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ASIAN FESTIVALSCAPES: THE FESTIVALIZATION OF ASIA IN THE MAKING OF AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND

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Abstract

Over the past few decades, New Zealand's cultural landscape has changed as the result of increased immigration from Asia. One consequence of this transformation has been an increased number of public celebrations that place Asian cultural practices at their core. These "festivalscapes" act as contact zones in the study of Asia in the making of Aotearoa/New Zealand and help show how the nation has changed and responded to its new cultural diversity. This article applies Appadurai's (1996) notion of "scapes" to select Asian festivals in New Zealand with the aim of illustrating some of the contributions that Asian cultures make to New Zealand, as well as discussing some of the consequences of this change. The discussion shows how top-down intervention and bottom-up activism operate to produce the spectacle of the festivalization of Asia in the contemporary New Zealand cultural milieu.

Introduction

The aim of this article is to illustrate the contribution that Asian cultures offer to the making of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Johnson and Moloughney 2006) through a process and spectacle of festivalization, as well as discuss some of the consequences of this change. The notion of "festivalscape" – "the festivalization of culture" (Bennett, Taylor and Woodward 2014) – has been applied as a way of addressing how cultural sites of performance (e.g., music, food, crafts) act as "contact zones" (Pratt 1991) for the study of Asia in the making of New Zealand and help show how the nation has changed or responded to its new context cultural diversity over the last few decades.

The significance of studying festivals (or similar festival-type events) as "themed, public celebrations" (Getz 2005, 21) has been summarized from different theoretical perspectives by Getz (2010), who includes a comprehensive literature review that covers several fields of research. Most significant for this article is the study of festivalscapes as contact zones that reinforce group identity (Getz 2010, 4), or at least bring together aspects of culture that celebrate and display under one banner an idea of solidarity or distinctiveness. More specifically, in an immigrant context, "events and festivals offer new migrants a place with a sense of belonging and opportunities to share interests in a community in which they seek to belong" (Booth 2014, 23; cf. Kasanji 1980). In connection with Asian festivals in the making of New Zealand, I have already offered

several case studies that cover such a theme, including the Chinese New Year (Johnson 2005), Diwali (Johnson 2007), and festivals organized by the Asia New Zealand Foundation (Johnson 2015). This article will expand on earlier studies to provide an overview of the festivalization process of Asian culture in New Zealand as a way of showing festivals as distinct sites of cultural display that exhibit unique cultural traits of contemporary New Zealand, as well as helping to show some different responses in the festivalscape to the nation's increased Asian migration.

Like Mackley-Crump's (2012) investigation of New Zealand's festivalscape in connection with Pacific cultures, this article looks to key moments and influences that have inspired the festivalization of Asian cultures in the main urban centres.[1] As Mackley-Crump (2012) points out, the notion of "festivalscape", while drawing on Appadurai's (1996) notion of "scapes" (discussed below), "can be used to help understand the cultural geographies of particular localities" (107). As an ethnomusicology of such sites, and very much working within a cultural anthropological framework, as Turino (2008) comments, "music, dance, festivals, and other public expressive cultural practices are a primary way that people articulate the collective identities that are fundamental to forming and sustaining social groups, which are, in turn, basic to survival" (2).

Festival sites are contact zones that reveal not only the content of the performances on display, but also meaning that is embedded in the purpose of the events in the first place. Festivals with an Asian component in New Zealand have a range of functions, as discussed below, and should be considered as "place[s] of departures, arrivals and transits" (Clifford 1997, 30). In other words, in the immigrant or ethnic group setting, these contact zones are meeting points where cultures exhibit their departure from a former home, they represent their arrival or history in New Zealand, and they show how culture is transitory in the ways it can be transformed on the one hand yet represent a notion of cultural authenticity on the other hand.

When interpreting the select festivals discussed in this article, the main theoretical/analytical orientation and framework of this article draws directly from Appadurai's (1996) notion of "scapes" (ethnoscape, technoscape, financescape, mediascape and ideoscape). An application of each of these domains is well suited for analytical discussion of Asian festivalscapes in New Zealand. The article considers each of Appadurai's "scapes" and includes a discussion section that focuses on several key points for more in-depth consideration. While I attempt to show the breadth of such festivalization, select events have been singled out as a way of illustrating not only their significance in New Zealand, but also the top-down or bottom-up context that allows them to be staged.

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1   Compare also Booth's (2014) study of Indian music and its social networks in Auckland, New Zealand.

Ethnoscape

As a growing and diversifying immigrant nation, New Zealand's ethnoscape has continued to change over the past few decades (Belich 1996; Greif 1995; Roscoe 1999). Particularly noteworthy is the change in the size of the country's Asian population since the relaxing of the immigration laws in 1987 (Wearing 1993), which replaced what was mainly British migration to New Zealand. Tables 1 and 2 offer an overview of these figures, which show more than a quadrupling of the overall Asian population in New Zealand between 1991 and 2013, and a significant increase for some ethnicities over the past few censuses (e.g., Chinese, Indian and Filipino). The term "ethnoscape" is a particularly suitable concept to describe this changing context of peoples and cultures in that it defines the "landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live" (Appadurai 1996, 33). Such change has helped propel a transforming cultural landscape in respect of the cultivation of Asian festivals as a form of group expression that is both nurtured through top-down intervention and bottom-up activism.

Table 1. New Zealand Census Figures From 1991 to 2013. Source: Statistics New Zealand (2014).

Year	1991	1996	2001	2006	2013
Asian	99,759	173,502	238,176	354,549	471,708
Total Population	3,373,926	3,618,303	3,737,280	4,027,947	4,242,048

Table 2. Population of Main Asian Groups in New Zealand. Source: Statistics New Zealand (2014).

Ethnic group *	2001 Census	2006 Census	2013 Census
Chinese	105,057	147,567	171,411
Indian	62,187	104,583	155,178
Filipino	11,091	16,938	40,350
Korean	19,026	30,792	30,171
Japanese	10,026	11,910	14,118
Sri Lankan	7,014	8,313	11,274
Cambodian	5,268	6,915	8,601
Vietnamese	3,462	4,770	6,660

* Includes all people who stated each ethnic group, whether as their only ethnic group or as one of several. Where a person reported more than one ethnic group, they have been counted in each applicable group.

In the 2013 national census, Asians represented just over 11 percent of the total population, with over 50 percent living in Auckland, and 90 percent living in the nation's four main urban regions (Auckland, Waikato, Wellington and Canterbury) (Office of Ethnic Affairs 2014, 1, 4). Those born in China and India and living in New Zealand in 1956 were just 3,882 and 4,467 respectively (Office of Ethnic Affairs 2014, 6).[2] The growth of Asian communities in the main urban centres is reflected by festivals celebrating either specific cultures or ethnic diversity more collectively. For example, a snapshot of festivals and related multicultural (discussed later) events listed on the calendar of events of the Human Rights Commission notes a significant number of activities that showcase New Zealand's multicultural communities (Table 3). It is important to note that there are certainly other events that didn't get listed, and that the events shown are only for one month of the year.

Table 3. Select Multicultural Events for March 2014. Source: Human Rights Commission (2015).

1 March	International Culture's Day, Hastings
7 March	Turangawaewae Multicultural Festival
8 March	Connect-2-Sport – Festival of Colours
9 March	Race Unity Day 2014 (Nelson Multicultural Council)
15 March	15th Tauranga Multicultural Festival 2014 (Tauranga Regional Multicultural Council)
15 March	Multicultural Food Festival, Southland Multicultural Council
16 March	17th Lakeside Multicultural Festival 2014 (Auckland Multicultural Society)
21 March	Festival of Cultures 2014 – Cultural Lantern Parade, Palmerston North
21 March	Indigo Festival, Garden Place, Hamilton
22 March	New Zealand Asia Association – Viva Eclectika – Dine and Dance Party
29 March	4th Auckland Indonesian Festival (Auckland Indonesian Festival), Auckland
29 March	Race Relations Day Celebrations 2014 (Dunedin Multi Ethnic Council)
29 March	Multiculturual Concert – Oamaru Opera House
29 March	Hutt City Council, Hutt Multicultural Council, Settlement Support Hutt Valley – Multifest
29/30 March	Neighbours Day
30 March	Multicultural Picnic Day, Manawatu

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2   In 1916, for example, the number of Chinese was 2,147 and Indians 181 (State Services Commission 1982, 18).

Table 2 shows the dominance of several Asian nationalities as self-identified in the past three censuses. Of particular note are the Chinese and Indian figures, which show by far a larger proportion in comparison to other national/ethnic groups (there are others not shown). It is with these two groups that much has been written about regarding Asia in the making of New Zealand (e.g., Bandyopadhyay 2010; Ip 1995; 1996; Ng 1993-99). While Chinese have had a presence in New Zealand since the gold-rush days of the 1860s, when events such as Chinese New Year's celebrations were sometimes written about in local media (Johnson 2005), from that time until the 1990s similar celebrations amongst Chinese or other Asian minority ethnicities were rarely celebrated in the wider public sphere, which was partly a result of the small size of such Asian communities, but also the presence of anti-Asian sentiment and legislation such as a poll tax from 1881 on Chinese immigrants.[3]

By the 1990s, however, the celebration of Asian culture within a festival context emerged more visibly in the public sphere as a result of a confluence of a growing Asian population in New Zealand (Tables 1-2), the effects of globalization, which included the increased flows of people, culture and knowledge, and political support for such change.[4] The effects of globalization on New Zealand have included not only outward and inward touristic and migrant travel, but also the consumption of Asian material culture. While China has witnessed a massive growth of manufactured goods for export in recent years, Asian globalization in New Zealand has included Japanization in the form of the automobile industry, martial arts, computer gaming, electronic products and sushi (Allen and Sakamoto 2007).

With reference to political support for the growth of New Zealand's Asian communities, this has included not only the Immigration Bill of 1987, but also the establishment of several government and government-supported offices and organizations. These include the Office of Ethnic Affairs, Human Rights Commission, and Asia New Zealand Foundation. New Zealand's predominantly European (i.e., British) heritage has helped with the established of offices and ministries to support the nation's indigenous Māori cultures and migrant Pacific peoples, while "the Ethnic Affairs portfolio was established in 1999 to represent the population whose ethnic heritage distinguishes them from most other people in New Zealand and from Māori and Pacific people" (Department of Internal Affairs, The 2008, 2). The Human Rights Commission was established in 1977, which included the Human Rights Commission Act (amended in 1993 and 2001) (Human Rights Commission 2014). The Asia New Zealand Foundation, which was originally called Asia 2000 Foundation, was established in 1994 as a charitable trust and Crown Entity (Asia New Zealand Foundation 2014a). The activities of these three entities include the support, promotion and celebration of Asian peoples and culture in New Zealand. With such an increase

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3   It was only in 2002 that former Prime Minister Helen Clark made an official apology to Chinese in New Zealand over such legislation.

4   Some politicians in New Zealand have been openly opposed to increased Asian immigration, including Winston Peters as leader of New Zealand First.

in the Asian population since the 1990s, there has not only been an intensification in the visibility of Asian cultural celebrations, but also an active promotion of some events by some city councils, the Asia New Zealand Foundation (hereafter ANZF) and other organizations. Diwali (the Hindu Festival of Lights) and the Chinese Lantern Festival have been particularly visible events, which were first organized by the ANZF in 2002 and 2000 respectively, and the Chinese New Year is celebrated as a public event in many locations around the country. Since 2002, the ANZF Diwali festivals have been held in Auckland and Wellington on an annual basis, and while the Chinese Lantern Festival started in Auckland, Christchurch initiated an ANZF event from 2005 (it was not held in Christchurch in 2015). The events are co-organized by the respective local city councils or affiliated bodies. As well as this type of top-down event promotion, where fiscal support might originate through government grants, donations or sponsorship, many cultural organizations are involved in promoting their own celebrations and very often open these up to the wider New Zealand public. For example, Chinese New Year celebrations have been found in various contexts since the nineteenth century (Johnson 2005), and Diwali has a history of being celebrated on a much smaller scale to the ANZF events. In Wellington in 2001, for instance, the Wellington Indian Association held a bazaar in mid October as part of the lead up to the celebration of Navratri and Diwali (Anderson 2001). Interestingly, however, the promotion of some "Asian" New Year's festivals have included several different labels. While most emphasize the Chinese New Year, several others include "Chinese and Korean New Year Festival" (Northcote), "South East Asian New Year Celebration" (Lower Hutt) and "Asian New Year" (Howick).

Smaller groups of Asian migrants to New Zealand are represented through such festivals as the Southeast Asian Night Market, which is a biennial festival organized by the Wellington City Council and the ANZF. While Asia's largest countries are represented through Diwali and the Chinese Lantern Festival, the Southeast Asian Night Market represents the 10 members of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations). With an array of performances, food and cultural celebrations, the nations of Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar (Burma), the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam are represented through the creative activities of Asian New Zealanders.

There are numerous smaller festivals representing and presenting the Asian cultures that make up New Zealand. Apart from the largest communities noted above, the next largest as shown in Table 2 are significantly smaller, although still substantial with regard to population size. For instance, Filipino traditions have recently been displayed at the 2014 Sinulog celebration (fig. 1), which was held in Auckland for the 20th time (the festival is also held in Wellington, with that city's inaugural event staged in 2012). While the Filipino community is included in the Southeast Asian Night Market, the Sinulog Festival in Auckland allows more than 30,000 Auckland members of the Filipino community to participate in the event as a way of celebrating their own cultural heritage. With a Christian emphasis, the festival attracted in 2013 an estimated 10,000 participants from the Filipino community and included a procession, Mass, lunch and dancing (*North Shore Times* 2013). During a speech by the Philippine Ambassador it was noted that the staging of the event helps members of the Filipino community

remember such factors as the legacy of their forefathers, their spirituality and their family centeredness, as well as how the festival strengthens unity and solidarity amongst the New Zealand's Filipino community (Embassy of the Philippines 2014). Such an event helps show how people come together in immigrant locations for cultural celebrations that help create a community of individuals with shared heritage and cultural roots.

There is much in the poster for the festival that helps in understanding local perceptions of Filipino self-representation. The religious element is given prominent alongside a 20-year celebration. The text offers a specifically Filipino connection, asking those with links to the community to re-connect, thus offering a framework for growing the size of the community, and in doing so is applying a type of coercive pressure on those who currently don't participate. The event is given much credibility with its array of local sponsors, ranging from banks to micro-political support.
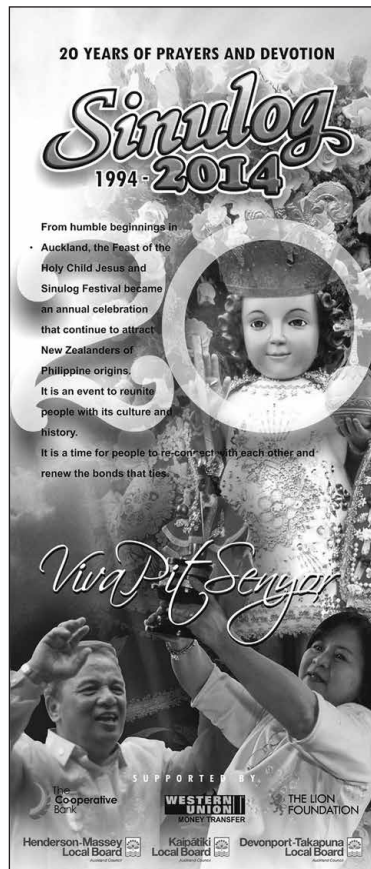

Figure 1. Poster for the Sinulog celebration, Auckland, 2014. Source: Sinulog NZ (2015).

The next Asian ethnicity in overall population size is the Korean community. One significant Korean festival held in Christchurch is the Korean Day Festival, which is the largest event organized by the Korean Society (established in 1993), and was first held in 2013 when it was held in Cathedral Square in the aftermath of the 2011 earthquake with about 8,000 people attending (Korean Society 2014). The Korean Day Festival, as with many other national or cultural festivals, presents music, dance, food, crafts and information stalls. Such an event helps show the importance of grass-roots organizations in helping make such events happen. While one might wonder if an event like this would actually be celebrated if it were not for such an organization, one should also question whether the festival truly represents all Koreans in this setting.

The smallest ethnic group shown in Table 2 is the Vietnamese. While there are other smaller Asian ethnicities in New Zealand, the number of Vietnamese is significant because of nearly doubling between 2001 and 2013. Two of the most important annual events for Vietnamese are the Lunar New Year (Tet Nguyen Dan), which is held at the same time as the Chinese New Year, and the Mid-Autumn or Children's Moon Festival (Tet-Trung-Thu). In the Auckland context, where most Vietnamese in New Zealand live, such bottom-up "events have similarly become opportunities to celebrate Vietnamese community and culture – not just Vietnamese Buddhism – through music, national costume, and so forth" (Moore 2004, 191). However, the public display of events such as these are not as visible as those of the larger Asian communities, thus raising questions about how top-down support for Asian festivals and celebrations should be distributed.

Technoscape

Cultural festivals in New Zealand's changing ethnoscape reflect many aspects of global flows concerning not only their technological content, but also because of how they are driven by "increasingly complex relationships" moving "at high speeds across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries" (Appadurai 1996, 34). Amongst the numerous festivals that might be studied, Diwali, the Chinese Lantern Festival and the Southeast Asian Night Market offer three ANZF festivals where the notion of technoscape becomes particularly useful for helping to discern both the impact of New Zealand's recent and ongoing Asianization and some of the influences of globalization as part of this process. These three spectacles as promoted by the ANZF and the Auckland and Wellington City Councils exhibit many characteristics that embody the technoscape in connection with their content and complexity. Organizing the events comprises a mix of social networks, where the ANZF offers much support and helps find sponsors, and the city councils of Auckland and Wellington contribute to hosting the festivals in their respective cities. The organizers then communicate directly with the performers, cultural organizations, media and the like to make the events happen. Without a complexity of organization and networks the events would not exist as they do, and they serve as examples of particularly influential and visible top-down festivals that have cultural intervention at their core.

Cultural performances at the ANZF events take place in several spheres. There are local, national and international musicians and dancers who offer a range of styles,

from traditional to popular; there may be cultural displays such as artwork or crafts in one form or another; and there are food stalls. The sounds, sights and tastes of the cultures being presented allow the festivals to be consumed in myriad ways that appeal not only to the peoples who may relate directly to the events, but also to others in New Zealand who have been attracted by what they can experience and consume. In such a contact zone, cultural performance offers a conduit through which multicultural New Zealand is staged as an experience and celebration of recent changes to the national ethnoscape. Without doubt, the commodification of culture to a wide market where artefacts, culture and people are placed under a "tourist" gaze within a type of Orientalist and consumer framework is possible with not only large-scale top-down festivals, but also through the promotion and consumption of bottom-up events (see MacCannell 2001; Said 1979; Urry 1990).

Each of the ANZF festivals includes a stage (or stages), some of which are in buildings and others that are temporarily constructed especially for the occasion. To give an example, in previous years some of the Wellington Diwali celebrations have been located in and around the city's Town Hall. There were two performance sites within the Town Hall, a smaller one and a larger, and a purpose-built stage outside in Civic Square. Such a division of space represents the types of performance on show. The smaller performance site in the Town Hall was used for mostly traditional performances (mostly music), while the larger site in the Town Hall was used for larger performance troupes (including dancers). The Civic Square stage was used primarily for Bollywood dance troupes. Around Civic Square and at the back of the main Town Hall stage numerous stalls were set up and sold food and crafts to the public. Another more recent setting for the Wellington event has been at the TSB Bank Arena, which has followed a similar three-stage setting and division of performance styles. Of particular note is the fact that the smaller stage was used for performances that are considered traditional, perhaps being relegated to a sphere of authentic marginality, whereas Bollywood performances are now part of a global mainstream and therefore presented in a context that allows for a larger audience and consumption.

The ANZF Diwali performance spaces, as well as those of many other similar festival events, are supported by amplification that helps mediate the sounds to a large audience. While the traditional music performances are provided with microphones to increase the volume of the traditional instruments, the dance performances are given with backing tracks over a PA system. Here, Diwali is presented as a festival that has its roots as a traditional aspect of South Asian culture, although the production of the event helps show the complexity of the technoscape in which it is a part. Traditional music is juxtaposed with modern performances such as Bollywood dancing; traditional instruments are amplified in a modern-day concert setting; and dance is performed and mediated with backing tracks so that musicians are heard and not seen. Furthermore, events such as the Bollywood fusion after party for Diwali in Auckland features an array of music that would not be possible without being part of the technoscape: notably, remixes, hiphop, bhangra and DJs (fig. 2).

Technology is also a major aspect of the Chinese Lantern Festival. At the 2012 ANZF event in Auckland, for example, there were local and international performance

Figure 2. Bollywood fusion after party for Diwali in Auckland, 2013. Source: Eventfinda (2015).

acts. The Sanlin Dragon and Lion Dance Team was from Shanghai, and the Long Shen Dao (Way of the Dragon Spirit) reggae band was from Beijing. These two contrasting acts represented traditional and contemporary culture respectively, thus broadening the appeal of the event to the Auckland public. Both acts help reflect the technoscape in that they exist as a result of complex cultural constructions and technological relationships, and each raises questions about how cultures are represented. Reggae may help show a contemporary sphere of popular music in China, as well as illustrating the cultural flows to, within and from that nation, but one might question whether such a style of music in this context can actually represent China in New Zealand, or if it simply adding to the blurring of cultural identity in a world of complex cultural flows.

Financescape

The application of Appadurai's (1996) notion of financescape on New Zealand's Asian festivalscape helps demonstrate how festival spaces that have been created in New Zealand as a result of a growing Asian ethnoscape contribute to the events' financial transactions such as grants, sponsorship, expenditure and income. Many performance groups are active at a local level for community organizations. They function as an

extension of the community in which they are a part, and their creative practice is celebrated through community contribution. As events become larger, whether through venue, size or cost, community organizations and performers often rely on grants and other forms of income to help cover expenses. Grants might typically be applied for through a local council or charitable organizations, or through a national body such as Creative New Zealand or the ANZF.[5]

Some events might be supported through sponsorship, which might be provided by a company or organization. For example, the ANZF Diwali event in Auckland in 2014 was held through a collaboration with the ANZF and Auckland Tourism, Events and Economic Development (an Auckland Council-controlled organization), but relied on sponsorship and support from a number of other organizations: Barfoot & Thompson, Air New Zealand, India Tourism Sydney, Radio Tarana, Mithai, iHeartRadio, Indian Weekender, Fairfax Media - Suburban Newspapers Auckland, AIA New Zealand, Glass Packaging Forum, LoveNZ, The Better Drinks Company, Western Union, and Ntec Tertiary Group. Such sponsors and supporters are usually necessary for large-scale events like this to take place, especially with regard to their complexity, size and location. The financial and logistical help provided was from diverse companies and organizations, with several with specific Indian connections, including India Tourism Sydney (showing a trans-Tasman link), Radio Tarana, Mithai and Indian Weekender. Such an example helps show the place of the ANZF Diwali festival in Auckland as a public spectacle that embraces many spheres of local culture, many of which are part of a global world with increased interconnectivity at the core. Sponsors would typically have their logo included in publicity, which contributes to the mediascape (see below) and helps promote the sponsors' financial interests. This includes the ANZF, which receives its own funding from a mix of public and private sources. This type of financescape shows the interconnections between cultures and organizations, and also exposes some of the ways cultural events in New Zealand are funded through different sources.

The increased number of Asian festivities and similar events in New Zealand over the past few decades has helped contribute also to the personal income of some New Zealanders, whether established, recent or new. In these settings, financial transactions take place in many ways, including door sales at events and ticket sales at other outlets such as community-related businesses, and income for promoters and food/stall holders. For example, while the Indian Kite Festival in Auckland, which has been held annually since 2005 and organized by the incorporated society, charity and religious group, Vaishnav Parivar (NZ), promotes many free cultural activities, there are various stall holders selling cold drinks, Indian food and crafts, thus contributing to the financescape as a result of the festival setting (fig. 3). While the poster for this event is laced with catchy words aimed to attract visitors, imagery of kites and sponsorship logos, its central part includes the Hindi text "Makar Sankranti" (the name of the Kite Festival), all written beneath the organization's name and logo.

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5   In 2014, Creative New Zealand initiated a funding pathway, "Focus on Asia", to help support New Zealanders and artistic and cultural connections with Asia (Creative New Zealand 2015).

Figure 3. Indian Kite Festival in Auckland in 2014. Source: Localist (2015).

In the Auckland setting of Indian immigrant performance, some of the ways that promoters of performances are connected to these new financescapes have been examined by Booth (2014), who comments: "Recently, new players have emerged trying their hand at producing commercial events and risking large amounts of money. . . . Many arriving are inexperienced at producing events and find they are competing with those with previous event production industry experience in Auckland and/or overseas" (Booth 2014, 142). Furthermore, "from conversations with some producers, it can be surmised that the enthusiasm of new migrants trying to break into the commercial event market was due to a perception that it was going to be easy money" (Booth 2014, 170). Performances at festivals may contribute to some personal income, or for a group of performers, but such settings also help promote different types of performance to a larger section of the public.

Mediascapes

Knowledge about Asian festivities in New Zealand has been represented in various spheres of the mediascape, as defined by "the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information . . . and to the images of the world created by these media" (Appadurai 1996, 35). While my focus is on the contemporary festival mediascape, mention should be made briefly of some earlier Asian festivities during the Otago gold rush days of the latter half of the nineteenth century. These events involved Chinese miners who had traveled to New Zealand to work, and were well reported in local newspapers such as the *Tuapeka Times* and *Cromwell Argus*. For example, one newspaper report noted Chinese festivities that were clearly a bottom-up event:

> The Chinese have been holding high carnival last week, the occasion thereof being the advent of their new year. Last Thursday, the last day of the Chinese old year, banquets were given by several of the storekeepers, to which a number of Europeans were invited, and at which the good things of this life, eatable and drinkable, were provided in profusion. Friday was the Celestial New Year's Day, and it was celebrated in due form. All who visited the Camp, including barbarians [Europeans], were 'treated' liberally as they were also on the following day. (*Tuapeka Times* 15 February 1872, 5).

As reported in local newspapers, such cultural events often provided a detailed description of the types of activities that were being held, and help show the importance of cultural festivities amongst immigrants in their new home (Johnson 2005; Ng 1993-99; Ng 2000).

In the contemporary era, Asian festivities are represented in the mediascape in a number of ways. As well as reports of events in local newspapers, community newspapers and newsletters often preview or report on such activities. Also, publicity or advertising are prominent ways of disseminating knowledge about an event, either through print media (e.g., newspapers, posters, flyers – see figs 1-5) or television, radio or the Internet. Other mediascapes that disseminate information about Asian festivalscapes in New Zealand include social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and other similar new media resources. In particular, web pages sometimes provide a site not only for promoting and reporting on events, but also as a repository where other information can be included such as audio or video files, programmes, photographs and educational materials.

The website of the ANZF is one such resource that includes many media on four ANZF-supported Asian festivals in New Zealand: Diwali Festival of Lights, Lantern Festival, Japan Festival of Wellington, and Southeast Asian Night Market (Asia New Zealand Foundation 2014b). For example, Diwali, which attracts about 150,000 people in Auckland and Wellington (Asia New Zealand Foundation 2014a), is presented through a range of media. There is written content that provides background to the festival, which includes links that provide information on the origins of the festival as well as a 10-question multiple-choice quiz on the subject. Resources for teachers of social sciences are provided with two main links: one for Levels 1 and 2, and the

other for Levels 3 and 4 (years 6-8). A number of lessons are provided with each and includes various handouts with a range of activities for school students. For example, the first of these offers achievement objectives that link the study of Diwali to not only its South Asian origins, but also its New Zealand context in the present day. There are further links on the website to related resources, including information on some of the other Diwali celebrations around New Zealand: in Manukau (Auckland), University of Auckland, Hamilton, Napier and Christchurch (there are others). Such a resource helps show how the mediascape is used for heuristic purposes with the educational emphasis contributing to the event in national context.

A brief look at one of these other Diwali festivals further helps to illustrate the scope of the mediascape in connection with festivals as contact zones. For example, the Manukau Diwali held in 2014 included a colourful promotional flyer that had an array of media information (fig. 4). The main sponsors are shown on top left and along the lower edge, and include several prominent Indian connections. The event was promoted as a "family fun day out", and included a fireworks display, children's entertainment and activities, and a range of performances including dance and song, thus offering the festival to the wider New Zealand public. A specific Indian element was the inclusion of a local pageant contest, Indian Princess New Zealand.
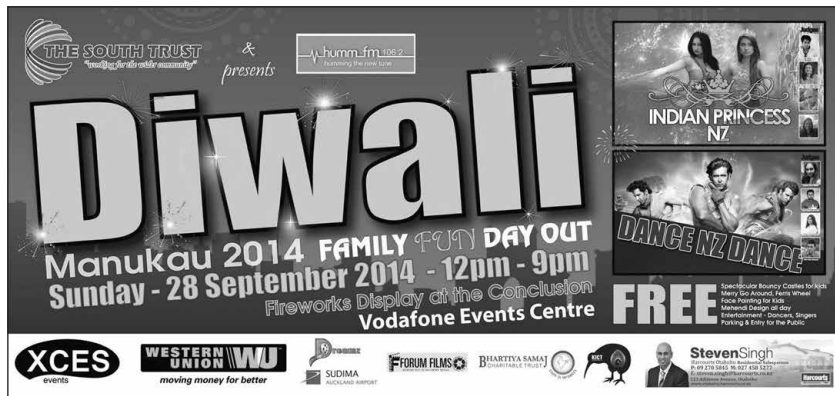

Figure 4. Flyer for 2014 Manukau Diwali festival. Source: Facebook (2014).

Ideoscapes

With New Zealand's transformed ethnoscape there has been a change in national ideoscapes, both in the process and result of such change. This includes such spheres as religion and politics and, as described by Appadurai, ideoscapes "are often directly political and frequently have to do with the ideologies of states and the counterideologies of movements explicitly oriented to capturing state power or a piece of it" (1996, 36).

Several aspects of Asian religions, including Buddhism, Islam and Hinduism are clearly seen in New Zealand, and have gradually increased in size as the nation's Asian

population has grown. These religions represent some of the larger Asian communities in New Zealand, including South Asians, Southeast Asians and East Asians (Kemp 2007; Morris 2012; Shepard 2006). For example, Diwali is the main sphere of public celebration that has Hindu roots, and each of the ANZF Diwali festivals includes a formal Hindu blessing. There are also Hindu temples in Auckland, including the Shree Swaminarayan Temple and the Bharatiya Mandir temple, both of which are religious sites for local festivities.

As well as specific religious connections for some local festivals, underpinning the larger national ideoscape is the notion of multiculturalism, which has emerged in discourse on cultural identity in New Zealand as the nation's population diversifies. While New Zealand promulgates a bicultural contextual relationship between the indigenous Māori peoples and later settlers, it does have cultural diversity at its core, which is recognized and celebrated in many ways. The study of New Zealand's Asian communities and multiculturalism has recently been addressed by Ghosh and Leckie (2015), who offer several essays that confront different interpretations and issues. For example, Nakhid and Devere (2015) argue that there is space in the Treaty of Waitangi to accommodate a notion of multiculturalism. In this context, it is the result of increased diverse migration, and especially Asian migration, that has resulted in the establishing of organizations such as the New Zealand Federation of Multicultural Councils, which "is committed to a Treaty-based multicultural society in which Maori have particular status as Tangata Whenua" (New Zealand Federation of Multicultural Councils 2015). Further, the notion of multiculturalism itself is one that has everyday ideological presence in New Zealand's bicultural political milieu, and a concept that has been critiqued with regard to its sometimes manifest character of not being all-inclusive and not actually representing all cultures. Even when working within an intercultural context as a way of challenging some of the inherent problems of multiculturalism, as Bharucha has noted, intercultural contact "is fraught with tensions, compulsions, hidden agendas, and funding realities" (2001, 46). It is with such an ideoscape of multicultural festivities that New Zealand may on the one hand be celebrating its rapidly growing culture of diversity, but on the other it may be prone to perpetuating what Žižek (1997) refers to as a "racism with a distance": "in the same way that global capitalism involves the paradox of colonization without the colonizing Nation-State metropole, multi-culturalism involves patronizing Eurocentrist distance and/or respect for local cultures without roots in one's own particular culture" (Žižek 1997).

In the Asian festival context, different types of ideoscape are present. The bottom-up festivals occupy a space that often showcases a group or ethnic identity, such as the religious festivals already noted. This type of festival is presented primarily for an in-group and showcases in New Zealand's multicultural society a distinct aspect of the contemporary cultural fabric of the nation. In this context, identity is on display, and it is an identity that is being exhibited and celebrated within an in-group. Such events may accommodate visitors, but the primary purpose is for cultural celebration within and for a specific group. In other words, such festivals are "occasions by which a local community can legitimise, establish, display or embellish its collective identity, and provide the tourist with the opportunity to temporarily confront and engage with aspects of 'otherness' expressed in the context of celebration" (Long, Robinson and

Picard 2004, 8). Top-down festivals offer a different type of setting where an ideoscape of national harmony or cultural diversity is often presented. This type of festival comprises many complexities to make it happen and is usually focused on one or several of the nation's most populous Asian ethnic groups (e.g., Chinese or Indian).

Another type of festival that presents a distinct ideoscape is the one labeled as "multicultural". For example, the Tauranga Multicultural Festival celebrated its 16th year in 2015. The 2014 event was promoted with a flyer that emphasized cultural diversity through visual symbols that included a globe with images of dancers, and written text that mentioned culture, food, dance, arts and crafts (fig. 5). With this type of festival the notions of "multicultural" and "multiculturalism" are foregrounded as a way of acknowledging New Zealand as a nation that comprises many distinct cultures. As noted by Sarah Minson, the General Manager of the 2013 Census, "it's interesting to note that there are more ethnicities in New Zealand than there are countries in the world. What that tells us is that New Zealand is a diverse place and getting more so all the time" (Minson 2013).

In such a setting, how can organizations such as the ANZF or councils possibly offer top-down support for all of New Zealand's Asian communities? What are supported, however, are the larger communities, with festivals such as the Southeast Asian Night Market or other "collective" events offering assembled support for some of the smaller and not so visible communities. It is in such a context that the notion of "multicultural" is challenging and raises questions about cultural policy and the distribution of funding support between larger and smaller ethnicities in New Zealand. Furthermore, without the same type of support as larger communities, the smaller ones might be hidden in a multicultural context, and the importance of some cultural celebrations and expressions not exhibited to a potentially broader public (see Finnegan 1989). Lastly, there are "mainstream" events such as the New Zealand International Arts Festival, which is held in Wellington, and many other locally based festivals such as the Otago Festival of the Arts, Auckland Arts Festival and Taranaki Arts Festival. A quick glance at the most recent or forthcoming programmes of such events reveals some links with some Asian communities in New Zealand, and mostly relating to the larger Chinese and Indian communities. However, the emphasis in this context is not usually on art forms that have ethnic, cultural, religious or community celebration as a central defining characteristic.

While this brief look at some of New Zealand's ideoscapes helps show diversity in ideologies and cultural policies, many of which suggest a positive attitude towards Asian festivalscapes, as Ballantyne comments, "despite the insistence of many New Zealand business leaders and politicians that New Zealand's future must be grounded in the Asia-Pacific region and the common interests that unite New Zealand and Asian states, the reality is that within New Zealand a persistent emphasis on Asian difference and otherness remains" (Ballantyne 2012, 53). In the festival context, such views offer challenges to festival organizers regarding how to celebrate otherness without exoticizing dissimilarity or essentializing cultural identity, and a reading of festivals as cultural texts helps illuminate how Asian cultures in New Zealand are celebrated at any particular moment. In other words, the festivals may be representing a part of Asia on the one hand, but they also represent New Zealand on the other.

Figure 5. 15th Tauranga Multicultural Festival. Source: Tauranga City Libraries (2015).

Conclusion

The application of Appadurai's model of five "scapes" to the contemporary Asian festivalscape in New Zealand has revealed some of the complex ways that Asian festivities contribute to both public celebration of cultural diversity and the discernable performance of cultural identity. Each "scape" can cover many topics for critical discussion – by far too many for this article – and helps elucidate some of the ways that New Zealand culture has changed rapidly and now has increased cultural diversity at its core in the twenty-first century.

In connection with the festivalization of Asian culture in New Zealand, two main types of event have emerged: those organized through top-down intervention; and those through bottom-up or grass-roots activism. Two of the main forms of intervention have been through local councils or their agencies and the ANZF. Working together or separately, such intervention has helped in the broader public celebration of many facets of the established, recent and new Asian communities in New Zealand. The cooperation between such bodies and local communities helps with the dissemination of knowledge about some Asian cultures to many others in New Zealand, although such

an approach does, however, have several implications. For example, resources are not always available to support all the cultural events of all Asian communities in all urban and rural settings. Choices have to be made as to which events will be supported; hence, for the ANZF the focus has mostly been on the nation's largest Asian communities and a major festival from each (i.e., Diwali and the Chinese Lantern Festival). That said, as a way of supporting some of the smaller Asian communities in New Zealand, the ANZF has promoted the Southeast Asian Night Market, which brings together representative communities from the 10 ASEAN nations in one festival, as well as the Japan Festival of Wellington, which is an example of a nation that has strong trading links with New Zealand but whose immigrant population is much smaller than the Chinese and Indian communities. A further complication of top-down intervention is deciding which centres to support. For instance, the main urban centres of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch each have established ANZF festivals that are a part of the annual or biennial calendar, but other smaller centres such as Hamilton, Tauranga and Dunedin are not able to receive such direct help despite having significant Asian communities.

The festivalization of Asian culture in New Zealand has the notion of technoscape at its core in respect of not only technology, but also the complex social networks and relationships that contribute to the staging of any one event. It is here that the effects of globalization can be seen clearly in performance, whether music, dance or the celebration of a culture's cuisine or crafts. With regard to technology, one of the biggest global influences on the performance practices on traditional cultures has been the use of technology as a way of mediating sounds. Whether through the use of electronic or amplified instruments, or the use of a backing track to dance to, electronics have transformed the way that performance is created and consumed. Such an influence on performance raises questions about authenticity and cultural representation. For instance, while Asian cultures are represented in the festival setting, inherent in most events are the influences of globalization. One only has to consider the inclusion of a Chinese reggae band at the Chinese Lantern Festival to comprehend that the New Zealand Asian festivalscape offers several dimensions of cultural representation. In other words, cultural representation includes the notion of cultural authenticity, but inherent in such representation are the effects of globalization and cultural hybridity. Cultures may be represented on the one hand, but on the other their complexities help show the importance of questioning what is presented as culturally authentic.

The notion of financescape revealed some of the ways that fiscal transactions have developed as a result of the nation's changing ethnoscape. Whether through grants, sponsorship, sales or personal income, the financescape has been expanded through cultural performance, whether for cultural in-groups or for the wider New Zealand public. In connection with grants and sponsorship, for example, as with any request or application, decisions must be made regarding the level of support and who should receive it. While some festivals or events might attract greater sponsorship as a result of their size and top-down organization, other cultural groups or individuals with their own justifications for receiving similar support may be unsuccessful. As noted earlier in connection with top-down intervention, an inherent issue of offering support for one cultural event begs the question as to why smaller events organized by smaller Asian groups cannot receive financial support for the well-being of their communities.

New Zealand's mediascape has been enlarged and enriched as a result of Asian festivalscapes. Events might be promoted through a range of media, and, combined with the technoscape, some media contexts can act as repositories for event information and archiving. In this setting, the mediascape shows how festivals not only carry and transmit cultural heritage, whether traditional or more recent, but also raises questions about cultural representation. In particular, written and visual media can carry meaning about cultures, and knowledge about those cultures can be transmitted quickly through media. By way of illustration, one only has to view images of performers dressed in traditional cultural attire to be given the impression that that person is representing authentically not only the festival but the culture as well. Such media, however, needs to be carefully scrutinized as to how it presents knowledge to the public and how that knowledge represents communities. For example, symbols may be presented in such media that help in the nurturing of stereotypes or the essentializing of culture. The mediascape impacts on perceptions of the cultural milieu and can act as powerful emblems of identity, or at least perceived images of identity.

Perhaps the most challenging issue with regard to the ideoscape that has come with increased Asian migration to New Zealand is the question of multiculturalism in a nation that has consolidated its own notion of biculturalism over the past 50 years. As already noted in connection with some of the other "scapes", cultural representation of all cultures is not always possible. While the largest Asian cultures in New Zealand have received some top-down support with ANZF festivals such as Diwali and the Chinese Lantern Festival, it is also these cultures that are particularly active through bottom-up cultural activism through the holding of numerous events that support local communities. Other smaller Asian communities may be active on a local level, but often don't always have the visibility or leverage to gain top-down support in the same way as some larger communities. Furthermore, while the nation celebrates its Asian communities in many ways, it is yet to provide a framework that places the notion of mulitculturalism at the core of its cultural agenda.

What the Appadurai's model has shown is that contemporary Asian festivalscapes in New Zealand would probably not exist without the complex "scapes" that contribute to their complexities. What at first might be showcased as "authentic" Asian cultures are in fact entangled in webs of global and local interconnections that create hybrid forms of cultural expression. It is these cultural utterances in the festival context that showcase Asian cultural identity in the making of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Regarding cultural representation, such festivals have been constructed as a result of increased local and global cultural flows, and each is a product of both the nation and the communities who participate in or organize them. As Appadurai comments, "what is new is the disjuncture between these processes and the mass-mediated discourses and practices … that now surround the nation-state" (1996, 199). In summary, therefore, the new Asian festivalscapes that have emerged in New Zealand over the past few decades reveal knowledge not only about the diversity of Asian cultures, but also about the raison d'être of such events. Festivals are culture, they create culture and they are sites or contact zones where New Zealanders can learn about and celebrate the new multiculturalism that is now a part of the national cultural fabric.

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