

Changing Patterns of Chinese Immigration —With Special Reference to New Zealand—

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China has a long history of migration, but is currently experiencing a mass exodus of its citizens. Popular destination countries have been the United States, Canada and Australia, but New Zealand, although much smaller in size than any of these countries, is also receiving increased numbers of Chinese immigrants. The majority of the immigrants are well-educated and skilled and New Zealand welcomes them. This paper examines the reasons why Chinese have left their home country in the past, and then focuses on the reasons why they are leaving in increasing numbers in the present day and the attractions of their chosen destination countries. Changes in migration law in China and immigration programs in popular destination countries, with a focus on New Zealand, will be described in as far as they have affected the migration of Chinese citizens and their acceptance into destination countries. The factors that make New Zealand a popular destination will be reviewed in some detail.

1. Introduction

The People's Republic of China is experiencing an exodus of its citizens to certain popular destination countries and this is a matter of great interest and sometimes concern to those countries as there is every indication the flood of Chinese leaving their home country will only increase in the future. This is reflected in the titles of newspaper and magazine articles such as "The Chinese Exodus is underway - but where is it heading?" in *The National* (Wright, 2011) and "The Great Chinese Exodus" in *The Wall Street Journal* (Browne, 2014). In view of this, it is considered timely to examine the history of Chinese migration past and present to highlight the features of the present day pattern.

Migration from China has long taken place in the face of officially imposed difficulties in leaving the country, as well as difficulties in gaining entry to, and integrating into the society of the destination country. Nevertheless, in 1990 there were almost 37 million overseas Chinese living in 136 countries (Poston, Mao & Yu, 1994). Since the beginning of economic reform and the opening up of China beginning in 1978, however, the flow of Chinese to overseas destinations has accelerated and reasons for leaving China have taken on new characteristics.

The new pattern of migration will be considered after a brief account of historical patterns of Chinese migration. The latter will focus on migration from China in the past two hundred years as background to the first wave of Chinese migrants to Canada, Australia and New Zealand, who faced legalized discrimination and exclusion, and as contrast to the so-called “new migrants” (Liu Hong, 2006/2005; Xiang, 2006/2003), that is, those migrating in the period from 1985 to the present, whose movements have been made possible by immigration policies which accept, and sometimes court, migrants from China. The study will, for the most part, be confined to the migration of Chinese to destinations such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The latter country will be treated in more detail, in particular with reference to new patterns of migration which have manifested themselves since the economic reform and opening up of China beginning in 1978 which set in motion the present flood of New Zealand bound immigrants. Changes in Chinese society and the increasing desire on the part of many Chinese to leave China, and laws relating to movement out of China, will be noted, as well as changes in attitudes to the entry of Chinese as reflected in the immigration laws of destination countries, with the case of New Zealand cited as an example where appropriate.

2. Historical Patterns of Chinese Emigration

Wang (2006/1989) and Poston, Mao and Yu (1994) describe four patterns of Chinese migration which have been prevalent in the last two centuries and since they serve to illustrate Chinese immigration to New Zealand in a wider context, both past and present, a brief description of them will be useful.

The oldest and most dominant pattern of Chinese migration is the *Huashang* (華商) or Chinese trader pattern, primarily consisting of merchants and artisans and younger members of their families who went abroad and set up businesses. They often settled down, particularly in South East Asia before 1850, and brought up families but still maintained strong connections with China. As we will see below, as well as being a description of the earliest pattern, this is the only one that remains in any significant form, and is still the basic pattern for Chinese migration in modern times (Wang 2006/1989).

The second pattern is the *Huagong* (華工) or Chinese “coolie labourer” pattern which was seen from the 1850s through the 1920s when Chinese moved to North America and Australasia and undertook work in gold mining and railway building (Poston et al., 1994). These migrants are often termed “sojourners” (Kuhn, 2008, Ng, 2003, Sui, 2006/1952, Wang, 2006/1989), as are those in the next pattern, because their stay in their destination country was frequently transitory, although this was often at the wish of the European residents of those countries

rather than their own. This pattern is the one that describes New Zealand's early experience of Chinese immigration and will be described in more detail below.

The third pattern is the *Huaqiao* (華僑) or overseas Chinese pattern which includes all kinds of migrants, including the Chinese trader pattern and the Chinese "coolie labourer" pattern, but initially consisted primarily of well-educated professionals who left China in order to teach children of Chinese in South East Asia out of feelings of nationalism with the expectation that they would eventually return to their homeland. While sojourning was a defining characteristic for *Huaqiao*, for them sojourning was a personal choice, while for Chinese goldseekers and labourers it was not, as we will see below.

The fourth pattern, prevalent since the 1950s, is the *Huayi* (華裔) or Chinese descent or re-migrant type which covers Chinese moving from one country to another, for example from South East Asia to Europe, and includes Chinese who originally migrated to Southeast Asia but have re-migrated to another foreign country such as Australia or New Zealand in the last few decades (Wang, 2006/1989).

Traditionally emigration from China was considered unfilial and for a long time forbidden and a returned emigrant was likely to be punished by death. In 1893, however, Imperial edicts finally removed the old Imperial ban on emigration. This was done primarily to make the departure of emigrant merchants and other businessmen (*Huashang*) to South East Asia legal so they could return home on business, for visits, or to retire. *Huagong* or "coolie labourers", the category of migrants that first reached New Zealand's shores, were not mentioned in this decree and, although they had long been emigrating, their status remained unclear although their departure was condoned or kept hidden. This could be effected because, from the time which saw the beginning of the mass migration of labourers to the North America and Australasia in the mid-nineteenth century, Hong Kong, a British colonial possession since 1842, was relatively free from official Chinese presence as well as being a major steamship port, and served as a major departure point for Australasia as well as other destinations. Unsystematic laws covering migration lead to abuses, however, because the coolie trade was of great economic importance to British interests in the colonies and British authorities in the newly opened treaty ports tended to protect Chinese coolie brokers who "kidnapped" labourers for "export". Because of this, in the 1850s, British Parliament attempted to regulate the system and stamp out coercion and forced emigration. Changes in policies toward emigration in 1866 and 1868, and formal legalization of these in 1893, regulated and formally legalized emigration. It was under these new provisions that many Chinese left China for the British colonies of Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Kuhn, 2008).

3. The First Chinese Immigrants in Australia and New Zealand

Many of the Chinese labourers from Canton (modern Guangzhou) and other points of departure who migrated to Victoria in Australia, California in the US, British Columbia in Canada and Otago in New Zealand between the mid 1850s and the mid-1860s did so at a time of severe economic and social disruption in Canton and the wider Guangdong region caused by the treaty that allowed the opening up of ports other than Canton at the end of the first of the Opium Wars (1839-42 and 1856-60) (Ng, 2003).

In addition, between 1849 and 1878 there were serious floods and famine over large parts of China, and these were accompanied by a significant rise in population between 1830 and 1850. These factors forced many living in South China to move overseas at a time when the discovery of gold in Australia and the United States offered Chinese businessmen and foreign speculators in ports newly opened to foreign trade a chance to take Chinese labourers to these countries (Gao, 2001; Kuhn, 2008).

Only a small percentage of the Chinese emigrated on their own initiative. Instead it was the newly arrived foreigners who enabled the organization of both voluntary and involuntary emigration. Some Chinese left China as free migrants, paying their own way, but many others left on the “credit ticket” system whereby they received money to pay their expenses in advance and were required to pay it back in the form of labour at their destination. Many others left as indentured or contract labourers who were enlisted by governments or labour recruiters (Skeldon, 1996).

It was both gold fever and a shortage of labour that first brought the Chinese to Australia. Although as far back as 1828 the British Government had opposed a plan to import Chinese labourers to work on sheep stations in Australia, individuals could do so at their own expense. This was done through a British labour agent in Xiamen who, in 1848, sent 120 Chinese on a British ship. Then in 1849 formal permission was given by Britain to import labour and during the next three years 100 Chinese came from Xiamen, Hong Kong and Singapore to Sydney to be employed by Australian sheep farmers. After the first big gold strike in Australia in 1851 Chinese began arriving in larger numbers. At the height of the gold rush in 1857 there were more than 25,000 Chinese in the State of Victoria, 20,000 of which were miners mostly originating from Guangzhou (Kuhn, 2008).

According to Ng (2003), some of the first Chinese arrivals came to New Zealand after being recruited in Australia, but most came direct from Hong Kong on chartered ships. He indicates that by the early 1880s there were some 5,000 Chinese living in the goldfields in New Zealand but that by 1916 this number had declined to some 2,000 due to the exhaustion of the gold fields, a poor economic

climate and rising anti-Chinese prejudice.

Ng (2003) emphasizes the fact that although getting from China to New Zealand's goldfields was a major undertaking, few of the Chinese who came to New Zealand had even a basic education and (in the 1881 census) only 104 out of 5,004 Chinese in New Zealand could read and write English while 12 could read it only. As most labourers were not in a position to make arrangements for themselves, they utilized middlemen with the knowledge and connections necessary to facilitate travel. They were often assisted by merchants, who could do the necessary liaison work between Chinese and European communities and provide provisions, board, postal and travel services and facilities for gambling or opium-smoking as well as give credit and loans (Ng, 2003).

Although the disasters and difficulties which prompted many Chinese to leave their home countries to seek their fortune elsewhere at this point in China's history were very real, the migrants are often referred to as "sojourners" (Kuhn, 2008, Ng, 2003, Sui, 2006/1952, Wang, 2006/1989), because it was assumed they themselves wished eventually to return home. Their stays were also transitional in that many of the contract labourers were forced to return to their home country after their contract finished and because, as we will see below, the stays were quickly put an end to in countries of European settlement such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Wang, 1989) for reasons other than the termination of contracts.

Ng (2003) characterizes these "sojourners" in the following passage:

It is reasonable to assume that almost all the gold seekers started out as potential miners, but some went into occupations which supported mining, and there was a trend sooner or later to turn to other work. The sojourners had twin aims: to obtain capital which they would remit or take home, and to return to their families in ancestral villages and towns, either in life or in the return of body or bones. (p.5)

Ng notes that "it seems likely that most of the Chinese goldseekers in New Zealand achieved their aim of returning to China in their lifetimes, whether successful in achieving savings or not" (p.9).

4. Exclusion of Chinese Labourers from the Colonies

In a statement that shows the marked contrast to present day Chinese immigration to these parts of the world, Kuhn says that "... neither North America nor Australia-New Zealand treated Chinese immigrants decently" (Kuhn, 2008, p.198),

going on to say that from the late nineteenth century until the mid-twentieth, Australia and New Zealand tried their best to deny them entry as well as to limit the freedom and civil rights of those who had gained entry. According to Kuhn, Chinese (and other Asians) were viewed as competitors and their presence strongly resented at a time when millions of Europeans were entering North America and Australasia to make their living in farming or industry. He notes that in Australia, for instance, they were admitted to be a source of trouble because it was believed Chinese would soon replace British civilization if their numbers grew. When gold deposits ran out and Chinese began taking up other work in direct competition with others in the work force, resentment and fear of the Chinese grew and eventually led to the imposition of regulations to prevent them from establishing themselves. Legislation prevented them from voting or owning land while other laws kept new immigrants out and made exclusion an official policy. These laws imposed a head tax for new arrivals which most could not afford to pay and effectively prevented the arrival of new males as well as wives who might add to the Chinese population by giving birth in the adopted country. Restrictive measures of one form or another remained in place in the colonies until the middle of the twentieth century.

Chan (2013/1981), with reference to the use of the term “sojourner” as applied to early Chinese immigration to Canada, argues that it was, in fact, these restrictive measures that gave rise to the term. He explains that although the fact that the Chinese labourers came without their families was taken as a sign they were sojourners by choice, in reality, since they were poor labourers hired by agents in Hong Kong on a short-term contract to work in agriculture, public works, coal mining and salmon canning, bringing wives and children was not an option. Coming without women, they lived in bachelor societies in China Towns where they were known to eat strange food and speak little English and so were accused of refusing to assimilate (although in fact most of the local inhabitants were not inclined to have Chinese friends). This was seen to be proof they never intended to stay, and this convenient assumption on the part of the Whites was in fact a way of justifying the removal of Chinese from Canada once there was no longer a need for their labour. Thus, according to Chan, the White view of the Chinese worker as a necessary, but temporary, source of labour was what gave rise to the myth of the Chinese “sojourner”. Chan goes on to point out that although some Chinese became laundry or restaurant owners or workers, this was taken to mean they were intent on making their fortune and returning to China and had chosen these businesses because they could be readily turned back into cash. He emphasizes the important fact that it was really institutional racialism that forced the Chinese into ethnic businesses and Chinese who did become engaged in more entrenched and financially worthwhile work were often resented and deprived of a living

because of their competitiveness. In fact, “they were unwelcome as members of the human race since White Canadians perceived the Chinese as inferior species” (Chan, 2013, para.24) whose assimilation was not only not desired but prevented by legislative measures of various kinds in order to make life in Canada as difficult and unsustainable as possible.

With this understanding of the somewhat ambivalent meaning of the word “sojourner” as applied to Chinese immigrants, we will now look at the form the policies of exclusion in New Zealand once took, and the nearly complete reversal of policy and practice imbued in modern immigration law.

Murphy (2003) states that “it is a well-established fact that New Zealand was intended as a country of European settlement and that the Chinese were to be excluded from it” (p.48), and that this was instrumental in the formation of New Zealand’s identity. He elaborates by describing the increasingly severe Acts that were passed in order to preserve New Zealand as a white man’s country by restricting Chinese and other non-European immigration. From 1881 there was an entry poll tax of £10 for each Chinese immigrant and a restriction on the number any ship could carry. In 1907 a reading test of 100 English words began to be used. These restrictions were later increased in their severity, the number of permitted passengers being reduced and the poll tax being raised to £100. In 1920 the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act introduced an individual permit system and the Minister of Customs was the only one who could issue these, and his decision was final. The power to almost totally exclude Chinese and other non-Europeans introduced at this time and continuing to the late 1980s, “has justly been called the ‘White New Zealand Policy’” (Murphy, 2003, p.52).

One example of how this policy worked relates to the treatment of Chinese women. Perhaps because not all the Chinese already in New Zealand considered themselves to be sojourners, although this word is often applied to them, an increasing number of Chinese women were arriving in the country and the number of New Zealand born Chinese children was increasing. According to Murphy (2003), the Amendment Act of 1920 originally included a quota of 100 permanent entry visas for Chinese men, and 25 for women, but in 1925 the quota for women was excluded to gradually reduce the number of Chinese in New Zealand and this policy was kept in place for the next two decades, although some partial concessions were made. For instance, in 1939 two year permits were granted to the wives and children of Chinese men permanently resident in New Zealand in response to the escalation of the Sino-Japanese war, which by 1939 had reached Guangdong where the homes of most of the Chinese men in New Zealand were. Again, in 1947 and 1949 the government granted permanent residence to all women and children who had arrived under the 1939 concession which was extended to include children born in New Zealand. Further, in 1948 the government

decided to grant 50 entry permits for the wives and children of Chinese men who had been in the country for 20 years or longer. In 1951, as part of the family reunion policy, an annual quota of 150 entry permits for wives and children was granted. The intention of this was to prevent an increase in Chinese by admitting only wives who were probably past child-bearing age.

At this time in New Zealand's history, Chinese were discriminated against not only in the immigration laws, but were prevented from receiving old age pensions, widows pensions and family allowances until 1935, "whether naturalized or not, and whether British subjects by birth or not", making it clear that these benefits "were for New Zealanders only, and that Chinese, regardless of their legal status, were not New Zealanders" (Murphy, 2003, p.65). Like the Chinese immigrants to Canada described by Chan, it was hoped their stay would not be permanent and every effort was made to see that it was curtailed as soon as possible.

Even in the 1950s and 1960s New Zealand encouraged Chinese New Zealanders to assimilate and become White New Zealanders as much as possible. "This indicates a continuing intolerance and an ongoing exclusion of the idea of 'Chinese' from 'New Zealand'" (Murphy, 2003, p.65).

5. Changing Chinese Migration Law

Before we can examine the causes and magnitude of the present-day exodus of Chinese citizens it is necessary to be aware of the changes in Chinese migration law that have made exit from China legally possible in recent times.

Liu (2009) explains that from 1949 to 1957 departure from China was strictly controlled and permission was needed to go abroad. During this time, persecution of wealthy landlords and capitalists gave them good cause to leave China with their families and the tight restrictions were to control these departures. From 1957 restrictions became tighter, the target being overseas-educated Chinese returnees opposed to communism who were sent to labour camps and severely restricted from leaving so that most kept quiet about their wish to leave for fear of the consequences. From 1966 to 1976, during the Cultural Revolution, the wish to leave China was regarded as sign of dissatisfaction with the Chinese socialist system and possible collusion with foreign countries and strict punishment ensued. Departure was not an option.

Liu (2009) explains that it was in 1985 that real change in migration law began with the making of special entry and exit laws to accompany the significant economic changes which began after 1978, which year saw the beginning of the reform and opening up of China, but these initially mainly benefited returning overseas Chinese and restrictions for ordinary Chinese remained strict. During the years from 1986 to 2001 these restrictions were gradually lifted. This process of

change began in 1986 when the legal right of Chinese citizens to leave and return was recognized and application procedures simplified. These years saw the beginning of the flood of young Chinese departing to study abroad and failing to return. This pattern is now one of the basic ones for present day immigration of Chinese into the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. After the Tiananmen crackdown in 1989, the number of mainland Chinese in western universities who became political exiles swelled and formed the biggest wave in Chinese migration since the Gold Rushes of the nineteenth century. According to Liu, these departures were made possible by ongoing changes in migration law.

By 2001, the right of citizens to leave was better protected, although restrictions still existed. Gradually, however, exit and entry procedures were simplified because those in place were considered incompatible with China's enormous economic development and by 2005 a simplified "passport on demand" policy was in place. This involved the removal of the requirement to present written permission from a work unit, so that an individual's privacy was protected, and also that for letters of invitation when applying for a passport (Liu, 2009).

These changes in Chinese migration law coincided with changes in the immigration policies of industrialized nations like Canada, Australia and New Zealand, which countries have, since the early 1960s, removed restrictive immigration policies and allowed the entry of peoples from a wide variety of origins, cultures and races (Liu, 2005/2009). Chinese were quick to take advantage of the important changes in Chinese migration law in 1986 and immigration law in New Zealand in 1987. According to figures given by Ip (2012), the ethnic Chinese population in 1986 was below 20,000. In the 2013 census, the size of the Chinese New Zealander population stood at 171,411, or 4.3 percent of the total population (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). The estimated population of New Zealand in 2013 was a little over 4,400,000.

6. New Zealand and the New Chinese Immigrants

Wang (2006/1989) emphasizes the importance of understanding the significance of the *Huagong* pattern in the migration history of the Chinese, and it should be noted that it was indeed important for New Zealand. European immigrants began arriving in New Zealand in significant numbers from the early 1840s after New Zealand was declared a British colony in 1841. From 1865, these numbers were swelled greatly by goldseekers, Chinese *Huagong* among them. Chinese immigrants, then, have had a presence in New Zealand from early in its history as a colony. The *Huagong* pattern is now gone and "only the basic *Huashang* pattern remains — the foundation for Chinese migration from ancient times to the present, the most resilient pattern for us to study through the ages" (Wang,

2006/1989, p.48). The application of these terms to Chinese immigration to New Zealand joins the past and present and the *Huashang* pattern can serve to describe the socio-economic behavior of members of the Chinese community in New Zealand today, described by Ip (2003) as showing their apparent preference for self-employment in the sales and service sector where they operate small to medium sized businesses and by their perceived economic privilege.

This section of the paper will focus mainly on increasing immigration of Chinese to New Zealand and try to clarify the characteristics of these immigrants and the attraction of New Zealand for them today.

In 1994 Poston et al. (1994) pointed out that destination countries and numbers of Chinese migrants were very much influenced by the migration policies of the receiving countries, Canada, Australia and New Zealand and the United States being the main ones, while immigration was strictly controlled in many countries. Let us now examine Chinese immigration to New Zealand in the light of this claim.

The increase in Chinese immigrants to New Zealand arose from two factors. The first was the important changes in Chinese migration policy described above. These were set in place in China in 1986 when the legal right of citizens to leave and return was recognized and this timing coincides nicely with the changes in New Zealand's immigration policy put in place in 1987 when the special "traditional source countries" preference (i.e. preference for British citizens) was removed and new immigrants were to be selected on the basis of personal merit with no discrimination on grounds of race, national or ethnic origin. This resulted in a set of universal criteria favouring immigrants qualifying for entry based on factors like youth, education, skills, work experience and financial capital. As well as removing unacceptably racist criteria, these factors for qualifying as an immigrant were intended to offset the brain drain New Zealand was facing (Ip, 2006/2003).

Emigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the People's Republic of China made up most of the first arrivals after this change in the immigration laws. They were from urban centers and were highly educated professionals with skills and business experience. Skeldon (1994) notes that those from Hong Kong and Taiwan in particular often departed from home lands with higher GNPs than the country they immigrated to, and this left them with ambivalent feelings. Emigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan left out of concern for the changes the Chinese takeover would have in the case of the former, and related concerns about Taiwan's future in the case of the latter. In addition, many were looking for a better lifestyle, but were also aware they would gain this at the expense of employment opportunities and standard of living (Ip, 2006/2003).

Liu (2006/2005) explains that a feature of this second period of Chinese

migration, beginning in the 1980s and continuing to the present day, is that the source of Chinese migrants has more often been the People's Republic of China, rather than Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore and other Southeast Asian countries, as in the past. These Chinese emigrants are taking advantage of the simultaneous changes in migration law in China and immigration law in New Zealand which have made the move to New Zealand easier than ever before, but many are also making the move partly for economic reasons, although of a different kind to the first Chinese labourer emigrants, in that they are mostly young well-educated professionals and city dwellers looking for job opportunities and a better life style. Once in New Zealand, the new immigrants tend to congregate in certain affluent suburbs in big cities. In Auckland they have noted preference for certain suburbs traditionally favoured by upper-middle class New Zealanders of all ethnic origins, but he notes also that the chosen suburbs are within the school zones of certain well-known state schools indicating the importance they place on their children's education (Ip, 2006/2003).

In order to understand the characteristics of these new migrants better, let us look at the four types, and by doing this see more clearly how the categories and conditions for immigration to New Zealand meet the aspirations and qualifications of those desiring to emigrate from the PRC.

Four major types of migrant are described by Liu (2006/2005) and Skeldon (1994): students-turned-migrants (those who have originally left China to study abroad but have found employment and stayed on (semi-)permanently after graduation), emigrating professionals (those emigrating to such countries as Canada, Australia and New Zealand using their educational credentials and professional experience and taking advantage of the desire of the destination countries to recruit such immigrants), chain migrants (those joining their families and relatives who are foreign citizens or permanent residents), and illegal immigrants (those going overseas by way of human trafficking or overstaying their visas). Discussion of the last category falls outside the scope of the paper, but the first three frequently fit the conditions specified by the New Zealand immigration authorities as qualifying prospective immigrants to apply to enter the country.

To make the scope of the first three categories clear, let us look at Immigration New Zealand's web site, which includes a quick quiz for prospective skilled migrants who want to live and work in New Zealand to help them determine if they meet the minimum requirements for applying under the "Skilled Migrant Category" (Immigration New Zealand, 2010).

The quiz shows that points are awarded to intending immigrants according to specific criteria. One of these is age. Those between 20 and 29 years of age get 30 points, those between 50 and 55 only 5. Ten points are awarded if there is close family in New Zealand to provide sponsorship or support. If a job offer has

already been received, 50 points are awarded, and 60 points if the prospective permanent immigrant has already been working in a skilled job in New Zealand for more than 12 months. Bonus points are given if work is in an identified future growth area, or an area where there is a skills shortage, or in a region outside Auckland, and 20 points if a partner has a skilled job offer. Extra points are also given for longer work experience in skilled employment in a future growth area and for academic qualifications. For example, 60 points are given for applicants with qualifications such as a master's degree or a doctorate.

Many of those applying for permanent residency are holders of temporary work permits, some types of which facilitate transition to permanent residency, and this is a common way to make the move. However, the number of people in New Zealand on study permits has also steadily increased in the 2000s and around 23 per cent of these students gain permanent residence in New Zealand within five years of getting their first student permit. Transiting from temporary work or study permits while the migrants are in New Zealand is one of the major innovations in immigration policy in New Zealand, as it is in Australia and Canada (Bedford, Ho & Bedford, 2010).

A closer look at Immigration New Zealand's website shows that in addition to these routes to obtaining permanent residency available to all nationalities, there is a "China Special Work Category" which allows Chinese nationals who are qualified as chefs, traditional Chinese medicine practitioners, mandarin teachers' aides, wushu martial arts coaches or tour guides to have their qualifications recognized. Another option which courts Chinese nationals is the "Investor Category" which is available to those who are willing to invest in New Zealand, and who qualify in other necessary ways.

It is clear then that New Zealand welcomes Chinese immigrants by facilitating their permanent residency and that there are immigration categories designed to accommodate a variety of intending applicants.

Spoonley's (2014) analysis of the latest New Zealand census, taken in 2013, shows that the adoption of the new immigration policies in 1986-87, as described above, which were aimed at attracting permanent residents who match the economic needs of the labour market of the country, has resulted in significant changes in New Zealand. The most obvious of these is that in the 1990s, the sources of immigrants changed from the old, that is the UK and Ireland, to the new, namely Asia. The early arrivals came from Hong Kong, Korea and Taiwan. But this changed dramatically in 2000 when they were principally from China and India, others being from other countries in Africa and the Middle East. These immigrants far outnumbered earlier arrivals from the Pacific. Spoonley goes on to point out that Asian born people doubled in number from 6.6 percent in 2001 to 11.8 percent in 2013, or 471,700 people as compared to 295,900 for Pacific

populations. The results of this are seen particularly in Auckland, New Zealand's largest city, where 40 percent of all residents have been born overseas, and Asians comprise 23 percent of all residents, as compared with about 12 percent Maori and 14 percent Pacific Islanders. According to figures given by Ip (2012), the ethnic Chinese population grew from just below 20,000 in 1986 to 150,000 in 2006, an increase of more than seven-fold, mainly as a result of immigration. Just a little less than ten years later, in the 2013 census, the size of the Chinese New Zealander population stood at a little more than 171,000 out of a total population of a little over 4,400,000 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).

The ascendancy of Chinese immigrants is made clear in an article by Tan in *The New Zealand Herald* in March 2014 which stated that Chinese nationals made up 15 percent of the nearly 40,000 people who were approved a resident visa in the 2012/13 year, ahead of the UK and India, both at 13 percent. In addition, more than one in four international students come from China and China also had the "largest absolute increase" in visitor arrivals, up 47,000 or 29 percent, placing them at the top of the list.

What has prompted this increase in arrivals from China? Boehler, writing for *The China Morning Post* in March 2014, says that although there had been a 3.7 percent decline in the overall number of foreign citizens gaining residency, there were 7.1 percent more Chinese in the number than during the same period a year earlier. Boehler's article quotes Connor Brady, director of the New Life Global Immigration Agency in Hamilton, a large city not far south of Auckland, who says that a lot of the immigrants are concerned about pollution and about their children growing up in China. In terms of their qualifications to become permanent residents, he says half his Chinese clients are business investors, while half are sending their children to study in New Zealand, adding that well-off Chinese were interested in New Zealand as a safe place to preserve their wealth and real estate. Already back in 2011 Wright had commented in *The National* that "the people queuing up to leave China are millionaires, flush with cash from all sorts of nefarious or legitimate businesses, who have no desire to stay there to bring up their children" (Wright, 2011, para. 2).

A closer look at the media reports shows that, as noted above, "rapidly growing numbers of those leaving are college students and the wealthy, and many of them stay away for good" (Browne, 2014). Browne quotes a survey by the Shanghai research firm *Hurun Report* that indicates that 64 percent of China's rich – defined as those with assets of more than \$1.6 million – are either emigrating or planning to. A quote from Browne's article summarizes the situation succinctly.

The decision to go is often a mix of push and pull. The elite are discovering that they can buy a comfortable lifestyle at surprisingly

affordable prices in places such as California and the Australian Gold Coast, while no amount of money can purchase an escape in China from the immense problems afflicting its urban society: pollution, food safety, a broken education system. The new political era of President Xi Jinping, meanwhile has created as much anxiety as hope. (para. 6)

In this context, one of the reasons for the increase in applications for permanent residency in New Zealand is that Canada, until recently a more popular destination than New Zealand, cancelled a policy that allowed residency for migrants who loaned the government C\$800,000 (NZ\$841,000) for three years, which was “allowing them to buy their way in”, and that as a result “wealthy Chinese who wanted to emigrate because of concerns over pollution and a crackdown on corruption who had previously considered Canada were now interested in New Zealand and Australia” (Kilgallon, 2014, para. 4) At present, NZ\$1.5 million over four years secures an investor visa for English speaking migrants, or NZ\$10 million for non-speakers to stay in New Zealand.

This brief account of reasons for emigrating from China and choosing New Zealand as a permanent destination leaves many questions unanswered: the effects of this mass exodus of talent and capital from China, and the effects of the changes to New Zealand’s demography, society, culture and investment climate. It can, however, be imagined that they are not small and also that the influx of Chinese is not likely to cease soon, so the impact of Chinese immigration on New Zealand will grow. An examination of these issues requires further time and research to see what the future holds. It is certainly a question of great importance for New Zealand and a continuing survey of the media, reports from which supplied many of the comments given in the last section of this paper, will certainly continue to contribute further information well worth noting.

7. Conclusion

China has a long history of migration. Historical patterns of emigration and immigration beginning two hundred years ago with Chinese traders (*Huashang*) who went abroad, principally to set up businesses, where they often lived and worked with their extended families, can be seen to equate in some ways with the modern pattern of the so-called new Chinese migrants. These new migrants move to such countries as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, sometimes having other members of their family follow them, and bring their assets, or their academic qualifications, or use qualifications gained in the country they have entered, to find employment and eventually gain permanent residency. Early migrants, the so-

called sojourners of the 1850s and 60s, moved to these same countries to escape poverty and strife, particularly in Guangzhou and surrounding areas, although their move was sometimes coerced because of the need for labour in the receiving countries. In contrast, the present day has seen some Chinese, for instance from Hong Kong or Taiwan, or the PRC, looking for a political haven, and also a growing number of affluent citizens from the PRC emigrating in search of a more leisurely lifestyle, better education for their children, and cleaner air and safer food, and with the intention of remaining once these have been acquired.

Chinese were once the subject of specially implemented exclusion policies and their long term presence was not welcome. In marked contrast to this, modern immigration policies in Canada, Australia and New Zealand do not approve immigrants on the basis of country of origin, ethnicity, or religion, but rather on the basis of age, education, work skills and financial standing. In the case of New Zealand, the introduction of these changes into immigration laws which once favoured Europeans came at a time when changes in Chinese migration law made departure from China easier than it had ever been. China is now experiencing an exodus of its citizens and Chinese immigrants to New Zealand now outnumber those from Britain. This is causing the ethnography of New Zealand to change faster than anyone predicted and is a subject which deserves ongoing study.

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