

# Superdiversity: New Reality or Restating the Obvious

Paul Spoonley
Pathways Conference
10 November 2016







## Superdiversity: A Beginning



Steve Vertovec (2007) Race and Ethnic Relations

- New patterns of mobility/diversification
- Argue for a new approach (set of assumptions shaping research techniques/concepts)

**Super** = superceding or moving on from past patterns (Vertovec)

# Superdiversity: Who Uses It? (Vertovec)



- 325 journal publications
  - 21 different disciplines (socio-linguistics)
- Scale (world → country → city)
- Synonym (= diversity)

Call for re-assessment as new complexities

### Superdiversity: More Ethnicity?



- Additional ethnicities/immigrant diversity
- More languages/religions

But Vertovec deeply critical of this approach

Ethnicity + mobility + gender + legal status + age + ability

# Superdiversity: What Should It Focus On?



Complexity of social organisation and interaction

- –Non-linear trajectory of migration
- –More transitory/more churn
- -Multiple complex identities
- -New forms/expressions of social organisation



#### New Approaches Are Required



...over the last decades, the social, cultural and political landscapes of diversity are changing radically but we still use old maps to orientate ourselves.

In other words, my main thesis is this: we do not even have the language through which contemporary superdiversity in the world can be described, conceptualised, understood, explained and researched.

(Ulrich Beck, 2011)

# Investigating Superdiversity: The Everyday



- Everyday multiculturalism/multiculture
- Conviviality
- Cosmopolitanism
- Stranger/ness

...attempts to understand complex relations and organisations including everyday interaction (Vertovec)

# Superdiversity in Settler Societies: A Different Superdiversity?



- Original occupants/notions (indigeneity)
- Immigration as critical to building modern state/society (active recruitment)
- Group rights and state recognition of ethnic plurality (ethnic recognition)



### New Anxieties, Old Politics



#### Gig economy

- Deindustrialisation
- Automation of tasks/jobs
- Low productivity + low paid
- Casualisation + precariousness
- Wage stagnation

#### **USA: Industrial decline**

- Manufacturing
- Coal mining
- Iron and steel
- Textiles
- Car manufacturing

Populist explanations:

Globalisation + (unrestricted) immigration



### Representational Politics



- Suspicion of political elites
- Failure of liberal/left wing politics
- Anti-globalisation + anti-immigrant politics

Coherent and compelling analysis of contemporary capitalism and globalisation plus internal socio-economic impacts.

(see John Gray, "The Closing of Liberal Mind", November 2016)

Our view

## Labour govt return starts in Auckland

The region's rapidly changing ethnicity may worsen the party's diminished grip on seats aside from those in the south and west

Long ago, Labour was the "city party" and National the "country party". Labour still holds its own in Wellington. Christchurch and Dunedin but it is a long time since it did well in Auckland. It has safe seats in the south and west side of the city but National holds the north and east and centre, as well as the areas of rapid growth in the northwest and southeast.

look more like Auckland. Its present leader, deputy leader and finance spokesman are all Wellington MPs.

It's true that its three previous leaders, David Cunliffe, David Shearer and Goff, were all Auckland MPs and it made no discernible difference. But the party does need a more prominent figure in Auckland.

List MP Jacinda Ardern looks to be And some of the electorates that Labour's most popular Aucklander

## First, we'll take Auckland

On the eve of the Labour Party conference, Claire Trevett looks at the party's battle plan to take back Auckland in 2017

t may eventually take voters halfway down Dominion Rd, but there was nothing half measure about Labour's light rail announcement in the Mt Roskill byelection.

It was a promise to fund at least half of the \$1.3 billion needed to bring trams along Dominion Rd all the way to Mt Roskill from the CBD.

The byelection campaign is a handy dress rehearsal for Labour as it prepares for the 2017 election.

But it has a lot more to lose than National has to win in the fight for the central city seat.

Mr Roskill should be a safe Labour seat after three decades under Phil Goff's tender care. But on paper, National has the edge. So Labour leader Andrew Little has been throwing out the promises.

First came \$180 million a year for 1000 more police, an announcement he targeted at Mt Roskill.

Then came the promise to put in at least half of the \$1.3 billion cost for light rail. Little has also boosted the proportion of homes in Labour's "Kiwibuild" policy which would be built in Auckland, from 30,000 to 50,000.

The gap between National and Labour in Auckland is stark. In 2014, the centre-right parties combined won 54 per cent of the vote in Auckland. The centre left got 38 per cent (not including NZ First).

Labour can not afford to get Auckland wrong in 2017. Phil Twyford is campaign chair for 2017. "You can't win the country if you don't win Auckland. It's a third of the population and it is critical."

He admits 2014 was a shocker. "We took a bath. The voters basically decided we weren't ready to be handed the keys."

LABOUR HAS lost more than 14,000 votes in Auckland since 2008 and its share of the vote has dropped from 33 to 27.7 per cent. By comparison, National has picked up 28,000 votes and its share of the vote has staved



are Twyford and Jacinda Ardern – the Auckland spokespeople.

Ardern is Labour's "rock star" in the city, according to one MP. She is Labour's Justice and Children's spokeswoman and — critically for Auckland — Small Business spokeswoman. A sign of the breadth of her effectiveness came in the Herala's Mood of the Boardroom survey of chief executives.

It was not Little or even Finance Spokesman Grant Robertson who topped that survey of Opposition MPs – it was Ardern.

THERE IS a sense of tentative satisfaction in Labour as it heads to its annual conference. It has just raised \$200,000 at one of its semi-regular art auctions in Auckland, courtesy of donated artworks from the likes of Karl Maugham and Stanley Palmer.

After struggling to attract big donors, Labour's hierarchy is hopeful it is a sign of greater confidence in the party's chances of winning.

The local election results, which saw mayors with Labour affiliations elected or re-elected in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch have also been a morale boost.

Twyford says he is feeling "chipper" this time round, a year out from the next election. "I think, on the defining issues in Auckland, housing, transport – and, increasingly, crime and community safety – the Government is on the back foot and we've got good positive solutions."

Which brings us to Labour's other problem in Auckland: National. National by far outguns Labour in terms of manpower and money in Auckland. Its coffers overflow and it has a strong grasp over vast tracts of central, northern and eastern Auckland in particular. It has snaffled up the growth areas as well on the city outskirts on all sides.

National itself is pondering offering a multi billion-dollar tax cut programme but Little's largesse for Auckland has not escaped campaign manager Steven Joyce's derision.

#### Battleground electorates

Of the 21 general seats in the Auckland region, National holds 12, Act one and Labour 8 — If it holds Mt Roskill. In 2008, Labour lost Maurgakiokie and Auckland Central to National. Labour still wants them back. David Cunliffe's announcement he would leave politics before the 2017 election has put the New Lynn seat into play as well for National to stage a reverse takeover.

#### **Auckland Central**

The most marginal seat in the country — National's Nikki Kaye held it by 600 votes in 2014. Jacinda Ardern will have her third go at winning Auckland Central in 2017, having lost to to Kaye in 2011 and 2014. That contest is in the air for the time being while Kaye takes time for treatment for breast cancer.

Ardern had refused to comment about Kaye other than a brief tweet. "It was her diagnosis and it was not about politics. And it still isn't. The first and foremost focus is her health and wellbeing."

#### Maungakiekie

National's Sam Lotu-liga won the seat in 2008 after former Labour MP Mark Gosche retired from politics. His margin in 2014 was 2348 against Labour candidate Carol Beaumont, who had twice been defeated before.

This time Labour is trying a fresh face. Selections will be on November 12 and those in contention are Priyanca Radhakrishna, Anahila Kanongata'a-Suisuiki, and

### Superdiversity in Aotearoa: Superceding Colonial Models



- Nation-building project (racial/national ambitions)
- Traditional source countries
- Colonial politics/regulations
- De-hyphenated nation-state (international ambitions)
- Diverse source countries
- Deregulated/re-regulation (economic drivers)

#### The battle for Mosul

Jonathan Rugman On the front line in Iraq, where Isis fighters have no fear of death

#### **Paul Beatty**

The Booker Prize winner on race. satire and offence the Third Reich

#### **Nazis on drugs**

How crystal meth fuelled the rise of

## NewStatesman



**Has Trump** destroyed the Republican Party?

## The closing of the liberal mind

The resurgence of the state and the crumbling world order By John Gray



## Conceptual Frame That Makes Sense of Aotearoa/NZ?



- Superdiversity in Aotearoa
- Encompassing complexity
- Diversity (rather than multiculturalism)
- Rangatiratanga and inclusivity











