to New Zealand from the ASEAN region will continue to be the Philippines, whose education system provides more highly qualified, English-speaking graduates than can be absorbed in its domestic economy. The education systems of a number of other ASEAN countries have some way to go before they produce a similar number of graduates with the skills and qualifications New Zealand is looking for.

Economic development is also likely to lead to growing demand for tertiary education among ASEAN's young population, while the growth of the middle classes in the more developed ASEAN economies will likely increase tourism numbers from the region. New Zealand is well positioned to meet some of these demands.

Irregular migration is likely to continue to be a feature of the ASEAN region for several decades to come. In addition to existing push factors, such as poverty, poor governance and limited human rights protections, the region is also highly vulnerable to climate change, something likely to exacerbate existing irregular flows. According to data from the Centre for Global Development the six countries most vulnerable to extreme weather events, outside the small island states, are all in Asia, with the Philippines and Vietnam ranked fourth and fifth most vulnerable overall. When the ability to cope with extreme weather events is taken into account Myanmar becomes the fifth most vulnerable country. In relation to sea-level rise, all of coastal Southeast Asia is vulnerable, particularly Vietnam and Myanmar. Indeed, Myanmar is ranked as the world's second most vulnerable non-island country to sea-level rises when the ability to adapt and cope with such rises is taken into account. The combined effects of sea-level rise and extreme weather events also expose Myanmar to extreme losses in agricultural productivity, making it the second most vulnerable country in the world in this respect, excluding the small island states.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Hein de Haas, *Migration and Development. A Theoretical Perspective*, International Migration Institute, Oxford, 2008, <http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/wp/wp-09-08.pdf>.

¹¹⁷ The Economist, 'China's Achilles Heel', *The Economist*, 21 April 2012, <http://www.economist.com/node/21553056>.

¹¹⁸ Center for Global Development, 'Mapping the effects of climate change', <http://www.cgdev.org/page/mapping-impacts-climate-change>.

The combined effects of large climate-related migration flows within Southeast Asia have yet to be seen, but they will likely expose large numbers of people to extreme vulnerability in a region that currently lacks the capacity to deal with irregular migrant flows. The issue has the potential to increase the demand that New Zealand share the costs of dealing with irregular migrant flows. New Zealand also has a role to play in assisting with capacity-building and adaptation assistance.

As yet the international community has not developed a legal or policy approach for the protection of those forced from their homes by factors such as climate change and extreme poverty. Even the international refugee protection regime, which does provide a set of legal and policy protections for those forced to flee persecution, was stretched to breaking point during the influx of asylum seekers to Europe in 2015. ASEAN seems likely to be heavily affected by both the causes and consequences of forced migration in the coming decades.

Conclusion

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In the early years of New Zealand's relationship with ASEAN, virtually all of the work of building mutual trust, deepening understanding and strengthening relations with ASEAN was carried out by officials. Outside New Zealand's military engagements in the region, peoples of the ASEAN countries and New Zealand had little contact and even less understanding or experience of the other. Indeed, in 1975 the vestiges of British colonial thinking continued to obscure the view that formal relations between New Zealand and Southeast Asia might benefit from informal relationships between their peoples.

In the first quarter of the 21st century, however, 'people movements' or, more accurately, the people who move, are seen to be a central driver of the multiple ways in which New Zealand engages with the region. In quantifiable ways they contribute to New Zealand in the form of their skilled and unskilled labour, the student fees they pay and the money they spend as tourists and visitors. In unquantifiable ways their presence contributes intellectual, linguistic, religious, cultural, artistic, literary, musical, sporting and culinary richness to New Zealand's society. But the combined energies, wisdom, experiences, resources, creativity and emotions of the tens of thousands of ASEAN people who now enter New Zealand annually, for short- and long-term periods, is a powerful, dynamic and unpredictable force for moving relations forward. Careful planning is required to facilitate the creative potential of relationships developed between New Zealanders and people from ASEAN countries.

A first step is for New Zealand to identify the factors that are likely to contribute to the chances of people from ASEAN countries having positive experiences in New Zealand. Several such factors have been identified in this report: efforts to ensure that international students continue to receive high-quality education and associated services, as well as the opportunity to engage meaningfully with New Zealand students; strong governmental efforts to prevent the creeping advance of exploitative work situations for temporary labour migrants, particularly those who use recruitment agencies from their home countries; vigilance in maintaining the integrity of New Zealand's immigration processes; and, most importantly, respecting the intrinsic worth of individuals and their experiences.

In all of this New Zealand has at least one great advantage: its legal framework is based on respect for the rights of the individual, a legal norm that is not only fiercely protected by an independent judiciary but also translated into a deeply held cultural norm. This belief in the intrinsic value of the individual, beyond that individual's economic or social worth, underpins New Zealand's reputation as a safe and peaceful country and acts as a drawcard for migrants and visitors to this country. It can also act as the metric by which policies designed to facilitate people movements from ASEAN countries might be measured. If we get this right, the rest will more easily follow.

One aspect of Southeast Asian culture that has gathered a devoted following in New Zealand is the gamelan orchestra music of Indonesia, with ensembles established in each of the four main centres. In 1974 musicologist Allan Thomas imported New Zealand's first full set of gamelan instruments from Cirebon in West Java, along with a set of wayang kulit, or shadow puppets, that can accompany the orchestra. Allan had studied gamelan and wayang kulit in West Java under Pak Jusuf Dendabrata and Ibu Paramita Abdulrachman, and went on to teach gamelan to students at VUW's School of Music,¹¹⁹ a tradition that is continued today under the direction of Budi Putra and management of Megan Collins at the New Zealand School of Music. Two of New Zealand's best-known composers, Jack Body and Gareth Farr, along with a number of their students, have composed contemporary works for the gamelan. In 2003 Farr imported a set of Balinese gong kengyar gamelan instruments, with which he established the Gamelan Taniwha Jaya orchestra (the name combines the Māori name for a mythical water monster, Taniwha, with the Balinese word Jaya, meaning glorious or victorious).¹²⁰ Both gamelan orchestras perform frequently in New Zealand and have, on four occasions, also toured Indonesia. The Indonesian Embassy in New Zealand has provided ongoing support for the orchestras.



The gamelan orchestra playing to crowds at the Southeast Asian Night Market, Wellington

Wellingtonian Jo Hilder first encountered the gamelan when she was taking a history of music course at VUW in the 1980s. Drawn to its rhythmic construction, she loved its accessibility, marvelling at how a novice could immediately participate despite the music's complexity and sophistication.

She went on to study gamelan in Java on an Indonesian government scholarship and today specialises in playing instruments that elaborate on core melodies within the gamelan's cyclical structure. Another aspect of gamelan she

particularly enjoys is its egalitarian nature; people of all ages and backgrounds work together without a conductor. She's travelled with the orchestra to Indonesia on three occasions, and says that while the Indonesians are intrigued by the sight of a group of Europeans playing the gamelan, they also appreciate that Indonesian musical traditions are being enjoyed and practiced outside of Indonesia, and that New Zealand musicians have been inspired and encouraged to compose new gamelan music.

¹¹⁹ Gamelan Wellington New Zealand, 'History', <http://gamelan.org.nz/history>.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

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