

“Go from your country”: missiological reflections on Asian Christians in New Zealand

Departures and arrivals are a feature of the story of Scripture: the movement of people runs like a thread through the Bible. A call to emigrate features early in the story of the people of God. “Now the LORD said to Abram, ‘Go from your country and your kindred and your father’s house to the land that I will show you.’” (Gen 12:1) Jacob and his family migrate to Egypt because of economic pressures and experience life as “aliens in the land” (Gen 47:1-6). The people of Israel are rescued by God after suffering oppression and an attempted ethnic cleansing (Exod 1:8-22). For a generation they are a people in transit (Deut 29:1-6), then, having been established in their own land for centuries, they suffer the upheaval of military conquest and forced relocation to a new existence as vulnerable

Departures and Arrivals



New Zealand government in the 1970s encouraged their migration in order to fill gaps in the labour market, particularly in low-skilled work. New Zealand’s earliest migrants, from Great Britain and Europe, came to find a better life and, particularly in the early to mid twentieth century, to escape from a war-torn continent. Asian migrants have arrived in New Zealand since the nineteenth century, the first being attracted by the gold-rush in Otago. Since then, Asian migrants have come for education, work and lifestyle, and also as refugees.

The spread of the gospel follows these movements of people as the spread of the gospel followed the trade routes of antiquity. English and Scottish migrants brought with them their Anglicanism and Pres-

byterianism respectively. Pacific migrants brought with them their culture of church participation. Unlike these three groups of migrants, Asian migrants, by contrast,

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outsiders in other countries (2 Kings 17:5-6; 25:1-21). For some there is, later, the mixed experience of a return to the land of their or their parents’ memories (Ezra, Nehemiah).

The movement of people from one place to another is also one of the most ubiquitous forms of globalisation. These movements may be forced or voluntary; people may choose to migrate for lifestyle reasons, for new opportunities in the labour market, or for education. Others may be forced out of their homes because of war, famine, persecution, poverty, or climate change.

Immigrants have arrived to live in New Zealand since the 1770s. Immigrants, then and since, joined New Zealand’s indigenous Maori population, who itself migrated to New Zealand in the fourteenth century. Immigrants to New Zealand have come for various reasons. In the case of Pacific migrants, the

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come from a part of the world that we would not usually consider to be Christian. With the rapid increase in Asian migration to New Zealand, there has been a concomitant rise in religions other than Christianity. This is demonstrated through both census data and changing religious landscapes, where mosques and temples now neighbour churches and cathedrals.

In this article we seek to challenge some of the as-

sumptions behind Asian migrants to New Zealand, their religious practices and their impact upon Christianity in New Zealand. This article is part of a broader piece of work we are undertaking examining Asian Christianities in New Zealand.¹

When Asian migrants arrive in New Zealand, they bring with them not only their particular religious practices – these may reflect cultural norms and practices as much as they may reflect denominational traditions – but also particular theological beliefs that may differ from host country populations. These may be in areas as diverse as the use and role of sacraments, the role of women, Sabbath practices, the role and work of the Holy Spirit, the role and centrality of Mary, the Mother of Jesus, ethics, the importance of family, the role and authority of tradition, food and customs, and so on.

While host community Christian populations also share a diversity of theological viewpoints and religious practices, and while this diversity may likewise reflect cultural norms as much as denominational traditions, these host community practices and beliefs are often not critiqued in the same way as migrant expressions of Christianity are or can be. Indeed, the lack of critical self-reflection of host community practices and beliefs may be one reason as

to the resistance toward migrant populations' expressions of Christianity. However, we would also want to emphasise that there is no simple dichotomy between "migrant theologies"/"Asian Christianities" and "non-migrant theologies"/"non-Asian Christianities". Theological belief and practice do not divide neatly along this or any other line. The term is useful as a distinctive marker; it should not be read as constituting anything more than that.

Migrants and migration in New Zealand

Immigrants have arrived to live in New Zealand since the 1700s, from Europe, Great Britain, and Australia and, from the 1800s, small numbers from South Asia and China (the latter dominating the history of Dunedin).² These immigrants joined New Zealand's indigenous Maori population – that people group itself immigrated to this land in the fourteenth century. Traditionally, New Zealand sourced immigrants from English-speaking Anglo-Celtic countries, notably Great Britain. Alongside this, there were smaller numbers of Germans, Greeks, Yugoslavian, Dutch, and Dalmatians and, from the 1960s, a growing number of migrants from the Pacific Islands.

In 1987, following a major immigration policy

change, New Zealand diversified its source countries and an increasing number of migrants came to New Zealand from throughout Asia. Between March 1986 and March 2006 New Zealand's resident population that had been born in countries in Asia increased almost sevenfold, from 32,685 to 248,364. The Chinese and Indian components of the Asia-born population increased even more – by more than 800 percent during the 20 years. The population that identified with Asian ethnicities (including the New Zealand-born) increased by 550 percent in the twenty years between 1986 and 2006.³ At the 2006 census, nearly 20 percent of the Chinese and Indian populations in New Zealand were born in New Zealand (these percentages were much higher in the early 1990s), reflecting their longstanding

presence in New Zealand, in some cases going back to the 19th century. In fact, a fifth of all Asians in the 2006 census (70,650) had been born in New Zealand.

A combination of a number of factors, including immigration, growth in the number of New Zealanders who identify with more than one ethnicity (for example, children born to parents of two different ethnicities), and the age structures of New Zealand's different ethnic populations, mean that New Zealand

society will become even more ethnically diverse in the next twenty years. Using projections based on the 2006 census results, Statistics New Zealand estimated that, in the years between 2006 and 2026, New Zealand's Pacific population will increase by around 60 percent, the Maori population by 31 percent, the European or other population by 7 percent and the Asian population by 95 percent. These projections will mean that by 2026, there will be almost as many people in the Asian ethnic population as there will be in the Maori population and that between 1986 and 2026, the Asian share of New Zealand's population will have increased from 1.7 percent of New Zealand's total population in 1986 to 16 percent in 2026.⁴

The reception of immigrants in New Zealand has been very mixed. Anglo-Celtic migrants have tended to be more readily accepted than migrants from non-English speaking countries, especially those in Asia. There is a long history of discrimination against Asian, especially Chinese, migrants to New Zealand.⁵ The diversification of immigrant flows and its attendant diversification of social spaces have frequently engendered negative responses from host communities. These negative responses have been manifest in a variety of ways, from mild complaints about "hardworking" Dutch, to

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criticisms of Pacific migrants as over-stayers and contributors to urban decline, to descriptions of Auckland's growing Asian populations as an "Inv-Asian".⁶ Much of the antagonism toward Asian migrants has been driven by Winston Peters, populist politician and leader of the New Zealand First Party (in Parliament from 1995 until 2008). Many of his speeches, particularly in election years, have been anti-immigration and particularly anti-Asian immigration.⁷ Peters is not alone, however, in his public criticism of Asian migrants to New Zealand. His views are shared by other commentators, including *New Zealand Herald* columnist Garth George⁸ and Brian Tamaki, leader of Destiny Church.⁹ What these commentators and politicians express is revealed as having wider appeal, as seen in social surveys: there is a significant disquiet about New Zealand's immigrant Asian populations.¹⁰

Migrants and the "decline" of Christianity in New Zealand

One assumption behind some of the criticisms of Asian migrants *vis-à-vis* New Zealand's Christianity is that Christianity is somehow a western religion, expressed in English by people who share a broadly common Anglo-Saxon ethnic heritage. As Philip Jenkins has persuasively shown in his recent book *The Lost History of Christianity*,¹¹ Christianity's roots were in the Middle East, now dominated by Muslim populations. It is a recent phenomenon, in historical terms for Christianity to be associated with the "West". A country like the Republic of Korea (South Korea), for example, sees itself as a missionary-sending country, which is a reason why a disproportionate number of Korean migrants in New Zealand (compared to the population of Korea generally) are Christian.¹²

Another assumption, evident in the academic literature at least, is that "Asian religions" are synonymous with Hinduism, Buddhism, or Islam. Christianity, by contrast, is either ignored altogether or seen as Western, colonial, or in some way as deserving less focus. While there are countries in Asia that are monotheistic (particularly those countries found in the Middle East but also including Japan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan¹³), many other Asian countries are religiously pluralist (e.g. Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Korea, Thailand, China, India) even where there might be a dominant religion other than Christianity (as Islam is in Malaysia and Indonesia) or where Christianity had been previously eradicated (China).

Data on Christian affiliations in New Zealand

So to what extent can changes in New Zealand's religious landscape be attributed to the ethnic diversification of New Zealand's population? A look at some

figures is instructive. The latest (2006) census data illustrate an overall decline in the number of people identifying themselves as Christian, from 60.6 percent in 2001 to fewer than 50 percent in 2006. While the traditional Christian denominations decreased (Anglican and Presbyterian) or grew only slightly (Catholics and Methodists), there were significant increases for those affiliating with "Orthodox", "Evangelical", "Born Again", "Fundamentalist", and "Pentecostal" religions.¹⁴ "Pentecostals" are estimated about 10 percent of nominal Christians, 30 percent of churchgoers, and 3.5 percent of the total population.¹⁵ By 2011, data suggests, Christians will be a significant minority in New Zealand. Census figures do not show what percentage of Christians regularly attend church, which can be charitably estimated to be at about 8-10 percent and does not include those who make an annual church visit at Christmas time.¹⁶

Census data go on to show that there has also been an increase in other religions, which is attributed to the increase in migrants from Asia. Notably, Chinese migrants identify as having "no religion" though are often inclined to find religion in New Zealand. There were significant increases in the Sikh religion, Hinduism, and Islam, with the vast majority of those who identified themselves in one of these categories born overseas and in Asia. Of Hindus and Muslims, almost half arrived in New Zealand in the last five years. "European New Zealanders" and "New Zealanders"¹⁷ were most

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likely to state they had no religion at 37.7 percent and 37.6 percent each.¹⁸ Of those who identified themselves as Asian, there was an increase of those who identified themselves as Christian from 66,390 in 2001 to 97,809 in 2006.¹⁹ Proportionately, Asians were 4.8% of total Christians in 2006, which was an increase from 3.2% of total Christians in 2001. Compare that to an overall decrease in the number of Christians from 2001 to 2006.²⁰

So while the overall Christian population in New Zealand is decreasing, that cannot be attributed entirely to new migrant populations. While the new migrant populations are clearly responsible for the increases in other religions, the decrease in Christianity in New Zealand may also be the result of problems of attrition and/or retention amongst New Zealand's non-migrant Christian communities and an increasing number of sceptical European New Zealanders who would state they belong to no religion. We could also infer that the growth in the "Orthodox", "Evangelical", and "Pentecostal" denominations is the result of new migrant populations inasmuch as it can be attributed to "natural" growth or changing denominations amongst non-migrant Christians.

Census data analysis remains a very rough guide to measuring Christianity in New Zealand. Statistics

are very limiting when trying to gauge the everyday experiences of believers and for that reason we need to be careful that we interpret this data with great care. New Zealand's increasingly diverse society is changing *how* Christianity in New Zealand is practised. It is this diverse culture, with its bi-cultural foundations – its strong Pacific elements, particularly demonstrated in Pacific people's dedication to their church, and New Zealand's growing Asian population – which makes Christianity in New Zealand unique. A journey New Zealand historian Peter Lineham takes down Chapel Road in Auckland conveys this well:

Flatbush has suddenly sprung up in the last five years as an overflow from the huge growth of new housing in the Howick area, primarily accommodating Asian people. The little chapel [that gave Chapel Road its name] still stands, now a joint Anglican-Methodist church half way down the road that takes its name from it, but at the other end is the exotic Botany Downs shopping centre, a Truman-Show like phenomenon, looking like it has dropped as a unit from the sky, a whole plastic town centre modeled on traditional towns. The central focus of Chapel Road is the enormous, almost completed Buddhist Temple. On the other side of the road is a new co-educational Catholic School, reflecting a huge boom in Catholic education and in baptisms into the Catholic Church by Asians concerned at the violent tone of New Zealand. Other sites down the road have been purchased by Baptist churches, and doubtless the fine facilities of the new secular high school are rented out to a Pentecostal Church group on Sundays. It is boom time in Flat Bush and religion is booming there as well, but not in the little chapel. There is a plan for Anglicans and Methodists to build a big new church, but they are struggling to find the money. Meanwhile the Presbyterians have made a separate move. Their old Pakuranga congregation, famous for its evangelical and conservative tradition, has rebuilt just around the corner from Chapel Road and have attracted a large congregation including many Asian people with a formula that has something of the Pentecostal flavour mixed in".²¹

Having considered migrants to New Zealand, their religious affiliations, and their impact on Christianity in New Zealand, we now turn our attention to considering migration in Scripture.

Migration in the Bible

A recurring theme in the Old Testament's instructions for the life of the people of God is just and generous treatment of immigrants who have come to live among them. Their own experience of having once been aliens should give them empathy for others in that situation (Exod 23:9; Lev 19:34). They must not misuse their power to oppress a vulnerable immigrant (Exod 22:21; Lev 19:33). On the contrary they should show generosity towards them, recognising their needs (Lev 19:10; 23:22). Immigrants are to have the same rights to justice as native residents (Deut 1:16; 24:17; 27:19). They are to enjoy a break from work on the Sabbath (Exod 23:12; Deut 5:14) and share in times of celebration and feast-

ing with the rest of the community (Deut 26:11). Should they wish to participate in the worship of God, immigrants may do so on the same basis as Israelites (Num 15:14-16). The obverse is that those behaviours that are forbidden to members of the community of Israel are also to be refrained from by immigrants who have come to share in the life of that community (Lev 18:26). Ultimately the attitude of Israel to immigrants is to be a reflection of the character of the God whom they worship:

The alien who resides with you shall be to you as the citizen among you; you shall love the alien as yourself, for you were aliens in the land of Egypt: I am the LORD your God. (Lev 19:34)

To the people of God in their own experience as aliens, through the forced migration of the exile, there comes a remarkable set of instructions through the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 29:4-9). They are to recognise the purpose of God in their being where they now are, enter into normal economic and social life there, and seek the good of their new location and its people. Nehemiah and Daniel are prominent examples of migrants making significant contributions to their host communities.

In the Gospels, Jesus is born after a journey demanded by an occupying power (Lk 2:1-7), and his early life is that of a refugee fleeing political violence, seeking asylum in a foreign country (Mt 2:13-15). Those who come to believe in him respond to a call to follow

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(Mt 4:18-22) and a command to go (Mt 28:19-20). As the Good News of salvation through the risen Christ is unleashed on the world, the miracle of Pentecost ensures that it is heard by migrants, people of the Jewish diaspora who have made their homes all over the Mediterranean world (Acts 2:5-11). Issues arise out of the coming together of people from different social, cultural, linguistic, and ethnic backgrounds, and are dealt with by receiving members of the "outsider" community into the leadership group (Acts 6:1-6). When the gospel reaches beyond the Jewish world, the church resolves not to make ethnicity an obstacle to membership of the community of faith, but, like Israel in the Old Testament, requests some accommodation on the part of the incomers to enable shared life to be realised within one community (Acts 15:19-20, 28-29). Soon, the believers in Jesus are themselves a diaspora, scattered by religious persecution (Acts 8:1-3; 11:19-20), living as "aliens and exiles" (1 Pet 1:1-2; 2:11). But in their scat-

tering they are sustained by the vision of the gathering in of people from every ethnicity, tribe, people group and language, worshipping God and sharing together in the gift of salvation through Christ (Rev 7:9-12; Rom 15:6). The reality of life on the move is reflected in the New Testament requirement to show hospitality, including to strangers (e.g. Rom 12:13; Heb 13:2; 1 Pet 4:9). Christians are to

... welcome one another ... just as Christ has welcomed you, for the glory of God." (Rom 15:7)

A challenge to the New Zealand Christian community

From this brief survey of the place of migration in the biblical story a number of observations may be made that have implications for the New Zealand Christian community. We cannot assume that instructions given by God to Israel for their life as his people should translate directly into "law" for Aotearoa New Zealand. We do, however, find in those instructions indications of attitudes and behaviours that express God's values and should therefore be characteristic of the Christian community that seeks to live authentically as God's people in our context. By extension, as salt and light in our wider communities, local, national, and international, Christians will want to work for conditions shaped by those values that we have learned from God. There is an obligation of care for those who undergo migration, whether drawn by hope or aspiration, or driven by need or oppression. How

may this care be expressed so that through the actions of New Zealand's Christian community people arriving in New Zealand might experience the love and generosity of God? Immigrants, without the knowledge, facility with language, and the networks of support that many in the host community enjoy, are particularly vulnerable to injustice. How may Christians, as agents of God's justice, work at national, local, and personal levels to ensure justice for migrants?

God directed his people to give opportunities for immigrants to participate fully as members of the community. How may Christians facilitate the inclusion of immigrants into New Zealand communities? Both exiled Israel in the Old Testament and the persecuted church in the New Testament were told to live responsibly in the communities among whom they went to live and to seek their good. How may New Zealand Christians assist Christian immigrants to enter into the life of and contribute to the good of their adopted home? In particular, believers in Christ are one family with all other believers, and are instructed to welcome each other on that basis. Here, surely, New Zealand's Christian community should be a model of inclusion. For some, now as in New Testament times, migration

has been forced by religious persecution. How may their Christian family receive them with hospitality, encouragement and help?

Migrations of people and peoples play a significant part in the biblical story of salvation. In what ways may we see the saving purpose of God in the mobility of people today? On the Day of Pentecost the presence in Jerusalem of diaspora Jews "from every nation under heaven" (Acts 2:5) proved strategic for mission to the world, as those who had heard the gospel in Jerusalem carried it with them to their places of origin. A similar phenomenon is taking place today as immigrants come to faith in Christ in their adopted countries and, whether through their continuing contact with their places of origin or as circular migration takes them back, they become carriers of the gospel to the communities from which they migrated. How may the New Zealand Christian community partner more intentionally and effectively with God in this contemporary mission movement?²²

New Zealand Christians also stand to receive much through immigration. The centre of global Christianity

has shifted from the North and the West to the South and the East. Many immigrants bring fresh experiences and expressions of Christian faith that have the potential to reinvigorate New Zealand churches demoralised by long years of decline. Some immigrants come with a specific sense of missionary call to New Zealand. How might established New

Zealand churches and mission agencies recognise and build fruitful partnerships with those who bring mission and ministry gifts to the Body of Christ here?

Learning from Paul

These issues are not altogether new. In the first Christian generation Paul the apostle wrote to Christian believers in the multi-ethnic city of Rome. From the greetings that accompany his letter it seems that he envisaged not one large congregation but several groups of believers, probably meeting in homes.²³ Priscilla and Aquila had experienced circular migration, forced to move from Rome to Greece when the emperor Claudius expelled the Jews from the capital (Acts 18:1-4), and travelling with Paul to Ephesus (Acts 18:18-19, 24-26), before evidently returning to Rome (Rom 16:3-5). Epaphroditus had moved to Rome from Asia (Rom 16:5). A woman named Persis ("Persian woman") is mentioned (Rom 16:12). If Rufus (Rom 16:13) is to be identified with the Rufus mentioned by Mark as a son of Simon who was compelled to carry Jesus' cross (Mk 15:21), it gives us a glimpse of a family whose migration had taken them from Cyrene in North Africa to Jerusalem and then to Rome. Study of other names in the list

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suggests considerable diversity in ethnicity and socio-economic status, as well as indicating that both women and men were valued as participants in the ministry and mission of the church.²⁴ It is clear from Romans ch. 14 that this mixed set of people did not experience unity. They were divided over diet and aspects of their religious practice, matters that had at least as much to do with assumptions brought from their cultural backgrounds as with theological conviction derived from their understanding of Christian faith. Difference, mutual suspicion, and criticism impeded the realisation of genuine community.

Paul's approach to this situation is missiological. Most of the letter to the Romans is an exposition of the gospel, which is "the power of God for salvation to everyone who has faith, to the Jew first and also to the Greek." (Rom 1:16) This salvation is from God, through Christ, by the Holy Spirit, and is for Jew and Gentile alike on the same basis, that of faith. The culmination of Paul's argument might at first sight seem unremarkable, but in the context of a diverse and even divided Christian community it is both profound and urgent:

"Welcome one another, therefore, just as Christ has welcomed you, for the glory of God." (Rom 15:7) Attainment of the goal, "that the nations should glorify God for his mercy" (Rom 15:9, and in the chain of OT citations in vv. 9-12), is understood by Paul to be the fulfilment of God's purpose, expressed in the ancient promises to the patriarchs of Israel, and the outcome of Christ's work (Rom 15:8). He appeals to the various groups of Christian believers in Rome to refocus on this grand vision and participate eagerly in its realisation. They will do so as they receive one another as members together of Christ's family (Rom 14:1; 15:7), and as out of their shared life in Christ flows united worship (Rom 15:5-6). This will require clarity about the central convictions of their faith (Rom 14:17) and a determination not to allow cultural and behavioural differences to impede genuine relating (Rom 14:1-15:4). It will take effort and intentionality to "pursue what makes for peace and mutual upbuilding" (Rom 14:19).

Paul does not stop there. Not only does he envisage the realising of Christian community among the ethnically and culturally diverse peoples of Rome but he looks beyond to the regions and peoples yet to be included in "the offering of the nations ... sanctified by the Holy Spirit" (Rom 15:16). His hope is that the united worshipping community in the city of Rome will share his desire for the good news to be proclaimed across the world, and will become partners with him in his planned mission to the West (Rom 15:22-29).

A similar missional challenge confronts the ethnically and culturally diverse Christian groups in today's cities, including those of New Zealand. What must be

done for genuine community to be realised across the boundaries of difference in language, style, and practice? How might those groups become effective partners in the wider work of mission both in New Zealand and across the world? A good starting point might be where Paul finishes in the letter to the Romans. As we have noted, Romans 16 opens a window on the great diversity of the people who comprised the young Christian movement. What is remarkable is that these people, despite their ethnic, cultural, and social differences, are known to Paul and to each other, and are valued as sharers together in the service and mission of Christ. Perhaps a practical and necessary first step towards the realisation of shared life and partnership in mission in our multi-ethnic cities and in a world shaped increasingly by migration is for Christian believers simply to get to know one another. As Paul recognised, that is itself a challenge that exposes priorities that need to be realigned and prejudices that must be overcome, but for that very reason it is a participation in the power of the gospel and a demonstration of God's saving purpose for the world.

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Conclusion

The ethnic reality of twenty-first century New Zealand is marked by diversity. The ethnically homogenous churches that characterised much of the twentieth century for much of New

Zealand will not continue. Christian leaders and their ministries and congregations need to respond both appropriately and effectively to New Zealand's changing demography. This is a missiological task. A brief survey of the biblical narrative illustrates the significance of migrations of peoples in the faith and life of Israel and of the Christian movement. In the letter to the Romans, addressing the multi-ethnic urban context of Rome in the first century CE, Paul sets out the goal of all nations together in Christ, and urges believers of diverse ethnicity to work at genuine community and effective partnership in the gospel. Here is a vision and a practical challenge for the diverse Christian groups in Aotearoa New Zealand today.

Endnotes

1. This article draws from a paper the authors presented at the AN-ZAMS Conference on October 31, 2009 at Laidlaw College, Auckland, entitled "Migrant Christian communities in New Zealand: Observations and Missiological Reflections". Both that and this paper build on the following earlier publications: Andrew Butcher and George Wieland, "Immigration", a Vision Network New Zealand position paper, 2009. http://www.visionnetwork.org.nz/attachments/555_Immigration%20position%20paper.pdf [Accessed 11 February 2010] Andrew Butcher and George Wieland, "The Stranger in our Midst", *Daystar* (Sep-Oct 2009): 24-26; and Andrew Butcher, "Not a Western Story: The Christian Faith and Migrant Communities in New Zea-

- land", *AEN Journal Special Issue: Faith for all: New Zealand's growing religious diversity*, 2:2 (2007): 33-37.
2. Ward Friesen, *Asians in Dunedin: Not a New Story* (Wellington: Asia New Zealand Foundation, 2009). <http://www.asianz.org.nz/files/AsiaNZ%20Outlook%209.pdf> [Accessed 1 November, 2009]. See also James Ng, "The Sojourner Experience: The Cantonese Gold-seekers in New Zealand, 1865-1901", in *Unfolding History, Evolving Identity: The Chinese in New Zealand*, Manying Ip (ed.) (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), 5-30.
 3. Richard Bedford and Elsie Ho, *Asians in New Zealand: Implications of a Changing Demography* (Wellington, Asia New Zealand Foundation, 2008). <http://www.asianz.org.nz/files/AsiaNZ%20Outlook%207.pdf> [Accessed 1 November, 2009].
 4. Bedford and Ho, *Asians in New Zealand*.
 5. See Nigel Murphy, "Joe Lum v. The Attorney General: The Politics of Exclusion", in Manying Ip, 48-68; Brian Moloughney and John Stenhouse, "'Drug-besotten, sin-begotten fiends of filth': New Zealand and the Oriental Other", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 33, 1, (1999): 43-64.
 6. For discussion on these social surveys and public attitudes, see Andrew Butcher, "Well, they're very good citizens: New Zealand's Perceptions of Asians in New Zealand", in *Sites: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Social Issues – Special Issue: Asia and Aotearoa in New Zealand*, J. Leckie (ed.), 5, 2, (2008): 5-30; Paul Spoonley, Philip Gendall and Andrew Trlin, *Welcome to our World: The Attitudes of New Zealanders to Immigrants and Immigration*, New Settlers Programme Occasional Publication No.14 (Palmerston North: New Settlers Programme, Massey University, 2007).
 7. Cited in John Stenhouse, "Introduction", in *Christianity, modernity and culture: New perspectives on New Zealand history*, John Stenhouse and GA Wood (eds) (Hindmarsh: ATF Press, 2005), 9.
 8. Garth George, "Breathtaking hypocrisy in Labour's immigration U-turn", *New Zealand Herald* (Thursday 21 November, 2002). http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=3005336 [Accessed 1 November, 2009].
 9. Simon Collins, "'Denying state religion like treason, says Brian Tamaki'", *New Zealand Herald*, (February 17, 2007). http://www.nzherald.co.nz/religion-and-beliefs/news/article.cfm?c_id=301&objectid=10424395 [Accessed 1 November, 2009].
 10. For discussion on the relationship between media in New Zealand and attitudes to immigrants and immigration, see Paul Spoonley and Andrew Butcher, "Reporting superdiversity: The mass media and immigration in New Zealand", *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 30, 4, (2009): 355-372.
 11. Philip Jenkins, *The Lost History of Christianity: The Thousand-Year Golden Age of the Church in the Middle East, Africa and Asia* (London: Lion, 2009).
 12. See Friesen, *Diverse Auckland: The face of New Zealand in the 21st Century* (Wellington, Asia New Zealand Foundation, 2009).
 13. Although each of these countries has a very small Christian population, they are often less than one percent.
 14. What the census refers to as "religion" in this context might be better described as "denomination".
 15. Peter Lineham, "Wanna be in my gang?", in *New Zealand Listener*, 195, 3357 (2004). http://www.listener.co.nz/issue/3357/features/2554/wanna_be_in_my_gang [Accessed 1 November, 2009].
 16. Dennis Welch, "Jingle Tills", *New Zealand Listener*, 206, 3476 (2006). http://www.listener.co.nz/issue/3476/features/7758/jingle_tills.htm?jsessionid=4597DCC68AA6BC57B40B35522E9C11AB [Accessed 1 November, 2009].
 17. "New Zealanders" was a new (and controversial) categorisation introduced at the 2006 census. For discussion on who categorised themselves in this way, see Statistics New Zealand, *Final Report of a Review of the Official Ethnicity Statistical Standard* (Wellington: Statistics New Zealand, 2009). <http://www.stats.govt.nz/~media/Statistics/Publications/Census/2011-Census/final-report-review-official-ethnicity-statistical-standard-2009.ashx> [Accessed 1 November, 2009].
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 19. Tables on culture and identity from the 2006 Census. <http://www.stats.govt.nz/NR/rdonlyres/F1A5AEF5-198F-4F42-8B86-51419FBA82E3/18595/2006CensusQSCI.xls> [Accessed 1 November, 2009].
 20. Tables on culture and identity from the 2001 Census. <http://www.stats.govt.nz/NR/rdonlyres/226BAFE2-4B1C-4A84-A2E9-B6D2E3FD-B4AA/0/CulturalTable16.xls> [Accessed 1 November, 2009].
 21. Peter Lineham, "Among the believers", *Massey News* (April 2005). http://masseynews.massey.ac.nz/magazine/2005_Apr/stories/thoughts-1.html [Accessed 1 November, 2009].
 22. OMF has a significant Diaspora ministry. See http://www.omf.org/omf/us/get_involved__1/welcoming_ministry_diaspora [Accessed 22 December 2009]. See also Paul Woods, "God Does Not Play Dice, but Does He Play Mahjong?", *Encounters Mission Ezine* 20 (2007). http://www.redcliffe.org/uploads/documents/God_Does_Not_Play_Dice_20.pdf [Accessed 22 December 2009].
 23. The church in the home of Prisca and Aquila is mentioned (Rom 16:5a). Other house-churches may be in view in the lists of named individuals in 16:14 and 15, along with general greetings to "the brothers and sisters with them" (v.14) and "all the saints with them" (v.15). Possibly other groups may be detected in connection with Aristobulus (v.10) and Narcissus (v.11).
 24. A classic study is that of Peter Lampe, "The Romans Christians of Romans 16", 216-30 in Karl P. Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate* (Rev. ed.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991). For a recent thorough discussion of the social setting of the Christian communities in Rome see Robert Jewett, *Romans* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2007), 46-74.



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