

IS THE FACE OF CHINESE ETHNIC MINORITY ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN NEW ZEALAND CHANGING?

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1. Introduction

New Zealand is an immigrant nation on the Pacific Rim, similar to Australia, Canada and the United States (Selvarajah, 2004a). Its migrant receiving traditions have provided significant benefit to New Zealand's economic development. It is argued that the temporary and permanent entry of people from other countries helps to attract global talent to address skill shortages (Fernandez & Kim, 1998) and bring capital, expertise, and international connections to build New Zealand's workforce (Department of Labour, 2009). Nearly a quarter of New Zealand's population is foreign-born and forty per cent of these immigrants arrived in the past ten years (Mare, Morten, & Stillman, 2007).

The history of migrants from China making their home in New Zealand extends over 150 years. The Chinese community in New Zealand is currently the largest single ethnic minority group with a population of 147,570 residents as at the 2006 census, and is comparable in size to the Samoan community (131,103 residents). This is in the context of a New Zealand society of 4 million people of which European (2,609,589 residents) and Maori (565,326 residents) are the dominating cultures (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The level of connection the New Zealand Chinese community has with this country's business sector is significant, and will impact on New Zealand's ability to participate in Asia's expanding ascendancy.

One of the unique characteristics within the New Zealand migrant receiving history has been the establishment of two distinct Chinese resident populations, with the new Chinese immigrants showing several salient differences to the established New Zealand-Chinese. The first wave of Chinese between 1865 and 1900 came to New Zealand during the gold-rush and suffered significant hardship and discrimination (Ng, 2001). The descendants of this group are English and Cantonese-speaking, locally educated, and have a mixed of New Zealand and Chinese cultural traditions. A second wave of Chinese migration occurred when there was a shift in New Zealand immigrant policy in the mid-1980s (Meares, Ho, Peace, & Spoonley, 2010). In contrast, this group is mandarin-speaking, highly educated, and have strong cultural and economic links to China.

The descendants of early Chinese immigrants live and work alongside those who have arrived in the last two decades. Within this broad community classification there are differences in terms of their place of origin, political inclinations, religion and language or dialect (Meares et al., 2010). Hence, within the dominant host society, it

is important not to become confused between birthplace and ethnicity (Bedford & Ho, 2008) although traditionally in New Zealand, researchers have for comparative purposes labelled immigrants from regions such as China or the Pacific as homogeneous groups (Duncan, Bollard, & Yeabsley, 1997; Dunstan, Boyd, & Crichton, 2004; Elliott & Gray, 2000; Fletcher, 1999; Nana, Sanderson, & Goodchild, 2003).

As part of the knowledge development and greater understanding of receiving countries and their ethnic minority communities, this paper attempts to understand the entrepreneurial behaviours of the Chinese in New Zealand. This paper supports the argument that entrepreneurial behavioural patterns have intragroup differences. Therefore, this paper offers insights into the unique characteristics of the Chinese people of New Zealand, from both migration eras, through the voices of the entrepreneurs themselves.

2. Two waves of Chinese migration to New Zealand

The first wave of Chinese immigrants arrived from 1865-1900. They came to New Zealand as gold seekers (Ng, 2001) and faced significant hardship, discrimination and separation from their families in China (Wong, 2002). These newcomers came to a new world in which a poll tax was imposed on them from 1881 (Friesen, 2009). They also faced restrictive legislation, and were excluded from mainstream society (Ng, 2001). For example, the Chinese Immigration Act 1881, the Aliens Act of 1891 and the Asiatic Immigration Restriction Act of 1899 are all testimony to institutionalised race discrimination of that time (Selvarajah, 2004b). This first wave of Chinese immigrants were predominantly male and almost exclusively came from the Cantonese-speaking Guangdong province of Southern China – a poverty-stricken region at that time (Meares et al., 2010). They stuck together and retained their traditional ways as a means of overcoming language difficulties, discrimination and a lack of personal assets (Ng, 2001). After the gold rush, a core of these immigrants remained in New Zealand and established themselves through small businesses such as market gardens, laundries and fruit shops (Meares et al., 2010). However, it was not until 1944 when the Immigrant Restrictions Act 1920 was abolished, that Chinese in New Zealand were reunited with their wives and children (Meares et al., 2010). From the 1950s onwards, New Zealand society became more accepting of the Chinese community and there was a loosening of immigration regulations to allow the reunification of families before the new Communist government in China closed the gates on emigration in 1951 (Ng, 2001). The expectation with New Zealand was that the Chinese would acculturate and eventually assimilate into the dominant western culture in the country. However, they could not fully assimilate because they were visibly different, retained strong ties to their traditional culture and adhered to strong family obligations (Ng, 2001). These challenges were not as prevalent for their New Zealand-born children as they grew up with free Western education and childhood friendships with their European and Pacific peers, and were not afraid of the loss of their Chineseness. Yet these young Chinese-New Zealanders could not completely assimilate because of their adherence to the values and traditions handed down by their parents. They were generally more comfortable with the concept of multiculturalism which had its roots in the 1960s New Zealand, although

multiculturalism has never been formally adopted as official policy (Fletcher, 1999). They also saw their future in higher education and entered into most aspects of New Zealand life as confident New Zealanders of Chinese ancestry (Ng, 2001).

A second wave of Chinese migration occurred when there was a historical shift from predominantly European immigration to a more liberal New Zealand immigration policy in the mid-1980s (Meares et al., 2010). The passing of the Immigration Act 1987 changed the criteria for migrant entry into New Zealand and facilitated a significant rise in the intake of highly skilled labour migrants and entrepreneurs (Meares et al., 2009). Earlier immigration policy had been based on preferred source countries such as Australia, UK and Western Europe (Selvarajah, 2004b). However, the new policy considered a perspective migrant's personal qualities such as age, educational levels, work experience, and the ability to bring investment capital into the country (Bedford & Ho, 2008). This abandonment of the preferential-country system for immigration opened New Zealand to all nationalities based on equitable selection criteria (Selvarajah, 2004b). A point-system qualification was introduced in 1991 (Bedford & Ho, 2008) which coincided with the liberalisation of China's internationalisation policy. These changes gave Chinese citizens the opportunity to trade and travel internationally and facilitated increased migration to New Zealand. The second wave of immigrants are no longer subject to the same level of discrimination as those from the first wave (Meares et al., 2010), however de Bruin and Dupuis (2000) argued that the media wrongly portrayed them as rich, lacking commitment to their new host society, exhibiting self-interest and keeping to their own. The second wave began with arrivals from Hong Kong and Taiwan but since 2000 the majority of arrivals have come from mainland China. The majority are well-educated, skilled individuals with considerable business experience and/or investment capital (Ho & Bedford, 2006). They speak mainly Mandarin as opposed to the first wave who were Cantonese-speakers and come from a range of provincial origins in China (Bedford & Ho, 2008). It should also be noted that immigrants have come from regions other than simply China, such as Britain, Korea and South Africa (Bedford & Ho, 2008). After 2000 the Chinese migrants dominated arrivals in New Zealand - second only to those arriving as permanent arrivals from the United Kingdom (Meares et al., 2010). Furthermore, Chinese immigration numbers are forecast to reach 667,000 by 2021 (Chen & McQueen, 2008). Many of these immigrants have established businesses within New Zealand and have also invested personal capital from overseas (Chen & McQueen, 2008).

The second wave of Chinese immigrants have faced obstacles. Firstly, there is evidence to suggest that immigrant unique skills are underutilised in New Zealand (de Bruin & Dupuis, 2000; Watts & Trlin, 1999). Secondly language has been identified as a limiting factor for Chinese immigrants (Benson-Rea & Rawlinson, 2003). In support, (Selvarajah, 1998) highlighted that because of the language affinity between Malaysia and New Zealand, the business migrants of Chinese ethnicity from Malaysia have adjusted better than those from China itself. Thirdly, research has highlighted the importance of a greater understanding of intercultural communication and diversity brought about by globalism (Cruickshank, 2007). For example, Chinese business culture is based on trust and places great emphasis on trustworthy sources (Benson-Rea & Rawlinson, 2003).

3. Method

This is a study of the experiences within an ethnic minority in New Zealand. It uses case study analysis to extrapolate the ethnic minority intragroup differences in terms of the Chinese entrepreneurial behaviour in New Zealand. New Zealand has a dominant European culture with immigration trends and policies that are comparable to those of other major receiving countries. The country has established a reputation for being highly entrepreneurial (Frederick & Carswell, 2001; Hamilton & Dana, 2003), and has a large small business sector in which businesses with 19 or fewer employees contribute 39% of the country's economic output (Statistics New Zealand, 2007).

Two multiple case studies were developed. The first case study was ethnic minority entrepreneurs who were New Zealand-born descendants of the 1st wave Chinese immigrants that arrived in New Zealand from 1860-1900; and the second case study was the 2nd wave of Chinese ethnic minority immigrant entrepreneurs who arrived after 1987. The first multiple case study (first-wave) consisted of semi-structured interviews with five New Zealand-born Chinese entrepreneurs from: market garden, restaurant, clothing, hardware retail, and consultancy business backgrounds. One interviewee was also heavily involved with local-body politics. The second multiple case study (second-wave) consisted of semi-structured interviews with five overseas-born Chinese entrepreneurs from: fast food, immigrant services, retail, biotechnology and finance business backgrounds. These interviews consisted of narratives in which the respondents told their own story and expressed their own views – in essence the voice of the Chinese ethnic minority entrepreneurs themselves. The study then analysed their stories through comparative analysis to consider the phenomenon: to what extent the two waves of Chinese migration to New Zealand have convergent or divergent entrepreneurial behaviours.

4. Findings

A major element of social and economic adjustment to life in a host country can be tied to the status attained through some form of employment - which impacts on factors such as their family viability, social acceptance and personal esteem (Masurel, Nijkamp, & Vindigni, 2004). The literature has identified that a prominent means of satisfying this need has been to engage in entrepreneurial activity within the small business sector of the host country (Aldrich, Jones, & McEvoy, 1984; Hammarstedt, 2004; Henry & Caldwell, 2006; Levent, Masurel, & Nijkamp, 2003). Furthermore, extensive research has addressed the inter-connection between self-employment and ethnic minority entrepreneurship (Basu & Altinay, 2002; Levie, 2007; Li, 1993; Masurel et al., 2004; Ram, 1997; Thuno, 2003; Waldinger, Howard, Ward, & and associates, 1990; Zhou, 2004). All Chinese immigrants, throughout the two eras of migration to New Zealand, have been confronted with the dual challenge of holding true to their cultural values whilst striving to find their place in a new society. Within the Chinese ethnic minority community in New Zealand 24.1% have engaged in self-employment; whereas 20.3% of Europeans and 18% of the total resident population are involved in some form of self-employment (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The findings of this study expand on the views and voices of current Chinese ethnic minority entrepreneurs from the two waves of migration to New Zealand.

First Wave (1860s to early 1900s)

Historical background: The respondents spoke of their historical roots in the Cantonese region of China. They outlined family migrant histories of discrimination, racism and hard times experienced by their grandparents and parents, as in “he retired and returned to his wife in the Chinese village, dying four years later just 58, after 44 years of hard grind in Gore [New Zealand town].”

Upbringing: The respondents were from New Zealand market gardening and restaurant family backgrounds. They had 2-4 siblings and stated that Cantonese was spoken at home. They all spoke of parents that worked long hours and of working in family market gardens or restaurants as children, “we worked in the gardens after school and weekends until quite late at night.” They referred to overcoming prejudice and discrimination during their upbringing, but suggested it was far less than that experienced by their parents and grandparents.

“Not anything that we can’t overcome. I mean there will always be prejudice and I guess prejudice will always be around; it’s just that it’s a little bit more subtle. When my grandparents came to New Zealand it was like the government would say we don’t like Chinese coming into New Zealand so we will whack a hundred pound poll tax on them. You know anyone else can come into New Zealand free of charge but if you are Chinese well you need to pay. So it was a lot more obvious in those days growing up.... If anything it makes you try to succeed more I guess subconsciously. You know if you get one or two people express racial prejudice then in the back of your mind you say well I’ve got nothing to worry about because I’m a lot smarter than that idiot anyway, and you show it in your performance. It makes you more determined.”

However, the respondents did highlight the challenge of living in two worlds. Backwards in honouring their culture and traditions and forwards in making their way in New Zealand society, as in: “you retain some of the traditional or some of the critical cultural heritage obviously. But in terms of your thoughts and behaviour definitely more New Zealander than Chinese.” They also referred to their lack of acceptance because of physical differences.

“I mean it wasn’t that long ago that I would go and speak somewhere and say ‘us Kiwis’ and people would laugh at me. So I think it is always going to be there because I think the stereotype of a Kiwi [term depicting a New Zealander] is still somebody who is white.”

Education: Four of the five respondents had tertiary education although none had any business qualifications. They stated that their parents and grandparents, who had been accustomed to hard manual labour, placed a great deal of emphasis on higher education for their children.

“Manual labour is quite hard work and while my parents didn’t have so much of a choice because of their language and their educational background, they certainly made sure that the children had a higher level of education.”

Ethnic Connection: Generally there wasn’t a strong affiliation to the New Zealand Chinese community among the first-wave respondents. In fact there was a distancing from the Chinese who had arrived in the second wave. This was in part because of language, as in: “recent Chinese immigrants speak Mandarin which is the national language now. So you can imagine the old established Chinese community speaking Cantonese and don’t understand the Mandarin and vice-versa;” and an unwillingness to associate with the new community “we see ourselves as quite different and distinct from that part of the Chinese community.” So there is a definite disconnect between the two waves of immigration.

“Now with many of them [new wave], their accent gives them away, there is a reluctance to get away from the groups from which they are comfortable and so that means that groups of Chinese stick together, they live together in the same suburbs. Their social behaviour is the same and their shopping is done in very Chinese areas now. And that is great for them but in terms of integration it is probably not hugely helpful.”

Influence of Chinese traditions and values on business orientation: The respondents all spoke of working long hours and felt that their work ethic was inspired by their understanding of the hardship that their parents and grandparents had endured.

“I think through that hardship that sort of galvanised a very strong will to survive and to succeed in business. And I think that has been passed on down the years, you know, it’s just the sheer grit and determination to succeed.”

Therefore they often spoke of parents and grandparents being role models in their business success. Respondents also spoke of a strong family orientation influencing their lives.

“I think the sense of family. The closeness of family, the support of family which I still believe is there in a way that perhaps other ethnicities don’t have as strong a focus on.”

Homeland/ancestral connection: The respondents had no significant affiliation to their ancestral homeland but did feel a sense of connection.

“I was born here, lived here for 65 years, I know no other home except [New Zealand city]; but when I went back to China to find my roots there was a feeling there that is very difficult to put into words.”

However, another respondent commented on their time working in China as “ironically I didn’t blend in as I dreamed I would. I wasn’t accepted as one of them.”

None of the respondents had homeland business connections but did understand the importance of such relationships for New Zealand future prosperity.

“That’s where I think the future wealth is going to come from. And when you look at it from the point of view of relationships - that is Chinese do business because of relationships and the building up of relationships. And the Chinese who are here say ‘Okay we want to do something in China and I’ve got a cousin over there’. They would far rather partner with their cousin than with Joe Blogs who they don’t know at all. So that’s the kind of ‘blood is thicker than water’ thing.”

Business profile: The major business catalyst identified by the respondents was self-determination, as in: “I wanted freedom, freedom to do what I wanted and follow ideas without the restrictions of working for someone else.” They measured success through growth and profitability. They used professional advice from accountants and lawyers, had growth expectations, and a customer focus, as in: “the way I market we have got everybody. It doesn’t matter what race you are, what age you are, we make sure we market it for everybody.”

Family Business dynamic: Respondents spoke of a strong family business orientation and the importance of capital funding through the family. They also spoke of family involvement in the running of their businesses. As one respondent stated:

“Because all members of the family have had some sort of equity in the business. And there are a number of us of the family that work in the business as well. In many ways we have resurrected the family business.”

The respondents didn’t, however, display a preference for their children to be involved in the business, as in: “I don’t have expectations about my son taking over my business when he grows up.” They spoke of a preference for children to find their own opportunities.

“So what is the purpose of my life? The purpose of my life is to bring up my children so that they can do better than I have done. When I was growing up the number of Chinese market gardens were tremendous, but there are about three left now. And that has happened because we raise our children to go to University and buggered off. So the succession hasn’t come through that [the business]. The succession has come through give me the opportunity to do other things and move into professions and other realms of business.”

Second Wave (mid-1980s to current)

Historical background: The respondents came from a variety of destinations: Northern and Central China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. They were generally from prosperous and/or entrepreneurial families and had between one and four siblings. All respondents arrived in New Zealand between 1988 and 2002.

Migration and settlement: These respondents came to New Zealand for lifestyle and educational reasons rather than business opportunities, as in “mainly for the education system for our daughter and the better lifestyle.” They chose to reside in New Zealand’s largest cities and overall had limited knowledge about New Zealand and its society before migrating. When discussing their settlement in New Zealand they did refer to the importance of being Chinese.

“I am still a Chinese but of course I am a New Zealand citizen. ... My English accent is not Kiwi and I don’t look like a Kiwi but of course I hold a Kiwi passport and I live in New Zealand.”

They spoke Mandarin as their first language although one respondent also spoke Cantonese. Furthermore, they were all conversant in English before arriving in New Zealand, but language integration was still a problem. For example “when I communicate with local people, sometime I can’t understand what they say... and they make me very aware that they can’t understand what I say.” The respondents also spoke of difficulties in career integration, as several respondents vocalised their frustration with the lack of job opportunities suiting their skill sets.

“But the Chinese people have some ability and they have some knowledge. They have very good knowledge, high qualifications and high skills, but very hard to find a job. So that is the reason why the majority of people start their own business.”

Education: All of the respondents had tertiary qualifications, with one having completed a PhD. Four had completed business qualifications. Furthermore, all placed emphasis on the importance of constant learning and practical business experience.

“Everybody should keep on learning all the time and be open-minded. It’s not how many times you succeed, it’s how many times you fail and are able to come back. And you learn from your mistakes.”

Ethnic Connection: Generally respondents had Chinese networks but no strong affiliation to the broader Chinese community. In part, this may reflect the respondents’ different geographic origins, as in “funny thing about the Taiwanese community in New Zealand is that it is quite small so everyone knows one-an-other.” Many of the respondents felt little or no connection to the first-wave descendants, thus reinforcing the disconnect between the two waves of immigration.

“Yes there is still a huge gap. The Chinese born in New Zealand, most of them, don’t speak Chinese for start. There is a gap in thinking, as most New Zealand born have not experienced the culture in Asia.”

Influence of Chinese traditions and values on business orientation: The respondents all spoke of working long hours and coming from a hard working business culture.

“Chinese people are hardworking people. We don’t really want to work for somebody else, we want to make our own company, set up our own career. So probably that kind of cultural thing that influence me.”

They did not speak of role models influencing their business activities. They referred to the importance of retaining their own identity in business whilst trying to ‘fit in’ to a new society, and they felt that their integration was different from the New Zealand-born Chinese.

“New Zealand born Chinese are more towards the Kiwi way of life. They want to be Kiwi, but their skin colour betrayed them. They will try to stay away from the traditional value of being a Chinese and move more and more towards the Western side of business. While immigrants, like myself, want to maintain our own identity of being a Chinese. But at the same time trying to adapt to the Western way of life.”

Having their own identity did, however, create its integration challenges, as in “our doing things back in other countries is sometimes totally different with New Zealand. A lot of things you have to learn and get used to it.”

Homeland connection: The respondent had strong homeland affiliations with respect to family connections, as in “yes, once a week in the office I will open my MSN and I can chat with my family,” and business connections as in, “I am going back in July this year for some business trips, to have a look around the whole business market.”

Business profile: The two major business catalysts identified by the respondents were the challenging job market in New Zealand, as in: “it is really, really hard to find a job here. So that’s why a lot of immigrants, if they have a lot of savings or whatever, will go into business.” They measured success through profitability, “profit one of the long term goals... if you can’t make the profit you will close anyway.” The respondents considered the major business difficulties they faced were language barriers, the small nature of the New Zealand market, and a lack of local knowledge.

“Business here in New Zealand is very, very difficult; especially for migrants when you don’t have extensive knowledge about the background. The way to do business, and all those systems, rules and regulations.”

Whereas, a major strength they highlighted was their strong Asian business culture. They used professional advice from accountants and lawyers, had growth expectations, and a customer focus, as in: “it’s not how much we know, it’s how much we care. So that is our differentiation from other companies.”

Family Business dynamic: Respondents did not refer to a family business orientation as in, “I don’t see the family can bring me any more values in business for me to bring them in,” and displayed little interest in the prospect of children becoming involved in the business. As one respondent stated:

“No, no, no, because we don’t want to interrupt my daughters studying. And I know some people who have the children work behind the kitchen or something. While they doing homework and then help out with the counter, but we don’t want that.”

With regard to the capitalisation of the business, respondents generally referred to personally funding the venture as in “I came into the country through the business investment criteria, so we should have some sort of investment to bring along with us.”

5. Discussion

The significant contribution Chinese migration has made to New Zealand’s economic and social development, from the first immigrants arriving in the 1860s to the most current new migrants, is supported in the literature (Chen & McQueen, 2008; de Bruin & Dupuis, 2000; Friesen, 2009; Ho & Bedford, 2006; Meares et al., 2010; Ng, 2001; Selvarajah, 1998; Noel Watts, White, & Trlin, 2004; Wong, 2002). Yet gaps remain regarding how this contribution is evolving. This study considered the changing nature of Chinese ethnic minority entrepreneurship in New Zealand from the perspective of two migration eras. Firstly, the descendants of the 1865-1900 immigrants who came to New Zealand as gold seekers, and secondly, the new wave of migration from China since the mid-1980s. Historically, the two waves have very different backgrounds with respect to region of origin, language, social status in China, and migration motivations. Findings of this study indicate that first-wave entrepreneurs were New Zealand-born, have a strong understanding of the New Zealand context, and consider themselves to be New Zealand-Chinese. However, the respondents did highlight the challenge of living in two worlds. That is, fitting into the current societal context whilst still retaining their Chinese traditional values. They referred to the struggle for complete acceptance in society but experienced less of the hardship and discrimination which plagued their parents and grandparents who had arrived as poverty-stricken immigrants in the late 1800s. Whereas the respondents from the second wave came to New Zealand for lifestyle and educational purposes, came from relatively affluent families, are well resourced, and consider themselves to be Chinese living in New Zealand. As a consequence they spoke of some social and employment discrimination based on language barriers and race.

Most respondents from both waves generally had tertiary qualifications. However, it was only those from the second wave who had business qualifications. They all spoke of the Chinese strong work ethic and first-wave respondents also referred to the positive influence of role models. Respondents from neither wave spoke of strong affiliation to the broader New Zealand-Chinese community. In fact, there was a disconnect between the first and second wave respondents because of language, values, and historical differences. Although first-wave respondents spoke of the historical hardship creating a bond between the descendants of the first wave, the second-wave respondents were from diverse regions within China and felt little connection to a unified Chinese community in New Zealand.

These broad differences between the two waves have led to variances in business start-up patterns. For example, first-wave respondents had no significant personal or business affiliations with Asia whereas the second generation had strong homeland affiliations and used these connections to benefit their business aspirations. Second-wave respondents did identify language, the small nature of the market and lack of local context as barriers to their business activity in New Zealand, whilst first-wave respondents highlighted their New Zealand upbringing and social networks as supporting their business activities. The first-wave respondents also identified a strong family involvement in the business and the importance of family financing. Whereas, the second wave of immigrants had minimal family involvement in the business and referred to personal funding of the venture. There was, therefore, a greater long-term commitment to New Zealand business within the first-wave respondents than the second-wave respondents. Never-the-less, both waves identified self-determination as a major catalyst for starting their own businesses, whilst second-wave respondents also highlighted the challenging job market as influencing their business start-up decision. Both groups measured success through profitability, used professional advice, and had strong customer focus.

6. Conclusion

How is Chinese ethnic minority entrepreneurship in New Zealand changing? Evidence in this study is of a profound shift in the Chinese demographic in New Zealand over the last 30 years, which has led to two distinct subgroups within this community. Data was collected from respondents of two waves of migration: descendants of the 1860-1900s migration and post-1980s migrants. Findings highlighted distinct differences with respect to social status, traditions and values; and suggested that it would be erroneous to consider both waves as one homogeneous Chinese community in New Zealand. Ethnic minority entrepreneurs from both waves who participated in this study did, however, have similarities in their entrepreneurial profile. They had tertiary education, strong work ethic, and similar business traits in respect to growth expectation, profit orientation and customer focus. Respondents from both waves never-the-less had a sense of disconnect from each other as sub-communities and different approaches to conducting business. For example, an affiliation to China of the second wave offered significant international business opportunities through the greater understanding of and connection to the Asian business environment. Tempering this was a lack of elegance or commitment to business in New Zealand in the long-term. On the other hand, the first-wave descendants appeared to have a stronger family business orientation and a long-term commitment to business activity within New Zealand, but lack the international connections of the second-wave participants. Therefore, although their entrepreneurial profiles are similar in many respects, the contrasting migrant history and behaviours inferred that there are significant differences in first and second wave business orientation and engagement with respect to international business connections and commitment to New Zealand.

This study places emphasis on the investigation of migration timeframes as an important addition to the existing ethnic minority entrepreneurship literature which

focuses predominantly on the impact of the environment within the host country. Findings suggest that in order to make effective decisions policy makers dealing with immigration, settlement and employment should consider the time context of subgroup differences and the subsequent difference in business behaviours. Future research should also look to understand to what extent an increasing global marketplace could displace the traditional ethnic minority business patterns, as immigrants could be behaving in a more transient fashion and not seek to establish themselves in the host society, but simply benefit from it financially, then move to another country.

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