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I M M I G R A N T S I N A U C K L A N D

A Contribution to Human Ecology

**A thesis presented in partial
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ABSTRACT

New Zealand's post-war pattern of immigration and immigrant settlement has been characterised by three features. First, although British immigrants still formed the dominant group of new arrivals, the migrant stream has included a broader spectrum of national, cultural, and racial groups. Second, the immigrants have settled mainly in the major urban areas, especially Auckland and Wellington-Hutt. Finally, within the urban areas the various immigrant ethnic and racial groups have become spatially differentiated in terms of their relative residential concentration or dispersal as compared with the host population. Together these features have confronted New Zealanders with a variety of broad social adjustment problems.

This study of immigrants in Auckland examines the extent to which intra-urban immigrant residential patterns can be attributed to the operation of four basic factors identified in a review of the seminal literature. The four factors are: (a) the spatial organisation of urban land use; (b) the nature and relative importance of dimensions of (or factors underlying) urban residential differentiation; (c) the social, cultural and demographic characteristics of the immigrants; and (d) the social and cultural characteristics, attitudes and values, of the host population. It is asserted that these four factors are inter-related and together form a socio-ecological system, wherein there is a close association and interaction between the two dimensions of social distance and physical distance.

The operation and interaction of the four factors and the nature of the socio-ecological system as perceived by the writer, are examined via seventeen hypotheses. These hypotheses have been tested largely via (a) case studies of five selected immigrant groups resident within the Auckland Urban Area, and (b) a survey of the attitudes, beliefs and expectations of the host population. The five selected groups - the Dutch, Hungarians, Kiueans, Samoans and Yugoslavs - are held to be representative of the broader post-war spectrum of immigrant arrivals.

Apart from Chapter 1 which is concerned largely with methodological problems - especially data collection - the findings of this study are reported in six major chapters (Chapters 2 to 7 inclusive). The seventeen hypotheses were either wholly or partially substantiated - only Hypotheses 1, 4, 7 and 15 falling within the 'partially substantiated' category. Thus it is concluded that immigrant intra-urban residential patterns can be attributed to the operation and interaction of the four basic factors listed above. In particular the findings of this study support: (a) the close association of physical and social distance; (b) the role and function of ethnicity as a factor underlying social and physical distances between populations; and (c) the role and function of ethnicity within a cycle of causation that may contribute either positively or negatively to the integrative and/or segregative adjustments of the immigrant and host populations.

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INTRODUCTION

Immigration from an often wide variety of overseas origins has, during the past century, been an experience common to the social and economic development of many nations - notably the United States, Canada, Brazil, Argentina, the United Kingdom, Israel, Australia and New Zealand. By bringing together members of various human groups, disparate in terms of both culture and race, the process of immigration has contributed to the emergence of 'problems' in each of these societies, 'problems' which have attracted the interest of social scientists from diverse disciplines. Although the precise nature and extent of these 'problems' has varied, and still varies, from one society to another, they can be broadly classified under two basic headings - inter-group relationships and residential patterns. These two sets of 'problems' are closely inter-related as illustrated by the growing body of geographical and sociological literature on the association between social distance and physical distance for ethnic and racial minorities in major urban areas. This study of immigrants in the Auckland Urban Area is concerned with an investigation of the factors underlying immigrant residential patterns. Thus the study is basically a contribution to the expanding literature on human ecology, a fundamental feature of which is the association between the two dimensions of social distance and physical distance.

↙ New Zealand's pattern of immigration and the settlement of new arrivals has, since 1945, been marked by two notable characteristics.

First, although British immigrants still accounted for the bulk of the new arrivals, the migrant stream has included a broader spectrum of national, cultural and racial groups. Among these immigrant groups that have appeared on the New Zealand scene, virtually since 1945, are the Dutch, Samoans, Cook Islanders, Niueans, Hungarians and Poles. Some long-established but small immigrant communities (e.g. Greeks, Italians and Yugoslavs) have also been substantially increased by the post-war inflow of new arrivals. The second notable characteristic has been the concentration of immigrants in the major Urban Areas. By 1966 the foreign-born accounted for 14.8 per cent of the total population and for 17.9 per cent of the total urban population; 75.5 per cent of the foreign-born resided in the eighteen Urban Areas as compared with 60.1 per cent of the New Zealand-born. More specifically, the foreign-born have concentrated in the Auckland and Wellington-Hutt Urban Areas, 31 per cent and 16 per cent, respectively, as compared with 18.6 and 9.5 per cent of the New Zealand-born population.

These two characteristics have in turn confronted New Zealanders with three inter-related 'problems' which have gained considerable attention since the early 1960s. The first problem, essentially a matter of immigration policy, was the increasing need to reconcile the labour or manpower demands imposed by a continuing quest for social security and economic growth with a traditional and persistent desire for internal cultural homogeneity and harmony between ethnic groups. Second, the pattern of urban concentration reinforced the experiences and problems (initiated by Maori rural-urban migration) of accommodating a variety

of ethnic and racial minorities. Finally, within the two major Urban Areas, Auckland and Wellington-Hutt, it was soon found that some immigrant groups were residentially concentrated in ethnic neighbourhoods, often in the relatively 'less desirable' inner city areas. These concentrations, especially of groups which are culturally and/or racially visible, have been perceived as indices of 'differences' between the immigrants and New Zealanders, as obstacles to social interaction and hence assimilation. Concern over the 'problem' of assimilation, a prime consideration underlying New Zealand's immigration policy, reflects the traditional desire for internal cultural homogeneity. Together these three inter-related 'problems' are of particular importance to a society based upon egalitarian ideals of social welfare and social justice.

Within the context of the three problems specified above, the need for a clear understanding of factors underlying the intra-urban residential patterns of immigrants can be readily appreciated. Thus, the present investigation tries to establish the extent to which the residential distribution of immigrants within an urban area can be attributed to the operation of four factors: (a) the spatial organisation of the urban residential mosaic and urban land use, which form the broad locational parameters of housing and employment opportunities; (b) the nature and relative importance of dimensions of (or factors underlying) urban residential differentiation, namely such dimensions as 'family status' and 'socio-economic status'; (c) the social, cultural and demographic characteristics of the immigrants; and (d) the social and cultural characteristics, attitudes and values, of the host population. These factors are inter-related and together form a socio-ecological system.

The investigation of these factors is based largely upon case studies of the residential patterns of five selected immigrant groups within the Auckland Urban Area. These five groups - the Dutch, Yugoslavs, Hungarians, Samoans and Niueans - are held to be representative of the broader post-war spectrum of immigrants of diverse national and ethnic origins.

Research on the immigration and settlement of new immigrant groups in New Zealand has increased rapidly since the early 1960s. With one or two exceptions, however, the studies so far undertaken and reported have been limited to individual groups, often considered in complete isolation from other immigrant minorities, and from the actual attitudes, expectations and beliefs of the 'host' society. It is hoped that this study, by investigating the four factors underlying immigrant residential patterns with reference to five rather different groups, will bring into focus an area of research that has not yet received the detailed attention it deserves. Aside from theoretical objectives, it is also hoped that the study will contribute to a better understanding of immigrants in New Zealand cities and so facilitate informed decision-making at both national and local government levels.

Given the nature of the problem to be investigated in this study, the remainder of this introduction is devoted to two basic objectives. First, to outline the general spatial distribution and concentration of immigrants in New Zealand at both (a) the national level, and (b) the intra-urban level. Second, to outline the organisation of the seven chapters of the study.

THE NATIONAL PATTERN

In a study of cities and immigrants in nineteenth century America, Ward (1971) stressed the influence exerted by changes in the spatial extent and complexity of the national economy, together with the retentive characteristics of ports of arrival, upon the distribution of the foreign-born and the ethnic composition of American cities. The predominant feature of the seventy year period of mass immigration prior to World War I was the increasing attraction for native and foreign-born alike of the northeastern urban centres, characteristically areas of rapid economic growth. Time of arrival and concurrent potentials for employment did, however, produce variations in the choice of destinations for different immigrant groups.

A similar pattern of settlement and change has appeared in New Zealand. During the last four decades of New Zealand's nineteenth century rural exploitative phase of development, Chinese immigrants were attracted to the South Island goldfields in the 1860s (Taher, 1970), and Yugoslavs from the central Dalmatian coast formed a dominant element on the kauri gumfields of North Auckland from the early 1890s until the mid 1920s (Marshall, 1969; Trlin, 1970a). Following the depletion of the gold and kauri gum resources, the Chinese and Yugoslavs entered increasingly into intensive forms of agricultural production and/or gravitated toward the growing urban centres (of the North Island in particular). During the 1870s assisted immigrants from Scandinavia (Peterson, 1956) and Germany (Burnley, 1964) served as pioneers in areas of rural development, clearing away the forest and establishing small holdings often in distinct

spatial clusters that survived until the 1920s at least. Some of these northwestern Europeans, but more particularly the second- and third-generation descendants (for example of Scandinavian settlers at Mauriceville), later joined other New Zealanders moving to the cities and/or other areas of economic development.

Changes in New Zealand society and economy initiated in the early decades of the twentieth century by the automobile, development of urban manufacturing, and the expansion of employment opportunities in the tertiary sector, were clearly evident in the post-World War II internal movements of population (McCaskill, 1964; Heenan, 1968). Greek and Polish 'displaced persons', admitted to New Zealand between 1949 and 1953, many of whom were initially directed to various rural localities and types of employment, became part of the rural-urban migration of the 1950s and 1960s (Burnley, 1969; 1970a; 1970b). Today the continually growing attraction and dominance of North Island urban centres, and the processes of rural-urban migration and urban expansion, form prominent features of contemporary New Zealand (see Johnston, 1973; Thomson and Trlin, 1973). The distribution of the foreign-born in 1966, and their contribution to the population size and character of New Zealand's urban areas, underline the observed national trends.

With the exception of Christchurch, the foreign-born are under-represented in South Island Urban Areas (Table I). Even in the North Island the choice of residence appears to have been highly selective. Auckland and Wellington-Hutt, both major ports of entry and recognised areas of

Table I

Urban Population of New Zealand: Distribution and Composition of Population by Birthplace and Urban Areas, 1966.

Urban Areas	Distribution (%)			Composition (%)	
	Total N.Z. Population	N.Z.-born	Foreign-born	N.Z.-born	Foreign-born
Whangarei	1.10	1.13	0.90	87.85	12.15
Auckland	20.48	18.63	31.07	77.50	22.50
Hamilton	2.36	2.39	2.21	86.14	13.86
Tauranga	1.18	1.18	1.16	85.33	14.67
Rotorua	1.24	1.26	1.12	86.61	13.39
Gisborne	1.03	1.07	0.82	88.27	11.73
Napier	1.43	1.43	1.42	85.27	14.73
Hastings	1.39	1.42	1.25	86.69	13.31
New Plymouth	1.31	1.37	1.02	88.48	11.52
Wanganui	1.42	1.47	1.14	88.11	11.89
Palmerston North	1.83	1.88	1.56	87.36	12.64
Hutt	4.28	4.04	5.67	80.35	19.65
Wellington	6.27	5.53	10.49	75.18	24.82
Nelson	1.03	1.03	1.00	85.60	14.40
Christchurch	9.23	9.18	9.55	84.66	15.34
Timaru	1.04	1.12	0.61	91.24	8.76
Dunedin	4.06	4.16	3.48	87.27	12.73
Invercargill	1.71	1.84	1.03	91.04	8.96
Total Urban	62.46	60.18	75.57	82.06	17.94
Total N.Z.	100.00	100.00	100.00	85.17	14.83

Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966. Vol.6.

rapid economic growth since 1945, rank as the major poles of attraction, together accounting for 47 per cent of the total foreign-born and about 28 per cent of the total native-born population. Of the remaining ten North Island Urban Areas, only Tauranga and Napier managed to attain foreign-born proportions commensurate with their representation in the total New Zealand population. Surprisingly, the foreign-born were under-represented in Whangarei, Hamilton and Rotorua, all centres with above-average rates of growth over the decade 1956 to 1966. Overall the foreign-born were, however, more urbanised than the native-born, with 75.5 per cent and 60.1 per cent respectively located in the eighteen Urban Areas.

It should not be assumed from the above that all immigrant groups have a uniformly high rate of urban residence. Table II illustrates the considerable variation in the degree of urban concentration among the foreign-born, ranging from 52 per cent for Switzerland to 95 per cent for Niue Islanders. With only 68 per cent resident in the major Urban Areas, Dutch immigrants appear to have established a settlement pattern similar to that of the total population, though there are, as Thomson (1967, 97) points out, "certain relatively minor concentrations" at ports of entry and in areas (for example, South Auckland-Bay of Plenty) where economic growth has been most rapid during the major period of migration. Cook Islanders, especially from Aitutaki and Mangaia, have shown a similar response to the attractions of booming timber towns and cities on the Volcanic Plateau-Bay of Plenty littoral and hence show a similar local over-representation (Curson, 1970a, 183). The Dutch have also been unusually successful in securing entry to the agricultural sector of the economy, particularly dairying (in the Waikato), poultry raising and

Table II

Urban Concentration of Immigrants by Birthplace, and Proportions
in Auckland and Wellington-Hutt Urban Areas, 1966.

Birthplace	Number in N.Z.	in the 18 Urban Areas	Percentage of Total Group in:	
			Auckland	Wellington- Hutt
Australia	4,3,374	74.28	31.25	15.39
Canada	4,117	73.18	37.33	10.17
India	5,368	77.83	38.31	20.90
<u>New Zealand</u>	<u>2,279,994</u>	<u>60.18</u>	<u>18.63</u>	<u>2.50</u>
Niue	2,014	95.63	83.56	6.70
Cook Islands	5,838	79.13	52.48	17.42
Fiji	5,384	71.89	44.15	12.24
Tonga	1,005	89.65	70.44	6.36
Western Samoa	7,447	91.33	62.13	18.73
United Kingdom (Total)	244,601	75.74	29.90	15.12
England	176,438	76.50	31.57	14.75
Scotland	49,937	74.30	24.51	16.63
Austria	1,054	82.82	20.58	38.52
China	4,218	69.98	26.55	22.14
Denmark	1,669	72.55	42.24	9.64
Germany	2,849	78.34	29.34	24.07
Greece	1,637	91.93	6.90	72.02
Hungary	1,550	88.64	32.00	30.90
Indonesia	1,380	77.17	31.95	15.50
Ireland, Repub.of	6,539	74.81	28.84	19.89
Italy	1,556	79.17	20.11	34.25
Netherlands	20,461	68.15	20.39	13.22
Poland	2,130	85.44	18.07	48.54
South Africa	3,152	73.85	31.09	13.92
Switzerland	1,260	51.98	19.68	13.65
United States of America	3,982	71.74	26.39	14.84
Yugoslavia	3,874	73.90	51.75	10.91

Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966. Vol.6.

horticulture (van Roon, 1971), which is an additional factor contributing to lower urban concentration. But the Dutch, like British immigrants and one or two other smaller groups, are atypical on the New Zealand scene.

For most of the immigrants, limited or unattractive employment opportunities beyond the industrial zones of North Island ports of entry, the attraction of established ethnic communities, and government determination of the form of migration and hence settlement patterns for continental Europeans and Asians, have together compelled high rates of urban concentration. In this respect New Zealand's experience is similar to that of Australia since the late 1940s (Scott, 1965; Burnley, 1970c). Urban concentration of the foreign-born has been further swelled by government direction of assisted (mainly British) migrants to specific occupations and localities. Generally speaking, Pacific Islanders, Southern and Eastern Europeans tend to be more highly urbanised than other foreign-born groups, and the prime centres of ethnic urban concentration in New Zealand are Auckland and Wellington-Hutt (Table II).

At the national level the distribution of the foreign-born is significant from four main viewpoints. First, the occupations taken up by the immigrants are notably urban in character, being under-represented in almost all branches of primary production, particularly 'Agriculture and Livestock Production', the cornerstone of the New Zealand economy. Second, it has been estimated that over the decade 1951 to 1961 immigration (including New Zealand-born children of immigrants) was responsible for a quarter of the population increase, with the most important additions being made to the small, younger working age cohorts, 20 to 44 (Gilson,

1969a, 42). Though this contribution to population growth was not sufficient to offset a decline in the proportion in the national working-age groups (produced by low birth-rates and emigration in the 1930s, war losses and the immediate post-war baby boom), it did at least provide applicants for the thousands of urban labour force vacancies in the 1950s and the early 1960s. Third, the urban concentration of the foreign-born may, paradoxically, have accentuated both the dependency of the New Zealand economy and economic inflation in the late 1950s and 1960s via demands for housing, goods and services. The 'pros' and 'cons' of immigration and urban concentration in New Zealand are, however, still in need of a more through analytical investigation than has been attempted to date by the Monetary and Economic Council (1966). Finally, urban concentration of the immigrants has undoubtedly added to the urban mosaics of Auckland and Wellington-Hutt, contributing to the intra-urban elements and processes producing spatial differentiation. But here also is an area of research in need of much more detailed investigation, not to mention the provision of census materials (for other than racial groups) comparable to those of Australia, Canada and the United States.

INTRA-URBAN RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS OF ETHNIC MINORITIES

The uneven spatial distribution and concentration of immigrants at the national level outlined above is repeated at the level of intra-urban residential patterns. Burnley (1969) has traced the central city concentration of Greeks, the suburban concentration of Italians and the relatively dispersed residential pattern of Polish immigrants in Wellington-

Hutt. In Auckland the changing centralised residential patterns of non-Maori Polynesians (including the New Zealand-born components of these racial groups) have been described by Curson (1970a; 1970b; 1970c), and the 1961 distribution of Yugoslavs, characterised by both central city and suburban concentrations, has been briefly outlined by Trlin (1970a). Two recent studies of Dutch migrants in Dunedin have noted a tendency toward outer suburban concentrations, particularly when compared with the Lebanese and Chinese in the city (Alexander, 1969; Thornton, 1968). Several studies have noted the central city concentration of Chinese and Indians in the Auckland and Wellington-Hutt Urban Areas (e.g. McGee, 1960; Tanner, 1965; Francis, 1969).

From the still limited evidence available it appears that the residential patterns of immigrants in New Zealand cities are in many respects similar to those observed overseas. Studies of immigrants in the cities of the United States (Lieberson, 1963; Kantrowitz, 1973), Canada (Richmond, 1972), the United Kingdom (Collison, 1967; Jones, 1970; Dalton and Seaman, 1973) and Australia (Jones, 1967; Stimson, 1970; Burnley, 1970c) have without exception observed and described the variation of intra-urban immigrant settlement patterns as compared with either the native-born or the remainder of the total population. Several of these studies have also compared the residential patterns of selected immigrant groups and found that marked dissimilarities between groups are quite common. Frequently, patterns observed have a degree of uniformity, especially for visible minorities, with high concentrations in the central city area and consequent under-representation in adjacent suburbs, notably

outer suburban areas. Thus Pacific Islanders, Chinese and Indians in Auckland share with Asian and West Indian immigrants in Oxford (Collison, 1967, 283) and Birmingham (Jones, 1970, 139-142) - all visible minorities - the common characteristic of high levels of centrality, whereas the native-born populations are predominantly suburban dwellers. Yugoslav migrants in Auckland, Greeks, Italians and Poles in Wellington-Hutt, and Dutch migrants in Dunedin, also have overseas counterparts, following closely the residential patterns of fellow nationals in Sydney and Melbourne (Burnley, 1970a, 18-20; Stimson, 1970, 121-123).

While similarities between the residential patterns of immigrants in Auckland and in cities abroad are of obvious interest, the perennial problem remains of providing an adequate explanation for variations in the residential distribution of immigrant groups as compared with each other and with either the native-born or the remainder of the urban population. It is to this problem that this study is primarily addressed.

ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The study is divided into seven chapters. To a degree, each chapter may be regarded as a separate entity because each one is concerned with a particular aspect of the overall research problem, has specific objectives and uses data appropriate to these objectives. Moreover, the nature of the hypotheses proposed, plus the diverse forms of data required and collected, precluded the use of research methods and techniques of analysis that were common to all facets of the investigation. Where

appropriate, therefore, each chapter includes a statement or description of the research methods and techniques of analysis employed. While this format represents a departure from the more conventional practice of outlining all research methods in one chapter, the organisation of material adopted for this study had two advantages. First, the marriage of objectives, research methods, analytical techniques, data and the results of data analysis within each chapter provides a more immediate and deeper appreciation of the problems of research and the results obtained. In addition this format for each chapter was well suited to the constraints of intermittent research, analysis and writing over a period of six years.

Chapter 1 is primarily but not exclusively concerned with describing what might be broadly defined as the methodological problems of the study. The chapter begins with a brief review of the literature on ethnic urban residential patterns and urban ecology so as to establish those factors (noted earlier in this introduction) which are pertinent to the task of explaining the residential distribution of immigrants. Thereafter the chapter covers the following subject areas: (a) definitions of and criteria for selection of both the Urban Area (Auckland) and the five immigrant groups; (b) measurement and description of the residential dissimilarity of the five immigrant groups in Auckland in 1966; (c) the formulation of hypotheses for explanation of immigrant residential patterns; and (d) the sources and collection of data for the study.

Chapter 2 examines the demographic, social and economic characteristics of each of the five selected groups as they move to New

Zealand. These characteristics and the socio-cultural origins of immigrants have been consistently identified by researchers as an important element underlying their eventual settlement and adjustment in the new society. Since migration is a selective process, particular attention is given to the age, sex and occupational characteristics of immigrants, along with the motives and form of migration and the emergence of particular areas of origin within the respective overseas societies. Aside from demonstrating that the five groups are differentiated from one another on a variety of criteria pertinent to their eventual settlement in New Zealand, Chapter 2 examines also the importance of New Zealand's immigration policy as an 'intervening obstacle' which reinforces the normal selectiveness of migration.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the initial and subsequent residential locations of immigrants - locations which are interpreted as responses to the established pattern of urban spatial organisation or land use. More specifically this chapter attempts to ascertain: (a) whether new arrivals conform to the commonly postulated attractions of the central city; (b) whether their subsequent relocation conforms to the postulated decentralisation of residence; (c) whether decentralisation is limited by the duration of residence of immigrants; and (d) whether the residential distribution of the five selected groups can be adequately explained via the differential decentralisation of sub-groups classified according to duration of residence (e.g. 0-4, 5-9 and 10-14 years of residence). In essence therefore the chapter is based upon the concept of, and tests the validity of, the operation of centripetal and centrifugal

forces incorporated in Burgess' (1925) concentric zone model of the city.

The relationship between kinship ties, chain migration and ethnic neighbourhood concentrations, together with their cumulative effect upon the residential distribution of immigrant groups is the subject of Chapter 4. Two levels of analysis are incorporated in this section of the study; namely, the role of chain migration at both (a) the macro (or total urban), and (b) the micro (or neighbourhood) levels of immigrant residential patterns in Auckland. At the macro level the study attempts to establish not only the importance of chain migration for ethnic residential patterns, but also the extent and importance of intra-group heterogeneity. With regard to intra-group heterogeneity it is asserted that the explanation of the residential pattern of a given immigrant group might better be approached via explanations of the residential location of migrants from individual points of origin (e.g. villages and provinces). At the micro or neighbourhood level the investigation is based upon the premise that an appreciation of the mechanics of chain migration provides a sound basis for understanding and explaining the broader intra-urban settlement pattern. Many researchers have said that the attractiveness, durability and social cohesion of ethnic neighbourhoods is crucial to the residential location and dispersal of immigrants. Chapter 4 is, overall, concerned very much with the influence of kinship ties as one aspect of the socio-cultural characteristics of the immigrants.

Chapter 5 examines the importance of both the nature and spatial expression of dimensions (such as 'family status' and 'socio-economic status') underlying urban residential differentiation. More specifically, the objectives of this chapter are: (a) to identify the main dimensions

underlying the factorial ecology of immigrant groups in Auckland; (b) to examine and describe the spatial patterns arising from the dimensions identified; and (c) to assess the similarities and differences between the factorial ecologies of immigrant groups and the entire population of the Auckland Urban Area. For reasons associated with the size and spatial distribution of the five selected groups it was necessary to limit the investigation to the Dutch and Samoan populations.

The nature and importance of the attitudes, beliefs and expectations of a host population with regard to the arrival and settlement of ethnic minorities is the subject of Chapter 6. Accordingly the objectives of this chapter are: (a) to establish, from the viewpoint of the host society, the perceived social distance between New Zealanders and various immigrant groups; (b) to ascertain the factors underlying social distance attitudes towards a variety of immigrant groups; (c) to establish the 'assimilation' orientations or expectations of the host population in both general and specific terms; (d) to examine the implications of attitudes expressed upon aspects of immigrant assimilation, especially residential patterns; and (e) to ascertain the alignment of government immigration policy with public attitudes. The last objective relates specifically to the observed nature and operation of New Zealand's immigration policy discussed in Chapter 2. Overall, the above objectives provide a framework within which can be examined the role and effect of both 'ethnicity' and 'race' as factors underlying immigrant residential patterns, and perceived social distances between the host population and immigrant minorities. The key concept underlying the content and direction of enquiry of Chapter 6 is the postulated association between social

distance and physical distance.

Chapter 7, the final chapter of this study, extends the discussion on the association between social and physical distances by investigating the actual and relative importance of each 'distance' dimension with respect to one form of human interaction. It should be noted that Chapter 6 investigates the attitudes, beliefs and expectations of the host population and not actual behaviour. Hence the objectives of Chapter 7 may be simply stated as: (a) to assess the extent of in-group and out-group marriage in the Auckland Urban Area for each of the five selected groups during four selected years - 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970; (b) to determine the demographic, social and economic characteristics of immigrants who marry out-group as compared with those marrying in-group; and (c) to examine the possible effects of changing immigrant residential patterns upon immigrant mate selection, in other words the importance of residential propinquity. The first two of the above objectives are focused on the problem of verifying an association between social distance attitudes and actual behaviour as represented by the intermarriage rates for each of the five selected groups. Marriage patterns were chosen for this aspect of the study because of the widely accepted status of intermarriage as a sensitive index of social distances between populations. The third objective, directs attention to the relationship between residential propinquity and social interaction and, in addition, is aimed at further exploration of the association between social and physical distance.

The bulk of the conclusion to this study is, of course, devoted

to an evaluation of the hypotheses proposed in Chapter 1. These evaluations are then integrated to illustrate the operation and interaction of factors affecting the migration and subsequent adjustment of immigrants. Finally, suggestions are made with regard to future research.

PUBLICATIONS

During the period of investigation, seven papers wholly or partially concerned with the thesis topic were published and are listed in the bibliography (see Trlin, 1970a; 1971a; 1971b; 1972; 1973a; Trlin and Johnston, 1973; Walsh and Trlin, 1973). Material from these publications, that is the work of the writer and which is directly pertinent to this study, has, with small modifications, been included within the appropriate chapters. In the case of joint publications, the assistance or work of co-authors is fully acknowledged where appropriate.

CHAPTER 1

THE STUDY: THEORY, METHODS AND DATA

This chapter has three objectives. The first is to present a brief review of the literature on ethnic residential patterns and urban ecology so as to establish those factors which are important determinants of minority group residential patterns within urban areas. The second is to describe what may be broadly defined as the 'methodological problems' of the study, which include the following topics: (a) definitions of and the criteria for selection of both the Urban Area (Auckland) and the five immigrant groups; (b) measurement and description of the residential dissimilarity of the five immigrant groups in Auckland in 1966; and (c) the statement of hypotheses for explanation of immigrant residential patterns. The final objective is to describe the sources and collection of data.

ETHNIC RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS AND URBAN ECOLOGY: A REVIEW

Burgess' (1925) concentric zone model of urban ecology, based on Chicago circa 1920, has undoubtedly provided a model or at least a starting point for most investigations of immigrant residential distributions and movement within major urban areas. The key underlying mechanisms in his model were centripetal and centrifugal forces which, in concert, acted to produce varying degrees of segregation between groups within the population along economic, demographic and ethnic

dimensions. As perceived by Burgess immigration was one (perhaps the most important) facet of a continuing process of residential invasion and succession whereby residential areas evolved through a series of socio-demographic stages. He postulated, and to some extent demonstrated, a strong connection between areas of high immigration and what he defined as the 'zone in transition', a zone of maximum physical obsolescence and high population turnover located around the central business district (C.B.D.) and consisting of residential areas built initially for the richer members of urban society. In addition to this centripetal movement, and in part related to it, there was a continuing centrifugal movement of the population as individuals and families upwardly mobile in the social system sought to satisfy a desire for better housing in a better physical and social environment. In general, all sections of the urban population were affected by these inter-related processes of centripetal and centrifugal movement to a greater or lesser extent. As far as the immigrants were concerned their predominant initial location in the 'zone in transition' reflected their entry into the urban ecological system at its lowest socio-economic level. Their subsequent spacio-temporal centrifugal movement reflected their socio-economic adjustment and assimilation into the urban ecological system.

The general validity of Burgess' concentric zone model, in the case of Chicago, was demonstrated in a number of later studies. Cressey (1938, 61), using data arranged in ten concentric one-mile zones for seven immigrant groups and Negroes over the period 1898-1930, concluded that:

The distribution of these various groups reflects a definite process of succession. Immigrant stocks follow a regular sequence of settlement in successive areas of increasing stability and status ... [this] represents the ecological setting within which the assimilation of the foreign population takes place.

Ford (1950) up-dated Cressey's work by adding data for 1940 to the original statistics for the ten one-mile zones. He plotted the data on graphs which he interpreted as indicating a progressive movement of each group outwards from the city centre. Finally, Kiang (1968, 293) up-dated the analysis to 1960, using only three zones (1-3, 4-9 and 10 plus miles), and, in common with Ford and Cressey, concluded that by 1960:

... the distribution of the leading ethnic groups in Chicago was partially due to a time factor in that those of the earliest group, such as the Irish and Swedish, were found further from the Loop than the newcomers - the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans and the Negroes.

That aspects of the (Chicago) model apply, or are thought to apply, to immigrants in cities elsewhere can be easily gauged from published studies on immigrant groups in the urban areas of Britain (Jackson, 1964; P.N. Jones, 1967; Patterson, 1960), Australia (Burnley, 1970c; Lee, 1970) and New Zealand (Burnley, 1970a and 1970b; Curson, 1970b; Francis, 1969; Whitelaw, 1971).

It would be naive, however, to infer from the examples cited above that no deviations from the Burgess schema have been observed - quite apart from disagreements over the basic concentric zone ecological model reflected in the 'sectoral' (Hoyt, 1939) and 'multiple nuclei'

(Harris and Ullman, 1945) models. For example, Kiang's (1968, 294) data on Chicago clearly indicate that by 1960 the 'normal' pattern of spatial diffusion did not fully apply to either the Italians or Negroes. Italians were still over-represented in the inner zone (1-3 miles), while in the case of the Negroes an initial period of diffusion (1898 to 1920) was followed by four decades of high and numerically increasing concentration in the second zone. Other studies have shown that advances in socio-economic status need not be matched by or facilitate spatial diffusion or residential integration (Tasubor, 1965; Marston, 1969; Barroch and Marston, 1971; Kantrowitz, 1973). Conversely, decentralisation and the settlement of a minority group in the suburbs need not involve residential integration or complete assimilation as Rosenthal (1960) has shown in the case of Chicago's Jewish population. Finally, a steadily growing body of research suggests that new immigrant arrivals need not, of necessity, be drawn into the inner city area or some local variant of the 'zone in transition'; many may move directly to the suburbs (Lee, 1970; Whitelaw, 1971) and may even form suburban concentrations (Sakle and Wheeler, 1969). How can these deviations from the Chicago concentric zone model of urban ecology be explained?

The continued over-representation of Italian immigrants in the inner zone of Chicago suggests the persistence of an 'urban village' of the type noted by Burgess in the 'zone in transition' (e.g. 'Little Sicily', see Figure 12 in Chapter 3). These 'urban villages' were characterised by well-developed, durable, kinship networks as shown by both

Firey (1947) and Gans (1962) in their studies of Italian 'urban villages' in Boston. To leave such 'villages' was to repudiate the concept and values of the Italian community. Recognition of this fact provided Firey (1945; 1947) in particular with ammunition for his attack on the apparently culture-less approach of human ecologists, an attack supported by Myers (1950) in his study of Italian residential patterns in New Haven, Connecticut. Similar arguments in favour of cultural factors have been advanced by Warner and Srole (1945) in their examination of the social systems of American ethnic groups, and by Lieberman (1970) with regard to mother-tongue retention and religion as factors affecting ethnic residential distributions in Canadian cities. Religion is clearly a fundamental factor underlying the residential patterns and assimilation of Jewish populations in various cities (Birch, 1956; Rosenthal, 1960; Goldstein and Goldscheider, 1968).

Allied to the recognised importance of 'urban villages' based on kinship networks is the demonstrated importance of chain migration, whereby new arrivals are sponsored (passages paid, accommodation and employment arranged or provided) by kinfolk or close friends already abroad. Research on chain migration, initiated in New Zealand and Australia (Lochore, 1951; Price, 1963a), has developed rapidly over the last decade and revealed the fundamental importance of kinship ties with respect to ethnic neighbourhood formation and residential distribution in general, whether it be in the cities of the United States (Macdonald and Macdonald, 1964; Thompson, 1971), Australia (Jones, 1964; Lee, 1970; Gale, 1972), Britain (Iqbal, 1974), or New Zealand (Burnley, 1969 and

1970a; Trlin, 1970a). Indeed the two basic hypotheses formulated by Burnley (1969,6), with regard to Greek, Italian and Polish settlement in New Zealand, were:

1. Migration form is a determinant of settlement pattern and community structure.
2. Chain migration leads to the most nucleated forms of settlement and occupational specialisation.

With regard to the 'deviations' from the Burgess model noted above, kinship ties (and hence chain migration) can be advanced as the most important factor underlying the formation of suburban Dutch concentrations in Kalamazoo (Jekle and Wheeler, 1969) and the movement of new immigrant arrivals directly to the suburbs of Melbourne (Lee, 1970) and Auckland (Whitelaw, 1971).

The apparent importance of socio-cultural factors, outlined above, leads to a crucial question: "To what extent can the residential patterns of immigrant and indigenous ethnic minorities in urban areas be explained by their socio-economic status?" This question is crucial because the Burgess concentric zone model, essentially a 'social class' model of urban ecology, suggests that differences in residential distribution between ethnic groups would be largely eliminated if there were no differences in socio-economic status between them. Moreover, the residential diffusion of members of a minority suggests the evolution of residential segregation within an ethnic group on the basis of factors such as education, occupation and income. Numerous studies have established

a positive correlation between various measures of socio-economic status and the degree of residential dissimilarity between either immigrant groups themselves or between immigrant groups and the 'host' population - in Toronto (Richmond, 1967; Darroch and Marston, 1971), in Melbourne (Jones, 1967) and in various cities in the United States (Lieberson, 1963; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965; Kantrowitz, 1973). Socio-economic segregation within ethnic groups has also been verified (Marston, 1969; Kantrowitz, 1973, 37-43), even within Negro 'ghetto' areas (Frazier, 1964; Roseman, Christian and Bullamore, 1972).

Advances in socio-economic status, while promoting intra-group residential dissimilarity or segregation, need not, however, be matched by residential integration across ethnic lines. In the case of Toronto it has been shown that the degrees of residential dissimilarity between specific immigrant groups and the 'host' population are closely matched by the degrees of dissimilarity between immigrant and 'host' population sub-groups with similar occupations and incomes (Marston, 1969; Darroch and Marston, 1971). Similarly, in New York, Kantrowitz (1973, 44-49) examined 'between-population segregation by income when incomes are equal' and found that segregation increased with income. He concluded therefore that (Kantrowitz, 1973, 49):

... both ethnicity (Puerto Ricans versus other-whites) and race (nonwhites versus either Puerto Ricans or other-whites) appear to override economic similarity among the middle class of equal income.

Other writers have noted that Negro residential segregation from whites has increased and reached high levels in cities throughout the United

States despite improvements in Negro socio-economic status (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1964, and 1965). One obvious conclusion to be drawn from this trend is that "discrimination is the principal cause of Negro residential segregation" (Taeuber, 1965, 19). Negro settlement in the northern cities of the United States has almost from the outset been distinguished by the completeness and persistency of residential segregation. Even in the early 1920s Burgess was forced to insert a 'Negro Belt' which did not accord with his general concentric zone model (see Figure 12, Chapter 3). It is hardly surprising therefore that in 1960 the distribution of Negroes in Chicago deviated from the 'normal' diffusion pattern of other minorities (see Kiang, 1968, 294).

In his study of the assimilation of Italians into the ecological and social systems of New Haven, Myers (1950, 371) concluded that:

... sociocultural forces both hinder and facilitate the residential movement of Italians ... old prejudices against the Italians still persist among the non-Italian population, and act as effective barriers to their residential movement. At the same time, the Italians are consciously striving to move upward.

A similar view was expressed by Warner and Srole (1945) with respect to the arrival and subsequent diffusion of successive immigrant groups in Yankee City. It seems therefore, given also the impact of discrimination against Negroes on the housing market, that the native-born white population in the United States regards physical separation as a means of maintaining certain ethnic and/or racial groups in a subordinate status position - a status position determined not by socio-economic characteristics, but by cultural and physical similarities and differences.

The importance of ethnic (cultural) and racial (physical) characteristics as status determinants is clearly reflected in the results obtained in the United States by Bogardus (1928; 1947; 1959) using his Social Distance Scale. His results have since been confirmed by other researchers in the United States (Ames and Sakuma, 1969; Triandis and Triandis, 1960), Canada (Richmond, 1972, 53-57), Australia (Richardson and Taft, 1968; Hammond, 1954) and New Zealand (McCreary et al., 1952; Vaughan, 1962). These studies have revealed a relatively uniform hierarchy of preferences for various ethnic and racial groups. The most acceptable groups, as potential interaction partners, are those which appear to be the most similar to the core culture of the host society or the least physically dissimilar to members of the host society. Thus Northwest Europeans are generally the most preferred, followed by Southern and Eastern Europeans with non-Europeans at the bottom of the hierarchy.

The linkage between social distance and immigrant residential patterns can be inferred from a statement made by Park (1952, 177), one of the founding fathers of the Chicago school of urban ecology.

It is because social relations are so frequently and so inevitably correlated with spatial relations; because physical distances so frequently are, or seem to be, the indexes of social distances, that statistics have any significance whatever for sociology.

This postulated association between social and physical distance (residential segregation or dissimilarity) has been accepted (cautiously) by Collison (1967, 281) and Curson (1970c, 425), by F.L. Jones (1967, 412), and demonstrated by Tizma (1969, 53) in his study of the dissimilarity between overseas-born and Australian-born in Queensland.

From the above review it is clear that ethnic residential patterns cannot be explained entirely or satisfactorily with reference solely to the strictly economic, impersonal, sub-social competition upon which the Burgess model of urban ecology was based. Social distance hierarchies reflecting social interaction preferences and prejudicial attitudes toward specific minorities (manifested in discrimination on the housing market), together with the continued existence of 'urban villages' based upon kinship networks, indicate that 'classical' urban ecological theory must be substantially modified to include social and cultural factors. That the need for such modification has been long advocated is evident from the viewpoints and work of Gettys (1940), Hollingshead (1947), Firey (1945; 1947), Warner and Srole (1945), and the case studies of Norwegian and Italian immigrants by Jonassen (1949) and Myers (1950), respectively.

Aside from social and cultural factors which influence ethnic residential patterns, deviations from the Burgess model can also be attributed to variations in the pattern of a city's spatial differentiation. Do modern urban areas have a basic pattern of concentric zones centred on the C.B.D., or are the 'sectoral' (Hoyt, 1939) and 'multiple nuclei' (Harris and Ullman, 1945) models more accurate abstractions from the real world? This question has been examined and debated at length in numerous studies and the results reviewed by Timms (1971, 211-229) and Johnston (1971, 64-98). The general conclusion reached is that the Burgess model is not universally valid. In the case of New Zealand cities,

McGee (1969, 169-170) has proposed a model of land use which he described as follows:

In the centre of the city, the commercial business district and the zone of warehousing and light industry occupy the same location as these areas in the Burgess model. The zone of transition in the New Zealand urban area is probably smaller, spatially, than in the North American city, and there is a greater mixture of the declining older residential properties with other land uses. There are important variations from the North American model in the location of the various socio-economic groupings of the urban population. While the lower graded groups tend to occupy the central areas, there is no neat gradation upwards of social grade to the outer ring of settlement. Rather, the large ring of middle grade groups spreads outwards from the inner city, broken by nodes of upper grade housing on the fringes of the inner city areas and on the outer fringes of the urban areas (embryonic exurbia). The large zone of middle grade groupings is by no means homogeneous; indeed, the considerable mixture of upper middle and lower middle graded groups can only be described as assuming a chequer board pattern.

In essence McGee's (1969, 169) model incorporates both concentric and sectoral elements. He included also satellite cities, sometimes engulfed by suburban sprawl and sometimes planned developments on the urban periphery.

Another feature of the contemporary ecology of New Zealand's Urban Areas is the planned decentralisation of industry and the growth of planned suburban industrial estates. Changes in the intra-urban

location of industry have been stressed by Whitelaw (1971) who surmised that the decentralisation of employment opportunities, the creation of alternative centres of attraction, would progressively free urban residents from the traditional constraints of accessibility to the central city. Freedom from these constraints would thereby remove a prime reason for the inner city concentration of the disadvantaged population including visible immigrant groups. Moreover, the decentralisation of employment opportunities has been paralleled by the development of vast tracts of outer suburban State Housing (Otaru, Mangere East and Te Atatu for example) designed exclusively for lower socio-economic groups. Together these two developments, suburban industry and State Housing, have not only distorted Burgess' ideal construction of zonal growth and spatial differentiation but have also negated a substantial part of the model, namely the dynamics of centripetal and centrifugal movement. The Burgess model defined (a) the C.B.D. as the preferred location of economic activity (and thus employment opportunities), and (b) the attractions of the 'zone in transition' in terms of older, cheaper, housing available for rent in close proximity to places of work. Suburban State Housing tracts and industrial estates clearly represent alternatives to the attractions of the central city. Three recent studies of Maoris and Pacific Islanders in Auckland have shown that a growing proportion of new arrivals are moving directly to these alternative centres of attraction (Francis, 1969; Rowland, 1969; Whitelaw, 1971).

Emphasis on the location of employment opportunities and

housing, however important, has one major disadvantage - namely, the continuance of a unidimensional view of urban residential differentiation based primarily upon economic criteria. The development and application of new analytical techniques, particularly 'factorial ecology', however, has revealed that urban residential differentiation is a multidimensional phenomenon (see Timms, 1971, 54-63; Johnston, 1971, 38-63). In common with overseas findings, factorial ecologies of the Auckland Urban Area produced by Timms (1971), Bowman and Hosking (1971) and Johnston (1973) have revealed three major dimensions of residential differentiation. These dimensions, variously labelled, are (a) 'family status' (or 'stage in life cycle'), (b) 'socio-economic status' (or 'social rank'), and (c) a third dimension reflecting the (minor) role of 'ethnicity' (or 'minority groups').

The 'family status' dimension was identified (by Bowman and Hosking, 1971; Timms, 1971; Johnston, 1973) as the major differentiating factor in Auckland's residential ecology and was decidedly concentric in spatial distribution. Whereas inner city residential areas tended to have high percentages of single and formerly married (divorced, separated and widowed) adults, and females engaged in the labour force, together with high percentages of flats, rented accommodation and ageing populations, the urban periphery was characterized by young families, a high fertility ratio and dwellings owned with mortgages. On the other hand, the 'socio-economic status' dimension, consistently identified as the second major factor in Auckland's residential differentiation, had a

marked sectoral distribution pattern. As Timms (1971, 230) has noted, these results (both in New Zealand and overseas) suggest that:

... rather than being competing approaches, the zonal and sectoral models of urban structure may actually be concerned with different sets of properties ...

These "sets of properties" and the derived models may perhaps be independent, additive contributors to the total pattern of urban residential ecology. Apart from Rowland's (1969; 1972) examination of the Maori population of Auckland, almost no attention has been given to the 'family status' and 'socio-economic status' dimensions as factors underlying the residential differentiation of ethnic groups in New Zealand's cities. These two dimensions have, on the other hand, been shown to be basic factors underlying the residential differentiation of Negro populations in the major urban areas of the United States (see for example, Edwards, 1970; Roseman, Christian and Bullamore, 1972).

In conclusion therefore the above review of literature on ethnic residential patterns and urban ecology indicates that an analysis of the residential patterns of immigrants in an Urban Area such as Auckland must consider the following factors:

1. The spatial organisation or structure of urban land use - which includes the effects of planned residential and industrial location and development and thus underlying deals with respect to the total urban environment.
2. The nature and relative importance of factors underlying the residential differentiation of the urban area (such as 'family status' and 'socio-economic status').

3. Social and cultural characteristics of the immigrants, which includes the details of age, sex, marital status, occupations, kinship ties (especially as related to the form of migration, e.g. chain migration), and aspects of immigrant community organisation and social cohesion in the urban area.
4. Social and cultural characteristics of the host population, which includes basic attitudes towards ethnic and racial minorities and expectations with respect to the 'assimilation' or 'integration' of such minorities.

While each of the above factors may be regarded as independent variables governing immigrant residential patterns, it is necessary also to consider them as interacting and inter-related variables that together form a socio-ecological system. A concept crucial to the understanding of these variables and the system of which they are parts, is Park's (1952, 177) postulated association between social distance and physical distance. This concept is crucial because physical distance (e.g. the residential dissimilarity or segregation of immigrant groups) may be interpreted as both (a) a response to social distance - "a feeling of separation or actual social separation between individuals or groups" (Theodorsen and Theodorsen, 1969, 388), and (b) as an obstacle to social interaction between groups, if such interaction is deemed desirable.

THE URBAN AREA AND THE IMMIGRANTS:
SELECTION CRITERIA, DEFINITIONS

Two basic criteria were set for the selection of an urban area within which the residential patterns of immigrants would be examined. First, the urban area had to be one that contained within its total population a diversity of numerically strong immigrant groups. Second, the urban area had to exhibit a significant degree of spatial and residential differentiation, which (preferably) had been the subject of previous research thereby providing a sound base upon which to mount the examination of immigrant residential patterns.

As indicated in the introduction to this study, only the Auckland and Wellington-Hutt Urban Areas meet both of the above selection criteria. In the case of Wellington-Hutt, however, the variety and numerical strength of immigrant groups was limited (see Table II) and three of the major non-British immigrant groups - Greeks, Italians and Poles - were at the time of selection (late 1968 and early 1969) the subjects of an almost completed major research project (Burnley, 1969) while other immigrant groups had either been or were currently being investigated. By comparison the Auckland Urban Area was almost virgin territory, containing a variety of European and non-European immigrant groups many of which had so far escaped the attention of researchers. There was moreover a substantial and growing body of sound geographical and sociological research on aspects of Auckland's residential structure and spatial differentiation. For these reasons the Auckland Urban Area was the logical choice as a locale for study.

The spatial boundaries of the Auckland Urban Area are as defined for the 1966 Census (see Figure 1). A total of 64 spatial sub-divisions are included within the boundaries of the Urban Area. It should be noted that for census purposes, Urban Areas are defined by the Department of Statistics as:¹

... statistical conceptions without administrative functions. Their purpose is to provide definite, stable and comparable boundaries for the larger centres of population. In addition to the central city or borough they include neighbouring boroughs town districts, and parts of counties which are regarded as suburban and belonging to that centre of population irrespective of their being under different local administration.

The total population of the Auckland Urban Area in 1966 was 548,293 and its spatial area was 179.22 square miles (approximately 46,418 hectares).

One problem arising from the official definition of the Auckland Urban Area (as at 1966) concerns the spatial extent of Manukau City, which was formed by merging Manurewa Borough with Manukau County. The Manukau City boundary shown in Figure 1 is not in fact the true boundary, but delimits that portion of the former Manukau County included within the Auckland Urban Area as defined for census purposes in 1961. This portion, of Manukau County now Manukau City, includes the following main residential areas: Manurewa; Mangere Bridge; Mangere Central; Mangere East; Utara; and the smaller residential areas of Weymouth and Pakanini. Together, these residential areas situated south of Otahuhu, in addition to Pakuranga and Bucklands Beach adjacent to Howick Borough, account for all but an insignificant fraction of the total population of Manukau City. Thus the boundary shown in Figure 1,

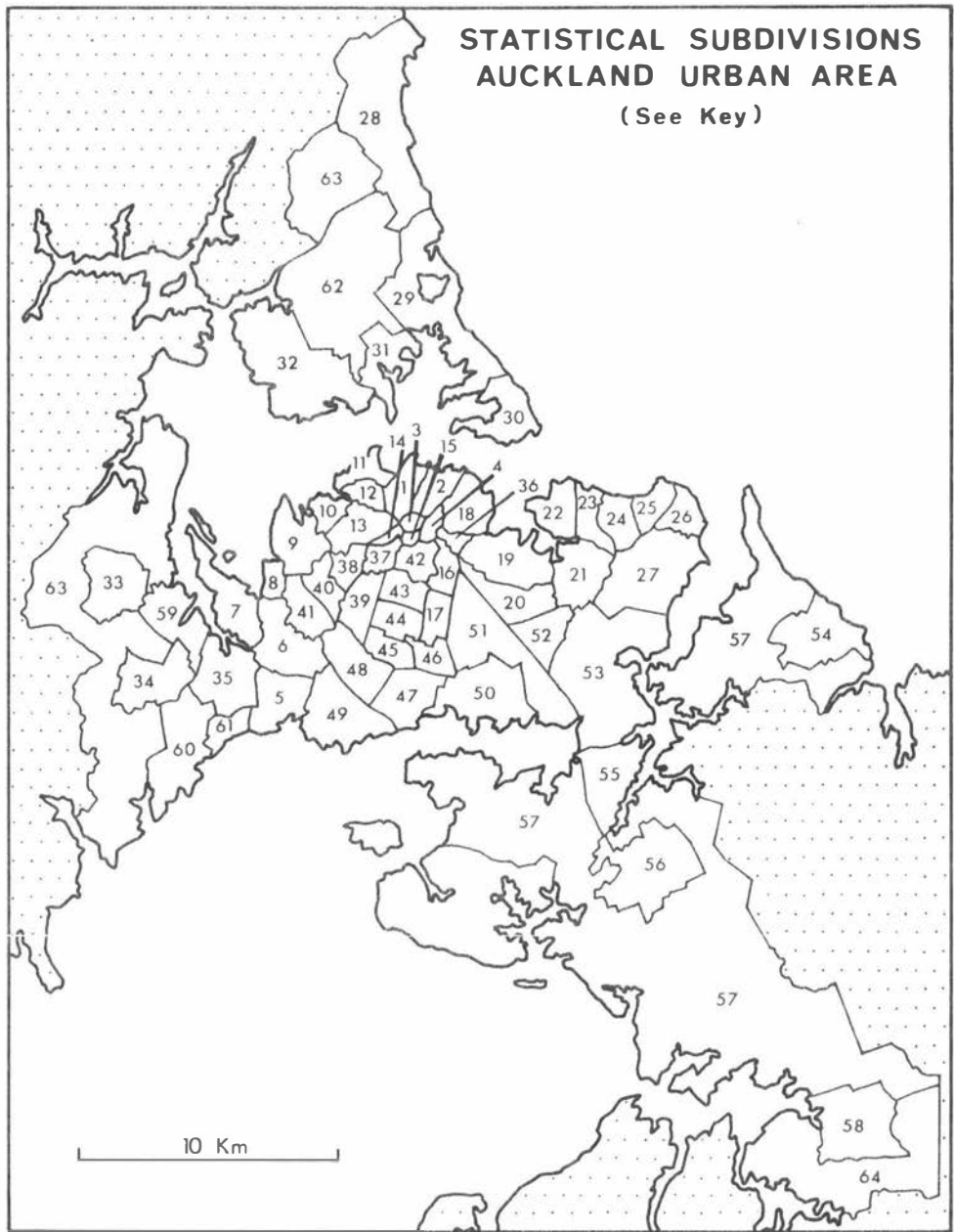


FIGURE 1. Statistical Sub-divisions, Auckland Urban Area, 1966

FIGURE 1: Statistical Sub-divisions, Auckland Urban Area, 1966 (Key).

1	Freemans Bay	33	Henderson
2	Auckland Central	34	Glen Eden
3	Newton	35	New Lynn
4	Grafton	36	Newmarket
5	Avondale South	37	Kingsland
6	Avondale North	38	Morningside
7	Rosebank	39	Sandringham (Mount Albert)
8	Waterview	40	Mount Albert Central
9	Point Chevalier	41	Springfield - Ovaivaka
10	Westmere	42	Mount Eden North
11	Herne Bay	43	Mount Eden Central
12	Pensonby	44	Mount Eden South
13	Gray Lynn	45	Three Kings
14	Arch Hill	46	Royal Oak
15	Eden Terrace	47	Hillsborough
16	Epsom North	48	Sandringham (Mount Roskill)
17	Epsom South	49	Halsey - Waikowhai
18	Parnell	50	Onehunga
19	Remuera North	51	One Tree Hill
20	Remuera South	52	Ellerslie
21	Meadowbank	53	Mount Wellington
22	Orakei	54	Howick
23	Mission Bay	55	Otahuhu
24	Kohimarama	56	Papatoetoe
25	St. Heliers	57	Manukau City
26	Glendowie	58	Papakura
27	West Tamaki	59	Kelston West
28	East Coast Bays	60	Titirangi
29	Takapuna	61	Green Bay
30	Devonport	62	Glenfield
31	Northcote	63	Waitemata County (part)
32	Birkenhead	64	Franklin County (part)

and in subsequent maps, delimits the built-up or residential section of Manukau City.

To facilitate the description and analysis of immigrant residential patterns within Auckland, the Urban Area was divided into three 'concentric' zones - Inner City, Inner Suburbs and Outer Suburbs. The composition and extent of each zone is as follows (see Figure 1):

1. Inner City: includes the census sub-divisions of Auckland Central, Freemans Bay, Ponsonby, Grey Lynn, Arch Hill, Kingsland, Mount Eden North, Eden Terrace, Newton, Grafton, Parnell and Newmarket.
2. Inner Suburbs: Herne Bay, Westmere, Point Chevalier, Waterview, Mount Albert (excluding Kingsland), Mount Eden Central, Mount Eden South, Three Kings, Royal Oak, Epsom North, Epsom South, One Tree Hill, Ellerslie, Cnekunga, Remuera North, Remuera South, Meadowbank, Orakei, Mission Bay, Kohimarama, St. Heliers.
3. Outer Suburbs: all remaining census sub-divisions of the Auckland Urban Area as specified in the New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966.

These three 'concentric' zones were first used for descriptive and analytical purposes by Curson (1970b), later by Erlin (1971c) in an examination of racial residential segregation, and have been employed throughout this study.

Once the decision was made in favour of the Auckland Urban Area, attention was directed toward the selection of five immigrant groups that would be representative of the diversity of national and

and ethnic groups resident in the Urban Area. The selection procedure was divided into two phases. For the first phase of selection three criteria were employed: (a) numerical size of the immigrant group; (b) whether or not the group(s) had been the subject of previous research; and (c) availability of basic data and the feasibility of data collection. On these criteria almost all groups with less than 500 members were eliminated, along with three 'large' groups (Cook Islanders, Indians and Chinese) that were the subjects of previous and concurrent research (see Grimes, 1957; Hooper, 1958; Taher, 1965; Francis, 1969; Curson, 1970a). Immigrants from the United Kingdom and Australia were also eliminated for two basic reasons: (a) because most 'British' and Australian immigrants, in comparison with other national and ethnic groups, appear to settle easily and almost imperceptibly into New Zealand society² - a society with which they have mutual cultural affinities and historical ties; and (b) because of the difficulties of data availability and data collection.

The second phase of the selection procedure was concerned with the final selection of no more than five representative 'non-British' immigrant groups differentiated from each other on at least four of the following criteria:

1. Ethnic and/or racial identity and 'visibility', i.e. Europeans and non-Europeans, with the former category sub-divided into Western, Southern and Eastern Europeans.
2. Socio-economic characteristics, i.e. occupations and age and sex composition.

3. Length of residence in New Zealand, i.e. 'old' and 'new' immigrant groups if possible.
4. Type of migration, i.e. government assisted immigration, refugees admitted for humanitarian reasons, and chain migration.
5. Ease of entry into New Zealand, i.e. unrestricted entry, restricted entry and where appropriate in the latter case the nature and relative degree of restrictions imposed.

Obviously, the first four of the above criteria reflect the importance of factors identified in previous studies as major underlying causes or determinants of immigrant urban residential patterns. The five groups finally selected were the Dutch, Yugoslavs, Hungarians, Samoans and Niueans.

Aside from being representative groups from Western, Southern and Eastern Europe, the Dutch, Yugoslavs and Hungarians are also differentiated from one another in terms of length of residence, type of migration, socio-economic characteristics and ease of entry into New Zealand. The large scale immigration of Yugoslavs can be traced back to the late 1880s and early 1890s, while settlement in Auckland - in central city boarding houses and on the urban periphery - was well established by 1920. Chain migration has been the predominant form of movement for Yugoslavs ever since the late 1880s, apart from 'displaced persons' and 'hard core refugees' admitted since 1949. This pattern of Yugoslav immigration reflects in part at least the stringency of immigration restrictions. The large scale immigration and settlement of Dutch immigrants, on the other hand, dates from the early 1950s, when the Dutch

were classified as migrants eligible for assisted immigration. Chain migration initially accounted for only a small proportion of all Dutch immigrants, but steadily increased in importance as assisted immigration waned during the 1950s and eventually ceased in the early 1960s. Hungarian immigrants have arrived in two main waves; the first wave consisted of 'displaced persons' (1949-1953) and the second and largest wave came after the 'Hungarian Uprising' in 1956. As 'displaced persons' and 'refugees', the immigration of Hungarians, granted entry on humanitarian grounds, stands in sharp contrast to the movement of Yugoslav and Dutch migrants. At the time of the 1966 Census, there were 4,173 Netherlands-born, 2,005 Yugoslav-born and 496 Hungarian-born immigrants resident in the Auckland Urban Area.³ A more detailed analysis of the characteristics of migration to New Zealand by each of these three groups is presented in Chapter 2.

Western Samoans and Niueans are both Polynesian groups and therefore racially 'visible' as compared with continental Europeans in New Zealand's predominantly European population. Because of this visibility, there is too often a tendency among New Zealanders to think of Samoans and Niueans (along with Cook Islanders and Tongans) as just 'Pacific Islanders'. This all-inclusive label, however, completely ignores important differences between the various groups. For example, Western Samoan immigration, particularly in terms of mean duration of residence in New Zealand, pre-dates Niuean immigration. More importantly, however, Western Samoan immigration is subject to tight restrictions (in fact an annual quota) and during the late 1940s and early 1950s was dominated by

Mixed-bloods (European-Samoan admixture). Niueans, on the other hand, as New Zealand citizens, are relatively unrestricted with regard to entry to New Zealand and only a small fraction of the group are Mixed-bloods. These and other characteristics of the two groups are also dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 2.

Defined as birthplace groups, there were 4,627 Western Samoans, and 1,683 Niueans in Auckland in 1966. In common with most birthplace statistics, however, these totals are somewhat deceptive. Not all persons born in either Western Samoa or Niue are in fact ethnically or racially Western Samoans or Niueans. For example, of the 7,447 persons resident in New Zealand in 1966 and classified by 'birthplace' as Western Samoan, only 6,241 (83.8 per cent) were identified as Samoan by 'race' (both Full-bloods and Mixed-bloods).⁴ On the criteria of 'race' there were 4,096 immigrant Samoans in the Auckland Urban Area in 1966.⁵ Wherever possible in the following chapters of this study, therefore, an effort has been made to exclude or at least identify persons born in Western Samoa and Niue who are non-Polynesians. Thus, reference to 'Samoans' will denote the racial group, while 'Western Samoans' will denote the birthplace group.

Finally, it should be noted that over the years since the initiation of this study a number of other researchers have directed their attention toward Samoans, Niueans and Yugoslavs resident in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand. Pitt and Macpherson (1971) have completed a broad study of Samoan immigrants in Auckland and Tokoroa,

Macpherson (1972) has examined aspects of Samoan intermarriage in New Zealand, while Smith (1972) and Pinn (1973) have analysed aspects of Samoan migration to Tokoroa and Christchurch, respectively. Two authors have also completed rather limited studies of Niueans (McDonald, 1973) and Yugoslavs (Canvin, 1970) in Auckland. McDonald (1973) investigated modes of cultural and social adaptation to life in the urban environment via interviews with a selected sample of sixty Niuean migrants. Canvin's (1970) study of Yugoslavs in Auckland was unfortunately a weak attempt to assess kinship ties and awareness of kin relationships among the migrants and relied heavily upon secondary sources (Price, 1963a; Trlin, 1967; Trlin, 1970a). With one or two minor exceptions these recent contributions to the literature on immigrants in New Zealand have not infringed upon the subject area of the present study, but have often provided useful supplementary information.

IMMIGRANT RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS:
AUCKLAND URBAN AREA, 1966

The Index of Residential Dissimilarity is but one of many summary statistics that has been devised and employed for the measurement of both immigrant and indigenous minority group residential patterns (for a critique of alternative indices see Duncan and Duncan, 1955). The formula for calculation of the Index of Residential Dissimilarity (IRD) may be expressed as follows:

$$IRD = \sum_{i=1}^j \frac{|x_i - y_i|}{2}$$

where $|X_i - Y_i|$ is the absolute difference between the percentage of group X and of group Y living in census sub-division 'i', and the summation ($\sum$) is over all census sub-divisions, 'i' to 'j'.

For general purposes an index value of zero (0) would indicate that the groups, X and Y, had identical distribution patterns and an index value of 100 would indicate complete dissimilarity between the distributions of the two groups. Thus the closer a particular index value is to 100, the greater is the residential separation of the two groups. The Index can also be used to measure the dissimilarity between two groups with respect to their distribution over a series of occupational, income or other categories. Clearly two advantages of the Index of Dissimilarity, as compared with other measures, are that it is simple to compute and easy to understand. These advantages are, perhaps, reflected in the frequency of its use in a number of studies (Lieberson, 1963; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965; Timms, 1969; Curson, 1970b and 1970c; Kantrowitz, 1973).⁶

Figures 2 to 6 illustrate the residential dissimilarity of each of the five selected immigrant groups as compared with the remainder of the total population in the Auckland Urban Area in 1966. Residential dissimilarity is defined here as the percentage difference (plus and minus) between the distributions of two populations by urban census sub-divisions. The maps thus illustrate the spatial variations summarised as indices of residential dissimilarity, which indicate the percentage of one population (usually the minority) that would have to redistribute

itself in order to approximate the same percentage distribution by spatial units as another population (see Table III, line 1). Contiguous census sub-divisions attaining similar values of dissimilarity (within the intervals specified in Figures 2 to 6) have been shaded continuously in order to simplify cartographic presentation.⁷

Examination of Figures 2 to 6 suggests that the five groups fall into four basic categories. Compared with the residential distribution of the remainder of the total Auckland Urban Area population, the four categories outlined below may be interpreted as stages on a 'segregated/centralised - desegregated/decentralised' continuum.

Niueans and Samoans (New Zealand-born members of these racial groups are excluded) fall within a now internationally familiar first category, namely that of 'visible' minorities (race, culture) with high indices of residential dissimilarity and centrality (see Table III). For Niueans (Figure 2) the index of dissimilarity was 53.04, and 58.6 per cent of the group resided in the Inner City. Samoans (Figure 3) had, by comparison with the Niueans, lower indices of dissimilarity (40.31), and centrality (43.6). For both groups the major areas of concentration within the Inner City were the contiguous census sub-divisions of Freemans Bay, Ponsonby and Grey Lynn. Together these three areas accounted, for example, for about 37 per cent of all Niuean immigrants in the Urban Area (c.f. about 4 per cent of the total population). Beyond the Inner City the two immigrant groups were under-represented to varying degrees over most of the isthmus apart from Onehunga, Mount Eden Central and (for Samoans only) Halsey-Waikowhai, Ellerslie, Rosebank and Sandringham (Mount Albert). Although both groups were marginally over-represented

Table III

Residential Dissimilarity of Immigrants, Auckland Urban Area, 1966

	Dutch	Yugoslavs	Hungarians	Samoans	Niueans	<u>Centrality</u> ⁺
Total Population (Remainder)	21.40	38.00	40.30	40.31	53.04	9.02
Dutch		38.22	47.51	45.57	59.30	5.55
Yugoslavs			39.20	45.85	59.53	15.86
Hungarians				42.40	50.07	25.56
Samoans					28.33	43.64
Niueans						58.62

⁺Centrality: - percentage resident in the Inner City, section of the Auckland Urban Area.

Source: 1966 Census, unpublished data, Department of Statistics.

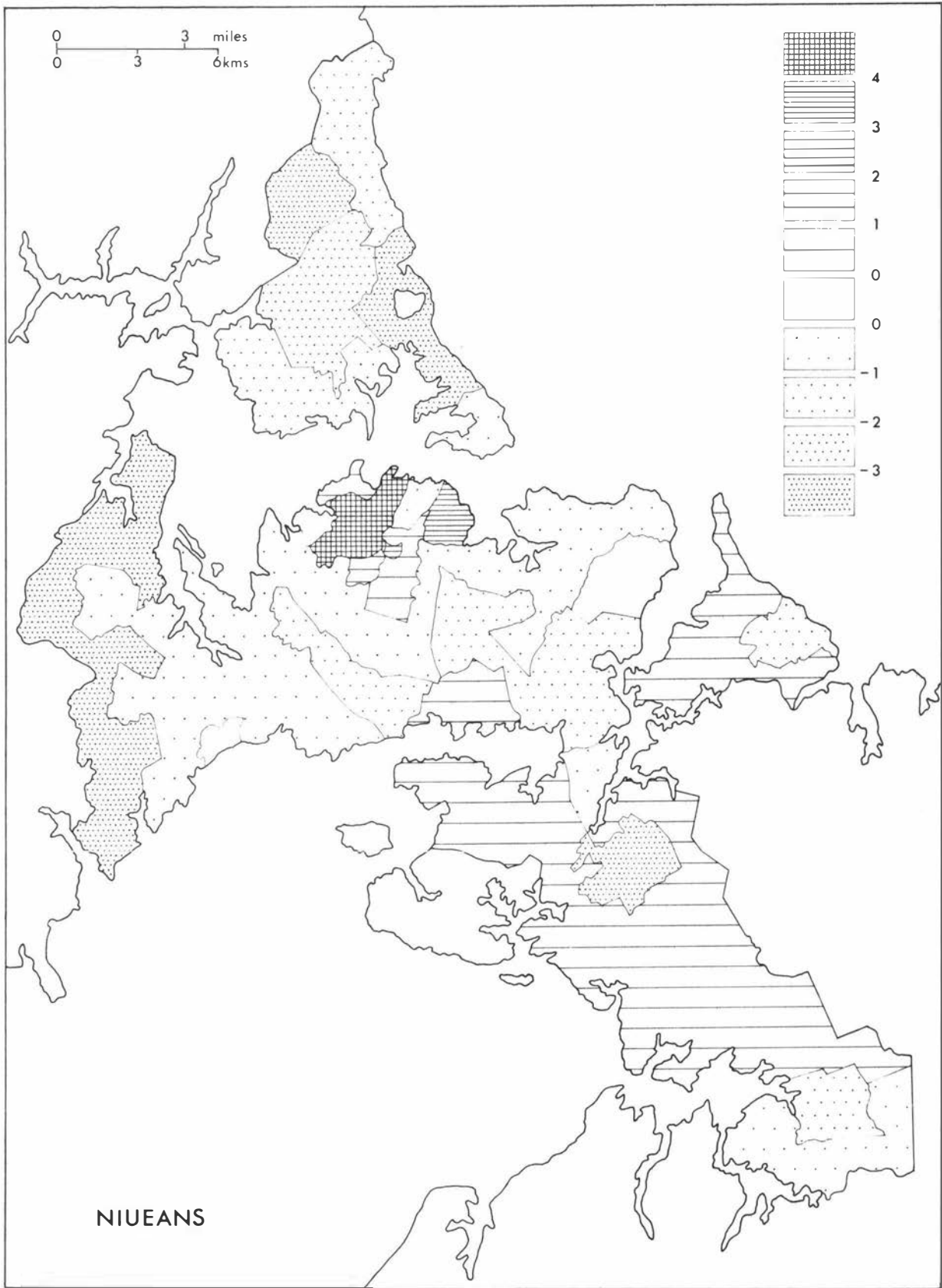


FIGURE 2. Residential Dissimilarity of Niuean Immigrants as compared with the Remainder of Total Population, Auckland Urban Area, 1966

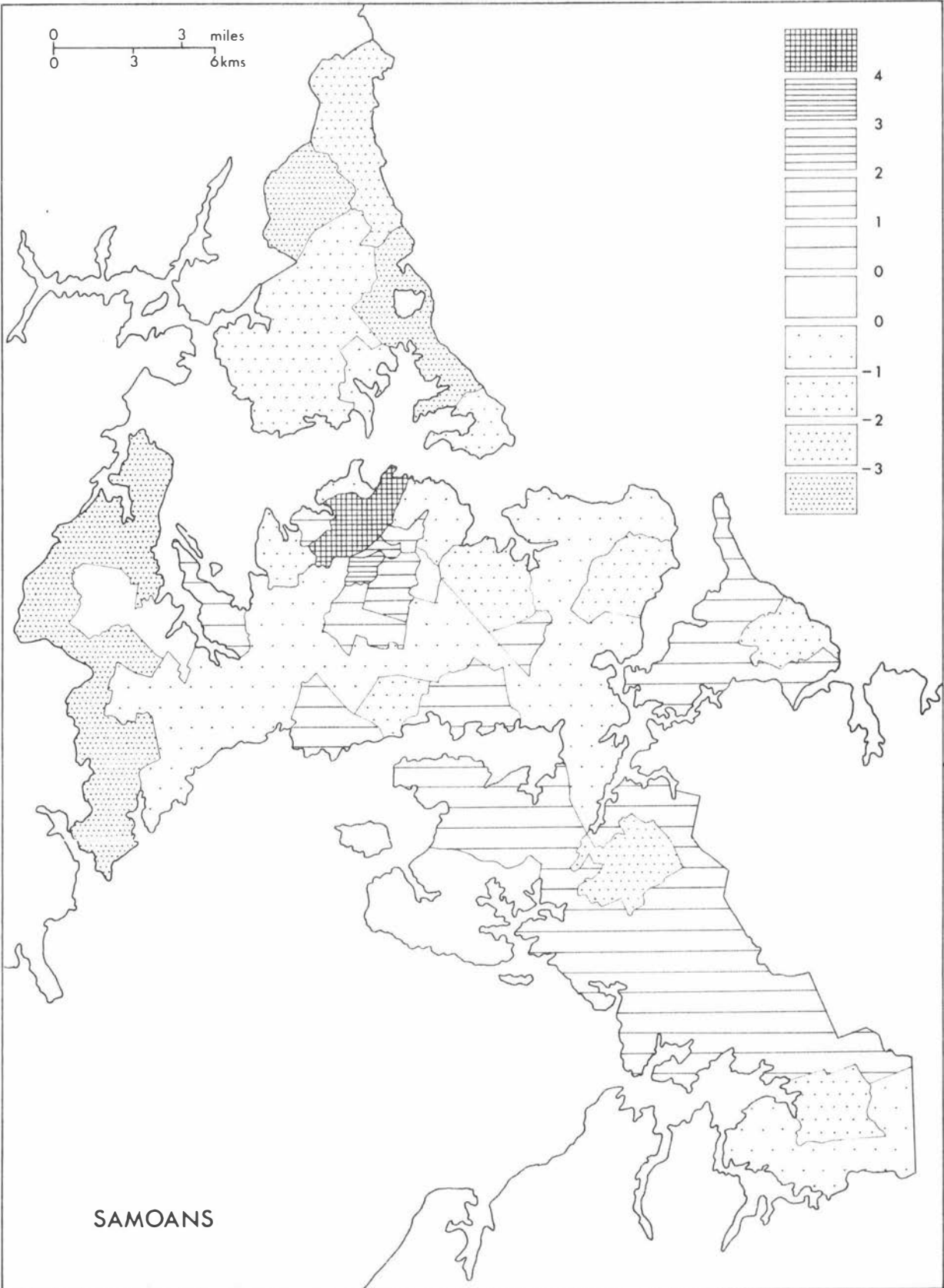


FIGURE 3. Residential Dissimilarity of Samoan Immigrants as compared with the Remainder of Total Population, Auckland Urban Area, 1966

in the large amorphous southeastern unit of Manukau City (but concentrated in the Otara and Mangere East residential areas) they were also generally under-represented in the Outer Suburbs, especially Takapuna on the North Shore and Waitemata County on the western periphery.

A second category is formed by the Hungarians (Figure 4) who were concentrated in the contiguous areas of Mount Eden North and Mount Eden Central (about 15 per cent of the group), thus straddling the division between Inner City and Inner Suburbs. The group had a relatively high index of centrality (25.5 per cent) and of residential dissimilarity (40.3), the latter largely the result of marked under-representation in the peripheral Outer Suburbs. Within the Inner City the two important residential areas were Mount Eden North and Parnell, which together accounted for about 10.5 per cent of the group. The Hungarians, unlike the Niueans and Samoans, were well-represented in a variety of residential areas across the isthmus (especially One Tree Hill, Ellerslie, Remuera South, Rosebank, Avondale North and Avondale South) apart from the eastern areas of Mount Wellington and West Tanaki.

Yugoslav immigrants (Figure 5) formed what appears to be a transitional category between the three previous groups and the Dutch immigrants. The Yugoslavs had a relatively low index of centrality (15.8) and an index of dissimilarity (38.0) roughly comparable with that of the Hungarians and Samoans. Major concentrations for the group were on the western periphery (Henderson and nearby sections of Waitemata County, about 19 per cent of the group as compared with about 6 per cent of the

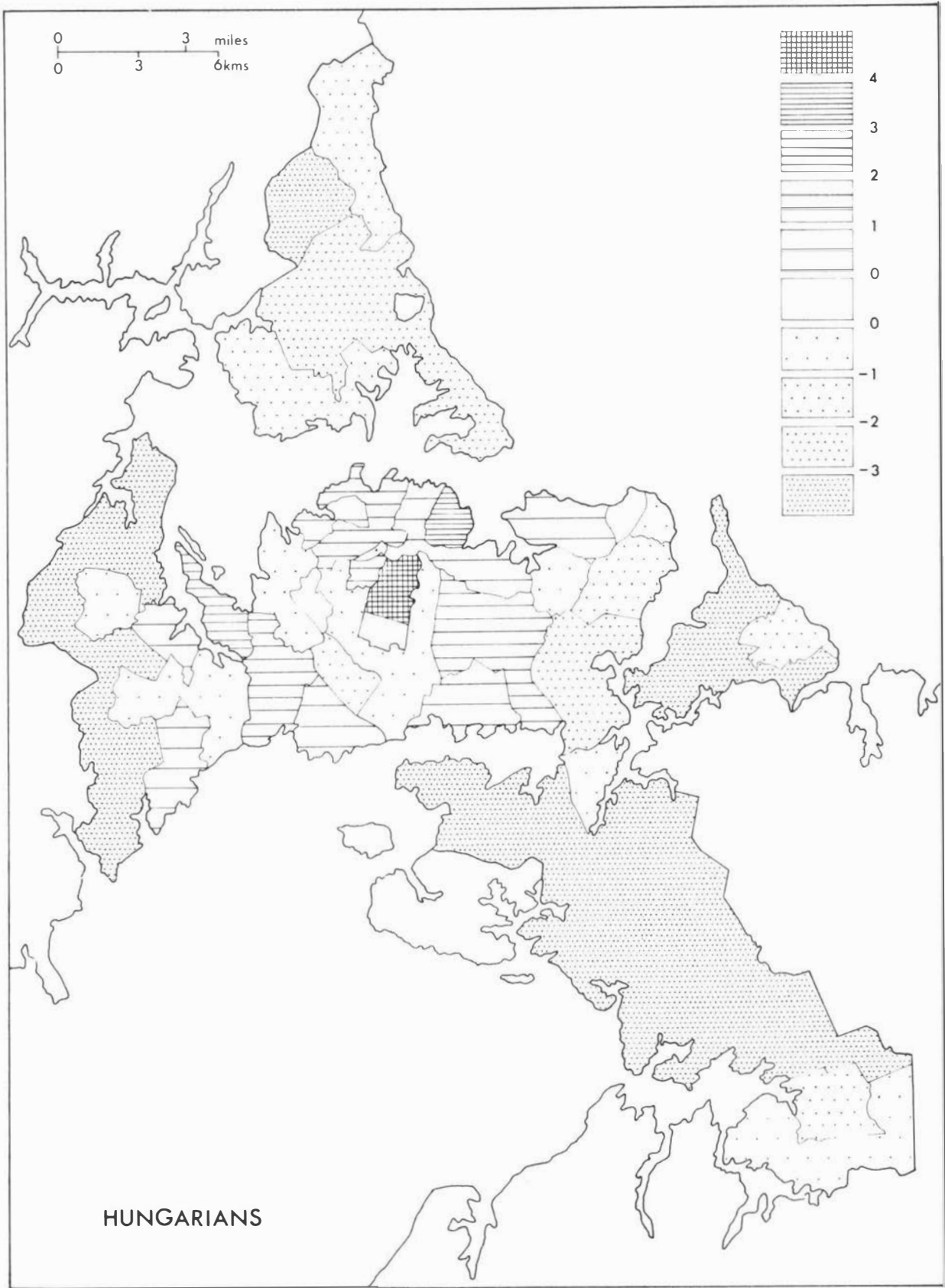


FIGURE 4. Residential Dissimilarity of Hungarian Immigrants as compared with the Remainder of Total Population, Auckland Urban Area, 1966

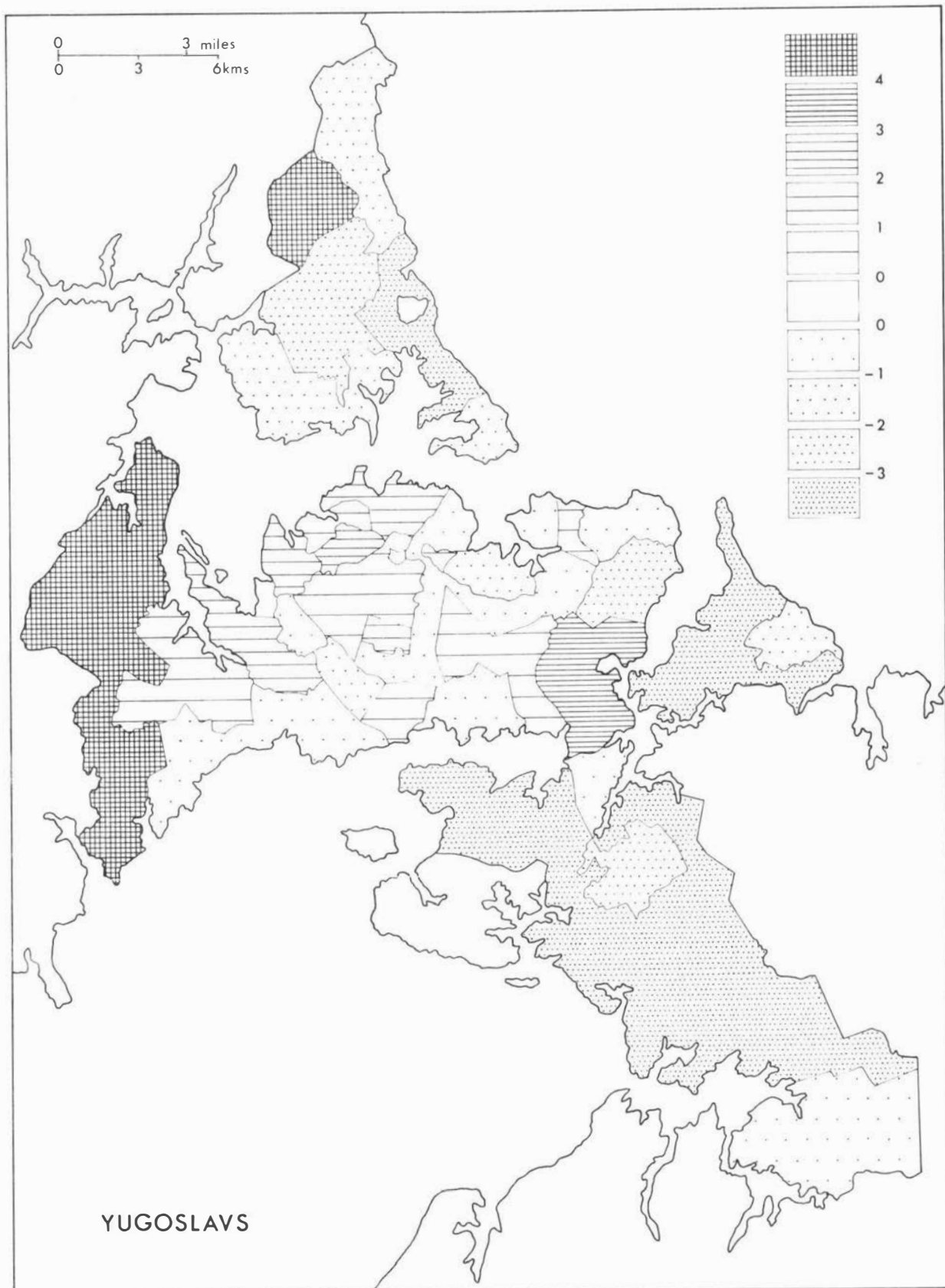


FIGURE 5. Residential Dissimilarity of Yugoslav Immigrants as compared with the Remainder of Total Population, Auckland Urban Area, 1966

remainder of the total population) and in the eastern suburb of Mount Wellington (7.2 per cent). Apart from these concentrations the residential pattern was one of a mixture of levels of under- and over-representation for the Inner and Outer Suburbs across the isthmus and one of uniform under-representation in the northern (excluding part of Waitemata County), eastern and southern Outer Suburbs.

Finally, the Dutch immigrants (Figure 6) formed the fourth category. With an exceptionally low index of centrality (5.55 per cent), marginal under- or over-representation for census sub-divisions on the isthmus and marked over-representation in Manukau City and on the western periphery, the Dutch stand as the antithesis of the visible, centralised, Niueans and Samoans. The index of dissimilarity for the Dutch was relatively low (21.40 as compared with 53.04 for Niueans) and can be attributed to their over-representation in peripheral suburbs.

In addition to the above 'segregated/centralised - desegregated/decentralised' residential continuum, Table III shows that indices of dissimilarity between the immigrants and the remainder of the total population are matched by the degrees of dissimilarity between each of the five groups. Thus, as could be expected, the highest indices of dissimilarity occur between (a) Niueans and Yugoslavs, and (b) Niueans and the Dutch, while the lowest index of dissimilarity is between the Niueans and Samoans. If long standing socio-economic explanations advanced by earlier researchers with respect to intra-urban immigrant or ethnic residential patterns are accepted, then the hierarchies of

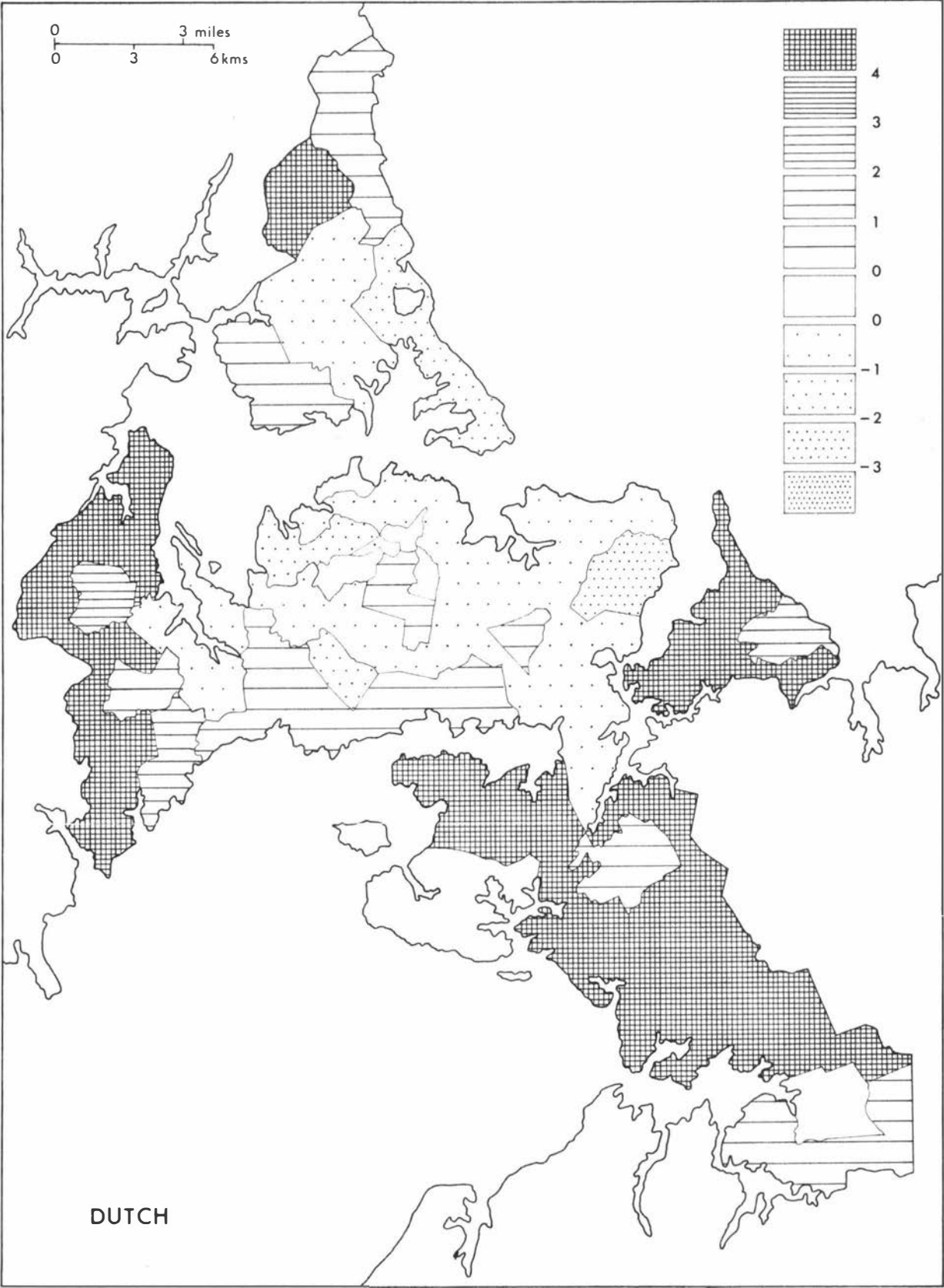


FIGURE 6. Residential Dissimilarity of Dutch Immigrants as compared with the Remainder of Total Population, Auckland Urban Area, 1966

residential dissimilarity between (a) the immigrants and the remainder of the total population, and (b) between the five groups themselves, should be paralleled and explained by a set of socio-economic factors differentially applicable to each of the five groups.

In other words socio-economic differences should be:

- (a) greatest between (i) Niueans (or Samoans) and the host population, (ii) Niueans (or Samoans) and the Yugoslavs (or Dutch);
- (b) lowest between (i) the Dutch (or Yugoslavs) and the host population, (ii) Niueans and Samoans, (iii) the Dutch and Yugoslavs.

To the extent that the contrasting residential patterns of the five groups facilitate investigation of the bases of residential dissimilarity it can be argued that the selection of the five groups is at least partially vindicated.

EXPLANATION OF IMMIGRANT RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS: HYPOTHESES

The following hypotheses were formulated after (a) a review of the literature on intra-urban ethnic residential patterns and urban ecology, and (b) the above overview of the residential patterns of the five selected immigrant groups in the Auckland Urban Area. These hypotheses may be interpreted as an elaboration of the operation and interaction of the four factors identified as determinants of immigrant residential patterns; namely (a) the spatial organisation of urban land uses, (b) the underlying dimensions of urban residential differentiation, (c) the social and cultural characteristics of the immigrants and (d) the

social and cultural characteristics of the host population.

From the outset these hypotheses have governed the collection and analysis of data.

A total of seventeen hypotheses were formulated and are stated below. It should be noted that the first three hypotheses, wherein reference is made to "the (assumed) operation of centripetal and centrifugal processes", are proposals designed to test the utility of the Burgess (1925) concentric zone model, the dynamics of which were the centripetal and centrifugal movements of population.

1. The initial residential location and subsequent intra-urban residential distribution of immigrant groups reflects the (assumed) operation of centripetal and centrifugal processes that represent the dynamics of urban ecological differentiation.
2. The response of immigrant groups to the (assumed) operation of centripetal and centrifugal processes will be dependent upon the (actual as opposed to the assumed) spatial location of employment and housing opportunities within the urban area.
3. The response of immigrant groups to the (assumed) operation of centripetal and centrifugal processes will be dependent upon their social and economic characteristics.
4. The initial residential location and subsequent distribution of immigrant groups will be influenced by socio-cultural factors (peculiar to each group) stemming from their respective origins and modified according to the constraints of the urban social and physical environment.

5. 'Urban villages', or ethnic neighbourhood concentrations, are based upon kinship ties and are sustained by additions via kin-based chain migration.
6. Kinship ties and other normative considerations, manifested in the continuing existence of ethnic neighbourhood concentrations, will not only attract new arrivals to specific residential localities but will act also as constraints upon the subsequent residential movement of immigrants.
7. Residential differentiation within immigrant populations will be along at least two basic dimensions - 'family status' (or 'stage in life cycle') and 'socio-economic status' - in common with the residential differentiation of the total population within an urban area.
8. The spatial expression of each dimension of residential differentiation for an immigrant population will in general conform to the pattern for the total population - i.e. a concentric zonal pattern for 'family status' and a sectoral pattern for 'socio-economic status'.
9. The degree of residential differentiation for an immigrant population along the dimensions of 'family status' and 'socio-economic status', and the spatial expression of these dimensions, will be dependent upon the degree of in-group demographic and socio-economic heterogeneity and upon the resilience of in-group socio-cultural factors or social cohesion.

10. The hierarchy of residential dissimilarity of immigrant groups (expressed in summary form as indices of residential dissimilarity and centrality) will be positively related to the social distance hierarchy (social interaction preferences) expressed by the members of the host population. The higher the ranking of a particular immigrant group as a source of potential social interaction partners for members of the host population, the lower the degree of that immigrant group's residential dissimilarity as compared with the host population.
11. The greater the cultural and physical difference between immigrant groups and the host population, the greater the social distance between the immigrant groups and the host population.
12. The host population will probably support the ideal of residential integration as a means of facilitating inter-group social interaction, but such support of an ideal may conflict with their perception of the social distance between themselves and specific immigrant groups. The greater the perceived social distance between the host population and specific immigrant groups, the less the support for residential integration with members of the specific immigrant groups.
13. Social distance attitudes of the host population will be manifested in aspects of inter-group social interaction, notably the selection of marriage partners and the extent of intermarriage. The less the social distance the greater the interaction.
14. Residential propinquity may facilitate social interaction between

the host population and immigrant groups, but will be subordinate to perceived social distances between the groups and underlying normative considerations. The greater the perceived social distance between New Zealanders and members of a specific immigrant group, the less the effect of residential propinquity upon social interaction.

15. Social distance attitudes and assimilation expectations of the host population will be reflected in the general character and particular details of New Zealand's immigration policy. The greater the perceived social distance between New Zealanders and specific immigrant groups, the greater the restrictions upon the immigration of specific national, ethnic and racial groups.
16. Restrictive immigration regulations will reinforce the normal selectivity of the process of migration in terms of the volume of migration, the demographic, social and economic characteristics of arrivals, and specifications concerning pre-arranged accommodation and employment organised by sponsors in New Zealand.
17. To the extent that restrictive immigration regulations reinforce the normal selectivity of the migration process, then the attitudes and values of the host society further influence the general character and residential patterns of immigrant groups in the host society.

From the hypotheses listed above a number of points must be noted. First, this study seeks to establish within the New Zealand

context the influence of urban structure, dimensions of urban residential differentiation and socio-cultural variables (or ethnicity) as factors underlying the residential patterns of selected immigrant groups in the Auckland Urban Area. It must be stressed that the study seeks to make a contribution toward the study of human ecology and is therefore not primarily concerned with the subject of ethnic assimilation. However, inasmuch as the residential patterns of ethnic groups may be viewed as both dependent and independent variables in the broad process of assimilation, this study has clearly a bearing upon and may perhaps be regarded as a contribution to the study of assimilation (see Lieberman, 1963, 3-7).

While this study does not give unlimited weight to socio-cultural differences between groups, it is asserted that the role and influence of ethnicity is rather more far-reaching and pervasive than many previous studies, especially in New Zealand, have suggested. In the sense used here, 'ethnicity' includes the broad cultural features of the immigrants as well as the attitudes, values, beliefs and expectations of the host population.⁸ Thus, for example, the 'ethnicity' of the host population is manifested in social distance attitudes which form a preference hierarchy for social interaction. Similarly, the 'ethnicity' of the host population is manifested in an immigration policy which acts as an obstacle of varying significance (depending upon the cultural and racial characteristics of potential migrants) between the origins and destination (New Zealand) of migrants.

A third point to be noted with respect to the hypotheses listed

above is that Hypotheses 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16 and 17 suggest the operation of a cycle of causation. Within this cycle it appears that:

- (a) socio-cultural differences between immigrants and the host population are perceived by the latter group and reflected in social distance attitudes and norms;
- (b) these social distance attitudes and norms have the effect of hindering or limiting to a greater or lesser extent aspects of social interaction;
- (c) limited social interaction (perhaps associated with limited residential integration and vice versa) is in turn appraised by the host population as evidence of socio-cultural differences which hinder aspects of social interaction;
- (d) the appraisal is then translated into a policy specifying conditions of entry for 'favoured' and 'non-favoured' immigrants;
- (e) the policy implemented reinforces the normal selectiveness of the migration process which is reflected in the general character and organisation of ethnic communities;
- (f) the character of urban ethnic communities leads back to the perception of socio-cultural differences between immigrant groups and the host population.

In a way this suggested cycle of causation may be interpreted as an example of a self-fulfilling prophecy.⁹ The cycle suggests the function and importance of socio-cultural differences (ethnicity) as a factor underlying both patterns of social interaction and ethnic residential

distributions. Important though such a cycle may be, it is but one aspect of this study's broader consideration of urban structure, dimensions of urban residential differentiation and ethnicity as factors underlying the residential patterns of immigrant groups.

SOURCES AND COLLECTION OF DATA

The major obstacle for research on the factors underlying the residential patterns of immigrants in New Zealand cities is the nature and availability of data required. In addition to data derived from official publications (e.g. the annual volume of Population, Migration and Building Statistics, published by the Department of Statistics) this study is based upon data obtained from a variety of sources and by a variety of methods. The seven major sources of data and collection methods are as follows:

1. Unpublished statistics from the 1966 Census, for each of the five selected immigrant groups, provided by the Department of Statistics.
2. Collection of data on the Yugoslav, Dutch and Hungarian immigrants from the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers, administered by the Department of Internal Affairs.
3. Collection of data from Niuean Police Records (shipping and airline lists) on Niuean migrants departing from and returning to Niue.
4. Collection of data on Yugoslav immigrants from the 'Applications for Entry to New Zealand' files held by the Department of Labour and Immigration.

5. Collection of data on the marriages of members of each of the five selected groups residing in the Auckland Urban Area, from marriage certificates held in the office of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Wellington.
6. Structured interviews of a random sample of 317 persons listed in the November 1969 Electoral Rolls of eleven electoral districts within the Auckland Urban Area, in order to examine the attitudes of the host population toward various immigrant groups.
7. A questionnaire survey of Yugoslav immigrants residing in one section of Mount Wellington Borough, Auckland, as a case study of an ethnic neighbourhood concentration.

Each of these sources of data and collection methods is described in the following pages.

(a) New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966

Statistics on birthplace groups are usually published as one of several volumes of results obtained from each five-year census of population and dwellings in New Zealand. The published statistics do not, however, include any details on the distribution, demographic, social and economic characteristics of specific birthplace groups within a particular Urban Area, nor are such statistics published for birthplace groups at the level of intra-urban census sub-divisions. This does not mean, however, that such data are unavailable. Precedents have been established (Trlin, 1967; Collins, 1971) for the collation and provision to bona fide researchers of special unpublished statistics. This co-operation on the part of the Department of Statistics is based upon three

conditions: (a) the request for data must be within reasonable limits in terms of the time and costs involved in extracting the data required; (b) the data requested must not contravene official regulations concerning the confidentiality of individual census returns (especially with regard to 'income' declarations); and (c) the data request must be incorporated within the normal work schedules of the Department, without any expectations of priority treatment.

A request for data from the 1966 Census on Dutch, Yugoslav, Hungarian, Samoan and Niuean immigrants residing within the Auckland Urban Area was lodged with the Department of Statistics early in 1969. The request was evaluated and eventually approved by the Department, and the specified statistics for each of the five selected groups (at the level of intra-urban census subdivisions) were prepared, checked and then despatched to the author over a period of time ending in late 1970.

The statistics made available under this arrangement were for three birthplace groups (Netherlands, Hungary and Yugoslavia) and for two racial groups (Niueans and Samoans),¹⁰ with data for the two latter groups distinguishing between those racial group members born in New Zealand and those born overseas. For each of the five groups (divided into males and females) residing in each of 64 census sub-divisions, data were provided on:

1. Number of group members.
2. Age groups (quinquennial groups, e.g. 0-4, 5-9).
3. Marital status.
4. Employment by Industry Groups.
5. Employment by Occupation Groups.

6. Occupational Status (On own account, employer, etc.)
7. Duration of Residence in New Zealand.
8. Nature of Dwellings (Flat, Private Dwelling, etc.)
9. Tenure of Dwellings (Rented, Owned with mortgage, etc.)
10. Amenities and Possessions of Inhabited Private Dwellings (Toilet, Bath, Refrigerator, etc.).

Data on incomes were also made available, but not in a form that was suitable for analytical purposes at the census sub-division level.¹¹

Statistics from the 1966 Census have been used at various points in this study. For example, the maps depicting the residential dissimilarity (Figures 2 to 6) of the five immigrant groups are based on the unpublished data provided by the Department. The bulk of the data, however, has been used for the examination of the factorial ecology of immigrant groups in Chapter 5.

(b) Aliens and Naturalisation Registers

The use of Naturalisation Records was pioneered in Australasia by C.A. Price in his study of Southern Europeans in Australia. His example has already provided a 'model' for two studies in New Zealand (Trlin, 1967; Burnley, 1969). When a non-British immigrant arrives in New Zealand, he or she (if 16 years of age and over) is required to register as an Alien and to notify the administering Department (formerly the Justice Department, now the Department of Internal Affairs) of all changes of address and occupation. When and if the immigrant applies for and is granted New Zealand citizenship, his record is trans-

ferred from the Aliens Register to the Naturalisation Register and becomes in effect a 'dead' record in that no further information is recorded beyond the date of naturalisation. By using both Registers, the researcher can establish a universe for sampling an immigrant population (such as the Dutch, see Thomson, 1967 and 1970) and/or the researcher can process the information contained in the two Registers and so trace some aspects of immigrant settlement and adjustment over a specific time period (see Burnley, 1969).

Information recorded for each immigrant on a card in the Registers includes the following items:

1. Surname and christian names (including deed poll alteration).
2. Date of arrival in New Zealand.
3. Basic demographic data - sex, date of birth, marital status (upon arrival), and change of marital status of females before naturalisation.
4. Place of birth - country and locality (town or village, etc.).
5. Residential address, and changes of address from time of arrival in New Zealand until the record is closed (either by naturalisation or departure from New Zealand, or death of the immigrant).
6. Occupations, from time of arrival until the record is closed.
7. Date and reason for closure of record (naturalisation, departure and death).

It must be stressed that residential and occupational information, while of considerable value, is neither completely recorded nor

completely reliable. Some immigrants, particularly young single males, fail to notify every change of address or occupation. For the most part, however, information recorded provides a fairly reliable 'history' of the immigrants' residential and occupational movements as both Thomson (1967, 103-104) and Burnley (1969) have found.

Access to the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers is restricted to bona fide researchers who must submit a written application for access, specifying their credentials and the nature of their research project, and who must agree to comply with the appropriate regulations governing the use of the Registers. For this study an application for access and permission to extract information was lodged initially to collect information on Yugoslav immigrants and later to collect data on Dutch and Hungarian immigrants. Permission was granted on the understanding that the researcher alone (and later an approved assistant) should undertake the work required, without assistance from departmental staff and under the supervision and guidance of the appropriate Department officer.

The extraction of data from the two Registers proved to be a difficult task for two reasons. First, there was no list (in 1968/1969) of all persons on the Registers identified by nationality and birthplace. Second, the individual records are in the form of cards which are arranged by the surnames of immigrants in alphabetical order. As at 1st April 1969 there were 28,638 immigrants on the Aliens Register alone.

Given the difficulties of the task of data collection, the following procedures were followed:

1. Yugoslav immigrants: First, lists of all Yugoslav arrivals, 1949-1967, were prepared by examining (a) lists of 'displaced persons' admitted to New Zealand, 1949-1952, (b) shipping and airline lists for the period 1950-1967. Second, using the lists prepared, individual immigrants were traced first in the Aliens Register and second in the Naturalisation Register.¹² Data for all Yugoslav arrivals traced in the Registers was recorded, irrespective of their initial place of residence in New Zealand. Part of this information collected was used in a subsequent study of Yugoslavs in New Zealand (Trlin, 1970a) together with information collected for an earlier study (Trlin, 1967).
2. Hungarian immigrants: Collection of data on the Hungarians was limited to those immigrants admitted to New Zealand as refugees between November 1956 and December 1958, and more specifically was limited to those refugees who upon arrival settled and remained in the Auckland Urban Area until at least December 1966. Using lists of Hungarian refugees held by the Department of Internal Affairs, it was possible to trace the appropriate cases with reasonable ease in the two Registers and to record the appropriate data.
3. Dutch immigrants: In comparison with Yugoslav and Hungarian immigrants, the vast number of Dutch arrivals since 1950 and their settlement throughout New Zealand appeared to negate the advantages arising from prior compilation of lists of arrivals. Accordingly, the task of data collection was divided into two phases. First, the complete Aliens Register was systematically examined and data was recorded for Dutch arrivals (1960-1967) residing initially in the

Auckland Urban Area. Second, lists of persons involved in all citizenship ceremonies in the Auckland Urban Area, 1964-1967, were examined and Dutch migrants identified (by name and nationality) were traced in the Naturalisation Register. Data were then recorded for those Dutch immigrants who had arrived in New Zealand during and after 1960 and who had resided initially in the Auckland Urban Area.

The above procedures for data collection yielded information on the date of arrival, age, sex, marital status, birthplaces, residential and occupational changes of 1,674 Yugoslavs, 968 Dutch migrants and 232 Hungarian refugees - a total of 2,874 immigrants. Data for each of these immigrants were then coded for computer processing. Data on initial and subsequent residential locations within the Auckland Urban Area were coded at the level of intra-urban census sub-divisions; individual addresses were classified using street maps covering the Urban Area and marked with census sub-division boundaries.¹³ Some of the information collected from the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers has been used for the examination of characteristics of Yugoslav, Dutch and Hungarian immigrants arriving in New Zealand (Chapter 2), but the bulk of the information was employed for the examination of residential locations and movement in Chapters 3 and 4 of this study.

(c) Niuean Police Records (shipping and airline lists).

Collection of data from Niuean Police Records, duplicates of which are held by the Department of Island Affairs (Wellington), was carried out in association with A.C. Walsh as part of a joint invest-

igation on the characteristics of Niuean migration (see Walsh and Trlin, 1973).¹⁴ Information included in these records, for each Niuean migrant, consists of the following items:

1. Date of migration (arrival in or departure from Niue).
2. Surname and christian names.
3. Sex and age of migrant.
4. Occupation.
5. Village of origin.
6. Destination, including residential address of destination in New Zealand.

Data were collected on arrivals and departures (Europeans excluded) for the period 1956 to 1971 and coded for computer processing. In the case of Niueans moving to the Auckland Urban Area (over 90 per cent of migrants) the destination was traced using street maps and coded at the level of intra-urban census sub-divisions.

One of the major problems with these lists of arrivals and departures is that they are sometimes incomplete with regard to information recorded. This was, for example, a particular feature of the records for 1965 and 1966 which had either an incomplete declaration or no declaration of the migrant's precise destination in New Zealand. Despite such limitations the records yielded information that was not otherwise available.

For this study data were collected on a total of 2,743 Niueans migrating to New Zealand during three time periods: (a) 1956-1959 (707 migrants); (b) 1960-1964 (679); and (c) 1967-1971 (1,357 migrants). Most

of these migrants moved directly to the Auckland Urban Area, and the data collected were employed for the examination of the initial pattern of residence within the Urban Area (Chapters 3 and 4). Additional information collected and published in association with A.C. Walsh (see Walsh and Trlin, 1973) has been included in the discussion of characteristics of Muean migrants to New Zealand (Chapter 2).

(d) Application for Entry to New Zealand

All intending non-British migrants are required to complete an 'Application for Entry to New Zealand'. This document, when completed, includes a wide variety of useful information on the following topics:

1. Surname and christian names.
2. Date of birth and sex.
3. Place of birth and nationality.
4. Marital status (including number, age and sex of children, if any).
5. Occupation at time of application.
6. Address at time of application.
7. Education and language(s) in which proficient.
8. Medical report.
9. Full name and address of relations in New Zealand (including nature of relationship of kinfolk - e.g. father, uncle etc.).
10. Full name, address and relationship of sponsor (if applicable) in New Zealand.
11. Reason for wanting to enter New Zealand.
12. Additional or supplementary information pertinent to the application.

'Applications for Entry to New Zealand' are held by the Department of Labour and Immigration. Access is restricted to departmental staff, other authorised users (e.g. police, other government departments) and bona fide researchers, who are required to apply to the Secretary of Labour for access and permission to extract information.

Collection of data from this source was restricted to Yugoslav immigrants arriving in New Zealand between January 1951 and December 1967. The main reason for this limitation was that the Yugoslavs had been selected for detailed investigation of the phenomenon of 'chain migration', and the 'Applications for Entry to New Zealand' appeared to be the best source of information available. To facilitate the collection of data, lists of Yugoslavs traced in the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers were compiled and used to: (a) secure file reference numbers for Yugoslavs in the Name Index of the Department of Labour and Immigration; (b) to check the details of age, sex, marital status and birth-place derived from the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers. Once file reference numbers were obtained the appropriate files were quickly obtained and the required data recorded for a total of 1,578 Yugoslav immigrants (of whom 1,046 were chain migrants, 266 were refugees admitted during and after 1958, and 66 'others'). The data for individual migrants obtained from this source were integrated with the data collected from the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers and coded for computer processing.

(c) Marriage Certificates

Because of the inadequacies of official marriage statistics (discussed in Chapter 7) it was decided to make use of material avail-

able in individual marriage certificates held at the Registrar-General's Office in Wellington. Once this decision had been made, the main methodological problem to be resolved concerned the actual collection of data.

After a marriage ceremony is performed in New Zealand, the officiating Minister (or local Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages in the case of civil marriages) is required to send a certificate to the Registrar-General's Office within ten days of solemnisation. The certificates, after checking, are bound into volumes in the order of receipt and not kept in any particular geographical groupings. Thus for any given year all marriage certificates (for over 20,000 marriages per year) must be individually examined in order to isolate marriages involving Dutch, Hungarian, Niuean, Western Samoan and Yugoslav immigrants resident in the Auckland Urban Area. Under these circumstances it was clearly impractical to undertake an examination of all certificates over a time period of one decade (e.g. 1960-1970). It was therefore decided to use 1966 as a base-line year and to examine certificates at four-year intervals before and after that date (i.e., 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970). This task alone required individual examination of 86,846 certificates in order to isolate 1,151 relevant cases.

Relevant cases were defined as those marriages where at least either the immigrant bridegroom or bride were residing within the Auckland Urban Area, thus allowing the inclusion of cases where an out-group spouse (usually New Zealand-born) resided outside the Urban Area. As each case was isolated information was recorded for both groom and bride on data collection sheets that duplicated the format of the

marriage certificate. This information included the following items:

1. Full name of both groom and bride.
2. Age and full date of birth.
3. Profession or occupation.
4. Conjugal status (bachelor, spinster, widower etc.).
5. Birthplaces.
6. Usual residence (in full).
7. Full names of both father and mother.
8. Profession or occupation of father.
9. Maiden surname of mother.
10. Religion of officiating Minister.
11. Address of place where the marriage was performed.
12. Fate of marriage (where appropriate, dissolution of marriage by death of one or other spouse, by decree nisi or decree absolute).

The examination of certificates, once permission for access had been obtained, was restricted to the normal working hours for the Registrar-General's Office and was carried out over the period December 1971-February 1972. Data collected were coded for computer processing and employed for the investigation of social distance and physical distance as factors affecting human interaction (Chapter 7).

It might be argued that the magnitude of the data collection task could have been substantially reduced by relying only on those certificates filed with the Register in Auckland (see Hooper, 1958 and 1961; Harre, 1966). A shortcoming of this approach, well documented by

Ramsøy (1966, 776), is that the researcher will miss many relevant cases where (usually) the immigrant groom resides in Auckland, while the marriage is conducted, and filed with a Registrar, in the bride's home community outside the Auckland Urban Area. For example, examination of certificates for 1966 revealed 6 out of 19 cases where either a Western Samoan groom or bride resided in Auckland, the spouse residing elsewhere, and where the marriage was conducted and filed in some other centre (e.g. Tokoroa and especially Hamilton, the national centre of the Church of Jesus Christ and the Latter Day Saints). A further seven cases were recorded involving Western Samoans (in-group and out-group marriages) where both parties resided in Auckland but the marriage was once again performed and filed in another centre. Although the total of 13 cases appears rather small, and represents about 7 per cent of all marriages involving Western Samoans, there are two points that should be noted. First, similar and more frequent cases were recorded for Dutch immigrants in the same year - a total of 12.33 per cent of Dutch marriages. Second, it was found that the majority of such cases were cases of intermarriage between immigrants and (usually) New Zealand-born partners. Since Hooper (1958; 1961), Harre (1966) and Macpherson (1972) relied upon marriages filed in Auckland, a degree of caution is clearly warranted with regard to the results presented in their respective studies.¹⁵

(f) Survey of Attitudes Towards Immigrants, Auckland, 1970

Information on the attitudes, expectations and beliefs of the host population, with regard to a variety of immigrant groups, was

collected via a questionnaire on "Assimilation Orientation, Social Distance and Attitudes Towards Immigrants" (Appendix A). Measurement of 'assimilation orientation' was undertaken using the method developed and employed by Taft (1963; 1966) in Australia. 'Social distance' was measured using a modified Bogardus Social Distance Scale, with six steps more suited to New Zealand conditions (see McCreary, 1952). Both of these measurement techniques, together with a variety of other questions, were pre-tested by administering the questionnaire to Stage I Geography students at Massey University. As a result of the pre-test a number of questions were eliminated and a few others were modified to remove ambiguities.

The survey, in the form of structured interviews, was carried out during March and April 1970, with the help of paid assistants recruited from the Departments of Geography and of Anthropology, University of Auckland, and from the Auckland Post Primary Teachers College. These assistants were briefed on the form, purpose and administration of each section of the questionnaire.

The survey was based on a random sample drawn from the November 1969 electoral rolls of eleven electoral districts within the boundaries of the Auckland Urban Area as defined by the Department of Statistics for census purposes. Together, the eleven electorates made up a sampling universe of 267,012 voters aged twenty years and over. Each electorate was proportionately represented (registered voters as a percentage of the universe) in the total sample drawn and interviews completed. Electorates included in the survey were (number of interviews in parentheses): North

Shore (32); Henderson (25); New Lynn (28); Roskill (27); Mount Albert (29); Auckland Central (24); Eden (32); Onehunga (28); Remuera (32); Tamaki (30); and Pakuranga (30).

The total sample size was determined as follows. First, it was estimated (using statistics from the 1966 Census) that approximately one quarter of the total population of the Auckland Urban Area was foreign-born, and that the foreign-born were therefore likely to form about one quarter of the registered voters. Since the survey was primarily concerned with the collection of data on the attitudes of New Zealand-born persons, the sample drawn had to include an allowance for the estimated proportion of foreign-born voters. Second, it was estimated that a sample of about 200 New Zealand-born respondents would be required in order to attain sample sub-groups (classified by sex, age and occupation) of a size appropriate for the purposes of statistical analysis. On the basis of these estimates, it was decided that the survey sample size should be about 320 voters, distributed over the eleven electorates in proportion to the number of voters in each electorate as a percentage of the universe of 207,012 voters. A total of 317 questionnaires were finally completed in full for the survey (via personal interviews), consisting of 231 New Zealand-born (72.87 per cent) and 86 foreign-born (27.13 per cent) respondents. Most of the foreign-born respondents were British immigrants.

Respondents were randomly selected from the electoral rolls of each of the eleven electorates using the following procedure:

1. The Main Roll (closed 30th July, 1969) and the Supplementary Roll (closed 29th October, 1969) for each electorate were examined and all changes of address in, and deletions from, the Main Roll (listed in the Supplementary Roll) were made.¹⁶
2. All pages in the Main Roll and Supplementary Roll for each electorate were checked to ensure that they were numbered sequentially (e.g. New Lynn Electorate: Main Roll, pages 1-340; Supplementary Roll, pages 341-377).
3. Respondents/voters were then drawn at random from the complete Main-Supplementary Rolls using lists of five-figure random numbers. The first three digits in the five-figure number were used for page identification and the last two digits were used for line identification on the appropriate page. For example, a random number such as 27940 would identify page 279 line 40 (and thus the respondent/voter - Smith, A.B.).¹⁷
4. Respondents/voters were drawn at random from the Roll for each electorate until (a) the requisite number of respondents/voters had been reached, and (b) until a further list of 10 'replacements' had been drawn.
5. The full name, address and occupation of each randomly selected respondent/voter was recorded on lists prepared for the interviewing assistants.

When the survey had been completed, it was found that a total of 65 'replacements' had been used, 25 of these because of refusals to participate in the survey by voters included in the original sample drawn,

and the remaining 40 because of changes of address, failure to contact despite repeated visits, ill health, death, etc. The total of 317 questionnaires completed in the survey were coded for computer processing. Results obtained are presented in Chapter 6.

(g) Survey of Yugoslav Immigrants, Mount Wellington Borough, 1971

Two objectives were incorporated in the survey of Yugoslav immigrants residing in part of the Mount Wellington Borough. First, it was hoped to gain additional information on the general character of an ethnic neighbourhood concentration that had grown as a result of continuing chain migration. Second, it was hoped to obtain information on aspects of local ethnic social cohesiveness. The selection of this particular neighbourhood for investigation was based upon the decision to use Yugoslav immigration and settlement as a primary case study of the relationship between kinship, chain migration, ethnic neighbourhood formation and ethnic social cohesion. Given the author's Yugoslav parentage, knowledge of the language and customs of the group, and contacts in Auckland, the selection of the Yugoslavs and the Mount Wellington neighbourhood is not surprising. However, with these 'qualifications' the investigation could at least proceed with a reasonable assurance of success.

The survey questionnaire (Appendix B) was administered via personal interviews conducted by the author in the homes of the Mount Wellington Yugoslavs. It was soon found that the author's background and knowledge of the language were of the utmost importance to the

successful completion of the survey. Most of the interviews were conducted, at least in part, in the Yugoslav language, which encouraged respondents wary of "inquisitive outsiders" and glad of the opportunity to express their feelings, fears and frustrations (with regard to life in New Zealand) to "an understanding, sympathetic scholar".

Preparation for the Mount Wellington Survey, conducted during May 1971, involved two basic tasks: (a) construction of a survey questionnaire; (b) compilation of a list of adult (16 years of age and over) first-generation Yugoslavs residing within the area roughly bounded by Penrose Road, Mount Wellington Highway, Ellerslie-Panmure Highway and Ferndale Road (see Figure 22).

The questionnaire (Appendix B) was designed to cover the following subject areas:

1. Basic demographic and social characteristics of the respondents.
2. Chain migration.
3. The place of residence - background details, attitudes towards the locality and neighbours, etc.
4. Occupation and workplace - nature and place of employment, attitudes towards working with Yugoslavs and non-Yugoslavs.
5. Knowledge and use of the Yugoslav language.
6. Membership of clubs and societies - Yugoslav and non-Yugoslav.
7. Marriage and intermarriage of children of respondents - attitudes, and actual marriages of children who had left home permanently.
8. Social interaction with Yugoslavs and non-Yugoslavs.

Together, these subject areas were deemed sufficient to gauge both the

general character of the ethnic neighbourhood and aspects of local social cohesiveness. The results obtained are included in Chapter 4 (Tables XLI and XLII).

A list of adult Yugoslavs was compiled by the following procedure. First, data collected from (a) the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers, and (b) 'Applications for Entry to New Zealand' were closely examined. A list of 'probable' and 'possible' Yugoslav residents in the area was compiled from these two sources. Second, the list of 'probable'/'possible' residents was checked against (a) electoral rolls, and (b) the telephone directory and further names were added to the list compiled. Finally, the list was checked, additions and deletions made, by long-established Yugoslavs residing in the area - even then two or three further additions to the list were made in the course of the survey. The final total of 76 adult first-generation Yugoslavs residing in that part of Mount Wellington Borough defined above was believed to be a complete list of potential respondents. During the survey, 69 out of 76 potential respondents were interviewed. There were no refusals, the difference of 7 consisting of those unable to be interviewed for reasons of ill health, senility and absence from the area at the time of the survey.

Further aspects of the data collection process and methods of data analysis are described in brief statements in the appropriate chapters. With two exceptions, computer processing of the data collected

was carried out with the assistance of staff in the Massey University Computer Unit. The two exceptions involved more specialised aspects of data analysis for which computer programmes were not readily available at Massey University. Thus principal components analyses were carried out at the University of Canterbury, for: (a) factorial ecologies of Dutch and Samoan immigrants (which required the generation of factor scores for intra-urban spatial units) reported in Chapter 5; and (b) examination of the dimensionality of ratings on the modified Bogardus Social Distance Scale (which included the application of a component matching methodology) reported in Chapter 6.¹⁸

Footnotes

1. New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966. Vol. 1 page 9.
2. This view was originally expressed, in the introduction to Immigrants in New Zealand, by Thomson and Trlin (1970,11). While a number of readers have since challenged the statement, most have failed to provide evidence (beyond personal feelings) in support of their challenge. Moreover, the evidence presented in the one serious attempt to discredit the view might easily be interpreted as evidence in support of Thomson and Trlin (see Worcester, 1974).
3. The figure of 4,173 Netherlands-born does not, of course, include 'Dutch' migrants born in Indonesia (formerly Dutch East Indies). At the time of the 1966 Census there were 10,1 Indonesian-born migrants in the Auckland Urban Area, most of whom were probably 'Dutch' in terms of ethnic affiliation.
4. Statistics quoted are from the New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966, Vols. 6 and 7.
5. The figure of 4,096 Samoans included those born in other Pacific Islands to Samoan parents. Information provided by Department of Statistics in the form of special unpublished material prepared for this study (and described at a later point in this chapter).
6. For further discussion on the Index of Dissimilarity, see in particular Lieberman (1963, 30-40) and Taeuber and Taeuber (1965, Appendix A). The Index of Dissimilarity, like other measures discussed or used by various authors, has some limitations. For example, Kantrowitz (1973, 15) notes that "this index is insensi-

tive to the actual numbers of people involved, for it converts the numbers to percentages". In addition, he suggests that a limitation that "is not apparent ... is the matter of determining what values of the index between 0 (no segregation) and 100 (total segregation) constitute 'high' and 'low' segregation..." (Kantrowitz, 1973, 15). Another limitation, not commonly recognised, is that the Index is insensitive to the spatial location of high ethnic concentrations, and must therefore be supplemented by additional locational measures such as the Index of Centrality (see Table III). Applied to the measurement of dissimilarities other than residential distributions, the same problem arises and supplementary directional indices are required. For example, if applied to the measurement of occupational distributions (see Table XXXI) the Index of Dissimilarity may be 50.0, but one cannot tell from this figure whether a particular immigrant group is under- or over-represented in either professional or unskilled occupations. A supplementary index, say percentage in 'White Collar' occupations, is required (see Table XXXII).

7. Figures 2 to 6 based on unpublished statistics from the 1966 Census supplied by the Department of Statistics, Wellington.
8. Theodorsen and Theodorsen (1969, 135) note that the term 'ethnic group' is usually "applied only to minority groups, but if there are a number of culturally distinct groups in a society some writers also refer to the dominant cultural group as an ethnic group."

9. 'Self-fulfilling prophecy' is defined by Theodorsen and Theodorsen (1969, 375) as: "a false definition of a situation or belief regarding a social situation, which, because one believes it and acts upon it, actually manifests itself as a truth, further strengthening the belief."
10. For some quite inexplicable reason the Department of Statistics supplied detailed information (directly comparable to that for Samoans and Niueans) on Cook Islanders as well. Presumably this additional information was requested by some other researcher or produced simultaneously in case a request was received for such information.
11. The major problem here was the need to observe regulations concerning the confidentiality of income declarations. Accordingly, the statistics made available were 'grouped' in ways which defied the systematic requirements of data for analysis at the census sub-division level.
12. One advantage of this procedure was that all members of a family group were identified, including arrivals under 16 years of age who would not be required to register as aliens until reaching that age. Had the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers alone been consulted, the picture of Yugoslav immigration and settlement gained would have been deficient in a number of respects. Unfortunately this very problem was encountered in the case of Dutch immigrants for reasons noted in the discussion on data collection for this group.

13. The Auckland Urban Area is covered by four sheets (North Shore, Auckland West, Auckland and Auckland South) in the NEMS 17 series, published by the Department of Lands and Survey. Census sub-division-boundaries were obtained from the Department of Statistics.
14. Some of the data were collected from Police Records by A.C. Walsh during a period of field work in Niue.
15. See Macpherson (1972, 62-66) where he describes the records to which he had access - namely 'Notice of Intended Marriage' (Department of Justice, R.G.60) and forms specifying details of marriages performed in the Registry Office (Department of Justice, R.G. 45) - and his statement that: "The data was collected from the Auckland Office of the Registrar and includes those licenses issued for weddings to be held in the Auckland Province over a three year period". There is, of course, more than one office in the Auckland Urban Area and in the Auckland Province.
16. The Main Roll and the Supplementary Roll for each of the eleven electorates was purchased from the Government Printer, Wellington, together with maps showing the boundaries of the electorates.
17. For tables of random numbers, see Fisher and Yates (1963).
18. These two aspects of the data processing were carried out with the assistance of Dr. R.J. Johnston.

CHAPTER 2

MIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND

The literature on the settlement and assimilation of immigrants is replete with reference to the importance of age-sex characteristics, marital status, occupations, duration of residence, type of movement and the motivations of migrants. Three recent studies can be cited for the purposes of illustration. In a review of assimilation studies, Price (1969, 185-187) drew attention to two common assumptions. These assumptions are:

[first] that an individual immigrant's adjustment depends partly on personal and social background, on motives for emigration and expectations of the new land, on customs and values carried when migrating ... [and second] that assimilation is much influenced by the number of immigrants involved.

To some extent both assumptions can be traced in Richmond's (1969, 255) appraisal of migration in industrial and post-industrial societies, wherein he argues that:

Demographic factors are of considerable importance in maintaining a stable equilibrium within the social system of an ethnic minority. If the ethnic minority fails to recruit new members who have an attachment to it ... the social system of the minority group will disintegrate and eventually disappear altogether.

In this context the continuance, volume and demographic composition of immigration are clearly important factors. Finally, in New Zealand, Burnley (1969, 6) advanced two key hypotheses in his study of Greeks,

Italians and Poles; first, that migration form is a determinant of settlement pattern and community structure, and second, that chain migration leads to the most nucleated forms of settlement and occupational specialization. The validity of these two hypotheses, tacitly accepted by other writers and directly relevant to this study, was demonstrated by Burnley in the character of residential and occupational patterns in Wellington.

From the above examples alone a fundamental observation can be made; namely, that an immigrant population is to a considerable extent the product of a pattern of migration. Acceptance of this observation in turn compels recognition of the substance of hypotheses ranging from Ravenstein's (1885; 1889) 'Laws of Migration' to more recent statements by writers such as Stouffer (1940), Olsson (1965) and Lee (1966). Migration is shaped by forces operating at both the point of origin and destination, by a set of 'intervening obstacles' and by the personal characteristics of potential migrants which affect perception of the total situation and hence the decision to move. Migration is consequently a selective process in terms of origin, destination, age, sex, occupation and marital status.

The selectiveness of migration is of considerable importance within the context of urban residential patterns. In a review of urban residential patterns, Johnston (1971, 352-353) concluded that:

the interaction of societal divisions, along lines of occupation, income, life style, age, race, religion and birthplace ... leads to the development of complex patterns of residential areas.

Johnston's generalisation is validated by the results of studies on

Auckland carried out by Pool (1960), Curson (1967), Bowman and Hosking (1971), Tims (1971) and by McGee (1969) on the social ecology of New Zealand cities. More importantly, Johnston notes (1971, 351-352) that:

the residential patterns of minority groups are not independent of those of socio-economic status groups ... They follow the general pattern and live in the relevant zones of relevant sectors according to their socio-economic position: either because they are forced to or because they wish it.

Against this background of assimilation and urban residential studies, a knowledge and examination of the characteristics of migration to New Zealand is essential. Accordingly this chapter is devoted to a systematic review and examination, for the five groups selected, of (a) arrivals and departures, (b) sex ratios, (c) duration of residence, (d) ages, (e) occupations, (f) origins and (g) motivations of immigrants. For the most part the following examination of characteristics of the five immigrant groups is based on official statistics, supplemented where necessary with material drawn from other sources. Where appropriate, comments on the value and problems of official statistics are made in the course of discussion and examination of data.

ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES

Statistics on immigrants intending permanent residence in New Zealand, New Zealand residents departing permanently, and the resultant 'net permanent migration' for each of the five subject groups are presented in Table IV for the period 1946 to 1970.¹ Migration from Yugoslavia to New Zealand commenced on a

Table IV

Permanent Arrivals (I.A.), Departures (P.D.) and Net Permanent Migration (N.M.) of Yugoslavs, Dutch, Hungarians, Niueans and Samoans, 1946-1970.

Years	Yugoslavs			Dutch			Hungarians			Niueans			Samoans		
	PA	PD	NM	PA	PD	NM	PA	PD	NM	PA	PD	NM	PA	PD	NM
1946/48	31	186	-155	42	14	28	22	4	18	2+	-	2+	127	44	83
1948/50	59	29	30	388	12	376	89	4	85	27	8	19	178	54	124
1950/52	488	8	480	4,374	15	4,359	194	4	190	24	5	19	324	64	260
1952/54	120	10	110	6,705	112	6,593	26	11	15	++	++	++	++	++	++
1954/56	100	25	75	2,259	376	1,883	21	14	7	++	++	++	++	++	++
1956/58	188	15	173	2,831	352	2,479	1,112	13	1,099	259	11	248	380	97	283
1958/60	253	29	224	3,098	477	2,621	123	28	95	169	16	153	328	125	203
1960/62	378	35	343	2,947	507	2,440	144	45	99	256	17	239	348	123	225
1962/64	332	41	291	1,941	663	1,278	76	48	28	256	29	227	393	199	194
1964/66	352	47	305	1,863	719	1,144	105	51	54	206	40	166	319	259	60
1966/68	461	154	307	1,582	876	706	91	85	6	245	26	219	269	347	-78
1968/70	194	205	-11	1,071	891	180	60	99	-39	269	27	242	406	282	124
Total	2,956	784	2,172	29,101	5,014	24,087	2,063	406	1,657	(incomplete data)			(incomplete data)		

+ 1947/48 only, no data available for 1946/47. ++ No data available.

Source: New Zealand Population, Migration and Building Statistics, Department of Statistics, Wellington.

significant scale almost eighty years ago and some 7,800 Yugoslav immigrants intending permanent residence were recorded for the period 1897 to 1945.² For the remaining four groups, however, migration on a significant scale commenced only after World War II. A small trickle of Samoans arrived before and during the war years and are recorded in the 1945 Census.

Fluctuations in the numbers of Yugoslav and Hungarian arrivals reflect the influence of post-war political events in the countries of origin and the essentially humanitarian response of the New Zealand government in allowing the admission of 'displaced persons' (1949-1952), 'refugees' (Hungarians after 1956) and 'hard-core' or 'handicapped' refugees. Arrivals in the latter category were admitted initially as part of New Zealand's commitment to World Refugee Year in 1958. Yugoslav immigration was given a further fillip in 1966 by the arrival of 238 skilled 'contract workers' recruited by Fletcher Industries Limited and the Utah Construction and Mining Company. Both of these companies, engaged upon major construction projects (Marsden Point Power Station and Manapouri Hydro Electric Power Scheme, respectively) were faced by an apparent shortage of skilled workers in New Zealand and therefore sought and gained Government approval for the admittance of the appropriate labour. A high proportion of the young, single migrants recruited by Fletcher Industries subsequently decided to settle permanently in New Zealand. Of the older (61 per cent over 30 years of age), married (80 per cent) migrants recruited as tunnellers by the Utah Company, most (if not all) have since departed from New Zealand.

Prior to 1939 Yugoslav immigration and settlement in New

Zealand was relatively homogeneous in character, consisting of Dalmatian chain migrants who by virtue of the location of their birthplace and history had religious and linguistic ties with central and southern Europe. The period since the Second World War, however, has been marked by the arrival of non-Dalmatian migrants, principally 'displaced persons' and 'refugees', who have also initiated small migration chains. Together these new arrivals account for 45 per cent of post-war Yugoslav immigrants and with their heterogeneous ethnic and cultural backgrounds have modified to some extent the former homogeneity of Yugoslav settlement.³ The new arrivals also served to broaden the political spectrum in terms of attitudes to the home country. Though many had been displaced by war, a proportion of the Yugoslav 'displaced persons' consisted of former prisoners of war in Germany and Italy who had declined to return to Yugoslavia. The 'refugees', sometimes referred to as 'hard-core' or 'handicapped' refugees⁴, were, in general, persons who for political and/or religious reasons 'escaped' across the borders into Austria and Italy during the 1950s.

Financial assistance to migrants from the United Kingdom had been offered by the New Zealand government since the 1870s. In May 1950 government assistance was extended to include single men and women of non-British nationality between 20 and 35 years of age. Dutch, Swiss, Danish, Austrian and German nationals were selected. As a result the period 1950 to 1954 was marked by an influx of Dutch migrants, some of whom were encouraged and assisted by the Netherlands Government and other voluntary or related agencies (see Hofstede, 1964).⁵ The volume of Dutch migration to New Zealand, despite a brief

resurgence between 1956 and 1960, has declined progressively until 1970. Indeed the numbers assisted by the New Zealand government declined rapidly after the peak years of the early 1950s and ceased altogether by April 1963. During the operation of the scheme, however, a total of 6,261 migrants arrived (forming about 21.5 per cent of Dutch permanent arrivals) and influenced significantly the demographic composition of Dutch migration to New Zealand between 1950 and 1960.

The immigration of Niueans (New Zealand citizens) and Samoans started from a small base, but quickly attained a degree of stability in terms of the numbers intending permanent residence from about the mid 1950s until the late 1960s. A key factor here, as in the case of the Cook Islanders (Curson, 1970a, 170-172), was the limited availability of transport. In addition, Fairbairn (1961, 20) has claimed that the rate of Samoan migration to New Zealand in the mid 1950s was arrested:

[not] by any diminishing desire to migrate,
[but] by a revision of some aspects of
official policy and a tightening up of its
administration. Formal steps which were
taken in 1955 were intended to safeguard
against certain undesirable features which
had arisen in regard to Samoan immigration,
rather than to curtail such immigration.

Events at the place of origin also exerted some influence upon the rate of migration. For example, during 1959 and 1960 restrictions were placed for six month periods upon male departures from Niue in order to facilitate rebuilding programmes necessary after the advent of destructive hurricanes. The result of these restrictions was twofold: first, the number of departures from Niue dropped considerably in 1959 and 1960 as compared with prior years, and second, once

restrictions were lifted, departures soared in 1961 to a high of 312 which apparently included a large number of people who would have left in the previous two years had they been able to do so (Bissell, 1965, 25).

According to Fairbairn (1961, 19):

the most significant character of the post-war movement to New Zealand ... was not this impressive increase in numbers so much as the change in the racial composition of the movement as the Full-blood Samoans assumed a major role.

Curson (1970a, 184) has also remarked upon the changing racial composition of Cook Islanders in New Zealand and declared that "migration was, until 1956, responsible for the rising proportion of Full-bloods in the population". In both cases initial migration to New Zealand was dominated by Mixed-bloods (European-Polynesian). Examination of annual statistics of arrivals intending permanent residence confirms the changing racial composition of Samoan migration (Table V) and provides a contrast with Niuean migration which has consistently been a movement of Full-bloods (1.86 per cent Mixed-bloods as compared with 31.3 per cent for Samoans over the period 1946 to 1970). Why Fairbairn felt the change in racial composition was "the most significant character of the post-war movement to New Zealand" is not explained in his study. From comments made by Pitt (1970, 163 and 183), however, one is inclined to the opinion that Mixed-blood Samoans were orientated to a European life-style and tended to be divorced from the village community. This may possibly explain the early response to the attractions and opportunities of New Zealand among Mixed-bloods, and increasing Full-blood migration may signal social and economic change in Samoa

Table V
Racial Characteristics of Niuean and Samoan Immigrants
Intending Permanent Residence, 1946 - 1970.

Years	Niueans				Samoans			
	Full-Blood		Mixed-Blood		Full-Blood		Mixed-Blood	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
1946/48	24	100.00	1	-	21	16.53	106	83.47
1948/50	26	96.30	1	3.70	78	43.82	100	56.18
1950/52	23	95.83	1	4.17	170	52.47	154	47.53
1952/54	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1954/56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1956/58	254	98.07	5	1.93	283	74.48	97	25.52
1958/60	169	100.00	-	-	210	64.02	118	35.98
1960/62	254	99.21	2	0.79	226	64.94	122	35.06
1962/64	251	98.05	5	1.95	306	77.87	87	22.13
1964/66	196	95.15	10	4.85	237	74.30	82	25.70
1966/68	240	97.96	5	2.04	223	82.90	46	17.10
1968/70	266	98.88	3	1.12	356	87.68	50	12.32
Total	1,681	98.13	32	1.86	2,110	68.68	962	31.31

Note: No data available for the years 1952/53 to 1955/56.

Source: New Zealand Population, Migration and Building Statistics, 1946-1970.

(e.g. participation in a cash economy). On the other hand, it may be that there are just fewer Mixed-blood Samoans left in Western Samoa and hence fewer potential and actual migrants. These are, however, only points of speculation and despite the recent studies of Samoa by Pitt (1970) and Lockwood (1971) further sociological research is required.

While the five groups under consideration exhibit obvious and important variations in the rate of permanent immigration, they have in common (Niueans being a possible exception) a uniform pattern of increasing permanent departures. Given the net loss for all permanent migration experienced by New Zealand for the years during and following the economic recession of the late 1960s, it could be argued that the statistics in Table IV are due in part to a changing balance in prosperity between New Zealand and other countries. Thomson (1970, 153) however, argues that an important cause has been:

the material success achieved by most Dutch migrants in the 12-15 years they have been residents [which] has enabled many to make the costly sentimental journey with their families to the place of their birth.

Such migrants planning an absence in excess of one year would, as Thomson notes, be recorded as 'permanent departures' despite their intention to return. Undoubtedly this argument could be equally applicable to Yugoslav, Hungarian and Samoan migrants. In the case of the Yugoslavs the immediate post-war net migration loss, however, can be laid squarely on the interruption of normal movement caused by the war years, a desire to trace family members believed dead and a desire expressed by many to assist in the reconstruction of

a 'new' Yugoslavia. These permanent departures, coupled with events in Europe, reflected badly upon the Yugoslav community in New Zealand. The upsurge in Yugoslav departures in the late 1960s, on the other hand, largely represents the return of 'contract workers' mentioned earlier. Another factor worthy of consideration is the prestige of overseas migration, particularly in the case of Samoans (Challis, 1953, 3; Pitt, 1970). According to Pitt (1970, 181-183):

the migrant who goes to Pago (American Samoa) has more prestige than the migrant who only reaches Apia but less than the migrant who goes to New Zealand, still less than the migrant who reaches the United States.

Prestige and status in the village community can only be fully experienced and be of direct benefit if the migrant eventually returns. Finally, and here evidence is practically non-existent, it must be allowed that a proportion of the permanent departures consists of the disaffected, the failures, the home-sick and the life-long wanderers. Studies of return migration, similar to those of Appleyard (1962) and Richmond (1968) on the return of British migrants from Australia and Canada, respectively, are urgently needed in New Zealand.

Temporary departures from New Zealand greatly exceed the recorded rates of permanent departures (Table VI). If allowance is made in the case of Yugoslavs for the permanent departures of 'contract workers', then the ratio of temporary to permanent departures for the Yugoslavs, Dutch and Hungarians by the end of the 1960s was of the order of 3:1. Unfortunately no comparable statistics are available for Samoans and Niueans. Visits to the place of birth and probably trans-Tasman visits to relations and/or friends are undoubtedly the basic motives underlying temporary migration.

Table VI
Yugoslav, Dutch and Hungarian Migrants Classified
as New Zealand Residents Departing Temporarily (TD)
and New Zealand Residents Returning (NZR)

Years	Yugoslavs		Dutch		Hungarians	
	TD	NZR	TD	NZR	TD	NZR
1946/48	40	+	3	+	12	+
1948/50	29	+	17	+	19	+
1950/52	41	+	40	+	26	+
1952/54	52	47	132	74	21	22
1954/56	77	75	425	231	29	24
1956/58	95	93	798	510	38	43
1958/60	137	123	872	737	72	66
1960/62	185	180	1,212	946	104	102
1962/64	188	180	1,811	1,204	222	140
1964/66	267	250	1,921	1,728	183	194
1966/68	353	336	2,216	2,204	283	280
1968/70	397	355	2,267	2,152	313	316
Total	1,861		11,714		1,322	

+ No Data Available.

Source: New Zealand Population, Migration and Building Statistics,
1946 - 1970.

In the case of Samoans and Niueans visits to the Islands (which reach a peak during the Christmas period) are made easy by the relatively short distances involved and the lower costs of chartered air travel. The Link Organisation of Migrant Associations in New Zealand has also arranged chartered flights to Europe for Dutch migrants and others.

From the statistics available it would appear that temporary departures are closely matched by migrants classified as New Zealand residents returning. What discrepancies there are between 'departures' and 'returns' can be largely attributed to the time-lag between these two events though, as Price (1965, 24) notes with respect to Dutch departures from Australia, a number of migrants may also have declared they were leaving temporarily but never intended to return or changed their minds while abroad.

Returning briefly to the statistics of immigrants intending permanent residence one further point remains to be considered, namely the difference between 'actual' and 'potential' immigration. In accordance with the regulations of the Immigration Act 1964, all non-British nationals are required to submit applications for entry to New Zealand. Statistics on applications 'approved' and 'declined' for the period 1965 to 1970 (Table VII) though crude, in that no distinction is made between types of entry application (see footnote 1 to Table VII), provide a useful indication of the difference between 'actual' and 'potential' immigration for Dutch, Yugoslavs, Hungarians and Samoans (Niueans as New Zealand citizens are excluded). Can applications 'declined' be taken to represent the product of legislation designed to regulate the rate of immigration? Without knowing

the precise reasons governing the acceptance or rejection of entry applications the question cannot be satisfactorily answered. It is interesting to note, however, that Samoan immigration to New Zealand has been limited in the past to a quota of 1,500 persons per year (see Marshall, 1971; Pitt and Macpherson, 1971, 24).

Table VII
Applications for Entry to New Zealand,
Approved and Declined under the Immigration
Act, 1964, 1964/65 - 1969/70 (year ending March)¹

	Approved	Declined
Dutch	6,919	147
Yugoslav	1,798	828
Hungarian	394	261
Samoan ²	15,538	1,027

1 Figures include applications for Permanent Entry, Temporary Entry, Student Permit, Extension Temporary Permit, Extension Student Permit, Re-Entry Permit, Permanent Residence

2 Separate figures for Western Samoa are not available.

Source: Department of Labour and Immigration, Wellington.

SEX RATIOS

Since Ravenstein's (1889, 288) observation that "females appear to predominate among short-journey migrants", considerable attention has been given in migration studies to the ratio of females to males, and it has become accepted that over long distances males

rather than females will predominate initially with a subsequent trend toward parity. The pattern of Dutch permanent migration to New Zealand provides a perfect example (Table VIII, Dutch column A), the low female to male ratios of the late 1940s and early 1950s gradually moving toward parity over the next two decades. By comparison the patterns for each of the four remaining groups are fraught with anomalies, only some of which can be readily explained.

Prior to World War II, Yugoslav migration was male dominated, particularly between 1897 and 1919 (males 96.7 per cent of arrivals intending permanent residence), but females gradually gained greater representation in the movement (males 72.2 per cent of 'permanent' arrivals 1920-1944) as wives, fiancées, joined the pioneers. In other words, Yugoslav migration to New Zealand must be viewed in terms of not two or three but seven or eight decades during which time the 'normal' sex ratio pattern emerged. From this viewpoint the post-war high female to male ratios represent a 'back-log' of Dalmatian female chain migrants whose movement was halted by the war. Thereafter the pattern of Dalmatian chain migration is obscured by the arrival of 'displaced persons', 'refugees' and 'contract workers' all of whom asserted the 'masculinity' of long distance migration. The dominance of males among the Hungarian refugees (1956-1958) is also clearly evident.

A point that must be made with respect to the sex ratio patterns noted above is that sex selectiveness was enforced as compared with 'free' selection under normal conditions. This applied equally to 'displaced persons', 'refugees', 'contract workers', and Dutch assisted immigrants under the scheme operated by the New Zealand government. Demographic biases introduced into official statistics

Table VIII

Sex Ratios¹ of Yugoslav, Dutch, Hungarian, Niuean and Samoan Immigrants Intending Permanent Residence, 1946 - 1970.

Years	Yugoslavs	Dutch (A)	(B)	Hungarians	Niueans	Samoans
1946/48	2.87	0.61	0.61	1.20	0.00	0.84
1948/50	2.10	0.33	0.33	1.40	0.28	1.09
1950/52	0.52	0.39	0.48	0.50	0.60	0.60
1952/54	1.40	0.55	0.94	0.85	+	+
1954/56	1.56	0.82	1.25	1.33	+	+
1956/58	1.35	0.83	1.02	0.56	0.96	0.88
1958/60	0.63	0.85	0.92	0.80	1.25	0.84
1960/62	0.75	0.86	0.90	0.67	0.97	0.93
1962/64	0.70	0.92	0.96	0.72	0.88	1.31
1964/66	0.40	0.91	0.91	0.44	0.71	1.03
1966/68	0.23	0.88	0.88	0.57	1.04	1.08
1968/70	0.83	0.90	0.90	1.00	1.10	1.03

1 Ratio of females to males calculated by dividing the number of female arrivals in a given period by the number of males arriving during the same period. Ratios below 1.0 reflect 'masculinity', ratios above 1.0 reflect 'femininity' of migration.

+ No data available

Dutch (A) Total arrivals intending permanent residence.

(B) Arrivals intending permanent residence, excluding government assisted immigrants.

Source: New Zealand Population, Migration and Building Statistics, 1946/47 - 1969/70. Tables on 'External Migration: Arrivals and Departures by Birthplace and Classes' (for Yugoslavs, Dutch and Hungarians): 'Race and Age of Immigrants Intending Permanent Residence, and of New Zealand Residents Departing Permanently' (for Niueans and Samoans).

by such groups can be readily illustrated by reference to the pattern of Dutch immigration (Table VIII, Dutch column B). When the assisted migrants were deleted from the totals of Dutch migrants intending permanent residence during the time periods specified, the result was a marked shift toward parity in sex representation. For the years 1954/55 to 1957/58 a notable pattern of femininity of migration emerged and can probably be attributed to the movement of females sponsored by fiancées or relations already in New Zealand (see Thomson, 1967, 96-97). Of the 6,261 Dutch assisted immigrants only 0.38 per cent were married, widowed or divorced and 77.24 per cent were males.

Fairbairn's (1961, 22) brief review of Samoan migration to New Zealand drew attention to sex composition and he claimed that:

the Polynesian movement is notable for the fact that the number of female migrants has for many years on the average outstripped the number of male migrants.

In support of his claim Fairbairn cited the 1945 Census which indicated that 54.0 per cent of the Samoan-born were females, and was careful to note that by 1956 "the proportion of females had dropped to 45.0 per cent". By way of explanation for the initial female over-representation, Fairbairn (acknowledging the need for more thorough study) mentioned the education motive and "the availability in New Zealand of secure and highly remunerative employment for women, especially during and after the war." He noted also that the post-war demand for labour was high, especially in consumer goods industries (and for domestic service), and attributed partial responsibility for the pattern of Samoan migration to:

several firms [which had] facilitated the migration of a great many females by financing their passage to New Zealand in return for obligatory service for several years.

Surprisingly, the femininity of Islander migration to New Zealand, particularly Samoan migration, is not borne out by the annual statistics of Niueans and Samoans (classified, as in Fairbairn's study, as racial groups) intending permanent residence in New Zealand (Table VIII). Granted, Samoan females did outnumber males for the year ended 31 March 1950 (55 males, 65 females), but arrivals over the period 1945/46 to 1951/52 were otherwise near parity in sex representation or male dominated. However, if total arrivals (permanent, temporary, tourists, etc.) are considered, then females were clearly predominant during the years 1945/46 to 1949/50, but such statistics are not a satisfactory basis for discussion of migration trends. These observations point toward two possible conclusions; first, that Samoan females migrating to New Zealand were predominant among temporary migrants (perhaps for a variety of educational and/or training purposes), and second, that census data must be approached with caution because of the failure (unless reference is made to duration of residence by sex) to differentiate between permanent and temporary residents. With regard to arrivals before 1945 settled in New Zealand, it must also be remembered that the total numbers involved were relatively small, that as an administered territory Western Samoa had a long association with New Zealand, and that by comparison with other migrant groups the areas of origin and destination were in close proximity, all of which make generalisations on the sex composition of Samoan migration of dubious value. Finally, given the predominance of Mixed-blood females among the early temporary migrants (perhaps divorced from traditional Samoan society) and limited female employment opportunities in Samoa, it is possible that the movement of females represents nothing more

than a typical rural-urban pattern of migration. Once again further research is required.

While the claim of initial female dominance of Samoan migration can be regarded with some suspicion, the issue is much more clear cut for both Samoans and Niueans during the 1960s, sex ratios at or near parity being attained and then exceeded. Care must still be taken, however, to account for variations rooted in local events, for example, the restrictions on Niuean male departures in 1959 and 1960, which are reflected in high female components in migration for the period 1958/60 (Table VIII).

DURATION OF RESIDENCE

In terms of settlement in New Zealand, a useful summation of patterns of arrivals and sex ratios noted thus far is provided by statistics from the 1966 Census specifying duration of residence in New Zealand by birthplace, race and sex. Data presented in Table IX confirm two important features of migration.

1. The 'old-new' residence status of the five groups which can be ranked (oldest to newest) as follows: Yugoslavs, Dutch, Niueans, Samoans, Hungarians. Given the correlation between length of residence and intra-urban residential segregation noted by a variety of writers (e.g. Lieberman, 1963) the ranking of the five groups may be of considerable importance.
2. The general tendency for females to follow males in the process of long distance migration (Yugoslavs, Dutch and Niueans). Duration of residence of Hungarian males and

Table IX
Duration of Residence in New Zealand by Yugoslavs,
Dutch, Hungarians, Niueans and Samoans, 1966.

		Duration of Residence in New Zealand in years (% distribution)				
		40+	30-39	20-29	10-19	0-9
Yugoslavs	M	38.11	12.26	6.23	10.58	30.60
	F	12.69	16.77	15.17	19.18	34.79
	T	29.11	13.86	9.39	13.63	32.08
Dutch	M	0.14	0.06	0.24	59.46	39.73
	F	0.12	-	0.14	43.13	51.12
	T	0.13	0.04	0.20	54.85	44.36
Hungarians	M	0.30	0.60	3.70	20.31	73.65
	F	0.99	0.16	3.80	20.66	73.88
	T	0.58	0.45	3.74	20.45	73.74
Niueans	M	0.95	0.86	9.19	29.98	56.61
	F	0.60	0.60	5.09	26.18	65.58
	T	0.80	0.75	7.38	28.30	60.57
Samoans	M	0.83	0.65	4.09	32.61	59.50
	F	0.95	1.28	4.21	24.18	67.61
	T	0.89	0.97	4.15	28.31	63.64

Note: Percentages calculated on total populations, which includes persons who failed to specify length of residence. New Zealand-born Niueans and Samoans excluded.

Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966 Vol. 6 'Birthplaces' p.50 (for Yugoslavs, Dutch, Hungarians); Vol.7 'Race' p. 39 (for Niueans, Samoans).

females is roughly parallel, but this is only to be expected given the majority status as either 'displaced persons' or 'refugees' admitted to New Zealand within short time-spans. Viewed from 1966 the discrepancy in duration of residence of Samoan males and females is very small, and in terms of the actual numbers involved is scarcely significant.

AGE CHARACTERISTICS

In the introduction to his study of Housing and Welfare Needs of Islanders in Auckland, McCreary (1965) notes that of the respondents included in his random sample survey only 13 per cent were under the age of fifteen on arrival and that 52 per cent were over fifteen and under thirty. These facts led him to state that (McCreary, 1965, 10):

the majority of subjects are culturally Cook or Niue Islanders who have spent their formative years in the Islands and who have come to New Zealand to live and work as adults. It can be assumed, therefore, that their needs and values are not only Polynesian but also those of adult migrants seeking to establish themselves and their families in a new land.

The implication for any study of assimilation, including urban residential patterns, are obvious and underline the need for examination of statistics on the ages of migrants upon arrival.

An immediate problem, however, is the availability of statistics for members of the five groups intending permanent residence in New Zealand. Fortunately the appropriate data for Niueans and Samoans is available for all but four years (1952/53 to 1955/56) of the post-war period. The situation is not quite so good

for Yugoslavs, Dutch and Hungarians, as the statistics available are for immigrants intending permanent residence classified by 'nationality' and not by 'birthplace'. It has therefore been necessary to assume that statistics on 'nationality' and 'birthplace' groups would be directly comparable, though there are still some problems such as the Dutch 'nationals' born in Indonesia (former Dutch East Indies) who have not been considered or included in earlier sections of this chapter.

Age characteristics of arrivals for each of the five groups are presented in Figure 7. The method of analysis chosen was the tri-graph and the age groups plotted (i.e. 0-14 years, 15-44 years, 45 years and over) correspond to normal population divisions for analysis of this type. The age group '45 years and over' was determined also by the regulations of current immigration policy concerning the entry of 'older' (i.e. 45 years and over) migrants. Points plotted on the tri-graphs represent the age characteristics of arrivals in two consecutive years (e.g. Dutch arrivals intending permanent residence in 1948/49 and 1949/50 combined), and a total of 50 arrivals was set as a minimum for a two-year period before the data was presented on a graph. The latter step was taken to avoid problems that often arise in the analysis of small numbers. As a point of reference for both intra- and inter-group comparison the age composition of total arrivals 1946-1970 was also calculated and plotted on the appropriate graph.

In Figure 7 the order of the five tri-graphs from left to right illustrates a continuum from 'Mature' to 'Youthful' immigrant populations with the Hungarians and Niueans respectively forming the

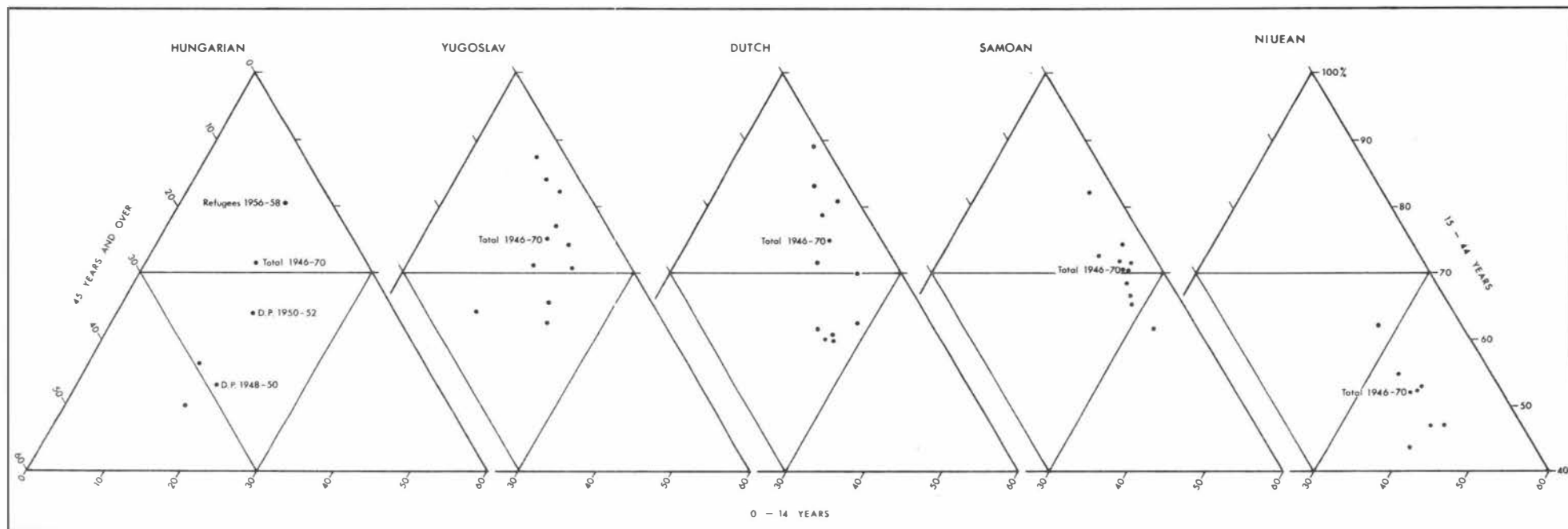


FIGURE 7. Age Characteristics (tri-graph format) of Hungarian, Yugoslav, Dutch, Samoan and Niuean Arrivals Intending Permanent Residence, 1946-1970

poles of the continuum. Though the bulk of arrivals in each of the five groups are of working age (15 to 44 years), the post-war period of immigration has clearly been marked by often wide variations within each group in the relative strength of the three age categories. This variation is most pronounced for the Hungarians, with the contrast between the 'displaced persons' (1949-1952) and the 'refugees' (1956-1958). Samoan and Niuean arrivals, however, have been much more homogeneous. Less than 8.0 per cent of Samoan arrivals were over 45 years of age, the majority were young, probably single, adults between 15 and 44 years of age (65 to 75 per cent) and only 20 to 30 per cent were under 15 years indicating the probable presence of family groups. Migration of family groups has apparently been much stronger among the Niueans, with 33 to 44 per cent under 15 years, a slightly increased proportion over 45 years (9 to 12 per cent) and consequently a lower proportion of arrivals in the youthful working-age group (45 to 55 per cent). The range of age characteristics for successive groups of Dutch arrivals was closely related to the influence exerted by the assisted immigrants, a group concentrated (by selection policy) within the age limits of 20 to 35 years. As illustrated in Figure 8, exclusion of the assisted immigrants produced a marked shift in age composition, indicating higher proportions under 15 years (16 to 30 per cent), lower proportions between 15 and 44 years, though this group still accounted for 60 to 80 per cent of arrivals, and only slight gains in the percentage over 45 years of age.

The demographic characteristics of post-war Yugoslav arrivals, particularly variations between the three major sub-groups, are best illustrated by age-sex structures based on data drawn from

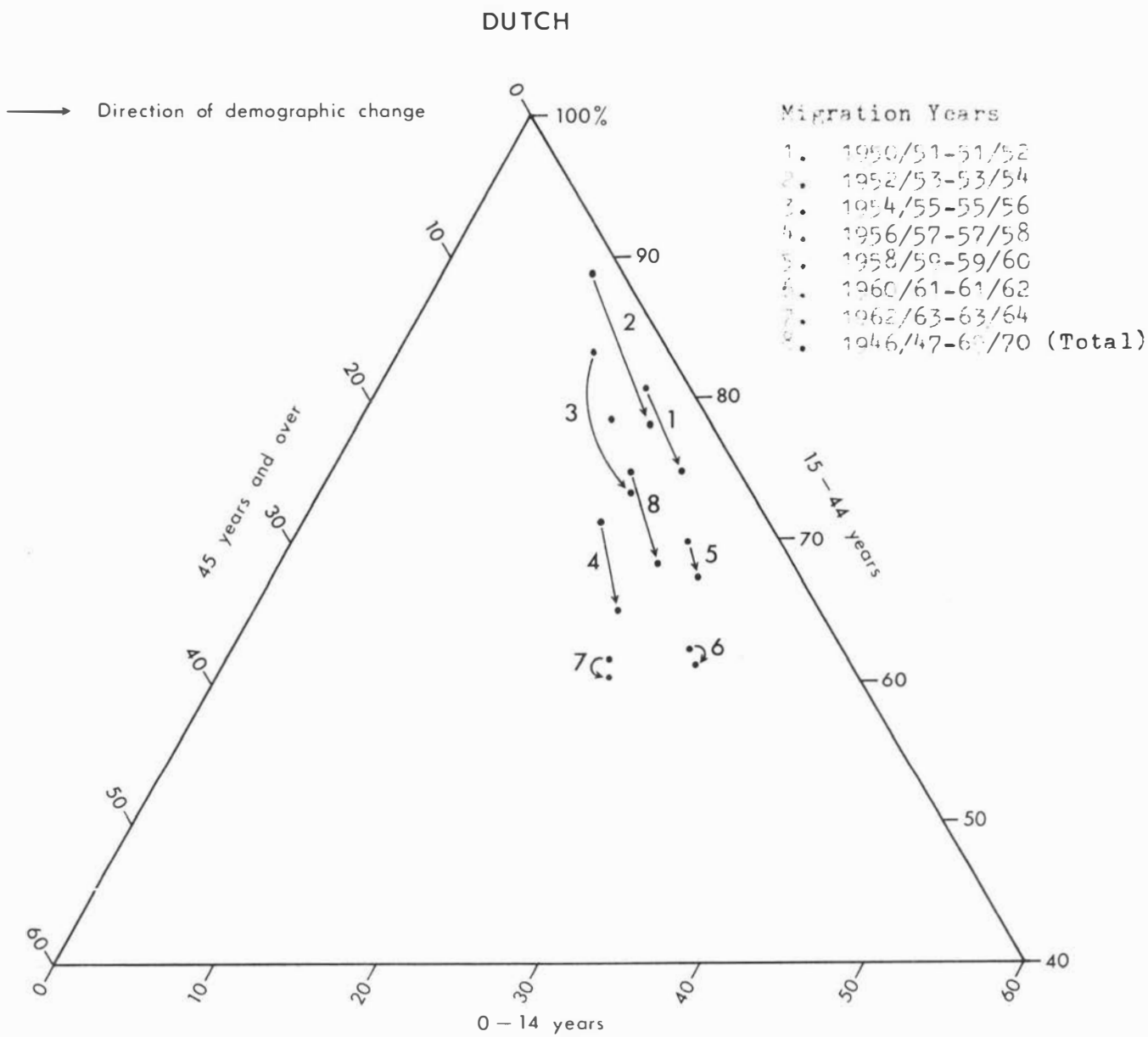


FIGURE 8. Age Characteristics (tri-graph format) of Dutch Arrivals Intending Permanent Residence, 1946-1970, Before and After Exclusion of Assisted Immigrants

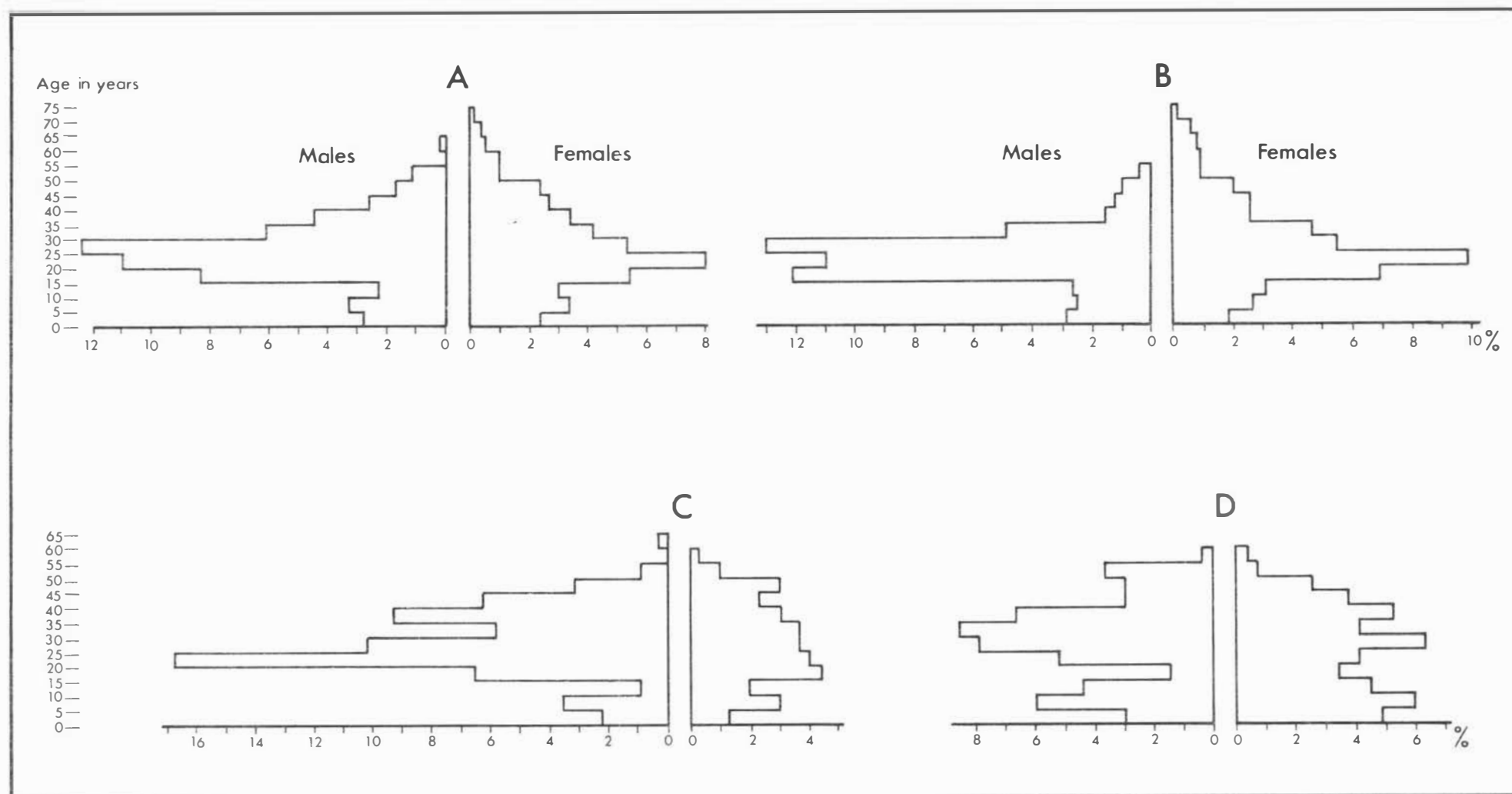


FIGURE 9. Age-Sex Structures of Yugoslav Arrivals, 1949–1967. A: Total Arrivals. B: Dalmatian Chain Migrants, 1950–1967. C: Displaced Persons, 1949–1952. D: Hard-core Refugees 1958–1966

the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers for the period 1949 to 1967 (Figure 2). As expected a high proportion of the Dalmatian chain migrants were young, single adults between 15 and 34 years of age, whereas the 'handicapped' refugees were generally older married migrants with young dependents. Dominated by young single males between 15 and 44 years of age, the 'displaced persons' included also a number of married migrants and their off-spring.

A key factor underlying the age distribution of immigrants upon arrival, quite apart from a universal heightened propensity to migrate at certain stages of the life-cycle, is the setting of age and often family size limits in New Zealand's immigration policy. For example, in the course of research on Yugoslav immigration to New Zealand it was established that entry is normally limited for non-British European immigrants to persons between 18 and 45 years of age. The minimum age (for young people unless they are accompanied by their parents) was imposed to ensure that young migrants were well cared for and not exploited in the labour field. The upper age limit is not aimed at excluding older migrants but of limiting their admittance because of the alleged problem of providing for the welfare and accommodation of New Zealand's older age group.

There is, however, clear evidence of discrimination on the basis of nationality. For instance in the case of 'favoured nationals' such as Dutch, Swiss and Danes, overage parents between 45 and 55 years are accepted when one of their children has been in New Zealand for at least three years. If the parents are over 55 years of age all the children must be here and one of them for at least three years. For Yugoslavs, " ... it has not been the policy to extend the same

treatment to overage parents as it has been in the case of ... favoured nationals ... "6 unless the relations in New Zealand are prepared to sign a Deed of Covenant. The Deed is in fact a guarantee by the signatories that they will indemnify the New Zealand government against all costs, charges and expenses that may be incurred in the maintenance or relief of the immigrant. This potential financial burden has discouraged the immigration of many older parents, although exceptions to such restrictions can be (and are) made for humanitarian reasons (e.g. 'displaced persons' and 'refugees').

Age limits are even more exacting, along with regulations on marital status and family size, for assisted immigrants. Hence the concentration of assisted single Dutch males and females between 20 and 35 years of age. Even the Niueans and Samoans, particularly the latter, are confronted by regulations. In the case of Niueans, local ordinances made by the Island Assembly require married men to make financial arrangements to support their wives if they are left at home. This may perhaps encourage family migration, which is made easier by the Niuean's status as a New Zealand citizen. A Samoan on the other hand has to face strict regulations, which include age and family limitations for the intending migrant. According to Fairbairn (1961, 20) the immigration policy for Samoans circa 1960 was "unfavourable to persons over a certain age or with numerous dependent children" and it insisted that "married people with families must come as a family unit or not at all". In more precise terms applicants for migration to New Zealand must (Thompson, 1972, 2) be between the ages of 18 and 45 years, and married applicants must not have more than four dependent children. Such a policy would obviously be rather

harsh on aged parents, but Challis (1970, 23) points out that a visitor's permit for three months is available and that for aged parents it can be extended for a further three months at the discretion of the Department of Labour.

With the above examples in mind, it seems reasonable to conclude that the age characteristics of arrivals of given birthplaces, nationality, and types of migration (assisted immigrants, refugees, chain migrants) can only be fully appreciated if specific immigration regulations are made known. The significance of age selection and limitation is wide ranging in terms of immigrant settlement in the new society. It affects formation of ethnic community organisations, marriage patterns, labour force participation rates, housing needs and welfare requirements.

PRE-MIGRATION OCCUPATIONS

Although official statistics are available on the occupations of all permanent arrivals and departures, government publications are generally devoid of information on the occupations of specific immigrant groups upon arrival in New Zealand. Consequently examination of pre-migration occupations is heavily reliant upon alternative sources of information characterised by varying occupational classifications which limit inter-group comparisons.

Until the Second World War the majority of Yugoslav males migrating to New Zealand were peasant farmers, fishermen or craftsmen such as village carpenters and joiners. Few had skills in modern mechanics or experience in factory employment. Information on the

occupations of post-war arrivals is limited to declarations made in applications for entry to New Zealand, applications often completed not by the immigrant but by his sponsor (generally a close relation) in New Zealand. Although the occupational statistics of Dalmatian-Yugoslavs presented in Table X (males only, arriving between 1951 and 1967) must therefore be interpreted with caution, the relative predominance of the traditional 'Farmer, Fisherman' and 'Craftsman' categories is still evident among post-war arrivals. Toward the end of the 1950s, and particularly in the 1960s, however, the occupations listed in the 'Craftsman' category became more diversified and skilled in character, reflecting the rising standard of (and opportunities for) education in Yugoslavia, especially in respect of technical qualifications. Indeed by 1966 the occupational standards were sufficiently high to attract Fletcher Industries Limited and the company recruited (as 'contract workers') carpenters, welders, boiler-makers and general mechanics in the towns of the central Dalmatian coast (not included in Table X).

Dalmatian chain migrants are only one (albeit the dominant) component of post-war Yugoslav immigration. Table X therefore includes statistics on the occupations of male 'refugees', admitted during and after 1958, for purposes of comparison. The predominant occupational group for the gainfully employed 'refugees' was 'Craftsmen, Production, Process and related workers' with an approximate ratio of skilled to unskilled of 2:1. As most of the refugees came from urban rather than rural backgrounds immediately prior to their 'departure'/'escape' from Yugoslavia, the lower proportion of farmers and greater representation in other occupational groups was only to be expected.

Table X
Pre-Migration Occupations of Yugoslav Migrants
(Dalmatian Chain Migrants, Hard Core Refugees)
to New Zealand (Males Only).

Occupations	'Dalmatians'	'Refugees'
Professional, Technical	0.40	2.80
Administrative, Executive	-	1.40
Clerical/Sales	0.60	1.40
Farmers/Fishermen	33.26	9.80
Miners	0.40	2.80
Transport, Communications	1.00	2.10
Craftsmen, Production, Process	25.24	38.45
Service, Sport, Recreation	1.00	3.50
Other Employed (N.S.)	20.24	11.88
Children (under 16 years)	17.83	25.87
Total	100.00	100.00
No.	499	143

Source: 'Applications for Entry to New Zealand', Department of Labour and Immigration, Wellington.

A sample survey of Dutch migrants (16 years of age and over) recorded on the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers in August 1964 provides the best available information on the pre-migration employment of Dutch immigrants in New Zealand (Table XI). Presenting the survey results, Thomson (1967, 99-103; 1970, 162-163) made only limited comments, noting that : (a) "Contrary to popular belief, only a minority of male Dutch migrants were employed in agriculture in the Netherlands and Indonesia" (18.5 per cent), of whom "less than 10 per cent ... were in the owner, manager or share-farmer class" (65.69 per cent were labourers); (b) that almost half of those employed were in industry prior to migration. With respect to males employed in industry, the statistics presented by Thomson (1967, 102) indicate that 55.7 per cent were 'Skilled workers', 7.3 per cent 'Foremen', 7.5 per cent 'Owners and Managers' and a further 4.4 per cent 'Professional and administrative' workers, leaving the remainder (about 25.0 per cent) as presumably unskilled workers. In Table XI the category 'Other' is defined by Thomson (1967, 99) as "all those at school or other educational institutions and much smaller numbers in the armed forces or retired". The overall impression gained from the survey results on pre-migration employment, despite the relative strengths of the 'Manufacturing' and 'Farming/Agriculture' sectors, is of a group with a varied occupational structure not unlike that of their new homeland. This impression is confirmed by results in other sections of the survey dealing with occupational change, occupational mobility and advancements in occupational status. Overall, Dutch immigrants appear to have been well equipped, vocationally, for settlement and success in New Zealand.

Table XI
Employment (Pre-Migration) of Dutch Migrants
to New Zealand

Employment	Males	Females	Total
No reply, or pre-school	2.1	3.2	2.48
Manufacturing	27.2	9.1	20.83
Building and Construction	10.3	-	6.72
Agriculture	18.5	1.3	12.50
Transport	7.1	1.0	4.95
Teaching	0.4	3.4	1.41
Social Services	4.6	12.1	7.25
Commercial Services	8.2	17.2	11.32
Retail Services	5.9	7.6	6.49
Domestic	0.2	37.7	13.33
Other	15.5	7.4	12.68
Total	100.0	100.0	100.00
No.	1,101	594	1,695

Source: Thomson (1970, 162). The above statistics were obtained from a 9.1% sample of all Dutch persons recorded on the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers in August, 1964.

There are, however, two points re the pre-migration employment of Dutch migrants which warrant further comment. First, Thomson's survey revealed that 12.5 per cent (and higher if the 'Other' category is deleted) of the pre-migration employment was in farming/agriculture, a proportion roughly comparable to the average of 13.0 per cent calculated by Hofstede (1964, 164) for Dutch migrants departing for New Zealand over the period 1948 to 1962. By comparison averages of 31.0 and 6.0 per cent were recorded for Canada and Australia, respectively. Hofstede's data, moreover, makes it clear that among early departures for New Zealand much higher proportions were employed in agriculture (varying between 16 and 43 per cent in the early 1950s), particularly when compared with departures for New Zealand in the late 1950s and early 1960s (5 to 9 per cent). In other words the character of Dutch migration to New Zealand underwent a marked change in occupational composition. This change in composition was noticed also among the immigrants assisted by the New Zealand government, and was attributed (Department of Labour and Immigration, 1954, 12) in part to:

the introduction of more strict criteria designed to ensure that only bona-fide experienced workers were included, and ... loss of interest in a scheme which offered no great expectations of acquiring freehold land ... 7

The second point concerns the myth of assisted immigrants being highly skilled. A review of occupations of assisted male immigrants, 1947 to 31 January 1954 (the peak period for Dutch assisted migrants), concluded that (Department of Labour and Immigration, 1954, 12):

Over 64.0 per cent of the British had skills of one kind or another, but less than 22.0 per cent of the 'displaced persons' and less than 27.0 per cent of the Dutch had usable skills.

In a later survey of assisted immigration over the period 1946 to 1964 it was reported that 2,603 out of 4,890 (52 per cent) single Dutch males came out as labourers, while 1,121 out of 1,571 Dutch females undertook domestic work (Department of Labour and Immigration, 1964, 9-10).

Occupations recorded in the Nominal Rolls of Hungarian Refugees arriving in New Zealand between December 1956 and December 1957 provided a base for compilation of statistics presented in Table XII. A wide range of occupations were represented, though the bulk fell within the category 'Craftsmen, Production and Process workers'. Within this category, the majority of males were engaged in skilled and semi-skilled occupations, labourers accounting for only 16.2 per cent of all males employed. In the case of women, unskilled workers were more common, the majority were classified as 'Domestic' and all but a few in this category were housewives often with dependent children. If allowance is made for the high percentage of children included in the statistics of Yugoslav 'refugee' males (Table A), then the Yugoslav and Hungarian males compare favourably in their respective distribution by occupational groups. It would appear, however, that the Hungarian refugees were better represented in the 'Professional, Technical' category. This should not be taken to imply that the Hungarian males were better placed with respect to occupational adjustment in New Zealand, for as Burnley (1970b, 143-145) has shown, the problems of language and foreign professional qualifications proved to be substantial handicaps to males among the Polish 'displaced persons'. Moreover, the occupations recorded in the Nominal Rolls must be approached with some caution. In a brief state-

Table XII
Employment of Hungarian Refugees (15 years of age
and above) Migrating to New Zealand, December 1956 -
December 1957 (percentages).

Occupational Group	Males	Females	Total
Professional, Technical	9.89	4.85	8.31
Administrative, Executive and Managerial	0.51	-	0.35
Clerical	2.56	6.71	3.86
Sales	1.87	1.49	1.75
Farmers	1.53	-	1.05
Miners	1.87	-	1.29
Transport, Communications	6.31	0.75	4.56
Craftsmen, Production and Process Workers 1) Labourers/unskilled	67.92 (16.21)	19.03 (10.45)	52.57 (14.40)
2) Others	(51.71)	(8.58)	(38.17)
Service, Sport and Recreation	2.05	2.24	2.11
Unclassified	0.34	0.37	0.35
Wife/'Domestic'	-	60.45	18.97
Student	5.12	4.10	4.80
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
No.	586	268	854

Source: Nominal Rolls of Hungarian Refugees (December 1956 to
December 1957). Department of Internal Affairs (Aliens
Registration and Naturalisation Division), Wellington.

ment on the Hungarians, "different trade standards" and "lack of evidence of qualifications" were two among other factors specified as problems faced by officers of the Department of Labour arranging suitable employment for the refugees in New Zealand (Department of Labour and Immigration, 1957, 16).

Pre-migration employment and occupations of Samoans and Niueans is presented in Tables XIII and XIV respectively. Variations in the classification of occupations, lack of differentiation between males and females for the Samoan statistics, and probable differences in the age of migrants, make comparisons between the two groups difficult. Nevertheless, the occupations represented reflect a basically rural background, limited occupational skills in terms of industrial production or processing, and the presence of migrants formerly engaged in the tertiary sector (e.g. nurses, teachers, clerical workers and other government personnel). From the evidence available it seems as though a change has taken place in the occupational composition of Niuean net migration (i.e. excess of departures over arrivals in Niue). Initially dominated by labourers and females in the category 'domestic' (probably including unemployed girls and older married women), the movement in more recent years has been marked by a decrease in the proportion of labourers and an increase in the category 'planter'. Such a change suggests that where Niue is capable of providing employment with a reasonable income at least some of the people are prepared to stay, but for planters this is clearly not so (for a full discussion of the Niuean economy, see Walsh and Trlin, 1973). Against this background it is only to be expected that the majority of the immigrants would enter the New

Table XIII

Employment of 400 Samoan Migrants to New Zealand, 1962.

Occupations	
Nurses	2
Teachers	4
Skilled Labour	6
Government clerical	11
Shops	4
Unskilled factory	-
Labourers	5
Domestic servants	1
Agriculture	20
Female domestic duties	41
Full-time school	6
Total	100

Source: Pitt (1970, 187), who describes the above statistics as "Last occupation Samoa, ... based on a sample of 400 migrants."

Table XIV

Occupational Composition of Niuean Migration Deficit (excess of departures over arrivals in Niue) 1956 - 1971.

Occupations	Migration Deficit 1956-1971				Migration Deficit %			Occupations, Estimated 1971 Pop.
	Males	Females	Total	%	(A) 1956-59	(B) 1966-70	(C) 1971	
Pre-school	148	142	290	11.7	6.0	13.5	11.6	18
School/Scholarship	346	304	650	26.3	16.9	27.4	29.7	17
Domestic	10	654	664	26.8	32.9	27.7	22.3	27
Labourer	200	2	202	8.2	21.0	4.9	4.8	11
Planter	401	3	404	16.3	14.3	16.4	19.9	21
Driver	50	-	50	2.0	1.7	1.6	3.6	-
Carpenter/Mechanic etc.	23	-	23	0.9	0.9	1.5	1.8	-
Teacher	6	13	19	0.8	0.2	1.8	1.8	2.1
Medical	1	19	20	0.8	+0.2	1.4	0.6	0.8
Government ¹	23	19	42	1.7	0.5	1.6	2.1	1.4
Other and Not Stated	54	58	112	4.5	5.9	2.5	2.1	1.7
Total	1,262	1,214	2,476	100.0	100.1	100.3	100.3	100.0
Total 'Skilled' ²				4.2	1.4	6.3	6.3	4.3

¹ Permanent government workers, other than those shown elsewhere.² 'Skilled', includes the categories of carpenter, mechanic, teacher, medical and government.

Source: Niue Police Department Records, Niue Census 1971 (provisional results). Part of the Table has been published by Walsh and Trlin (1973).

Zealand labour force as semi-skilled factory workers, thus contributing to the image of a 'Brown Proletariat'.

One of the commonly expressed concerns with regard to emigration from the Pacific Islands is that the better educated, skilled, young and energetic members of the labour force are over-represented among the migrants. Obviously such a pattern of movement would adversely affect Island economies and societies. Similar complaints are common to all countries of emigration, whether it be the Netherlands (Hofstede, 1964, 184), Southern European countries (Rose, 1969, 111-113) or Western Samoa or Niue. In this context comments made by Pitt (1970, 186-187) on Samoa are relevant.

... only a third of a sample of [400] migrants to New Zealand in 1962 ... could be classed as skilled labour ... And many of these could not find a job in Samoa whatever their qualifications, or only a job where their skills had little application ... Many girls with a secondary education are unemployed and nearly three-quarters of the skilled labour migrating in 1962 to New Zealand were women.

The substance of a report on Niue prepared by Basinet (1970) conveys a similar picture regarding employment opportunities. Seventy-four out of a random sample of 150 Niuean youths (aged 15-25 years) indicated they did not have a job. Thus a clear migration motivation is evident. A variety of other factors as associated motivations are discussed in a later section of this chapter.

Niue is losing planters, labourers and skilled workers, but as Walsh (Walsh and Trlin, 1973) has pointed out, it is significant that the rate of loss for those with paid employment (presumably those most able to move) has become slower while the rate for the unskilled

and unemployed has increased. Admittedly, Table XIV implies that permanently employed skilled workers (as distinct from casually employed labourers) are migrating in excess of their proportion of the resident population, but in this respect the statistics are deceptive. Some two-thirds of the teachers, 60 per cent of government workers and almost all medical losses (mainly locally-trained nurses) were women. There appears to have been no male 'brain drain' from Niue; in teaching, medicine and government, excluding trades, the migration deficit was only 30 men in sixteen years (though 22 of these left between 1966 and 1971). Even in the 'trades' the increased proportion of those leaving can probably be accounted for by the increase in numbers of those with trade skills.

ORIGINS AND TYPE OF MIGRATION

One of the principal features of Yugoslav migration to New Zealand is a relatively restricted area of origin on the Dalmatian coast (Figure 10). From this particular area migrants moved to New Zealand, the United States, South America and Australia. Yugoslav settlement in San Pedro (California) is dominated by migrants from the islands of Korcula, Vis, Hvar and Brac and from the coastal towns of Split and Crkvenica (Niland, 1941). In Australia over 1,600 of the total 1,980 Yugoslavs naturalised prior to 1939 came from the area defined by Price (1963a; 1963b) as "central Dalmatia and offshore Islands". Details of village and district of origin for New Zealand's Dalmatian immigrants, 1901-1925 and 1951-1967 are given in Table XV. The continuing movement of migrants from central Dalmatia to New Zealand, can be attributed to the process of chain migration, defined

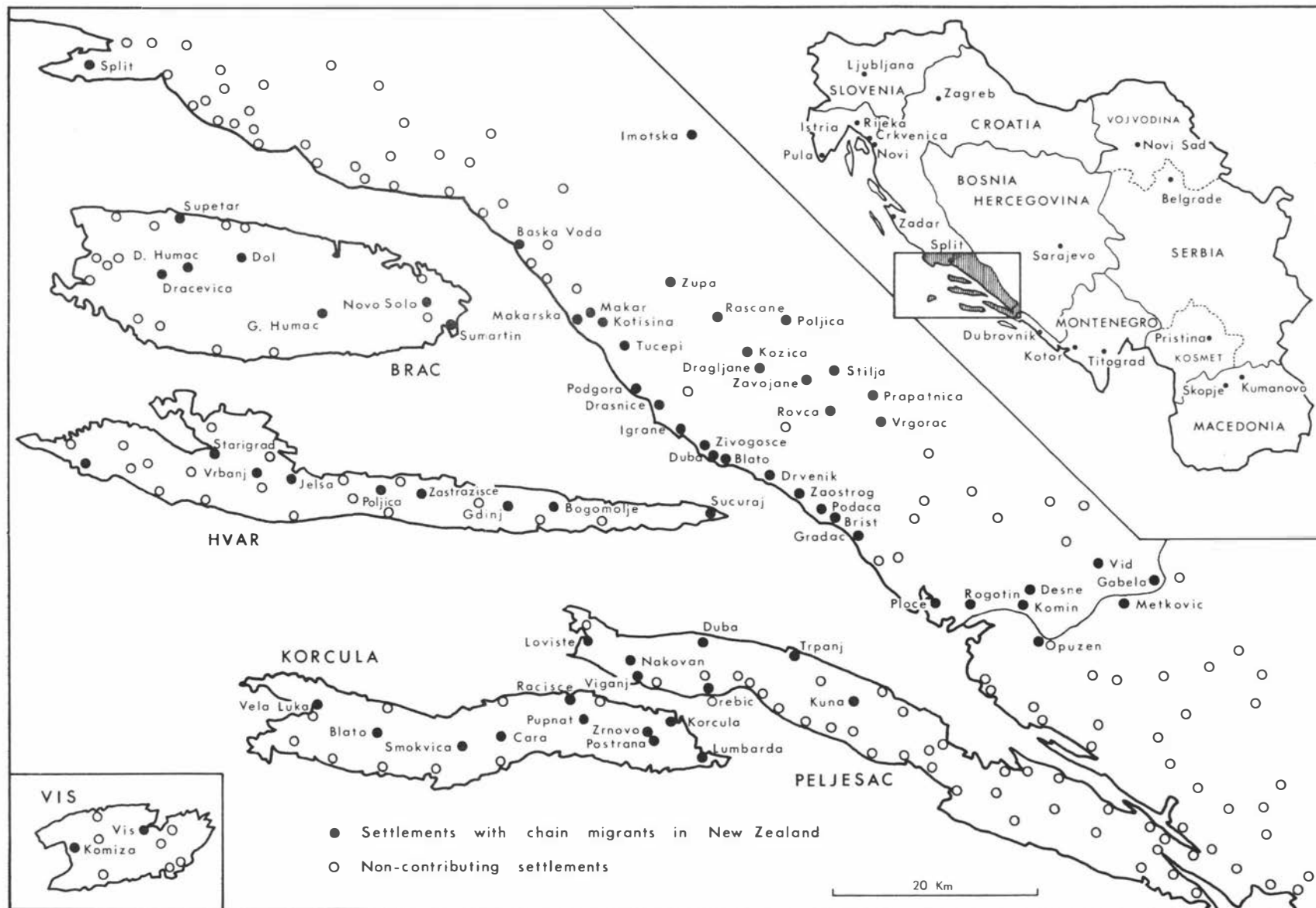


FIGURE 10. Central Dalmatian Coast, Yugoslavia: Birthplaces of Dalmatian Chain Migrants

Table XV

The Area of Origin: Dalmatian Immigrants Classified by Village and District of Birth.

Birthplace		1901-1925	1951 - 1967		T.
			M.	F.	
Northern Dalmatia	Novi, Crkvenica	12	7	5	12
Central Dalmatia					
Korcula Island	Lumbarda	201	16	14	30
	Zrnovo		28	32	57
	Pupnat		39	22	61
	Racisce		40	24	64
	Other		14	16	30
Hvar Island	Sucuraj	87	31	24	55
	Gdinj		20	19	39
	Zastrazisce		15	15	30
	Other		6	15	21
Brac Island	Dol	40	7	3	10
	Humac		7	4	11
	Other		6	4	10
Vis Island		18	8	3	11
Peljesac Pen.	Tirpanj	10	4	4	8
	Orbici	13	1	-	1
	Other	7	7	2	9
Neretva Estuary	Metkovic	15	1	3	4
	Komin	14	2	-	2
	Other	13	7	9	16
Coastal Zone	Makarska	71	20	18	38
	Tucepi	25	5	7	12
	Podgora	195	42	36	78
	Drasnice	77	25	11	36
	Igrane	42	6	3	9
	Zivogosce	52	16	14	30
	Drvenik	51	13	6	19
	Zaostrog	39	2	1	3
	Split	-	8	8	16
	Other	63	5	1	6
Hinterland	Vrgorac	201	10	15	25
	Rascane	32	6	5	11
	Kosica	30	15	8	23
	Zavojane	25	5	2	7
	Stilja	12	3	3	6
	Orah	22	7	8	15
	Imotska	26	1	3	4
	Other	25	22	24	46
Dalmatia N.O.D.		97	14	21	35
Elschatt (Egypt) (refugee camp)		-	4	1	5
Total		1,515+	490	414	904++

+ Equals approximately 90 per cent of Dalmatians naturalised 1901-25, but only 29 per cent of total Yugoslav arrivals 1897-1922.

++ Excludes seventeen arrivals born elsewhere in Yugoslavia, but still part of the Dalmatian chain migration group.

Sources: Naturalisation Records, 1901-25; Aliens and Naturalisation Registers, 1951-67; 'Applications for Entry to New Zealand'.

by Macdonald and Macdonald (1964, 82):

... as that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants.

The key factor in the definition is "primary social relationships", usually with close kinfolk.

Chain migration has its roots in the careers of early pioneers who wandered about the world in search of work, wealth and adventure. Among the Dalmatians this characteristic wandering was evident on the margins of the Pacific as early as the 1850s. A lack of documentation makes it difficult to trace precisely the development of chain migration to New Zealand, but a useful example is the case of Paolo Lupis (Paul Lopes).⁸ In 1956, Ljubo Lupis declared his father had often said that he, Paolo, was born on the Peljesac Peninsula and "that he was a sailor on an English migrant ship and had deserted at Lyttleton about 1860."⁹ It appears, therefore in the light of evidence given by Nicolas Seutch to the Royal Commission on the Kauri Gum Industry in 1898, that Paolo Lupis (Paul Lopes) was the initiator of a migration chain from central Dalmatia to New Zealand.

I am speaking of eighteen years ago [about 1880] he [Lupis] was gumdigging at Dargaville and made a little money. He went home ..., got married there and brought his wife back to New Zealand with him, and also some of his relations, and since then it seems to me that, by giving them the idea that money could be made in the country at gumdigging, they have been advancing money to each other to come out.¹⁰

Desertions similar to that of Paolo Lupis are thought to have taken place from the Austrian scientific expedition on the frigate Novara in 1858, and from Austrian lumber ships in Kaipara Harbour during the 1860s and 1870s. An examination of the Novara shipping list has confirmed the presence of a number of Dalmatian sailors, but there is no evidence to date in support of a claim of desertions.¹¹ Among the gold miners arriving in the South Island during the gold rushes, however, there were many restless Dalmatians who had probably laboured on the gold fields of California and Australia. Their birthplaces, as recorded in documents of Naturalisation, ranged from Trieste, Istria and Fiume (Rijeka) on the northern Dalmatian coast to Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and Cattaro (Kotor) in the south (see Figure 10), including also a few central Dalmatians such as the Arnerich brothers from the Island of Brac.¹²

More chance also played its part in the establishment of contacts with New Zealand during the 1880s and 1890s. A group of nine unnamed Dalmatians shared a Tattersalls sweepstake win of about £9,000 in 1892, and at least one of these men is known to have remitted his share of the money home. The sudden increase in the number of arrivals over the next two years was popularly accounted for by this win. Still others arrived under more dramatic circumstances, such as the small controversial group who figured among the survivors of the Huddart Parker ship Elingamite, which ran ashore on West Island in the Three Kings Group in November 1902, an event recorded in the poetry of gumdigger Ante Kosovich.¹³

It is important to stress the success of the 'pioneer'

migrant (be he Dalmatian, Dutch, Samoan or Niuean) for it was his example that helped potential migrants move from mere dissatisfaction with conditions at home to a decision to emigrate. The successful pioneer was an 'attraction', a source of capital for the initiation of chain migration, perhaps of more significance than any of the 'push' factors operating at home. It can be assumed, therefore, that central Dalmatian villages with small contributions to the migrant stream had either relatively unsuccessful pioneer migrants in New Zealand or that such men found success elsewhere - in Australia, the United States or South America.

While the pioneers are clearly important, the form of Yugoslav migration might have been very different in the years after 1920 had chain migration not been enforced by legislation in New Zealand. The passing of the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act, 1920, requiring persons of non-British parentage to obtain entry permits marked both the end of 'free' immigration and the first step¹⁴ in tighter immigration control. For Yugoslavs, provided the immigrant was literate, of good health and character, the permit system existed as a formality. But by 1926 the picture had changed completely as public dissatisfaction over an influx of Yugoslavs during 1924 and 1925 provoked a review of policy. Southern Europeans, and Yugoslavs in particular, were now becoming persona non grata (Ponton, 1946, 76-77). In early 1926, Cabinet decided to admit Yugoslavs until their numbers reached 3,500 and thereafter only the wives, fiancées and minor children of permanent Yugoslav residents. Government felt that the Yugoslavs formed settlements of their own, were not assimilated into the population of New Zealand and were therefore undesirable immigrants.

This unfavourable view of the Yugoslavs influenced government policy until the early 1950s. In 1953, for example, the Director of Employment in reply to an inquiry for the entry of a young Yugoslav girl stated:

There are ... many of these applications for one or two children out of a family group, especially so with Yugoslavs. The Department's view is that if the Government's policy to bring Yugoslav immigration to an end is to be effected, applications of this nature must be declined. Such applications start off a new family and there is certain to be pressure brought to bear at a later date for other members of the family to follow ... 15

Much of the problem rests upon an understanding of the mechanics of chain migration and its effect upon the composition and character of ethnic settlements. Current immigration policy, though more liberal than in the past, is perpetuating the very 'problems' or aspects of Yugoslav settlement of which immigration officials are critical. Thus under the Immigration Act, 1964, as in prior years, admission to New Zealand is allowed for most non-British migrants within a defined degree of relationship with permanent residents in New Zealand. Usually no more distantly related than uncle, aunt, nephew or niece, the New Zealand resident acts as a sponsor and is required to arrange or provide employment and accommodation. In terms of residential concentration and segregation the results of such a policy can be readily illustrated by reference to Yugoslav, Greek and Italian settlement patterns in New Zealand cities (Burnley, 1969).

Admittedly exemptions to the regulations are made on humanitarian grounds as illustrated by the admission of 'displaced

persons' and 'refugees'. These latter groups have diversified the origins (birthplaces) of Yugoslav settlers in New Zealand, about a third of the 'displaced persons' being Serbians in addition to substantial proportions from Macedonia, Croatia (excluding Dalmatia), Slovenia and Bosnia (Trlin, 1970a, 72), while Croats (including Dalmatians) made up about 39.0 per cent of the 'Hard-core' refugees. However, once settled in New Zealand these new arrivals were subject to the usual immigration regulations and have initiated their own migration chains. Statistics on the relationship between the New Zealand sponsor and Dalmatian and other Yugoslav chain migrants are presented in Table XVI.

Remembering that arrivals prior to the First World War were predominantly young single males, and that the proportion of females among arrivals increased during the inter-war years, it can be argued that the pattern of chain migration since 1945 indicates a well-established Dalmatian community with a high proportion of completed family units (Table XVI). Only 29.7 per cent of the Dalmatian immigrants were sponsored by members of a nuclear family (parent, spouse, son, daughter, brother or sister), as compared with 63.2 per cent of the remaining chain migrants sponsored by former 'displaced persons' and 'refugees'. Each of these two latter groups are actively completing denuded nuclear families or assisting married nuclear family members. There is, however, still evidence of 'classic' chain migration among the Dalmatian arrivals; 11.8 per cent of the females were sponsored by a fiancée in New Zealand, while 15 per cent were sponsored by husbands, but 32.9 per cent of total arrivals were assisted by uncles or aunts. With the virtual disappearance of most of the original 'push'

Table VI

Yugoslav Chain Migrants Classified by Sponsor in New Zealand, 1951-1967.

Sponsor	Dalmatian Chain Migrants				Other Chain Migrants			
	M.	F.	T.	%	M.	F.	T.	%
No Data	26	25	51	5.54	-	-	-	-
Father and/or Mother	35	25	60	6.51	9	12	21	16.80
Husband/Wife	-	64	64	6.95	3	13	16	12.80
Son and/or Daughter	2	10	12	1.30	5	6	11	8.80
Brother/Sister	82	56	138	14.98	18	13	31	24.80
Uncle and/or Aunt	233	70	303	32.70	6	3	9	7.20
Niece/Nephew	-	1	1	0.11	-	-	-	-
Plancee/Fiancee +	5	50	55	5.97	4	5	9	7.20
Relative of Husband/Wife	15	53	68	7.38	6	7	13	10.40
Minor (with parents)	64	56	120	13.03	5	8	13	10.40
Others	27	12	39	4.23	2	-	2	1.60
Total	499	422	921	100.00	58	67	125	100.00

+ Includes those previously married by proxy

Source: 'Applications for Entry to New Zealand', Department of Labour and Immigration, Wellington.

factors in migration from Dalmatia, it appears that the 'attractions' (of kinfolk in particular) remain as incentives for the young and single migrants. Perhaps chain migration has also, over a period of half a century, generated its own raison d'être.

Hungarian immigrants, the majority being 'displaced persons' and 'refugees' with no significant pre-migration contacts in New Zealand, have some obvious similarities with their Yugoslav counterparts. The first wave of arrivals (1949-1952) came from a wide variety of social, economic and geographic backgrounds in Hungary (cf. the Polish 'displaced persons' discussed by Burnley, 1970b), whereas the second wave (1956-1958) was a much more homogeneous group, drawn mainly from the larger urban centres (especially Budapest and environs) within reach of the Austrian border. Once settled in New Zealand, the Hungarians, like the Yugoslav 'refugees', were subject to normal immigration regulations and proceeded to sponsor relatives, usually nuclear family members, in order to re-unite family groups whose members had been separated by war, revolution and migration.

While the bulk of Yugoslav immigrants have a relatively 'localised' area of origin on the central Dalmatian coast, Dutch immigrants in New Zealand are (in terms of birthplace) representative of the Netherlands as a whole (Figure 11). This is illustrated in Table XVII, based on results obtained by Thomson, (1970) from his sample survey of 1964. Comparison of population distribution, population densities and pre-migration residence (not birthplace), led Thomson (1970, 155) to conclude "that there is a positive correlation between migration and centrality and to a lesser extent to population density". Similar conclusions can be drawn if birthplaces rather than



FIGURE 11. The Netherlands : Origins of Dutch Migrants in New Zealand

Table XVII

Origins (by Province of birth) of Dutch Migrants
in New Zealand, 1964 (percentages).

Province	Netherlands Population 31.12.51	Dutch Migrants in New Zealand 1964
North Holland	18.35	24.47
South Holland (incl. Hague)	23.75	26.38
North Brabant	12.50	12.49
Gelderland	10.82	8.18
Limburg	7.35	5.51
Overijssel	6.70	6.21
Utrecht	5.74	6.02
Friesland	4.53	4.31
Groningen	4.47	2.79
Drenthe	2.80	2.34
Zeeland	2.65	1.27
Total	99.66 No. 10,290,000	100.00 1,577

Source: Thomson (1970). Dutch migrants born in Indonesia have been excluded. For location of Provinces, see Figure 11.

pre-migration residence are considered, as the provinces of North and South Holland and Utrecht, containing the randstat (Rotterdam, The Hague, Haarlem, Amsterdam, and Utrecht), are over-represented among Dutch migrants in New Zealand, while the peripheral provinces (e.g. Zeeland and Groningen) are under-represented. In this respect New Zealand's Dutch settlers appear to conform to the pattern of total Dutch emigration. A sample survey conducted in the Netherlands in 1955 and 1956 revealed that 31 per cent, 32 per cent and 7 per cent resided in 'Large cities', 'Medium-sized cities' and 'Commuter areas' respectively, while only 14 per cent resided in 'Small towns' and 16 per cent in 'Rural areas' (Beijer, 1961, 40). Obviously, the place of residence and place of birth may not be the same, particularly in a country where rural-urban migration is known to be taking place, but Thomson (1970, 155) notes that 79 per cent of those living in the six largest provinces were still in the province of birth immediately prior to migration. The 1955/56 Netherlands survey found 74 per cent resident in the place of birth, in the same district or province (Beijer, 1961, 39).

A variety of factors account for the 'national representativeness' of Dutch migrants in New Zealand. Among the most important are the universality of emigration motivations and the existence of a general 'emigration climate' wherein (Frijda, 1961, 127):

... no less than 32.0 per cent of a fairly arbitrary sample of the population [had] seriously considered emigration, while another 17.0 per cent [had] thought about it at some time.

Thus, given the conditions of age, marital status and perhaps occupation, incorporated in the selection policy for assisted migration, it could be argued that equal opportunity for all who desired to

emigrate ensured national representation, particularly as New Zealand's assisted immigration programme ran parallel to emigration schemes promoted by the Netherlands government and other agencies.

However, it should not be inferred from the above that chain migration, so characteristic of Yugoslav immigration, was inoperative in the case of the Dutch. On the contrary, chain migration appears to have been an important factor at both the place of origin (as a motivation) and destination (in terms of distribution and settlement patterns), as well as a means of ensuring the continuation of migration to New Zealand. After all the Dutch are non-British and are therefore subject to New Zealand immigration regulations in the same way (albeit with some 'privileges' as favoured nationals) as the Yugoslavs, Hungarians, Greeks, Italians and any other non-British immigrant group. Sixty-two per cent of the respondents in the 1955/56 survey affirmed that people from the same neighbourhood, known to them personally, were already in the country of intended destination (Beijer, 1961, 41), and of the 72 migrating to New Zealand 25 per cent gave 'Relations' as the first reason for choice of destination (Hofstede, 1961, 7). Of all migrants in the 1964 sample survey, Thomson (1970, 161) found that 38.5 per cent were preceded to New Zealand by a close relative or fiancé, the percentage being higher among females (50.6 per cent) than among males (31.9 per cent). These observations contribute to an understanding of the changing sex composition of Dutch migration to New Zealand (Table VIII) and the difference in duration of residence of Dutch males and females (Table IX), in that they point to chain migration of the type evident among the Yugoslavs (Table XVI).

Whether the continuation of Dutch migration will eventually result in restricted areas of origin in the Netherlands is a debatable point, unless regional socio-economic inequalities in the Netherlands foster a demand or desire for emigration (in specific areas) that can only be satisfied with the assistance of relations already in New Zealand. Nor should the attraction of successful migrants be overlooked, particularly in view of the high rates of temporary migration (probably to the place of birth) exhibited by New Zealand's Dutch residents in the 1960s. Meanwhile, in New Zealand the importance of chain migration as a factor in settlement patterns, particularly for females residing in rural areas, was evident in the early 1960s as revealed by Thomason's (1970, 158-161) survey.

All thirteen villages of Niue were represented in the migration stream to New Zealand, but the degree of representation varied considerably. Comparison of census population distribution by village (for 1956 and 1971) with the distribution of migrants (deficit 1956-1971) by village of origin, revealed that four villages, namely Mutalau, Hakupu, Liku and Tuapa were over-represented and accounted for 49.7 per cent of the migration deficit (cf. 40.3 per cent of the 1956 population). Alofi, the major Niuean settlement and administrative centre, was the dominant village of origin accounting for 21.5 per cent of the deficit - a proportion exactly equal to its share of the 1956 population. With the exceptions of Wakefu and Lakepa the remaining villages were under-represented, particularly Tamakautoga. However, it must be stressed that not all of the villages have attained a comparable stage in the process of migration. Thus while Hakupu and Mutalau were early starters, the villages of Wakefu, Toi,

Table XVIII

Niuean Migration Deficit by Village of Origin,
1956-1971.

Villages	Percentage Total Population		Migration Deficit 1956-1971	% 1956 Population Lost 1956 - 1971
	1956	1971		
Alefi	21.5	18.4	21.5	53.9
Makefu	4.4	4.4	4.8	59.5
Tuapa	7.8	7.7	9.3	63.9
Namukulu	2.2	2.8	1.2	30.3
Hikutavake	4.9	5.2	2.4	26.5
Toi	3.3	3.9	1.7	27.6
Mutalau	12.7	10.8	16.5	69.9
Lakopa	7.5	7.7	7.6	55.3
Liku	9.6	9.9	11.7	65.8
Hakupu	10.2	9.5	12.2	64.7
Vaiea	2.0	2.6	0.7	18.5
Avatele	9.0	9.9	6.9	41.4
Tamakautoga	5.0	7.2	2.8	30.0
Total	100.0	100.0	99.3 (NS 0.7)	53.6

Note: % 1956 population lost 1956-1971; the figures shown express the migration deficit as a % of the 1956 population.

Source: Walsh and Trlin (1973, Table 1).

Namakulu and Lakepa were late starters that can be expected to figure more predominantly in the future (see Walsh and Trlin, 1973).

There seems little reason to doubt the importance of Niuean village origins and allegiances in the process of migration, settlement and community organisation in New Zealand (see Challis, 1972). The problem is, however, to find an adequate explanation for the observed pattern of village origins. Bissell (1965, 26-27), aware of the prominence of Alofi, Mutalau and Hakupu in the migrant stream, expressed his concern at the difficulty of pinpointing the exact causes for the increased activity on the part of these three villages. Nevertheless, he suggested that they had advantages lacking in the rest of the island - "a relatively large hinterland of productive agricultural land", leading naturally "to higher income levels ... which would make emigration financially more feasible, if economically less necessary". Walsh has confirmed an overall correlation between village size, wealth and migration; the larger villages have been more migration prone, as have been the villages with higher per capita incomes from wages and the sale of agricultural and other produce and with larger proportions of agricultural land occupied (Walsh and Trlin, 1973). Furthermore, Bissell observed differences in attitude and declared that "these three villages are definitely more progressive than are the other villages". Aware of this 'progressive' reputation, Walsh has pointed out that Alofi, Mutalau and Hakupu were the first villages to have schools and consequently the most prominent in government employment and in the number of contacts (via education, work and intermarriage with European administrators and traders) with

the outside world. Such advantages go some way toward explaining the early initiation of migration from these villages and its persistence during the period 1956 to 1971.

Though cross-cultural comparisons of this type are fraught with difficulties, the points made by Walsh are very reminiscent of central Dalmatia in the nineteenth century (Trlin, 1967, 14-54) and especially of changes in twentieth-century Samoa (Pitt, 1970). If by "more progressive" Bissell meant that the three villages were less 'traditional' and more 'European' in cultural orientation (however that might be measured) than other Niuean villages, then the other advantages proposed by Walsh are quite credible explanations. More so in the light of observations made by Pitt (1970) in Samoa.

Representation or non-representation of villages, though correlated with factors of population size or income or land resources or education, reflects also the influence of kinship. Aside from those accompanying a spouse or other family members (18 per cent), 21 per cent of Niueans interviewed in Auckland by McCreary (1969) during his 1964 survey gave family reasons for migration - 'join spouse', 'parents' or 'other family' members. More recently a survey of 58 Niueans departing between mid-December 1971 and January 1972 and in July 1972 revealed that 62 per cent had 'family reasons' for migration (Walsh and Trlin, 1973). In the latter case some two-thirds had their fares remitted by relations in New Zealand. These results all point to the process of chain migration, clearly reflected in the changing 'familial unit' composition of the migration deficit over the years 1956-1971. Typically, the movement was initiated and dominated by young single adults who paved the way for others. Married men, sometimes accompanied

by adult sons or nephews, followed soon afterwards, to be joined within two years by wives and the youngest children, and sometime later by the remaining children left in the care of relations. Records of departures from Niue indicate that as the movement increased single adults declined from 46 per cent (1956-1959) to 32 per cent (1966-1970) of total migrants, while units involving children increased from 45 to 55 per cent (Walsh and Trlin, 1973). Thus, with regard to the pattern of Niuean village origins, it seems that the initial advantages enjoyed by Alofi, Mutalau and Hakupu - advantages favourable to young single migrants - have been compounded by the factor of kinship. Niuean villages are to a considerable extent agglomerates of related families.

Statistics on the birthplace of Samoan migrants to New Zealand in 1962 and 1970, derived from records held by the Department of Labour and Immigration in New Zealand, demonstrate the initial and continuing dominance of Apia (on the Island of Upolu) as an area of origin, and indicate also a progressive expansion in the area of origin from Apia and its environs to the rural hinterland of Upolu and Savaii (Table XIX). An important factor here is the concentration by 1970 of almost half the population in or near Apia, but a number of additional points must also be considered. First, surveys carried out by Pitt (1970) in 1963 and 1964 in Apia and the villages of Malie and Salani, together with the statistics in Table XIX, point to a pattern of step migration from rural localities to Apia and thence to New Zealand; a movement pattern not unlike that of Cook Islanders using Rarotonga as a staging-post on the road to New Zealand (Curson, 1970a). Migration to Apia - even daily, weekly or monthly commuting -

Table XIX
Origins (Birthplace) of Samoan Migrants to
New Zealand, 1962 and 1970 (percentages).

Birthplace		1962	1970
Apia		26.0	22.84
Enviroms Apia ⁺		36.3	33.77
Elsewhere Upolu		20.3	21.08
Savaii		14.5	20.84
Other		1.6	0.99
Not Stated		0.6	0.33
Total	⁴	99.3	99.85
	No.	299	299

+ Mulifanua-Apia-Fagaloa

Source: Pitt and Macpherson (1971, 16).

was regarded as a prestigious first step into the European world and an important entry into paid employment. Moreover, Apia as the port and administrative centre was the place where essential language, educational and occupational skills could be obtained, where job opportunities existed, where migration applications could be lodged and passages arranged. Finally, there is a history of intermarriage between Samoans and European traders and missionaries which has produced a sub-culture of Mixed-blood European-Samoans. This group came to have relatively little contact with other groups of Samoans in Apia, in the villages, or with fa' asamoa (Samoan tradition), and involved a degree of residential segregation (with the Mixed-bloods living in European areas of Apia) and social segregation in terms of language, occupations and life-style (Pitt, 1970, 184-185; Pitt and Macpherson, 1971, 15-16). According to Pitt and Macpherson this 'elite' had strong overseas interests and identifications and looked abroad "for education, health, opportunity, investment and ultimately residence". They dominated the pre-World War II and immediate post-war (Table V) migration to New Zealand.

With respect to the extension of the area of origin back to the rural areas, particularly Savaii, Pitt and Macpherson (1971, 17) made three important observations. First, the change reflects "the opening up of Savaii itself ... through developments at villages like Saleleloga and around Asau". Second, although Apia continued as an important point of departure:

... a tendency was developing for migrants to come more or less directly from rural villages ... [which] ... reflected patterns of chain migration, the first migrant needed Apia as a jumping board but after this relatives could easily be recruited from the villages.

Finally, Pitt and Macpherson maintained that:

... to some extent as well the Savaii people were less well placed for obtaining the opportunities in government or business which Independence had opened up in Apia itself.

Each of the above points could as easily be applied to the pattern of migration from the Cook Islands and add to the credibility of the advantages proposed by Walsh in the case of Alofi, Mutaleu and Hakupu in Niue.

Like non-British continental Europeans, and unlike the Niueans, Samoans are subject to strict immigration regulations in New Zealand which require a medical examination, possession of a passport, an exit permit from Samoa, an entrance permit to New Zealand, and guarantees of satisfactory accommodation and permanent employment. Even then the new Samoan migrant is only granted a temporary entrance permit, lasting for six months, which can be renewed (subject to satisfactory reports on behaviour etc.,) for a period of up to five years before application can be made for permanent residence. These regulations have naturally fostered and enhanced chain migration in 'aiga (extended families), which in Samoa have a spatial unity in the village, thus providing an opportunity for the emergence of restricted areas of origin and, within certain localities, restricted family representation. In New Zealand the 'aiga, among its many and varied functions, serves to cover the costs of migration of family members, to arrange and/or guarantee accommodation and permanent employment. Pitt and Macpherson (1971, 38-39) cite, as an example, an 'aiga with ninety migrant members only seven of whom had not found

initial accommodation with other members of the 'aiga. Of the seven exceptions, six were early migrants who arrived and established the basis from which the 'aiga has grown to its present size. Here also the consequences for urban residential and occupational patterns are similar to those for continental Europeans in New Zealand cities.

MOTIVATIONS FOR MIGRATION

One of the most persistent and deep rooted beliefs on the subject of early Dalmatian migration to New Zealand, expressed by writers such as Lochore (1951, 36-49) and Wilson (1966, 628), is that the migrants were simply refugees from Austrian oppression. Research on the Dalmatian background, however, suggests that crop failures, phylloxera and loss of the Austrian wine market to Italy, were also among the immediate reasons for emigration in the 1880s and 1890s. Behind these immediate reasons was a combination of more basic factors: (1) a long history of foreign control and exploitation that stifled economic development (e.g. Austrian rule 1815-1914); (2) the penetration of capitalism from western and central Europe which disrupted the traditional socio-economic structures of the peasant society; (3) the failure of indigenous political parties to assert themselves and introduce social and economic reforms; and (4) a rapid increase of the population, the dynamic factor which placed increasing strain upon the peasantry in an environment with few natural resources.¹⁶ The net result was the emergence of a 'mixed' peasant society (Trouton, 1952, 3-8) representing the crude fusion of new and traditional socio-economic values and aspirations. Chief among the new aspirations was the desire for self-sufficiency and individual landholder status, an

aspiration which could be satisfied by land purchase requiring the accumulation of the necessary capital. Opportunities for such advancement in Dalmatia, as in nineteenth century Poland (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1958, 1, 191), were severely restricted - hence the emergence during the late nineteenth century of temporary overseas migration in search of employment and money. Between 1877 and 1920 a total of 5,471 Dalmatian-Yugoslav ('Austrian') arrivals were recorded, yet the 1921 census enumerates only 1,571 resident in New Zealand, indicating a loss of 71 per cent of arrivals over this period.

After World War I distance from the homeland, the fading of memories and ties over time, the emergence of a Serbian dominated Yugoslavia pregnant with future inter-ethnic strife and the unrelieved poverty of Dalmatia together encouraged many migrants to decide on permanent residence in New Zealand. The percentage loss for the period 1920 to 1940 via remigration was considerably lower, probably less than 20 per cent of all those declaring their intention to settle permanently, a percentage that compares favourably with an estimated 45 per cent for Australia (Price, 1963a, 101-102). A further decline has taken place since 1940 to about 10 per cent of arrivals. In many respects the change in motivations and aspirations reflected in the transition from temporary to permanent residence is related also to the change from a relatively 'free' to a 'restrictive' immigration policy and the associated evolution and enforcement of chain migration, all of which are fundamental to an understanding of the character and history of Yugoslav settlement.

For other Yugoslav arrivals in the period since 1945, perhaps for a minority among the Dalmatians, and the bulk of the Hungarian refugees, alleged political and/or religious persecution or even more nebulous feelings of frustration and anxiety produced the necessary stimulus for emigration. In these cases choice of destination and perception of the new society can be of considerable importance. Were the Hungarian refugees free to nominate their choice of destination? Visinczey (1966, 131-132) in his purportedly fictional account of the life of Andras Vajda would have us believe so. His description of refugees in a small Austrian village is as follows:

... most of us were bewildered by the sight of that muddy village square with its buses going to the four corners of the earth. Less than an hour before, we couldn't move without being shot at; now we were invited to choose our place under the sun ... Where to spend the rest of one's life? A couple with a small baby, who had already boarded the bus for Belgium, got off and rushed to the vehicle marked New Zealand. There were others who walked up and down the lines of the buses, reading and re-reading the names of countries with studious expressions, but without being able to make up their minds.

The account is dramatic, appealing, but is not borne out by the facts of selection of migrants at refugee camps. For example, Schou (1968, 134-138) makes the point that "the New Zealand Mission was the first to require complete medical examinations", and that T.B. cases were rejected.

Among the Samoans the reasons for migration, some of which have already been indicated, included a desire for a job and income, a desire for education (either for the migrant or for children), attractions of relatives in New Zealand, a desire for status and

prestige, and often no particular reason at all beyond following the example of others who have gone abroad (Challis, 1953, 3; Pitt, 1970, 180-183; Lockwood, 1971, 26 and 209; Pitt and Macpherson, 1971, 17-23). Although concern is expressed on the social and economic effects of emigration of the young and ostensibly better-educated, emigration is regarded also as an important safety valve for the release of the young and rebellious who represent a potential threat to traditional social organisation (Pitt, 1970, 188). While opinions vary with respect to the relative strength of each of the above reasons, there is common agreement on 'prestige and status' as a major factor during the whole of the period since 1945. Associated with this factor is a general intention to return to Samoa after a period of some years abroad, during which time money will have been accumulated, education for the children gained, prestige and status and perhaps a matai (chief) title practically guaranteed. Surveys in both Auckland and Tahorua led Pitt and Macpherson to conclude that less than half of the migrants (especially males) intended to reside permanently in New Zealand, although most of those interviewed replied "don't know" or gave no answer at all. Moreover, it was found that very few of the migrants had taken out New Zealand citizenship, "and a large number (especially the women) were quite adamant about not doing this".

Basinet's (1970) random sample survey of 150 Niuean youths between 15 and 25 years of age indicates the predominance of the economic motive for migration, confirming the views of Bissell (1965, 63). In reply to the question: "If you were offered a job with a good salary in Niue and a job with a good salary in New Zealand, which job would you choose?" no less than 77 per cent replied "The job in Niue".

After considering the reasons given for the choice of either Niue or New Zealand, Basinet concluded that:

[money] obviously plays the most important role, but it is no less significant that almost one quarter of the young people, even when offered a job with a good salary in Niue, still prefer to go to New Zealand where they feel sure to earn more anyway.

But the survey also establishes a variety of other factors operating in favour of migration. There was an apparent lack of tight cultural identity with Niue (51 per cent "would not mind" seeing all young people leave Niue for New Zealand) and a lack of optimism about the future development of Niue (57 per cent thought that life in Niue either will not or will only improve little in the next five years). Dissatisfaction with village life (lack of recreation facilities, a desire for more freedom and more say in village affairs) and limited vocational opportunities were additional factors (although the majority apparently had not seriously considered the matter of vocation prior to being asked the question). Overall, 52 per cent did not think they would spend all their life in Niue and 83 per cent felt that most young people would like to go to New Zealand. While such responses indicate a continuance of, and perhaps an increase in, migration it should not be assumed that the movement will be permanent. In reply to the question: "When you have children, would you like them to be brought up in Niue or in New Zealand?", 60 per cent specified Niue. This may indicate an intention not unlike the temporary migration intention among the Samoans.

Despite the emphasis on economic factors revealed by

Basinet's survey, despite the dominance of 'employment' among reasons for migration expressed by Niueans in McCreary's (1963) Auckland survey, despite the obvious shortcomings of past development and administration (Walsh and Trlin, 1973), it must still be admitted that proportionately more men are employed at higher wages than in most adjacent islands and that Niue offers some of the best housing, education and medical facilities in the Pacific. From this viewpoint, given also the variety of other motivations revealed by Basinet's survey, the Niuean is clearly not driven or expelled by abject poverty or the need for survival. Rather he is propelled by his relations abroad, his rising expectations, his New Zealand citizenship and by what appears to be a feeling that he is participating in the inevitable.

Dutch migration motivations and characteristics have been examined in depth by Beijer, Frijda, Hofstede and Wentholt collectively (Beijer, 1961) and independently by Hofstede (1964). The conclusions of these investigations may be briefly summarised as follows: (1) a general feeling prevailed that it was impossible to restore a normal life out of the war-time chaos, and the prosperity of overseas countries was attractive; (2) events in Indonesia strengthened feelings that the rebuilding of a normal society based on greater social justice was an impossibility; (3) the legacy of the war, German occupation and the economic depression of the 1930s was a strong feeling of dissatisfaction (in 1947 about 75 per cent of the Dutch population felt they were worse off than before the war); (4) the blockade of Berlin and the 'Cold War' in general added to fears of another World War (surveys in 1948 and 1949 revealed that 71 per

cent and 53 per cent of respondents, respectively, expected another World War); (5) there was a growing consciousness of the population problem and belief that the Netherlands was over-populated (the housing situation alone was a cause of dissatisfaction and in 1955/56 approximately 28 per cent of respondents surveyed were definitely dissatisfied); and (6) the war created a 'lost generation', whose members found their normal and organic development was disturbed by the war and who afterwards found society (including its intellectual and political life) built up by 'others'. According to Hofstede (1964, 27-28) the 'lost generation' was put into a form of isolation expressed in an increasing lack of interest in politics and an escapism that extended into religion and culture. Many felt there was no future for them in the Netherlands. Finally, the Netherlands government, fearful of widespread unemployment, poverty and pauperization, gave its official sanction to emigration thus indicating its inability to provide sufficient employment opportunities and consequently bolstered feelings of dissatisfaction.

In addition to the motivations outlined above, the survey of emigrants in 1955 and 1956 revealed the substantial influence of a general 'emigration climate' in the Netherlands and the attraction exerted by Dutch migrants already overseas. Wentholt (1964, 244-245) singled out the factor of relations already abroad and considered it "indispensable to an understanding" of emigration and of "central importance to the motivational situation of approximately one quarter of the male independents and head of families".

With regard to choice of destination the results of the 1955/1956 survey reported by Hofstede (1964, 5-8) are of particular

interest. Out of a sample of 1,000 males, 72 were emigrating to New Zealand, and of these 51 per cent had originally considered other countries as possible destinations (notably South Africa, Canada and Australia). Conversely, 89 out of 508 who had considered countries other than their final destination had entertained the possibility of New Zealand. In order of importance the principal reasons given by emigrants to New Zealand for their choice of destination were, 'relations' (25 per cent), 'climate' (22 per cent), 'social benefits' (15 per cent), 'best opportunities' (14 per cent) and 'natural beauty' (6 per cent), while the remainder specified a variety of other reasons including 'favourable reports'. By comparison the main reasons given by emigrants to Australia were, 'best opportunities' (32 per cent), 'climate' (25 per cent), 'relations' (17 per cent) and 'young, go-ahead country' (9 per cent).

Despite the obvious variations between the five groups in terms of motivations ('push' and 'pull' factors) underlying migration and choice of destination, the general conclusion to be drawn is that New Zealand in the broadest sense was a land of opportunity. Moreover, it seems reasonable to conclude that the presence of relatives in New Zealand, closely associated with New Zealand's immigration policy, was (and is) a factor of central importance.

THE IMPORTANCE OF IMMIGRATION POLICY

The purpose of this chapter has been to review and examine, within the limits imposed by available data, the characteristics of migration to New Zealand exhibited by the five subject groups. In

general terms this examination has demonstrated, obliquely, the influence exerted by factors associated with both the place of origin and destination, by a set of 'intervening obstacles' and by personal factors which affect perception of the parameters within which migration takes place. Emphasis has been placed throughout upon the selectiveness of migration in order to demonstrate that migrants are not a random sample of the population at origin. For reasons outlined in the course of discussion, the kind of selection which has occurred clearly varies between groups, within groups and over different time periods.

Since the information presented in this chapter is supportive of Everett Lee's (1966) theory of migration, it is worth noting that many features described in the foregoing pages provide substantial verification for some of his hypotheses on volume, stream and counterstream of migration and characteristics of migrants. For example, "the volume of migration is related to the difficulty of surmounting the intervening obstacles" as witness the annual entry quota of 1,500 for Western Samoans, the extension and withdrawal of ~~assisted~~ migration for Dutch migrants and Yugoslav 'contract workers', the humanitarian relaxation of immigration restrictions to cater for 'displaced persons' and 'refugees'. Restricted areas of origin and the phenomenon of chain migration support the hypothesis that "migration tends to take place largely within well defined streams". A later chapter of this study is devoted to the role of chain migration in ethnic neighbourhood formation. Finally, as noted above, "migration is selective" - a general hypothesis that can be refined to cater for

specific demographic, economic, social and personality characteristics of migrants.

Undoubtedly 'push'-'pull' (positive and negative) factors associated with both the place of origin and destination have served to shape the streams of migration to New Zealand. Wartime displacement of Yugoslavs, post-war restrictions on the standard of living and the social frustrations of the 'lost generation' in the Netherlands, political upheaval in Hungary in 1956, limited employment opportunities in Western Samoa and Niue - all of these factors have selectively operated to prompt a decision to move in the respective areas of origin. In New Zealand, the opportunities for a new life, employment and (perhaps above all other factors) the presence, encouragement and assistance of kinfolk, have attracted potential migrants from among those ready or forced to move. There have, of course, been formidable 'intervening obstacles' between origin and destination. Distance, including its functional dimensions of costs and availability of transport, has been one such obstacle. But the factor, surpassing all others as a determinant of the pattern and character of migration, has been New Zealand's immigration policy.

Time and again the task of explaining the volume and characteristics of immigration has led inevitably to consideration and acknowledgement of often poorly publicised immigration regulations. These regulations have governed the number of Samoans admitted annually and the number of Hungarian and 'hard-core' refugees selected and have quite possibly differentially regulated the volume of other 'favoured' and 'non-favoured' nationals. Regulations concerning age limits (16-45 years) have shaped the age

structure of migration, while further demographic selection has been enforced via specifications of marital status, number of dependents and occupations - particularly in the case of government assisted Dutch migrants, but also for Hungarian and Yugoslav refugees. Perhaps the most stringent regulation, affecting both volume and character of migration, has been the kinship clause attached to non-British migrants in general. The normal selectivity of 'free' migration induced by positive and negative factors at origin and destination (including individual perception of these factors), together with the intervening obstacles, has, in short, been considerably enhanced by restrictions governing international migration.

Incorporating principles formulated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see O'Connor, 1968; Roy, 1970), New Zealand's immigration policy has sought to reconcile desires for internal cultural homogeneity and inter-ethnic harmony with the demands imposed by a continuing quest for social security and economic growth. These objectives, by no means unique to New Zealand, were enunciated in 1968 by the then Minister of Immigration, who cited the contribution to population growth (thereby the labour force, productivity and hence demands for social services) and "the great question of assimilation and integration" as the two principal factors influencing immigration programmes and restrictions.¹⁷ It was freely acknowledged that entry to New Zealand was dictated by "the relative ease with which different groups of people can be assimilated". Naturally, the point was made that "people who share a common heritage of language and tradition integrate very quickly". Conversely, it was argued that:

the greater and more obvious the difference between the immigrant and the average New Zealander, the longer and more difficult the period of assimilation, and the greater the tendency of immigrants to hive off into little colonies which become self-sufficient and resistant to the process of assimilation.

Finally, the Minister declared that immigration (particularly of unskilled workers) should not, in the interests of racial harmony, be allowed to "reach proportions which would create serious difficulties for [the] Maori people in the process of adjustment to an industrial society".

This philosophy of immigration was uncritically accepted by at least two bodies concerned with economic planning during the 1960s. The report of the Monetary and Economic Council (1966) on increased immigration and the New Zealand economy, prepared upon request from the Minister of Labour and Immigration, stands or falls on the validity of the assumption that increased immigration should consist of:

4000 additional immigrants per year
having the same characteristics as
the assisted immigrants of the two
years ending March 1966.

Allied sentiments appear in the recommendation passed by the Labour Committee (1969, 11) of the National Development Conference, a body confronted with labour demands posed by production targets set as national goals of economic development.

... New Zealand should continue to encourage immigration of persons who possess skills that are needed in New Zealand, provided there is a reasonable prospect that they will be accepted into and will accept the New Zealand community and its way of life.

To attain the goals of economic development, New Zealand has traditionally supplemented the indigenous labour force via selective and assisted immigration from the British Isles and Western Europe. Given the high ratio of dependents to workers noted by the Monetary and Economic Council (1966, 8-9), and the inclusion of a high proportion of unskilled workers cited in a survey by the Department of Labour and Immigration (1964, 9-10), this method has not been entirely successful.

But economic considerations are only part of the amalgam of social and economic criteria recognised and advocated at the beginning of the post-war period by writers such as Sinclair (1944, 34-39) and endorsed by Lochore (1951, 18-19, 24-26, 89-92) in the latter's evaluation of continental Europeans in New Zealand. To Lochore the Scandinavians were "the least alien of aliens", a group "that melted away into the British population like snow on Wellington hills", whereas Southern Europeans appeared to be more resistant to the process of assimilation, partly as a result of chain migration which which fostered in-group cohesion. Ironically, government policy since the 1920s has, as indicated in the preceding pages, enforced chain migration.

Government policy has not, however, been implemented without opposition and criticism. Manufacturers beset by labour shortages have suggested international recruitment of labour irrespective of national origins, and have joined the ranks of a growing body of groups and individuals calling for a liberalisation of policy on humanitarian grounds¹⁸ and/or concerned with New Zealand's standing in external

affairs and international trade (see Roy, 1966; Rosenberg, 1968, 213-214). But the debate on immigration policy is complicated by what appear to be contradictions in policy, opposition to any liberalisation of policy (particularly towards Asians) and conflicts of interest generated by fluctuations in the economy. For example, despite the emphasis on integration and/or assimilation and hence the cultural characteristics of migrants, a sense of responsibility to the people of the South Pacific (Nanan, 1970; Marshall, 1971) smooths the way for entry of Cook Islanders, Niueans, Tokelauans (technically New Zealand citizens with appropriate entry rights) and Western Samoans. Their presence has in turn compounded problems of internal administration and social welfare common to the New Zealand Maori that have yet to be satisfactorily resolved.

Within the context of the present study of immigrants in Auckland, recognition of the objectives of immigration policy together with the above examination of arrivals, departures, type of migration, age, sex and occupational characteristics of arrivals, leads to the following conclusions.

1. Underlying New Zealand's immigration policy has been an official view of immigration and assimilation that stresses the desirability of immigrants with a cultural background similar to that of most New Zealanders.
2. Given the clearly expressed preference for 'British', Western or North Europeans (especially in programmes of assisted immigration), it can be argued that New Zealand's immigration policy, like American legislation

for the period 1917 to 1924, has rested upon the premise that the national origin of an immigrant is a reliable indication of his capacity for assimilation.

3 Given the basic objectives and premises, and their expression in restrictive legislation governing the entry of non-British or non-favoured nationals, it can be argued that New Zealand's selective immigration policy has significantly influenced the pattern of kin relationships between arrivals and established residents, the rate of immigration, the social, economic and demographic characteristics of immigrants, the type of immigration (e.g. chain migration) and thus the general character of immigrant communities in New Zealand.

4 Given the official viewpoint on the relationship between cultural differences/similarities and assimilation potential, it can be argued that immigration restrictions may be defined as the political and administrative responses to perceived social distances between the native-born and specified foreign-born groups.

In the following chapters the importance of the above conclusions, especially conclusions (3) and (4), will be discussed with respect to immigrant residential patterns in Auckland.

Footnotes

1. Statistics for Samoans and Niueans (defined as 'race' groups) intending permanent residence and departing permanently are not complete in Table IV. For the years 1952/53 to 1955/56 (inclusive) data on these two groups was not presented distinct from other race groups in New Zealand Population, Migration and Building Statistics. In the hope that unpublished statistics might be available a request for the appropriate data was sent to the Department of Statistics, Wellington. The following reply was received (Department of Statistics, 16th November 1971, reference 13/9/158):

Some difficulty has been experienced in checking from stored records and it has been found that the data you require was not recorded for the years 1952/53 to 1955/56 inclusive. It is not known why the data on Niueans and Samoans was not presented distinct from other groups.

This problem meant also that complete statistics were not available for Tables V (Racial Characteristics) and VIII (Sex Ratios) and Figure 7 (Age Groups). Alternative statistics on Western Samoans (classified as a 'birthplace' group) were regarded as inadequate for the purposes of this study.

2. Statistics on Yugoslavs (classified as 'Austrians' or 'Austro-Hungarians') prior to 1897 are not available. For further details see : Trlin (1967, 59).
3. For example, of the 296 displaced persons admitted between 1949 and 1952, 146 were Roman Catholic, 126 Orthodox, 16 Moslem and

8 adherents of other Christian sects. By comparison the Dalmatians, almost without exception are (at least nominal) Roman Catholics. Data from Nominal Rolls of I.R.O. Displaced Persons, Department of Internal Affairs, Aliens Registration and Naturalisation Division, Wellington.

4. In refugee resettlement terminology 'handicapped refugee' simply means a person who is difficult to resettle for any one of a number of reasons; illiteracy, over age (45 years plus), having a penal record, previous history of tuberculosis, physical disability, and so on. An examination of records for the 266 Yugoslavs admitted in this category revealed that at least 33 per cent were in no way 'handicapped' apart from belonging to family groups which included one or more 'handicapped' members. Only 4.8 per cent had a specific physical disability, 4.5 per cent a background history of tuberculosis, 10.9 per cent other medical handicaps, while 7.5 per cent were over age and 8.6 per cent belonged to large families with too many non-working dependents. Data for the remaining 30 per cent was vague and gave no clear indication of any specific handicap. These statistics were compiled from 'Applications for Entry to New Zealand', Department of Labour and Immigration, Wellington. For further discussion of such refugees see: Schou (1966).
5. Prior to May 1950 arrangements had been made for the admission to New Zealand of Dutch farm workers and Dutch nationals demobilised from the Royal Netherlands Indonesian Army who were desirous of resettling in New Zealand. For the Dutch farmers

(100 of them) it was agreed that suitable employment would be found for these new settlers, but that the New Zealand Government would not be responsible either for providing passages or meeting the cost of fares (see Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1949, Vol.III, H-11, page 19). In the case of Dutch servicemen, 324 were selected and of this number 217 were accepted for farm-work in New Zealand (see Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1950, Vol III, H-11, page 14).

6. Department of Labour and Immigration, file H.O. 152506, 9th January, 1961.
7. See footnote 5 above.
8. Identified as Paul Lopes by Nicolas Seutch in the 'Report and Evidence of the Royal Commission on the Kauri Gum Industry in New Zealand' Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1898, Vol. III, H-12, 34-35.
9. Quoted by Gilmore, R., 'New Zealand's Slavs', The Auckland Star, 1956: 7th June.
10. See footnote 8 above.
11. Novara shipping list held by Mr. S. Jelich, Meadowbank, Auckland.
12. For further details on the early pioneers see Trlin (1967, 70-71).
13. Kosovich, A., 1908 Dalmatinac iz Tudjine (From a Dalmatian in a Foreign Land). Available at the Turnbull Library, Wellington.
14. Some earlier restrictions were also imposed to limit immigration indirectly. See Trlin (1970a, 76).

15. Department of Labour and Immigration, file H.O. 91670, 16th December, 1953.
16. For a full discussion of the Dalmatian background, particularly the causes of emigration, see Trlin (1967, 14-54).
17. New Zealand and Immigration, The Dominion 1 st July, 1968, p.12 (a complete printing of the paper presented by the Minister of Immigration to the 1968 Citizens Association for Racial Equality seminar on 'New Zealand's Immigration Policy'). For a more recent statement, which incidentally incorporates key phrases from the 1968 statement, see 'A Look at New Zealand's Immigration Policy' Department of Labour, Immigration Division, Wellington, July 1970 (mimeographed, 7pp).
18. The National Council of Churches in New Zealand, for example, has presented to the Minister of Immigration recommendations seeking an easing of restrictions on continental Europeans, recruitment of skilled Chinese and Indians and some relaxation of policy measures relating to family reunion of Asian migrants. For details see Inter-Church Committee on Immigration, Report to the Minister of Immigration, August 1970 (cyclostyled, 2pp). Available from the National Council of Churches in New Zealand, Christchurch, New Zealand.

CHAPTER 3

INTRA-URBAN RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS

1: CENTRIPETAL AND CENTRIFUGAL FORCES

A cardinal feature of the literature on intra-urban ethnic residential patterns is that immigrant settlement is commonly interpreted as a response to the established spatial organisation or distribution of land uses and status groups, which in turn are held to reflect the on-going process of urban growth and concurrent spatial differentiation. This interpretation is particularly well illustrated in the model of city growth presented by Burgess (1925, 50), wherein he claimed that:

The typical processes of the expansion of the city can best be illustrated, perhaps, by a series of concentric circles, which may be numbered to designate both the successive zones of urban extension and the types of areas differentiated in the process of expansion.

The major zones identified, in what Burgess (1925, 50) admitted was "an ideal construction of the tendencies of any town or city to expand radially from its central business district", together with their salient characteristics, may be briefly summarised as follows (see also Figure 12)¹:

Zone 1,

the central business district (C.B.D.), may be defined as the focus of the city's commercial, social and cultural life, the area of highest land values and generally the most accessible part of the city. The outer margins of the C.B.D. consist of an agglomeration of warehouses, light

industries and small pockets of housing, the latter including "hobohemia the teeming Bialto of the homeless migratory man .. " (Burgess, 1925, 54).

Zone II.

the 'zone in transition', originated as a fashionable and wealthy suburban fringe around the original nucleus of settlement (C.B.D.) but was subsequently encroached upon by business and industry as the city expanded in response to population growth and competition for space in the C.B.D. An area of residential deterioration, slums, inhabited by a heterogeneous population, noted for crime and vice, the inner margins of the zone are primarily industrial ('factory zone') while the outer margins are residential. The age-sex structure tends toward late maturity-senility.

Zone III.

is characteristically one of 'workingmen's homes', consisting of families who have escaped the 'zone in transition', who form the bulk of the respectable working class and who require easy access to their place of work. The age-sex structures are more balanced with all age groups represented.

Zone IV.

an area of better residences made up of private homes and apartment blocks, is inhabited primarily by the middle-class. The zone includes shopping centres replicating the zone

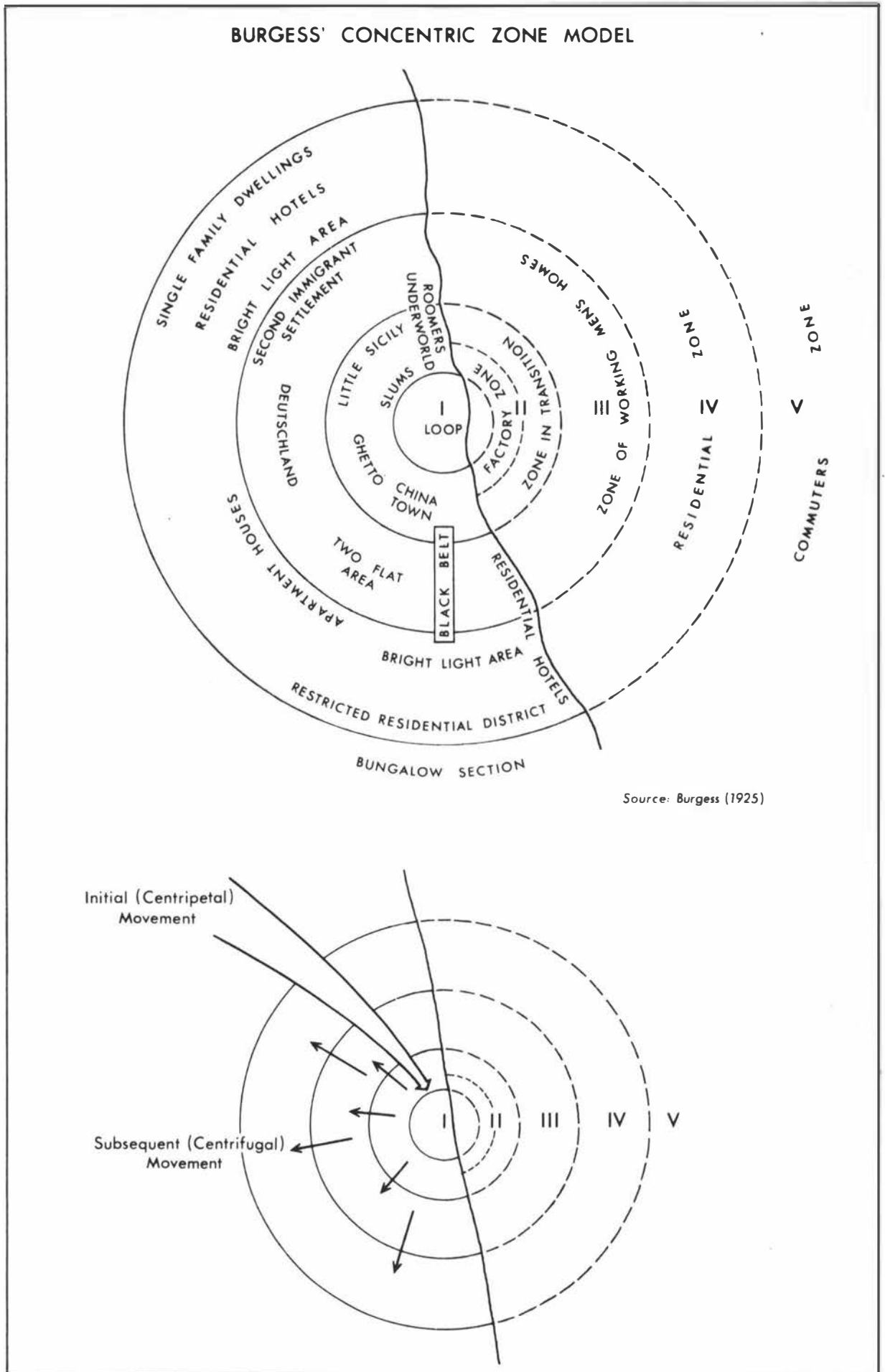


FIGURE 12. Burgess' Concentric Zone Model : Centripetal and Centrifugal Movement

expensive services and 'bright lights' of the C.B.D.

Zone V,

the 'commuters zone', is essentially (but not exclusively) a suburban dormitory area characterised by single family dwellings.

Within this schema Burgess noted the concentration of first-generation immigrants in 'colonies' or ethnic villages (Little Italy, Greektown, Chinatown) in the crowded slums of the 'zone in transition', while Zone III included areas of "second immigrant settlement, generally of the second generation" (Burgess, 1925, 56).

Following the model presented by Burgess, social scientists, including critics such as Hoyt (1939) and Alonso (1964), have generally emphasised the dominance within the urban structure of the C.B.D., commonly defined as the preferred location of most economic and social activities. As a consequence it has been argued that the poorer socio-economic classes would be limited in their residential choices by the need for proximity to the central city, whereas more affluent groups could "afford to trade accessibility for increased space and the more pleasing environment towards the periphery of the urban area" (Whitelaw, 1971, 61). These responses would, theoretically, produce a positive association between distance from the C.B.D. and wealth (along with the attendant gradations in life style).

The pattern was not, of course, a static one. Burgess described the city in the process of expansion and stressed the operation of dynamic centripetal and centrifugal forces generated (in part at least) by "the immigration ... of tens of thousands of

persons annually" (Burgess, 1925, 57). Assuming that these new arrivals were predominantly less affluent and/or visible minorities, Burgess postulated they would respond to the centripetal force exerted by older, cheaper, housing available for rent or purchase in the central city. Such cheaper housing, especially in the 'zone in transition', would be in close proximity to places of employment located in the 'factory zone' portion of Zone II. But the arrival and settlement of such migrants, perhaps because of pressure on available housing, would in turn accentuate the normal outward movement of long-established groups responding to the 'hierarchical attractions' of desirable suburban residences. Thus in terms of the Burgess model, both the intra-urban residential pattern and the associated distribution of immigrants may be seen, at any given time, as the product of the operation of centripetal and centrifugal forces.

Two qualifying points must be made with regard to the above description. First, while the 'generation' factor was strongly stated in that the 'zone in transition' accommodated the first-generation while their off-spring dominated the second immigrant settlement in the zone of 'working men's homes', Burgess and his colleagues did admit to some first-generation immigrants making the move from inner city slum or ghetto to areas of second immigrant settlement. These individuals were described by Park (1952,170) as "the keener, the more energetic and the more ambitious ..." generally also the most assimilated. The second point concerns the term 'hierarchical attraction'. Though the term was not used by Burgess in his 1925 essay, it is nevertheless appropriate to his description of step-wise movement over time and space by residents of the slums and ghetto (situated in Zone II) in response to the attractions of Deutschland

(situated in Zone III) and the movement of Deutschland residents in response to the attractions of middle-class suburbia (Zone IV). It was precisely this phenomenon of step-wise residential movement (indicating upward social mobility) that was observed and designated a 'hierarchical attraction' by Warner and Srole (1945, 42) in their study of ethnic groups in Yankee City.

That basic elements of the Burgess model apply, or have been thought to apply, to immigrant settlement in Australasian cities can be gauged from the published literature. For example, Jupp (1966, 65-66) and Burnley (1970a) with respect to Melbourne, and Hooper (1961), Curson (1968; 1970a; 1970b; 1970c) and Challis (1970) on the subject of Pacific Islanders in Auckland, have all drawn attention to the attraction exerted by the availability of older, cheaper, rentable dwellings located in the central city. Curson (1968, 72) also noted that "such a central location affords proximity to place of work" and in a later study (Curson, 1970c) depicted the central city largely in terms of Burgess' zone of transition, deterioration and blight. The accuracy of Curson's selective description is not doubted here; one cannot help but wonder, however, as to the extent and influence of his preconceptions in terms of settlement patterns sought, observed and interpreted. McGee (1969, 168) has conceded in an essay on the social ecology of New Zealand cities that:

there is evidence that non-New Zealand-born (clearly the case with non-Europeans) are concentrating in the inner city residential areas and later moving into outer-residential areas.

To these examples can be added the initial residential location and

subsequent movement of Greek and Polish immigrants in Wellington as described by Burnley (1969; 1970a; 1970b). Even the validity of the invasion-succession concept advanced by the Chicago urban ecologists has been demonstrated "to a certain extent and during the early migration phases" (Whitelaw, 1971, 66) with regard to the settlement of Maoris and Pacific Islanders in Auckland. Overall then it appears that New Zealand geographers favour, albeit to varying degrees, the 'traditional' explanation for the initial centrality of visible minorities - Maoris, Cook Islanders, Asians, Southern and Eastern Europeans. It is against this background of opinion, research and theory that this investigation is set.

OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the residential patterns of the five selected immigrant groups in Auckland in order to establish:

1. Whether immigrants, more particularly new arrivals, have conformed to the postulated attractions of the central city;
2. Whether the subsequent relocation of immigrants conforms to the postulated outward pattern of movement - i.e. from the Inner City out to Inner Suburbs and Outer Suburbs;
3. Whether the outward (centrifugal) movement is limited by a time factor (duration of residence);
4. Whether the operation of centripetal and centrifugal forces can be reduced, for ease of explanation of residential patterns, to an examination of the relationship between

duration of residence and decentralisation (i.e. distance from the C.B.I.).

Availability of data provides an immediate obstacle to investigation. While unpublished data from the 1966 Census have been obtained for each of the five groups, in the form of cross-tabulations of duration of residence (in quinquennial categories) by intra-urban census sub-divisions, these aggregate data do not permit adequate examination of items 1, 2 and 3 specified above. Accordingly, it has been necessary to secure alternative data from official sources. For purely practical reasons therefore, detailed research on initial and subsequent residential locations of new arrivals has been limited to case studies of: (a) Niuean immigrants arriving in Auckland between 1956 and 1971 using information on their declared intra-urban residential destination derived from Niuean Police Records; (b) Hungarian refugees arriving in Auckland between December 1956 and December 1958 - initial and subsequent locations as recorded in the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers; and (c) Dutch immigrants (including 'Dutch' Indonesian-born) arriving in Auckland between January 1960 and December 1967, with particular reference to the residential history of arrivals over the period 1960-1962 (inclusive), again as recorded in the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers. Additional information on Yugoslav immigrants and (to a lesser extent) Western Samoans has been included where appropriate. The three case studies, however, were deemed sufficient to illustrate the responses of migrants differentiated in terms of ease of access to New Zealand, visibility (racial) and time of arrival.

NIUEAN IMMIGRANTS 1956-1971

Niuean immigrants appear to be New Zealand's most residentially concentrated ethnic minority. The 1966 Census revealed a national total of 2,014 Niueans (classified by birthplace), of whom 95.6 per cent resided in Urban Areas, with 83.6 per cent and 6.7 per cent of the total group residing in the Auckland and Wellington-Hutt Urban Areas, respectively. This concentration of settlement is also revealed by the declared destinations of Niueans departing for New Zealand between 1956 and 1971. Auckland was the destination of some 90 per cent of migrants with the remainder going predominantly to Wellington-Hutt and (prior to 1960) to Hamilton and Frankton Junction (Table XI). Essentially, this pattern of residential concentration on a national scale probably reflects a process of 'gravitation' (see Price, 1959) to one urban centre in order to be near other ethnic group members, though economic motives (employment opportunities) may also be influential.

A broad impression of intra-urban destinations for each of three time periods, 1956-1959, 1960-1964, 1967-1971 (1965 and 1966 have been excluded because of incomplete information on destinations), is provided in Table XXI. The three concentric residential zones delineated - 'Inner City', 'Inner Suburbs' and 'Outer Suburbs' - follow the example set by Curson (1970b) and adopted by the present author in previous studies.

Table XX

Destinations in New Zealand of Niuean Immigrants
1956-1959, 1960-1964 and 1967-1971 (Percentages).

Destination	1956-1959	1960-1964	1967-1971
Auckland	91.65	94.40	89.16
Frankton Junction	3.82	0.29	0.14
Hamilton	0.39	0.29	0.14
Wellington-Hutt	3.25	1.18	3.83
Others	0.14	1.18	1.40
No Data	0.14	2.65	5.23
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
No.	707	679	1,357

Source: Police Records, Niue.

Table XXI

Destinations of Niuean Migrants to Auckland,
1956-1959, 1960-1964 and 1967-1971 (Percentages).

Destination	1956-1959	1960-1964	1967-1971
Inner City ¹	75.21	76.09	59.82
Inner Suburbs ²	14.18	11.52	13.11
Outer Suburbs ³	7.38	11.30	23.19
No Data ⁴	3.23	1.09	3.88
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
No.	647	641	1,210

1 Inner City: Auckland Central, Freemans Bay, Ponsonby, Grey Lynn, Arch Hill, Kingsland (Mt. Albert), Mt. Eden North, Eden Terrace, Newton, Grafton, Newmarket, Parnell.

2 Inner Suburbs: Meremere, Westmere, Point Chevalier, Waterview, Mt. Albert (except Kingsland), Mt. Eden Central, Mt. Eden South, Three Kings, Royal Oak, Epsom North, Epsom South, One Tree Hill, Ellerslie, Onehunga, Remuera North, Remuera South, Meadowbank, Orakei, Mission Bay, Kohimarama, St. Heliers.

3 Outer Suburbs: All remaining Census sub-divisions of the Auckland Urban Area.

4 Included in this category are cases where the address/destination was not fully specified or where an address was given that could fit two possible locations within the Urban Area.

Source: Police Records, Niue.

Briefly, the main features to note in Table XII are:

1. The primacy of the Inner City as a reception area, accounting for about 75 per cent of the immigrants between 1956 and 1964. In the most recent period, however, the Inner City has suffered a marked decline in importance, accounting for slightly less than 60 per cent of declared destinations within Auckland.
2. The function of the Inner Suburbs as a reception area has remained relatively stable, accounting for between 11 and 14 per cent of declared destinations.
3. The Outer Suburbs have become increasingly important as a reception area, the percentage of declared destinations rising from 7.4 to 23.2 per cent.

A more detailed picture of changing intra-urban immigrant destinations is presented in Figures 13a and 13b, which illustrate the importance or otherwise of specific localities (census sub-divisions) during each of the three time periods. The first feature to emerge is a gradual west to southwest shift in the pattern of initial settlement within the Inner City. As illustrated in Figures 13a and 13b the shift is marked by the relative decline of Parnell, Auckland Central and Freemans Bay and the increasing role of Ponsonby, Grey Lynn and Arch Hill as reception areas. Among the Inner Suburbs, Onehunga, an old residential area in close proximity to both old and new localities of industrial employment, has remained the pre-eminent reception area. In the case of the Outer Suburbs the principal reception areas are West Tamaki and Mount Wellington situated to the east, and Otara, Otahuhu, Mangere Bridge and Mangere East situated to the southeast. All

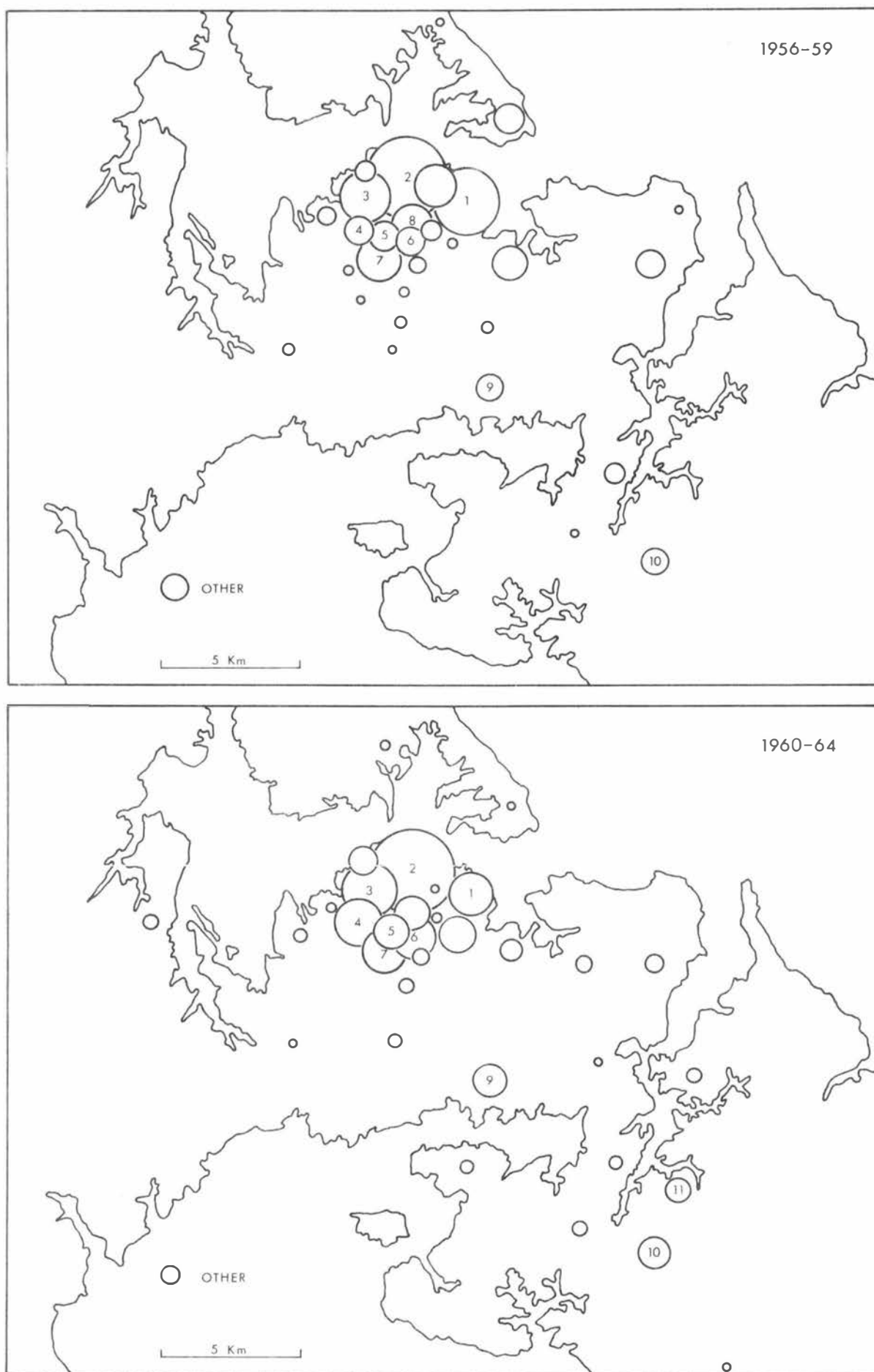


FIGURE 13a. Destinations of Niuean Arrivals in the Auckland Urban Area, 1956-1959, 1960-1964 (for Key see Figure 13b)

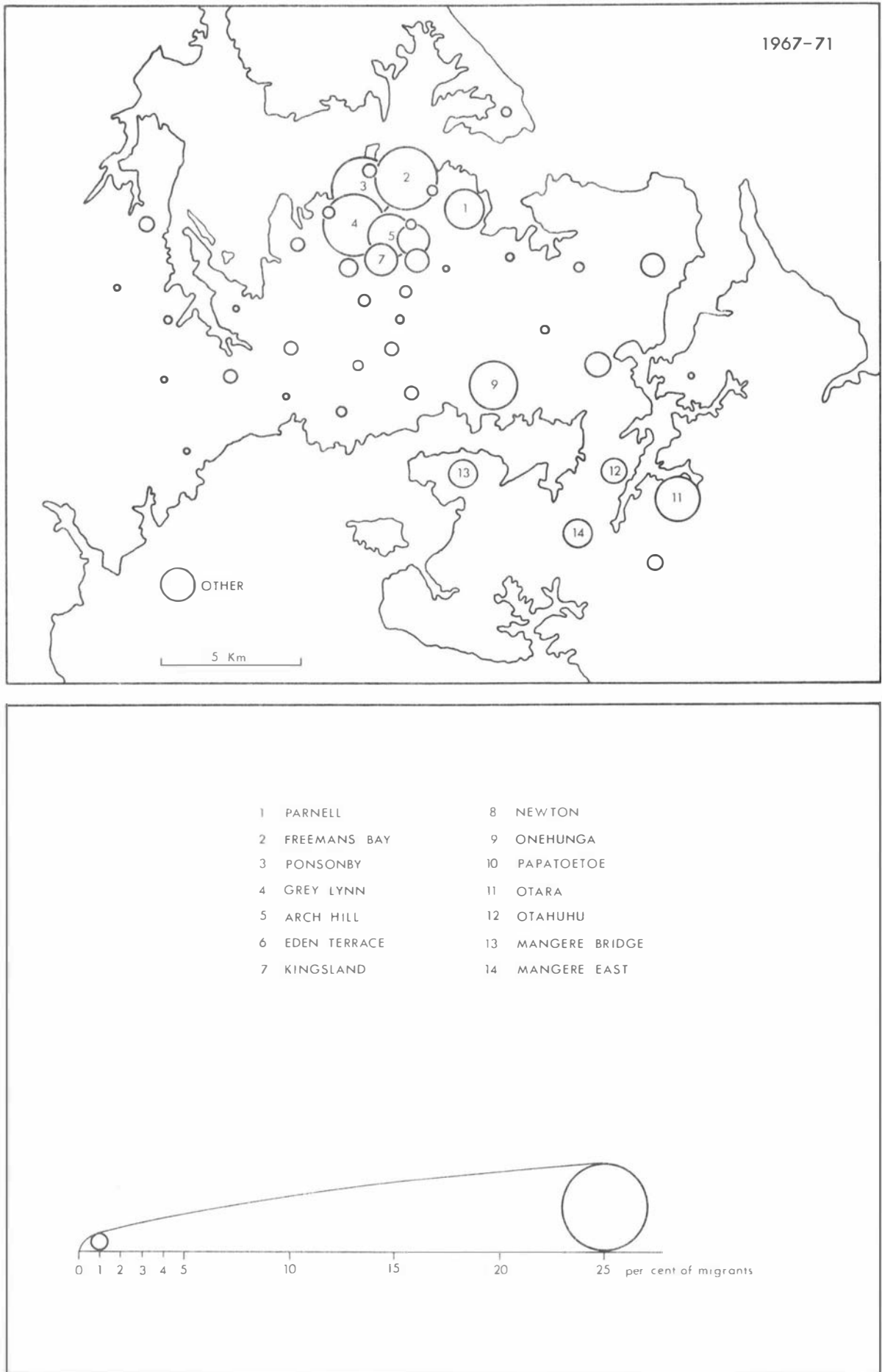


FIGURE 13b. Destinations of Niuean Arrivals in the Auckland Urban Area, 1967-1971, and Key to Figures 13a and 13b

of these Outer Suburbs are noted for the development of industry and/or large tracts of State Housing. Whereas Otara and Mangere East have become increasingly important reception areas, neighbouring Papatoetoe, which acted as an early outer suburban destination for a small number of Niueans (from the village of Hakupu in particular), has waned in importance since 1964.

Given the rural origins, lack of occupational skills and racial visibility of Niuean immigrants, the pattern of declared destinations within the Auckland Urban Area conforms closely to the Burgess model, particularly during the period 1956-1959. Since 1960, however, the increasing movement of new arrivals directly to the southeastern Outer Suburbs of Otara, Mangere Bridge and Mangere East, represents a notable deviation from the postulated attraction of the Inner City residential area. Similar deviations amongst new Maori and Islander arrivals in the city have already been observed by Francis (1969), Rowland (1971a; 1972) and Whitelaw (1971), so the Niuean example can scarcely be regarded as unique. Finally, it should be noted that the Niuean residential patterns outlined above, are broadly in line with the inter-censal changes of Pacific Islander settlement in the Urban Area (see Curson, 1970b, 1970c; Whitelaw, 1971).

HUNGARIAN REFUGEES

It is tempting to assume that the relative conformity of Niuean immigrants to the postulated attraction of the Inner City is primarily a function of group visibility. Such an assumption leads to

an obvious question. Will a relatively invisible immigrant group exhibit a similar response to the attraction of the Inner City? An answer to this question can be given via the example of 194 Hungarian refugees who upon arrival in New Zealand (1956-1958) settled and remained in Auckland until at least 1966. The group was male dominated (58.7 per cent) and upon arrival concentrated in the younger age groups (103 between 15 and 29 years of age) and single rather than married or members of family groups (only 29 were children under 15 years of age).²

Discounting initial residence in immigration hostels or camps (e.g. Waikaraka Park) experienced by many of the refugees, the initial location and nett residential change of the group between the time of arrival and mid 1966 is illustrated in Figure 14. Clearly a high proportion (45.3 per cent) of the migrants resided initially in the Inner City, particularly in Freemans Bay, Ponsonby and Grey Lynn. Many of the new arrivals were also attracted to the contiguous census sub-divisions of Mount Eden North (Inner City) and Mount Eden Central (an Inner Suburb), both areas falling within the category of mature tramway suburbs developed during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Those migrants who initially resided beyond the Inner City were, in the majority of cases, located in older residential areas (Onehunga, Mount Albert, Royal Oak) or in close proximity to newer developing industrial areas (Avondale, Mount Wellington). A few were apparently taken in by private householders or temporarily placed in some of the more desirable Inner and Outer suburbs. It must be admitted

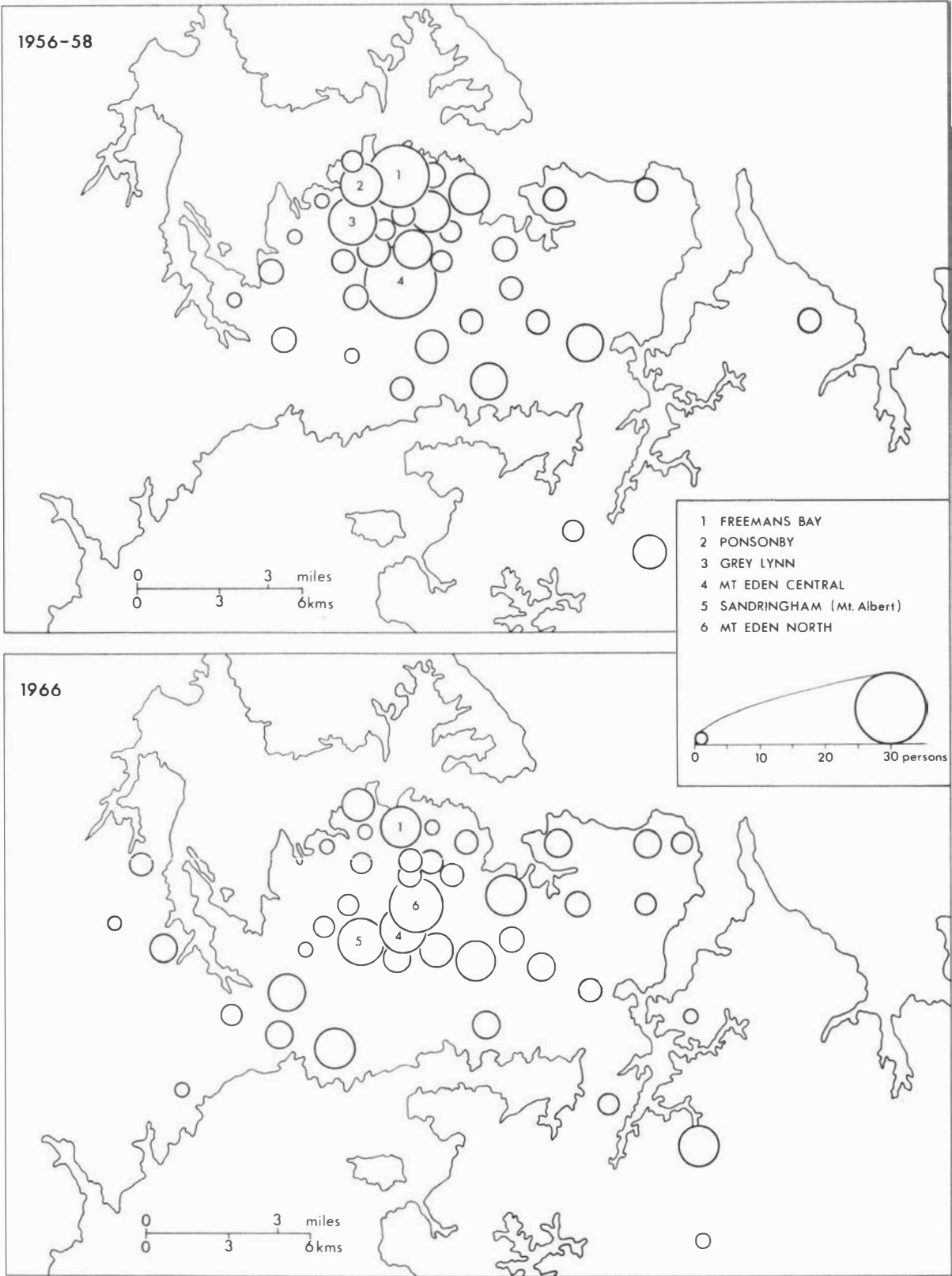


FIGURE 14. Distribution of 194 Hungarian Refugees, Auckland Urban Area, First Place of Residence upon Arrival (1956-1958) and Place of Residence in 1966

however, that Figure 14 under-states the attraction of the central city. For example, of the 78 refugees initially resident in the Inner Suburbs at least 23 moved into the Inner City within six months of residence. Burnley (1970b) noted a similar post-arrival gravitation toward the central city among Polish displaced persons in Wellington-Hutt between 1950 and 1952.

By 1966 a marked process of suburbanisation had occurred, the focal point of settlement shifting from the Inner City areas of Freemans Bay, Ponsonby and Grey Lynn to the contiguous sub-divisions of Mount Eden North, Mount Eden Central and Sandringham (Mount Albert), together straddling the division between the Inner City and the Inner Suburbs. Suburbanisation was accompanied by an up-grading in the residential status of the group. Using Pool's (1960) social grading of intra-urban census sub-divisions, the percentage resident in 'Lower' grade localities declined from 29.3 to 9.3 per cent, while the proportion resident in 'Upper Middle' and 'Lower Upper' grade areas (combined) increased from 18.5 to 31.9 per cent over the period 1956/1958 to 1966. The percentage resident in 'Lower Middle' grade areas remained relatively stable, showing only a small increase from 52.0 to 58.7 per cent. Overall, these changes suggest the operation of 'hierarchical attraction' in the process of residential movement.

The major components of intra-urban residential relocation, underlying the aggregate change depicted in Figure 14, are shown in Table XXII and the salient features are as follows.

1. The centrifugal movement was strongest amongst migrants initially located in the Inner City; out of 88 migrants in this category, 41 (46.6 per cent) and 26 (29.5 per cent) moved out to the Inner Suburbs and Outer Suburbs, respect-

Table XXII

Intra-Urban Nett Residential Movement of 194 Hungarian Refugees, Auckland Urban Area, 1956/58 - 1966.

Location upon Arrival 1956/58	Totals (1956/58)	Location 1966		
		Inner City	Inner Suburbs	Outer Suburbs
Inner City	88	21	41	26
Inner Suburbs	78	20	44	14
Outer Suburbs	28	4	10	14
Totals (1966)	194	45	95	54

Note: for definition of the three 'zones' - Inner City, Inner Suburbs, and Outer Suburbs - see Table XVI

Source: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers; Electoral Rolls.

ively, accounting for 82.7 per cent of the total centrifugal movement.

2. Contrary to expectations, of the 78 migrants initially resident in the Inner Suburbs, 20 migrants (25.6 per cent) were involved in a centripetal movement. Only 14 (17.9 per cent) moved in the anticipated direction, a centrifugal movement, into the Outer Suburbs, accounting for 17.3 per cent of such movement.
3. Exactly 50 per cent (14 out of 28) of the migrants initially residing in the Outer Suburbs were involved in a centripetal movement, predominantly into the Inner Suburbs.
4. Overall, nett inter-zonal residential movement between 1956/1958 and 1966 consisted of both centrifugal (70.43 per cent) and centripetal (29.56 per cent) movement, involving 115 out of 174 migrants (i.e. 59.28 per cent).

Finally, when the total nett intra-urban residential change was examined with an eye to the sex and marital status of the immigrants (Table XXIII) two further features were observed.

5. The bulk of those remaining in the Inner City were single immigrants (mainly males).
6. Single migrants and family groups formed approximately equal proportions of the centrifugal movement and, although single adults dominated centripetal movement, family groups (including married males) were also well represented in nett centripetal movement.

The above results must, of course, be qualified by recognition of the crude distinctions made between the categories Inner City, Inner Suburbs and Outer Suburbs. A more precise division of the

Table XXIII

Intra-Urban Nett Residential Movement of Hungarian Refugees,
Auckland Urban Area, 1956/1958 - 1966, Classified by Sex and
Marital Status (Upon Arrival).

(A) Single Males

	1956/58	1966		
		Inner City	Inner Suburbs	Outer Suburbs
Inner City	37	10	17	10
Inner Suburbs	25	6	13	6
Outer Suburbs	6	1	1	4
Total	68	17	31	20

(B) Single Females

Inner City	9	3	2	4
Inner Suburbs	11	4	7	-
Outer Suburbs	4	1	1	2
Total	24	8	10	6

(C) Married Males

Inner City	16	3	8	5
Inner Suburbs	13	3	9	1
Outer Suburbs	5	1	2	2
Total	34	7	19	8

(D) Remainder (married women, children, widowed etc.)

Inner City	26	5	14	7
Inner Suburbs	23	7	15	7
Outer Suburbs	13	1	6	6
Total	68	13	35	20

Source: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers; Electoral Rolls.

two suburban categories into four (or more) concentric zones would increase both the volume of inter-zonal movement and strength of either centrifugal or centripetal movement. It should not, therefore, be assumed that migrants recording no nett zonal change were immobile. For example, single males (marital status upon arrival) involved in nett inter-zonal movement recorded an average of 4.95 residential movements during the first five years of residence in Auckland, while those recording no nett inter-zonal movement made on average 4.15 moves over the same period. Intra-zonal movement was particularly evident among the 21 migrants (of whom 14 were males, 10 single adults) remaining in the Inner City - moving from one to another part of the Inner City residential area in a manner very similar to that noted by Curson (1968, 72) for Cook Islander households in the same area, and possibly for the same basic reasons: dissatisfaction with accommodation and a desire to be near friends. It might be said therefore that the data presented in Tables XXII and XXIII, together with the patterns observed, are artifacts of zonal classifications - at least to some extent.

In summary, assuming the zonal classification is broadly valid, the initial location and nett residential movement of Hungarian refugees in Auckland, like the observed behaviour of Greek and Polish displaced persons in the Wellington-Hutt Urban Area (Burnley, 1970a; 1970b) does lend some support to the predicted initial attraction of the Inner City and a subsequent dispersal to the suburbs. According to Burnley (1970a, 117) a major factor in the process of suburbanisation for Greeks "was the desire to purchase private dwellings". This factor is probably applicable to the movement of Hungarians in Auckland. Perhaps this movement to the suburbs can be equated with

the process of 'hierarchical attraction'. There are, however, in the Hungarian case study two notable departures from the traditional model which warrant some consideration.

The first departure concerns the assumed dominance of the central city, which is contested by the high proportion of Hungarian refugees whose first place of residence was in a variety of Inner and Outer Suburbs. This departure from the traditional model suggests the existence and effectiveness of alternative centres of attraction in the city - a suggestion implicit also in the increasing flow of Nieuwen immigrants to first destinations in the Outer Suburbs. Another factor underlying the initial residential location of the refugees was undoubtedly the offer of accommodation from a variety of groups and individuals in sympathetic response to the well publicised dilemma of the Hungarians.

The second 'problem' concerns the rapidity of decentralisation, exemplified by the shift in the focus of Hungarian settlement and the upgrading of residential status, both accomplished over a period of no more than eight to nine years after arrival. The implied 'generation factor' in Burgess' model is thus called into question and the example of the Hungarians tends to support the popularly assumed ease of social-residential mobility in New Zealand cities. Table XXIV illustrates that most residential adjustment and change was accomplished in a very short space of time, with a rapid drop in mean residential mobility after the first year of residence and increasing residential inertia.³ Differences between groups classified on the basis of marital status can be readily attributed, for example, to the family responsibilities of married men as compared with single men or single women. This

difference in mobility between single and married migrants extends also to nett inter-zonal movement. Thus single males recording nett zonal change (1956/1958-1966) moved on average 4.95 times as compared with 2.60 times for married males during their first five years of residence and both reported considerably less than one further move on average until 1966.

Table XXIV

Mean Residential Mobility of Hungarian Refugees
During First Five Years of Residence in Auckland

	Mean Residential Mobility During Each of First Five Years					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Single Males (N=68)	1.72	0.89	0.67	0.57	0.36	4.25
Married Males (N=34)	1.50	0.29	0.26	0.17	0.20	2.44
Single Females (N=24)	1.54	0.62	0.66	0.33	0.16	3.33

Note: Dependents of married couples are not included in the classifications of single Males or single Females. Marital status as upon arrival in New Zealand.

Source: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers.

In the introduction to this case study the question of ethnic visibility was raised as a factor influencing initial residential location. Even if allowance is made for the Hungarians vis-à-vis a group such as the Māori, in terms of being less visible (racially) and endowed with prior urban and industrial experience, it must still be recognised that upon arrival the Hungarians were (despite careful selection) destitute refugees, many suffering shock and disorientation,

often unable to transfer occupational skills directly to the new environment and lacking the advantage of close kinship with prior arrivals.⁴ In the terms of the Burgess model therefore the 'deviations' of the group are all the more inexplicable. After all, it seems hardly credible that a high proportion of the group could be claimed to exhibit those characteristics reserved by Park (1952, 170) for a relatively small number of individuals - "the keener, the more energetic and the more ambitious...", generally also the most assimilated.

DUTCH IMMIGRANTS.

However efficacious the Burgess model may or may not be in the case of Vietnamese and Hungarians, it seems irrelevant as an explanatory framework in the case of Dutch immigrants arriving in Auckland between 1960 and 1967 (inclusive). Using the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers a total of 968 migrants aged 16 years and over were identified, of whom 515 (53.2 per cent) were males and 453 females. A high proportion of the group were married (62.81 per cent) prior to arrival, though there was a marked difference between the sexes with 67.55 per cent of females married as compared with 58.64 per cent of males, the latter accounting for almost 62 per cent of all single migrants. Like most migrant groups the Dutch exhibited a high concentration in the younger age category with 74.5 per cent between 16 and 34 years of age. Their initial intra-urban residential distribution, by year of arrival, is shown in Table XXV.

Only 14 per cent of total arrivals resided initially in the

Table XXV

Initial Residential Location of Dutch Arrivals, 1960 - 1967, in the
Auckland Urban Area.

	1960		1961		1962		1963		1964		1965		1966		1967		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Inner City	24	18.46	23	15.03	28	19.18	12	13.80	27	23.90	11	11.00	5	4.10	6	5.13	136	14.05
Inner Suburbs	38	29.23	40	26.14	33	26.71	24	27.58	21	18.58	38	38.00	47	38.52	30	25.64	277	28.62
Outer Suburbs	68	52.31	90	58.82	79	54.11	51	58.62	65	57.52	51	51.00	70	57.38	81	69.23	555	57.33
Total	130	100.00	153	100.00	146	100.00	87	100.00	113	100.00	100	100.00	122	100.00	117	100.00	968	100.00

Source: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers.

Inner Suburbs, while 57.33 per cent moved directly to the Outer Suburbs - almost a complete reversal of the observed Niuean residential pattern. On a year-by-year basis the distribution of new arrivals has varied considerably, particularly with regard to the Inner City and Inner Suburbs, but the general trend appears to favour the Outer Suburbs as the location of first residence. Whereas in 1960 the distribution was 18.46, 29.23 and 52.31 per cent for the Inner City, Inner Suburbs and Outer Suburbs, respectively, the 1967 distribution was 5.13, 25.64 and 69.23 per cent, respectively. These distributions should not, of course, be interpreted as characteristic of the whole of Dutch migration to Auckland. It is quite possible that higher proportions of immigrants arriving in the early 1950s were located initially in the Inner Suburbs and that the statistics presented in Table XXV (as in the case of Niueans - see Table XXI) reflect the culmination of a trend toward the Outer Suburbs, not unlike the pattern observed by Lee (1970) for Italians in Melbourne.

The importance or otherwise of intra-urban localities (census sub-divisions) as destinations of new arrivals is illustrated in Figure 15. Among the salient points to note are the following. First, out of a total of 136 immigrants moving directly to the Inner City, 70 (51.5 per cent) went to Mount Eden North and the bulk of the remainder to Parnell (15), Kingsland (13) and Grafton (14). In effect, new Dutch arrivals in the Inner City were located not only on the outer margins of the zone but also apart from (avoiding?) the high concentrations of Pacific Islanders in Freemans Bay, Ponsonby, Grey Lynn, Arch Hill, Newton and Eden Terrace. Second, in the Inner Suburbs, almost 46 per cent were initially located in the contiguous sub-divisions of Onehunga

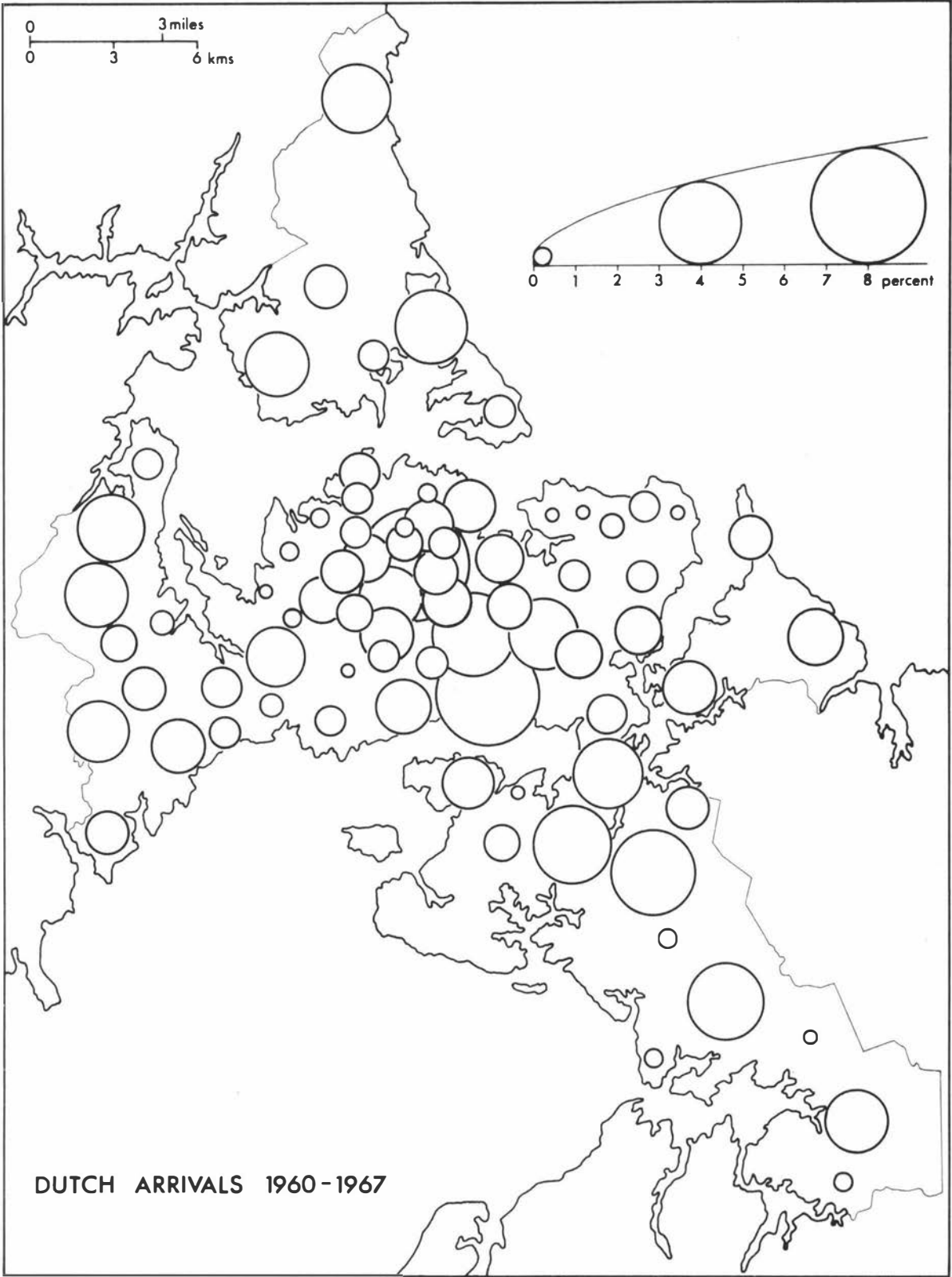


FIGURE 15. Initial Residential Locations of Dutch Arrivals, 1960-1967, in the Auckland Urban Area

(62 out of 277), One Tree Hill (37) and Ellerslie (28) with smaller concentrations in Mount Eden Central and Mount Eden South. Finally, in the Outer Suburbs, the main destinations were: (a) the south-eastern suburbs (192 out of 555 migrants, or 34.6 per cent), particularly Papatoetoe, Mangere East, Otahuhu and Manurewa - only 9 were located initially in Otara; (b) the western periphery (120 out of 555), especially in and around Henderson Borough; and (c), in sharp contrast to either the Hungarians or Niueans, on the North Shore (100 out of 555). Overall, the distribution of new arrivals closely parallels the residential pattern of the total Dutch immigrant group in Auckland in 1966 (see Figure 6).

Residential movement of Dutch immigrants has been examined via an analysis of address changes recorded during the first five years of residence in Auckland by members of a cohort composed of arrivals between 1960 and 1962 (inclusive). Nett aggregate changes in the pattern of intra-urban distribution between the time of arrival and the end of the first, second and fifth years of residence are shown in Table XXVI. Once again it appears that major changes in spatial location were accomplished within a very short space of time. For example, the proportion of the group residing in the Inner City dropped by about 50 per cent within the first year. Within five years the percentage living in the Inner City and Inner Suburbs had declined from 17.64 to 5.61 per cent, and from 26.58 to 21.12 per cent, respectively, while the percentage in the Outer Suburbs increased from 55.76 to 73.26 per cent. On the basis of the aggregate changes recorded in Table XXVI it is tempting to assume that intra-urban redistribution was accomplished via a process of step-wise centrifugal movement

Table XXVI

Residential Distribution of Dutch Immigrants (Arrival 1960-1962)
Upon Arrivals and at the end of First, Second and Fifth Years of
Residence.

	Initial Residence		End of the First Year		End of the Second Year		End of the Fifth Year	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Inner City	75	17.64	38	8.94 (9.33)	37	8.70 (9.29)	21	4.94 (5.61)
Inner Suburbs	113	26.58	139	32.70 (34.15)	108	25.41 (27.13)	79	18.58 (21.12)
Outer Suburbs	237	55.76	230	54.11 (56.51)	253	59.52 (63.56)	274	64.47 (73.26)
Outside Urban Area	-	-	16	4.23	27	6.35	51	12.00
Total	425	100.00	425 (407)=(100.00)	100.00	425 (398)=(100.00)	100.00	425 (374)=(100.00)	100.00

Note: (1) A total of 429 migrants arrived between 1960 and 1962, but 4 died within five years of arrival and have therefore been excluded.

(2) Figures in brackets are 'corrected' percentages after deduction of migrants who left the Urban Area or were temporarily residing elsewhere.

Source: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers.

involving: (a) a shift from the Inner City to the Inner Suburbs during the first year, the percentage in the Outer Suburbs remaining relatively stable; (b) a shift from the Inner Suburbs to the Outer Suburbs during the second year, the percentage in the Inner City remaining relatively stable; and (c) accelerated suburbanisation during the third, fourth and fifth years of residence.

To some extent the assumed pattern of suburbanisation is correct, but, as demonstrated by inter-zonal movements set out in Table XXVII, the components of residential redistribution are somewhat more complex. Bearing in mind cautions stipulated with regard to this mode of analysis in the case of the Hungarian refugees, the residential experience of the Dutch cohort may be summarised as follows:

1. Nett residential change has consistently involved both centrifugal and centripetal movements of varying strength, although the movement to the suburbs is clearly dominant throughout the five year period.
2. The bulk of centripetal movement has consistently originated in the Outer Suburbs and ended in the Inner Suburbs. Migrants returning to Auckland after a temporary absence have favoured the Outer Suburbs as their residential destination.
3. Only small proportions of the cohort appear to have been involved in nett inter-zonal movement during the first, second and (presumably) subsequent years of residence (see Table XXVIII), but over the five year period as a whole almost 46 per cent of the cohort recorded a nett inter-zonal change of location.

Following the analytical procedure initiated in the Hungarian case study, nett residential change was further examined in terms of the sex, and marital status of cohort members. Three further points were noted (see Table XXIX).

Table XXVII
Inter-Zonal Residential Movement of Dutch Immigrants (Arrivals 1960-1962)
During First Five Years of Residence.

		Location at end of first year				Total	Location at end of fifth year			
		A	B	C	D		A	B	C	D
Initial Location	A	33	27	13	2	75	11	19	38	7
	B	3	86	24	-	113	3	39	56	15
	C	2	26	193	16	237	7	21	180	29
	D	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total		38	139	230	18	425	21	79	274	51
Location at end of second year	A	27	6	2	2	37	15	7	12	3
	B	3	95	9	1	108	1	56	40	11
	C	6	27	216	4	253	5	15	217	16
	D	2	11	3	11	27	-	1	5	21
		A	B	C	D	Total	A	B	C	D
		Location at end of first year					Location at end of fifth year			

Key: A = Inner City B = Inner Suburbs C = Outer Suburbs D = Outside Auckland Urban Area

Source: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers.

Table XXVIII

Summary of Inter-Zonal Movement of Dutch Cohort (Arrivals 1960-1962)

	Arrival to end of First Year		End First to End Second Year		End Second to End Fifth Year		Arrival to End Fifth Year	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Centrifugal ¹ Movement	82	72.57	52	68.42	89	76.72	164	84.10
Centripetal ² Movement	31	27.43	24	31.58	27	23.27	31	15.90
Total Inter- Zonal Movement	113	100.00	76	100.00	116	100.00	195	100.00
Inter-Zonal 'Movers' as of Total Migrants (N=425)	26.59		17.88		27.30		45.88	

1. Includes movement out of Urban Area (see category 'D', Table XXVII).

2. Includes return to Urban Area (see category 'D', Table XXVII).

Source: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers.

Table XXIX

Intra-Urban Nett Residential Movement of Dutch Immigrants (Arrivals 1960-1962), Auckland Urban Area, First Residential Location and Location at end of Fifth Year, Classified by Sex and Marital Status (Upon Arrival)

(A) Single Males

	Initial Location	Location at end of Fifth Year			
		Inner City	Inner Suburbs	Outer Suburbs	Outside Auckland
Inner City	15	6	3	4	2
Inner Suburbs	22	3	4	11	4
Outer Suburbs	44	4	7	27	6
Total	81	13	14	42	12

(B) Single Females

Inner City	10	2	1	5	2
Inner Suburbs	22	-	7	11	4
Outer Suburbs	28	-	5	19	4
Total	60	2	13	35	10

(C) Married Males

Inner City	24	1	7	15	1
Inner Suburbs	33	-	14	15	4
Outer Suburbs	78	1	4	64	9
Total	135	2	25	94	14

Source: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers.

4. Out of 75 migrants initially resident in the Inner City, centrifugal movement to the Inner and Outer Suburbs was strongest for married migrants, so that those remaining in the Inner City were predominantly single males and females (8 out of 11 migrants, 6 males, and 2 females).
5. Centripetal movement was dominated by single migrants (19 out of 31, of whom 14 were single males and 5 single females), particularly to the Inner City (7 out of 10 migrants, all males).
6. Whereas single migrants initially accounted for 25 out of 75 (33.33 per cent) Dutch immigrants resident in the Inner City, after five years they accounted for 15 out of 21 (71.43 per cent) cohort members resident in the area.

Perhaps the most important conclusion to be drawn from the above summary is that the recorded experience of the Dutch cohort serves to support the generality of the Hungarian case study. Together, the Dutch and Hungarian case studies provide compelling evidence in support of the rapidity of residential change, particularly suburbanisation. Like the Hungarians, the Dutch accomplished the bulk of their residential adjustments or changes in a very short space of time. For single males, married males and single females the first year of residence was one of comparatively marked residential mobility - 0.80 to 0.83 residential moves per head of the cohort - with the familiar increase in residential inertia in subsequent years (Table XXX). While the Hungarians have proved to be somewhat more mobile, particularly during the first year (see Table XXIV and compare with Table XXX), the similarities are still clearly evident, especially for married males and possibly for the same basic reasons of family responsibilities, etc.

Table XXX

Mean Residential Mobility of Dutch Immigrants (Arrivals 1960 - 1962)
During First Five Years of Residence by Sex, Age and Marital Status

	Mean Residential Mobility During Each Year							
	1	2	3	4	5	Total		
						(A)	(B)	
Single Males								
15-19 (N=23)	1.17	0.69	0.48	0.35	0.35	3.04	3.18	
20-29 (N=52)	0.69	0.71	0.38	0.31	0.34	2.44	2.88	
30-39 (N=4)	0.25	0.75	0.25	0.50	0.25	2.00	2.66	
40+ (N=2)	0.50	0.50	0.50	-	-	1.50	1.50	
Total (N=81)	0.80	0.70	0.41	0.32	0.33	2.56	2.93	
Married Males								
15-19 (N=0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
20-29 (N=48)	0.83	0.43	0.27	0.18	0.21	1.94	2.38	
30-39 (N=56)	0.78	0.37	0.30	0.21	0.18	1.84	2.06	
40+ (N=31)	0.84	0.32	0.16	0.03	0.26	1.61	2.00	
Total (N=135)	0.81	0.38	0.26	0.16	0.21	1.82	2.16	
Single Females								
15-19 (N=17)	0.53	0.41	0.29	0.35	0.29	1.88	2.00	
20-29 (N=31)	0.80	0.68	0.45	0.29	0.35	2.58	2.85	
30-39 (N=9)	1.55	1.33	0.33	0.11	0.22	3.55	3.55	
40+ (N=3)	0.66	-	-	-	-	0.66	2.00	
Total (N=60)	0.83	0.66	0.36	0.26	0.30	2.43	2.70	

Notes: Age and Marital Status as upon arrival in New Zealand.

Total (A) = Mean Residential Movements over 5 year period
for each group.

Total (B) = Mean Residential Movements after deduction of
migrants who recorded no changes of residence.

Source: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers.

Apart from the rapidity of residential movement and decentralisation, the Dutch example also supports both the Niuean and Hungarian deviations with regard to initial residential locations in the Inner City. Indeed, the Dutch example is almost the exact opposite as far as the Burgess postulate is concerned. The Dutch and Hungarians also provide sufficient evidence to suggest that stage in life-cycle is an important factor in immigrant residential patterns. In other words marriage and family formation appear to be as strongly associated with suburbanisation for immigrants as they are for members of the host society.⁵ Surveys of Pacific Islanders in Ponsonby and Mount Wellington (Francis, 1969) have revealed that marriage and housing considerations were responsible for initiating the majority of intra-urban moves to and within these areas. A close check upon both Hungarian and Dutch immigrants who were single upon arrival and subsequently involved in centrifugal movement, particularly from the Inner City, revealed that such movement takes place quite frequently only after marriage. According to Thornton (1968, 16) reasons governing the suburban residential choices of members of the Dutch community in Dunedin included:

... distance from the main routeways as safer for small children; increased playing space, together with generally healthier conditions often in a semi-rural environment as preferable to inner city areas for rearing children.

DURATION OF RESIDENCE AND DECENTRALISATION

Despite deviations from the Burgess model in terms of initial location and subsequent movement, a relationship between duration of residence and aggregate decentralisation is clearly illustrated by the Hungarian and Dutch case studies. Since the Hungarian refugees form the bulk of the total Hungarian population in Auckland one can generalise from the case study and suggest that duration of residence is a factor underlying the residential distribution of all Hungarians in Auckland in 1966. A comparable generalisation for the Dutch must be 'hedged' with numerous qualifications simply because the 1960-1962 cohort of arrivals forms a small proportion of all Dutch residents. At this point no comparable generalisations can be made as to the 1966 intra-urban distribution of Yugoslav, Niuean and Samoan immigrants. In the following paragraphs, therefore, the duration of residence - decentralisation relationship is examined via an analysis of unpublished aggregate data from the 1966 Census, specifying duration of residence by census sub-divisions for each of the five groups.

The methodology of analysis can be summarised as follows. First, a series of six concentric circles, focused on the C.B.D., were drawn at intervals of two kilometres and the intra-urban census sub-divisions were grouped accordingly (see Appendix C). The mean duration of residence for each concentric zone for each of the five groups was then calculated and plotted on a graph (Figure 16). Finally, for reasons given below, each of the five groups was examined separately and divergence graphs were constructed to illustrate the under - or

over-representation of five-year duration of residence cohorts over successive concentric zones. The results obtained were by no means predictable, uniform or easily explained.

Calculation of the mean duration of residence by concentric zones, revealed (Figure 16) the following features.

1. There was an irregular tendency toward an increasing mean duration of residence with distance away from the C.B.D. in the case of Samoans and Niueans, though both groups exhibited a sharp decline in mean duration of residence on the urban periphery.
2. The mean duration of residence for Dutch immigrants, despite small variations, was relatively constant (between 9.3 and 10.3 years residence) over all zones.
3. The Yugoslavs, and to a lesser extent the Hungarians, exhibited a decline (admittedly irregular) in mean duration of residence with increasing distance from the C.B.D.

In some respects the above results probably reflect a lack of zonal homogeneity, differentials in the 'accessibility' of zones (or parts thereof) and the crudeness of the zonal identification and delimitation. These points are, of course, related to the general validity of the Burgess model within the context of the Auckland Urban Area, and are discussed at length at a later point of this chapter. Of more importance at this stage is the question of immigrant group homogeneity which is clearly implied if the above results are accepted at face value. Are there intra-group variations in conformity to the duration

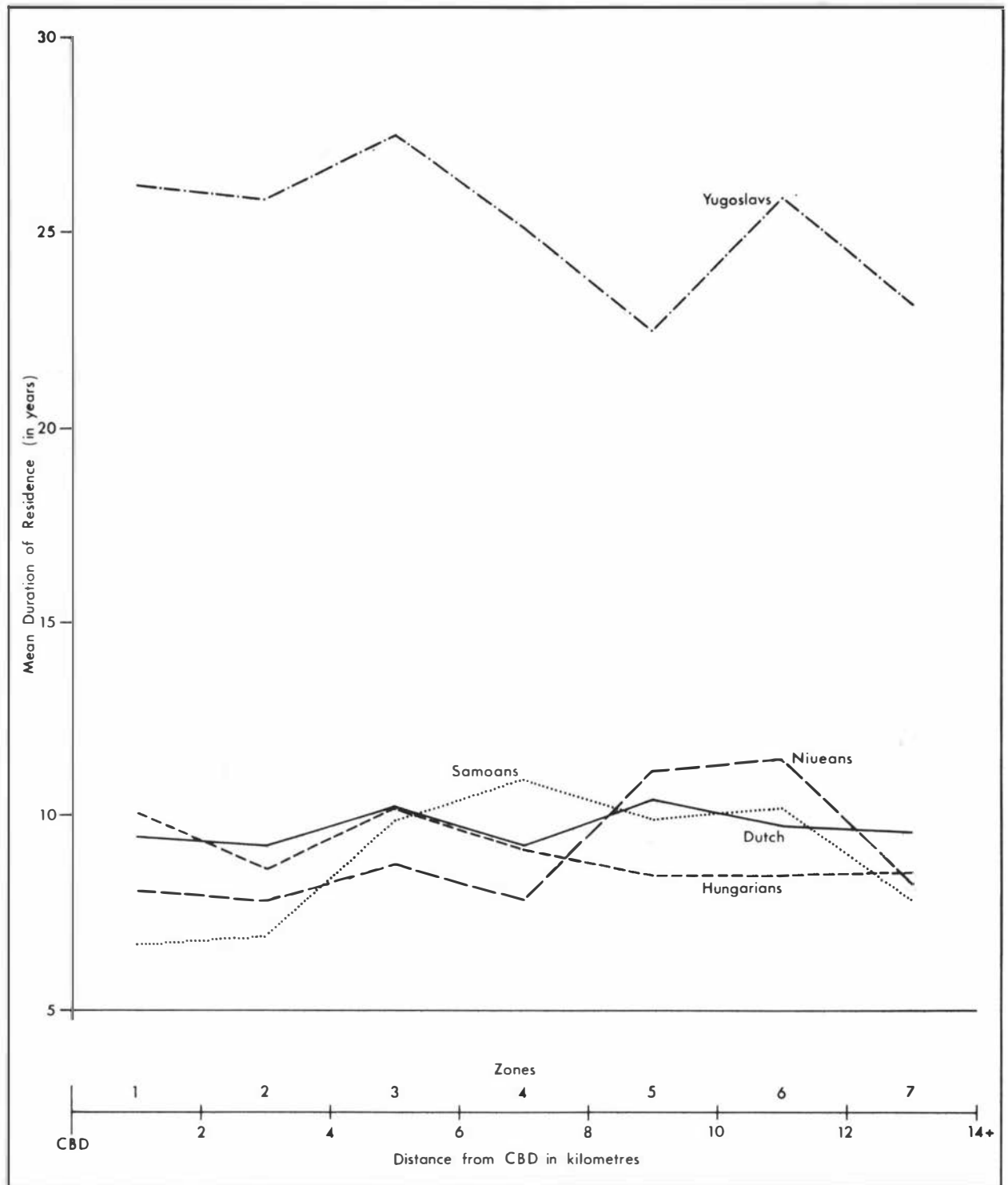


FIGURE 16: The Relationship between between Distance from the C.B.D. and Mean Duration of Residence in New Zealand of Dutch, Yugoslav, Hungarian, Samoan and Niuean Immigrants in the Auckland Urban Area, 1966 (see Appendix C for definition of Zones)

of residence - decentralisation relationship, attributable to temporal changes in the character and strength of migration, which are suppressed or distorted by the aggregate results presented in Figure 16 and summarised above? For example, the result obtained for the total Hungarian group (as at 1966) is contrary to the observed residential decentralisation of the 1956-1958 Hungarian refugees. Indeed the result suggests that earlier Hungarian arrivals have remained (if they were so located initially) in close proximity to the C.B.D. Similar intra-group variations might be inferred for each of the other four groups.

Divergence graphs were constructed for each of the five groups to illustrate the degree of under- and over-representation of successive (generally quinquennial) duration of residence sub-groups by distance from the C.B.D. (Figures 17 and 18). Following the Burgess model it was hypothesised that recent arrivals would tend to be over-represented in the vicinity of the C.B.D. and under-represented with increasing distance away from the C.B.D. Conversely, earlier or longer settled migrants would be under-represented near the C.B.D. and over-represented toward the urban periphery. On balance the results obtained provide substantial but not unqualified support for the hypothesis.

Among the duration of residence sub-groups conforming most closely to the hypothesis were the following.

Samoans: 0 - 4 and 10 - 14 years of residence sub-groups.

Niueans: 0 - 4 and (perhaps) 10 - 14 years of residence.

Hungarians: 0 - 4 and 5 - 9 years, the latter predominantly post-1956 refugees.

Yugoslavs: 10 - 14 years of residence.

Dutch: 10 - 14 years of residence.

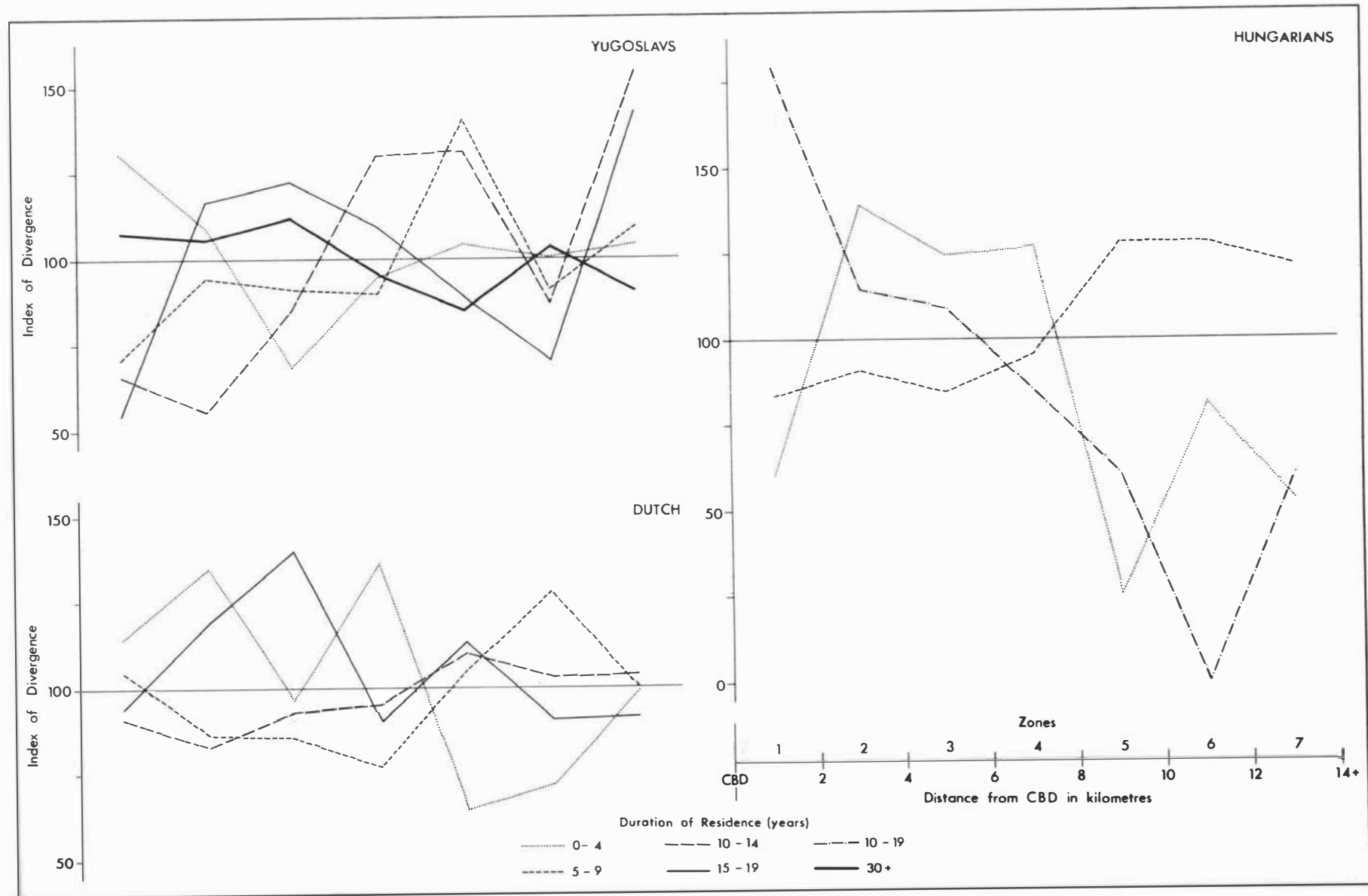


FIGURE 17: Under- and Over-representation of Duration of Residence Sub-groups by Distance from the C.B.D. (divergence graph format): Dutch, Yugoslav and Hungarian Immigrants in the Auckland Urban Area, 1966 (see Appendix C for definition of Zones)

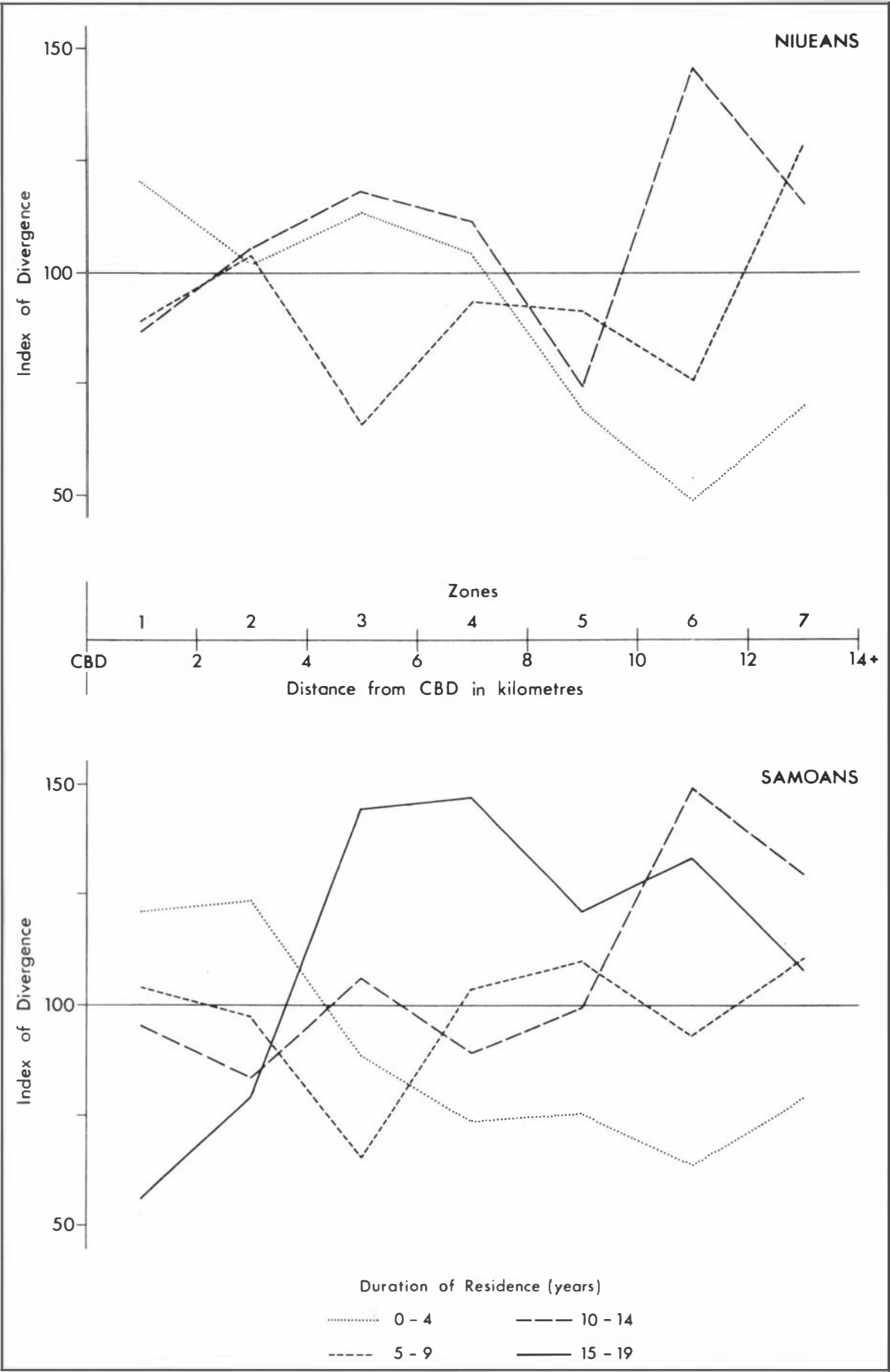


FIGURE 18: Under- and Over-representation of Duration of Residence Sub-groups by Distance from the C.B.D. (divergence graph format): Samoan and Niuean Immigrants in the Auckland Urban Area, 1966 (see Appendix C for definition of Zones)

By comparison among those least conforming were Hungarian, Yugoslav and Dutch migrants with 10-19, 30+ and 15-19 years of residence, respectively. In each case these 'early' arrivals remained (assuming they were so initially located) in relatively close proximity to the C.B.D. and were to varying degrees under-represented toward the urban periphery. Similar deviations have been noted for 'long-term' Greek settlers in Melbourne (Burnley, 1972a, 163-166), for Italians in New York (Glaser and Moynihan, 1963) and attributed to the various retentive characteristics of early ethnic settlement in inner city areas. For the remaining sub-groups it can be said that there were signs of conformity, albeit irregular, as (for example) in the case of Samoans with 5 - 9 years of residence, especially when compared with earlier (10-14 years) and later (0-4 years) arrivals. Finally, it should be noted that suburban ethnic concentrations have tended to distort the hypothesised zonal pattern, particularly for newer Yugoslav and (perhaps) Dutch arrivals responding to the attractions of kinfolk located in such areas (e.g. the Yugoslav concentrations at Mount Wellington, Henderson and in Waitemata County).⁶

THE BURGESS MODEL - VALID OR INVALID?

Significant deviations from the Burgess model are evident in all three case studies and in the analysis of the duration of residence - decentralisation relationship. Inevitably one is confronted with a question now familiar to geographers and sociologists involved in urban residential research the world over. Is the Burgess model valid or invalid? An answer to this deceptively simple question

requires consideration of two sets of assumptions concerning (a) the evolution and spatial organisation of urban residential and commercial land uses, and (b) the broad socio-economic character of ethnic minorities.⁷

(a) Urban Spatial Organisation

Maps depicting the growth of Auckland between 1871 and 1915, 1916 and 1945, 1946 and 1964, included by Bloomfield (1967) in a brief study of the growth of Auckland, imply recognition of a concentric pattern of residential development focused on the C.B.D. despite some irregularities arising from radial development from Onehunga and Otahuhu. Dahms (1966, 56-57) also found a close similarity between the Burgess model of urban growth and Auckland's residential expansion, but the influence of physical features (topography) led him to conclude that Hoyt's (1939) sector theory gave a much closer approximation to the pattern of residential expansion in the urban area. Nevertheless, it could be argued that research to date, however meagre, tends to support a very general pattern of radial expansion, despite distortions arising from the incorporation of satellite nuclei (e.g. Onehunga) and the influence of topographic features - the importance of which was not denied by Burgess in his 'ideal construction' (see Burgess, 1953, 178).

More fundamental problems concerning the validity of the Burgess model arise with regard to the spatial arrangement of industrial and residential areas, the concentric gradation of residential areas and associated socio-economic characteristics or 'life-styles'. Pool's (1960) 'Status-Possession Index' delimited six reasonably discreet 'social grades' in Auckland but their spatial distribution (Pool, 1960, 231) revealed no regular pattern of the type illustrated in the Burgess

model with its ecological gradients from the city centre to the urban fringe. Curson (1967, 22-29), on the other hand, found "a broad tendency towards a concentric pattern of population change" in terms of percentage increase or decrease, "something of a concentric pattern of development around the C.B.D. of the city" for age-sex structures, and evidence of inner city-suburban contrasts in the distribution of non-Europeans, sex ratios, child-women (fertility) ratios and in the ratio of old to young (index of aging). However, Curson qualified his observations by reference to the distorting influences exerted by "topographical, historical and other factors".

In general, more recent studies of the 'factorial ecology' of Auckland by Bowman and Hosking (1971), Timms (1971) and Johnston (1973, 204-227), all based on 1966 Census data, have confirmed the absence of a concentric pattern of ecological gradation on the basis of socio-economic status. Bowman and Hosking (1971, 277) found "the socio-economic factor showed a marked sectoral distribution" and Timms (1971, 236) similarly concluded that "there is evidence of a more general sectoral pattern" in the distribution of social rank. The 'stage in life cycle' (Bowman and Hosking) or 'family status' (Timms, Johnston) factor, however, was decidedly concentric in distribution and was identified in each study as the major differentiating factor in Auckland's residential ecology.⁸ Timms (1971, 238) has described the distribution as follows:

Low values characterise the inner-city sub-divisions to the south of the harbour. Surrounding these to a radius of four to five miles is a zone of high-middle scores, with consistently high family status indexes further out.

If it is accepted that the Burgess model was based primarily upon the concept of economic competition (with consequent socio-economic differences between zones), then it must be concluded on the basis of recent research that the model is largely invalid with reference to Auckland's contemporary residential structure. As Bowman and Hosking (1971, 278) have noted, "socio-economic status does not achieve such an over-riding importance as it does in Chicago". However, if the factors of social rank and economics are put aside, the Burgess model still includes some recognition of the 'stage in life cycle' or 'family status' factor (see Burgess, 1925; 1953; Burgess and Locke, 1953, 100-103). For example, the C.B.D. (Zone 1) is non-family and dominated by unattached men, the 'zone in transition' is the rooming house zone and the location of the childless (emancipated) family as well as ethnic villagers in the various immigrant communities, and so on through to the single family dwellings of the 'residential zone' (Zone IV) and the 'commuter zone' (Zone V). From this vantage point, the Burgess model does seem to have some validity with regard to Auckland's contemporary residential differentiation.⁹ 'Family status' appears to have been a factor underlying the intra-urban relocation of Hungarian and Dutch immigrants as illustrated in the case studies. Moreover, Rowland's (1972, 15-19) study of processes of Maori urbanisation draws attention to the movement (upon arrival) of single migrants and childless couples to the inner city and central suburbs, whereas "three-quarters of the (Maori) families take up residence immediately in the outer suburbs".¹⁰ These results suggest, therefore, that immigrants such as the Hungarians and the Dutch are tending to conform to one (perhaps minor) dimension of the Burgess model. It must

be stressed that in Auckland "neither the wealthy or the poor are isolated in particular family categories" (Bowman and Hosking, 1971, 278).

Perhaps the main factor underlying deviations from Burgess' model is its cardinal assumption that the C.B.D. remains the focus of all economic activity and industrial employment. The development, existence and effectiveness of alternative centres of attraction in the city is clearly implied in the initial residential location of Māori, Hungarian and Dutch arrivals. Penrose, adjacent to the 'old' satellite nuclei of Onehunga and Otahuhu, situated on the main route south, began as an industrial area in 1921. The establishment of a glassworks (1922), decentralisation of the railway workshops from Newmarket to Otahuhu (1928), the growth of protected industries in the late 1930s and storage depots at Mount Wellington and Mangere East during the Second World War, all quickly transformed the area into a suburban industrial concentration by 1945. Suburbanisation of manufacturing has continued since 1945 as witnessed by the accelerated expansion of the Onehunga-Penrose-Mount Wellington-Otahuhu 'industrial complex', while further nodes of industry have been set up at Wiri (in the south), Wairau Valley (in the north) and on the Rosebank Peninsula (in the west). The latter area in 1956 was characteristically devoted to market gardens and orchards, but by 1964 agriculture had given way to industry. Smaller industrial 'blocks' have been established in Mount Roskill, New Lynn and Henderson. Decentralisation of industry has been paralleled since 1945 by the evolution and/or establishment of regional shopping centres at Panmure, Glen Innes (1959/60), New Lynn (1963) and Pakuranga (1965). Since the reasons for industrial decentral-

isation in Auckland have been documented in detail elsewhere (see Linge, 1959; 1963) they need not be repeated here, beyond acknowledging that the most important factor appears to have been the use of the private automobile for commuting.

By the early 1960s, therefore, there were two major employment regions in Auckland. As defined by Dahms (1973, 240-241), the Central Employment Region, consisting of the employment areas concentrated at the focus of Auckland's routes and surrounding Queen Street, accounted for about 49 per cent of employment. The Southern Employment Region, stretching along the southern motorway from Ellerslie to Otahuhu (centred on Penrose), accounted for some 15 per cent of employment. Hence the two major regions together accounted for about 64 per cent of employment with the balance of 36 per cent being shared by local employment centres (e.g. Wairau Valley, New Lynn, Rosebank, Te Atatu, Mount Roskill).

The development of alternative centres of attraction, illustrated by Dahms in his research on the journey to work in Auckland (Dahms, 1966; 1968; 1970; 1971; 1973), and hence the evolution of a different set of responses by those making decisions on where to live, is the conceptual basis of Whitelaw's (1971) study of Maori and Pacific Islander migration patterns and residential selections. Whitelaw (1971, 62-64) surmised that the decentralisation of employment would probably "free residents from the constraints of accessibility to the central city" and thereby remove "one of the prime reasons for the concentration of the disadvantaged population" outlined in Burgess' model. Given the residential patterns of the Samoans and Niueans (as

at 1966) the basis of Whitelaw's postulate is readily apparent, the two immigrant groups being over-represented in areas coincident with or in close proximity to the newer industrial areas of Mount Roskill, Onehunga, Penrose, Mount Wellington and Otahuhu. According to Francis (1969, 124) 21 out of 28 gainfully employed Pacific Islanders interviewed in Mount Wellington worked within or in close proximity to Mount Wellington. In the Inner City, however, there is a tendency for Polynesians to be employed in work places spread over a somewhat wider area, though this varies between groups. Thus, for Ponsonby residents, 24 out of 26 Niueans worked in the Inner City area (especially Auckland Central), compared with 31 out of 59 Samoans and 32 out of 43 Cook Islanders (Health Department survey, reported by Francis, 1969, 125). For Polynesians involved in intra-urban residential movement, place of work appears to be an important consideration in choosing a destination. Maoris migrating within Auckland during the 1960s, for example, "tended to take up residence within employment catchments, that is within areas ... most accessible to their places of work" (Rowland, 1973, 266; see also McPherson, 1966, 60-62 and Rowland, 1972).

Peripheral concentration was facilitated also by the development of outer suburban State Housing, including the subsidiary housing programme of the Department of Maori and Island Affairs, and by the existence of a (limited) stock of 'older' housing in Onehunga, Ellerslie and Māngere. Recent amendments to the Maori Housing Act to include 'suitably qualified' Pacific Islanders will serve to accelerate the process of suburbanisation and the anomaly of suburban concentration

and segregation (Trlin, 1971c). Curson's (1968, 72) study of Cook Islanders, moreover, makes it clear that at least a few migrant households were not attracted but transferred (by the State Advances Corporation) from the Inner City to the suburban Otara Housing Estate.

The attraction of the new peripheral suburbs was further enhanced, albeit negatively, by what Whitelaw (1971, 70) described as an intervening barrier of "older, well preserved and relatively costly homes which have maintained over several decades the status of the areas in which they are found".¹¹ Whitelaw contended that these residential areas situated to the south and east of the central city (e.g. Epsom North, Epsom South and Remuera North) acted as an effective barrier to the process of invasion and succession. Consequently immigrants seeking accommodation in areas beyond the Inner City were forced to leap-frog to developing peripheral sub-divisions or to suburban areas with a stock of established older cheaper housing (Onehunga, Otahuhu) situated close to industrial employment opportunities. Once again the observed distribution of Samoans and Niueans lends support to the argument, particularly in view of their under-representation in residential areas forming a broad arc from Glendowie and St. Heliers in the east to Point Chevalier in the west. But do the factors of industrial decentralisation, the existence of an inner suburban barrier, and the provision of suburban housing on low rental or purchase terms explain Dutch and Yugoslav peripheral concentrations as adequately as they (apparently) do the presence of Niueans and Samoans? From the evidence available the answer must be both 'yes' and 'no'.

No, because the Yugoslav concentration on the western periphery dates back to at least 1917 and the development of small vineyards and orchards in the Henderson-Oratia district.¹² In 1966 approximately 31 per cent of Yugoslavs actively engaged and resident in the combined area of Henderson, Kelston West, Glen Eden, and Waitemata County (part), were still employed in agricultural occupations. Similarly, the Mount Wellington concentration has its origins in the settlement of migrants from the island of Koroula in the late 1920s and 1930s who carried on a traditional occupation of stone quarrying in the local quarries, some of which they themselves founded. These 'rural' concentrations were subsequently incorporated within the expanding urban area. In Wellington-Mutt the Italian concentrations at Island Bay and Eastbourne (both based on fishing activities) and at Taita-Avalon (market-gardening) fall into the same category, developing in relative isolation from the urban core and eventually caught up in the process of suburbanisation (Burnley, 1969, 278). Ethnic communities of this type retain even today a powerful attraction via the tradition of (government enforced) chain migration, a pattern of migration and settlement that is the subject of Chapter 4.

Suburban ethnic communities, of the above type represent a notable deviation from Burgess' model, which assigns 'ethnic villages' to the 'zone in transition'. Two important points must be made therefore. First, there is no reason why the attractions of kinfolk or the influence of chain migration should be any more or less important in the context of ethnic communities located in either inner city areas or suburban areas. In other words, the inner city

location of ethnic communities in the Burgess model, as centres of attraction in their own right, may very well account for a sizeable proportion of the initial centripetal movement, quite apart from the economics of housing and employment opportunities. Second, the Burgess model as an 'ideal construction' should not be taken to mean that there were no suburban ethnic concentrations in American urban experience. Even before the advent of the American Civil War the pattern was typically one where (Ward, 1971, 120):

The largest single immigrant concentrations were in central locations, but many also settled in shanty-towns beyond the physical limits of the city.

Two recent studies of suburban ethnic concentrations can be cited to illustrate the nature and importance of such deviations from the Burgess model. The first example is Nelli's (1970) study of Italians in Chicago over the period 1880-1930. According to Nelli (1970, 53), not only was there "no set, rigid, and unchanging Italian colony" in Chicago prior to 1920 (and perhaps later), but available evidence points to the clear existence of Italian settlements in outer areas of the city. These 'outer' settlements were closely associated with localised employment opportunities. For example (Nelli, 1970, 46):

In 1898 more than 400 "Southerners" [Italians from the south of Italy, Sicily, etc.,] of the first and second generation lived within the triangle of land formed by Chicago Avenue, Western Avenue and the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul railroad tracks. Although about two miles west of the large Chicago Commons community in the Seventeenth Ward, and four miles from the Loop, this colony lay only a short distance from the railway yards where the men worked.

Neighbourhoods such as the above dated no later than the settlement

of many inner urban communities, and their presence belies the complete centralisation of both employment and appropriate housing; there were in fact (albeit small) alternative centres of attraction even in Chicago. The second example is that of Dutch settlement in Kalamazoo, Michigan (Jakle and Wheeler, 1969). A Dutch rural market-gardening concentration, emphasising celery production, was well established on reclaimed marshland on Kalamazoo's south side by the early 1870s. As the tempo of immigration quickened up until 1910, this ethnic neighbourhood attracted (in particular) migrants from Zeeland, while a comparable neighbourhood on the city's north side was dominated by migrants from Prussia (Jakle and Wheeler, 1969, 252). The influence of kinship (via the process of chain migration) upon the location of immigrants is clearly implied. The fate and influence of such suburban or peripheral rural settlements following urban expansion, however, remains largely ignored in American literature.

Suburban concentration of Dutch migrants in Auckland is rather more difficult to explain. There were no established peripheral communities with a tradition of agricultural occupations at the time of peak immigration in the early 1950s or later. It is, of course, true that the Dutch have successfully entered the farming sector of the national economy, and some of these farmers (horticulturalists, poultry farmers) live within, or in close proximity to, the larger urban areas (van Roon, 1971). But such farmers have contributed only marginally to suburban concentration in the southeastern zone of Papatoetoe, Manukau City, Papakura and Franklin County (part), forming approximately 8.4 per cent of the actively engaged migrants resident

in the area in 1966. The majority of the Dutch in this area were employed as 'Craftsmen, production and process workers' (59.8 per cent) and as 'White Collar' workers, which supports the postulated attraction of nearby industrial areas. On the other hand, Thornton (1968, 15-16) has reported not only an association between suburbanisation and family formation for the Dutch in Dunedin, but also the desire "for a sunny location, and more living space, including a garden, as a contrast to the generally over-crowded urban areas of towns and cities in the Netherlands".¹³ Such reasons, if correct and applicable to Dutch settlers in Auckland's suburbs, are of critical importance given the specific conditions of the Burgess model wherein only the affluent "could afford to trade accessibility for increased space and the more pleasing environment towards the periphery of the urban area" (Whitelaw, 1971, 61). The assumption being questioned (and discussed in the following pages) is that all immigrants are necessarily under-privileged as compared with the remainder of the population.

(b) Socio-Economic Character of Ethnic Minorities

Intra-urban spatial differentiation of the population on the basis of demographic and socio-economic characteristics was recognised and stressed by the Chicago ecologists. Park (1952, 99) noted that upon examination "our great cities turn out ... to be a mosaic of segregated peoples - differing in race, in culture, or merely in cult." In so far as the immigrants were concerned, they were generally characterized as being under-privileged, poor and frequently visible minorities. Such groups were excluded from quarters

of fashionable residence "because of the increased value of the land" and therefore concentrated in central city slums, "unable to defend themselves from association with the derelict and vicious" (Park, 1925, 6). Unfortunately, as Collison (1967) remarks with respect to Asians in the United Kingdom, there is still a tendency to assume that all immigrants are under-privileged and thus destined to follow the traditional intra-urban pattern of residence.

Variations in the social and economic status of the five selected immigrant groups, as compared with the remainder of the total population, can be gauged from the indices of dissimilarity presented in Table XXXI. Indices were calculated for males, females and the total group in each case, because of the recognised variation in occupational patterns between the sexes, and because of the observed variation in the sex ratios of the immigrant groups. For occupations, the index range extended from (total) 21.6 to 52.5, females (with the exception of the Dutch) having considerably higher indices than males. The index range for occupational status was relatively low, partly because of the fewer operational categories and the overall dominance of the 'Wages and Salary' category, the latter effectively concealing a differentiation between 'White Collar' and 'Blue Collar' workers. Once again a difference emerged between the sexes, this time with males having higher index values than females. For incomes the range was from (total) 9.9 for Yugoslavs to 28.7 for Niueans, with males generally having higher index values than females. Overall, the Niueans exhibited the greatest and most consistent dissimilarity, while the remaining groups had relatively little consistency in their ranking by index values for each of the variables.

Table XXXI

Indexes of Dissimilarity (for Occupations, Occupational Status, Incomes) Between Immigrants and the Remainder of the Total Population, Auckland Urban Area, 1966.

	Occupations ¹			Occupational Status ²			Incomes ³		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Dutch	21.3	16.3	21.6	7.5	2.6	7.3	21.2	7.2	23.0
Yugoslavs	40.1	52.3	41.6	10.2	6.0	10.6	9.2	6.9	9.9
Hungarians	35.5	45.8	35.7	3.8	3.6	3.8	11.9	15.1	15.1
Samoans	37.4	42.4	40.6	9.6	3.4	7.7	28.2	21.2	22.2
Niueans	49.6	63.8	52.5	10.5	4.1	8.4	38.2	24.1	28.7

1 Actively Engaged only, distributed over a total of 70 occupational divisions as listed in New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966, Vol 4, 54 - 57.

2 Actively Engaged only, distributed over 6 status categories as listed in New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966, Vol 4, 107.

3 Fourteen income categories, excluding 'Nil income' and 'Not specified' categories, as listed in New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966, Vol 5.

Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966, Supplement No 2 Central Auckland Statistical Area, July 1967,; City Subdivisions, Auckland, Supplement March 1968; Vol 4 'Industries and Occupations'; Vol 5 'Incomes'. Special data tabulations, Department of Statistics, Wellington, New Zealand.

As the index of dissimilarity gives no indication of the direction or nature of differences in terms of income levels, proportion in 'White Collar' occupations etc., more specific information about the five groups is presented in Table XXXII. By comparison with the remaining immigrant groups and the total population, the Samoans and, particularly, Niueans were grossly under-represented in the 'White Collar' occupations, in the combined 'Employer/On Own Account' occupational status category, and in the income category of \$2,200 plus. The Dutch, on the other hand, appear to be the most favourably placed. In general the three European groups were under-represented in 'Clerical' and 'Sales' worker categories of 'White Collar' occupations (especially the Yugoslavs) and over-represented in the upper income category. The latter feature is probably associated with special skills, occupational patterns or the development of family businesses, but may also be partially associated with the age distribution of immigrants in the labour force. Occupational similarities between the immigrant groups were most apparent in the case of Samoans and Niueans, but were otherwise limited to the common concentration of males in the category 'Tool makers, machinists, welders, plumbers and related workers', and females in the category 'Tailors, cutters, furriers and related workers'. Yugoslav (36.4 per cent) and Niuean (30.8 per cent) females were particularly over-represented in the latter occupational category as compared with females in the total population (10.7 per cent).

On the strength of the above statistics, which reflect the varied cultural backgrounds and technical/professional qualifications noted in the previous chapter (including the effects of immigration policy), the traditional assumption that all immigrants are necessarily

Table XXXII

Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Five Immigrant Groups,
Auckland Urban Area, 1966 (Percentages)¹

	Dutch	Yugoslavs	Hungarians	Samoaans	Niueans	Total Population
Occupations						
Professional/Adminis- trative	16.9	10.9	18.5	3.3	0.7	17.2
Total 'White Collar'	33.1	17.0	29.4	9.7	2.2	41.8
Occupational Status						
Employer/On Own Account	15.5	18.9	12.2	0.7	0.1	8.4
Income						
<1,400 - <2,199	20.3	33.8	33.3	43.1	49.7	27.5
<2,200 +	57.1	36.5	42.3	18.9	11.6	34.7

¹ See footnotes to Table XXXI

Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966.

under-privileged or members of the poorer class may be discarded. Indeed, only the Vietnamese and Samoans 'fit' the description given by the Chicago ecologists.¹⁴ Pacific Islanders, moreover, appear to be more seriously handicapped by the language problem (see Clay, 1971; 1972) than, for example, the Dutch (Brown and Brown, 1970), especially during early childhood education.

Cognisance of variations in the socio-economic status of immigrant groups immediately calls into question the traditional model of immigrant residential centrality and suggests differentials in the capacity to enter a range of residential areas. Hence it is proposed, following the examples of Lieberman (1963), F.L. Jones (1967) and Tuma (1969), that residential dissimilarity of immigrant groups is related to their occupational dissimilarity. Lieberman (1963, 182-184) observed in four out of the five cities examined in the United States "a rather high association between residential and occupational segregation of foreign-born groups", but was careful to point out that "the magnitude of the differential residential patterns that could be explained by ethnic differences in occupational composition remains a moot point". More recently Jones (1967, 419), in a study of immigrants in Melbourne in 1961, suggested "that a large part of the differing degrees of residential concentration ... can be seen as a function of differences in occupational composition". Using the residential and occupational indices of dissimilarity obtained for each of the five immigrant groups in Auckland in 1966, a correlation coefficient (Spearman) of .70 was obtained. This value warrants acceptance of the proposition that the index of residential dissimilarity for each of the immigrant groups in Auckland is related to their

respective indices of occupational dissimilarity. Acceptance of the proposition is made easier by the marked variation in residential patterns between, for example, the Dutch and Niueans, two groups that respectively epitomise the relatively affluent and the under-privileged visible minority.

CONCLUSION

In essence the aim of this chapter has been to examine the influence of centripetal and centrifugal forces, the conceptual bases of Burgess' urban model, as factors accounting for the intra-urban distribution of immigrant groups. More specifically it has sought to establish: (a) whether new immigrant arrivals conform to the postulated attractions of the Inner City; (b) whether subsequent relocation conforms to the centrifugal pattern of movement; (c) whether centrifugal movement is limited by a time (duration of residence) factor; (d) whether the operation of centripetal and centrifugal forces can be assessed via an examination of the relationship between duration of residence and residential decentralisation. It has been found that some elements of the traditional model developed by Burgess and his contemporaries still apply. For example, the Niuean and Hungarian case studies have revealed that a high proportion of new arrivals have been attracted by the central city area of Auckland and that immigrants resident in New Zealand for under five years generally tend to be over-represented in the vicinity of the C.B.D. and in surrounding residential areas (Figures 13a, 13b, 14, 17 and 18). There is also a tendency toward decentralisation as the duration of residence increases, a

feature particularly evident in the case of the Hungarian refugees (see Figures 14 and 17) and Dutch, Yugoslav and Samoan migrants resident for 10-14 years. These examples, however, do not represent perfect conformity to the centripetal and centrifugal forces, nor are they typical of the whole of each immigrant group. In other words, while elements of the traditional model still apply, a variety of deviations from the model were noted.

Generally, the deviations can be attributed to discrepancies in the 'goodness of fit' between (a) Burgess' concentric zone ecological model of the city and the reality of spatial organisation/differentiation in Auckland, and (b) assumptions as to the character of immigrants as compared with the actual socio-economic character of the five study groups. Thus, while there is some evidence of a concentric pattern of urban expansion, recent analyses of Auckland's 'factorial ecology' have revealed a concentric pattern of 'family status' and a sectoral pattern in the distribution of 'socio-economic status' or 'social rank'. As McGee (1963, 169-170) has said, in his study of the social ecology of New Zealand cities:

While the lower graded groups tend to occupy the central areas, there is no neat gradation upwards of social grade to the outer ring of settlement.

Decentralisation of industry or the evolution of alternative centres of attraction is perhaps the critical factor, along with the peripheral location of (lower socio-economic status) State Housing, accounting for some of the deviations and obviously contests the assumed dominance of the C.B.D. The existence and probable attraction of suburban ethnic concentrations must also be acknowledged as an item missing from the

Burgess model. And finally, it has been demonstrated that not all immigrants can be classed as under-privileged minorities condemned to follow the traditional pattern of residential location and movement. It must be admitted, however, that the Niueans and Samoans, the two most disadvantaged groups (in terms of income and occupational distribution), most closely approximate the Burgess model in broad residential distribution as at 1966.

Deviations from the concentric-zone ecological model have been recognised in previous studies of minorities in Auckland (Francis, 1969; Rowland, 1969) and attempts have been made to 'explain' the deviations. Whitelaw's (1971) postulated attraction of alternative suburban centres of employment is a notable example, but is itself in need of some modification for the sake of general application. Such modifications should include the facts of long established peripheral ethnic communities later incorporated into an urban area and should also cater for what may be the independent behaviour of immigrants free of the socio-economic constraints suffered by visible minorities. It is surprising that Whitelaw's study, concerned with Maoris and Pacific Islanders, failed to recognise the importance of Maori communities at Orakei and Mangere, both of which are the site of a marae and both of which pre-date the development of State Housing and industrial decentralisation. For Maori 'immigrants' who desire a fairly localised cultural focus, communities such as these must surely enhance the attractions of the areas in which they are located. Undoubtedly the Greek Orthodox Church and community centre located in Mount Victoria (Wellington) exercise a similar attraction for Greek immigrants.

Perhaps similar attractions, not the least of which is the company of fellow countrymen, operate for each of the five groups in Auckland.

The need for modifications to the basic Burgess model is not at all surprising. There is ample evidence that the early twentieth century era of unplanned growth patterns of the city has been superseded by an era of planned development and planned social change. Timms (1971, 216-217) has summed up the situation as follows:

To a large extent the zonal model is based on the classical ecological concept of impersonal competition and assumes private ownership of property and the absence of city planning. Power is equated with wealth. The rich may locate where they will, the poor where they have to. Property owners are free to use their property in whatever way they think best, regardless of planning ordinances or other non-economic political considerations. The institution of city planning processes and the direct intervention of government into the housing market may well halt and even reverse the processes which provide the dynamics of the model.

By 1966, Auckland, like other New Zealand cities and the whole of New Zealand society, had experienced some thirty years of direct government intervention with ideological roots extending well back into the nineteenth century. Since 1935 the Welfare State has been characterised by a host of policies covering income, employment, industrialisation, housing, transport, education, immigration, Maori-Pakeha integration and so on. To varying degrees these forms of government intervention, individually and collectively, are manifested in the 'factorial ecology' of Auckland and other urban areas. Two concrete examples of the impact of social planning are the existence and siting of State Housing developments with adjacent industrial estates on the urban periphery, and the implementation of a 'pepper-pot'

housing scheme to secure both residential relocation and integration of Maoris and more recently Pacific Islanders. The underlying social ideal was expressed by the Minister of Maori and Island Affairs in 1969 upon the extension of the Maori Housing Act to other Polynesians:

I hope this housing assistance will eventually tend to reduce the concentration of Pacific Islanders in the centre of Auckland city, as it has already done in the case of Maoris who used to be concentrated there, and enable them to become full members of the community.

From this viewpoint, Whitelaw's (1971, 74) claim that there is no longer "a preferred location with reference to a single dominant centre" must necessarily be more explicit in defining the "numerous preferences within which a choice ... can be made" as preferences arising directly or indirectly from ideals of social welfare and planned urban and social development.

Footnotes

1. This summary is based on two essays by Burgess (1925; 1953), together with reference to Timms (1971, 211-215) and Johnston (1971, 65-69).
2. A total of 232 Hungarian refugees settled in Auckland upon arrival in New Zealand (1956-1958), but 38 subsequently departed overseas, settled elsewhere in New Zealand or died and were accordingly discarded from the present study.
3. It should be noted that the mean residential mobility was calculated on the basis of residential changes actually recorded in the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers. Since some migrants - Hungarians and others - are known to have failed to report some changes of address, the means calculated must be regarded as the minimum mean residential mobility. This qualification applies particularly to young single males.
4. David (1969, 74) reports that the majority of Jewish Hungarian refugees in New York had relatives to whom they could and did turn, but points out that most of the relatives were themselves comparative newcomers who could not provide extensive financial assistance. The problems/successes in occupational adjustment for Hungarian refugees in Toronto have been examined in detail by Weiermair (1971).
5. See Bowman and Hosking (1971), Timms (1971) and Johnston (1973) on the 'factorial ecology' of Auckland which is discussed at a later point in this chapter.

6. A relationship between duration of residence and residential location in areas of higher social grade is not negated by these results for the simple reason that "there is no neat gradation upwards of social grade to the outer ring of settlement" (McCee, 1969, 169). This point will be taken up in a later section of this chapter and examined in more detail in a later chapter of this study. Collins (1971) employed Pool's (1960) social grading of areas to demonstrate the importance of duration of residence for foreign-born members of Auckland's Jewish community. The conclusion reached was (Collins, 1971, 67-68): "... it would appear that the longer the period of residence in New Zealand for the foreign-born Jews the greater the likelihood of residential location in Group A (Pool's 'Upper-Upper' and 'Lower-Upper' grade). On the other hand recent arrivals will most commonly reside in Group C (Pool's 'Lower-Middle', 'Upper-Lower' and 'Lower-Lower' grade)".
7. Broad though these two sets of assumptions are, it is not intended here to enter into an all inclusive critique of the Burgess model, nor to evaluate the model in relation to alternative models proposed by Hoyt and others. For general critiques see Timms (1971, 241-234) and Johnston (1971, 65-79).
8. Orthogonal varimax rotated solutions reported by Timms (1971, 190) and Bowman and Hosking (1971, 275) show that the 'family status' or 'stage in life cycle' factor 'explained' 60.2 per cent and 41.4 per cent of total variance, respectively. 'Social status' or 'social rank', on the other hand, 'explained' 21.9 per cent (Timms, 1971, 190) and 29.4 per cent (Bowman and Hosking, 1971,

275) of total variance. It should be noted that the two studies did not include an exactly comparable schedule of variables.

9. If urban residential differentiation is perceived as a multi-dimensional phenomenon then one can readily concur with Timms (1971, 230) who said: "Separate analyses of the distribution patterns followed by social rank, familism and ethnicity have suggested that rather than being competing approaches, the zonal and sectoral models of urban structure may actually be concerned with different sets of properties". Timms (1971, 230) noted also Perry's claim that the zonal and sectoral models may be considered "independent, additive contributors to the total socio-economic structuring of city neighbourhoods". Perry suggested that intra-urban residential differentiation may be seen as the function of (a) "the axial variation of neighbourhood by socio-economic rank" and (b) "the concentric variation of neighbourhoods according to family structure".
10. In an overview of research on the intra-urban movement of Maoris and Pacific Islanders in Auckland, Rowland (1973, 266) concluded that such movement "is primarily a response to changes in the life-cycle, dissatisfaction with living conditions and rising material aspirations".
11. A striking parallel to the Auckland scene is the description given by Jupp (1966, 68) of what he calls the "Australasian suburbs of Melbourne, in which six out of seven people were born in Australia and which ... form a tight, snug barrier in the East and South ... Behind them are the outer suburbs favoured by the English and Dutch".

12. A useful account of the character of the Yugoslav owned and operated vineyards in the Henderson area in the 1950s is provided by Moran (1958, 59-77), while some biographical details of early settlement can be obtained from Scott (1964).
13. In a later study of Dutch settlers in Dunedin, Alexander (1969, 27) states that: "Many of those interviewed emphasised that when they arrived in New Zealand they were determined to mix with New Zealand people rather than Dutch, and therefore made an attempt to secure a house as far away as possible from other Dutch families". This raises the question of immigrant assimilation orientation and its relationship with residential patterns.
14. For a more detailed coverage of Niuean and Samoan occupations and incomes in Auckland, as compared with Maoris, see Walsh and Trlin (1973).

CHAPTER 4

INTRA-URBAN RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS

2: KINSHIP, CHAIN MIGRATION and ETHNIC NEIGHBOURHOODS.

A reappraisal of the classic American experience in immigration and urban ethnic settlement was initiated by Macdonald and Macdonald (1964) in a paper based on a survey of American secondary sources on Italian immigration in the period 1880-1914. The standard political and economic factors were accepted as explanations for the broad aspects of timing, volume, composition and direction of movement in the process of international migration. Similarly, the 'ecology of the American urban class and caste structure' appeared to explain the general intra-urban location and concentration of immigrants. Macdonald and Macdonald (1964, 84) argued, however, that neither of these sets of explanations answered a critical question:

Why did immigrants from certain towns in Southern Italy settle together in certain localities in the United States? These immigrants were not distributed among the "Little Italies" by chance.

Their subsequent examination of secondary sources established the fundamental importance of chain migration, wherein potential or prospective migrants learnt of opportunities, were provided with transportation and had initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants.

During the years 1908-1910 questions at ports of entry in the United States revealed that 79 per cent of immigrants were going to join relatives and 15 per cent to join friends (Price, 1963a, 109). The strength of primary social relationships revealed by this inquiry

is important for two reasons. First, primary social relationships formed an important part of the migration process before the onset of international restrictions such as the American quota system, which made the presence of helpful close relatives in the United States a necessary condition for continental Europeans. Second, given the almost universal condition of close primary contacts with previous migrants, it is hardly surprising that in Manhattan, Sicilians from the town of Cinisi were concentrated in Midtown, that migrants from Avigliano (Basilicata) clustered in East Harlem, or that Calabrians on Mulberry Street grouped according to their town of origin. Similarly, the largest Southern Italian neighbourhoods in Chicago were derived from the Sicilian towns of Altavilla Milicia, Bagheria Vicari, Monreale and Terrini Imerense, in Palermo province. These and numerous other examples emerged in the review of secondary sources undertaken by Macdonald and Macdonald (1964, 92-93), but were apparently ignored or at least underestimated in importance by urban ecologists during the 1920s and in following decades. For this reason in particular it was suggested in the preceding chapter of this study that the inner city location of ethnic communities in the Burgess model, as centres of attraction in their own right, may very well have accounted for a sizeable proportion of the classic initial centripetal movement of new immigrant arrivals, quite apart from housing and employment opportunities.

Despite the far-reaching implications of the paper by Macdonald and Macdonald, the concept and importance of chain migration has been slow to attract the attention of geographers and other researchers in the United States. Ward's (1971) study of Cities and

Immigrants makes no mention of chain migration, includes no reference to Macdonald and Macdonald (1964) and refers only in passing to kinship or primary social relationships as a factor influencing intra-urban residential location.¹ Fortunately, Ward's example is not characteristic of all American geographers. For example, Thompson (1971), using data from his doctoral dissertation on the Italian community in Worcester, Massachusetts, 1875-1922, together with material on an Albanian Catholic community in Detroit and British immigrants in Toronto, has briefly explored the consequences of a chain migration process upon aspects of immigrant residential and employment patterns.

Although primarily concerned with the link between residential and employment patterns and with the development and spatial concentration of specialised employment patterns, Thompson contributed to the process of reappraisal initiated by Macdonald and Macdonald when he hypothesized that (Thompson, 1971, 4):

As the pattern of settlement of the ethnic community becomes more dispersed, then the pattern of initial settlement for new migrants also is more dispersed.

While the evidence presented by Thompson in support of his hypothesis is rather meagre, it has been verified by the results of research in Australia and New Zealand (Price, 1963a; Burnley, 1969) and in particular by the results of Lee's (1970) study of Italians in Melbourne. Comparing census data for the changing distribution of Italian residents by local government areas (L.G.A.'s) with the initial residential distribution of samples of new arrivals, Lee found product moment correlation coefficients for the two variables of +0.98 for 1947, +0.95 for 1954 and +0.79 for 1961. He concluded therefore that (Lee, 1970, 57):

... the dispersal of the ethnic community has been reinforced by the settlement patterns of new arrivals, who tend to settle ... throughout

the entire metropolitan area in numbers approximately proportional to the Italian-born already living in those areas.

Chain migration was the crucial factor. A sample of 100 interviews conducted in two central and two peripheral areas of Melbourne revealed that 60 per cent of the Italians initially resided with relatives who had preceded them to Australia and a further 16 per cent first resided with friends they had known in Italy (Lee, 1970, 61-62).

Effective recognition of the importance of kinship and chain migration in Australasian studies of ethnic settlement dates from the work of Lochore (1951, 22-36) on Italian immigrants in New Zealand. Lochore (1951, 24) used the term 'migration chain', defined as:

... an established route along which migrants continue to move over a period of many years from a European peasant community to a modified peasant community in the new land.

This usage is closely akin to, but less flexible than the working definition of chain migration advanced by Macdonald and Macdonald (1964, 82) and adopted for the present study. Since 1951 studies of immigrant settlement, successively demonstrating and elaborating upon the crucial nature and function of chain migration, have been carried out by a number of Australian scholars, particularly C.A. Price (1963a) whose contribution and influence is reflected by more recent research in New Zealand by Burnley (1969), Trlin (1967) and Thomson (1970).² Given the early association between the Macdonalds and the Australian researchers headed by W.D. Borrie and C.A. Price at the Australian National University, it may well be that the concept and demonstrated function of chain migration represents the signal Australasian contribution to the re-examination of American ethnic settlement.³

Strongly influenced by Price's (1963a) Southern Europeans in Australia, Burnley (1969, 6) advanced two key hypotheses in his study of Greeks, Italians and Poles in New Zealand: first, that migration form is a determinant of settlement pattern and community structure, and second, that chain migration leads to the most nucleated forms of settlement and occupational specialisation. The validity of these hypotheses, tacitly accepted by other writers, was demonstrated by Burnley in the character of Italian and Greek intra-urban residential and occupational patterns; for example, the concentration of Italian migrants from Stromboli and Massalubrense-Sorrento in Island Bay (Wellington) and the further concentration of migrants from Massalubrense in Eastbourne (Wellington-Hutt) and in 'The Wood', a small locality in the Nelson Urban Area. Greek chain migrants have concentrated in Mount Victoria (Wellington) and have given to the settlement "its essential characteristics of clustering and contiguity of dwellings" in which collateral family links are strong (Burnley, 1970a, 115).

Examples from other New Zealand cities are readily available. In Dunedin approximately 80 per cent of the Lebanese community is concentrated within the central city area bounded by Waitland, High and Princess Streets - the majority originating from the village of Bsherri (Thornton, 1968, 39). Similar urban and rural groupings have been identified by Taher (1965) in his study of Chinese, Indians and Lebanese in New Zealand. Tokelauan islanders in Wellington-Hutt, on the other hand, are clustered on the basis of religion rather than island of origin. Roman Catholics from the islands of Nukunono and

Fakaofu concentrated initially and remained in Petone, while Protestants from the islands of Atafu and Fakaofu though initially located in the inner city are now concentrated in the State housing areas of Porirua East and Linden-Tawa (Boardman, 1969, 6-7). Finally, a survey of a sample of Islander households in Otara (Auckland), revealed that 28 out of 35 families had relations living in Otara and four of these had relations living in the same street (Kitto, 1969, 82).

Settlement nucleation at the neighbourhood level is illustrated by the Italian settlements at Island Bay and Nelson. Migrants from Stromboli have "settled often in contiguous dwellings" on the northern side of the Island Bay ethnic neighbourhood, whereas the eastern and southern portions of the settlement are dominated by migrants from Massalubrense and Sorrento (Burnley, 1969, 278). In 1966 there were 102 Italians resident in Nelson, over 50 per cent of whom were born in Massalubrense, and most of the Italian owned properties were located within an area bounded by Weka, Halifax, Milton and Collingwood Streets. Burnley has estimated that 32 out of 65 Italian-owned and occupied properties in Nelson were contiguous. Chain migration was a critical factor in this clustering, as evidenced by the preponderance of migrants from Massalubrense in Cambria Street, where "collateral and linear ties were involved with two large family groups resident in adjacent properties" (Burnley, 1969, 272).

The above examples of Greek and Italian settlement in New Zealand, which can easily be supplemented by reference to cases in Australia, Canada and the United States, have one major inherent danger in that they encourage the illusion of a neat, but misleading, causal

relationship between immigration policy, form of migration and pattern of settlement. In an earlier chapter of this study, it was noted that the operation of immigration restrictions on non-British immigrants has meant that chain migration has been imposed, enforced and condoned by government. Some qualifying points are therefore in order.

First, both Price (1963a, 83-100) and Macdonald and Macdonald (1964, 83-84) have shown with respect to Australia and the United States, that chain migration operated widely and effectively prior to the implementation of restrictions in the 1920s. This prior operation being so, the effect of restrictions has been two-fold: first, the continuing arrival of migrants from established areas of origin has been assured, while the formation of new chains from new source areas has been virtually prohibited; second, it may be argued that restrictions have heightened an inherent tendency to form close-knit ethnic communities.

The second qualification concerns the assumption that all migrant groups will exhibit the formation of residential patterns characterised by the more or less homogeneous clustering of migrants from a common area of origin - province, district or village. Obviously for migrants from advanced urban industrial societies, characterised by social and spatial mobility, primary social relationships need not be confined to a particular locality, especially a particular district, town or village of birth. Even in the case of pre-industrial rural communities the association between kinship and birthplace may not produce the anticipated post-migration nucleation of settlement. For example, while Douglas (1965) observed that most of the Cook Islanders

(New Zealand citizens with unrestricted entry) in Tokoroa came from the village of Amuri on the island of Aitutaki; Smith (1972) found quite a different situation among Western Samoans. A survey of 98 out of a possible 101 households, involving a total of 204 respondents, revealed that 82.3 per cent of Tokoroa's Samoan residents came from the major island of Upolu (72 per cent of the total Western Samoan population in 1966) and 17.7 per cent from Savaii island. Naturally the main source area was Apia and villages within its municipal district (45 per cent of respondents) while the remainder were drawn from a total of 48 villages on the two islands. Smith (1972, 53) therefore concluded that Samoan migration to Tokoroa had not been selective on the basis of geographic origin. Even the location of Samoan households within Tokoroa, described by Smith (1972, 88) as "a relatively even distribution over the township", lacked the anticipated nucleation.

Can this geographically non-selective pattern of migration and dispersed residential pattern be taken to imply, despite stringent entry regulations, the absence of chain migration as a factor underlying Samoan settlement in Tokoroa? Apparently not, since 93.6 per cent of respondents had some form of personal contact in New Zealand before departure from Western Samoa, 87.7 per cent had initial accommodation with relatives, 46 per cent had jobs arranged and 32 per cent had fares paid by relatives in New Zealand (Smith, 1972, 60-62).⁴ The kinship network or aiga was clearly a major influence in Samoan migration (see also Pitt and Macpherson, 1971).

Although somewhat perplexing the example of Samoans in Tokoroa is useful for a number of reasons. From the data presented by Smith it

seems that a high proportion of the Samoans came to Tokoroa via Auckland and other points of initial settlement. Tokoroa may therefore be better described as a 'secondary' group settlement to which some migrants were attracted by employment opportunities and wages and/or to which others gravitated because of the presence of Samoans, while others assisted by relatives moved directly to Tokoroa. In terms of the village or other locality of origin, the end result is a more heterogeneous settlement. Burnley has observed the same features among Greek concentrations in Wellington. 'Primary' group settlements on the other hand may be defined as those to which original migrants came directly and then stayed. This distinction between 'primary' and 'secondary' settlements has been discussed in detail by Price (1959; 1963a) and need not be further elaborated here. Finally, with regard to residential location within Tokoroa, it should be noted that company (New Zealand Forest Products) rental accommodation formed most of the central section of the town while newer owner-occupied housing was located on the southern and northern peripheries. According to Smith (1972, 90) Samoan intra-town residential mobility, motivated primarily by a desire for better accommodation, represents:

... a centrifugal movement from the older housing areas of central Tokoroa (built in the 1950s), militating against the development of a spatial concentration of Samoan households.

The implications of the Tokoroa situation for analysis of Samoan residential patterns in Auckland are immediately apparent.⁵

OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

In the preceding chapters it has been shown that for the five selected groups, migration to New Zealand involves (to varying degrees) the process of chain migration, which has also been implied as a factor influencing the development of ethnic neighbourhoods and the initial location of new arrivals. Relatively recent research in the United States and Australasia, outlined above, has clearly demonstrated the role of chain migration in the evolution of ethnic settlement patterns. Thus the prime concern in the following pages is to investigate the role of chain migration at both macro and micro levels of immigrant residential patterns in Auckland.

At the macro level of the whole Auckland urban area, there are two major questions to be answered.

1. For a given ethnic group, is the initial location of new arrivals relatively uniform for all sub-groups, classified by place of origin (i.e. province, district or village of birth), or are there marked differentials between sub-groups indicating the operation of chain migration?
2. If the operation of chain migration is such that sub-group differentials in the pattern of initial location of new arrivals can be discerned, might the residential distribution of members of a given ethnic group best be described as the summation of sub-group differentials in the pattern of settlement?

By answering these two questions it is hoped to establish not only

the importance of chain migration, but also the extent and importance of intra-group heterogeneity. With regard to the latter point, it is asserted that discussion of, for example, the Niuean immigrant residential pattern in Auckland might better be approached via discussion of the residential location of migrants from individual Niuean villages.

At the micro level of a neighbourhood within the urban area the task at hand involves answering the following questions.

1. What are the essential characteristics of the chain migration process in terms of kinship ties, the sponsorship and accommodation of new arrivals?
2. Does a neighbourhood based on chain migration exhibit a high degree of social cohesion?

The first of the above two questions is based on the premise that an appreciation of the mechanics of chain migration at the neighbourhood level will contribute to an understanding of the broader intra-urban settlement pattern. As for the second question, there are two reasons for its formulation and inclusion. First, the question opens for discussion aspects of neighbourhood attractiveness and durability that may be crucial to the broader residential pattern. Second, and perhaps more importantly, it is upon the perceived local assimilation experience or potential of a given ethnic group that the host society's immigration policy is based.

Three of the five study groups have been selected for investigation of chain migration effects at the macro level of the whole Auckland urban area. The three groups are, in order of appearance, as

follows: (a) Yugoslav immigrants arriving in Auckland between 1951 and 1967; (b) Dutch immigrants arriving in Auckland between 1960 and 1967; and (c) Niuean immigrants arriving in Auckland between 1956 and 1959 and between 1967 and 1971. Information on the birthplace and initial residential location of Yugoslav and Dutch immigrants was drawn from the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers, while information on the Niueans was derived from Niuean Police Records. Selection of these three groups was decided upon with an eye to immigration policy, the known history and composition of the groups, and finally the availability of information. On these criteria the Yugoslav immigrants were known to be subject to the normal immigration restrictions on non-British migrants, predominantly chain migrants from central Dalmatia and well documented in official records. In the case of the Dutch, their status as 'more favoured' nationals was taken into consideration along with the known presence of government assisted immigrants among the arrivals (until 1963) who would not be subject to precisely the same conditions of employment and accommodation pre-arranged by close relatives. Niuean immigrants, as New Zealand citizens, were free of major entry regulations and although information on village of origin was lacking for part of the period 1960-1966 this was considered a minor drawback compared to the problem of obtaining reliable information on the Western Samoans who were subject to both short and long-term entry regulations. Since the Hungarians were known to be predominantly refugees independent of the process of chain migration - either customary or officially decreed - they were excluded from the investigation.

At the micro level of neighbourhood study, it was decided to limit attention to one neighbourhood to facilitate in-depth research. From the many possible choices available, the Mount Wellington concentration of Yugoslavs was selected (a) because the neighbourhood was relatively small and dominated by migrants from the village of Zrnovo on the Island of Korcula, and (b) because of the author's Yugoslav parentage and proficiency with the Serbo-Croat language. The latter qualification proved to be essential for carrying out a questionnaire survey and secured the full cooperation of respondents. Additional information on the neighbourhood was obtained from the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers and from 'Applications for Entry to New Zealand' held in the archives of the Departments of Labour and Immigration, Wellington.

6
YUGOSLAV IMMIGRANTS 1951-1967

The broad influence of chain migration upon the settlement pattern of new arrivals in New Zealand is illustrated in Table XXXIII, with 599 out of 904 (66.26 per cent) migrants residing initially in the Auckland Urban Area. Small streams of migrants settled in Northland, South Auckland - Bay of Plenty, Wellington (approximately 9 per cent each) and other areas of the country. Not all of the village or district sub-groups have shown an equal preference for Auckland as a destination: thus, while 38 out of 39 migrants from Gdinj (Hvar) settled in Auckland, migrants from Podgora and Drasnice (Coastal Zone villages) have been

Table XXXIII

First Residential Location of Dalmatian-Yugoslav Migrants in the
Auckland Urban Area, Arrivals 1951-1967, Classified by Place of Birth.¹

	Auckland Urban Area (%)				Total Auckland No.	Total New Zealand
	Inner City	Inner Suburbs	Outer Suburbs	Total %		
<u>North Dalmatia</u>						
Novi-Vinodol	30.0	20.0	50.0	100.0	10	12
<u>Central Dalmatia</u>						
Korcula Island						
Lumbarda	54.5	36.4	9.1	100.0	11	30
Zrnovo	-	8.2	91.8	100.0	49	57
Pupnat	9.1	13.6	77.3	100.0	44	61
Racisce	36.6	19.5	43.9	100.0	41	64
Other	14.3	23.8	61.9	100.0	21	30
Hvar Island						
Sucuraj	30.9	23.8	45.2	100.0	42	55
Gdinj	36.8	31.6	31.6	100.0	38	39
Zastarasce	8.3	33.3	58.3	100.0	24	30
Other	-	7.1	92.9	100.0	14	21
Brac Island	26.1	52.2	21.7	100.0	23	31
Vis Island	-	33.3	66.7	100.0	3	11
Poljesac Pen.	-	11.1	88.9	100.0	9	18
Neretva Est.	35.7	7.1	57.2	100.0	14	21
Coastal Zone						
Podgora	7.9	26.3	65.8	100.0	38	78
Drasnice	25.0	12.5	62.5	100.0	16	36
Zivogosce	11.5	19.2	69.2	100.0	26	30
Drvenik	11.8	11.8	76.5	100.0	17	19
Other	7.0	17.5	75.5	100.0	57	84
Vrgorac Zone						
Vrgorac	52.9	41.2	5.9	100.0	17	25
Rascane	-	-	100.0	100.0	11	11
Kosica	38.5	7.7	53.8	100.0	13	23
Other	60.0	13.3	26.7	100.0	30	68
<u>Remainder</u>	29.0	32.3	38.7	100.0	31	50
Total	No %	128 21.4	126 21.0	345 57.6	599 100.0	904

Note: the total of 904 Dalmatian-Yugoslav arrivals, 1951-1967, does not include 17 other arrivals born elsewhere in Yugoslavia but included as part of the Dalmatian chain migration group in Chapter 2.

1. For location of birthplaces in the central Dalmatian area of origin, see Figure 10.

Source: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers, 1951 - 1967, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington. 'Applications for Entry to New Zealand', 1951 - 1967, Department of Immigration, Wellington.

much more broadly scattered and have dominated movement to areas such as Taranaki and Christchurch, respectively.

Within Auckland, most of the new arrivals resided initially in the Outer Suburbs (57.6 per cent) while the Inner City and Inner Suburbs accounted for almost equal proportions of the remainder (21.37 per cent and 21.03 per cent, respectively). Once again, however, the initial distribution of migrants from specific villages varied considerably. Among new arrivals from the Island of Korcula, for example, those from the villages of Zrnovo and Pupnat were markedly over-represented in the Outer Suburbs as compared with fellow islanders from the village of Racisce who were over-represented in the Inner City zone. As shown in Table XXIII, similar contrasts appear between migrants from Sucuraj, Gdinj and Zastrazisce (Hvar Island) and between those from Vrgorac, Rascane and Kozica (Vrgorac Zone). Such contrasts between new arrivals from often neighbouring villages can scarcely be dismissed as the result of mere chance. Nor can such contrasts be realistically attributed solely to differentials in the ability of new arrivals to achieve residential decentralisation. Recognition must be given to the operation of chain migration based upon the relative 'success' or 'failure' and background histories of earlier migrants from the various villages or other localities of origin.

Division of the urban area into three broad concentric zones - Inner City, Inner Suburbs, Outer Suburbs - reveals variations in the degree of decentralisation, but has the disadvantage of masking intra-zonal residential patterns and the importance of specific localities. The most important reception areas were the Henderson-Oratia Zone (on

the western periphery of Auckland), Ponsonby-Grey Lynn (forming the western residential area of the Inner City) and the Borough of Mount Wellington (a southeastern Outer Suburb), which together accounted for 291 out of the 599 migrants residing in Auckland upon arrival (Table XXXIV) while the remainder were scattered over a wide variety of Inner and Outer Suburbs. Comparison of the village origins of migrants moving into these three major reception areas reveals once again the distortions in the residential pattern wrought by chain migration. For example, although migrants from Zrnovo and Pupnat on the island of Korcula were both over-represented in Outer Suburban reception areas (Table XXXIII), it is now clear that they were nonetheless effectively segregated. While villagers from Zrnovo favoured Mount Wellington as the prime reception area (30 out of 49 arrivals), migrants from Pupnat shunned Mount Wellington in favour of the Henderson-Oratia zone and a variety of other suburbs. Similarly, small migration chains link the villages of Drvenik (Coastal Zone) and Rascane (Vrgorac Zone) with the Henderson-Oratia reception area, but the area is characterised primarily by its accommodation of migrants from practically all of the villages or districts of origin on the central Dalmatian coast. With 38 out of 49 new arrivals born on the island of Korcula, Mount Wellington Borough on the other hand is a much more homogeneous neighbourhood.

The development of vineyards and orchards in the Henderson-Oratia district provided the basis for a 'rural' concentration as early as 1917. Inspired by the example of early pioneers in the area (see Scott, 1964) other Dalmatian Yugoslavs were drawn to Henderson and Oratia,

Table XXXIV

Birthplaces of Dalmatian-Yugoslav Arrivals, 1951-1967, Residing Initially in the Henderson-Oratia Zone, Ponsonby-Grey Lynn and Mount Wellington Borough.

Birthplaces	Henderson - Oratia Zone	Ponsonby Grey Lynn	Mount Wellington	Total Auckland Urban Area
Novi-Vinodol	3	1	-	10
Korcula Island				
Lumbarda	-	5	1	11
Zrnovo	10	-	30	49
Pupnat	26	-	-	44
Racisce	9	13	5	41
Other	6	-	2	21
Hvar Island				
Sucuraj	7	9	-	42
Gdinj	3	6	-	38
Zastrazisce	5	-	-	24
Other	5	-	1	14
Brac Island	1	5	-	23
Vis Island	-	-	-	3
Poljesac Pen.	5	-	1	9
Neretva Est.	7	4	-	14
Coastal Zone				
Podgora	14	3	-	38
Drasnice	3	3	-	16
Zivogosce	12	2	-	26
Drvenik	13	2	-	17
Other	11	3	6	57
Vrgorac Zone				
Vrgorac (N.O.D.)	-	4	-	17
Rascane	11	-	-	11
Kozica	3	2	-	13
Other	5	15	-	30
Remainder	4	2	3	31
Total	163	79	49	599

1 This area includes Henderson Borough, Glen Eden and adjacent areas of Waitemata County, notably Te Atatu South, Panui, Sunnyvale, Henderson Valley and Oratia.

Source: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers; 'Application for Entry to New Zealand'.

established their small holdings and then proceeded to sponsor the migration of relatives. Although the rising demand for orchard and vineyard products transformed many of the small holdings from partly subsistence ventures to fully economic enterprises during and after the years of the Second World War, Moran (1958, 59-77) found that in the 1950s only family labour was still used on about 60 per cent of Yugoslav farms in the Henderson area. Much of the labour was provided by chain migrants over the period 1951-1967 who settled with relatives in Lincoln Road, Ketcalf Road, Valley Road, Forrest Hill Road and Shaw Road. The impact of post-war urban sprawl is reflected by the retreat or disappearance of the small holdings and their replacement with sub-divisions wherein roads, avenues and terraces bear Yugoslav surnames as reminders of the past. It seems likely that chain migration to Henderson-Otari will wane under the impact of urbanisation or at least be drastically modified.

Founded during the 1920s by migrants from Koroula who successfully introduced to the area their traditional occupation of stone quarrying, the post-war experience of the Mount Wellington reception area can be used to illustrate the residential stability of new arrivals and post-migration gravitation of other chain migrants. By December 1967, of the 49 migrants who resided in the Borough upon arrival in Auckland, 35 had remained at their initial address, 11 had moved to another address within the Borough and only 3 had left the area. Where residential changes occurred within the Borough they were often closely associated with accommodation pressures arising from the arrival of further chain migrants or with the needs of family accommo-

dition. Over the same period (1951-1967) 16 migrants who had not initially resided in Mount Wellington were 'attracted' to and resided in the Borough until at least December 1967. Four of these 16 migrants were born on the island of Korcula while the remainder were from birth-places on the Peljesac Peninsula (4), Brač Island (2) and elsewhere (6).⁷

In general the above features of residential stability, intra-neighbourhood mobility and post-arrival gravitation appear to be characteristic of Dalmatian-Yugoslav chain migrants elsewhere in Auckland. Burnley (1969) has noted similar features among chain migrants of Greek and Italian origin in Wellington-Hutt. By comparison, migrants free of kinship ties with earlier arrivals appear to have higher rates of residential mobility, to move over greater areas and subsequently to be more residentially dispersed. The experience of Hungarian refugees in Auckland, described earlier, and of Polish displaced persons in the Wellington-Hutt Urban Area (Burnley, 1969) may be cited as examples of groups in this category.

DUTCH IMMIGRANTS, 1960-1967

From the data presented in Table XXXV it is clear that the origins of Dutch migrants to Auckland over the period 1960-1967 correspond closely with the 'New Zealand total' and 'Auckland Urban Area' results obtained in a 1964 sample survey conducted and reported by Thomson (1970). With regard to the relative importance of specific

Table XXXV

Origins of Dutch Migrants to Auckland, 1960-1967.

Place of Birth	1960-1967		Thomson's sample	
	No.	%	Total (%)	Auckland (%)
North Holland	230	23.76	22.7	25.0
Haarlem	(37)	(3.82)		
Amsterdam	(114)	(11.77)		
Other	(79)	(8.16)		
South Holland	242	25.00	24.5	25.6
The Hague	(83)	(8.57)	(5.7)	(8.4)
Rotterdam	(82)	(8.47)		
Other	(77)	(7.95)		
Utrecht	51	5.27	5.6	6.1
Utrecht	(28)	(2.89)		
Other	(23)	(2.37)		
Zeeland	12	1.24	1.2	1.2
North Brabant	69	7.13	11.6	10.8
Limburg	26	2.68	5.1	4.4
Gelderland	73	7.54	7.6	6.4
Overijssel	50	5.16	5.8	4.1
Drenthe	10	1.03	2.2	1.7
Friesland	33	3.41	4.0	3.2
Groningen	25	2.58	2.6	2.0
Indonesia	68	7.02	6.3	9.1
Other 'Overseas'				
Dutch	14	1.44	0.8	0.6
No Data/Insufficient Data	65	6.71	-	-
Total	968	100.00	100.00	100.0
			(N=1,699)	(N=344)

Source: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers; Thomson (1970,159).

origins, there are some discrepancies between the two sources of information - concerning North Brabant, Limburg, Gelderland, Overijssel - but these are minor variations that may possibly arise from the total of 6.7 per cent of arrivals (1960-1967) for whom there was no data or insufficient data available.

Thomson's (1970, 158-162) assessment of the effect of chain migration upon settlement patterns revealed "no relative over or under concentrations" of Dutch migrants (classified by province of birth) in Auckland, although over concentrations were evident in Wellington (Indonesian-born), Hutt (Friesians and Utrechters), Christchurch (The Hague), Dunedin (The Hague, South Holland) and in rural areas elsewhere. Mindful of the importance of kinship in the process of chain migration and settlement, Thomson analysed the percentage of Dutch migrants in selected areas of New Zealand recording the presence of close relatives (or fiancée) prior to migration. He found that 38.5 per cent of his sample had close relatives in New Zealand (males 31.9 per cent, females 50.6 per cent) and that (Thomson, 1970, 161):

... larger cities have attracted higher proportions of migrants without relatives than smaller cities and rural areas. Conversely chain migration appears to have been stronger to rural than to urban areas or rural areas have retained a larger proportion of those with relatives somewhere in New Zealand. As one would expect, this is particularly apparent with female migrants as rural locations are less likely to offer employment outside the home. The area with the highest proportion of immigrants who have had this advantage is rural South Auckland where Dutch agricultural ambitions have been most often realised and where it has been shown there is an over concentration of settlers from North Brabant ...

Thus, whereas only 26.0 per cent of males and 36.4 per cent of females in Auckland reported the presence of close relatives prior to migration, the percentages for South Auckland (rural) were 38.9 for males and 70.8 per cent for females. Chain migration has certainly played its part in the evolution of Dutch settlement patterns on a national basis. But there are also many other factors involved as Thomson has noted, including relative residential stability (even among assisted immigrants directed to rural areas), regional variations in employment opportunities, and even the influence of "an enthusiastic migration officer loyal to his home city" (Thomson, 1970, 156-158).⁸

Turning now to the initial intra-urban location of Dutch arrivals in Auckland, classified by province of birth, it was found that the three-fold concentric division of the urban area into Inner City, Inner Suburbs and Outer Suburbs was sufficient to reveal some marked variations in residential distribution. Compared with the 'normal' distribution of North and South Hollanders, migrants from Utrecht were over-represented in the Inner City and under-represented in the Outer Suburbs, while migrants from North Brabant, conversely, were under-represented in the Inner City and over-represented in the Outer Suburbs. Indonesian-born Dutch migrants were over-represented in the Inner Suburbs and under-represented in the Inner City and Outer Suburbs (Table XXXVI). Intra-zonal variations between the various province of birth sub-groups were also apparent.

In the Inner City zone some census sub-divisions were completely avoided by Dutch migrants from the provinces specified in Table XXXVI (i.e. Freemans Bay and Arch Hill) and some had only token

Table XXXVI

First Residential Location of Dutch Migrants in the Auckland Urban Area, Total Arrivals 1960 - 1967, Classified by Province/Place of Birth (Percentages).¹

	North Holland	South Holland	Utrecht	North Brabant	Gelderland	Overijssel	Indonesia
Inner City	17.38	13.21	31.37	4.35	19.18	12.00	8.82
Inner Suburbs	25.62	27.63	25.48	23.20	27.40	30.00	39.69
Outer Suburbs	57.00	59.16	43.15	72.45	53.42	58.00	51.49
%	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total No	230	242	51	69	73	50	68

Source: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers.

1. Provinces with less than fifty (50) migrants among arrivals over the period 1960-1967 have been excluded from this analysis.

representation from among the new arrivals (i.e. two or three migrants in Newton, Ponsonby and Auckland Central). The most favoured Inner City location was Mount Eden North, which acted as a reception area for between 8.0 and 9.5 per cent of all arrivals born in North Holland, South Holland, Gelderland and Overijssel, and for 17.6 per cent of migrants born in Utrecht. It must be stressed, however, that arrivals residing initially in the Inner City often did so on a temporary basis only and that many favoured a specific address within a given area. For example, all but one of the 20 arrivals born in Utrecht, Gelderland and Overijssel who resided initially in Mount Eden North recorded a common address (38 Esplanade Road) where the period of residence was frequently less than one month.⁹ Such cases can obviously give a misleading impression of chain migration as being the factor influencing the pattern of residential location.

Several sub-divisions in the zone of Inner Suburbs were completely or almost completely avoided by migrants from each of the provinces specified (Westmere, Point Chevalier, Waterview, Springfield-Owairaka, Orakei, Mission Bay and Kohimarama). Apart from those areas avoided, new arrivals from all of the provinces were widely scattered over the remaining Inner Suburbs. There were small concentrations from North and South Holland and Utrecht in Onehunga (6.1, 6.2 and 9.8 per cent of all arrivals, respectively), while similar small concentrations of migrants born in Overijssel (10 per cent) and Indonesia (8.8 per cent) were located in One Tree Hill. As a general rule, however, the characteristic features of the Inner Suburbs were the dispersed pattern of settlement and the mixing together of migrants from the various provinces.

Finally, in the Outer Suburbs, where the majority of new arrivals settled, sub-group variations in the pattern of distribution were readily apparent. For example, 42 per cent of all arrivals born in Overijssel and North Brabant moved directly to Manukau City as compared with 10.3 per cent of the Indonesian-born arrivals. On the other hand, while the western Outer Suburbs (extending from Te Atatu southwards to Titirangi) were completely avoided by migrants from Overijssel, some 20.6 per cent of Indonesian-born arrivals were initially located there. The influence of chain migration appears to be obvious, and is in fact borne out by the evidence of numerous cases such as the following. On the 18th April 1960, Willem Fluim and wife Zweentje, both of whom were born in Emmen (Overijssel), arrived in Auckland and took up residence at 9 Gibbs Road, Manurewa (Manukau City). Almost four years later, on the 6th February 1964, they were joined by Jan Mandemaker (born in Enschede, Overijssel) and his wife Albertje (born in Emmen, Overijssel) who also took up residence at 9 Gibbs Road, Manurewa. Based upon the kinship tie between the Fluims' and Albertje Mandemaker, this example of chain migration is typical of scores of other Dutch and Yugoslav cases observed in the course of research.

Indices of Residential Dissimilarity, which indicate the percentage of a given group that would need to be relocated in order to attain the distribution pattern of another group (Table XXXVII), concisely summarise sub-group variations in the initial pattern of settlement. These indices, based upon the percentage distribution of

Table XXXVII

Indices of Residential Dissimilarity of Dutch Migrants, by Province/Place of Birth, Total Arrivals 1960 - 1967: (A) (above the diagonal), First Residence upon Arrival in the Auckland Urban Area; (B) (below the diagonal), Last Recorded Residence in the Auckland Urban Area (circa January 1963).

	North Holland	South Holland	Utrecht	North Brabant	Gelderland	Overijssel	Indonesia
North Holland	-	34.80	55.43	61.74	48.05	64.81	51.14
South Holland	35.28	-	49.22	54.99	44.23	56.83	60.63
Utrecht	+	+	-	65.45	49.30	64.36	70.57
North Brabant	52.23	48.84	+	-	60.85	76.05	67.95
Gelderland	53.72	57.10	+	57.76	-	55.75	60.65
Overijssel	+	+	+	+	+	-	68.48
Indonesia	53.45	62.08	+	57.19	53.93	+	-

+ Index of Dissimilarity not calculated as one or both groups had less than 50 resident members.

Source: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers.

arrivals over the sixty-four census sub-divisions in the urban area, indicate that the degree of residential dissimilarity between the various provincial birthplace groups was frequently in excess of 50 per cent, with a maximum index score of 76 per cent between migrants from Overijssel and North Brabant. In an attempt to make allowances for the occurrence of anomalies in the pattern of initial residential location, the temporary nature of the first address and the known high rate of residential mobility during the first year of settlement, indices of residential dissimilarity were calculated using the last recorded address circa January 1969 (Table XXXVII, below the diagonal). Although some inter-provincial differences were reduced in magnitude, some were slightly increased and the overall impression gained is one of fairly high indices (in excess of 50.0) being maintained.

NIUEAN IMMIGRANTS, 1956-1959 and 1967-1971

Auckland was the declared destination of some 90 per cent of Niueans departing for New Zealand between 1956 and 1971. Wellington - Hutt and (before 1960) Hamilton and Frankton Junction were the major destinations for the remaining 10 per cent. Not surprisingly Auckland figured as the prime destination for migrants from each and every village. Destinations beyond Auckland, however, were practically monopolised by migrants from Alofi and Makupu. Over 60 per cent of all those moving to either Wellington-Hutt or Hamilton came from Alofi, while migrants from Makupu accounted for about 80 per cent of those moving to Frankton Junction and about 13 per cent of those whose destination was Wellington. Chain migration processes can be readily inferred.

Table XXXVIII using the simple concentric zone classification, sets out the declared intra-urban destinations of Niueans from Alofi, Hakupu, Mutalau, Liku and Tuapa. Apart from Tuapa and Liku, inter-village differences during the period 1956-1959 were relatively small with the Inner City being the dominant residential zone. Centralisation was present in an extreme form among migrants from Liku (93.1 per cent gave an Inner City address as their declared destination), whereas migrants from Tuapa were over-represented in both the Inner and Outer Suburbs, only 47.6 per cent moving to the Inner City. For the period 1967-1971, inter-village differences tended to be more numerous and somewhat stronger. The percentages moving to the Inner City during the latter period ranged from 36.5 per cent (Hakupu) to 77 per cent (Mutalau), from 2.4 (Mutalau) to 25.2 per cent (Tuapa) for the Inner Suburbs, and from 15.3 (Liku) to 43.3 per cent (Hakupu) for the Outer Suburbs. Clearly some villages (for example Liku) have been under-represented in the process of suburbanisation while migrants from Hakupu have been outstandingly successful, surpassing even migrants from Tuapa who appear to have stabilised a destination pattern initiated in the 1950s.

When the available data for the period 1967-1971 were examined in more detail, it was found that migrants from particular villages tended to favour specific localities as their destination within the urban area. Migrants from Mutalau, for example, moved predominantly to the contiguous areas of Grey Lynn (26.6 per cent), Ponsonby (10 per cent) and Freemans Bay (13.6 per cent), while the prime reception areas for migrants from Liku were Freemans Bay and Kingsland (22.6 per cent

Table XXXVIII

Destinations of Niuean Migrants to Auckland (A) 1956-1959, (B) 1967-1971, Classified by Village of Origin (Percentages).

Destination	Alofi	Hakupu	Mutalau	Liku	Tuapa	Others ¹
(A) 1956 - 1959						
Inner City	77.67	75.00	84.55	93.10	47.62	74.00
Inner Suburbs	11.60	12.50	9.75	5.17	36.90	12.00
Outer Suburbs	5.35	7.50	4.87	1.72	14.28	9.33
No Data ²	5.35	5.00	0.81	-	1.19	4.66
%	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total No.	112	120	123	58	84	150
(B) 1967 - 1971						
Inner City	60.90	36.48	77.05	75.57	51.36	57.61
Inner Suburbs	8.27	12.84	2.35	3.82	25.19	20.92
Outer Suburbs	27.07	43.25	20.02	15.27	19.70	17.67
No Data ²	3.76	7.43	0.58	5.34	3.15	3.80
%	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total No.	266	148	170	131	127	368

1. Villages included in this category are: Avatele, Hikutavake, Lakepa, Makefu, Namukulu, Tamakautonga, Toi and Vaioa.

2. Included in this category are cases where the address/destination was not fully specified or where an address was given that could fit two possible locations within the Urban Areas.

Source: Police Records, Niue.

each). Migrants from Tuapa favoured Ponsonby (26.8 per cent) and Onehunga (17.9 per cent), while the main destinations for Hakupu village migrants were Otara (18.2 per cent), Mangere East (11.7 per cent) and Grey Lynn (10.9 per cent). These are, of course, only examples of the considerable dissimilarity in destinations between each of the five major villages of origin.

Indices of destination dissimilarity demonstrate that often great differences can occur between the residential distributions of migrants from specific villages (Table XXXIX). For the period 1956-1959 the indices were commonly in excess of 58 per cent, the highest scores being attained between migrants from Tuapa and Liku (69.3) and Tuapa and Mutalau (69.3). Migrants from Mutalau and Alofi on the other hand had somewhat similar intra-urban destinations (33.1). Another feature of the settlement pattern revealed by the indices is that the general degree of destination dissimilarity between the five villages has decreased for the period 1967-1971 as compared with the earlier period. This decrease is especially evident between migrants from Alofi and Hakupu, Alofi and Liku, and between migrants from Tuapa and Mutalau. Such reductions in destination dissimilarity must not, however, be permitted to obscure the fact of persistently high indices appearing between migrants from Tuapa and Liku (65.18), Liku and Hakupu (61.24) and Tuapa and Hakupu (60.06).

The above results suggest that Niuean families -like Samoan (Bitt and Haopherson, 1971), Greek and Italian (Burnley, 1969) families - prefer to congregate in close proximity to each other. Kinship ties and attractions are strong, as illustrated by McDonald (1973, 24) in the following example.

Table XXXIX

Indices of Destination Dissimilarity, Migrants from the Niuean Villages of Alofi, Hakupu, Mutalau, Liku and Tuapa moving to the Auckland Urban Area: (A) 1956-1959 (above the diagonal); (B) 1967-1971 (below the diagonal).

	Alofi	Hakupu	Mutalau	Liku	Tuapa
Alofi		58.32	33.13	58.38	55.60
Hakupu	46.10		60.54	62.47	68.42
Mutalau	37.41	55.29		64.36	69.31
Liku	47.92	61.24	58.67		69.34
Tuapa	56.22	60.06	54.71	65.18	

Note: Cases where the destination was not specified fully, unable to be traced etc., have been excluded from the calculations for the above table..

Source: Police Records, Niue

One Niuean family moved to the North Shore nine years ago when the head of the household (B) was transferred to the Devonport base of the Ferry Company. At that time the family had no friends in the area. Seven years ago the wife persuaded their eldest married daughter to move closer to them. Since that move, two of this daughter's husband's kin have also taken up residence nearby, as have B's two younger brothers' families. At the time of interview, B's wife was in constant contact with nine North Shore Niuean families, that had moved there directly or indirectly because of B's initial change of residence.

Overall, the data available on the Niueans point clearly to the importance of chain migration as a factor affecting choice of destination. Because Niuean immigration is not subjected to the policy constraints and restrictions which practically enforce chain migration in the case of Asian and continental European immigration, this observation is of special importance to the growing body of knowledge on immigrant settlement in New Zealand. Despite the absence of such restrictions the end result of Niuean migration (in terms of intra-urban spatial distribution) would appear to be similar to the patterns observed for continental Europeans such as the Yugoslavs, Greeks and Italians.

CHAIN MIGRATION AND ETHNIC RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS

The above case studies of Yugoslav, Dutch and Niuean arrivals provide ample material with which to answer the two questions concerning the residential effects of chain migration at the macro level of the whole Auckland urban area.

The first question asked:

"For a given ethnic group, is the initial location of new arrivals relatively uniform for all sub-groups, classified

by place of origin, or are there marked differentials between sub-groups indicating the operation of chain migration?"

In answer to this question it can be said that in all three case studies there were marked differences between sub-groups in terms of their initial residential distribution. These intra-group differences were shown to apply (a) in distributions over the three concentric zones, and (b) in distributions over the intra-urban census sub-divisions. In the latter case, Indices of Residential/Destination Dissimilarity, which were calculated for the Dutch and Niuean groups, revealed that the intra-group degrees of dissimilarity were frequently high, but variable, (a) for initial residential/destination patterns, (b) for arrivals over two time spans (Niueans, 1956-1959 and 1967-1971), and (c) when allowance was made for post-arrival residential mobility (Dutch migrants circa January 1969).

The second question asked:

"If the operation of chain migration is such that sub-group differentials in the pattern of initial location of new arrivals can be discerned, might the residential distribution of members of a given ethnic group best be described as the summation of sub-group differentials in the pattern of settlement?"

Just as the residential pattern or distribution of the total urban population may be perceived as a mosaic of partially segregated racial, religious and socio-economic groups, so too can the residential pattern

of a given ethnic group be perceived to consist of partially segregated village, district or provincial groups. It must, however, be stressed that the sub-groups are partially segregated, for the distributions of migrants from specific villages or provinces frequently overlap to a considerable degree (for example, Yugoslavs in the Henderson-Oratia zone), though instances where a locality may be dominated by migrants from one particular village, district or province are not uncommon (for example, Yugoslavs in the Mount Wellington Borough). Partial segregation is best illustrated by the indices of residential/destination dissimilarity calculated for the Dutch and Niuean groups; at no time was a sub-group completely segregated from all other village, district or provincial categories. Following the example of Lee's (1970) investigation of Italians in Melbourne, it may be assumed that the distribution of new arrivals reflects the relative distribution of earlier arrivals from specific points of origin, and therefore indicates the perpetuation of village, district or provincial groupings.

Given the traditional tendency to equate a particular social group's residential location vis-à-vis the C.B.D. with an apparent ability to 'get on' in or 'adjust to' the urban environment, the intra-group differences in distribution raise a number of problems of interpretation. For example, it might be argued that the rapid suburbanisation of migrants from the Niuean village of Hakupu is no more than one might have expected given the reputation that its inhabitants have of being 'progressive'. This reputation is shared, incidentally, by migrants from Alofi and Mutalau. Since these three villages were indeed the first to have schools and access to government employment it is possible that migrants in Auckland may have had some sort of advantage over migrants from other villages.

A much more likely interpretation rests upon the fact that migration from Hakupu, Tuapa, Mutalau and Alofi started earlier than migration from other Niuean villages. Thus, inter-village differences in destination distribution may reflect the time factor involved in the residential mobility and adjustment to the urban environment of pioneer migrants and their immediate followers. Inter-village indices of destination dissimilarity were noticeably lower for Niuean arrivals in 1967-1971 than for the earlier period 1956-1959. Moreover, chain migration commonly tends to escalate from an initial stage of assistance rendered to single migrants to a later (crucial) stage of assistance rendered to complete family groups. Niuean villages, therefore, that ranked as 'early starters' in migration would presumably have reached the stage of family migration earlier than other villages and, coincidentally, would have families in Auckland qualifying for outer suburban State housing ahead of other villages. The case of migrants from Hakupu over the period 1967-1971, with 18.2 and 11.7 per cent of arrivals moving to Otara and Mangere East, respectively, is perhaps a classic case. Similar situations may apply to other ethnic sub-groups in the Auckland urban area.

Finally, the experiences of pioneer initiators of chain migration cannot be neglected as a factor underlying the intra-urban location of chain migrants a decade or more later in time. The success of Yugoslav viticulturalists around Henderson and Oratia as early as 1917, or migrants from Koroula in the quarries of Mount Wellington during the 1920s, speaks for itself. In both cases the perception of opportunities coupled with the application of traditional skills were the

decisive factors underlying the development of outer suburban neighbourhoods that have functioned as important reception areas for arrivals some three or four decades later. Burnley (1969) has made the same observation with respect to Italian fishing communities at Island Bay and Eastbourne in the Wellington-Hutt urban area.

MOUNT WELLINGTON NEIGHBOURHOOD: ORIGINS, AND
CHARACTERISTICS OF CHAIN MIGRATION.

Born in Zrnovo, Korcula, in 1895, his passage paid by an uncle who accompanied him to New Zealand in 1913, Dick Lavas is the acknowledged 'founder' of Yugoslav settlement in the Mount Wellington Borough. An initial period of gundigging in the Coromandel-Thames area was followed by railway construction work near Whangarei (during the First World War) and then by rural contract work and gundigging in Northern Wairoa. Finally, in 1925, accompanied by his new bride who had arrived in 1924 (sponsored by her brother), he moved to Panorama Road, Mount Wellington. Upon his arrival the Bray quarry was already well established, but because he "couldn't get work anywhere else" Dick Lavas started work on leased land by cutting stone for road kerbing and in 1928 hired a stone crusher the product of which he sold to the owners. During the years that followed until his retirement in 1954, he made one visit to Yugoslavia (1937) and briefly entered a partnership with his son Peter and Messrs Lusich and Grbin in 1949.

Other migrants came to the Panorama Road-Ferndale Road area soon after Dick Lavas. A year or two after his arrival the 'Bluestone Quarry' was established by Mr Barbarich and other quarries were later

started by Messrs Lipanovich, Berich and Jericich. By 1927 migrants were moving directly from the village of Zrnovo or elsewhere on the island of Korcula to Mount Wellington (Messrs Milst, Peter and Anton Laus) where they were employed in the Bray quarry. Others came after working elsewhere in New Zealand as farmers or as gundiggers (Messrs. Katavich and Marsich); often these men (and sometimes their wives) were also from the village of Zrnovo (Messrs Lidovich, Cebalo, Berich and Jericich). Wives began to join their husbands in Mount Wellington during the early 1930s (Mrs Cebalo, Mrs Bilish and Mrs Skokandich). It was upon these beginnings that the neighbourhood grew and upon which post-war chain migration was to be based.¹⁰

Details concerning arrivals over the period 1951-1967, and their sponsors, are included in an appendix to this study (Appendix D). In order to illustrate the character and impact of chain migration, however, the 'Lavas', 'Radovanovich' and 'Franotovich' chains have been selected as case studies for more detailed attention. Basic information on each 'chain' is presented in Figures 19, 20 and 21; together the three chains accounted for 21 out of 49 arrivals over the period 1951-1967.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the 'Lavas' chain (Figure 19) is that Dick and Mila Lavas, having founded the Mount Wellington neighbourhood and attracted (but not assisted) fellow migrants from Zrnovo and other villages on the island of Korcula, remained as latent chain migration sponsors for about thirty-six years. The migration link was activated, several years after Dick Lavas' retirement, with assistance rendered to first the Rabadan (1961) and

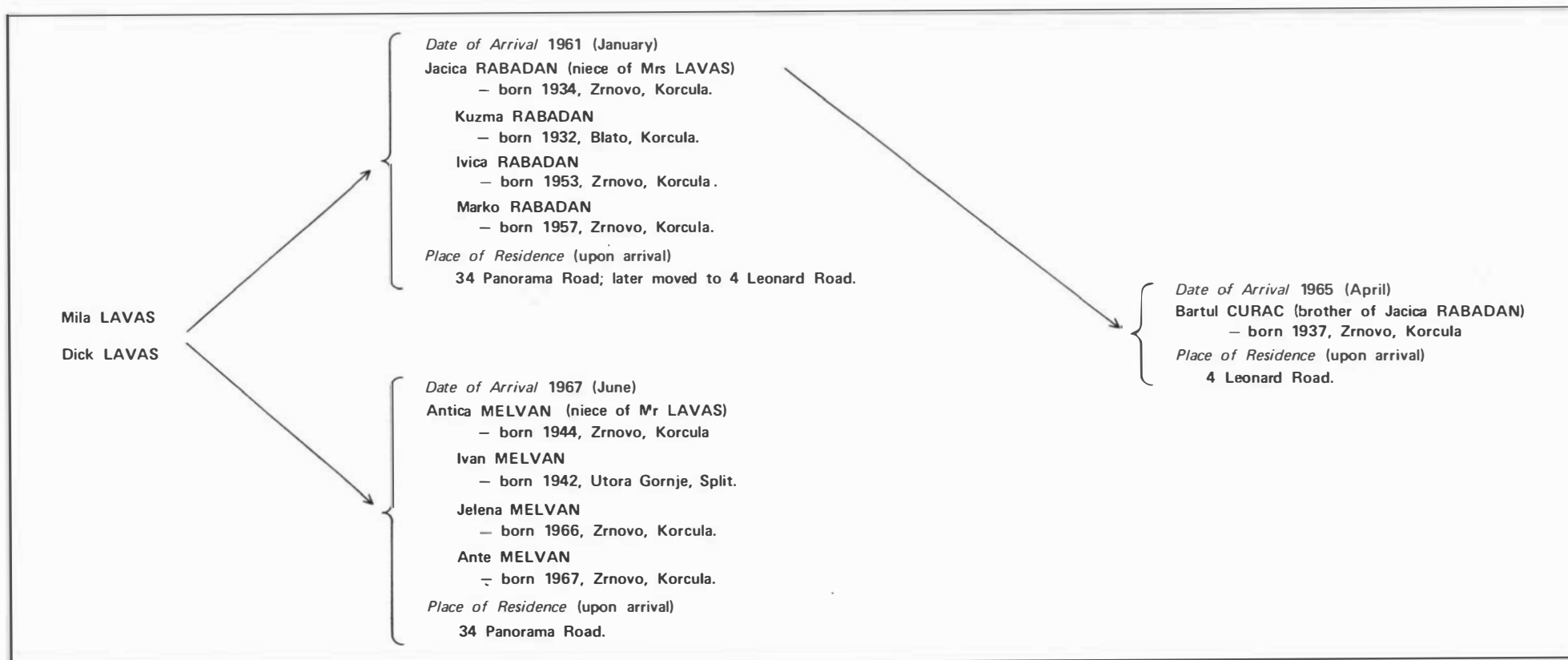


FIGURE 19: The 'LAVAS' Migration Chain, Mount Wellington Borough, Auckland

then the Melvan (1967) family. Kinship ties were relatively slender, Antioa Melvan and Jasica Rabadan being nieces of Dick and Mila Lavas, respectively. A further and closer kinship link in the 'Lavas' chain was forged by the arrival of Bartul Curao (1965) sponsored by his sister Jasica Rabadan. Accommodation for both the Rabadan and Melvan families in turn was provided initially at 34 Panorama Road, almost directly opposite their sponsors. Bartul Curao resided upon arrival (and remained until at least early 1971) with his sister, her husband and her family at their second address in nearby Leonard Road. Thus within the space of about six and a half years the 'Lavas' chain facilitated the arrival of nine immigrants who have settled in close proximity to their sponsors.

By comparison with the 'Lavas' chain, the 'Radovanovich' chain is a more elaborate example, involving a greater variety of kinship ties and six separate acts of sponsorship (Figure 20). Over the period June 1959 to February 1965, Marin and Frana Radovanovich, who apparently arrived prior to 1951, acted as sponsors for their youngest son Visko Radovanovich (1959), their daughter Marija Matulovich in 1961, (together with her husband Jakov and child Marin), their oldest son Frano Radovanovich (1963) and finally for a nephew Frano Bakarich (1965). The latter arrival was a nephew of Frana Radovanovich who sponsored him jointly with Jako Jericevich and Frank Bakarich, two uncles resident in Auckland. Frano Radovanovich, the oldest son, acted as sponsor for his wife Vanja Radovanovich (1965), while Jakov Matulovich (the son-in-law) sponsored a niece, Katarina Sain (1965). The influence of immigration policy can be easily discerned in the timing of arrivals, with almost perfect two year intervals separating each act of sponsorship by Marin

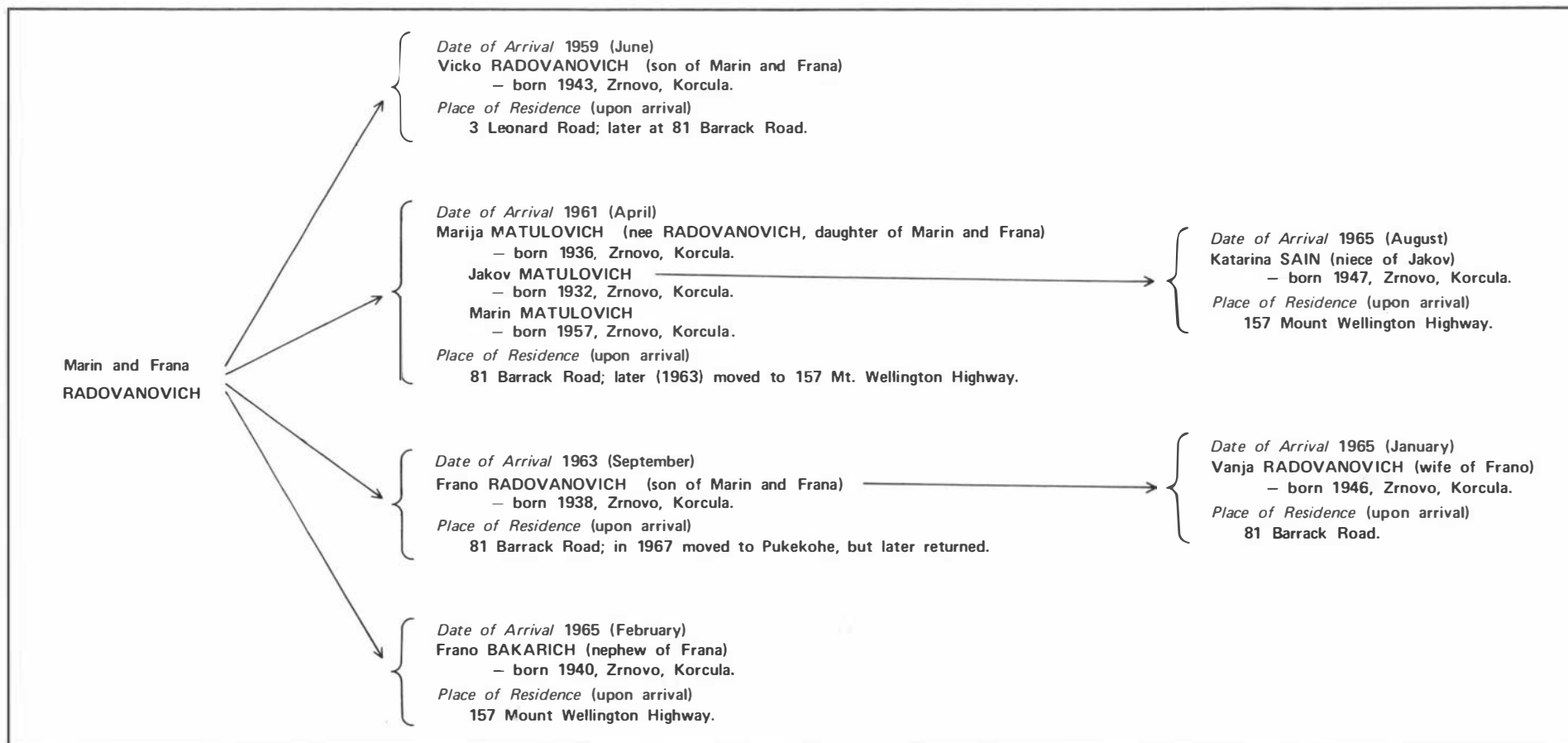


FIGURE 20: The 'RADOVANOVICH' Migration Chain, Mount Wellington Borough, Auckland

and Frana Radovanovich. Co-sponsorship for Frano Bakarich helped reduce the time interval to about sixteen months. In the case of Frano Radovanovich and his wife Vanja, whom he married just prior to his departure for New Zealand, the delay in their reunion stemmed from Frano's initial declaration that he was a single migrant. Under the terms of government policy his wife was accordingly treated as his fiancée and permitted entry when he had been a resident for at least one year.

Accommodation for each of the siblings and their spouses in the 'Radovanovich' chain was initially provided in the home of their parents, either in Leonard Road (where they resided until 1959) or in Barrack Road (to which they moved during 1960). Katarina Sain resided upon arrival with her uncle Jakov Matulovich (at his second address), who also provided accommodation for Frana Radovanovich's nephew, Frano Bakarich. Once again the effect of chain migration is reflected not only in the arrival of close kin, all from a common village of origin (Zrnovo), but also in the pattern of residential proximity with sponsors determining the initial location of new arrivals.

As a footnote to the 'Radovanovich' chain case study, mention must be made of Jakov Matulovich's brother Ante Matulovich who arrived in New Zealand in 1959 sponsored by an uncle resident in Whangarei. Perhaps attracted by his brother's presence, Ante moved to Mount Wellington in 1965 and resided temporarily with Jakov and his family at their new address on Mount Wellington Highway. Shortly afterwards Ante married a New Zealand-born daughter of a long established Yugoslav

family (Skokandich) in the Mount Wellington area and took up residence with his wife at an address almost directly opposite her parents on the Ellerslie-Panmure Highway. In this way the neighbourhood gained another member, a further family unit was established, and another step was marked in the maintenance of ethnic community cohesiveness.

The 'Frantovich' chain (Figure 21), the third and final case study, was selected because it also had a number of characteristics that set it apart from other chains but which were nonetheless pertinent to the study of chain migration. To begin with, the links between the 'Frantovich' chain and Mount Wellington were, in a sense, somewhat fortuitous or accidental. Ljubica Frantovich was born in 1937 in the village of Ernovo, was sponsored jointly by two uncles, arrived in New Zealand in October 1962 and resided initially in the Whenuapai area beyond the northwestern boundary of the Auckland Urban Area. About a year after her arrival Ljubica married Kamil Fehmi Hasani¹¹, a Macedonian-Yugoslav who had arrived in New Zealand as a 'displaced person' in 1951. It was only after her marriage that Ljubica accompanied her husband and settled in Mount Wellington Borough where they together operated a small business ('Adriatic Fisheries') in Panmure. Residing briefly at an address on the Ellerslie-Panmure Highway, Ljubica and her husband finally settled at 68 Ireland Road in early 1964. The five migrants subsequently sponsored by Ljubica (Figure 21), all born in the village of Ernovo and initially accommodated in her home in Ireland Road, were therefore fortuitous but entirely autochthonous additions to the Yugoslav community of Mount Wellington. It seems also that Ljubica's marriage to an 'outsider' in no way impaired her ability to act as a sponsor and

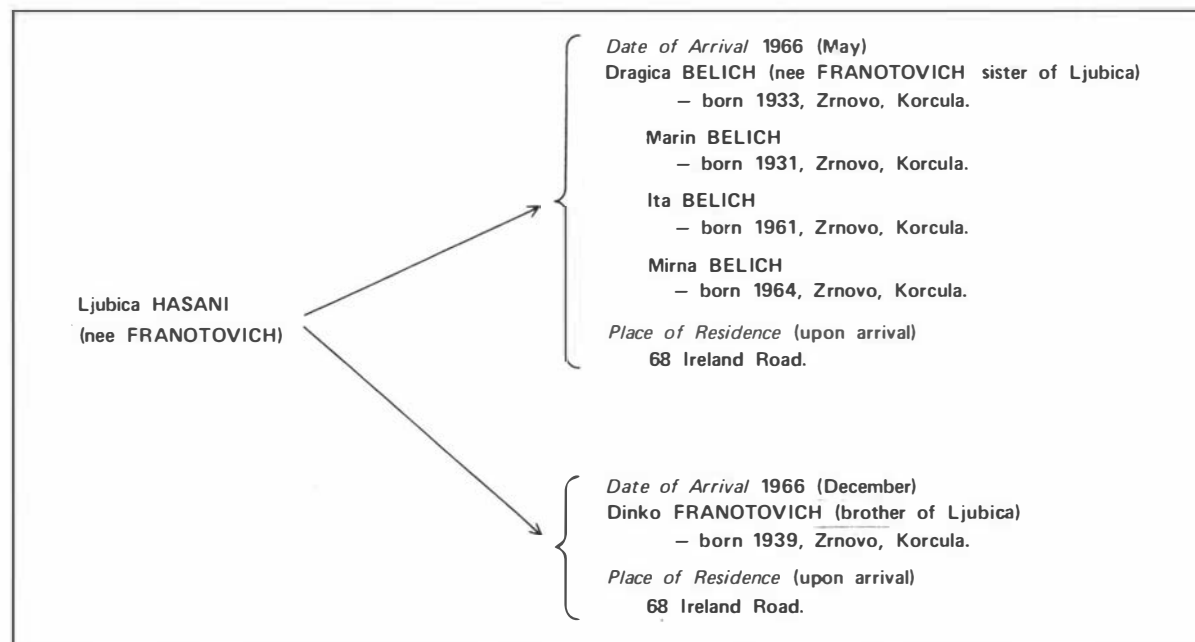


FIGURE 21: The 'FRANOTOVICH' Migration Chain, Mount Wellington Borough, Auckland

thereby perpetuate the process of chain migration.

First among the new arrivals sponsored by Ljubica were her sister Dragica Belich and the latter's husband and two children. Ljubica's brother Dinko Frantovich followed in the same year. With the assistance of other relatives Dinko had originally migrated to New South Wales before joining his sister in New Zealand. This example, which is not uncommon, illustrates neatly that chain migration can take place between the homeland and an overseas destination and also between alternative overseas destinations. Finally, once in New Zealand, Dinko not only lived with his sister, her husband and the Belich family, but also became a shop assistant in the Masani fish shop. Occupational specialisation is also a well known by-product of chain migration, whether it be in the form of Dalmatian viticulturalists around Henderson, Dalmatian stonemasons in Mount Wellington, Greek restaurateurs or Italian fishermen in Wellington-Hutt.

The primary purpose of the three chain migration case studies presented above was to illustrate the range of kinship ties involved (or rather permitted by immigration policy) and the effect upon the residential location of new arrivals. A somewhat deeper appreciation of the characteristics of chain migration in general might also be gained from the basic 'human interest' of such case studies. Looking at the total of 49 arrivals in Mount Wellington over the period 1951-1967, the basic features can be summarised as follows. Excluding cases where no data was available (6) and minors accompanying adults (11), it is clear that the greatest proportion of new arrivals were sponsored by nuclear family members (14 out of 32), with relations beyond the nuclear

Table XL

Yugoslav Arrivals Residing Initially in Mount Wellington Borough,
1951 - 1967, Classified by Relationship of Sponsor.

Sponsor	Male	Female	Total
No Data	3	3	6
Father and/or Mother	2	1	3
Husband/Wife	-	5	5
Brother and/or Sister	3	3	6
Uncle and/or Aunt	6	6	12
Relative of Husband/Wife	5	1	6
Minor Accompanying Parents	6	5	11
Total	25	24	49

Source: 'Applications for Entry to New Zealand'.

family following closely in second place (12 out of 32). With the exception of family groups where kinship ties were predominantly with the wife rather than the husband, the sponsorship pattern for arrivals in Mount Wellington (Table XL) is much the same as the pattern for all Dalmatian-Yugoslav arrivals, 1951-1967 (see Table XVI). As for the initial accommodation of the 49 arrivals, it was found that 36 resided with their sponsor(s), 9 had separate accommodation, either in close proximity to the sponsor ('Lavas' chain) or with other Yugoslavs related to the sponsor ('Radovanovich' chain), and finally in 4 cases there was no data available. These latter findings are characteristic of Yugoslav settlement in Auckland as a whole and, incidentally, surpass the proportion of Italians residing "with relatives" upon arrival in selected areas of Melbourne (Lee, 1970, 61-62).

Given the origins of the neighbourhood, the characteristics of both pre- and post-war chain migration, and the general residential stability of new arrivals, the contemporary Mount Wellington Yugoslav neighbourhood could reasonably be expected to exhibit a number of distinguishing features. For example, a field survey carried out during May 1971 revealed that about 50 per cent of the Borough's Yugoslavs resided in the area encompassed in Figure 22, the majority of whom were in households along Panorama Road, Ferndale Road and Leonard Road. Contiguous households were common, especially in the upper section of Panorama Road. The neighbourhood was also clearly dominated by migrants from Korcula Island, particularly the village of Zrnovo, although there were also immigrants from other districts and villages in the central Dalmatian source area and further afield. The quarry sites, previously worked or established by the older residents, had been (or were being) filled, sub-divided and developed as residential sites. Following the example of the Henderson area, proposed names for two new streets under construction at the time of the survey bore testimony to the pioneers and settlers of the past (Levas Street, Cebalo Street). Three small Yugoslav owned and operated vineyards were the only distinctive land use features remaining in the neighbourhood. And finally, though by no means least among the distinguishing features, there was the debatable characteristic of ethnic social cohesiveness, the nature and extent of which is discussed below.

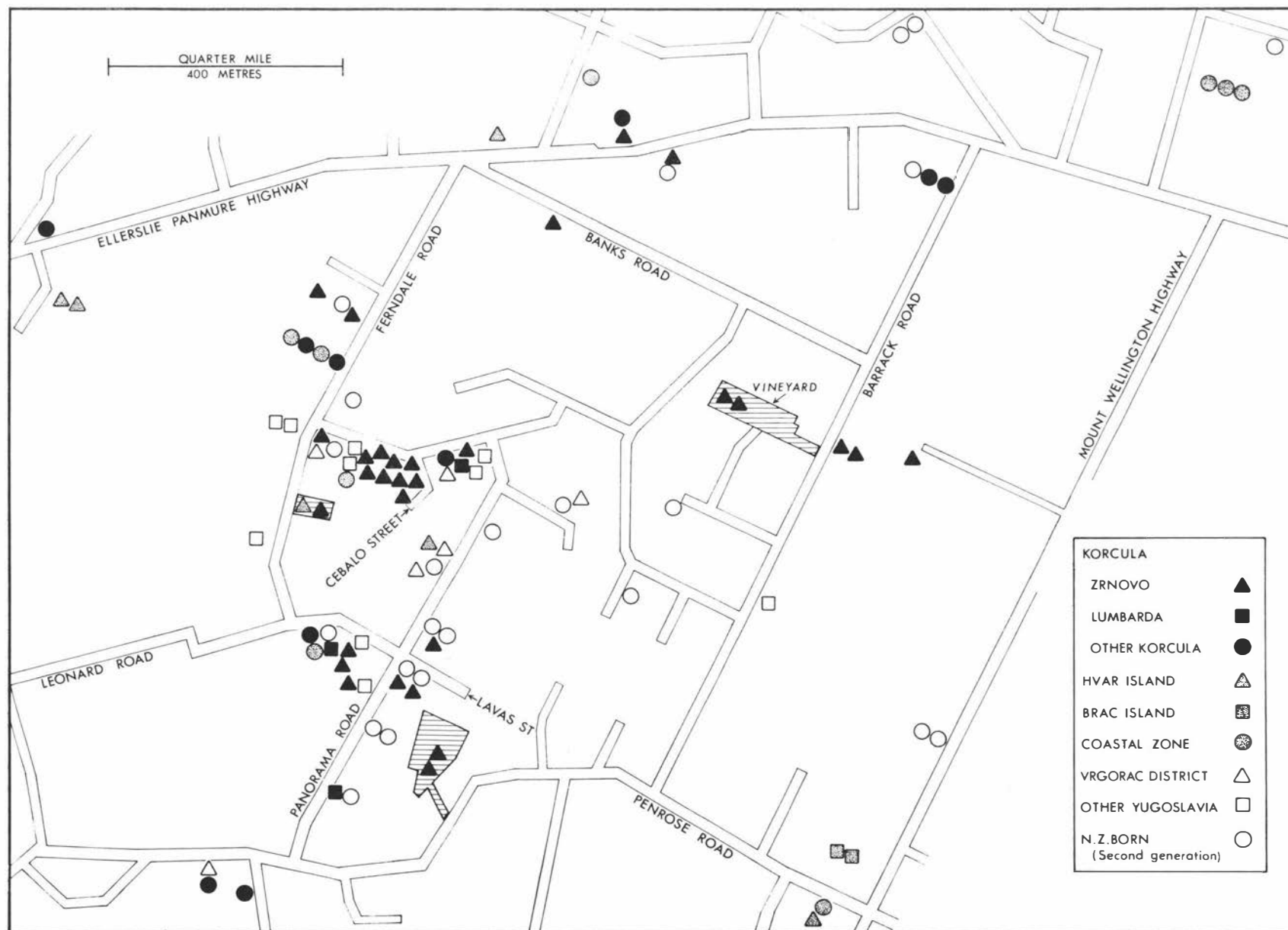


FIGURE 22: Residential Distribution and Birthplaces of 'Yugoslavs' in Mount Wellington Borough (part), Auckland, 1971

MOUNT WELLINGTON NEIGHBOURHOOD: ASPECTS OF ETHNIC SOCIAL
COHESION

Aspects of ethnic social cohesion were investigated via a questionnaire survey (see Appendix B) of first-generation adult migrants residing in the study area encompassed in Figure 22. The survey was carried out during May 1971 and involved personal interviews with a total of 69 out of 76 Yugoslav adults; in the remaining 7 cases interviews were unable to be completed or initiated because of ill-health, senility or continued absence despite repeated visits. There were no refusals to cooperate, primarily because rapport was quickly established via use of the respondents' own language.

To facilitate both presentation and interpretation of survey results, responses to fifteen questions have been listed in an extended Table (Table XLI). The responses of 'Old' (pre-1940) and 'New' (post-1945) arrivals have been kept separate since responses will frequently depend upon factors such as age, length of residence in the new society and personal adjustments made during the period of residence. As can be seen in Table XLI, the 'Old'/'New' classification adds considerably to an understanding of the results obtained. Finally, it should be noted that an effort has been made to list subject areas in some order of (assumed) importance with regard to the topic of social cohesion. Theodorsen and Theodorsen (1969, 57) have defined 'social cohesion' as:

The integration of group behaviour as a result of social bonds, attractions, or "forces" that hold members of a group in interaction over a period of time ...

Thus the topics of 'sponsorship of immigrants' and 'marriage' head the

list of subject areas in Table XLI, followed by questions concerning 'best friends', 'neighbours', 'membership of clubs', 'employment' and finally 'language'.

Since the prime concern of this chapter is to establish the pervasive importance of chain migration, a useful starting point for presentation of the survey results is obviously the responses to a question concerning sponsorship of immigrants. It was found that only 40.58 per cent of respondents had acted as a sponsor or co-sponsor in the process of chain migration, and that the 'Old' arrivals had been considerably more diligent in this respect than the 'New' arrivals (52.63 and 25.80 per cent, respectively). Length of residence and personal resources are, of course, the key variables underlying the 'Old'/'New' differences, but the result does suggest also that the 'New' arrivals have a considerable latent potential for sponsorship that could maintain the Mount Wellington concentration for some years to come. This potential will, however, be realised only if the respondents abide by the appropriate norms of behaviour.

Including also marriage partners born in New Zealand of Yugoslav parents, 87.5 per cent of those respondents who were married had 'in-group' spouses (Table XLI, question 2), with 'New' arrivals (84.6 per cent) lagging slightly behind 'Old' arrivals (90 per cent). The question of inter-marriage elicited a predominantly cautious and guarded response - "depends on the person", "choice up to person" - from both 'Old' and 'New' arrivals, and only 14.5 per cent of all respondents felt inter-marriage should be "encouraged" while 20.3 per cent felt it should be "discouraged". Once again there was a marked

Table XLI

Social Characteristics and Attitudes of Yugoslavs, Mount Wellington, 1971 (Percentages).

	'Old' (pre 1940)	'New' (post 1945)	Total
1. "Have you acted as a sponsor or co-sponsor for one or more Yugoslav immigrants?"	(N=38)	(N=31)	(N=69)
Yes	52.63	25.80	40.58
No	47.37	74.20	59.42
2. " <u>If married</u> , birthplace of husband or wife."	(N=30)	(N=26)	(N=56)
Yugoslavia	83.33	80.76	82.14
N.Z. (Yugoslav parentage)	6.66	3.84	5.35
N.Z. (non-Yugoslav)	6.66	11.53	8.92
Other	3.33	3.84	3.57
3. "Do you think that inter-marriage between Yugoslavs and non-Yugoslavs (especially New Zealanders) should be encouraged or discouraged?"	(N=38)	(N=31)	(N=69)
Encouraged	21.05	6.45	14.50
Discouraged	10.52	32.26	20.30
Depends on the person	7.90	12.90	10.14
Choice up to person	50.00	45.16	47.82
Don't know	10.52	3.22	7.24
4. " <u>If you have a child or children not yet married</u> , would you prefer your child(ren) to marry a person who was ... "	(N=16)	(N=24)	(N=40)
1) a Yugoslav or of Yugoslav descent	62.50	58.33	60.00
2) a New Zealander	-	-	-
3) choice up to child	37.50	41.66	40.00

Table XLI (contd.,)

	'Old' (pre 1940)	'New' (post 1945)	Total
5. "How many of your three best friends (excluding immediate family) are Yugoslavs?"	(N=38)	(N=31)	(N=69)
0	-	6.45	2.90
1	10.52	12.90	11.60
2	28.94	29.03	28.98
3	60.52	51.61	56.52
6. "If your three best friends are all Yugoslavs, how many live in the Mount Wellington Borough?"	(N= 23)	(N=16)	(N=39)
0	21.74	25.00	23.07
1	13.04	25.00	17.95
2	17.39	37.50	25.64
3	47.82	12.50	33.33
7. "Do you prefer to have Yugoslav neighbours?"	(N=38)	(N=31)	(N=69)
Yes	57.89	35.48	47.82
No	10.52	22.58	15.94
Other reply	31.57	41.93	36.23
8. "Do you think it is better for Yugoslav immigrants to live along- side New Zealanders?" "If yes, why?"	(N=38)	(N=31)	(N=69)
Yes (for language learning)	50.00	54.83	52.17
Yes (other reasons)	15.78	22.58	18.84
No	13.15	19.35	15.94
Other replies	21.05	3.22	13.04
9. "Are you a member or do you attend functions of the Yugoslav Club in Auckland?"	(N=38)	(N=31)	(N=69)
Yes - Member	15.79	12.90	14.50
Yes - Attend	23.68	58.06	39.13
No	60.52	29.03	46.37

Table XLI (contd.,)

	'Old' (pre 1940)	'New' (post 1945)	Total
10. "Are you a member or do you attend functions of non-Yugoslav Clubs, Societies or Associations?"	(N=38)	(N=31)	(N=69)
Yes - Member	13.16	9.68	11.60
Yes - Attend	-	-	-
No	86.84	90.32	88.40
11. "Do you think it would be better for Yugoslav immigrants and their families to join New Zealand Clubs rather than Yugoslav Clubs?"	(N=38)	(N=31)	(N=69)
Yes	5.26	6.45	5.80
No	42.10	67.74	53.62
Other reply	52.63	25.80	40.57
12. " <u>If you are gainfully employed</u> , do you work with persons of Yugoslav birth or descent?"	(N=14)	(N=24)	(N=38)
Yes	28.57	45.83	39.47
No	71.43	54.16	60.53
13. "Do you think it is better for Yugoslav immigrants to work with New Zealanders?"	(N=38)	(N=31)	(N=69)
Yes	92.10	83.87	88.40
No	7.89	12.90	10.14
Other reply	-	3.22	1.44
14. Use of Yugoslav language at home for daily conversation (Household Heads only).	(N=24)	(N=16)	(N=40)
Only Yugoslav	33.33	50.00	40.00
Mainly Yugoslav	29.16	12.50	22.50
Yugoslav/English	20.83	-	12.50
Mainly English	4.16	18.75	10.00
Only English	12.50	18.75	15.00

Table XLI (contd.,)

	'Old' (pre 1940)	'New' (post 1945)	Total
15. "Do you think it would be better for Yugoslav immigrants and their families to stop using their own language and to learn English as quickly as possible?"	(N=38)	(N=31)	(N=69)
Yes	7.90	9.68	8.70
No	2.63	-	1.45
No ('to stop using ...' but 'learn English as quickly as possible')	36.84	90.32	88.40
Don't know	2.63	-	1.45

Source: Field Survey, Yugoslavs in Mount Wellington Borough (part),
Auckland, May 1971.

intra-group difference, with 'New' arrivals being much more openly against inter-marriage (Table XLI, question 3). Finally, when the subject of inter-marriage was brought to the personal level of the respondent's own children, the predominantly guarded and hypothetically neutral response given to the earlier question was replaced by a clear 'in-group' preference: 60 per cent indicated they would prefer their children or child to marry a person of Yugoslav birth or descent (Table XLI, question 4), while the remainder upheld (some vehemently) that the choice was up to the child. In summary then both the fact of 'in-group' marriage and the preference for 'in-group' spouses for children indicate an area of behaviour marked by a high level of social cohesion. This result is of considerable importance since the family unit as a whole must make some sacrifices to finance and accommodate chain migration. Such sacrifices would, from observation and discussion with respondents, be much less likely in mixed marriages.

No less than 56.52 and 28.98 per cent, respectively, declared that three out of three and two out of three of their best friends were of Yugoslav birth or descent (Table XLI, question 5). In other words 85.5 per cent counted at least two fellow 'in-group' members among their three best friends, and only 14.5 per cent had mainly 'out-group' individuals as their best friends. 'Out-group' friends were more common among the 'New' arrivals as a result of contacts at work or through inter-marriage. Given the nucleation of settlement in Mount Wellington it was deemed desirable to obtain information on the residential location of 'best friends'. In those cases where all three 'best friends' were 'Yugoslavs', it was found that 59 per cent of respondents had at least

two out of three 'best friends' residing in the local area (especially in Panorama Road, Ferndale and Leonard Roads). 'New' arrivals tended to have more of their friends outside the local area than the 'Old' arrivals whose friendships were frequently established during the 1930s (Table XLI, question 6).

When asked if they preferred to have Yugoslav neighbours, 47.8 per cent of the respondents replied they would, but 36.2 per cent replied that it made no real difference who the neighbour was (Table XLI, question 7). Indeed, 71 per cent thought it better for Yugoslavs to live alongside New Zealanders in order "to learn the language" or for other reasons such as "learning the ways and customs of the new society" (Table XLI, question 8). The 'New' arrivals in particular had a lower preference for Yugoslav neighbours and a higher estimation of the desirability of residential integration with New Zealanders. 'Old' arrivals, on the other hand, appeared to favour having 'in-group' neighbours, in some instances because of a lack of confidence in language abilities but more often because of the effects of old age which affected personal health and mobility, both of which made sympathetic understanding neighbours "of one's own kind" desirable. Overall, putting aside personal needs and doubts as to personal abilities, there was a noticeable disposition among many of the respondents toward some interaction with New Zealanders (via the neighbour situation) in order to make adjustments necessary for life in a new society.

Only 14.5 per cent of all respondents were members of Auckland's Yugoslav Club, while a further 39.13 per cent (not members) attended functions at least two or perhaps three times a year. A crucial factor

underlying this result is once again the age (and associated side effects) of 'Old' arrivals who made much of their participation in their youth and who felt they were now "past it", a point borne out by some of the newer arrivals who enjoyed the dancing, music and chance to meet friends on Sunday nights (Table XLI, question 9). Apart from a small number who belonged to a local Bowling Club or other sports Club, 88.4 per cent of the total respondents were neither members nor attended the functions of non-Yugoslav clubs, societies or associations (Table XLI, question 10). Moreover, the disposition to some interaction with New Zealanders as residential neighbours did not appear to extend into the sphere of social activities such as club membership. In reply to the question "Do you think it would be better for Yugoslav immigrants and their families to join New Zealand Clubs rather than Yugoslav Clubs?" only 5.8 per cent answered "Yes", 53.6 per cent said "No" and 40.5 per cent (largely 'Old' arrivals) favoured membership of both types of club if at all possible.

In the sphere of employment, less than 40 per cent of gainfully employed respondents worked with persons of Yugoslav birth or descent (Table XLI, question 12). If such work place contacts were limited, perhaps by local employment opportunities, they were not apparently lamented, as 88.4 per cent of all respondents thought it was better for Yugoslav immigrants to work with New Zealanders (Table XLI, question 13). Like the residential neighbour situation, the work place contact with 'out-group' individuals was regarded as an easy and useful way to learn and improve one's knowledge of the new language,

customs and values. Some of the 'Old' arrivals complained that their early years of gundigging and/or quarrying in the day-to-day company of fellow countrymen severely impeded their language learning and thereby other adjustments to New Zealand life. Similarly, many of the women (both 'Old' and 'New' arrivals) remarked upon the wonderful opportunities for men to learn English at the place of work, while their own learning was stifled by their confinement to domestic duties at home. Clearly underlying the willingness to interact at the workplace with New Zealanders was the knowledge that such interaction did not need to be carried over into other spheres of life - "you just work with them".

'Only' or 'mainly' Yugoslav was used at home for daily conversation in 62.5 per cent of the households (Table XLI, question 14). A combination of Yugoslav and English was used in one fifth of the households of 'Old' arrivals (but not among 'New' arrivals) primarily because of the influence of New Zealand-born children. 'Only' or 'mainly' English was used in a higher proportion of 'New' rather than 'Old' households principally for reasons of inter-marriage, but also because of young children. While the respondents had openly discussed the language learning advantages of having non-Yugoslav neighbours and workmates, they rejected the suggestion that it would be better for Yugoslav immigrants to stop using their own language, but accepted the need to learn English as quickly as possible (Table XLI, question 15). Preservation of the mother tongue was widely and loudly urged, for purely practical reasons of effective adult communication if nothing else. Overall, questions 14 and 15 concerning language use tended to

bring out the feeling among respondents that they were living in two worlds requiring two languages for day-to-day needs. In essence the neighbourhood or community was not self-sufficient.¹²

A final (and in some respects the most sensitive) index of social cohesion was provided via questions concerning the children of the 'Old' arrivals. Information was collected from parents on a total of 39 children 16 years of age and over who had left home permanently, of whom 34 were New Zealand-born and 33 married (Table XLII). Of those married, 51.51 per cent had chosen 'in-group' spouses of Yugoslav birth or descent, 33.33 per cent had married New Zealand-born (non-Yugoslav) spouses and the remaining 15.15 per cent other foreign-born spouses. The marriage patterns of males and females were very similar, except in one respect. Although 50 and 52.63 per cent of the males and females, respectively, married 'in-group' spouses, the males overwhelmingly favoured New Zealand-born brides of Yugoslav descent, whereas females favoured Yugoslav-born spouses. Such differences in the origins of 'in-group' spouses are related at least in part to the heavy surplus of males among the immigrants and keen competition for the daughters of older settlers. Similar situations have been observed and documented in the United States, Canada and particularly Australia (see Price, 1963a, 262 - 268; 1963b, 31 - 46). Needless to say the parents commented on the sense of loss and personal difficulties resulting from 'out-group' marriages: a son-in-law or daughter-in-law with whom easy and intimate conversation was difficult, if not impossible; grandchildren seemingly beyond the reach of their love and affection; even their own children becoming somewhat estranged.

Table XLII

Marriages and Residential Location of Children of Pre-1940 Yugoslav Arrivals Residing in Mount Wellington, 1971.

Questions put to the parent(s) in study area.	Sex of the children.		
	Male	Female	Total
Number of children over 16 years of age who have left home permanently.	14	25	39
Number of these children born in New Zealand.	10	24	34
Number of children now married.	14	19	33
If child(ren) married, is the spouse:	(N=14)%	(N=19)%	(N=33)%
Yugoslav-born	1 (7.14)	6 (31.58)	7 (21.21)
N.Z.-born of Yugoslav parents	6 (42.86)	4 (21.05)	10 (30.30)
N.Z.-born (other)	5 (35.71)	6 (31.58)	11 (33.33)
Other foreign-born	2 (14.29)	3 (15.79)	5 (15.15)
Present address of child(ren):	(N=14)%	(N=25)%	(N=39)%
Mount Wellington	5 (35.71)	7 (28.00)	12 (30.77)
Other Auckland	7 (50.00)	10 (40.00)	17 (43.59)
Elsewhere	2 (14.29)	8 (32.00)	10 (25.64)

- Note:
- a) Among the post-war arrivals, there was only one (1) child who could have been included; this child was born in Germany, married a New Zealand-born girl of non-Yugoslav parents, and resided in Greenlane, Auckland.
 - b) Children now deceased (2) are not included in the above table.
 - c) Children born in Yugoslavia (5) were all very young upon arrival in New Zealand and have been treated as if they were like New Zealand-born children for the above table.

Source: Field Survey, Yugoslavs in Mount Wellington Borough (part), Auckland, May 1971.

While over half of the children chose 'in-group' spouses, only 30.77 per cent remained in the local area of Mount Wellington Borough and a further 43.59 per cent resided elsewhere in Auckland. Thus while less than a third remained in the local area, a total of 74.36 per cent of the children remained in Auckland, many within easy reach of their parents. Males tended to favour the local area and residence elsewhere in Auckland more than females (Table XLII). Interviews with those children remaining in the local area revealed some desire to remain near their families or parents, but a much more basic reason in four cases was the provision of land for house building. Thus an outstanding feature of Panorama Road was the close proximity to their parents of three households headed by children of Dick and Mila Lavas, together with two other households where the families had been sponsored by Dick and Mila Lavas.

Does a neighbourhood based on chain migration exhibit a high degree of social cohesion? Results obtained from the Mount Wellington survey indicate that the answer is "Yes", a neighbourhood based on chain migration does exhibit a high degree of social cohesion. There are, however, a number of qualifying points that must be made with regard to the affirmative responses to the above question.

1. Some areas or forms of behaviour are considered to be more important than others by members of the ethnic group. For example, 'in-group' marriage and language retention are apparently regarded more highly or seen as being more desirable than maintaining 'in-group' contacts in the work place or having 'in-group' neighbours.

2. The value attached to specific forms of behaviour varies according to intra-group variations in length of residence, individual adjustments, age of respondents, etc. Though the observation may not be entirely consistent, in general, 'New' arrivals are more 'Yugoslav' oriented than 'Old' arrivals.
3. The value attached to specific forms of behaviour reflects the realities of living in a residential neighbourhood that is not self-sufficient and which requires at least partial integration with the wider society in order to survive. It is from this viewpoint that one can appreciate and understand the often expressed difficulty of language and the need to learn English as quickly as possible, either via workplace contacts or non-Yugoslav neighbours.

At the other end of the spectrum of ethnic social cohesion could be placed the example of Dutch settlers in Dunedin. Although the Dunedin Dutch favoured outer suburban residences, neither Thornton (1968) nor Alexander (1969) found any evidence of a Dutch residential concentration, though there was "some slight clustering in three residential areas - Mosgiel, Brighton and St. Clair" (Alexander, 1969, 27). More importantly Alexander's sample survey indicated that 82 per cent were government assisted immigrants, with most of the remainder being chain migrants, and that overall the Dunedin Dutch were highly assimilated (Alexander, 1972, 165):

Over 40 per cent have New Zealand-born wives ...
Forty-one per cent are naturalised, 77 per cent
claim to have a majority of non-Dutch friends and
less than 20 per cent speak Dutch regularly, even
in their own homes.

In his earlier report, Alexander (1969, 109-110) stressed the impact of both intermarriage and chain migration as factors affecting ethnic social cohesion. For example, whereas 23 per cent of the total sample had identified all or most of their friends as Dutch, the proportion declined to only 3 per cent in the case of migrants with non-Dutch wives. Similarly, comparing migrants with 'in-group' spouses who differed in mode of migration, Alexander found that 32 per cent and 49 per cent of government assisted and non-government assisted (mainly 'chain') immigrants, respectively, had mainly Dutch friends.¹³

Coupled with Burnley's (1969) hypothesis that migration form is a determinant of ethnic settlement patterns and community structure, the contrast between the Mount Wellington Yugoslavs and the Dunedin Dutch leaves little doubt as to the importance of chain migration. Characterised by the operation of kinship ties and/or primary social relationships, chain migration is a prime factor underlying ethnic residential patterns (especially the development of local concentrations), and ethnic social cohesion, and is probably the key to the common association between high ethnic social cohesion and residential concentration. In the case of New Zealand, chain migration of non-British immigrants has been enforced by official immigration regulations. It is tempting to assume therefore that ethnic social cohesion and ethnic residential concentration are rooted to a considerable extent in government immigration policy. Set against the policy regulations outlined in the examination of patterns and characteristics of migration to New Zealand, and the detailed example of the Mount Wellington Yugoslav neighbourhood, the following statement made by a former Minister of Immigration, in defence

of policy restrictions, might well be evaluated as an example of ethnocentrism.

The greater and more obvious the difference between the immigrant and the average New Zealander, the longer and more difficult the period of assimilation, and the greater the tendency of immigrants to hive off into little colonies which become self-sufficient and resistant to the process of assimilation.¹⁴

The assumed importance of immigration policy can, of course, be subjected to serious doubt and perhaps rejected if it can be shown that an immigrant group with practically unrestricted entry to New Zealand still exhibits evidence of chain migration, residential concentration and high social cohesion. Niuean immigrants in Auckland are obviously the classic example. During 1969 attention was drawn to a neighbourhood in Freemans Bay where some 500 Niueans lived in a fairly small area focused on a street containing about thirty houses, more than half of which were occupied by Niueans. Life in this neighbourhood was described by a local police officer as follows:

They live their own life [in a way which is] very similar to that [which] they would have lived in their own village. They speak only their native tongue, they eat their native food and they adhere to their native customs. There is almost no European influence in this area. The average household contains approximately 5 adults and 7 - 10 children. The houses are either rented, with exorbitant rents being paid, or purchased under conditions so detrimental that the Islanders are only paying back the interest on the mortgages. These commitments are met by all the adults working and pooling their wages to help with the family finances. In most of the houses there are grandparents who speak only their native tongue, parents who speak their native tongue and also speak English but with considerable difficulty and children who are bi-lingual.¹⁵

Ethnic social cohesion in the neighbourhood was high, so much so that some parents were not very disturbed to learn their children had been stealing from people outside their immediate group. Outsiders were regarded as fair game, and in some cases the young thieves (8 - 12 years of age, in a gang of 22 members accused of 55 known offences and 200 others under investigation) were highly regarded for their economic contributions to the family.

The case against immigration policy is certainly weakened by the Niuean example, but as will be shown in more detail in a later chapter immigration policy reflects quite accurately the attitudes and preferences of New Zealanders with regard to various immigrant groups. Niueans are held in rather low esteem and were they not New Zealand citizens they would probably be subjected to immigration regulations no less stringent than those for Western Samoans. In essence it is therefore argued that Niuean migration reflects the particular socio-economic circumstances of Niueans (see Walsh and Trlin, 1973) and that their residential patterns and social cohesion in Auckland reflect (at least in part) both voluntary and involuntary responses to the mutually perceived and accepted social distance between Niueans and New Zealanders. From this viewpoint it can be argued that while immigration policy is not the root cause of those features criticised by the Minister of Immigration, it has done nothing to alleviate much less remove the 'problem' of immigration colonies. If anything, immigration policy has served to maintain the importance of primary social relationships between immigrant settlers and potential migrants.

Finally, mention must be made of the danger and problem of

accepting as inviolate the relationship between social cohesion and residential concentration. A study carried out by Borhek (1970) among Ukrainians in Canada, considered the effects of four independent variables (occupational status, workplace, residential site and education) on assimilationism and 'in-group' choice. Residential site was found to be the most important variable, explaining 18 per cent of the variation in assimilationism and 10 per cent of the variation in 'in-group' choice. The surprising feature of this result, however, was that (Borhek, 1970, 42):

Living in an ethnically homogeneous area is associated with assimilationist attitudes, and living in an ethnically heterogeneous area is associated with having non-assimilationist attitudes.

Borhek was quick to point out that "there is nothing in previous literature on ethnic communities which would lead one to expect this [result]". By way of explanation it was suggested that in a homogeneous community little or no anti-Ukrainian prejudice is encountered, whereas the opposite situation would apply in a heterogeneous community so that ethnic identity is taken much more seriously. Borhek's findings must, of course, be tested more widely, but in the meantime there is a good case for caution in research and in the formulation of policies governing immigration and inter-group relations between the various immigrant and indigenous ethnic groups in New Zealand.

Footnotes.

1. Ward (1971, 118) limited his reference to the following statement:

Most immigrants preferred to spend their early years in the city in a district where their fellow countrymen or co-religionists - often their friends and relatives - lived.

On the other hand, a much deeper appreciation of the role of kinship in migration is evident in a study of Kentucky mountain migration by Brown, Schwarzweller and Mangalam (1963).
2. For brief reviews on the development of research on chain migration and its importance in studies of assimilation, see Price (1963a, 107 - 116; 1969, 210-212).
3. A degree of confusion has arisen in the literature on chain migration because of a variation in the spelling of 'MacDonald'. A doctoral thesis was completed by J.S. McDonald on the subject 'Migration from Italy to Australia' in 1958 at the Australian National University. This J.S. McDonald, and the J.S. Macdonald of the Macdonald and Macdonald (1964) paper are one and the same person.
4. Similarly in Otara, Polynesian households "were distributed evenly throughout the whole area", with perhaps the minor exception of two streets, yet a sample survey of 35 households yielded considerable evidence of chain migration (Kitto, 1969, 67-68 and Figure 13).
5. Otara might also be classified as a 'secondary' group settlement within the Auckland urban area for Samoans, Niueans and Cook Islanders. Kitto (1969, 73) reports that out of 93 immigrants in

his Otara sample who settled upon arrival in Auckland, 57 resided initially in the 'central city', 15 in Otara and 21 went to other parts of the city including Devonport, Mount Roskill and Onehunga. He found also that the majority of the shifts to Otara were made for "reasons of accommodation" (Kitto, 1969, 75).

6. The discussion of Yugoslav arrivals 1951-1967 is limited strictly to Dalmatian-Yugoslav chain migrants. Only small numbers of both Yugoslav 'displaced persons' and later 'refugees' settled initially in Auckland (71 and 26 persons, respectively), so that migrants later sponsored by these earlier arrivals were also rather limited in numbers (34 persons). See Trlin (1970a, 88).
7. Information on the residential movement of the immigrants was drawn from the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers, but a word of caution is required concerning the apparent residential stability of arrivals. Immigrants sometimes fail to notify changes of address or employment. In the case of Mount Wellington Yugoslavs, the official records were found to be completely accurate.
8. With regard to the initial location and subsequent residential stability of Dutch assisted immigrants, see also Department of Labour and Immigration (1964, 10-11) and Alexander (1972, 165).
9. Paul Spoonley, Department of Sociology, University of Auckland, visited this particular address on 20th February, 1974 and reported that it was a house (not flats), rather old although in reasonable condition. The house was occupied by a Pacific Islander, who had been in residence for about six years and who knew nothing

about the previous occupants. Similar cases of a 'common address' have been noted for Hungarian refugees and for Niuean arrivals.

10. Details concerning the origins and development of Yugoslav settlement in Mount Wellington were obtained in the course of interviews with the older residents.
11. Kamil Fehmi Hasani was naturalised in 1957 so official records (unfortunately) contain no information on his place of residence and employment at the time of his marriage to Ljubica Pranotovich. For the years 1951 to 1957, Hasani's residential and employment details are characteristic of other mobile 'displaced persons'. He lived and worked in Auckland from 1951 to 1954, apart from a brief period as a mill hand at Kinleith and Tokoroa. Over the period 1955-1957 he was engaged in forestry work at Kawerau, construction work at both Roxburgh and Meremere, and for a brief period in 1956 was the proprietor of the Silver Grill Restaurant in Dunedin.
12. A similar interpretation could be made of the results obtained from Cook Islanders in inner-Auckland; Curson (1970a, 193) has said 'They are in the New Zealand urban environment but not necessarily of it'.
13. Some additional information on languages spoken in the household is provided by Thornton's study of Dutch, Chinese and Lebanese in Dunedin (Thornton, 1968, 97-98). Exclusively or mostly Dutch was spoken in only 12 per cent of the Dutch households surveyed.
14. 'New Zealand and Immigration' The Dominion, 1 July, 1968, page 12.

15. 'Pacific Islanders in Auckland - Crime', a paper presented by Constable Bennett to a Social Workers' conference on Islanders held at Orewa in 1969. A synopsis of this paper, including the quotation, is included in a report entitled 'Juvenile Offending Amongst Pacific Islanders Living in New Zealand' prepared for the Joint Committee on Young Offenders by the Joint Committee Research Unit, February 1970.

CHAPTER 5
INTRA-URBAN RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS
3: FACTORIAL ECOLOGY

Since the formulation of social area analysis by Shesky and Bell (1955), sociologists and geographers have devoted considerable attention to the study of urban residential patterns. A variety of techniques have been developed for this task and applied in the analysis of cities in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand. In each case the basic underlying objectives have been to identify key demographic and socio-economic dimensions of urban residential structure and to describe the spatial patterns associated with these dimensions. Factorial ecology, using factor analysis or some variation of it, has emerged as the prime analytical technique and successive international applications have identified three major dimensions of urban structure. These dimensions have been variously defined as follows: (a) socio-economic status, economic status or social rank; (b) family status, familism or stage in life cycle; and (c) ethnic status, ethnicity or minority groups. The relative importance of each dimension has varied from one society or city to another. Finally, it has been found that each dimension or factor displays a distinct spatial pattern which researchers have invariably related to the models of Burgess and Hoyt.¹ Thus, to quote Bowman and Hosking (1971, 274):

... the socio-economic status dimension basically follows the sector pattern of Hoyt; the stage of life cycle dimension produces a concentric pattern à la Burgess; and the minority group, if isolated, forms a set of nuclei of high scores.

While the development and application of new analytical techniques such as factorial ecology has facilitated considerable advances in the study and understanding of total urban residential populations, comparable advances have not been made with regard to the study of residential patterns of immigrant and indigenous ethnic and racial minorities. Two fundamental reasons can be given in support for the need for such research. First, the residential distributions of particular ethnic and racial minorities are widely interpreted as both indices of and prerequisites for aspects of cultural and structural assimilation. Secondly, such interpretations clearly imply (and sometimes specify) the subjugation of ethnic and/or racial identity and group residential differentiation along the dimensions of socio-economic status and/or family status.²

For example, on the basis of American studies (e.g. Myers, 1950; Lieberman, 1963) it appears that advances in socio-economic status, together with length of residence, are strongly associated for immigrant groups with decreasing segregation, dispersal toward the urban periphery and settlement in higher status residential areas. Richmond (1972) found that differences in the degree of residential dissimilarity tended to be commensurate with differences in the level of socio-economic status of immigrant groups in Toronto, Canada (see also Porter, 1965, 60 - 103). Similarly, Jones (1967, 419) concluded with regard to immigrants in Melbourne that:

... a large part of the differing degrees of residential concentration ... [could] be seen as a function of differences in occupational composition independently of differences in median group residence.

Obviously if advances in socio-economic status will be reflected in changing residential patterns that tend toward conformity with the residential pattern of a standard (usually native-born) population, then the distribution of members of a given minority should also reflect residential differentiation along the dimensions of socio-economic status and (perhaps) family status.

Published research on residential differentiation within immigrant and indigenous ethnic and racial minorities is, to say the least, meagre and relatively recent in origin. In the case of Toronto, published research on residential segregation between social class categories (occupational, income) within each ethnic population or community has only appeared since the late 1960s (Marston, 1969; Darroch and Marston, 1971). This research has revealed that there is indeed substantial segregation between, for example, 'White Collar' and 'Blue Collar' workers and between those earning under and over \$6,000 per year within each immigrant group (Darroch and Marston, 1971, 505). Moreover, and this weighs heavily against the assumed importance of socio-economic status as the basis of ethnic residential segregation, it was found that (Darroch and Marston, 1971, 504-505):

... there is virtually no reduction in the measured level of segregation between the standard populations (English-tongue and Canadian-born) and the selected language and birthplace populations when social class differences are taken into account ... More specifically, the levels of residential dissimilarity between those segments of ethnic groups within white collar occupations are consistently similar to the levels of dissimilarity between the total ethnic populations. The same is true of the residential dissimilarity of blue collar workers of different ethnic populations...

Even in the United States detailed published work on the variations in socio-economic characteristics within urban black populations and the spatial (residential) patterns of these variations is again recent and fragmentary in form. A study of Chicago's Negro community by Duncan and Duncan (1957) related numerous socio-economic qualities to distance from the C.B.D. and found a pattern of socio-economic status similar to that within the white community; in both cases high-status groups were residentially segregated from low-status groups. Using 1960 Census materials, Schnore (1965, 301) also found patterns of increasing socio-economic status with distance away from the centre of the city in his study of twenty-four non-white urban communities. The residential segregation of black families by both income and by stage of life cycle within Milwaukee's black community has been examined by Edwards (1970) who found patterns similar in both degree and spatial order to those of the total white community. It was against this background of sound but incomplete research that Roseman, Christian and Bullamore (1972) set out to synthesize and extend knowledge by analysing the factorial ecologies of the black populations of Chicago, Milwaukee and Los Angeles. Their research, the first of its kind in published form³, revealed that (Roseman et al., 1972, 254):

... five basic dimensions describe much of the variation in socio-economic characteristics of Blacks ... Four of these dimensions are essentially identical, both in composition and degree of importance, for all three cities. In addition, they closely parallel the major dimensions that have been derived in similar studies for entire cities. The spatial patterns of these dimensions show considerable similarity in the three study areas but do not correspond with the generalized patterns of parallel factors derived for cities as a whole.

On the basis of the above studies it may be concluded that the same basic processes of residential differentiation exist for blacks as for total urban populations. However, the spatial patterns arising from these processes reflect "the nature of constraints and choices confronting Blacks" (Roseman et al, 1972, 254). The latter point is at least in part related to the general observation made by Taeuber and Taeuber (1964, 378) that:

Negro residential segregation from whites has increased ... throughout the United States, despite advances in the socio-economic status of Negroes.

It appears therefore that while socio-economic status is an important dimension for residential differentiation within the black community, and within immigrant communities in Toronto, it is not by itself the basis of black residential segregation from whites.⁴

Compared with research in Canada and the United States, research on the dimensions of residential differentiation within immigrant and indigenous ethnic communities in New Zealand cities is even more limited and fragmented. Using material gathered in 1964 for a survey of Cook Islander and Niuean households in Auckland, McCreary (1969) was able to show a number of significant differences between Islander households in 'Inner Suburbs' as compared with those in 'Outer Suburbs'. In terms of maintenance, general construction, the quality and availability of sanitary and domestic equipment, McCreary (1969, 7) found that "more houses in the outer area are in better repair and better supplied than in the inner". The cost of houses in the 'Outer Suburbs' was on average higher and the family structure of households

was closer to the single nuclear family pattern of the pakeha.

These results clearly suggest the operation of processes of residential differentiation on the basis of socio-economic status and family status. Burnley (1972, 168) has noted variations in the residential distribution of occupational groups among the Greeks and Poles in Wellington:

... in the inner city concentrations ... significantly large proportions of the unskilled members of these groups resided compared with middle distance and outer suburbs, excepting industrial Petone. Skilled manual workers were more evenly distributed but proportions of professional and clerical persons in outer suburbs were significantly larger compared with the inner suburban areas of concentration.

To date, however, the most detailed and useful contribution has been made by Rowland (1971b) with regard to the character and spatial pattern of Maori age structures in Auckland. Two principal types of age structure were identified - 'youthful' and 'migrant'. He found that very 'youthful' age structures were characteristic of both recent and older State housing areas, while the most outstanding 'migrant' age structures were "found in Devonport, Farnell and parts of the central suburbs, especially Mount Eden North and Epsom South" attributable mainly to the presence of hostels and/or welfare, penal and military institutions (Rowland, 1971b, 116). Overall these age structures indicated that young single Maoris tended to concentrate in the inner city and central suburbs while young parents tended to concentrate in the outer suburbs. In general the spatial arrangement of Maori age structures closely paralleled the pattern for the entire population of Auckland, thereby indicating the importance of life cycle stage as a factor affecting the distribution and residential ecology of Maoris. In summary therefore the studies by

McCreary (1965; 1969), Burnley (1972) and Rowland (1971b) indicate that 'family status' (or 'stage in life cycle') and 'socio-economic status' are operative as dimensions along which the residential distributions of immigrants and Maoris are differentiated. The evidence is, however, fragmented and the precise nature and relative importance of each dimension for a particular minority has not been established.

FACTORIAL ECOLOGIES OF IMMIGRANTS IN AUCKLAND:
OBJECTIVES AND PROBLEMS.

In the course of examining the impact of centripetal and centrifugal forces it was noted that the Dutch and the Hungarians appeared to be responding via changes in residential distribution to changes in 'family status' or 'stage in life cycle'. Variations in residential distribution were also noted within each of the five selected groups with respect to duration of residence in New Zealand. These observations, however, do little more than contribute to the meagre store of fragmentary data on the internal residential differentiation of urban ethnic communities in New Zealand. The objectives of this chapter may therefore be specified as follows.

1. To identify the main dimensions underlying the ecology of immigrant groups in the Auckland Urban Area.
2. To examine and describe the spatial patterns arising from the main dimensions identified.
3. To assess where possible the similarities and differences between the factorial ecologies of immigrant groups and the entire population of Auckland.

These objectives, set at an early point in the development of this research project, are akin to the objectives pursued by Roseman, Christian and Bullamore (1972) in their analysis of the factorial ecologies of urban black communities.

To anyone familiar with official statistics in New Zealand it will be obvious that the objectives specified above require data well beyond what is usually available for the study of immigrant groups. In fact the analyses reported in this chapter were made possible by the cooperation of the New Zealand Department of Statistics, which supplied special unpublished data from the 1966 Census for each of the immigrant groups. This information was made available in the form of computer cross-tabulations at the level of intra-urban census sub-divisions.

The small size and residential distribution of each of the five groups posed immediate methodological problems. In particular it was found that the small numbers of Hungarians, Niueans and Yugoslavs, together with their heavy concentration in a small number of census sub-divisions and virtually nominal representation in other sub-divisions, made the meaningful application of factor analysis a matter of considerable doubt, if not impossible. Accordingly analysis was limited to the factorial ecologies of Dutch and Samoan immigrants. But even for these two groups the problems of population size and distribution necessitated the reduction of census sub-divisions to a total of 31 spatial units for the Dutch and 30 spatial units for the Samoans (see Figure 23). Two criteria were employed for the formation of these spatial units. First, the minimum population size per unit

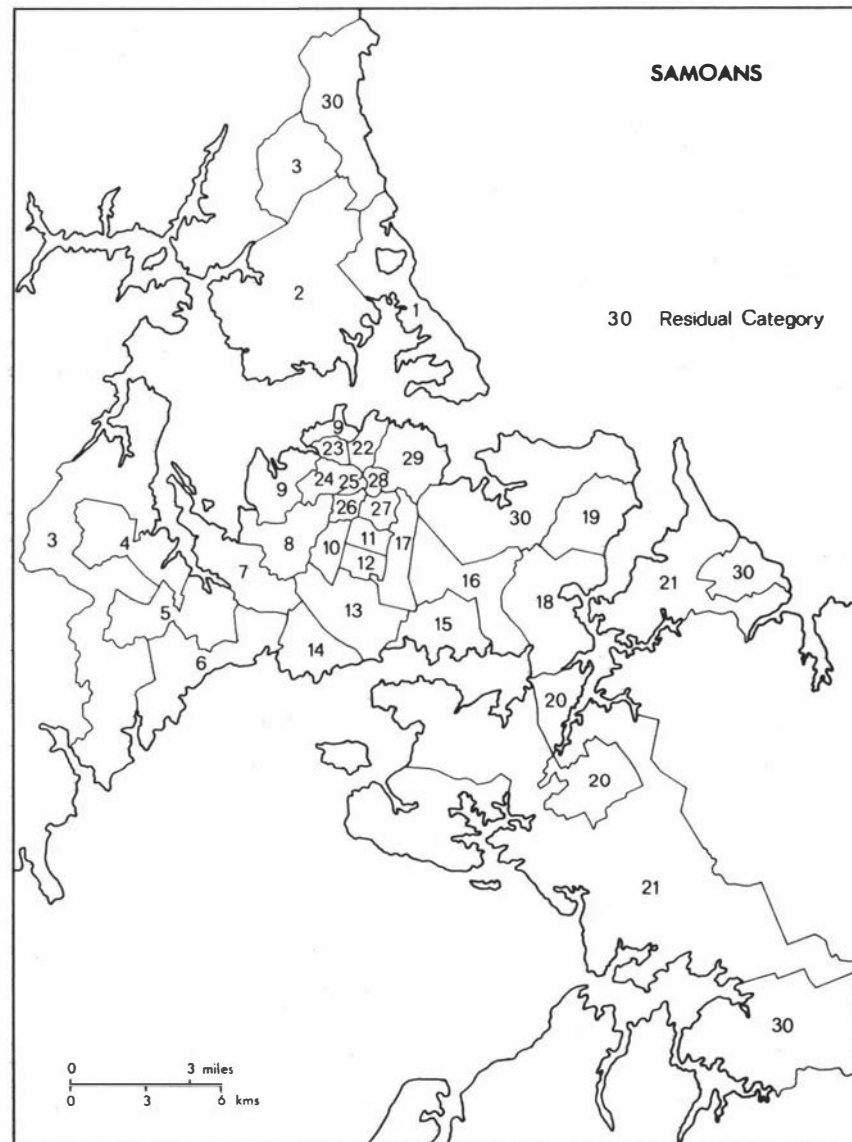
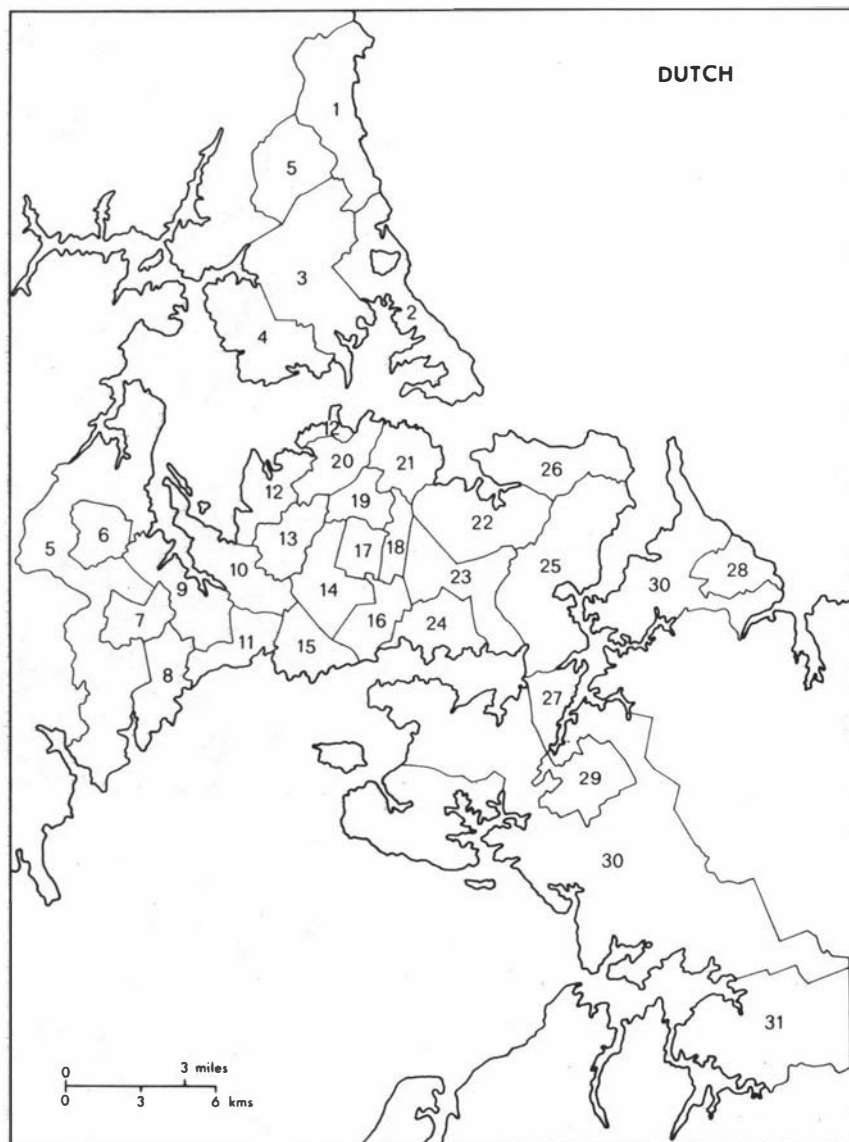


FIGURE 23: Groupings of 1966 Census Sub-divisions, Auckland Urban Area, for Principal Components Analyses of the Ecology of Dutch and Samoan Immigrants (see also Figure 1)

FIGURE 23: Groupings of 1966 Census Sub-divisions, Auckland Urban Area, for Principal Components Analyses of the Ecology of Dutch and Samoan Immigrants (Key).

(A) Dutch Immigrants

Code No.	Name of Spatial Unit	Number of Migrants
1	East Coast Bays	105
2	Takapuna-Devonport	144
3	Glenfield-Northcote	132
4	Birkenhead	106
5	Waitemata County (part)	422
6	Henderson	142
7	Glen Eden	74
8	Titirangi	109
9	New Lynn-Kelston West	113
10	Avondale North-Rosebank	121
11	Avondale South-Green Bay	106
12	Herne Bay-Westmere-Point Chevalier-Waterview	70
13	Morningside-Mt. Albert Central-Springfield Owairaka	56
14	Sandringham (Mt. Albert)-Three Kings-Sandringham (Mt. Roskill)	60
15	Halsey-Waikowhai	73
16	Hillsborough-Royal Oak	74
17	Mt. Eden Central-Mt. Eden South	139
18	Epsom North-Epsom South	69
19	Kingsland-Arch Hill-Newton-Eden Terrace- Mt. Eden North	93
20	Freemans Bay-Ponsonby-Grey Lynn	71
21	Auckland Central-Parnell-Grafton-Newmarket	70
22	Remuera North-Remuera South-Meadowbank	104
23	One Tree Hill-Ellerslie	107
24	Onahunga	137
25	West Tamaki-Mt. Wellington	150
26	Orakei-Mission Bay-Kohimarama-St. Heliers- Glendowie	72

Code No.	Name of Spatial Unit	Number of Migrants
27	Otahuhu	70
28	Howick	116
29	Papatoetoe	176
30	Manukau	790
31	Papakura-Franklin County (part)	102

For location of the above areas (as per Code No.) see the accompanying map (Figure 23).

(B) Samoan Immigrants

Code No.	Name of Spatial Unit	Number of Migrants
1	Takapuna-Devonport	58
2	Glenfield-Northcote-Birkenhead	72
3	Waitemata County (part)	112
4	Henderson-Kelston West	81
5	Glen Eden-New Lynn	80
6	Titirangi-Green Bay- Avondale South	51
7	Rosebank-Avondale North	119
8	Morningside-Mt. Albert Central-Springfield Owairaka-Waterview	58
9	Horne Bay-Westmere-Point Chevalier	85
10	Sandringham (Mt. Albert)	69
11	Mt. Eden Central	113
12	Mt. Eden South	63
13	Sandringham (Mt. Roskill)-Three Kings- Hillsborough	75
14	Halsey-Waikowhai	90
15	Onerunga	131
16	One Tree Hill-Ellerslie	104

Code No.	Name of Spatial Unit	Number of Migrants
17	Epsom North-Epsom South-Royal Oak	54
18	Mt. Wellington	102
19	West Tamaki	81
20	Otahuhu-Papatoetoe	78
21	Manukau	574
22	Freshams Bay	211
23	Ponsonby	324
24	Grey Lynn	614
25	Arco Hill	135
26	Kingsland	194
27	Mt. Eden North	87
28	Newton-Eden Terrace	165
29	Auckland Central-Grafton-Parnell	65
30	Residual Category (includes East Coast Bays, Remuera North, Remuera South, Meadowbank, Orakei, Mission Bay, Kohimarama, Glendowie, St. Heliers, Howick, Papakura)	51

For location of the above areas (as per Code No.) see the accompanying map (Figure 23).

was set at 50 persons so that some of the official census sub-divisions were immediately translated into spatial units acceptable for analysis (e.g. Manukau City, Onehunga and Halsey-Waikowhai). Where the population size of census sub-divisions fell below 50 Dutch or Samoan immigrants, spatial units were formed by grouping together contiguous sub-divisions, preferably those with similar demographic and socio-economic characteristics.⁵ Unfortunately, the latter criteria could not always be met. Thus, for the Samoans it was necessary to group together areas such as Otahuhu and Papatoetoe and to create a rather disparate residual unit including residents of Remuera, Howick and East Coast Bays.⁶ Nor was it possible to overcome the well known problem of wide variations in both the territorial and population size of spatial units. For the Dutch, spatial unit population sizes varied from 56 (in the area comprising Morningside-Mount Albert Central-Springfield Owairaka) to 790 (in Manukau City), and for the Samoans the range was from 51 (Avondale South-Green Bay-Titirangi) to 614 immigrants (Grey Lynn).

A second group of methodological problems concerned the selection, number and type of variables to form the data input for principal components analysis. Two problems in particular deserve to be mentioned, quite apart from the limitations imposed by available data. The first problem is that although 'family status' and/or 'socio-economic status' may emerge as important dimensions or components in the residential structure of a particular population, their importance can be severely affected (positively or negatively) by the number of variables included as data input which will load heavily on either one or both of them. Thus the researcher selecting variables for input must attempt

(within the limits imposed by data available) to select not only variables which show some significant variation over the total number of spatial units, but to attain a reasonable balance of variables of different types. The second problem, also concerned with the introduction of biases into principal component solutions, is the need to avoid the inclusion of pairs of variables which are mutually exclusive and exhaust the population. For example, if pairs of variables such as 'percentage male' and 'percentage female' or 'percentage White Collar' and 'percentage Blue Collar' are included then negative correlations of 1.0 are certain to appear and their existence biases the component solutions.

With the above problems in mind, the following points should be noted with regard to the type and number of variables included in the data input for analysis of the factorial ecology of the Dutch and the Samoans, respectively (see also Appendix E).

1. For the Dutch the type and number of variables may be listed as follows (see Table XLIII for details):
 - (i) Demographic (sex, age, marital status) - 5 variables
 - (ii) Employment and Occupations - 7 variables
 - (iii) Duration of Residence in New Zealand - 4 variables
 - (iv) Housing and Amenities - 7 variables
2. For the Samoans the type and number of variables are as follows (see Table XLIV for details):
 - (i) Demographic (including 'Mixed-blood') - 7 variables
 - (ii) Employment and Occupations - 10 variables
 - (iii) Duration of Residence in New Zealand - 5 variables
 - (iv) Housing and Amenities - 8 variables

3. To avoid the inclusion of pairs of mutually exclusive and exhaustive variables, two sets of principal component solutions were produced. The first set for each of the two immigrant groups was designated Solution A (see Tables XLIII and XLIV), while the second set was designated Solution B and was used as a check upon the component loadings and interpretations made with regard to Solution A. Tables showing the component loadings in Solution B for each group are included in Appendix E.

Variables included in each solution were as follows:

(1) For the Dutch:-	<u>Solution A</u>	<u>Solution B</u>
	% 15-34 yrs of age	% 35+ yrs of age
	% (15 yrs+) Married	% (15 yrs+) Single
	% Own Account/Employers	% Wage and Salary Earners
	% 'White Collar' workers	% 'Blue Collar' workers
	% Dwellings Rented	% Dwellings Owned (with mortgage.)

(11) For the Samoans:-

<u>Solution A</u>	<u>Solution B</u>
% Mixed-blood	% Full-blood
% (15 yrs+) Married	% (15 yrs+) Single
% Own Account/Employers	% Wage and Salary Earners
% 'Blue Collar' workers	% 'White Collar' workers
% Dwellings Owned (with mortgage)	% Dwellings Rented

4. The number and type of variables selected for each of the two groups

vary in accordance with data available and the characteristics of each group. For example, whereas the Dutch data is more precisely defined as data for 'Netherlands-born' immigrants, the data for the Samoans is for the 'Samoan racial group', which was further divided into 'foreign-born' and 'New Zealand-born'. In the latter case therefore it was decided to include the 'New Zealand-born' Samoans for age-group characteristics (all but a few of whom were in the category 0-14 years of age).⁷ This inclusion provided three strong age-group categories and removed the need to allow for a pair of almost mutually exclusive and exhaustive variables - '15-34 yrs' and '35+ yrs' - evident in the case of the Dutch. Similarly, in recognition of both the numerical dominance of females and their entry into more varied occupations, the number of variables measuring aspects of Samoan employment was expanded and oriented toward females.

Once the various methodological problems had been resolved the data matrices for the Dutch (23 variables x 31 spatial units) and the Samoans (30 variables x 30 spatial units), respectively, were subjected to a principal components analysis.⁸ Researchers generally take all components or factors with eigen-values greater than unity (1.0) and rotate them to orthogonal simple structure according to the Varimax criterion (see Bowman and Hosking, 1971, 276; Roseman et al, 1972, 243). For this study, however, several alternative solutions were considered - i.e. three-, four- and five-component solutions - before a final solution was adopted (see Appendix E). In the case of the Dutch a five-component solution accounting for 71.8 per cent of the

total variation in the correlation matrix was adopted. A four-component solution accounting for 64.1 per cent of the total variation was adopted for the Samoan group. Finally, standardized factor scores for each spatial unit were calculated for each of the major components in the adopted rotated solutions. These scores were then mapped in order to examine the spatial distribution of the major components (or dimensions) in the factorial ecology of the Dutch and the Samoans, respectively. The results obtained from each step of this analysis are presented in the following pages.

A FACTORIAL ECOLOGY OF DUTCH IMMIGRANTS:
THE FACTOR STRUCTURE

Loadings for the variables on the five rotated components, which together account for 71.8 per cent of the total variation, are shown in Table XLIII. The first three components are clearly the most important, accounting for almost 57 per cent of the total variation.

Factor I, which accounts for 25.3 per cent of the total variation, appears to measure aspects of a continuum of family organisation and the associated nature and amenities of dwellings. It seems appropriate therefore to regard this factor as a measure of 'stage in life cycle'. Variables with high positive loadings include the following: % 15-34 years of age; % formerly married; % females actively engaged; % dwellings classed as flats; and % dwellings rented or leased. Taken together these five variables suggest the absence of family

Table XLIII

Dutch Immigrants in Auckland, 1966: Rotated Component Loadings⁺

Variables	I	II	III	IV	V
1 Sex Ratio (males/100 females)	.42	-.16	-.19	-.11	-.48
2 % 0-14 yrs of age	-.50	-.27	-.72	-.05	.10
3 % 15-34 yrs of age	.62	-.16	-.06	-.20	-.07
4 % (15 yrs+) Married	-.23	-.10	.07	-.01	.06
5 % (15 yrs+) Formerly Married	.65	.15	-.05	.01	.12
6 % Females Actively Engaged	.82	.05	-.01	.25	.10
7 % Own Account/Employers	-.17	.04	.29	-.68	-.19
8 % 'White Collar' workers	.22	.21	-.01	.02	.09
9 % Males Professional/Managerial	.17	.74	-.07	-.01	-.06
10 % Males Clerical/Sales	-.14	.81	.11	.10	.05
11 % Males Craft.,-Prod.,-Process	-.06	-.82	.02	.16	-.07
12 % Males Manufacturing Industry	-.10	-.73	-.09	.32	-.15
13 % 0-4 yrs Residence N.Z.	.31	-.16	-.81	.00	.40
14 % 5-9 yrs Residence N.Z.	-.21	-.16	.11	.05	-.85
15 % 10-14 yrs Residence N.Z.	-.22	.01	.52	.00	.11
16 % 15-19 yrs Residence N.Z.	-.05	.44	.50	-.04	.33
17 % Flats	.82	.11	-.35	.12	.17
18 % Dwellings Rented/Leased	.82	.16	-.45	.06	.10
19 % Dwellings Owned (no mortgage)	-.12	.14	.08	-.73	.28
20 % Dwelling with Flush Toilet	-.66	-.12	.31	.05	.33
21 % Dwelling with Telephone	-.21	-.06	.36	.65	.10
22 % Dwelling with Wash.Machine	-.33	-.15	.73	-.13	-.00
23 % Dwelling with Vacuum Cleaner	-.53	-.15	.51	-.00	.25
Sum of Squared Factor Loadings	5.63	3.94	3.34	1.76	1.69
Percentage of Total Variance	25.3	17.1	14.5	7.6	7.3
Cumulative Percentage	25.3	42.4	56.9	64.5	71.8

⁺ Decimal points omitted, and rotation according to Varimax criterion.

orientation. On the other hand variables with moderate to high negative loadings indicate the presence of family units and family dwellings, namely: 'married'; '0-14 years of age'; 'dwellings with flush toilet and vacuum cleaner. This basic dichotomy also appeared in Solution B (see Appendix II), with high (negative) loadings for 'single', 'formerly married', 'females actively engaged and 'flats, contrasting with high (positive) loadings for '35 years and over', 'dwellings owned with mortgage, and so on. Obviously, this 'stage in life cycle' factor is very similar to the first ('stage in life cycle') factor identified by Bowman and Hosking (1971, 276) in their study of the factorial ecology of the total population of Auckland in the same year.

The second factor or component is distinguished by heavy loadings on the five variables measuring percentages employed in various occupational groups. Accounting for just over 17 per cent of the total variation, Factor II has high positive loadings for 'White Collar' workers and high negative loadings for 'Blue Collar' workers (i.e. 'males, craftsmen, production and process workers, 'males in manufacturing industry'). It should also be noted that there is a moderately high positive loading on Variable 16, '15-19 years residence in New Zealand, which suggests some association between long-term residence and 'White Collar' occupations. Despite the absence from the data matrix of variables measuring educational qualifications and income, for which complete and precise data were not available at the census sub-division level, the nature of the loadings on this factor may be accepted as evidence that it is a measure of 'social status'

or 'socio-economic status'. Once again there is a close similarity with the second component reported by Bowman and Hosking (1971, 275-276).

With high negative loadings on Variables 2 and 13 ('0-14 years of age and '0-4 years of residence in New Zealand) and moderate to high positive loadings on Variables 15, 16, 22 and 23 ('10-14 and 15-19 years of residence, 'dwellings with washing machine and 'with vacuum cleaner), Factor III basically identifies new young family group arrivals who understandably lack more expensive consumer durables (e.g. washing machine). To the extent that possession of an expensive consumer durable is linked with a considerably longer duration of residence in New Zealand, the factor might more generally be described as a measure of 'old versus new immigrant families'. The moderate negative loading on Variable 18, 'dwellings rented or leased, appears to be in keeping with the circumstances of new arrivals. Inspection of Solution B (Appendix E) revealed a similar pattern of loadings (as the fourth component); high (positive) loadings for '0-14 years of age and '0-4 years of residence as opposed to high and moderate (negative) loadings on 'dwellings with washing machine, 'with vacuum cleaner, '10-14 and 15-19 years of residence, '35 years of age and over. The loading on the latter variable, although only moderate (-0.504), strengthens the 'old versus new immigrant families' interpretation. Factor III accounted for 14.5 per cent of the total variation.

Individually the two remaining components are minor in terms of their contribution toward explanation of the total variation. Factor IV has high negative loadings on Variables 7 and 19 ('employed on own account and employers, 'dwellings owned without a mortgage) and

may be interpreted as a measure of 'socio-economic independence and security'. This interpretation is supported by loadings in Solution B (on the third component) - a high positive loading on 'wage and salary earners' and a high negative loading on 'dwellings owned without a mortgage' (+0.752 and -0.728, respectively). The high loading on Variable 21, 'dwellings with telephone', appeared in both solutions and is perhaps best regarded as an interesting anomaly. Finally, the only variable with a high loading on Factor V was Variable 14, '5-9 years of residence in New Zealand', although there is also a moderate loading on Variable 1 (sex ratio, males/100 females).

A FACTORIAL ECOLOGY OF DUTCH IMMIGRANTS: SPATIAL PATTERNS

The next major step in this analysis is to describe and examine the spatial distribution of the four major dimensions identified above - Factor I 'stage in life cycle', Factor II 'socio-economic status', Factor III 'old versus new immigrant families', and Factor IV 'socio-economic independence and security'. Following a now common procedure, standardised factor scores were calculated for each of the 31 spatial units for each of the four dimensions and the results mapped. Replacing the series of values on the original variables, the average value of these standardised factor scores is zero and most fall within the range +1.0 and -1.0 with very few being greater than +2.0 or -2.0.

For Factor I the spatial pattern is basically concentric

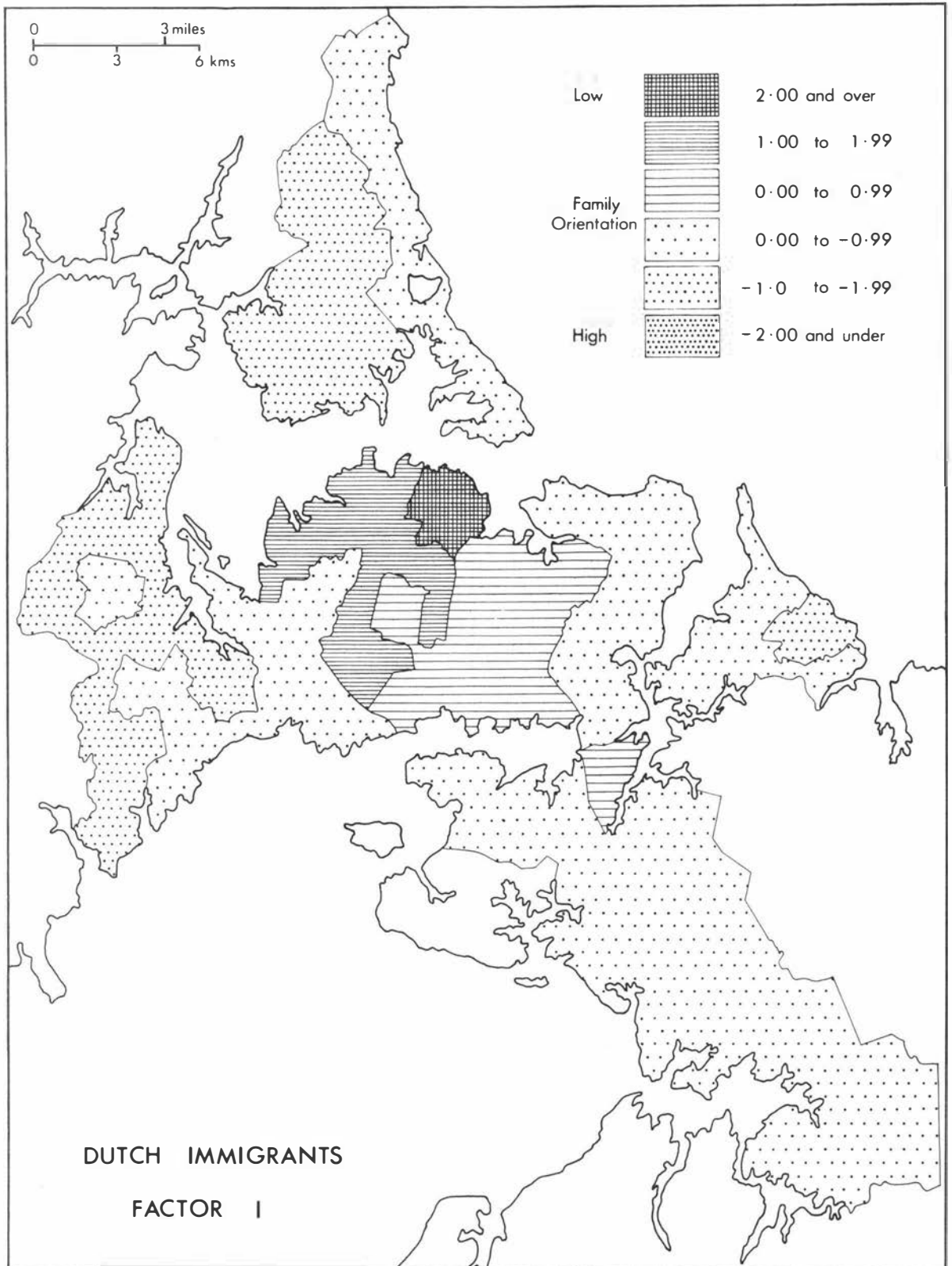


FIGURE 24: Dutch Factorial Ecology, Auckland Urban Area, 1966: Factor I 'Stage in Life Cycle'

(Figure 24) and may be summarised as follows.

1. A central city area (Auckland Central-Parnell-Grafton-Newmarket) with a high positive score (over +2.0) indicating a low family orientation.
2. A zone of (a) high positive scores to the west and southwest of the central city area that merges into (b) an area of low positive scores to the east and southeast of the central city.
3. A zone of low negative values, indicating a shift toward family orientation, begins on the eastern (West Tamaki-Mount Wellington) and western (Mount Albert, Rosebank-Avondale North, Halsey-Wai-kowhai) margins of the isthmus and extends beyond the isthmus south to Manukau City, westwards to Henderson and north to East Coast Bays.
4. Finally, situated on the periphery of the Urban Area are a number of residential areas with high negative scores indicating a marked family orientation as their 'stage in life cycle'. Among these areas are Glenfield-Northcote, Birkenhead, Waitemata County and Howick.

Putting aside a number of relatively small deviations, that may be attributed to the (difficult) grouping of census sub-divisions, the spatial distribution outlined above is strikingly similar to that found and reported for the total population of Auckland in 1966 (Bowman and Hosking, 1971; Tims, 1971; Johnston, 1973).

Figure 25 depicts a sectoral pattern of distribution for Factor II 'socio-economic status' and once again is similar to the distribution pattern for the total population. A number of distinct 'high status' and 'low status' sectors can be identified, geographically

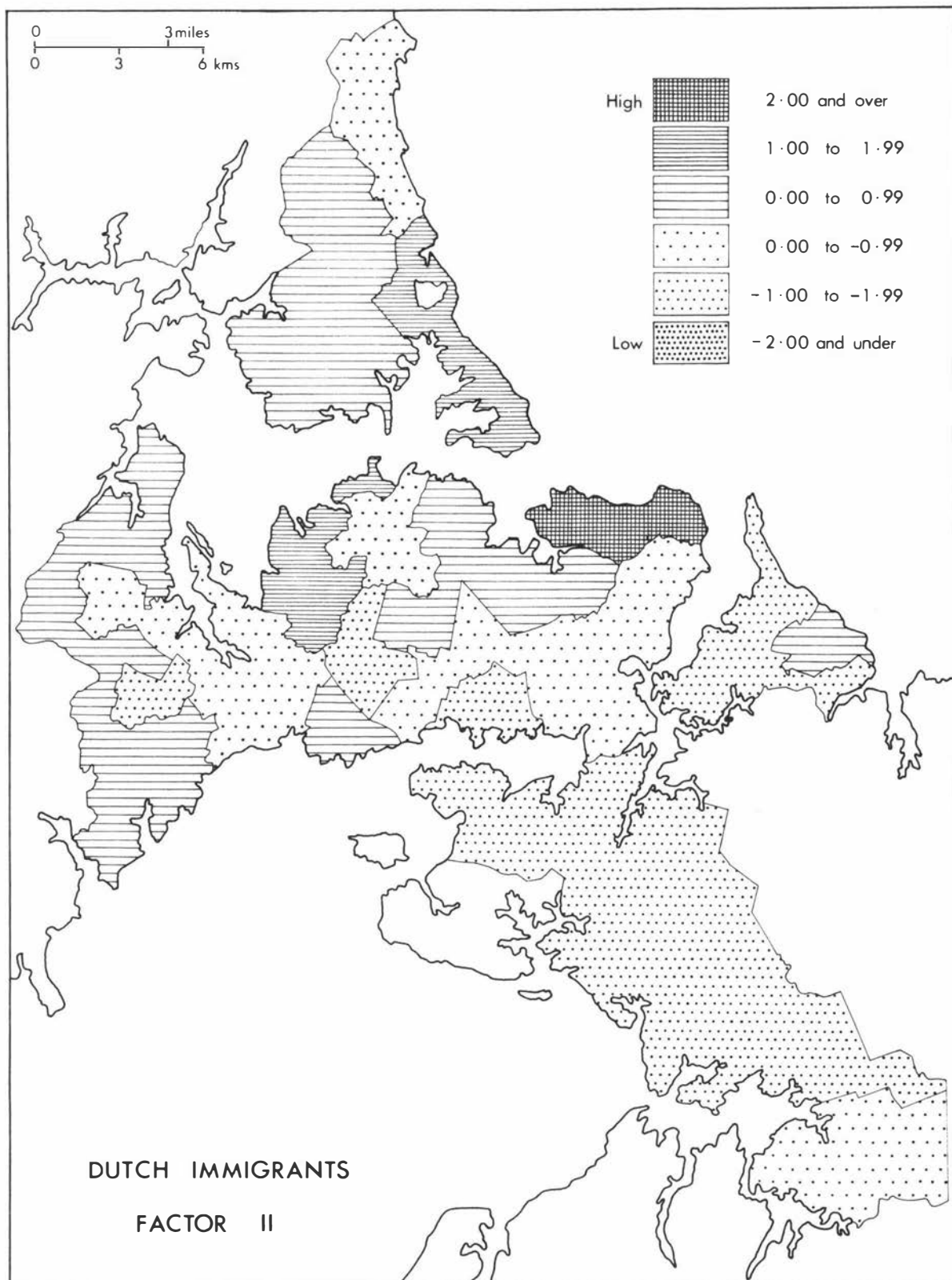


FIGURE 25: Dutch Factorial Ecology, Auckland Urban Area, 1966: Factor II 'Socio-Economic Status'

separated by residential areas with intermediate (+0.99 to -0.99) factor scores. The major 'high' and 'low' status sectors can be summarised as follows.

1. Three 'high status' sectors consisting of: (a) the eastern harbour-side suburbs (Orakei to Māndowrie), with a western extension into the central city (Meadowbank to Auckland Central, factor scores +0.0 to +0.99); (b) the western harbour-side suburbs (Meremere Bay to Waiwera) and the western portion of Mount Albert (+1.0 to +1.9); and (c) the Takapuna-Devonport area on the North Shore.
2. The major 'low status' areas are: (a) the southeastern sector of Otahuhu, Papatoetoe and Manukau City; (b) a broad belt (of low negative values, -0.0 to -0.9) that extends from east to west, practically covering the whole of the southern portion of the isthmus, and includes the nuclei (-1.0 to -1.9) of Onehunga, Glen Eden and Sandringham - Three Kings.

Given the limited number of variables of a socio-economic type available for this analysis, together with the distortions arising from the grouping of census sub-divisions, the degree to which the spatial distribution of the 'socio-economic status' dimension corresponds with the pattern for the total population is indeed remarkable.

Another similarity between the spatial patterns of the Dutch and the total population can be noted with regard to the relationship between the 'stage in life cycle' and 'socio-economic status' components. Bowman and Hosking (1974, 278-279) matched the spatial patterns for these two factors and found that:

In Auckland neither the wealthy nor the poor are isolated in particular family categories.

In general, the same can be said of the Dutch immigrants. Residential areas with a marked family orientation can be readily identified at both ends of the scale of socio-economic status. For example, the outer suburbs of Takapuna-Devonport and Papatoetoe-Manukau City are similar in family orientation but quite different in socio-economic status.

The spatial distribution for Factor III, 'old versus new immigrant families' defies easy classification as either a concentric or sectoral pattern (see Figure 26). Overall the impression is one of a patchwork pattern with 'old' and 'new' residential areas adjoining one another both adjacent to and at some distance from the C.B.D. Moreover, the distribution of new arrivals cuts across the concentric and sectoral patterns described for Factors I and II, respectively. For example, among the prime 'reception areas' for recent arrivals (duration of residence 0-4 years) with young families are Onehunga, Otahuhu and Takapuna-Devonport. The first two of these areas rank low on socio-economic status and about average on family orientation, whereas Takapuna-Devonport ranks fairly well above average on both dimensions. Similar examples, though not quite as definite, occur at the other end of the 'old versus new immigrant families' scale of factor scores (e.g. Halsey-Waikowhai, Avondale South-Green Bay and Rosebank-Avondale North). The obvious explanation for the spatial distribution of this dimension is the process of chain migration, which draws new arrivals to a variety of intra-urban residential localities (see Chapter 4, especially Table XXVI).

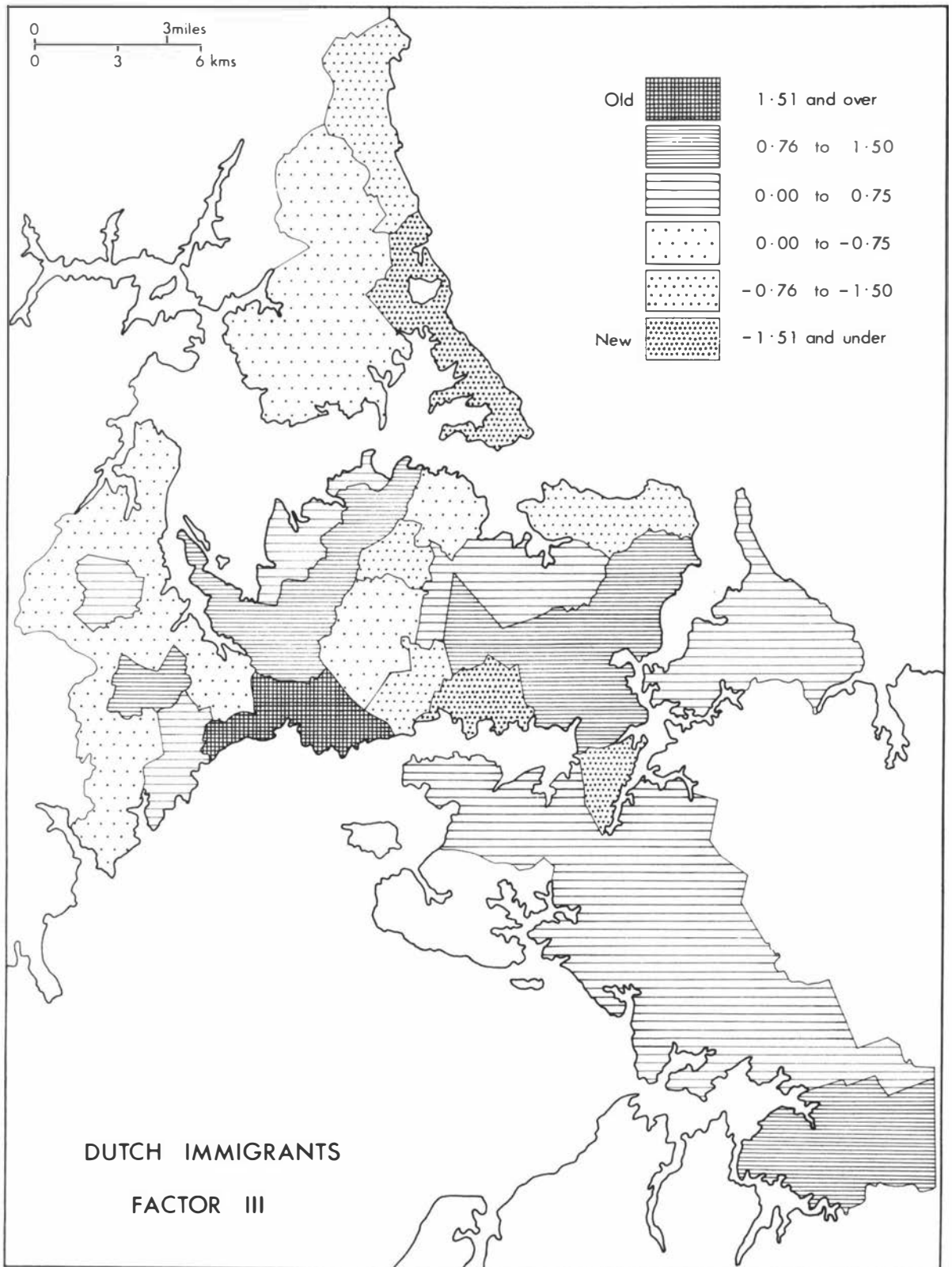


FIGURE 26: Dutch Factorial Ecology, Auckland Urban Area, 1966: Factor III 'Old versus New Immigrant Families'

A total of seven residential areas scored high on the fourth factor, 'economic independence and security' and are distinguished by high percentages in Variables 12 ('dwellings owned without mortgage') and 7 ('in the combined occupational status category of 'on own account/employers)').⁹ The seven areas concerned are Papakura-Franklin County, East Coast Bays, Henderson, Avondale South-Green Bay, Hillsborough-Royal Oak, Freemans Bay-Tonsonby-Grey Lynn and Takapuna-Devonport (see Figure 27). Apart from Takapuna-Devonport, which ranked somewhat above average on 'socio-economic status' (Figure 25), the six remaining areas have been previously identified as slightly below average on 'socio-economic status'. It should also be noted that both 'high' (Orakei-Glendowie, Morningside-Owairaka) and 'low' (Otahuhu and Papatoetoe) 'socio-economic status' areas (Figure 25) have in common a low rating on the 'economic independence and security' dimension (Figure 27). What these patterns appear to indicate is that the 'economic independence' dimension is independent of the 'White Collar'/'Blue Collar' occupational dichotomy of Factor II. One obvious explanation, that probably applies in this case, is that the 'Blue Collar' category includes substantial numbers of skilled workers and craftsmen (e.g. tool makers, plumbers, carpenters, bricklayers, electricians) who are either self employed or employers in their own right.¹⁰ Such workers would often be in a position to build or assist in the building of their own dwelling on a relatively cheap section in the outer suburbs (e.g. East Coast Bays, Papakura) or to purchase and renovate older inner city dwellings (e.g. in Freemans Bay-Tonsonby-Grey Lynn). This dimension also suggests that the Dutch as an immigrant group, even allowing for post-arrival occu-

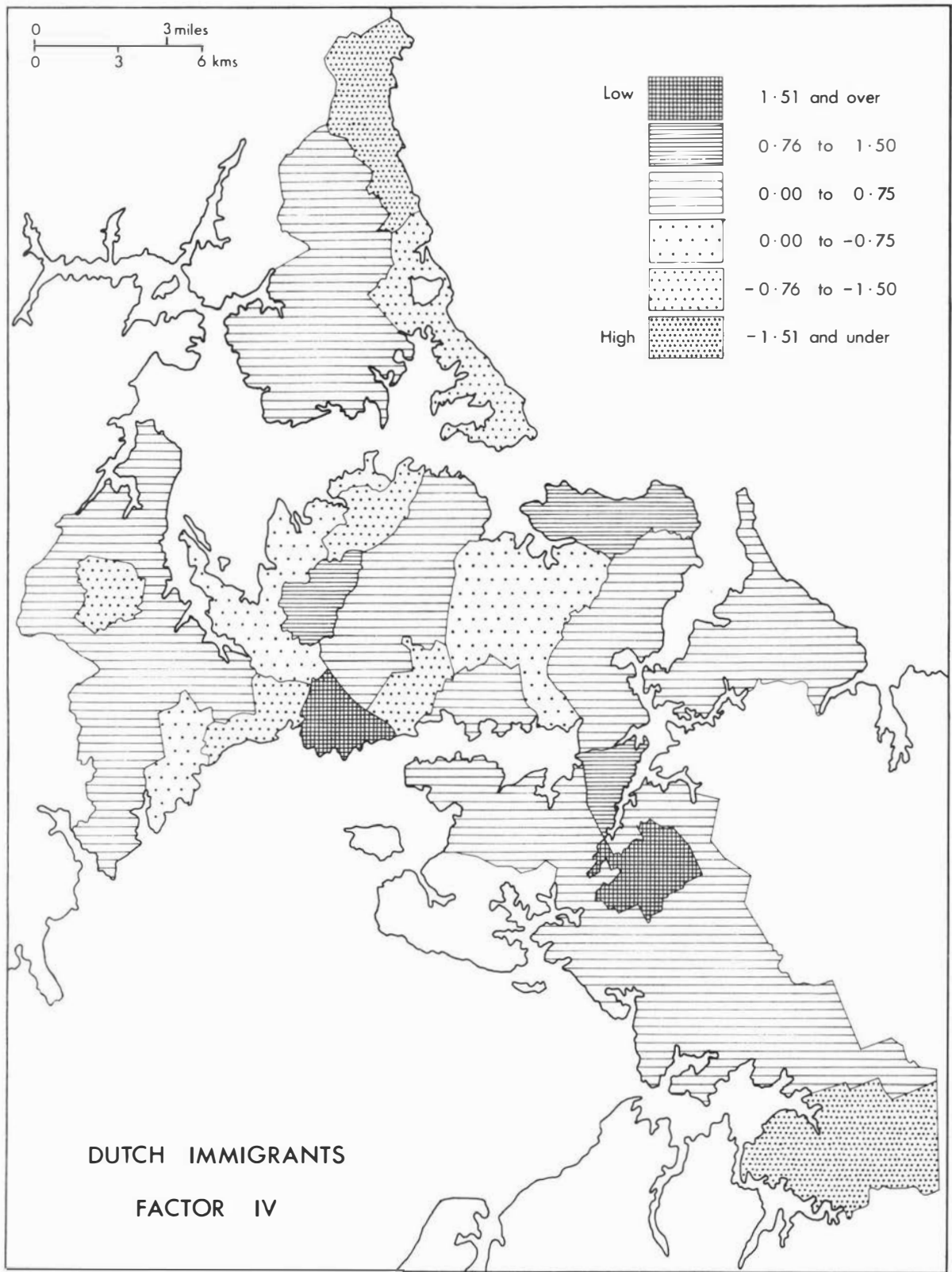


FIGURE 27: Dutch Factorial Ecology, Auckland Urban Area, 1966: Factor IV 'Economic Independence and Security'

pational mobility, have been generally successful in transferring technical skills.¹¹

In summary, three basic points can be made with regard to the factorial structure and ecology of the Dutch immigrant population in Auckland. First, it is clear that Factors I and II, 'stage in life cycle' and 'socio-economic status', are very similar in both character and relative degree of importance to the first two factors identified for the total population in the same year. Second, the spatial distributions of the first two dimensions also match very closely the patterns for the total population. Finally, the three remaining components, and their spatial distribution, may be regarded as constructs peculiar to the Dutch as an immigrant population: (a) because of the apparent importance of length of residence as a discriminating variable (Factors III and V); and (b) because of the way in which skilled 'Blue Collar' workers have grasped opportunities for outer suburban residence and so completed a familiar characterisation of 'economic independence and security'.¹²

A FACTORIAL ECOLOGY OF SAMOAN IMMIGRANTS: THE FACTOR STRUCTURE

Loadings for the variables on the four rotated components, which together account for 64.1 per cent of the total variation, are shown in Table XLIV. As in the case of the Dutch analysis (Table XLIII) the first three components in the Samoan analysis are clearly the most important and account for 54.4 per cent of the total variation.

Table XLIV

Samoan Immigrants in Auckland, 1966: Rotated Component Loadings.*

Variables	I	II	III	IV
1 Sex Ratios (males/100 females)	39	-40	<u>51</u>	08
2 % Mixed-blood	01	<u>73</u>	27	16
3 % 0-14 yrs of age	<u>72</u>	31	45	-30
4 % 15-34 yrs of age	- <u>60</u>	-41	- <u>52</u>	24
5 % 35+ yrs of age	- <u>64</u>	06	-06	28
6 % (15 yrs+) Married	<u>71</u>	16	40	-33
7 % (15 yrs+) Formerly Married	- <u>67</u>	-08	11	-10
8 % Females Actively Engaged	- <u>67</u>	-21	-45	06
9 % Own Account/Employers	02	28	-11	<u>61</u>
10 % 'Blue Collar' workers	36	- <u>67</u>	28	04
11 % Males Craft.,-Prod.,-Process	22	- <u>75</u>	30	-14
12 % Females Professional-Technical	38	30	-30	-12
13 % Females Clerical workers	- <u>52</u>	44	15	-36
14 % Females Craft.,-Prod.,-Process	12	-02	<u>92</u>	-07
15 % Females Service, Sport, Recreat.,	-01	-23	- <u>85</u>	15
16 % Males Manufacturing Industry	40	- <u>67</u>	35	16
17 % Females Manufacturing Indust.,	14	-05	<u>89</u>	-12
18 % 0-4 yrs Residence N.Z.	-29	- <u>76</u>	-35	18
19 % 5-9 yrs Residence N.Z.	39	-17	12	-07
20 % 10-14 yrs Residence N.Z.	22	37	-08	- <u>70</u>
21 % 15-19 yrs Residence N.Z.	03	36	46	24
22 Mean Duration of Residence	-00	<u>84</u>	21	07
23 % Flats	-39	-10	-27	<u>65</u>
24 % Dwellings Owned with Mortgage	29	29	08	- <u>63</u>
25 % Dwellings with Flush Toilet	32	<u>60</u>	-08	-24
26 % Dwellings with Telephone	<u>54</u>	<u>57</u>	10	-02
27 % Dwellings with Washing Machine	18	<u>63</u>	11	-25
28 % Dwellings with Television	15	39	08	<u>57</u>
29 % Dwellings with Radio	07	<u>52</u>	32	-06
30 % Dwellings with Vacuum Cleaner	14	<u>73</u>	-00	-01
Sum of Squared Factor Loadings	4.60	6.88	4.67	2.91
Percentage of Total Variance	16.0	22.9	15.5	9.7
Cumulative Percentage	16.0	38.9	54.4	64.1

* Decimal points omitted, and rotation according to Varimax criterion.

The distinguishing features of Factor I (Table XLIII) are:

(a) high positive loadings for 50-64 years of age and % married; (b) high negative loadings for % formerly married, % females actively engaged, % 15-34 years of age, % 35 years of age and over, and % females clerical workers. Factor I can therefore be readily interpreted as a measure of 'stage in life cycle', or more particularly as a measure of 'family orientation', and accounts for 16 per cent of the total variation.

Accounting for a surprising 22.9 per cent of the total variation, the second factor is a rather hybrid measure combining elements of socio-economic status (occupations and dwelling amenities), duration of residence and racial identity. High positive loadings occur on the following variables: mean duration of residence; % Mixed-blood; % dwellings with vacuum cleaner, washing machine, flush toilet, telephone, and radio. On the other hand high negative loadings occur for % 0-4 years of residence, % males craftsmen-production-process works, % males 'Blue Collar' workers and % males employed in manufacturing. Inspection of the corresponding component in Solution B (see Appendix E) revealed the same dichotomous pattern of loadings; Variable 10, % 'White Collar', had a high positive loading along with Variables 22, 25, 26, 27 and 30 as before, while Variable 2, % Full-blood, had a high negative loading (-0.82) in common with Variables 11, 16 and 18. One could perhaps interpret the pattern of loadings on this factor as an overall measure of 'success' for Mixed-blood Samoans. A more realistic interpretation, however, would be to see Factor II as an 'old versus new immigrants' measure that is sensitive to (a) the early predominance of Mixed-bloods

among Samoan immigrants, (b) the entry of Mixed-bloods into 'White Collar' occupations, and (c) their consequent occupation of dwellings with the appropriate amenities. This interpretation has, of course, an insidious implication with respect to the immigration and settlement of Samoan Full-bloods during the 1960s.

Factor III, which accounts for 15.5 per cent of the total variation, has very high positive loadings on Variables 14 and 17 (% females craftsmen-production-process workers and % females employed in manufacturing industry) a moderately high positive loading on the sex ratio variable (males/100 females) and negative loadings on Variables 15 (% females in service occupations, -0.85) and 4 (% 15-34 years of age, -0.52). In spatial terms this dimension differentiates between those areas wherein females are predominant and employed in 'service' occupations (e.g. One Tree Hill and Epsom areas) and those wherein females are employed in manufacturing (e.g. Mount Wellington, Onehunga, Mount Roskill and New Lynn). Accordingly, this dimension may be interpreted as one of 'local female employment opportunities'.

Finally, Factor IV, accounting for 9.7 per cent of the total variation, has at first sight a rather curious combination of loadings. High negative loadings on Variables 20 and 24 (% 10-14 years of residence and % dwellings owned with mortgage) contrast with positive loadings on Variables 9, 23 and 28 (% own account/employers, % dwellings classed as flats and % dwellings with television, respectively). When loadings on the corresponding component in Solution 3 (see Appendix E) were inspected, only three variables were found to have very high loadings; % 10-14 years of residence (0.76), % dwellings rented (-.76) and %

dwellings classed as flats (-0.69). It seems therefore that this component is primarily a measure or indicator of the 'nature and tenure of dwellings'. Usually the nature and tenure of dwellings falls within the sphere of the 'stage in life cycle' dimension as in the case of the Dutch (Table XLIII) and the total population of Auckland (Bowman and Hosking, 1971, 275). In the case of the Samoans, however, family homes have been purchased and rented both in the Inner City (the destination of young single immigrants) and in the suburbs so that the nature and tenure of dwellings is (to some extent at least) independent of 'family orientation' (Factor I in Table XLIV).¹³

A FACTORIAL ECOLOGY OF SAMOAN IMMIGRANTS: SPATIAL PATTERNS

Following the procedure set earlier for analysis of the factorial ecology of the Dutch immigrants, the next step in this analysis is to describe and examine the spatial distribution of the first three major dimensions identified above - Factor I 'family orientation', Factor II 'old versus new immigrants' and Factor III 'local female employment opportunities'. Standardised factor scores calculated for each of the 30 spatial units for each of the three dimensions were therefore mapped (Figures 6, 7 and 8) and the results examined.

If allowances are made for minor deviations, the spatial pattern for Factor I, 'family orientation', could be described as concentric in form with intra-zonal sectors. On this basis one can identify three zones which may be described as follows (see Figure 28).

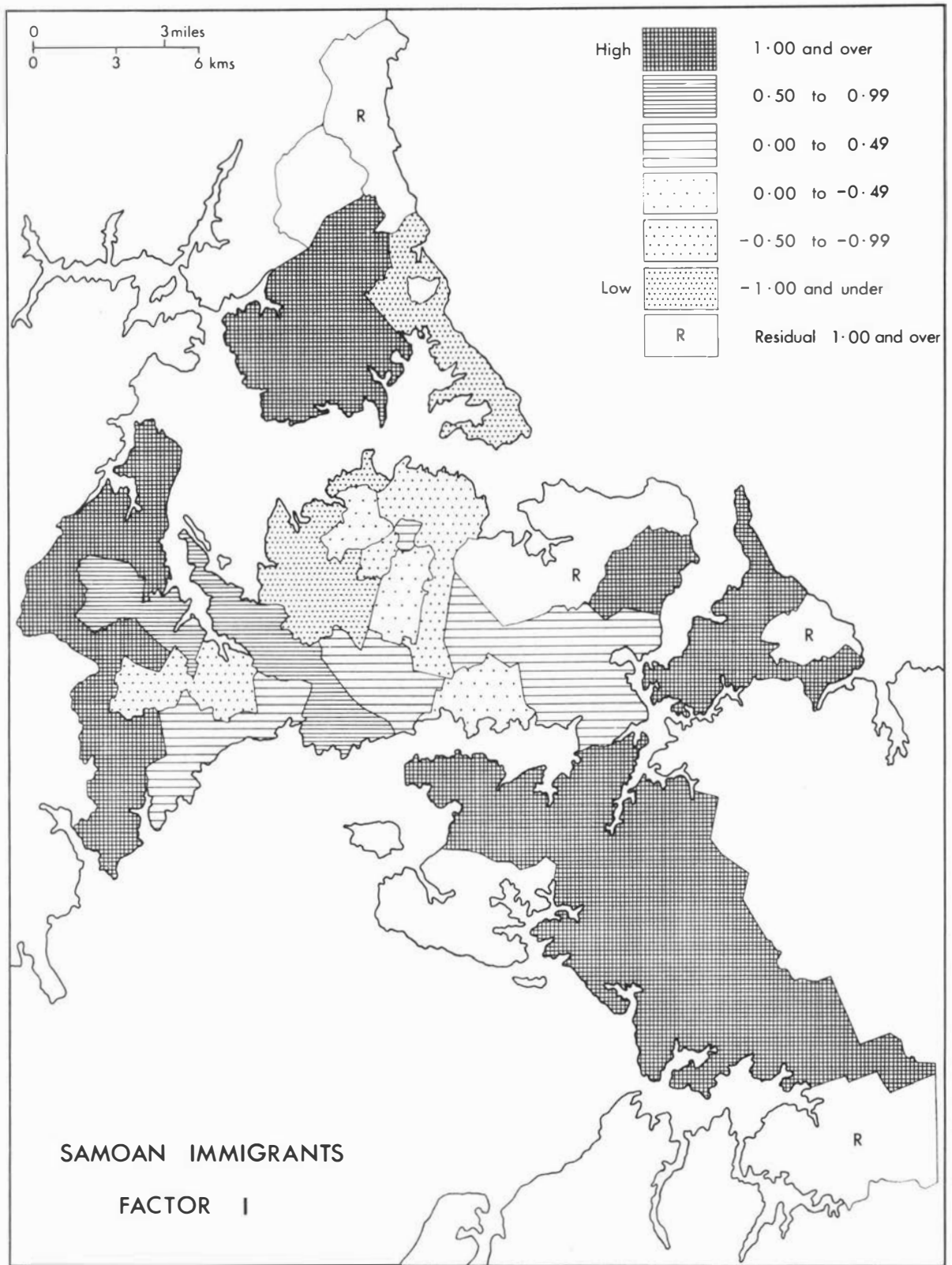


FIGURE 28: Samoan Factorial Ecology, Auckland Urban Area, 1966: Factor I 'Family Orientation'

1. A central zone, covering the northwestern quarter of the isthmus, of predominantly low family orientation which can be divided into four sectors. The four sectors are: (a) the western suburbs of Herne Bay-Westmere-Point Chevalier and Mount Albert, which form a sector of very low family orientation (factor scores in excess of -1.00); (b) the eastern sector of moderately low family orientation, which includes Freemans Bay, Auckland Central-Grafton-Parnell-Newmarket and the inner suburbs of Epsom North, Epsom South and Royal Oak; (c) Ponsonby and Grey Lynn, and (d) Mount Eden (North, Central and South), which form, together with Newton-Eden Terrace, central sectors of about average family orientation (factor scores in the range of -0.40 to +0.15).¹⁴
2. An intermediate zone extending from Henderson-Kelston in the west to the eastern suburbs of Mount Wellington and West Tamaki. This zone can be divided into sectors of (a) high family orientation; (b) moderately high family orientation (Henderson-Kelston, Rosebank-Avondale North and Palsey-Waikowhai), (c) low family orientation (Glen Eden-New Lynn) and (d) about average family orientation (e.g. Mount Wellington and Onehunga).
3. An outer suburban zone of predominantly high family orientation (Glenfield-Birkenhead, Te Atatu, Papatoetoe-Ōtāhuhu and Manukau City), which includes a sector of very low family orientation (Takapuna-Levonport, factor score of -2.36).

In many respects, 'blemishes' aside, the spatial pattern for Factor I matches the 'stage in life cycle' distribution depicted by Bowman and

Hoeking (1971, 279) for the total population of Auckland in 1966.

The spatial pattern for Factor II, 'old versus new immigrants' like Factor I, is also (but more precisely) concentric in form (Figure 29). Auckland's Inner City area is quite clearly a zone of 'new immigrants'. It has high percentages of Full-blood Samoans, recent arrivals and workers employed in 'Blue Collar' occupations. Dwellings in this zone are frequently without amenities such as interior flush toilets and telephones and without possessions such as washing machines and vacuum cleaners. Around the Inner City is a zone that is virtually the antithesis of the Inner City in terms of basic characteristics. This second zone, which includes the whole of the North Shore, Mount Albert, part of Mount Roskill, Epsom and Remuera, has high percentages of Mixed-blood Samoans, 'White Collar' workers, dwellings with amenities and the mean duration of residence is high. Finally, there is the outer suburban zone which can be divided into two sections: (a) the western section extending from Te Atatu to Halsey-Waikowhai, which is slightly above average with scores favouring 'old immigrants' (except for Henderson-Kelston); and (b) a southeastern section that forms a wedge almost reaching the Inner City and which is slightly below average with scores favouring 'new immigrants' (especially in the case of Onehunga).

Given the nature of the variable loadings on Factor II it is hardly surprising that its spatial pattern captures some fundamental aspects of the Samoan residential pattern in Auckland. For example, the Inner City and Onehunga are undoubtedly important 'reception areas' for new arrivals. Similarly the 'new immigrant' orientation of the southeastern wedge suggests a reception area function, but also adds considerable weight to the 'leap-frog' theory whereby relatively recent arrivals

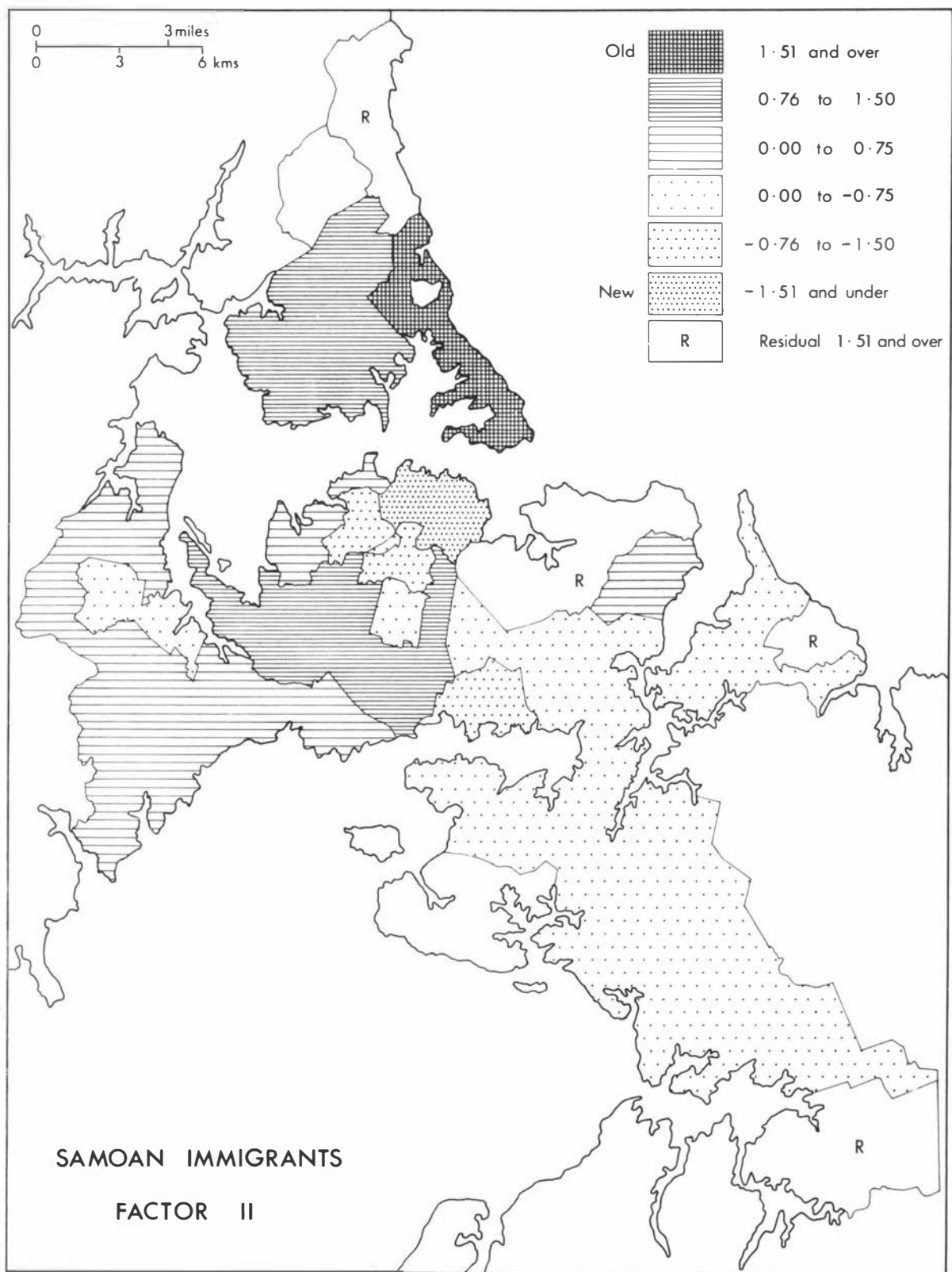


FIGURE 29: Samoan Factorial Ecology, Auckland Urban Area, 1966: Factor II 'Old versus New Immigrants'

moving out of the Inner City are said to by-pass the 'obstacles' of high status Inner Suburbs and move directly to the Outer Suburbs. As for the 'old immigrants', their dominance of the intermediate zone, which includes the high status residential areas of North Shore, Mount Albert, Epsom and the eastern harbourside suburbs (Penuera to Glendowie), lends substantial support to the view that Mixed-bloods by penetrating these suburbs exert a moderating influence upon the overall pattern of residential centralisation and residential dissimilarity (see Trlin, 1971c). On the other hand, the very dominance of Mixed-blood, 'White Collar', Samoans in high status areas provokes consideration of both socio-economic status and race as bases of residential segregation. After all, while Mixed-blood, 'White Collar', Samoans have entered and settled in Takapuna, Glenfield, Epsom and Royal Oak, they have so far entered and settled in the area from Penuera to Glendowie in such meagre numbers that it was necessary to include it in the 'Residual' spatial unit category.

The spatial distribution of Factor III, 'local female employment opportunities' (Figure 30), has two main features. Females in the adjoining spatial units of Epsom North-Epsom South-Royal Oak and One Tree Hill-Ellerslie are almost exclusively employed in 'service' occupations, probably associated directly and indirectly with the local hospitals.¹⁵ Factor scores for these two areas were -3.65 and -2.24, respectively. At the other extreme, 'Blue Collar' females in the Sandringham-Three Kings-Hillsborough (+1.65), Onehunga (+1.15), Mount Wellington (+1.15), Mount Eden South (+1.10), Malsey-Waikowhai (+1.10) and Glen Eden-New Lynn (+0.96) areas are employed primarily as production-

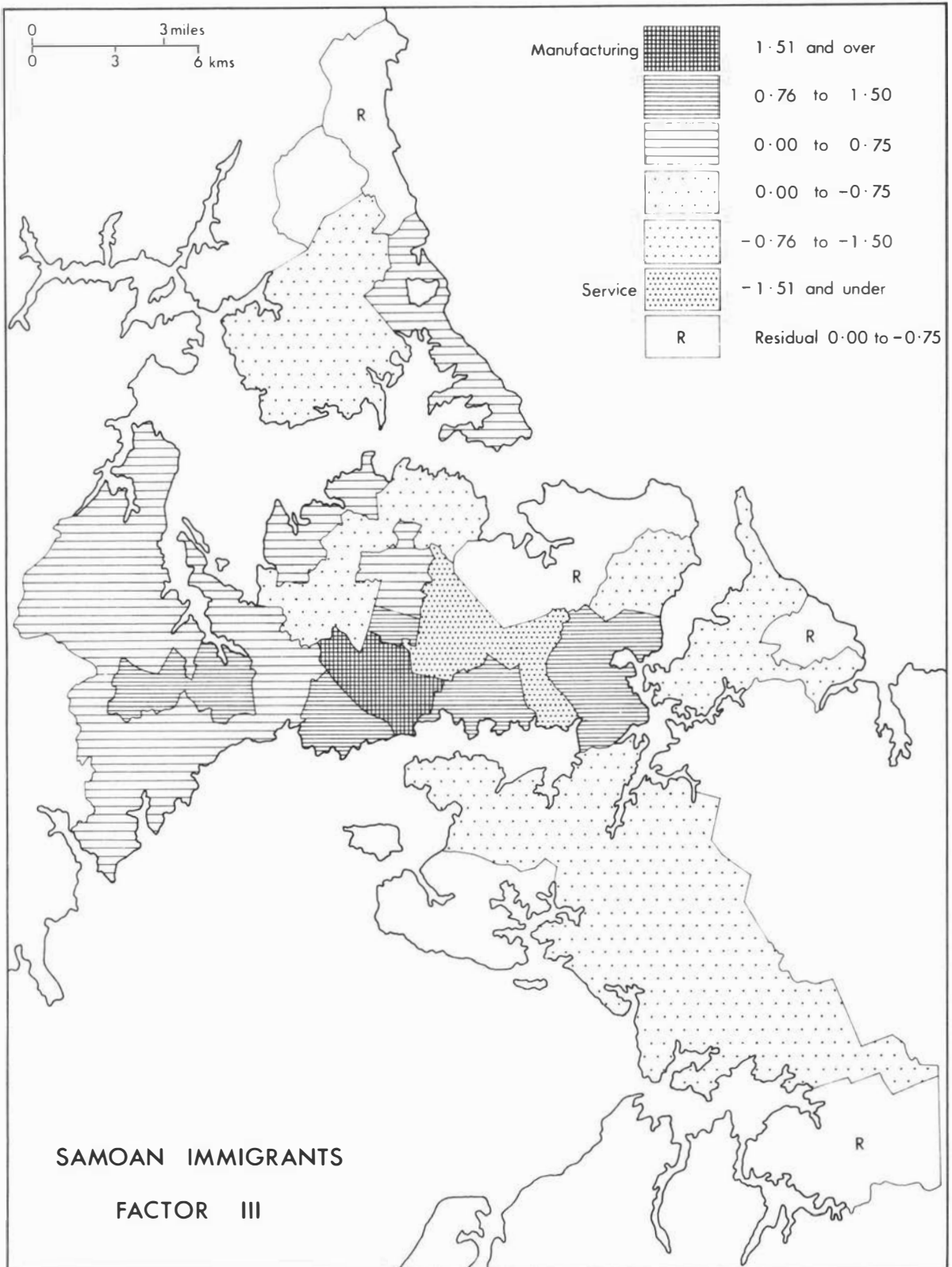


FIGURE 30: Samoan Factorial Ecology, Auckland Urban Area, 1966: Factor III 'Local Female Employment Opportunities'

process workers in the local manufacturing industries. Together, these two features of the spatial distribution of Factor III support the postulated importance of alternative centres of attraction within the urban area (other than the C.B.D.) as a factor underlying the residential distribution and location of immigrants.

The main conclusions that can be drawn with regard to the factorial ecology of the Samoan population in Auckland are as follows. First, the four-component solution explains about 64 per cent of the total variation and the first three Factors in this solution account for 54.4 per cent of the total variation. In terms of its contribution toward explanation of the total variation, Factor I ('family orientation') is subordinate to Factor II ('old versus new immigrants') and comparable in importance to Factor III ('local female employment opportunities'). Factor I is similar in character and spatial distribution to the 'stage in life cycle' dimension identified for both the total population of Auckland and the Dutch immigrant population. Factor II is a somewhat more elaborate version of the third Factor in the factorial ecology of the Dutch, which indicates that length of residence and racial composition are important variables underlying the residential structure of the Samoans. The absence of an independent 'socio-economic status' dimension in the factorial ecology of the Samoans is not really surprising since only 9.7 per cent of the actively engaged members of the group were employed in 'White Collar' occupations (33.1 per cent of the Dutch) and only 18.9 per cent had incomes over \$2,200 (compared with 57.1 per cent of the Dutch). Finally, Factor III is a dimension which lends support to the attractions of alternative decentralised centres of employment as

locational determinants underlying the residential distributions of visible immigrant minorities in Auckland. While Factor III must at this point be regarded as a dimension peculiar to the Samoans (since no comparable dimension has been identified for either the Dutch or the total population) it may have some relevance for other Pacific Islander groups or perhaps Maoris in Auckland (see Whitelaw, 1971).

CONCLUSION: THE BASES OF RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTIONS
AND DIFFERENTIATION.

In recent years analyses of the factorial ecology of Auckland have been undertaken by Bowman and Hosking (1971), Timms (1971) and Johnston (1973). The results of these studies indicated that at least two factors - 'stage in life cycle' (or 'family status') and 'economic status' - consistently explained a high proportion of the total variation in somewhat different sets of demographic, social and economic variables. Moreover, it was found that each factor or dimension displayed a distinct spatial pattern; 'stage in life cycle' had a concentric pattern and 'economic status' a sectoral spatial pattern.

Motivated in part by these studies of Auckland, the objectives of this chapter have been to analyse the factorial ecologies of selected immigrant populations in Auckland, to establish the dimensions along which they differentiated themselves and the spatial patterns of differentiation. It can be claimed that the attainment of these objectives represents a significant contribution to the study of residential differentiation within immigrant populations in New Zealand and abroad. As each objective was met an assessment was also made to determine

whether or not the immigrant populations differentiated themselves along dimensions, and had spatial patterns of differentiation, similar to those of the total population. Although the 'selection' of the two immigrant populations - Dutch and Samoan - was forced rather than a matter of free choice, the two groups are so different in terms of origins and socio-economic characteristics that they provide a useful contrast and test with regard to the universality of dimensions of residential differentiation.

Using principal components analysis as a data-reduction device, Varimax rotated five-component and four-component solutions were adopted for the Dutch and Samoan populations, respectively, after consideration of various alternative solutions. In the case of the Dutch the five-component solution accounted for almost 72 per cent of the total variation in the original data correlation matrix (23 variables x 31 spatial units). The four-component solution for the Samoans accounted for about 64 per cent of the total variation in the data correlation matrix (30 variables x 30 spatial units).

With regard to the major dimensions of residential differentiation, Factor I in these analyses indicates that both of the immigrant populations are differentiated along a dimension of 'stage in life cycle' or 'family orientation'. In terms of its contribution towards explanation of the total variation, however it should be noted that while this dimension was the dominant factor for the Dutch population (explaining 25.3 per cent of the total variation) it was subordinate to a second factor in the case of the Samoans. For both groups the spatial pattern

of this 'stage in life cycle'/'family orientation' dimension was essentially concentric. The central zone was typically one of low family orientation while the outer zone, encompassing suburbs on the urban periphery, was typically one of high family orientation. It may be concluded therefore that this dimension matches in both character and spatial pattern the 'stage in life cycle'/'family status' dimension identified in recent factorial ecologies of the total population of Auckland.

Factor II in the factorial ecology of the Dutch population can be easily identified as a 'socio-economic status' dimension. The spatial pattern of this dimension is sectoral in form, with 'high status' and 'low status' residential sectors matching closely the spatial location of comparable sectors in the factorial ecology of the total Auckland population. The absence of a truly distinct 'socio-economic status' dimension for the Samoans can probably be attributed to their concentration in lower income 'Blue Collar' occupations, which in turn probably reflects their cultural, social and economic background and origin. In this respect it may be argued that their residential concentration in low socio-economic status areas (especially in the Inner City) is no more or less than could be expected. If this is so then it may be concluded that 'socio-economic status' like 'stage in life cycle'/'family orientation' is also a common dimension of residential differentiation for each of the three populations - total, Dutch and Samoan - within the spatial boundaries of the Auckland Urban Area.

Factor III in the four-component solution adopted for the

Samoa population does include bi-polar loadings on variables measuring percentages in 'White Collar' and 'Blue Collar' occupations, but there are also heavy loadings on other variables measuring aspects of racial composition, duration of residence and the amenities and possessions of dwellings. If the loadings on variables alone are considered then Factor II could perhaps be interpreted as both a measure of socio-economic mobility and as verification of the often cited association between duration of residence and upward socio-economic mobility. Some support for such an interpretation can be gained from the spatial pattern for this Factor (see Figure 29). However, given the known changes in the character and composition of Samoan immigration over the period 1945 to 1966, Factor II can with at least equal justification be interpreted as an 'old versus new immigrants' dimension. In this respect Factor II is somewhat similar to Factor III in the case of the Dutch population.

The remaining dimensions in the factorial ecologies of the Dutch and Samoan populations may be regarded as constructs peculiar to each of the two immigrant groups. To varying degrees these dimensions lend some support to various explanations advanced in previous studies with regard to the residential distribution and differentiation of an immigrant group. For example, the influence of chain migration could perhaps be inferred from the spatial pattern for Factor III, 'old versus new immigrants families', in the case of the Dutch. Similarly, the character and spatial pattern of Factor III, 'local female employment opportunities', in the case of the Samoans tends to support the attraction of alternative decentralised centres of employment postulated

by Whitelaw (1971) and discussed in an earlier chapter of this study.

Finally, it is necessary to draw attention to a basic shortcoming of factorial ecology. In essence this shortcoming concerns the variables that form the basic data input - the demographic, 'social' and economic measures of population characteristics. Consider, for example, the following variables: 0-14 years of age, 15-34 years of age, married, females actively engaged, wage and salary earners, 'Blue Collar' workers, dwellings classed as flats, dwellings with flush toilet, 0-4 years of residence in New Zealand. All of these variables are, of necessity, aggregate measures and they are also largely 'impersonal' objective measures. The dimensions identified, once sets of these variables are subjected to principal components analysis, are also 'impersonal' objective constructs akin to those 'biotic', 'strictly economic', 'subsocial' and 'natural' factors with which the classical urban ecologies were preoccupied. A dimension or factor labelled 'stage in life cycle' could scarcely be a better example. Similarly an element of 'biotic', 'subsocial' or 'strictly economic' competition is at least strongly implied in a dimension labelled 'economic status'.

The importance and general validity of 'stage in life cycle' and 'economic status' as factors underlying the ecological structure of an urban community are not denied. There is, however, an inherent danger in social area analysis and factorial ecology of ignoring, overlooking, perhaps even denying, the operation of subjective socio-cultural factors that can both hinder and facilitate the responses of immigrant and indigenous minorities to the underlying dimensions of urban

ecological structure. For example, while entry into certain types of occupations and hence the attainment of adequate incomes are probably necessary prerequisites for the movement of minority group members into higher status neighbourhoods, there must also be (a) a conscious desire for economic advancement, (b) relative freedom from in-group socio-cultural constraints, and (c) at least a willingness among members of the dominant group to accept members of the minority as neighbours. In this respect it is particularly significant that in their study of the factorial ecologies of urban black communities, Roseman, Christian and Bullamore (1972, 254) concluded that:

... the results ... suggest that the same basic processes exist but that the locational patterns resulting from these processes are quite different, due to the nature of constraints and choices confronting Blacks.

Some of the in-group constraints and choices confronting members of immigrant groups have been indicated in earlier chapters of this study. In particular, kinship ties have been discussed as a factor underlying the form and composition of immigration and subsequently patterns of residential concentration. Curson (1970a, 191-193) has recorded the kinship obligations and preference for in-group friends and marriage partners of adult Cook Islanders in Auckland. Macpherson (1972) has similarly detailed the array of normative considerations and sanctions affecting out-group interaction and mate selection among Samoans in Auckland. Invariably these socio-cultural factors have been held to account for a substantial proportion of group cohesiveness and its manifestation in residential concentration, particularly in the Inner City. Perhaps this explains why, in the case of the Samoans, the Inner

City areas of Ponsonby and Grey Lynn have 'average' rather than 'low' factor scores on the 'family orientation' dimension of their factorial ecology (see Figure 28). Many immigrant families - Samoan, Niuean, Cook Islander, Greek, Italian and Yugoslav - have elected to purchase dwellings and remain in areas of group concentration. This is not to say, however, that many families have no desire to move to other areas, especially to Outer Suburbs. McCreary's survey of Cook Islander and Niuean households in Auckland revealed that only 38 per cent of subjects residing in private dwellings in the Inner City had no wish to move, while 20 per cent expressed a wish for accommodation in the Outer Suburbs (McCreary, 1965, 30-31).¹⁶ Once again in-group constraints must be considered, even though the force of these constraints varies from one immigrant group to another. Thus while in-group constraints appear to be strong and effective among Pacific Islanders and chain migrants from Southern Europe (Yugoslavia, Greece and Italy), they are apparently weak among immigrants from the Netherlands. According to Alexander (1969, 27) many Dutch migrants interviewed in Dunedin emphasised that when they arrived in New Zealand:

... they were determined to mix with New Zealand people rather than Dutch, and therefore made an attempt to secure a house as far away as possible from other Dutch families.

The operation of socio-cultural factors or constraints is not, however, exclusively an in-group minority phenomenon. Even when allowances are made for in-group constraints numerous questions are left unanswered. Why have Pacific Islanders desiring to move to the Outer Suburbs been unable to realise their desire? Why have Samoans in 'White Collar' occupations and resident in Auckland for at least a decade settled in

the higher status areas of Takapuna, elsewhere on the North Shore, Mount Albert and Epsom but not to anywhere near the same extent in the eastern, high-status, harbourside suburbs extending from Beaumont to Glendowie? Is the answer to the latter question simply a matter of noting the difference between house and section prices in the various areas, or are race and ethnicity factors of somewhat more importance that must also be considered?

On the basis of research in Toronto (Barroch and Marston, 1971; Richmond, 1972) and in cities in the United States (Myers, 1950; Lieberson, 1963; Kantrowitz, 1973) there is little doubt that ethnicity and race are important (and perhaps the dominant) factors underlying ethnic residential patterns. In answer to the question - "Why, despite advances in the socio-economic status of Negroes, has Negro segregation from whites increased throughout the United States?" - Taeuber (1965, 19) concluded:

Neither free choice nor poverty is a sufficient explanation for the universally high degree of segregation in American cities. Discrimination is the principal cause of Negro residential segregation ...

In other words, consideration must be given to the cultural values, attitudes and beliefs of the dominant group as well as to the attitudes and values of the immigrant or indigenous minority group. The attitudes and expectations of New Zealanders with respect to selected immigrant groups are the subject of the next chapter in this study.

Footnotes.

1. For examples of the general methodology and results obtained in studies of the factorial ecology of the Auckland Urban Area, see Bowman and Hosking (1971) Timms (1971) and Johnston (1973, 204-227). All three studies identified similar basic dimensions. For an overview of studies on urban residential patterns see Johnston (1971) and Herbert (1973).
2. See Marston (1968) and Darroch and Marston (1971) for some relevant comments on these interpretations.
3. See Johnston (1971, 267-269) for a brief reference to the factorial ecology of the Negro population of Toledo, Ohio, as compared to the factorial ecology of the non-negro population. He concluded that a "separate Negro residential structure exists".
4. See also Taeuber (1965) for a discussion of the three principal causes of Negro residential segregation (i.e. choice, poverty and discrimination). For further discussion of 'Between-Population Segregation by Income When Incomes are Equal' see Kantrowitz (1973, 43-49) who found that in New York "increasing incomes among equals do not lead to greater integration ... segregation increases with income".
5. A close eye was kept on the maps of Auckland produced by both Timms (1971) and Bowman and Hosking (1971).
6. Of the 51 migrants included in this 'Residual Area' only about one-third resided in the outlying areas of Howick and East Coast Bays.
7. Statistics supplied by the Department of Statistics did not

differentiate between New Zealand-born Samoans and foreign-born Samoans with regard to the amenities and possessions of dwellings. A total of 47 dwellings headed by New Zealand-born Samoans were therefore included in the calculation for Variables 25 to 30, inclusive, as listed in Table XLIV. These 47 dwellings were well scattered throughout the Urban Area and form only a small proportion of the 1,243 Samoan dwellings.

8. For a simple introduction to the methodology and terminology of principal components analysis, see Johnston (1973, 311-318) and for further discussion in this study see Appendix E.
9. The nature of the contrast measured by this dimension can be illustrated by reference to two areas. For the Papakura-Franklin spatial unit, 27.27 per cent of the actively engaged were in the occupational status category 'on own account/employers' and 19 per cent of dwellings were owned without a mortgage. At the other extreme, only 6.86 per cent were in the category 'on own account/employers' and only 2.86 per cent of dwellings were owned without a mortgage in Papatoetoe.
10. In 1966 the majority of Auckland's Dutch males in the category 'Craftsmen, Production and Process Workers' were in four occupational groups. These four groups were: (a) 'Tool makers, machinists, plumbers etc.', 438; (b) 'Carpenters, joiners, etc.', 211; (c) 'Bricklayers, plasterers, etc.', 108; and (d) 'Electricians and related workers', 100. Thus these four groups accounted for 857 out of 1,285 males in the category 'Craftsmen, Production and Process Workers'.

11. See Alexander (1972) for a discussion on the occupational adjustment of Dutch males in Dunedin. He notes that (Alexander, 1972, 166): "Fifty-eight (23 per cent) were self employed in 1967, which is about three times the percentage in the New Zealand population. Over half were tradesmen, especially building tradesmen (19) but significant numbers of farmers and professional or semi-professional workers are included."
12. The equivalent for other continental Europeans in New Zealand would be Italian fishermen at Island Bay (Wellington) or Yugoslav viticulturalists and orchardists in the vicinity of Henderson (Auckland).
13. For example, if the tenure of dwellings in areas of low to average 'family orientation' is compared with the tenure of dwellings in suburbs with high 'family orientation' (see Figure 28), some obvious deviations from the expected pattern are readily observed.

	Renting/Leasing (%)	Owned with Mort- gage (%)
<u>Low to Average Family Orientation</u>		
Sandringham (Mount Albert)	19.0	56.2
Arco Hill	23.1	61.5
Ponsonby	32.5	61.2
Freemans Bay	58.8	79.4
<u>High Family Orientation</u>		
Manukau City	24.7	71.5
Glenfield-Birkenhead	40.0	56.6
West Tanaki	88.2	8.8

In the case of the Greek, Italian and Polish immigrants in Wellington, Burnley (1972, 156) also notes that the incidence of private homeownership

was high even in the inner suburbs. For example (Burnley, 1972, 157): "In 1966, of the 190 Greek households in Mount Victoria, 98 (51.6 per cent) owned their homes and 88 (46.3 per cent) were renting ...". The percentage of Samoan dwellings rented or leased in Glenfield-Birkenhead and West Tamaki may reflect State housing accommodation. The general pattern in suburbs with high 'family orientation', however, is one of over 70 per cent dwellings owned with a mortgage.

14. Long-term resident families are not uncommon in these areas of about average 'family orientation' and many have purchased their own homes. See also footnote 13 above. Often these family residences provide an initial haven for young, single, new arrivals who are sponsored by their kinfolk (i.e. process of chain migration).
15. In 1966 a total of 228 Samoan females had occupations in the 'Service, Sport, Recreation' category and the majority were employed as 'House-keepers, cooks and maids' (88) and as 'Launderers, drycleaners and pressers' (88). There are at least twelve hospitals in Epsom and the Tree Hill areas.
16. McCreary (1969, 7) notes that of those who indicated a desire to change their place of residence and expressed a preference for a particular area, 100 out of 379 subjects in the Inner City preferred the Outer Suburbs.

CHAPTER 6

ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS:

SOCIAL DISTANCE AND ASSIMILATION ORIENTATION

(Attitudes held by a host population are widely recognised as a factor influencing ethnic residential patterns. Numerous studies on the settlement of ethnic and/or racial minorities in North America and more recently in the United Kingdom, record evidence of often decidedly unfavourable attitudes which are sometimes manifested as discriminatory behaviour in the housing market.¹ Warner and Srole (1945, 44-46), for example, stressed the resistance of established residents in specific localities of Yankee City to the entry of Irish, Italian and Jewish settlers. To some extent the residential distribution of immigrants in Yankee City, particularly their under-representation in higher status areas, was held by Warner and Srole to reflect the strength and effectiveness of 'local' resistance. A similar conclusion was reached by Myers (1950) with respect to the movement of Italians into the high status areas of New Haven, Connecticut. In New Zealand, however, geographers and other researchers have generally paid no more than lip service to the influence of social attitudes. A case in point is Whitelaw's (1971, 71) summation of factors facilitating suburbanisation of visible minorities in Auckland, which concludes with the following statement:

Finally, the absence of an overt attitude towards segregation and discrimination which undoubtedly affects the residential location of the Negro in North America must also be recognised as an important element ...

Since Whitelaw neither presented nor cited evidence in support of his statement it must be regarded as speculative in nature. For this reason

alone it could be argued that a careful examination of attitudes towards selected minorities is warranted.

Park's (1952, 177) assertion that "physical distances so frequently are, or seem to be, the indexes of social distances" appears to be a key to the on-going debate on attitudes and residential patterns. Collison (1967, 281), F.L. Jones (1967, 412) and Curson (1970c, 425) are three among many authors who have tacitly accepted Park's postulated association between social and physical distance. Only Timms (1969), in a study of the dissimilarity between overseas-born and Australian-born in Queensland (Australia), is known to have examined Park's postulate.

Generally, ethnic residential segregation has been interpreted as indicative of perceived social distance between two or more groups. The more residentially concentrated a group is, the greater the social distance - the latter being interpreted in turn as an indicant of the desirability of entering into close social relationships with members of a specified group. For example, Timms (1969, 53) proposed that:

The close correspondence between the social distance scores and the various measures of the dissimilarity [including residential patterns] of each of the migrant groups to the Australian population provides evidence in support of an hypothesis that differences in assimilation are correlated with attitudinal phenomena. The more similar the populations are, and are seen as being to the Australian-born, the more desirable they are as interaction partners.

While Timms posits an association between measures of social distance and assimilation, his statement implies also an element of interaction in that assimilation can be interpreted as contributing to a reduction of social distance and vice versa. Moreover, if residential distribution

is acceptable as an index of assimilation, then, by implication, there is a close relationship between physical (spatial) proximity and social equality and hence the suggestion of interaction between physical and social distance (see also Feldman and Tilly, 1960). Two basic problems now arise and warrant some consideration.

The first problem concerns the nature and characteristics of attitudes towards immigrant groups. A variety of research techniques have been devised and employed to measure and compare attitudes and, as Hartley and Hartley (1952, 691) point out, "a striking similarity in results has emerged" - despite the variety of techniques employed and differences among the samples studied. Studies undertaken in the United States (Bogardus, 1928; 1947; Hartley and Hartley, 1952), Australia (Richardson and Taft, 1968) and New Zealand (McCreary, 1952; Vaughan, 1962) have revealed a relatively uniform hierarchy of preferences for immigrants of different national backgrounds and/or racial origins. While the importance of situational factors such as age, sex, education, occupation and place of residence is widely recognised, most writers have tended to conclude that the hierarchy of preferences "can be understood in terms of the ... expectation that all newcomers should fit in to the host society" (Richardson and Taft, 1968, 55). Thus, the most acceptable groups are those which appear to be most similar to the core culture of the host society or the least physically dissimilar to members of the host society. The latter point concerns, of course, the importance of race as a (if not the) determinant of attitudes, preferences or social distance.

Closely associated with the above is the second problem, which concerns the assimilation orientation of the host society. Does the host society favour compulsory naturalisation after completion of

a specific residential requirement? Will the host society tolerate social and residential segregation of immigrants and the publication of foreign language newspapers? These and other attitudes, expectations or assimilation orientations in the host society form a vital part of the social environment confronting immigrants in any society. In New Zealand the expectations of Anglo-conformists, who asserted that it is both possible and necessary for immigrants to discard immediately their old language, customs and attitudes in favour of the host society's 'core' culture (see Sinclair, 1944, 34-39), have been largely endorsed by the immigration policy of successive Governments. The point that must be stressed is that the assimilation orientations of the host society, or members of that society, may have an important bearing upon the general social behaviour of immigrants and therefore upon social distance attitudes, inter-group relations and the interaction of social and physical distance. It is an unfortunate fact that to date most studies of immigrants in New Zealand have been conducted with but scant awareness of the host society's actual orientations or expectations.

The aims of this chapter may therefore be stated as follows.

- (a) To establish, from the viewpoint of the host society, the perceived social distance between New Zealanders and selected immigrant groups.
- (b) To establish the nature of the factor or factors underlying attitudes towards selected immigrant groups.
- (c) To establish the assimilation orientations of the host society in global terms and with regard to specific dimensions (e.g. language,

membership of voluntary associations and residential patterns).

- (d) To examine the implications of attitudes expressed in terms of their possible influence upon aspects of the structural assimilation of immigrant groups, with particular reference to residential patterns.
- (e) To examine the alignment of government immigration policy with public attitudes.

While the latter objective may appear to be incidental to the main argument of this chapter, it should be noted that in earlier chapters immigration policy has been identified as a prime factor influencing the pattern and composition of migrant streams. The formation and continued existence of ethnic neighbourhoods have also been identified (at least in part) as outcomes of policy. More important, however, is the claim that immigration policy represents a political response to perceived social distance between New Zealanders and specific national or birthplace groups. From this viewpoint verification of the correspondence between attitudes and policy is rather more than merely incidental to the subject of this chapter.

THE AUCKLAND SURVEY, 1970

The method chosen to collect the appropriate data was a questionnaire survey, carried out during March and April 1970 with the assistance of paid senior students recruited in the main from the Departments of Geography and of Anthropology, University of Auckland, and the Auckland Post Primary Teachers College. A random population sample was drawn from the November 1969 electoral rolls of eleven

electoral districts within the boundaries of the Auckland Urban Area as defined by the Government Department of Statistics.²

Together, the eleven electorates made up a sampling universe of 207,012 persons aged twenty years and over and registered as voters. Each electorate was proportionately represented (registered voters as a percentage of the universe) in the total sample drawn and interviews completed. A total of 65 replacements were required, 25 of these for refusals and the balance of 40 to cater for persons in the original sample who had moved to another address, who were absent or unable to be contacted, or who were unable to answer because of ill health or senility or death. Three hundred and seventeen questionnaires were completed in full for the survey, via personal interviews, consisting of 231 New Zealand-born and 86 foreign-born (mainly British) respondents. Though some attention is given to the foreign-born, this study is concerned mainly with the attitudes of New Zealand-born respondents.

To secure public cooperation and to establish credentials, short statements were made in the daily newspapers and additional publicity was gained via a television interview. The latter proved to be particularly valuable in securing public cooperation. A copy of the questionnaire is included in the appendices to this study (see Appendix A).

SOCIAL DISTANCE, MEAN TOLERANCE AND PREFERENCES

A modified form of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, with six steps more suited to New Zealand conditions, was applied to measure responses to (acceptance or rejection of) 14 birthplace groups listed in alphabetical order.³ The birthplaces selected (in addition to the

five study groups) represented a range of groups apparently regarded in immigration policy as 'most favoured' through to the 'least favoured' for permanent settlement in New Zealand. Before administering the Scale, all interviewing assistants read the following statement to respondents so as to establish the context within which replies were to be given.

If New Zealand cannot get the number of immigrants required each year from Britain, it may be necessary to seek immigrants from other countries. However, the New Zealand Government feels that these new immigrants should be persons that New Zealanders are willing to accept. According to your first feeling or reaction, therefore, please indicate to which step (the highest) on the following scale you would willingly admit persons (as a class) from each of the following countries.

The six steps on the Scale, together with the response distribution of the New Zealand-born for each of the 14 birthplaces, is presented in Table XLV, the birthplaces being ranked from left to right by the percentage of respondents declaring their willingness to accept members to close kinship by marriage. As it stands, Table XLV allows comparisons to be made between birthplaces in terms of the percentage distribution of respondents on a six-step scale. However, a single score to establish the overall position of a given birthplace vis-à-vis the remaining birthplaces is still required. Accordingly, the steps on the Scale were assigned values ranging from 1, the least favourable ('I would not be willing to admit to New Zealand'), to 6, the most favourable ('To close kinship by marriage'), and the mean score for each of the birthplaces was then calculated. Following the example of McCreary (1952, 47) this calculated position of a given birthplace on a six-point scale was interpreted as indicative of the mean tolerance

Table XLV
Social Distance Expressed by 231 New Zealand-born Respondents in Auckland Towards 14 Birthplace Groups
(Percentages)

I would be willing to admit persons from this country ...	United Kingdom	United States of America	Sweden	Denmark	Germany	Netherlands	Yugoslavia	Hungary	Italy	China	Japan	Western Samoa	India	Niue
To close kinship by marriage	77.05	68.83	49.78	49.35	42.42	41.55	33.33	29.00	27.70	14.71	14.28	12.55	11.68	9.09
To my home as friends or guests	9.95	16.01	21.21	25.10	20.77	28.13	22.94	24.67	22.07	30.73	26.40	24.67	25.10	25.97
To my occupation as a workmate or colleague	4.76	4.76	12.12	9.52	12.98	10.82	15.58	14.28	15.58	11.68	13.85	16.01	11.25	16.01
To residence in New Zealand	6.49	4.76	10.38	8.65	10.82	11.68	15.15	9.95	13.85	12.55	6.06	16.88	14.28	15.58
To New Zealand as visitors only	0.86	5.60	4.76	6.49	3.09	6.06	8.65	15.15	13.42	12.18	25.54	17.74	22.94	19.04
I would not be willing to admit to New Zealand	0.06	-	1.73	0.86	3.89	1.73	4.32	6.92	7.35	12.12	13.85	12.12	14.71	14.28

Source: Auckland Survey of Attitudes Towards Immigrants, 1970.

expressed towards the members of the national group involved. Alternatively the mean scores may be interpreted as indicative of the mean desirability of group members as potential interaction partners. Furthermore, the ranking of the mean scores was interpreted as indicative of the preference of respondents for various groups of immigrants (see Table XLVI).

By using the Kendall rank correlation coefficient, τ , it can be shown that the rank order of birthplaces in Table XLVI is one found with a high degree of consistency in the results of sample sub-populations classified according to sex, age and occupational groups.⁴ Correlation coefficients ranged from 0.846 to 0.972 for the total sample, and from 0.890 to 0.978 for New Zealand-born respondents. Moreover, the rank order correlation coefficients obtained are sufficiently high to suggest that, with only minor variations, the rank order of birthplaces in Table XLVI could be expected from the population at large (see Table XLVII).

Computation of sub-sample mean scores revealed a considerable variation in the value of a score for a given birthplace. For example, using results obtained from New Zealand-born respondents, it was found that the mean score for Japan ranged from 4.18 (professional/Managerial respondents) to 3.24 (female respondents). Such variations emerged for each of the birthplaces listed in the survey and are illustrated in Figure 31. Generally, the highest mean scores were recorded by the 'professional/managerial' sub-group (N=43) and the lowest scores by the 'female' (N=120) and the 'craftsmen, production, process' (N=45) sub-groups. Despite the variation in mean score values the rank order of birthplaces established in Table XLVI was maintained within broad limits in Figure 31.

Table XLVI

Mean Tolerance Expressed by Respondents in Auckland Toward Each Birthplace Group and Rank Order of Birthplaces

Birthplaces	Total Sample (N=317)	New Zealand-born (N=231)
United Kingdom	5.54	5.53
United States of America	5.30	5.37
Denmark	5.00	4.99
Sweden	4.91	4.95
Netherlands	4.84	4.82
Germany	4.65	4.64
Yugoslavia	4.48	4.44
Hungary	4.30	4.21
Italy	4.15	4.14
China	3.70	3.74
Western Samoa	3.64	3.61
Japan	3.58	3.56
Niue	3.47	3.47
India	3.44	3.44

Source: Auckland Survey, 1970.

Table XLVII

Correlations with Main Totals of Rank Order of 14 Birthplaces
Determined by Respondents Classified According to Sex, Age and
Occupational Groups.

Sub-groups	Correlation of rank order with that of:	
	(a) Total sample	(b) Total N.Z.-born
<u>Sex</u>		
Males	0.972	0.934
Females	0.950	0.950
<u>Age</u>		
Young (20-39 yrs)	0.950	0.972
Old (40+ years)	0.950	0.956
<u>Occupational Groups</u>		
Professional/Managerial	0.868	0.934
Non-Professional/Managerial workers	0.956	0.934
White Collar workers	0.956	0.956
Non-White Collar workers	0.906	0.912
Craftsmen, Production Process workers	0.846	0.830
Not actively Engaged	0.890	0.934
Actively Engaged	0.956	0.978

Source: Auckland Survey, 1970.

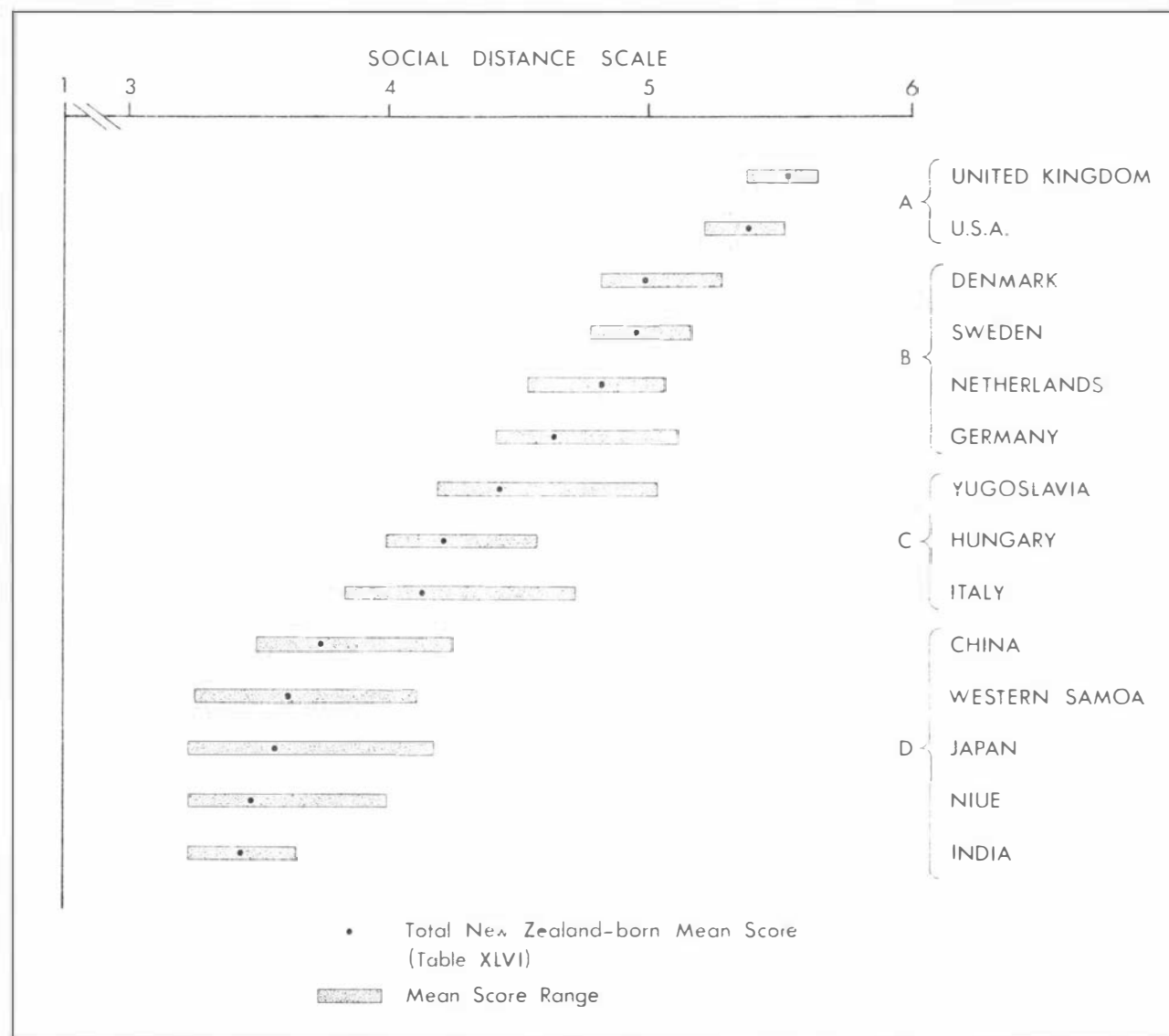


FIGURE 31: Range of Social Distance Scale Mean Scores for 14 Birthplaces, derived from Sub-groups of Respondents (classified by Sex, Age and Occupational groups) in the Auckland Sample Survey, 1970

Sub-group variation in the ranking of birthplaces also confirmed that respondents tended to identify four major groupings within which the ranking of specific birthplaces varied. The four major groups were: (a) British and Americans; (b) Northern and Western Europeans; (c) Southern and Eastern Europeans; (d) Asians and Pacific Islanders. With the possible exceptions of Germany and Yugoslavia, which seem to occupy marginal positions between the Northwest and Southeast European groups, these major groupings are confirmed by observation of the differences between the mean scores in Table XLVI. Earlier surveys conducted in Australia (Hammond, 1954) and New Zealand (McCreary, 1952; Vaughan, 1962) have identified similar categories. Both McCreary (1952, 53-54) and Vaughan (1962, 89) maintain that each major grouping is demarcated by a significant difference in the degree of social distance expressed by respondents.⁵

Does the rank order of birthplaces and major groupings revealed by the survey support the preference hierarchy incorporated in government policy? In anticipation of this question two statements (S.1 and S.2) relating to immigration policy were included in a later section of the questionnaire. Replies to these statements worded as follows, provide a good indication of the congruence between public attitudes and government policy.

- S.1. New Zealand should stick to an immigration policy which favours British immigrants first, Western Europeans second, Southern and Eastern Europeans third and other immigrants only as a last resort.
- S.2. New Zealand should follow the example of Australia and recruit more immigrants from Southern Europe (e.g. Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia).

Of the New Zealand-born respondents, 60.17 per cent declared complete agreement with S.1 and a further 11.68 per cent declared their uncertainty but felt they would probably agree. For S.2, only 25.54 per cent indicated complete agreement and a further 14.28 per cent probable agreement. In general, therefore, the majority of the population sampled upheld the preference scale incorporated in government policy, thereby supporting the claim that immigration policy represents a political-administrative response to perceived social distances between the majority of New Zealanders and specific nationalities or birthplaces.

There were, however, significant differences between some of the sub-groups in responses to the two statements. Using the χ^2 test for two independent samples, significant differences were established for S.1 between males and females, young and old, and between respondents not actively engaged and those who were actively engaged.⁶ These differences related specifically to degrees of complete and/or probable agreement. Thus males, the young and the actively engaged, recorded less agreement with the preference scale than females, the old and the not actively engaged (Table XLVIII). For S.2, a significant difference was established between 'White Collar' workers and the remainder of the actively engaged respondents. In this case the 'White Collar' workers were split evenly between agreement and disagreement compared with the remainder, the majority of whom opposed the suggestions of S.2 (Table XLIX).

While the results so far support government policy and confirm the hierarchy of preferences revealed in studies in the United States and Australia, it must be remembered that opponents of policy have on occasion stressed the need for wider recruitment of skilled

Table XLVIII

Significant Differences Between New Zealand-born Sub-groups in Responses to Statement 5.1 (concerning the preference hierarchy incorporated in immigration policy).

Response	Males	Females	Total	Young	Old	Total	Not Actively Engaged	Actively Engaged	Total
Agree	56	63	139	43	36	139	73	93	166
Probably Agree	12	15	27	10	17	27			
Probably Dis- agree	2	5	7	6	1	7	15	50	65
Disagree	41	17	58	33	25	58			
Total	111	120	231	92	139	231	88	143	231

df= 3
 $\chi^2 = 16.469$
 $p = .0013$

df= 3
 $\chi^2 = 17.875$
 $p = .0007$

df= 1
 $\chi^2 = 7.787$
 $p = .0055$

Note: The cell frequency requirement for the χ^2 test was not met for comparison of the 'not actively engaged' and the 'actively engaged' where df= 3, and the cells were accordingly grouped as shown above.

Table XLIX

Significant Difference Between White Collar Workers and Remainder of the New Zealand-born Actively Engaged in Responses to Statement 3.2 (concerning recruitment of immigrants from Southern Europe).

Responses	White Collar	Remainder	Total
Agree	25	16	41
Probably Agree	12	5	17
Probably Disagree	13	9	22
Disagree	24	39	63
Total	74	69	143

$$df= 3 \quad \chi^2 = 8.992 \quad p = .0292$$

migrants if New Zealand's requirements could not be met by 'most favoured' nations alone. Only one statement related to this subject was included in the questionnaire.

3.3 Skilled migrants from Yugoslavia would be better for New Zealand than unskilled British migrants.

'Yugoslavia' was selected for the statement for two reasons (other than being one of the five subject groups). First, it was considered representative of a 'less favoured' group of nations, and secondly, skilled Yugoslav immigrants have in the past been recruited by non-government organisations for construction work in New Zealand. No less than 73.59 per cent of New Zealand-born respondents agreed with 3.3, and a further 11.25 per cent indicated probable agreement. There were no significant sub-group differences in responses.

Skilled migrants, even from less favoured nations, have often been accommodated by extensions to normal immigration policy and are clearly recognised as desirable by survey respondents. But the response

to S.3 does not negate either the concept of social distance or the rank order of preferences. Skilled Yugoslavs may simply be viewed as desirable for national development, while the degree of social distance is maintained. The attribute of skills may on the other hand lead to a reduction of social distance, but testing of this argument requires a more specialised collection of data than attempted in this survey.

DIMENSIONALITY OF SOCIAL DISTANCE RATINGS

The concern here is with one aspect of the attitudes towards immigrants expressed by respondents - namely, the dimensionality of the ratings on the modified Bogardus Social Distance Scale. Do the respondents have a single set of attitudes towards immigrants, or do they have several sets, relevant to different immigrant groups? If the respondents have a single set of attitudes, it should be possible to predict how a person will rate all other groups from the rating given to but one or a few immigrant groups. However, this will not be possible if respondents have several sets of attitudes.

Identifying the dimensionality of attitudes has been approached in the past by Adcock (1952), Hammond (1954), Vaughan (1962) and more recently by Ames and Sakuma (1969) using factor analysis. Clearly if a single dimension model, such as that suggested by Vaughan (1962), is a valid representation of the reality of attitudes, then the ratings of various groups by respondents should be highly correlated with their ratings for all others. The correlations could then be represented in a single dimension in a factor analysis. If there is more than one dimension to attitudes, however, several factors will be needed, as

Ames and Sakuma discovered. The present study applies the Ames and Sakuma (1969) procedure to the data collected in Auckland. Principal components analysis was the technique chosen to identify the dimensions. The matrix analysed contained the product-moment correlations of the vectors of attitude scores for the various pairs of birthplace groups, computed over the sample of 317 registered voters. Communality estimates of 1.0 were entered in the diagonal of this matrix.⁷

After consideration of several alternatives a three-component solution was adopted, which accounted for 74 per cent of the variation in the correlation matrix. To aid interpretation these components were rotated to orthogonal simple structure according to the Varimax criterion. Both sets of component loadings are shown in Table L.

Loadings on the first unrotated component (accounting for 57 per cent of total variance) suggest a general set of attitudes towards all of the specified national groups. On this dimension only the United Kingdom and United States variables have loadings of less than 0.71, a loading which indicates that half of the variation in the relevant variable can be accounted for by the dimension. The third dimension suggests that the British and American group are viewed separately by respondents, an interpretation made even clearer by the loadings on the rotated components. Together, the first and third dimensions appear to indicate a contaminating factor of 'ethnocentrism' (see also Hammond, 1954, 59) with regard to attitudes towards 'white' or 'European' immigrants of other than British or American origin.

Loadings on the second component, in both rotated and unrotated solutions, suggest a 'white/non-white' or 'European/non-European' basis to attitudes. In the unrotated solution there is a clear bi-polar pattern

Table L

Component Loadings (Total Sample): Social Distance
Ratings of Fourteen Birthplace Groups.¹

Variable	Unrotated Components				Rotated Components ²		
	I	II	III	h^2	I	II	III
U.S.A.	59	36	41	64	33	-20	70
China	74	-33	16	68	25	-76	21
Denmark	81	35	-21	82	83	-24	27
Germany	78	22	-27	74	79	-30	15
Hungary	82	13	-09	69	67	-42	26
India	71	-50	15	78	16	-86	10
Italy	81	-15	-12	70	55	-62	09
Japan	78	-35	03	73	35	-77	11
Netherlands	77	29	-05	69	69	-29	35
Niue Island	80	-37	03	79	34	-82	09
Sweden	80	36	-18	80	81	-23	30
United Kingdom	50	49	54	78	26	-07	84
Western Samoa	79	-43	09	82	28	-85	11
Yugoslavia	83	12	-15	73	71	-43	21
% 'Explanation'	57	12	5		31	31	12

1 Decimal points omitted

2 Varimax criterion

of positive loadings for 'whites' and negative loadings for 'non-whites', while in the rotated solution the highest loadings are for 'non-white' countries. Placed alongside the other interpretations it is hard to avoid an impression of racial differentiation. It should be noted, however, that in the rotated solution Italy has a stronger loading on the second than on the first component, in contrast to the values for neighbouring Yugoslavia and Hungary. Apparently Italians evoke responses similar to those given to Asians and Pacific Islanders, so that a simple 'locational' or 'racial' dichotomy to attitudes cannot be assumed. Because of this anomaly a four-component solution was experimented with in the expectation of a separate Italian dimension (with perhaps medium to high loadings for Yugoslavia and Hungary). However, it was found that the fourth component of a four-component rotated solution separated the United Kingdom and the United States, each being the only variable loading on the third and fourth components, respectively. Thus the general construction of the second dimension in the rotated three-component solution would appear to be indicative of the New Zealander's image of Italy and the Italians. In summary, it seems reasonable to label the three components in the rotated solution as, respectively, 'white, non-English speaking', 'non-European' or 'non-white', and 'white, English speaking'. These three components accounted for 74 per cent of variance in the correlation matrix, the first and second components being the most important, each accounting for 31 per cent of total variance.

Since 231 out of the total of 317 survey respondents were New Zealand-born and 86 foreign-born (mainly British), separate principal components analyses were conducted for each of the two groups to determine

whether they displayed different sets of attitudes towards the birth-places specified. In general the results were very similar, especially for the New Zealand-born group which dominated the total sample. For the foreign-born the agreement was not as clear cut. Application of a component matching methodology developed by Kuizer and Veldman (Veldman, 1967) indicated that the only real difference between the total sample and those born outside New Zealand was in their attitudes towards immigrants from the United States. The foreign-born associated Americans more closely with potential immigrants from various Northern European countries (excluding the United Kingdom).

From the above analysis, it appears, for the population sampled, that attitudes towards immigrants from various countries of origin consist of three strands referring to 'whites, non-English speaking' (continental Europeans), 'non-whites' (Asians and Pacific Islanders) and 'whites, English speaking' (immigrants of British and American origin), which together make up a general attitude syndrome. While it may be argued that there seems to be considerable agreement regarding the desirability of various groups, there are nevertheless clear deviations from a single attitude dimension. In this respect the results obtained provide support for the findings of Ames and Sakuma (1969) and others.⁸

Given the origins and cultural heritage of New Zealand society, it is not surprising that (a) attitudes towards persons born in the United Kingdom (and to a lesser extent in the United States) are not strongly correlated with those toward other birthplace groups (see also Hammond, 1954), and (b) attitudes to 'whites' and 'non-whites' are at least partially separated. Moreover, given Allport's (1954) suggestion

that prejudice may be reduced by equal status contact between groups and Banton's (1967) view of the role sign function of racial differences, the 'white'/'non-white' dimensions (with their implicit status differentiation on the basis of race) do not augur well for the probable progress of inter-group relationships in New Zealand's 'multi-racial society'.

ASSIMILATION ORIENTATION

Taft's (1963; 1966) measurement of assimilation orientation, which has been applied in West Australia, was the method selected for the Auckland survey. Briefly, Taft distinguished three orientations - monism, pluralism and interactionism. Respondents were presented with these alternatives in three global statements, reproduced below, and were asked to state their first and second preferences.

Monism.

It would be best [for New Zealand] if all immigrants gave up their old ways of thinking and acting and tried to take on the [New Zealand] ways of thinking and acting as quickly as possible.

Pluralism.

It would be best [for New Zealand] if all immigrants keep to their own ways of thinking and acting and [New Zealanders] keep to their ways.

Interactionism.

It would be best [for New Zealand] if all immigrants could act and think like [New Zealanders] in some ways and if [New Zealanders] could act and think like immigrants in some ways so that eventually the differences between them would disappear.

In a review of the results obtained in two surveys, Taft (1966, 21-22) reported that "about one-third of the Australians were monistic in orientation and two-thirds interactionistic". Apparently pluralism was preferred by virtually none of the subjects interviewed.

Though the percentages for monism and interactionism were slightly lower and slightly higher, respectively, the results in the Auckland survey (Table LI) fit the Australian pattern. There was no significant difference between the New Zealand-born and foreign-born in the distribution of preferences.

Considering only New Zealand-born respondents, the χ^2 test was applied to determine whether orientation differences between sample sub-groups were statistically significant. Taft (1963, 282) suggested that females, the younger subjects (under 40) and the higher socio-economic strata were more likely to be interactionists than males, older subjects and the lower socio-economic group. He later claimed (Taft, 1966, 22) that "the Australian males were more monistic than the females." In the Auckland survey the difference between males and females with respect to global orientation preferences was not statistically significant. However, significant differences in preference distribution were found among the actively engaged with the 'professional/managerial' and 'White Collar' workers displaying a more interactionistic and less monistic orientation than the remainder of the actively engaged (Table LIY). In this respect at least the survey results confirmed one of Taft's suggestions.

To elaborate on general attitudes towards aspects of assimilation and immigrant behaviour, and to test also the validity of orientation preferences expressed by the respondents, eight statements were included in the questionnaire on the subjects of naturalisation, language, membership of clubs or societies and immigrant residential patterns. These statements, together with the responses of New Zealand-born subjects, are set out in Table LIII.

Table LI

Assimilation Orientation of Respondents in Auckland (First Preference).

Orientation	Total Sample		New Zealand-born		Foreign-born	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Monism	78	24.60	61	26.4	17	19.76
Pluralism	8	2.52	6	2.59	2	2.32
Interaction- ism	231	72.87	164	70.99	67	77.90
Total	317	100.00	231	100.00	86	100.00

Source: Auckland Survey, 1970.

As expected, significant differences appeared between the monists and interactionists in responses to statements S.4, S.5 and S.10 (Table LIV), verifying the general orientation preference expressed by the subjects interviewed. Logically, monists would tend to give more support to compulsory naturalisation (S.4) than interactionists, while the latter would logically be more tolerant of the immigrant's continuing use of his native language (S.5) especially in such a personal situation as worship. Conversely, interactionists would logically oppose social and residential segregation of immigrants (S.10) as features inhibiting inter-group contacts.

Statements S.4 and S.10 also elicited significantly different responses from sample sub-groups differentiated by sex, age and occupation. On the issue of naturalisation, females, the young and 'White Collar' workers appeared more 'liberal' than males, the old and the remainder of the actively engaged (Table LV). Similarly, on the subject

Table LII

Assimilation Orientation (First Preference) of Actively Engaged Sub-Groups of
New Zealand-born Respondents.

Orientation	Professional/ Managerial	Remainder	Total	White Collar	Remainder	Total
Monistic	5	31	36	10	26	36
Interactionist	38	65	103	64	39	103
Total	43	96	139	74	65	139
$df = 1 \quad \chi^2 = 5.574 \quad p = .0174$				$df = 1 \quad \chi^2 = 11.306 \quad p = .0011$		

Note: Pluralists deleted from tabulations to meet the χ^2 test cell frequency requirement.

Source: Auckland Survey, 1970.

Table LIII

Attitudes of New Zealand-born Respondents in Auckland (N=231) Towards Aspects of Assimilation and Immigrant Behaviour, Statements S.4 to S.11 (Percentages).

Statements (S.4 to S.11)	Responses			
	Agree	Uncertain but Agree	would probably Disagree	Disagree
S.4 All non-British immigrants should be required by law to become naturalised New Zealand citizens as soon as they are eligible.	67.09	9.09	3.03	20.77
S.5 Separate Church services for immigrants in their own language are desirable.	45.02	16.88	4.76	33.33
S.6 One of the biggest social problems faced by non-British immigrants and New Zealanders is the language barrier between them.	79.65	8.65	3.46	8.22
S.7 Immigrants in New Zealand whose native language is not English should attend English language classes.	87.87	6.06	1.29	4.76
S.8 Immigrant clubs and societies tend to keep immigrants and New Zealanders apart.	51.51	11.68	6.65	28.13
S.9 New Zealanders should encourage non-British immigrants from Europe to become members of New Zealand clubs and societies.	85.70	7.35	0.86	6.06
S.10 It harms no one if immigrants live together in their own communities.	35.49	7.79	11.68	45.02
S.11 One of the best ways for immigrants in Auckland to become New Zealanders is not to live in their own communities and to spread out and live alongside New Zealanders.	84.84	9.52	2.16	3.46

Source: Auckland Survey, 1970.

Table LJV

Attitudes of Monists and Interactionists Toward Aspects of Assimilation (Statements S.4, S.5 and S.10)

Response	Statement S.4			Statement S.5			Statement S.10		
	Monists	Interact- ionists	Total	Monists	Interact- ionists	Total	Monists	Interact- ionists	Total
Agree	53	117	170	30	108	138	34	61	95
Probably Agree									
Probably Disagree									
Disagree	8	47	55	31	56	87	27	103	130
Total	61	164	225	61	164	225	61	164	225

$df = 1$
 $\chi^2 = 5.005$
 $p = .0239$

$df = 1$
 $\chi^2 = 4.532$
 $p = 0.313$

$df = 1$
 $\chi^2 = 5.529$
 $p = .0178$

Table LV

Significant Differences between Sub-groups of New Zealand-born Respondents in Response to Statement 3.4
(concerning naturalisation of non-British immigrants).

Response	Males	Females	Total	Young	Old	Total	White Collar Workers	Remainder Actively Engaged	Total
Agree	92	84	176	61	115	176	54	60	114
Probably Agree									
Probably Disagree	19	36	55	31	24	55	20	9	29
Disagree									
Total	111	120	231	92	139	231	74	69	143

df = 1
 $\chi^2 = 4.589$
 $p = .0303$

df = 1
 $\chi^2 = 7.356$
 $p = .0068$

df = 1
 $\chi^2 = 3.497$
 $p = .0583$

Note: Though not quite at or within the .05 significance level, the difference between 'White Collar' workers and the 'remainder' was considered worth reporting on the grounds that a larger sample would probably have produced a significant difference in responses.

of immigrant social and residential segregation, females, 'White Collar' workers and respondents not actively engaged, expressed less disapproval than their respective counterparts (Table LVI). To some extent these sample sub-group differences are probably in keeping with Taft's suggestion that females, the young and the higher socio-economic group are more likely to be interactionist in orientation.

Comparative unanimity between sample sub-groups in responses to Statements S.6, S.7, S.9 and S.11 (Table LIII) does not imply the pervasiveness of a monistic orientation. Perception of a language barrier (S.6) by monists may be interpreted as recognition of the difficulty immigrants face in taking on New Zealand ways of thinking and acting, while from the interactionist viewpoint language may be perceived as an obstacle to inter-group communication. Thus from both viewpoints it is understandably desirable that immigrants, whose native language is not English, should attend English language classes (S.7). Encouragement for immigrants to join New Zealand clubs (S.9) and residential integration (S.11) may also be seen as courses of action that favour the attainment of objectives specified for both the monistic and interactionistic orientations.

From the above analysis it is clear that the dominant assimilation orientation expressed was one of Interactionism, though the proportion of the survey sample opting for the Monism orientation is by no means insignificant. This result, together with responses to more specific supplementary statements, effectively demonstrates the current isolation of Anglo-conformist attitudes enunciated in the past. The alignment of immigration policy with orientation attitudes expressed, however, is still difficult to determine because of a rather loose use

Table LVJ

Significant Differences between Sub-groups of New Zealand-born Respondents in Responses to Statement S.10 ('It harms no one if immigrants live together in their own communities').

Responses	Males	Females	Total	Not Actively Engaged	Actively Engaged	Total	White Collar Workers	Remainder Actively Engaged	Total
Agree	36	46	82	46	54	100	24	22	46
Probably Agree	4	14	18				7	1	8
Probably Disagree	13	14	27	42	89	131	13	5	18
Disagree	58	46	104				30	41	71
Total	111	120	231	88	143	231	74	69	143

df = 3
 $\chi^2 = 7.857$
 $p = .0485$

df = 1
 $\chi^2 = 4.099$
 $p = .0451$

df = 3
 $\chi^2 = 9.683$
 $p = .0215$

of terms in government policy statements. For example, in 1968 the then Minister of Immigration (T. Shand) referred to "the great question of assimilation and integration" and subsequently used the terms 'integration' and 'assimilation' as though they were synonyms.⁹ Social scientists, however, have been careful to distinguish between integration and assimilation as two, among other, policy alternatives (see Borrie, 1959, 89-98; Metge, 1967, 49-51, 53-55). Integration does not entail an insistence on uniformity via the elimination of all (cultural) differences between groups, but specifies the removal of those differences inhibiting the unity of two or more groups within a single national framework. Integration is thus closely akin to Taft's interactionism, which specifies mutual tolerance of cultural differences with the expectation of an eventual convergence of behaviour and shared norms incorporating elements of the two or more cultures. A policy of assimilation aims to produce a homogeneous culture by requiring minority groups to discard their cultures in favour of the host society's. Assimilation is therefore akin to Taft's alternative of monism. If New Zealand's immigration regulations, therefore, have been constructed in support of a policy of assimilation, which is strongly suggested by the 1968 policy statement, then the survey results indicate a clear discrepancy between policy and public attitudes.¹⁰

IMMIGRATION OF PACIFIC ISLANDERS

(Of all the new arrivals Pacific Islanders probably face most acutely the problem of adjustment in New Zealand's European-urban-industrial society. This apparent contradiction in immigration policy

which has normally restricted the entry of groups likely to face adjustment problems, can be attributed to the status of some Islanders as New Zealand citizens and to the Government's insistence on New Zealand's responsibilities to Pacific Islanders. The nature of these external responsibilities was indicated by a former Minister of Island Territories (Hanan, 1970) when he specified various reasons for allowing migration to New Zealand in addition to financial and technical assistance for socio-economic development and administration. Until September 1969, when Cabinet decided to extend housing assistance under the Maori Housing Act to suitably qualified Pacific Islanders, the sense of external responsibility was not matched by internal measures to ease the adjustment problems of immigrants. Even then some four years had elapsed since McCreary's (1965) report on the Housing and Welfare Needs of Islanders in Auckland had been presented to the Minister of Island Territories.

Attitudes of the sampled population were gauged using three statements on the subjects of housing, residential patterns in Auckland and the effect of Pacific Islanders upon employment standards. The latter topic was considered worthy of examination in order to test popular support for the stand taken in early 1969 by the Secretary of the Gisborne Trades Council, who opposed temporary immigration of Fijian scrub-cutters.¹¹ Responses obtained, together with the text of the statements, are presented in Table LVII. Briefly, the majority of New Zealand-born respondents agreed that Government should give as much special assistance with housing in New Zealand as possible (S.12) and residential integration was also clearly favoured (S.13). Females, however, gave significantly less support than males to the latter

Table LVII

Attitudes of New Zealand-born Respondents in Auckland (N=231) Toward Pacific Islanders, Statements S.12 to S.14 (Percentages).

Statement	Agree	Responses		Disagree
		Uncertain but Agree	probably Disagree	
S.12 Pacific Islanders should be given as much special assistance with housing by Government as is possible.	54.11	13.85	7.79	24.24
S.13 Pacific Islanders should be helped to settle in all parts of Auckland rather than concentrate in small areas.	72.72	6.32	4.33	16.02
S.14 Do you agree with the New Zealander who said that immigrant workers from the Pacific Islands were a threat to the employment standards of New Zealand?	17.74	9.09	13.42	59.74

Source: Auckland Survey, 1970.

statement ($df = 1$, $\chi^2 = 5.57$, $p = .0194$). Finally, the majority of respondents rejected the suggestion that Pacific Islanders were a threat to the employment standards of New Zealand (3.14).

While it would be unwise to ignore the proportions of respondents opposing housing assistance (about 32 per cent) and residential integration (about 20 per cent) and concerned at the effect of Islander immigration upon employment standards (about 26 per cent), it appears that overall the majority of respondents endorse responsibilities advocated by government and measures seeking to ameliorate adjustment problems. Social acceptance of Pacific Islanders, however, is quite another matter as indicated by the social distance ratings of Niueans and Western Samoans.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE FIVE SUBJECT GROUPS

The results reported so far have important implications for the five study groups. First, the rank order of preference expressed by respondents via their social distance ratings of each group, if interpreted as an indicator of the desirability of social interaction, clearly favours the Dutch, followed by the Yugoslavs, Hungarians, Western Samoans and Niueans, in that order. If the attitudes expressed correspond (or are perceived by the migrants as likely to correspond) with the realities of behaviour in day-to-day social interaction, the prospects for 'progress' in the various structural dimensions of assimilation (e.g. amalgamation, acculturation, occupational and residential integration) will vary considerably for each of the five groups. Second, the strength of race as a determinant of social distance suggests that a

general reduction of social distance in the case of Niueans and Samoans will be handicapped by their physical dissimilarity, notwithstanding 'progress' achieved in acculturation or other non-intimate dimensions of assimilation. By comparison the Hungarians, Yugoslavs and especially the Dutch, all three probably perceived as more physically akin to members of the host society, can expect to achieve an acknowledged reduction of social distance via the process of assimilation.¹²

Indeed, acknowledgment from the host society might also result in an acceleration of the pace of assimilation and reduction of social distance. Finally, although the dominance of the interactionist orientation promises a reciprocal pattern of adjustment, the social distance ratings suggest Niueans and Samoans will again be relatively disadvantaged compared to the three continental European groups. If the three orientations are interpreted as ideal situations, one can readily anticipate a clash between interactionism and social distance that will be most noticeable with respect to the Pacific Islanders.¹³

The above impressions are to some extent supported by responses to a set of eight statements and two questions included in the survey questionnaire. For practical reasons the eight statements were limited to popular beliefs and stereotypes regarding the Dutch and Western Samoans (the two largest groups), while the two questions were designed to provide comparative data on attitudes towards each of the five groups. Subject areas broached in the eight statements were as follows: newspaper reports of Western Samoan crime (S.15) and their reputation for bad behaviour (S.16); stereotypes of the Dutch as hard-working settlers (S.17) with a reputation for acting superior in relationships with New Zealanders

(S.18); the question of social attitudes towards inter-marriage with Western Samoans (S.19); the anticipated effect of Western Samoan and Dutch settlement, respectively, upon property values in the respondents' neighbourhood (S.20 and S.21); and finally, whether Dutch immigrants were more welcome than Western Samoans in New Zealand (S.22). Obviously some of these topics touch upon rather sensitive areas of inter-group attitudes. The two questions asked respondents directly if they personally would mind working with (Q.1) and would particularly avoid having as neighbours (Q.2) members of each of the five immigrant groups.

Responses to each of the statements are summarised in Table LVIII. The majority of respondents agreed with each statement concerning Western Samoans, particularly that they had a reputation for bad behaviour (S.16) and that Samoan settlement in the respondents' street would lead to a drop in property values (S.20). Whereas the Dutch were popularly perceived as hardworking settlers (S.17), respondents were almost equally divided over the question of 'superior' Dutch behaviour (S.18), and all but 8 per cent rejected the suggestion that Dutch settlement would depress local property values (S.21). Finally, approximately 64 per cent agreed (including 'uncertain, but probably agree') that Dutch immigrants are more welcome than Western Samoans in New Zealand (S.22).¹⁴

As a second step in the analysis of results, the χ^2 test for two independent samples was applied and significant differences were established between sample sub-groups for statements S.15, S.16 and S.19. While not quite at or within the .05 level of statistical significance it should also be noted that 'young' (under 40 years) respondents tended to show less agreement with S.22 than the older respondents ($df = 1$, $\chi^2 = 3.659$, $p = .0528$).

Table LVIII

Attitudes of New Zealand-born (N=231) towards Dutch and Western Samoan Immigrants, Statements S.15 to S.22 (Percentages).

Statement	Agree	Responses		Disagree
		Uncertain but probably Agree	Disagree	
S.15 Newspaper reports in Auckland have drawn more attention to criminal convictions against Western Samoans than to convictions against other immigrants.	46.32	17.31	8.66	27.70
S.16 Whether they deserve it or not, the Western Samoans have a reputation for bad behaviour.	69.70	12.55	6.92	10.82
S.17 Dutch immigrants are generally hard-working settlers in New Zealand.	82.25	9.95	1.73	6.06
S.18 Many Dutch immigrants act in a superior manner towards New Zealanders.	36.79	9.35	16.88	36.36
S.19 A <u>pakeha</u> New Zealander who married a Western Samoan immigrant in New Zealand would encounter social disapproval from fellow New Zealanders.	49.35	19.91	6.06	24.67
S.20 The settlement of Western Samoan immigrants in your street would lead to a drop in property values.	69.70	11.66	5.19	13.42
S.21 The settlement of Dutch immigrants in your street would lead to a drop in property values.	6.06	2.16	11.68	80.08
S.22 Dutch immigrants are more welcome than Western Samoans in New Zealand.	72.29	12.12	3.89	11.68

Source: Auckland Survey, 1970.

For S.15 the only significant difference appeared between respondents who claimed to have 'had contact' and those who claimed 'no contact' with Western Samoans (Table LIX); a higher proportion of those who claimed 'no contact' supported the statement, the significant difference between the two groups appearing in the frequency of replies in the category 'uncertain, but probably agree'. The responses obtained suggest that contact with Western Samoans did not produce an overall improvement in attitudes. Indeed some respondents, after contact, would appear to feel that the attention drawn by newspaper reports to convictions against Western Samoans is no more than they deserve when compared with other immigrants.¹⁵

Young respondents (under 40 years) showed more support than old respondents for the statement (S.16) 'Whether they deserve it or not, the Western Samoans have a reputation for bad behaviour' (Table LIX). It is well known that attitudes towards others are socially formed and maintained, developed in part from personal experiences, but frequently owing much to adoption of the attitudes of others. Since 151 out of 231 New Zealand-born respondents have had at least some contact with Western Samoans, the difference between young and old raises some interesting questions. For example: "Have young respondents been more receptive to reports of criminal convictions which range from newspaper sensationals to the factual account specifying the guilty party's birthplace?" The design of the Auckland survey precludes an answer to this or similar questions, but the observed difference between 'young' and 'old' respondents points to an important research question. Where lie the origins of the Western Samoan's tarnished image?

Table LIX

Significant Differences between Sub-groups of New Zealand-born Respondents in Responses to Statements S.15, S.16 and S.19.

Response	Statement S.15		Statement S.16		Statement S.19	
	No Contact	Had Contact	Young	Old	Males	Females
Agree	34	73	66	35	49	65
Uncertain, but probably agree	22	18	16	13	18	28
Uncertain, but probably disagree	7	13	6	10	9	5
Disagree	17	47	4	21	35	22
Total	80	151	92	139	111	120
	df = 3 x ² = 7.557 p = .0227		df = 3 x ² = 8.899 p = .0304		df = 3 x ² = 8.189 p = .0418	

Statement S.19, concerned with social disapproval of inter-racial marriages, elicited stronger support from females than from males (Table LIX). On the basis of studies on (and attitudes toward) inter-racial marriages elsewhere, this difference in the attitudes of males and females was one that could be fairly confidently predicted and serves to underline the greater social sensitivity of females in this area of behaviour and social relationships. One possible explanation, for example, is that since women are generally ascribed the same social status as that of their husband, inter-racial marriage for a New Zealand-born white female would imply loss of status. This explanation assumes, of course, a lower social status for Western Samoans on the basis of race alone - an assumption to some extent confirmed by the social distance ratings and the 'white'/'non-white' dimension discussed earlier.

There can be little doubt that responses to the eight statements concerning Dutch and Western Samoan immigrants confirm the general social distance ratings and impressions gained with regard to the relative advantages enjoyed by the Dutch and Western Samoans, respectively, in their relations with members of the host society. Are the immigrants aware of the attitudes towards them? Survey results reported by both Alexander (1969, 61-62) and Thomson (1970, 160-165) indicate that Dutch immigrants are well aware of the favourable attitudes of New Zealanders. On the other hand, Pitt and Macpherson (1971, 24-25) report that the general feeling among Samoans is that New Zealand is "not very receptive towards them", although less than a majority claimed to have encountered directly prejudice or discrimination.¹⁶

Responses to questions 3.1 and 3.2 (Table LV), with explicit

Table LX

Answers of New Zealand-born Respondents in Auckland (N = 231) to Questions Concerning the Acceptability of Members of Five Immigrant Groups as Work-mates and Neighbours.

	Question Q.1 "Assuming that you are a wage or salary earner would you mind if your employer took on immigrants from ... to work with you?"					Question Q.2 "If you had any choice would you particularly avoid having next door neighbours from "				
	Yes	No	Might/ Depends	D.K.	Total	Yes	No	Might/ Depends	D.K.	Total
Netherlands	12	201	18	-	231	13	199	19	-	231
Yugoslavia	13	192	26	-	231	23	172	35	1	231
Hungary	14	189	28	-	231	20	166	41	4	231
Western Samoa	28	152	51	-	231	92	74	64	1	231
Niue	30	144	57	-	231	94	72	63	2	231

Source: Auckland Survey, 1970.

discrimination between the five groups, recall the earlier social distance ratings and the preference hierarchy. Almost 66 per cent of respondents replied that they would not mind if an employer took on Western Samoan immigrants to work with them. A substantial minority (12.1 per cent) declared that they would mind and the remainder qualified their reply by indicating that their attitude depended very much on the work situation and the character of the individual Western Samoan (Niuean or other) immigrant. Acceptance of Western Samoans (or Niueans) as 'work-mates' did not, however, necessarily entail their acceptance as residential neighbours. Almost 40 per cent of respondents indicated that if they had a choice they would avoid having Western Samoan neighbours, while a further 28 per cent qualified their reply ('might'/'it depends') by stipulating the problem of potentially 'noisy' neighbours of 'bad' character. By comparison, Dutch immigrants, and to a lesser degree Yugoslavs and Hungarians, were judged to be almost equally acceptable as either work-mates or neighbours. A purely subjective impression gained from these results is that (in theory and not necessarily in practice) if a Western Samoan or Niuean was of 'good' character, had a 'good' job, kept his house and property 'tidy' - if in fact he conformed to the respondents' (often idealised) residential standards - then the Western Samoan or Niuean stood a reasonable chance of acceptance as a neighbour.

The only statistically significant difference in attitudes appeared between respondents actively engaged in employment and those not actively engaged in reply to Q.1. A greater willingness to accept Western Samoans as work-mates was expressed by the actively engaged

(Table LXI). Such a difference in attitudes may merely reflect age differences between the two groups. However, the important point, for the Western Samoan, is that acceptance by the majority (70 per cent) of the actively engaged New Zealand-born respondents marks an important step in the process of structural assimilation.

Table LXI

Significant Difference between the Not Actively Engaged and Actively Engaged Sub-groups of New Zealand-born Respondents in Response to Question 2.1 (concerning acceptance of Western Samoans as 'work-mates').

Response	Not Actively Engaged	Actively Engaged
Yes	9	19
No	52	100
Might/It Depends/Don't Know	27	24
Total	88	143

$$df = 2, \chi^2 = 6.159, p = 0.0449$$

ATTITUDES AND RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS

One of the aims specified in the introduction to this chapter, was to examine the implications of attitudes in terms of their possible influence upon aspects of the structural assimilation of immigrant groups, with particular reference to residential patterns. A useful starting point for this task is provided by viewpoints expressed in a recent study of immigrant residential patterns in Australia.

Burnley (1971, 68) has suggested that in Australian cities:

... the socio-economic contrasts between areas are considerable ... [and that] ... because of the areal concentration of socio-economic characteristics ... certain areas contain a disproportionate number of non-English speaking persons with low skills on low incomes.

Aside from the debatable cause and effect relationship postulated (perhaps unintentionally) by Burnley, his viewpoint is basically nothing more than recognition of the frequently positive correlation between physical and social distance remarked upon by Park (1952, 177). Going further in his argument, Burnley notes that:

... southern European communities are in general more residentially and occupationally concentrated ... and thus less assimilated ... [and he suggests, therefore, that] ... it can be seen perhaps what would be the case if culturally dissimilar non-Europeans were admitted to Australia in large numbers.

The crux of his argument is that (Burnley, 1971, 68):

... if non-Europeans ... were admitted with occupational ranges and proportions similar to those of the host society, less ethnic concentration would be likely to occur.

If a 'liberal' immigration policy is assumed (e.g. without emphasis on sponsorship by resident kinfolk), Burnley's line of reasoning can be allowed to the extent that representation in all occupational groups may facilitate representation in all income and status groups, promote residential diversity and hence an overall decrease in physical distance (residential concentration). But what one must be wary of is the implication that a reduction in physical distance prompted by occupational diversity or equality would automatically be matched by a reduction in social distance (as measured by various indices of assimilation).

ation). Many studies have assumed that residential proximity automatically increases the probability of social interaction and hence assimilation.

It is because of this type of assumption that an understanding of the dimensionality of social distance is of critical importance. Triandis and Triandis (1960), in an examination of stimuli used for the measurement of social distance, have tested word combinations encompassing the variables of race, occupation, religion and nationality. The conclusion reached was that 77 per cent of the variance was explained by race in terms of social distance that whites felt toward Negroes. Ames and Sakuma (1969) have also concluded that race was the predominant criterion for evaluating others. The 'white'/'non-white' dimensions revealed by analysis of social distance ratings earlier in this chapter require no further comment in terms of their importance. Thus, while non-European immigrants admitted with (or attaining) "occupational ranges and proportions similar to those of the host society" may be less likely to form residential concentrations, their physical dissimilarity is likely to maintain social segregation or social distance. In other words, 'progress' may be achieved in some aspects of assimilation, but be retarded in others by the racial dimension of inter-group attitudes.

From this viewpoint, one can endorse the objection raised by Beshers, Laumann and Bradshaw (1964) regarding the value of residential segregation as an adequate or predictive index of aspects of the assimilation process for ethnic groups in Philadelphia. Even Park (1952, 80) has admitted that in the great cities "social distances are maintained in spite of geographical proximity" and declared that communities may be

composed of people "who live together in relations that can best be described as symbiotic rather than social". Perhaps this can be said of the majority of the first-generation Yugoslavs residing in the Ferndale-Road-Panorama Road neighbourhood of Mount Wellington. These points should be carefully considered in the course of future research, especially where immigrant and indigenous minorities are strongly distinguished by race or religion and particularly in the context of programmes of planned suburban relocation such as those operative in New Zealand for Maoris and more recently Pacific Islanders.

If social distances can be maintained in spite of geographical proximity, then what of the dominant interactionist orientation expressed by the majority of respondents in the Auckland survey? This question can be approached via an examination of what appears to be a contradiction in attitudes as revealed by responses to statement S.13 and question Q.2 (Table LXII), which may be summarised as follows:

1. A total of 184 (out of 231) New Zealand-born respondents replied that they 'strongly agreed', 'agreed' or were 'uncertain' but probably 'agreed' with the statement that "Pacific Islanders should be helped to settle in all parts of Auckland rather than concentrate in small areas" (S.13). In other words, 184 (79.6 per cent) generally 'agreed' with the implied principle of residential integration - a response consistent with the dominant interactionist orientation.
2. Of the 184 who 'agreed' with the statement, however, only 67 and 66 indicated that they would not avoid having next-door neighbours from Western Samoa and Niue, respectively. That is, almost 36 per cent of those who supported S.13 were prepared to take the implied principle of residential integration to its logical conclusion in each case.

Table LXII

Attitudes of New Zealand-born Respondents in Auckland (N=231) Toward Residential Integration of Pacific Islanders, cross-tabulated by Reply to Avoidance of Western Samoan and Niuean Immigrants as Neighbours, respectively.

Question Q.2 "If you had any choice would you particularly avoid having next door neighbours from ... "										
		(A) Western Samoa					(B) Niue			
		Yes	No	Might	Don't Know	Total	Yes	No	Might	Don't Know
Statement S.13	1+	11	20	9	-	40	10	20	10	-
"Pacific Islanders should be helped to settle in all parts of Auckland rather than concentrate in small areas."	2+	43	45	39	1	128	46	44	36	2
	3+	10	2	4	-	16	10	2	4	-
	4+	4	2	4	-	10	3	2	5	-
	5+	18	5	8	-	31	19	4	8	-
	6+	6	-	-	-	6	6	-	-	-
Total		92	74	64	1	231	94	72	63	2

+ 1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 = Uncertain, but probably Agree 4 = Uncertain, but probably disagree
5 = Disagree 6 = Strongly Disagree

Source: Auckland Survey, 1970.

3. Of the remaining respondents who 'agreed' with S. 13, 64 and 66 replied that they would avoid having Western Samoans and Niueans, respectively, as neighbours. A further 52 and 50, respectively, replied that they might avoid having such neighbours.
4. Finally, the majority of the 47 (out of 231) who 'disagreed' with S.13 replied that they would or might avoid having Western Samoan and Niueans as neighbours.

Claims of racial prejudice or racial discrimination provide an easy way out of the problem of explanation, and may indeed be appropriate to the attitudes of a minority of respondents. However, the apparent conflict in responses may simply reflect a more general conflict between support of an ideal (racial residential integration) and perceived social distance between respondents and members of the two immigrant groups.¹⁷

In order to test the above hypothesis, data for respondents agreeing with S.13 were examined with regard to their ratings of Western Samoa and Niue on the modified Bogardus Social Distance Scale and cross-tabulated with responses to the question of avoidance of Samoan and Niuean neighbours. Results obtained and summarised as mean social distance scores (Table LXIII) appear to give substantial support to the hypothesis of conflict between support of an ideal and perceived social distance. Respondents who replied that they would avoid having Western Samoan and Niuean neighbours had mean scores on the six-point Social Distance Scale of 3.04 and 2.97, respectively, as compared with 4.50 and 4.28 for those who replied they would not avoid having such neighbours. Respondents who were undecided and indicated the need to consider specific individuals in specific "neighbourhood situations" attained intermediate mean social distance scores of 3.92 and 3.90 for Western Samoans and Niueans, respectively.

Table LXIII

New Zealand-born Respondents Supporting Residential Integration of Pacific Islanders; Cross-tabulation of Responses to the stimulus 'Western Samoa' and 'Niue' on the Social Distance Scale by Reply to Avoidance of Western Samoan and Niuean Immigrants as Neighbours, respectively.

Question 4.2 "If you had any choice would you particularly avoid having next door neighbours from ..."								
I would be willing to admit persons from ...	(A) Western Samoa				(B) Niue			
	Yes	No	Might	Total	Yes	No	Might	Total
To close kinship by marriage	2	19	6	27	-	14	6	20
To my home as friends/guests	13	21	17	51	17	21	14	52
To my occupation as work-mate	12	10	8	30	11	11	10	32
To residence in New Zealand	12	9	10	31	9	10	11	30
To New Zealand as visitors only	9	8	10	27	11	10	7	28
I would not be willing to admit to New Zealand	16	-	1	17	18	-	2	20
Total	64	67	52	183	66	66	50	182
Mean Score on Social Distance Scale	3.04	4.50	3.92	3.83	2.97	4.28	3.90	3.70

- Notes: (1) Respondents supporting residential integration of Pacific Islanders are defined as those who indicated that they 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'uncertain, but probably agree' with S.13
- (2) The 'Don't Know' category has been deleted from the tabulation of replies to avoidance of Western Samoans and Niueans as neighbours (Q.2).
- (3) Mean score on the Social Distance Scale was calculated by assigning a score to each step on the Scale beginning with a score of '6' for 'To close kinship' and ending with a score of '1' for 'I would not be willing to admit ...'

The results presented in Table LXIII are also important for three further reasons. First, they suggest that the interactionist orientation is subordinate to perceived social distance between respondents and specific immigrant groups. Second, the results provide support for the anticipated disadvantage of Pacific Islanders vis-à-vis continental Europeans in the process of adjustment to life in the host society. And finally, the dimensionality of social distance ratings discussed earlier suggests that the visibility or physical dissimilarity of Western Samoans and Niueans is an important factor underlying the results presented in Tables LXII and LXIII.

From the responses obtained to questions Q.1 and Q.2 (Tables LX, LXII and LXIII) it is clear that residential proximity is regarded by respondents as being of greater personal importance than occupational proximity (i.e. work-mate), presumably because of the opportunities offered by each situation for social interaction. This, of course, is in line with the emphasis given by researchers to the factor of physical distance or residential propinquity in studies of human interaction. One need only consider the modern phenomena of suburbanisation and commuting to understand that people who work together go their own separate ways at the end of each working day, knowing and accepting that their working together does not also entail sharing their recreational activities. It could be argued from this example that physical and social distance are mutually supporting.

Examination of responses to statements included in the questionnaire indicates that social and physical distance are maintained, at least in part, by a set of related beliefs. For example, if residential

proximity is a factor affecting marriage patterns, then it is logical that among the supporting beliefs there should be a clear indication of the possible consequences of inter-group marriage. Given the social distance rating of Western Samoans the pattern of responses to statement S.19 (see Table LVIII) is hardly surprising. The message is clear. To avoid social disapproval, avoid inter-marriage by avoiding residential proximity (Q.2) and the attendant opportunities for social interaction. Similar interpretations may be placed upon the anticipated effects of Western Samoan as opposed to Dutch settlement upon neighbourhood property values (statements S.20 and S.21) and popular acceptance of the view that Western Samoans, whether they deserve it or not, have a reputation for bad behaviour (S.16). In each case the dominant beliefs, or rationalisations, tend to dissuade social interaction and thus maintain both social and physical distance between respondents and Western Samoans.

It may, of course, be argued that such beliefs are unfounded, like so many other imaginary (and often intimate) traits imputed to members of groups regarded unfavourably. Imaginary or otherwise, the influence of such beliefs must not be ignored.¹⁸ Consider, for example, responses to statement S.20. First, it must be stressed that a lack of evidence to support an association between the entry of Western Samoans and a drop in property values, even the fact that research in the United States by Laurenti (1962) and Schietinger (1964) among others discredits the hypothesis of declines in property values following the entry of Negroes into specific neighbourhoods, is largely irrelevant to the replies given by respondents in the Auckland survey. Geographers are, or should be, aware that human populations most frequently act with reference not

to the real (objective) environment but with reference to the perceived (subjective) environment. Human perception is influenced by a wide variety of factors, including memories, moods, circumstances, social customs, values, mores, the mass media and peculiarities of the individual personality.

To some extent the situation may well be one of a self-fulfilling prophecy; if men define a situation as real, then it is real in its consequences.¹⁹ Thus, given the prevalence of the belief indicated in responses to statement S.20, the entry of Western Samoans (and probably Niueans) into some residential areas may be resisted and/or established residents may move away and hence residential patterns and property values may be affected. Perhaps developments such as these contributed to the patterns of racial residential change in Auckland over the decade 1956-1966 as portrayed by Curson (1970b, 164-166) in a study which carefully delineated areas of 'invasion' and 'succession'. Curson's study has also the unintended merit of bearing testimony to neglected areas of urban research in New Zealand. To date, there have been no systematic attempts made to determine factors or reasons underlying individual decisions to move made by 'white' New Zealand-born former residents of Freemans Bay, Ponsonby or other Inner City areas now accommodating high proportions of Pacific Islanders.²⁰

From the results presented in this and previous chapters, it is obvious that for the five selected groups there is a perfect rank correlation between the hierarchies of residential dissimilarity and social distance. Park's postulated association, accepted by other researchers, is therefore validated. If it is also accepted that social distance and physical distance are not only associated but interacting (Feldman and Tilly, 1960) and mutually reinforcing, then a quite critical

question remains to be answered. If social distances may be maintained despite physical proximity, how can social distances be reduced? Paradoxically, the answer appears to be that social distances can be reduced by physical proximity or increased social contact - but such reductions are not mandatory!

In a study of ethnic stratification, Ehibutani and Kwan (1965, 536) have said:

Were geographical proximity does not necessarily result in the reduction of social distance, but more frequent contacts take place. Those who are together a great deal cannot help but make some observations that contradict stereotyped conceptions, and there are more opportunities for breaking through the walls of ethnocentrism.

Their reference to "stereotyped conceptions" points unerringly toward the importance of beliefs such as those discussed above with respect to Western Samoans. These conceptions, which may be generalised to the extent that 'others' are seen as similar or dissimilar to members of the host society (in terms of race, culture, life-styles), underlie social distances and provide a basis for social interaction in the absence of more intimate or personalised knowledge of 'others'. Where marked residential and occupational dissimilarity exists between groups, relatively few individuals come into direct and sustained contact with 'others', particularly if minority group community organisation is well developed. Under these conditions information about 'others' is indirect, often based on hearsay. Even those who do come into direct contact, do so most frequently in institutional settings so that 'others' become known only in specific roles; for example, as Yugoslav viticulturalist or restaurant operator, Niuean factory employee, Dutch tradesman, Western

Samoan nurse aid, laundry worker or housekeeper. At the risk of oversimplifying, these rather general observations put Park's postulated association between physical distance and social distance into its proper perspective - that of common sense.

Numerous studies carried out in the United States can be cited in support of the hypothesis that where members of different ethnic groups living in close proximity are in sustained association they are more likely to redefine or modify their beliefs about one another in a positive direction (see Deutsch and Collins, 1951; Works, 1961). Meer and Freedman (1966), for example, set out to test the hypothesis that equal-status residential contact between Negroes and whites in a predominantly white middle to upper-middle-class neighbourhood would lead to a reduction of prejudice. Their results suggest that such contact does lead to a reduction of prejudice in that Negroes were more accepted as neighbours, but this change did not necessarily generalise to other areas of interpersonal contact such as being invited into the home for social reasons. In essence, social distance was reduced but not eliminated. And in New Zealand, McCreary (1952, 47-50) has found that the mean tolerance (derived from ratings on a Bogardus Scale) expressed towards members of 'coloured' groups decreased as the number of subjects who had established personal contacts with them decreased.

Respondents in the Auckland survey were asked if they had personal contact with or had become acquainted with members of each of the five selected groups. Where contacts had been made the respondents were asked to specify the prime contact condition (for example, 'at work'). Two main features emerged (Table LXIV). First, there was a very wide range in the proportion of respondents who claimed contact with members of each

Table LXIV

Contact of New Zealand-born Respondents in Auckland (N=231) with Immigrants from Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Western Samoa and Niue.

Main Contact Condition	Netherlands	Yugoslavia	Hungary	Western Samoa	Niue
No Contact	35	73	138	80	138
Contact	(196)	(158)	(93)	(151)	(93)
At Work	101	63	53	95	63
Neighbours	19	12	8	11	6
In Street/Shopping	6	5	4	10	3
Through Friends	51	52	16	20	12
Through Children	5	4	2	4	2
Other	14	22	10	11	7
Total	231	231	231	231	231

Source: Auckland Survey, 1970.

of the groups. Whereas 84.84 per cent of respondents claimed contact with the Dutch, only 40.26 per cent claimed contact with Hungarians and Niueans. Yugoslavs and Western Samoans were in an intermediate position (68.4 and 65.36 per cent, respectively). Second, very few of the contact situations specified (particularly for Hungarians, Niueans and Western Samoans) would of necessity involve well-developed face-to-face relationships and, considering also the proportions claiming no contact, suggest a substantial measure of social segregation. In each case the major contact situations were 'at work', 'through friends', and 'living in the same house or next door' (neighbours). 'At work' generally accounted for over 50 per cent of prime contact situations (except for Yugoslavs) and as much as 67 per cent in the case of Niueans.

The above results are generally consistent with residential and occupational dissimilarities between the host society and the respective immigrant groups, but the results obtained for both Hungarians and Niueans suggest also the importance of group size along with the relative recency of immigration and settlement. As expected there was a tendency for males, the young and the actively engaged to have more contact than their counterparts. Females in particular had significantly less contact than males with Western Samoans and Niueans (Table LXV) - a result which suggests the limits imposed upon contact opportunities by the relatively low labour force participation rates of females in New Zealand.²²

Does contact/non-contact affect the mean perceived social distance between respondents and members of the five immigrant groups? The hypothesis here is that inter-group contact will be reflected in more favourable mean social distance perceptions of the immigrant group or groups involved. In each case the mean social distance score was calcu-

Table LXV

Significant Differences between New Zealand-born Male and Female Respondents in Contact with Western Samoans and Niueans.

	Western Samoans		Niueans	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
No Contact	22	58	50	88
Contact	89	62	61	32
Total	111	120	111	120
	df = 1		df = 1	
	$\chi^2 = 13.468$		$\chi^2 = 18.027$	
	p = .0000		p = .0001	

Table LXVI

Effect of Contact/Non-Contact upon Mean Perceived Social Distance Between New Zealand-born Respondents and Members of Five Immigrant Groups.

	Contact	No Contact	t^1
Netherlands	4.94	4.11	3.0834 ++
Yugoslavia	4.60	4.09	2.3572 ++
Hungary	4.40	4.08	1.4596
Western Samoa	3.74	3.36	1.7802 +
Niue	3.55	3.41	0.6342

++ p < .01 + p < .05

1. Student's t test (one-tailed)

lated for respondents who specified 'contact' and 'no contact' and the Students' t test (one-tailed) was applied to determine the statistical significance of the difference between the means.²³ The results (Table LXVI) indicate that respondents in contact with Dutch, Yugoslav and Western Samoan immigrants have a significantly more favourable mean social distance perception than respondents having no contact. However, the difference between the means was not found to be significant in the case of Hungarians and Niueans, but it should be noted that the level of significance attained was considerably closer to .05 for Hungarians ($.10 > p > .05$) than for Niueans ($p > .45$). These results, in sum, reinforce an earlier comment - namely, that contact between groups may reduce social distances (not eliminate them) but such reductions are not mandatory. Moreover, the main types of contact identified by respondents indicate that contact per se is less important than the type and intensity of contact experienced and impressions gained. Not all contacts facilitate sustained interaction or lead to favourable modifications of stereotyped conceptions. Contacts must therefore be assessed in terms of the quality of rapport established - a feature not systematically incorporated into the Auckland survey questionnaire.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ATTITUDES

The prime concern in this chapter has been to establish the nature, universality and basis of attitudes towards members of a variety of immigrant groups, with special attention to attitudes towards the five selected groups. Where appropriate the possible effects of attitudes

upon immigrant residential patterns and other aspects of structural assimilation have been explored. Among the salient points to emerge are the following.

1. The Auckland survey has verified the existence of a preference or social distance hierarchy with respect to immigrants from a variety of national origins. This hierarchy closely parallels the hierarchies reported by researchers in Australia and the United States.
2. Principal components analysis of ratings on a modified Bogardus Social Distance Scale identified three major dimensions in attitudes towards immigrants. These dimensions, which together accounted for 74 per cent of total variance in the correlation matrix based on social distance ratings, indicate the importance of both 'culture' and 'race' as the bases of attitudes.
3. Investigation of assimilation orientation has revealed that the majority of respondents were 'interactionistic' and a minority 'monistic' in orientation. An almost identical result has been reported by Taft in Australia.
4. In general the preference hierarchy, dimensionality of attitudes and assimilation orientations indicate a close alignment between public attitudes and government immigration policy. There is, however, some doubt concerning the true underlying assimilation orientation of immigration policy and hence alignment with public attitudes. A categorical statement of immigration policy is required.
5. Park's assertion that "physical distances so frequently are, or seem to be, the indexes of social distances" is validated by the correlation between residential dissimilarity and rank order on the

preference hierarchy of Dutch, Yugoslav, Hungarian, Western Samoan and Niuean immigrants. This correlation should not, however, be taken to imply that a reduction in physical distance will invariably be matched by a corresponding reduction of social distance. Caution is warranted because of :

- (a) the dimensionality of attitudes; racial dissimilarity, for example, may serve to maintain social distances despite the acculturation of immigrants;
- (b) the apparent subordination of the dominant 'interactionist' assimilation orientation to perceived social distances - such subordination may be most pronounced with respect to immigrant groups at the bottom of the preference/social distance hierarchy (generally also the most visible groups);
- (c) the supportive function of related stereotyped conceptions or beliefs which discourage social interaction and thus contribute to the maintenance of social distance (and thereby, perhaps, physical distance).

6. Social distance and physical distance are not only associated, but are interacting and mutually supporting. Thus increased contacts via reductions of social distance (for example, acceptance of Western Samoans as 'work-mates') may facilitate a reduction of physical distance, or, alternatively, a reduction of physical distance (via residential desegregation or integration) may facilitate a reduction of social distance (acceptance as 'work-mates' or 'neighbours'). Such mutual reductions are not, however, mandatory. Much appears to depend on the type, intensity, continuance and quality (favourable or unfavourable) of contacts.

What then is the importance of attitudes? In sum the results presented in this chapter identify clearly and unquestionably the role of attitudes held by members of the host society in an interlocking cycle of causation. A full description of this process of causation is presented in the conclusion to this study. At this stage it is sufficient to say that the attitudes of members of the host society, immigration policy, the form and composition of the migrant stream, immigrant intra-urban residential patterns and other dimensions of adjustment to the host society form an interlocking cycle which is subjected at various points to the influence exerted by external (but not entirely independent) variables. Within this cycle, immigrant residential patterns and the relationship between social and physical distance form a not insignificant component.

Finally, it is necessary to mention that there is a distinction between abstract attitudes towards immigrants and the concrete attitudes expressed in behaviour when members of the host society are confronted by flesh-and-blood 'outsiders'. The Auckland survey measured opinion, not behaviour. In the following chapter, therefore, the influences of both physical and social distance upon human interaction are examined with reference to one particular form of behaviour, namely marriage, which is universally recognised as a most sensitive index of inter-group relations and contact.

Footnotes.

1. The literature on this subject is wide-ranging, rather variable in quality and most frequently concerned with attitudes, prejudice and discrimination towards 'coloured' or 'visible' minorities. In the United States, for example, the literature includes the following: Papkin and Grigsby (1960) who investigated the demand for housing in racially mixed areas; Freeman and Sunshine (1970) who explored the relationship between prejudice, housing and segregation via computer simulation; Forman (1971) who examined the development and maintenance of ghettos and slums; and Campbell (1971) who, in a general survey of white attitudes toward black people, discussed attitudes toward housing and segregation. A similar concern with 'coloured' minorities is evident in British studies, for example: Glass (1960, 58-62) has documented evidence of discrimination toward West Indians in London; Daniel (1968, 151-196) reports extensively upon survey results showing clearly the extent of racial discrimination in the housing/accommodation market; and concise summaries of research findings in Britain have been provided by Hiro (1971, 69-73, 255-265).
2. The eleven electorates included in the survey were (number of interviews in parentheses): North Shore (32), Henderson (25), New Lynn (28), Roskill (27), Mt. Albert (29), Auckland Central (24), Eden (32), Onehunga (28), Remuera (32), Tamaki (30), and Pakuranga (30).
3. It is not intended to enter into a discussion or debate over the merits and weaknesses of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale for

these have been widely discussed elsewhere (Banton, 1960; 1967, 315-333; Goode and Hatt, 1952; Simpson and Yinger, 1965; Triandis and Triandis, 1960; McCreary, 1952). On balance, the value and versatility of the Scale has been acknowledged and reflected by its frequent application in either its original form or with modifications designed to cater for specific needs and situations.

4. For an outline of the function, rationale and method of the Kendall rank correlation coefficient, see Siegel (1956, International Student Edition, 213-223).
5. For example, Vaughan (1962, 89) found that each of the 16 groups included in his study could be allotted to one of five categories. "Inter-category differences were significant, but differences between the groups within any one category were not." The five categories were (1) Australians, Canadians, Scots, English; (2) Irish, Germans, Dutch; (3) Hungarians, Russians, Italians, Maoris; (4) Samoans; (5) Chinese, Hindus, Japanese. Vaughan experienced some difficulty with the ranking of Greeks - "it was not clear whether Greeks should be ranked in either category 3 or 4."
6. Siegel (1956, 104-111) discusses the function, method and cell frequency requirements of the χ^2 test for two independent samples. In this study the χ^2 test was applied to determine in sequence the statistical significance of differences between males and females, young (20 to 39 years of age) and old (39+ years), between not actively engaged and actively engaged. The latter group was further divided into 'professional/managerial' workers and 'remainder', and into 'White Collar' workers and 'remainder' (predominantly 'Blue

Collar' workers). In each case the null hypothesis (H_0 of no difference between groups was advanced and the rejection region was set at $p .05$. Significance was attained when $\chi^2 = 7.82$ with $df = 3$, and when $\chi^2 = 3.84$ with $df = 1$.

7. Statistical analysis for investigation of the dimensionality of attitudes was carried out by Dr. R.C. Johnston, who used the computer facilities of the University of Canterbury. Although Dr. Johnston has insisted on claiming no more credit than that of acting as a "technical assistant", he contributed significantly to the interpretation of results obtained. A slightly extended version of the examination and discussion of dimensionality of attitudes presented in this chapter has been published under joint authorship (see Trlin and Johnston, 1973).
8. Vaughan (1962), however, appears to favour unidimensionality of social distance. He reports that (Vaughan, 1962, 90): "The social distance attitudes of the Ss [subjects] towards each of the 16 groups were checked for unidimensionality, according to the procedure described by Edwards [Edwards, A.L. 1957: Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction] ... Sixteen coefficients of reproducibility were obtained, ranging from .952 to .993, with a mean of .973. Although some of these coefficients were artificially high, due to the number of items having extreme modal frequencies, others did provide a reasonable test of scalability". And in his conclusions, Vaughan (1962, 91) states: "Social distance scores and marriage preferences correlated significantly with judged physical similarity.

It was concluded that race was the most important determinant of social distance among the Ss tested."

9. See 'New Zealand and Immigration' The Dominion, 1 July, 1968, 12.
10. The whole question of 'integration' vs 'assimilation' is further complicated by the operation within New Zealand of a policy of Maori-Pakeha integration (see Booth and Hunn, 1962; McEwen, 1967, 83-84). Once again categorical policy statements are required with respect to immigrant Pacific Islanders, continental Europeans and others.
11. He claimed that: "The use of this type of labour could put a heavy damper on efforts to improve the image of farm employment and would be a menace to the health, ethnic and employment standards of the whole district." Auckland Star, 22 February, 1969 p.4 'Opposition to Islanders on Farms'.
12. Vaughan (1962) employed a seven-point Physical Similarity Scale whereby sixteen national groups were rated in terms of the extent to which members of the respective groups were judged to be physically similar to white New Zealanders. The median scale values for Dutch, Hungarians and Samoans were 2.39, 3.33 and 5.86, respectively. (c.f. Australians 1.06, Chinese 6.94, Maoris 5.61). It was found that the social distance mean values for the sixteen national groups correlated significantly with judged physical similarity ($Rho = .919$, $p > .01$).
13. This is discussed at a later point in this chapter. It seems entirely plausible that a similar situation could arise in the case of Maoris..

14. An additional measure of attitudes that can be added here is the result of a Heylen Poll conducted in Auckland during August 1971. Four hundred people selected randomly were informed that only 1,500 Western Samoans were allowed to immigrate into New Zealand every year and were then asked if they were in favour or not in favour of increasing the number to 2,500 per year. Only 34 per cent were in favour and 62 per cent were not in favour, while the remainder either had no opinion or replied 'don't know' (Heylen Research Centre, 1972, 25).
15. For a general discussion of convictions (by offence groups) against Western Samoans and seven other birthplace groups see Trlin (1968; 1973b). More specific information on Polynesian crime in Auckland, distinguishing between Samoans, Niueans and Cook Islanders, is provided by Duncan (1970; 1971; 1972). A report on juvenile offending amongst Pacific Islanders in New Zealand has also been prepared by the Joint Committee on Young Offenders (1970).
16. It is all too easy to assume that the 'fault' is all one-sided. Immigrants themselves most probably have a preference hierarchy based on perceived social distances between them and members of other groups. For example, in a survey of social characteristics of Cook Islanders in Inner-Auckland in 1966, Curson (1970a, 191-193) found that in response to the question of preferred marriage partners: "The older group produced the expected response in that more than 60 per cent preferred their son or daughter to marry another Cook Islander, preferably someone from the same island or village as themselves. Only 34 per cent preferred a European as a son or daughter-in-law and all were adamant about the undesirability of a

Maori. In contrast to their parents, the majority of juveniles would prefer a European marriage partner and only 33 per cent another Cook Islander." Similarly, in response to the question "If you could choose your friends from any group, whom would you choose?", Carson found that "... more than 71 per cent of all adults preferred to choose people with the same background as themselves, preferably from the same island and in many cases specified a preference for someone with whom they had a social relationship. No more than 15 per cent preferred someone with a European background." One might reasonably expect a similar pattern of responses among Niueans and West Samoans. See also the earlier discussion on attitudes amongst Yugoslav residents in Mount Wellington.

17. A slightly more pronounced pattern of conflict between the ideal of integration and perceived social distance appeared in a cross-tabulation of responses to S.11 (see Table LIII) and Q.2. Statement S.13 was selected, in preference to S.11, because of the direct reference to Pacific Islanders.
18. See for example Pierce's (1967) study of Maori work attendance and evaluation of associated stereotypes which have been known to influence employers and hence Maori employment opportunities. Depending on one's viewpoint, however, not all stereotyped conceptions work to the disadvantage of a minority group. As Harre (1973, 223) has said: "There are a number of Pakeha girls who believe that Maori men are better equipped sexually than

Pakehas and attempt to meet them because of this." Similar stereotypes of Negro males in America and West Indians in Great Britain have been reported and may well apply to Pacific Islanders in New Zealand (perhaps even continental Europeans).

19. See Wolf (1957) for a discussion of the invasion-succession sequence as a self-fulfilling prophecy. In this case, the settlement of a few Negroes, the departure of some whites, their replacement by more Negroes, generates "Belief by the whites that a Negro invasion is imminent [which in turn] leads them to move out of the neighbourhood, the very action that makes the invasion possible" (Wolf, 1957, 9).
20. What is urgently required (or was, since it may already be too late) is research of the type reported by Caplan and Wolf (1960), Wolf (1963), and Molotch (1969).
21. Indices of residential dissimilarity for each of the five groups, as compared with the remainder of the total Auckland population in each case were in 1966: Dutch, 21.40; Yugoslavs, 38.00; Hungarians, 40.30; Western Samoans, 40.31; Niueans, 53.04. See also the maps depicting residential dissimilarity and related discussion in Chapter 1 of this study.
22. For a discussion of the labour force participation rates of females see Gilson (1969b, 183-198). Socio-economic 'isolation' of females, compounded by immigrant occupational and residential dissimilarity, might well be a factor underlying their lower

social distance ratings for most immigrant groups. See the earlier discussion of points relating to Figure 31.

23. For an outline of the function and method of the Student's t test, see Edwards (1965).

CHAPTER 7
IMMIGRANT MARRIAGE PATTERNS:
SOCIAL DISTANCE, PHYSICAL DISTANCE and HUMAN INTERACTION.

Is contact and interaction between New Zealanders and specific immigrant groups differentially affected by (a) the subjective social distance attitudes of New Zealanders, and by (b) the residential patterns of immigrants? The primary objective of this chapter is to explore and seek answers to this question, recognising of course the limits imposed by available information. Marriage has been selected as the form of interaction to be investigated and three specific tasks have been set. These tasks are stated as follows:

1. Examination of marriages involving Dutch, Hungarian, Niuean, Western Samoan and Yugoslav immigrants resident in the Auckland Urban Area, in order to assess the extent of both in-group and out-group marriage at certain points in time.
2. An examination of the available information in order to determine the demographic, social and economic characteristics of immigrants who marry out-group as compared with those who marry in-group.
3. Examination of the possible effects of changing immigrant residential patterns upon immigrant mate selection.

Taken together the first two tasks should provide some insights into the association between the (subjective) attitudes of New Zealanders and actual (objective) behaviour represented by intermarriage with immigrants. The third task involves, in essence, consideration of the 'norm-segregation

theory' underlying numerous studies of residential propinquity and mate selection (see Katz and Hill, 1958, 29-31).

Selection of marriage as an interaction criterion is based upon the value attached to intermarriage as an index of assimilation, group cohesion and inter-group relationships in countless studies of ethnic and racial minorities. For example, among researchers in the United States, Drachler (1920) saw intermarriage as perhaps the most sensitive test of group cohesion, while Bossard (1939, 792) felt that it was "a severely realistic index of the social distance between distinctive groups and peoples living within a given area." Even in New Zealand, Metge (1967, 207) has stressed with regard to the Maori that "the best test of the quality of inter-group relationships is the proportion and fate of couples who intermarry." Beyond immediate and obvious academic applications, marriage patterns have a wider social significance, for the desirability of immigrants of certain national, ethnic and racial origins is often based in immigration policy upon some assessment of their progress toward assimilation with the host society. Some minorities are deemed undesirable because they appear to have little to do with 'outsiders', select spouses almost exclusively from within their particular ethnic and/or racial group, and so on.

Although New Zealand's geographers have made many useful contributions toward an understanding of the country's immigrant and indigenous ethnic and racial minorities, they have to date directed little if any attention to the study of marriage patterns. Indeed the major contributions in this field have been made exclusively by social anthropologists investigating Cook Islanders (Hooper, 1961, 174-178), Maoris (Harre, 1966) and Western Samoans (Macpherson, 1972) in Auckland.

Such neglect on the part of geographers is surprising. The study of marriage patterns may be legitimately included within the field of social geography, defined by Pahl (1965, 81) "as the processes and patterns involved in an understanding of socially defined populations in their spatial setting."

Perhaps the greatest single factor underlying the neglect of marriage patterns, as a subject area worthy of study, is the paucity and inadequacy of official statistical data - a problem by no means unique to New Zealand (see Laoroix and Adams, 1950; Price and Zubrzycki, 1962). Within the context of this study of immigrants in Auckland, recognition and discussion of this basic problem may be regarded as an integral part of the research exercise. As a prelude to the more detailed study of immigrant marriage patterns in Auckland, therefore, the following pages are devoted to an overview of the problems and dangers of basing research upon currently available official statistics.

MARRIAGES BY BIRTHPLACE OF PARTIES:
NEW ZEALAND, 1954-1967

Marriage statistics with regard to immigrants are published annually under the title 'Marriages: Birthplace of Parties' in New Zealand Vital Statistics, and have been available in this form since 1954. This fact alone means that research on immigrant marriages is restricted to an uncomfortably short time span in the case of long established minorities (Yugoslavs, Italians, Chinese) and to an irritatingly incomplete set of data for more recent immigrant groups (Dutch, Western Samoans). A summary of statistics from this source for the period 1954-1967 is

presented in Table LXVII, and the intermarriage trends for three selected groups over the same period are shown in Table LXVIII. The extent of intermarriage is calculated by expressing the total number of persons of a given birthplace marrying outside their birthplace group as a percentage of total marriages of persons of the given birthplace in New Zealand. For example, 2,061 Western Samoan males were married in New Zealand over the period 1954-1967, and of these 1,295 married Western Samoan females. In-group marriage for Western Samoan males was therefore 62.8 per cent, and intermarriage (out-group) 37.2 per cent. Where the basic data consist of simple cross-tabulation of brides and bridegrooms by birthplace the above is the most common expression of marriage patterns. In addition, comparisons are usually made between marriage patterns of brides and bridegrooms, either for the period as a whole or for smaller time divisions, as shown in Tables LXVII and LXVIII, respectively.

What do these statistics tell us about immigrant marriages in New Zealand? First, immigrant bridegrooms (except Western Samoans, Cook Islanders and Chinese) have high rates of intermarriage. Secondly, immigrant brides tend to have lower percentages of intermarriage than grooms. For both grooms and brides, New Zealand-born spouses tend to account for the majority of out-group marriages, but immigrant brides also exhibit a greater 'preference' for other out-group immigrant grooms. Finally, on the evidence in Table LXVII it might be argued that assimilation of most groups is proceeding favourably. This latter feature appears to be especially true of immigrants from Australia, England, Wales, Germany and South Africa, Ireland (Northern and Republic), Canada, United States

Table LXVII

Marriages by Birthplace of Parties: New Zealand, 1954-1967
(percentages).

Birthplace of:	Bridegrooms			Brides		
	Birthplace of Brides			Birthplace of Bridegrooms		
	Same (In-Group Marriage)	New Zealand	Total Inter- Marriage	Same (In-Group Marriage)	New Zealand	Total Inter- Marriage
New Zealand	92.5	-	7.5	86.6	-	13.4
Australia	9.7	78.5	90.3	12.3	63.4	87.7
England and Wales	21.2	68.0	78.8	29.6	55.8	70.4
Ireland (North)	12.0	68.4	88.0	21.5	47.0	78.5
Ireland (Republic)	8.9	65.6	91.1	21.7	43.7	78.3
Scotland	13.9	66.0	86.1	20.1	52.5	79.9
Canada	4.6	76.6	95.4	8.6	63.1	91.4
United States	2.5	83.4	97.5	12.8	60.4	87.2
Austria	15.9	52.7	84.1	36.5	26.2	63.4
Czechoslovakia	10.5	51.6	89.5	28.8	37.0	71.2
Germany	14.1	57.8	85.9	13.0	37.6	87.0
<u>Hungary</u>	25.0	53.6	74.9	57.2	14.4	42.8
Italy	17.5	64.5	82.5	26.5	38.7	73.5
Latvia	26.1	52.1	73.9	36.0	36.0	64.0
<u>Netherlands</u>	38.5	48.2	61.5	73.2	16.4	26.7
Poland	35.0	43.7	64.9	46.8	26.8	53.1
Rumania	25.9	29.8	74.1	45.2	18.2	54.8
<u>Yugoslavia</u>	34.3	42.3	65.7	58.7	20.8	41.3
Cook Islands	46.9	45.7	53.0	47.5	30.5	52.4
Fiji	10.0	72.8	90.0	10.1	60.2	89.9
Tonga	22.1	55.7	77.9	20.0	44.4	80.0
<u>Western Samoa</u>	62.8	29.3	37.2	66.5	18.0	33.5
China	53.2	40.9	46.7	66.2	23.2	33.7
India	25.3	61.3	74.7	30.2	41.8	69.8
Indonesia	6.6	54.9	93.3	15.7	32.8	84.3
South Africa	6.6	78.3	93.4	6.9	59.0	93.0

Source: New Zealand Vital Statistics, 1954-1967.

Table LXVIII

Intermarriage Rates, 1954-1967, of Selected Birthplace Groups (percentages).

Years	Netherlands		Western Samoa		Yugoslavia	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1954-55	47.5	11.7	45.4	53.7	66.7	53.2
1956-57	57.1	15.0	52.7	36.8	76.4	58.1
1958-59	57.7	18.2	49.3	38.0	53.5	37.3
1960-61	66.7	29.1	40.3	30.1	66.2	50.0
1962-63	75.8	44.3	34.9	30.9	53.2	33.4
1964-65	77.8	57.8	31.3	32.2	71.2	41.0
1966-67	84.6	69.2	28.1	29.3	69.0	27.5

Total Marriages for each period

1954-55	1416	842	128	151	45	32
1956-57	1089	550	211	158	55	31
1958-59	874	452	203	166	58	43
1960-61	690	324	273	233	62	42
1962-63	525	228	347	327	64	45
1964-65	489	258	429	435	90	44
1966-67	491	246	470	478	119	51
Total Marriages	5514	2900	2061	1948	493	288

Source: New Zealand Vital Statistics, 1954-1967.

and Austria, who are culturally and racially similar to most New Zealanders. To supporters of a 'British only' or 'selected European' immigration policy, the statistics will be particularly gratifying. But other, 'less desirable', groups (see the social distance ratings in Chapter 6 for India, Italy, Hungary, Yugoslavia) show high proportions of intermarriage also, which would no doubt cause some concern and confusion among supporters of selective immigration policies.

The contrasting marriage patterns between immigrants from the Netherlands, Yugoslavia and Western Samoa (Table LXVIII) lead one to suspect the value of data presented in Table LXVII, and probably reflect changes in the volume and/or composition of migration, changes in age-sex structures and perhaps advances in cultural integration. Thomson (1967, 97) for example, points out that the great majority of Dutch migrants in the 1950s arrived in New Zealand as young, single persons, and that many married Dutch-born migrants immediately upon arrival "to take advantage of the assistance to single migrants." Since the early 1950s Samoan immigration has increased considerably and included an increasingly dominant proportion of young single males and Full-bloods as compared with the initially high proportions of females and Mixed-bloods. This changing pattern of Samoan immigration is perhaps an underlying factor responsible for the declining rate of intermarriage. Unbalanced sex ratios and other aspects of migration are, however, only a small part of the multi-faceted character of a given immigrant group and more thorough investigation of other aspects is clearly necessary.

Among the many factors influencing immigrant marriage patterns, especially the rate of intermarriage, which have been examined by sociolog-/
ists

in the United States are nativity, nationality, religion, race, language, occupation, sex ratios and residential propinquity.¹ Marriage patterns are therefore subject to a wide variety and combination of factors. This point must be stressed, for most of these factors are not included in New Zealand's official marriage statistics, presented only as cross-tabulations of bride and bridegroom by birthplace. It must, of course, be admitted that New Zealand is relatively free of institutional restraints upon intermarriage, although the obstacles of religion do remain for some groups. Nor is there any legal residential segregation of groups to prohibit free access and contact of ethnic and racial minorities with members of the host society. Indeed, the 'pepper-pot' housing policy has been consciously followed by the Department of Maori Affairs (and recently extended to Pacific Islanders) in order to overcome possible residential segregation. The possibility of intermarriage rates increasing as a result of this policy has been openly approved of (Department of Maori Affairs, 1966, 8).

Statistical identification of marriage partners solely by 'birthplace' is then the most obvious inadequacy of available statistics. A study of Greek immigrants in New Zealand (Burnley, 1969) revealed that migrants classified by birthplace as Rumanian, Egyptian or Russian may in fact be ethnically Greek. Similarly in the case of 'displaced persons' or 'refugees', children born in camps in Austria, Italy or Germany may in fact be ethnically Polish, Hungarian or Yugoslav. In each case the marriage of such persons to partners of the same ethnic affiliation but born elsewhere will produce misleading intermarriage rates. Incidentally, neither Greece nor Niue Island are among the birthplaces currently listed in official statistics, despite the numerical strength and residential concentration of these two groups in Wellington and Auckland, respectively.

The case of Netherlands-Indonesian intermarriage in New Zealand illustrates the above problems. Between 1954 and 1967, 48 out of 134 Indonesian-born brides married Netherlands-born bridegrooms, and 71 out of 315 Indonesian bridegrooms married Netherlands-born brides. If the two groups are in fact ethnically the same (Indonesia being the former Dutch East Indies), then the rate of intermarriage is substantially lower than that shown in Table LXVII, declining from 84.3 to 48.5 per cent for Indonesian brides, and from 93.3 to 70.8 per cent for Indonesian-born bridegrooms. Naturally the intermarriage proportions of the Netherlands-born would also require some adjustments.

The birthplace problem is also present in the category of New Zealand-born. No differentiation is made in this category between Maori and non-Maori (which may have special significance for the intermarriage rates of Cook Islanders, Western Samoans and Niueans) and the category may also conceal a high proportion of second or even third-generation members of ethnic or racial minorities. For example, 1966 Census returns show that some 5,000 members of the Samoan racial group (Full and Mixed-Blood) were born in New Zealand. As these children of recent Samoan arrivals attain maturity, statistics of intermarriage by birthplace are likely to show increasing Western Samoan intermarriage with New Zealanders - perhaps 'Samoan' New Zealanders. It is important to stress that inter-generation marriages take place, and their extent can be illustrated by reference to studies in the United States and Australia. De Porte (1931) found that approximately half the native-born brides taken by foreign-born grooms in New York State in the 1920s were daughters of foreign-born parents.

Similarly, Price (1963b, 33-34) found that in 53.8 per cent of marriages between Italian-born men and Australian-born girls, the girls were of Italian parentage. The implications to be drawn from these examples for long established ethnic and racial communities in New Zealand are quite clear.

Price and Zubrzycki (1962, 64-65) identified what is perhaps the most important defect of current intermarriage statistics. This defect concerns the basic assumption behind the use of rates of intermarriage as indices of assimilation with the host society, namely that:

... the [intermarriage] ratios measure the extent to which ethnic values, environments and institutions maintain their hold on those having some opportunity of breaking away and becoming assimilated; ... in other words on those brides and grooms who have been exposed to the risk of intermarriage.

It must therefore be pointed out that New Zealand's marriage statistics (like those of Australia) do not state accurately the proportion or number of foreign-born brides and grooms exposed to the risk of intermarriage. In particular it should be noted that temporary departures to the 'Homeland' by single males in search of brides or by couples seeking parental approval (and eventually married in the 'Homeland'), proxy marriages, and the arrival of affianced males and females are all common occurrences.

New Zealand's immigration policy includes long-standing special provisions for the sponsorship of fiancées and fiancés by New Zealand residents, thereby indicating the importance attached to this form of migration. In 1926 New Zealand's Asian immigration policy was extended to allow entry of fiancées of New Zealand-born Indians and Chinese, "whose cultural tradition still admits of arranged matches and whose matrimonial requirements could not always be met from the ranks of prospective spouses locally available" (Roy, 1970, 20). Similar concessions were also allowed

the Yugoslav immigrants, but were used by some as a loophole in restrictive entry regulations. In 1939 the Comptroller of Customs complained that of the 138 Yugoslav girls admitted under the scheme, 41 did not marry their original fiancées.² More recent data from the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers (1951-1967) indicate that 50 out of 142 female Dalmatian-Yugoslav chain migrants married in New Zealand were sponsored by fiancées and married shortly after arrival. The same pattern has been observed in Wellington's Greek and Italian communities (Burnley, 1969).

Given the nature of the problems discussed so far and the need for greater accuracy in the analysis of marriage patterns, especially with regard to intermarriage as an index of assimilation or social distance, an alternative method of measurement has been proposed by Price and Zubrzycki (1962). Basically this method involves the expression of all cases of intermarriage as a percentage of either all persons married in an immigrant community at a given time, or all persons marrying or arriving married in a given place of settlement. The advantage of this method is that intermarriage is measured by reference to an immigrant community as a whole and not just by reference to single persons who may choose to select and marry spouses in the area of settlement without recourse to proxy marriages or a return to the country of origin. For example, 34 per cent of Yugoslav arrivals between 1949 and 1967 were married, leaving only 66 per cent open to the risk of intermarriage. A further breakdown of data by sex revealed that 41.5 per cent of the females and 28.3 per cent of the males were married upon arrival.³

It seems, therefore, that if the number intermarrying in New Zealand is expressed as a proportion of all those marrying and married upon arrival (assuming the latter are with minor exceptions ~~in-group marriages~~), then intermarriage rates would be appreciably lower, especially for immigrant females. Once again, however, the assessment is made virtually impossible (or at best a 'guess-estimate') because of a paucity of necessary information. There are no official statistics on the birth-places or ethnic group affiliation of married arrivals, nor for that matter are there statistics on the conjugal status of arrivals classified by birthplace (apart from government assisted immigrants).

The inadequacies of official statistics are indeed formidable and attempts to use such statistics are wide open to justifiable criticism. Until the 'ideal' information becomes available, however, the researcher committed to an investigation of immigrant marriage patterns has only two real alternatives. Basic information may be collected by either field surveys of immigrant communities, or by examination of marriage certificates held in the Registrar-General's Office in Wellington. The first alternative is severely handicapped by the absence of current lists of residential addresses, except in the case of aliens where addresses could be obtained by examination of individual files in the Aliens Register. Unfortunately neither the Niueans nor Western Samoans are included in the Aliens Register. For this reason, among others, it was decided to limit the present study to the examination and use of material available in marriage certificates. The collection of data from marriage certificates has been described in Chapter 1 and need not be repeated here. It should be noted, however, that because of difficulties involved with the examination of certificates, the collection of data was limited to four selected years - 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

IMMIGRANT MARRIAGES IN AUCKLAND:
RATES OF IN-GROUP AND OUT-GROUP MARRIAGE ,
1958, 1962, 1966, 1970

Following the format of Table LXVII, the marriage patterns of immigrants born in Hungary, Netherlands, Niue, Western Samoa and Yugoslavia, and resident in the Auckland Urban Area, are presented in Table LXIX for each of the selected years. With only a few minor exceptions the results conform closely with the national pattern over the period 1954-1967. Immigrant grooms exhibited lower rates of in-group marriage and higher rates of intermarriage (particularly with New Zealand-born brides) than immigrant brides. Netherlands-born grooms and brides were again found to have a decreasing rate of in-group marriage and an increasing rate of out-group marriage, while Western Samoans had an increasing rate of in-group marriage. Yugoslav grooms showed a trend toward decreasing in-group marriages, but Yugoslav brides were most definitely involved in an increasing rate of in-group marriage. These patterns are, however, subject to many of the faults discussed earlier. In order to illustrate the extent of the faults, detailed attention was given to marriages involving Yugoslav, Western Samoan and Dutch immigrants.

Marriages between Yugoslav grooms and second or third-generation descendants of Yugoslav settlers were found to account for substantial percentages of so-called New Zealand-born brides and thereby increased the rates of in-group marriage (Table LXX). Moreover, if Dalmatian-Yugoslavs only are considered then the proportions of in-group marriage for grooms are raised even higher. Apparently the Yugoslav grooms from

Table LXIX

Marriages of Immigrants, Auckland Urban Area,
1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

Birthplace of:	Bridegrooms					Brides				
	Birthplace of Brides					Birthplace of Bridegrooms				
	Same		New		Total	Same		New		Total
	(In-group	No	(In-group	No		(In-group	No	(In-group	No	
	Marriage)		Marriage)		Marriage	Marriage)		Marriage)		Marriage
	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No
<u>Marriages in 1958</u>										
Hungary	88.9	(8)	11.1		11.1 (1)	88.9	(8)	-		11.1 (1)
Netherlands	43.8	(32)	41.1		56.2 (41)	78.0	(32)	9.8		22.0 (9)
Niue	53.3	(8)	33.4		46.7 (7)	61.7	(8)	25.0		33.3 (4)
Western Samoa	48.2	(27)	41.0		51.8 (29)	62.8	(27)	20.9		37.2 (16)
Yugoslavia	53.8	(7)	30.8		46.2 (6)	63.6	(7)	9.1		36.4 (4)
<u>Marriages in 1962</u>										
Hungary	13.3	(2)	60.0		86.7 (13)	50.0	(2)	-		50.0 (2)
Netherlands	25.8	(16)	51.6		74.2 (46)	61.5	(16)	23.1		38.5 (10)
Niue	52.2	(12)	43.5		47.8 (11)	66.7	(12)	22.3		33.3 (6)
Western Samoa	67.3	(68)	24.7		32.7 (33)	66.7	(68)	16.6		33.3 (34)
Yugoslavia	59.1	(13)	31.8		40.9 (9)	81.3	(13)	12.5		18.7 (3)
<u>Marriages in 1966</u>										
Hungary	44.4	(4)	33.3		55.6 (5)	66.7	(4)	16.7		33.3 (2)
Netherlands	14.3	(7)	61.3		85.7 (42)	22.6	(7)	58.1		77.4 (24)
Niue	53.3	(8)	40.0		46.7 (7)	66.7	(8)	16.6		33.3 (4)
Western Samoa	77.9	(116)	14.8		22.1 (33)	74.8	(116)	13.6		25.2 (39)
Yugoslavia	51.4	(18)	34.3		48.6 (17)	85.7	(18)	9.5		14.3 (3)
<u>Marriages in 1970</u>										
Hungary	-		28.6		100.0 (7)	-		20.0		100.0 (5)
Netherlands	7.3	(4)	70.9		92.7 (51)	16.0	(4)	60.0		84.0 (21)
Niue	50.0	(8)	50.0		50.0 (8)	40.0	(8)	40.0		60.0 (12)
Western Samoa	72.0	(113)	22.9		28.0 (44)	71.5	(113)	12.7		28.5 (45)
Yugoslavia	37.9	(11)	55.2		62.1 (18)	91.7	(11)	-		8.3 (1)

Source: Marriage Certificates, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

areas other than Dalmatia have either ignored or been shunned by New Zealand-born brides of Yugoslav parentage. Finally, the contrast between Yugoslav grooms and brides (Table LXX) can probably be attributed to at least two factors; namely, unbalanced sex ratios (strong male dominance which favours females in terms of the field of eligible spouses) and a lower risk of exposure to intermarriage for females (because of chain migration of fiancées).

Table LXX

Marriages of Yugoslav Immigrants with New Zealand-born Spouses of Yugoslav Parentage, Auckland Urban Area, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

Years	Grooms				Brides			
	N.Z.-born Yugoslav Brides		In-Group Marriages (%)		N.Z.-born Yugoslav Grooms		In-Group Marriages (%)	
	No.	% all N.Z.-born brides	Table LXIX	Adjusted	No.	% all N.Z.-born grooms	Table LXIX	Adjusted
1958	3	75.0	53.8	76.9	-	-	63.6	-
1962	2	28.6	59.1	68.2	1	50.0	81.3	87.5
1966	4	33.3	51.4	62.8	-	-	85.7	-
1970	3	18.7	37.9	48.3	-	-	91.7	-

Source: Marriage Certificates, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

The Yugoslav example is, of course, far from being unique. A similar situation arises with regard to the 'intermarriage' of Netherlands-born and Indonesian-born immigrants. Over the four years selected, a total of 10 Indonesian grooms and 6 Indonesian brides were recorded, of whom 4 (two males and two females) married Netherlands-born spouses.

Of the remaining Indonesian-born (grooms/brides combined, a total of 12), six married New Zealand-born spouses and six married various other out-group spouses. There were no recorded Indonesian/Indonesian marriages. Obviously the effect with regard to Netherlands-born migrants was a relatively small increase in the proportion of in-group marriages. However, if the Indonesians are to be regarded as ethnically 'Dutch' then they should be added to the totals of Netherlands-born grooms and brides, with the result that rates of out-group marriage are maintained if not slightly increased.

Another problem concerns the need to differentiate between Maoris and non-Maoris among the New Zealand-born spouses. This may be of particular importance to the assessment of intermarriage between Western Samoans (or Niueans) and New Zealanders since such marriages may (unintentionally) be interpreted as inter-racial marriages (i.e. Polynesian/European). A similar case could be argued with respect to other out-group marriages involving Western Samoans (or Niueans) marrying other Pacific Islanders (e.g. Cook Islanders, Tongans and Tokelau Islanders). Table LXXI illustrates the extent of Western Samoan intermarriage with Maoris and other Pacific Islanders.⁴

The results presented in Table LXXI indicate the fundamental need to consider the extent and importance of Maori and other Pacific Islander spouses in out-group marriages of Western Samoans, especially for Samoan grooms. Moreover, it seems that Western Samoan brides have much higher rates of intermarriage with Europeans (New Zealand-born or other immigrants) than Samoan grooms. Hooper (1961, 175-176), using data for a four and a half year period ending in June 1957,

Table LXI

Marriages of Western Season Immigrants with Maoris and other Pacific Islanders,
Auckland Urban Area, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

Grooms						Brides						
		Married Maoris		Married Other Pacific Islanders		Maori Islander	Married Maoris		Married Other Pacific Islanders		Maori Islander	
		% of all N.Z.-born brides	% of all out-group marriage	% of all out-group brides		% of all out-group	% of all N.Z.-born grooms		% of all out-group marriage		% of all out-group grooms	
Years	No.			No.			No.			No.		
1958	11	47.8	37.9	4	13.8	51.7	-	-	-	2	12.5	12.5
1962	7	28.0	21.2	6	18.2	39.4	3	17.6	8.8	4	11.7	20.6
1966	8	36.3	24.2	3	9.1	33.3	2	9.5	5.1	3	7.7	12.8
1970	11	30.5	25.0	2	4.5	29.5	2	10.0	4.4	5	11.1	15.5

Source: Marriage Certificates, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

found the same (but more sharply defined) contrast among Cook Islanders in Auckland. In order to explain his findings, Hooper (1961, 176) noted that:

Students of race relations in many parts of the world have reported what may be termed an 'ambivalent' attitude held by members of a white race regarding miscegenation with coloured races. It is an attitude which does not condone the association of a white man with a coloured woman, but openly condemns any association of a coloured man with a white woman.

Verification of this viewpoint can be provided by two methods. First, in the previous chapter it was found that the statement "A pakeha New Zealander who married a Western Samoan immigrant in New Zealand would encounter social disapproval from fellow New Zealanders", elicited stronger support from New Zealand-born females (65 out of 120 agreed and a further 28 were uncertain but felt they probably agreed) than from New Zealand-born males (49 out of 111 agreed and 18 were uncertain but felt they probably agreed).⁵ Second, using for example the marriage patterns of Dutch immigrants, it can be shown that 'white' grooms have higher rates of inter-racial marriage (with Maoris and Islanders) than 'white' brides (Table LXXII). It should, of course, be noted that the sex ratio is unbalanced in the case of the Dutch immigrants (heavily male dominated) so that the marriage patterns of Dutch females may to some extent reflect the favourable field of eligibles. However, this imbalance in the sex ratio does not account for the actual out-group mates selected or accepted by Dutch females.

Table LXXII

Marriages of Netherlands-born Immigrants with Maoris and Pacific Islanders, Auckland Urban Area, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

Grooms							Brides					
Years.	No.	Married Maoris		Married Pacific Islanders		Maori Island -or-	Married Maoris		Married Pacific Islanders		Maori Island -or-	
		% of all N.Z.-born brides	% of all out-group marriage	% of all out-group brides	% of all out-group	% of all N.Z.-born grooms	% of all out-group marriage	% of all out-group grooms	% of all out-group			
1958	1	3.3	2.4	2	4.9	7.3	-	-	-	-	-	
1962	5	15.6	10.9	2	4.3	15.2	-	-	-	-	-	
1966	4	13.3	9.5	2	4.7	14.3	-	-	-	1	4.2	
1970	5	12.8	9.8	2	3.9	13.7	-	-	-	-	-	

Source: Marriage Certificates, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

IMMIGRANT MARRIAGES IN AUCKLAND:
SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF BRIDES AND GROOMS

It is now well known that the total population of a large Urban Area such as Auckland is heterogeneous in terms of demographic, social, economic and ethnic characteristics. It is also well known that these characteristics will be represented among the members of that section of the population that in any given year enters the institution of marriage. Countless studies have shown that these characteristics have often a decisive bearing upon the selection of mates. On the other hand, there is still a regrettable tendency to regard immigrants, including those who marry in the new society, as members of groups that are somehow homogeneous. The objective here, therefore, is to demonstrate by reference to immigrant brides and grooms in Auckland some aspects of both intra- and inter-group heterogeneity and to relate some of these features of heterogeneity to patterns of both in-group and out-group marriages.

For the purposes of this analysis attention was focused on the following characteristics of grooms and brides: mean age at time of marriage; percentage engaged in 'White Collar' and 'Blue Collar' occupations; mean socio-economic level (grooms only); percentage not actively engaged (brides only); percentage marrying for the first time; and percentage marrying in a Registry Office. The 'mean socio-economic level' was calculated for grooms only because the measurement is based on the scaling of occupations of males produced by Elley and Irving (1972) using 1966 Census data. By combining information on the median

level of education and income reported for each occupation, Elley and Irving were able to determine the socio-economic status of seventy major occupational groups.⁶ Finally, with regard to the brides, the percentage not actively engaged was included among the characteristics to be considered for two reasons. First, the labour force participation rates of females are generally lower than those of males, and second the non-labour force participation of females is often associated with age, prior marital status (in the case of brides), etc., thereby offering additional information pertinent to the interpretation of general results obtained.

The characteristics of immigrant grooms for each of the four years are displayed in Table LXXIII and may be summarised as follows.

1. Mean Age: Dutch, Niuean and Western Samoan grooms were generally within a lower mean age range (24-28), as compared with the higher but fluctuating mean ages of Hungarians and Yugoslavs (27-38), and exhibited a tendency toward increased mean ages (except Samoan grooms) and a narrower mean age range in 1966 and 1970. Whereas Yugoslav grooms recorded a general decrease in their mean age, the Hungarians recorded a general increase akin to the trend for Dutch and Niuean grooms.
2. Percentages 'White'/'Blue Collar': Marked differences appeared between the five groups, Dutch and Hungarian grooms generally having the highest percentages of 'White Collar' workers as compared with Western Samoan and Niuean grooms, who generally led the field for 'Blue Collar' workers. The four years were marked also by a

Table LXXIII

Characteristics of Immigrant Grooms, Auckland Urban Area,
1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

Birthplaces of Grooms: Year of Marriage	No. of Grooms	Mean Age	% 'White Collar'	% 'Blue Collar'	Mean Socio- Economic Level	% First Marriage	% Registry Marriage
<u>Marriages in 1958</u>							
Hungary	9	27.5	11.1	88.9	4.89	77.8	44.4
Netherlands	73	27.1	21.8	78.2	4.05	94.5	24.7
Niue	15	24.0	-	100.0	5.07	100.0	53.3
Western Samoa	56	28.7	9.0	91.0	4.63	85.7	41.8
Yugoslavia	13	38.9	53.9	46.1	3.31	92.3	23.1
<u>Marriages in 1962</u>							
Hungary	15	29.6	20.0	80.0	4.07	80.0	40.0
Netherlands	62	28.2	30.7	69.3	3.63	93.5	25.8
Niue	23	27.2	-	100.0	5.22	87.0	56.5
Western Samoa	101	26.6	4.0	94.0	4.75	96.0	35.6
Yugoslavia	22	36.5	18.1	77.4	4.19	68.2	40.9
<u>Marriages in 1966</u>							
Hungary	9	34.7	33.3	66.7	3.78	66.7	55.6
Netherlands	49	27.7	26.5	69.4	3.81	85.7	24.5
Niue	15	26.3	13.3	80.0	5.29	100.0	40.0
Western Samoa	149	26.7	5.3	93.4	4.56	94.0	36.2
Yugoslavia	35	29.1	8.6	91.4	4.43	94.3	22.9
<u>Marriages in 1970</u>							
Hungary	7	30.5	42.9	57.1	3.86	71.4	57.1
Netherlands	55	29.2	41.9	54.5	3.42	83.6	29.1
Niue	16	27.9	6.3	93.7	4.81	93.8	31.3
Western Samoa	157	26.4	8.8	89.9	4.64	93.6	28.0
Yugoslavia	29	30.8	17.2	79.4	4.14	82.8	34.5

Source: Marriage Certificates, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

generally progressive increase in the proportion of 'White Collar' workers among the Dutch and Hungarian grooms.

3. Mean Socio-Economic Level: On a scale of 1 (highest socio-economic status) to 6 (lowest status), the results parallel closely the inter-group contrasts and changes over time outlined above (i.e. percentages in 'White Collar' and 'Blue Collar' occupations).
4. Percentage First Marriage: As might be expected the majority of grooms (usually in excess of 80 or even 85 per cent) have not previously been married, a feature that applies particularly to Niuean, Western Samoan and Dutch grooms.⁷ There are, however, some exceptions (notably Yugoslav and Hungarian grooms), but in these cases a low percentage for 'First Marriage' appears to be associated with a higher mean age, reflecting the influence of older bachelors who may have delayed (or been forced to delay) marriage together with divorced and widowed males remarrying.
5. Percentage Registry Marriage: Apart from Dutch grooms, who have consistently recorded low (if not the lowest) percentages for 'Registry Marriage', the percentages for grooms in each of the other groups have either fluctuated wildly (Yugoslavs), generally increased (Hungarians) or generally decreased (Niueans and Western Samoans). Variations in the percentage of 'Registry Marriage' appear to be related to other characteristics. For example, in the case of Yugoslav grooms, a high percentage of 'Registry Marriage' is inversely related to a low percentage for 'First Marriage' and again reflects the marriages of older or previously married grooms.

Following the pattern for the grooms, the characteristics of immigrant brides (Table LXXIV) may also be summarised as follows.

1. Mean Age: A rather obvious feature here is that immigrant brides (with the exception of Hungarian brides in 1962) are younger by at least 2-4 years than grooms of the same immigrant group. Apart from this contrast, however, grooms and brides are rather similar. Thus it can be seen that Hungarian and Yugoslav brides, like their male counterparts, are generally older than brides in the other three groups. Similarly, although the mean ages do fluctuate, there is a tendency for the mean age of Yugoslav brides to decrease while those of Dutch and Niuean brides increase.
2. 'White Collar'/'Blue Collar'/'Not Actively Engaged': Compared with the grooms, Dutch, Hungarian and Western Samoan brides have much higher percentages engaged in 'White Collar' occupations. In other respects the grooms and brides are again similar. Thus: the percentage of Dutch and Hungarian brides employed in 'White Collar' occupations has increased since 1958; Western Samoan and Niuean brides have usually the highest percentages in 'Blue Collar' occupations; and Niuean brides have been almost entirely unrepresented among 'White Collar' workers. As for those brides 'Not Actively Engaged', there is little to say except that (apart from Western Samoan brides) the percentages fluctuate markedly from year to year.
3. Percentage First Marriage: The main observation is that once again high and low percentages for 'First Marriage' appear to be related to low and high mean ages, respectively, for each of the four years.

Table LXXIV

Characteristics of Immigrant Brides, Auckland Urban Area,
1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

Birthplaces of Brides: Year of Marriage	No. of Brides	Mean Age (Years)	% 'White Collar'	% 'Blue Collar'	% Not Actively Engaged, No Data	% First Marriage	% Registry Marriage
<u>Marriages in 1958</u>							
Hungary	9	25.3	11.1	66.6	22.2	77.8	55.6
Netherlands	41	24.2	46.3	41.5	12.2	95.1	19.5
Niue	12	21.6	-	91.7	8.3	100.0	33.3
Western Samoa	43	27.0	20.9	65.2	13.9	83.7	25.6
Yugoslavia	11	37.0	27.3	45.4	27.3	72.7	27.3
<u>Marriages in 1962</u>							
Hungary	4	33.2	25.0	50.0	25.0	50.0	50.0
Netherlands	26	24.5	42.3	34.6	23.1	88.5	34.6
Niue	18	22.8	-	61.1	38.9	83.3	77.8
Western Samoa	102	24.1	13.8	74.4	11.8	98.0	32.4
Yugoslavia	16	29.2	18.9	56.1	25.0	75.0	31.3
<u>Marriages in 1966</u>							
Hungary	6	32.0	66.7	33.3	-	50.0	66.7
Netherlands	31	22.5	64.5	22.5	13.0	93.5	25.8
Niue	12	19.9	-	83.3	16.7	100.0	50.0
Western Samoa	155	24.2	16.7	77.5	5.8	96.8	29.7
Yugoslavia	21	25.1	-	90.4	9.6	100.0	14.3
<u>Marriages in 1970</u>							
Hungary	5	25.0	60.0	40.0	-	80.0	40.0
Netherlands	25	27.2	60.0	20.0	20.0	84.0	32.0
Niue	20	25.7	5.0	70.0	25.0	85.0	40.0
Western Samoa	158	25.2	22.8	65.2	12.0	96.2	25.9
Yugoslavia	12	25.3	33.3	58.4	8.3	91.7	25.0

Source: Marriage Certificates, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

4. Percentage Registry Marriage: Hungarian and Niuean brides head the field on this characteristic for each of the four years. Apart from this latter feature, there are no other obvious trends or patterns, nor are there any distinct relationships with other characteristics. The percentage of brides involved in this type of marriage tends to be lower (but not consistently) than for grooms and also varies (often substantially) from year to year.

On the basis of the above summaries there are four general conclusions that may be drawn. First, the five immigrant groups are sometimes sharply differentiated from each other by demographic and socio-economic characteristics. Second, the nature and degree of inter-group differentiation, which is consistent with findings reported in earlier chapters, is subject to changes within and between groups over time. Third, the nature of group characteristics and their variation over time may reflect changes in the general pattern of immigration or a process of group adjustment to life in the new society (e.g. the occupations and 'mean socio-economic level' of Dutch grooms). And finally, with the probable exception of mean age, the remaining characteristics may perhaps be best understood as clusters of interdependent variables (e.g. percentages employed in 'White Collar' and 'Blue Collar' occupations together with the associated 'mean socio-economic level' of grooms). With the above conclusions in mind it would be unrealistic to expect grooms and brides from each of the five groups to exhibit similar, if not strictly comparable, rates of in-group and out-group marriage.

Attention can now be directed toward the characteristics of grooms and brides marrying out-group partners as compared with those

marrying in-group partners. Before doing so, however, it is necessary to set aside Hungarians, Niueans and Yugoslavs, because the small numbers of grooms and brides recorded in each case make in-group/out-group comparisons subject to the elements of chance and thus unreliable. Indeed, even in the case of Dutch immigrants it was deemed desirable to inflate the numbers slightly by including Indonesian-Dutch migrants.⁸

IMMIGRANT MARRIAGES IN AUCKLAND: CHARACTERISTICS OF
DUTCH AND WESTERN SAMOAN IMMIGRANTS MARRYING OUT-GROUP
AS COMPARED WITH IMMIGRANTS MARRYING IN-GROUP

Are Dutch grooms and brides marrying out-group in any respect different to those marrying in-group? As a general observation, a higher percentage of out-group grooms are engaged in 'White Collar' occupations, their 'mean socio-economic level' is consequently higher (on a scale of 1 = high to 6 = low), they are on average older (higher mean age), a lower percentage are entering their first marriage and a higher percentage have the marriage performed in a registry office. Although not quite as clear, it seems that Dutch brides marrying out-group have similar characteristics, at least in an implicit form (Table LXXV). What deviations there are from this general observation can be attributed to the operation of three main factors. First, small numbers of in-group marriages make percentage comparisons somewhat unreal (e.g. in 1966 and 1970). Second, the category 'Not Actively Engaged' for brides, which includes 'housewives', renders any estimation of labour force participation, occupational types or occupational potential practically

Table LXXV

Comparison of Dutch Grooms/Brides Marrying In-Group with Dutch Grooms/Brides Marrying Out-Group, Auckland Urban Area, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

		1958			1962			1966			1970		
		In-G	Out-G	Total	In-G	Out-G	Total	In-G	Out-G	Total	In-G	Out-G	Total
GROOMS	No.	32	43	75	18	45	63	8	47	55	5	51	56
Occupations:	'White Collar'	6.2	34.9	22.7	22.2	33.3	30.1	-	34.1	29.1	80.0	37.2	41.2
	'Blue Collar'	93.8	65.1	77.3	77.8	66.7	69.9	100.0	61.7	67.3	20.0	58.8	55.4
Mean Socio-Economic Level		4.13	3.98	4.04	4.00	3.53	3.67	4.13	3.62	3.70	3.20	3.41	3.39
Mean Age (Years)		26.4	27.7	27.1	26.4	28.9	28.2	23.3	28.5	27.8	36.0	28.8	29.5
First Marriage %		100.0	90.7	94.7	88.9	95.5	93.7	100.0	83.0	85.5	60.0	84.3	82.1
Registry Marriage %		15.6	30.2	24.0	27.8	24.4	25.4	12.5	27.7	25.5	60.0	25.5	28.6
BRIDES	No.	32	10	42	18	9	27	8	26	34	5	21	26
Occupations:	'White Collar'	46.9	40.0	45.2	44.4	44.4	44.4	62.5	57.7	58.9	20.0	71.4	61.5
	'Blue Collar'	43.7	40.0	42.9	27.8	44.4	33.3	25.0	23.1	23.5	-	23.8	19.3
	Not Actively Engaged	9.4	20.0	11.9	27.8	11.1	22.2	12.5	19.2	17.6	80.0	4.8	19.2
Mean Age (Years)		23.7	26.0	24.3	24.8	24.2	24.6	21.4	23.1	22.7	34.0	25.6	27.2
First Marriage %		96.9	90.0	95.2	88.9	88.9	88.9	100.0	84.6	88.2	60.0	90.5	84.6
Registry Marriage %		15.6	30.0	19.0	27.8	44.4	33.3	12.5	34.6	23.4	60.0	23.8	30.8

Source: Marriage Certificates, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

impossible. Third, and this applies particularly for Dutch in-group marriages in 1970, distortions are introduced by the remarriage of older migrants who (it seems) desire in-group partners. In such cases (noted also for Yugoslavs and Hungarians) it can be expected, especially with the small numbers involved, that the mean age, percentage first marriage and percentage registry marriage for in-group grooms and brides will vary markedly from the norm.

Western Samoan grooms and brides more or less duplicate the contrasts observed between their Dutch counterparts marrying out-group as compared with those marrying in-group. Thus, although 'White Collar' workers form a very small minority among the grooms a higher percentage of Western Samoan grooms marrying out-group partners are employed in 'White Collar' occupations and consequently the 'mean socio-economic level' is somewhat higher for such grooms (Table LIXVI). On average, Western Samoan grooms marrying out-group are older (by about a year) than their in-group counterparts, a higher percentage have also been previously married and a higher percentage have the current marriage ceremony performed in a Registry Office. Brides marrying out-group are similar, except for two things; the percentage of 'White Collar' workers is very much higher, but the percentage marrying for the first time is about the same as for in-group brides. The labour force participation of out-group brides is also higher than for in-group brides.

Given the European cultural orientation of Mixed-blood Samoans implied by Pitt (1970, 163 and 183) and their initial dominance of

Table LXXVI

Comparison of Western Samoan Grooms/Brides Marrying In-Group with Western Samoan Grooms/Brides Marrying Out-Group, Auckland Urban Area, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

		1958			1962			1966			1970		
		In-G	Out-G	Total	In-G	Out-G	Total	In-G	Out-G	Total	In-G	Out-G	Total
<u>GROOMS</u>	No.	27	29	56	68	33	101	116	33	149	113	44	157
Occupations: 'White Collar'		14.8	3.4	9.0	2.9	6.1	4.0	4.3	9.1	5.3	7.1	13.6	8.8
'Blue Collar'		85.2	96.6	91.0	94.2	93.9	94.0	94.8	87.9	93.4	91.1	86.4	89.9
Mean Socio-Economic Level		4.56	4.69	4.63	4.80	4.64	4.75	4.63	4.34	4.56	4.67	4.57	4.64
Mean Age (Years)		29.8	27.7	28.7	26.3	27.2	26.6	26.4	27.6	26.7	26.7	25.5	26.4
First Marriage %		88.9	82.7	85.7	97.1	93.9	96.0	96.6	84.8	94.0	94.7	90.9	93.6
Registry Marriage %		22.2	58.6	41.8	32.4	42.4	35.6	31.9	51.5	36.2	22.1	43.2	28.0
European (Full or Part) Descent %		48.1	58.6	53.6	25.0	51.5	33.6	22.4	51.5	28.8	14.2	45.4	22.9
<u>BRIDES</u>	No.	27	16	43	68	34	102	116	39	155	113	45	158
Occupations: 'White Collar'		14.8	31.2	20.9	11.7	17.7	13.8	9.5	38.4	16.7	18.6	33.3	22.8
'Blue Collar'		70.4	56.2	65.2	75.0	73.5	74.4	83.6	59.0	77.5	68.2	57.8	65.2
Not Actively Engaged		14.8	12.6	13.9	13.3	8.8	11.8	6.9	2.6	5.8	13.2	8.9	12.0
Mean Age (Years)		26.6	27.6	27.0	23.7	24.9	24.1	24.1	24.4	24.2	24.9	26.2	25.2
First Marriage %		85.2	81.3	83.7	98.5	97.1	98.0	99.1	89.7	96.8	96.5	95.6	96.2
Registry Marriage %		22.2	31.3	25.6	32.4	32.4	32.4	31.9	23.1	29.7	22.1	35.6	25.9
European (Full or Part) Descent %		59.3	75.0	65.1	20.9	76.5	39.2	20.7	46.1	27.1	18.6	40.0	24.7

Source: Marriage Certificates, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

Western Samoan migration to New Zealand (Chapter 2), an effort was made to identify such migrants among Western Samoans residing and marrying in Auckland. Identification was limited to the surnames of grooms, brides and their respective parents, and was carried out with initial guidance from a list of surnames prepared by Macpherson (1972, 209-210). The identification cannot be claimed to be absolutely perfect, but the results obtained are such that the major patterns revealed may be accepted with confidence (Table LXXVI).

There are two general results which can be reported with respect to Western Samoan grooms and brides of full or part European descent. First, they initially dominated and subsequently formed a declining proportion of the total number of Western Samoans married in and/or residing in Auckland. They have, secondly, despite their declining share of the total number of Western Samoans marrying, continued to account for a disproportionately high percentage of out-group marriages, although this is also on the decline. And finally, lest the point be overlooked, it should be noted that Western Samoans of European descent (full or part) marrying in-group have tended to select (again disproportionately) mates of similar descent. For example, in 1966 it appears that 12 out of 26 grooms and 12 out of 24 brides of European descent marrying in-group, chose mates whose origins were at least in part European.

The obvious conclusion to be drawn from these findings is that Western Samoan marriage patterns in Auckland (and probably New Zealand as a whole) have been deeply influenced by the increasing

volume and associated change in 'racial' composition of Western Samoan immigration. In other words, it seems that to talk of a decline in Western Samoan intermarriage (Tables LXVIII and LXIX) is grossly misleading. Rather, the statistics available reflect the increasing immigration of Full-blood Samoans, who have in New Zealand, responded to predominantly informal sanctions and accordingly selected and married in-group spouses.⁹

SOCIAL DISTANCE AND INTERMARRIAGE

Within the limits imposed by available information, two of the tasks set in the introduction to this chapter have now been carried out. The extent of both in-group and out-group marriage at certain points in time have been established for grooms and brides of each of the five immigrant groups. Where appropriate (and possible) the rates of intermarriage on the basis of birthplaces of parties have been adjusted to account or compensate for some of the more common deficiencies of birthplace statistics. The characteristics of immigrants marrying out-group as compared to those marrying in-group partners have also been examined and outlined in brief. What insights, if any, are provided by the results obtained from these two tasks with respect to the postulated association between social distance attitudes and intermarriage?

One way of answering this question involves the comparison of social distance attitudes and actual rates of intermarriage. Accordingly, the results of the 1970 Auckland survey on attitudes towards immigrants

were consulted and data on the percentages of New Zealand-born respondents willing to accept members of the five immigrant groups to close kinship by marriage were extracted (Chapter 6, Table XLV). Alongside these results were placed the recorded rates of intermarriage with New Zealand-born spouses in 1970 (see Table LXIX) by both grooms and brides belonging to each of the five immigrant groups. The two sets of data are displayed in Table LXVII together with the appropriate rank orders and the Spearman rank correlation coefficients.¹⁰ Rank correlation coefficients obtained indicate a moderately high association between the attitudes of New Zealanders and recorded marriages of immigrant grooms ($r_s = 0.70$), but in the case of immigrant brides the association was practically non-existent ($r_s = 0.10$) simply because of the reversal of ranks for Yugoslav and Winese brides.

It is at this point that the need for 'corrected' rates of intermarriage becomes particularly apparent. First of all it should be noted that the New Zealand-born respondents in the Auckland survey on attitudes towards immigrants were almost exclusively Pakeha New Zealanders. Second, it has been shown in two previous studies (McCreary, 1952; Vaughan, 1962) that Maoris have been ranked by Pakehas below some continental Europeans and above other 'coloured' minorities (for example, Samoans) in terms of social distance, particularly with regard to marriage (Vaughan, 1962, 90).

With the above points in mind it was decided to repeat the assessment of an association between social distance and intermarriage, but with 'corrected' intermarriage statistics. Marriages between

Table LXXVII

Rates of Immigrant Intermarriage with New Zealand-born Spouses as an Index of Social Distance between Immigrants and New Zealanders, Auckland Urban Area, 1970.

Birthplaces	Proportions of New Zealand-born Respondents willing to accept immigrants as marriage partners.		Proportions of Immigrants Marrying New Zealand-born Spouses			
	%	Rank	Grooms		Brides	
			%	Rank	%	Rank
Netherlands	41.5	1	70.9	1	60.0	1
Yugoslavia	33.3	2	55.2	2	0.0	5
Hungary	29.0	3	28.6	4	20.0	3
Western Samoa	12.5	4	22.9	5	12.7	4
Niue	9.1	5	50.0	3	40.0	2

Spearman rank correlation coefficients (r_s)

(A) 'Social Distance'/ Grooms	(B) 'Social Distance'/ Brides
$r_s = 0.70$	$r_s = 0.10$

Note: For form, function, requirements, etc., of the Spearman rank correlation coefficient, see Siegal (1956, 202-213).

immigrants and Maoris were therefore discarded from the totals of intermarriage with New Zealand-born spouses, and in the case of Yugoslav grooms marriages with New Zealand-born brides of Yugoslav parentage were also discarded. The adjusted statistics, together with the appropriate rank orders and Spearman rank correlation coefficients, are displayed in Table LXV and reveal substantial alterations in the proportions of marriages with New Zealand-born spouses, especially for Niueans. The rank correlation coefficient for immigrant grooms increased from 0.70 to 0.90, but there was no change in the case of immigrant brides.¹¹

From the results obtained it may be concluded, in agreement with Pima (1969,53), that social distance attitudes are correlated with marriage behaviour - for grooms, but not for brides. At least two factors appear to underlie the situation for brides: (a) unbalanced sex ratios and the small population numbers involved, which affect (b) exposure to the risk of intermarriage, which is also conditioned by the form of migration (for example, chain migration). Both of these factors are particularly applicable to the Yugoslav brides and may apply also to Niuean brides. Whereas there were more Yugoslav grooms than brides in 1970, there were more Niuean brides than grooms in the same year. Thus, although it is tempting to speculate as to what the result might have been (had there been ...), it should suffice to simply point out that the result for immigrant brides is inconclusive because of the possible operation of other factors.¹²

Table LXXVIII

Rates of Immigrant Intermarriage with New Zealand-born Spouses of 'European' Stock as an Index of Social Distance between Immigrants and New Zealanders, Auckland Urban Area, 1970.

Birthplaces	Proportions of New Zealand-born Respondents willing to accept immigrants as marriage partners.		Proportions of Immigrants Marrying New Zealand-born Spouses of 'European' stock.			
	%	Rank	Grooms		Brides	
			%	Rank	%	Rank
Netherlands	41.5	1	61.8	1	60.0	1
Yugoslavia	33.3	2	44.8*	2	0.0	5
Hungary	29.0	3	14.3	4	20.0	3
Western Samoa	12.5	4	15.9	3	11.4	4
Niue	9.1	5	12.5	5	25.0	2

* New Zealand-born brides of Yugoslav parentage have also been excluded from this category.

Spearman rank correlation coefficients (r_s)

(A) 'Social Distance'/ Grooms	(B) 'Social Distance'/ Brides
$r_s = 0.90$	$r_s = 0.10$

Note: For form, function, requirements, etc., of the Spearman rank correlation coefficient, see Siegal (1956, 202-213).

Another insight into the association between social distance attitudes and intermarriage is afforded by the comparison of socio-economic characteristics of immigrants marrying out-group and those marrying in-group spouses. The essence of the results obtained (Tables LXXV and LXXVI) is that out-group marriages, predominantly with New Zealanders or other Europeans, involve migrants who on average are more like their out-group mates or more like potential partners in the out-group spouse's normal field of eligibles. For example, in the case of Western Samoans it was found that grooms and brides of full or part European descent were disproportionately represented among those marrying out-group spouses. Likewise, it was found that higher percentages of both Dutch and Western Samoans marrying out-group were employed in 'White Collar' occupations as compared with their counterparts marrying in-group. In the case of Dutch and Western Samoan grooms the higher percentage of 'White Collar' workers was reflected in the higher 'mean socio-economic level' of grooms marrying out-group brides.¹³ In both cases, more particularly with regard to the 'racial identity' of Samoans of European descent, it might be argued that the mean social distance between immigrants marrying out-group and members of the host society is less than the mean social distance between immigrants marrying in-group and members of the host society. This interpretation relies heavily upon the conception of social distance as a measure of the desirability of close interaction. The more similar the migrant population is perceived to be by members of the host society, the more attractive will be close interaction with its members and the greater the willingness to admit members to an intimate relationship such as marriage.

RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS:
THEORIES AND PROBLEMS

In their review of some fourteen studies dealing with the relationship between residential propinquity and marital selection, Katz and Hill (1958) were able to identify two basic underlying theories, which they then combined to produce a third, more general, theory. These three theories may be summarised as follows.¹⁴

1. The 'norm-segregation theory', which is based on two assumptions:
 - (a) that the marriage decision is normative, so that marriage choices for members of a particular cultural group are limited by cultural considerations to a field of eligibles of the opposite sex belonging to the same group;
 - (b) that cultural groups that form fields of eligibles tend to be residentially segregated, so that normative marriages are characterised by short distances in terms of residential propinquity.
2. The 'interactionist time-cost theory' which assumes:
 - (a) that the marriage decision follows a period of courtship interaction - the greater the potential interaction, the greater the chance of marriage;
 - (b) the amount of potential interaction is inversely related to a time-cost function - the greater the cost, the less the potential interaction;
 - (c) the time-cost function is directly related to distance.
3. The 'norm-interaction theory', which is a synthesis of the 'norm-segregation' and 'interactionist time-cost' theories, and which assumes:
 - (a) that marriage is normative;

- (b) that, within normative fields or eligibles, the probability of marriage varies directly with the probability of interaction;
- (c) that the probability of interaction is proportional to the ratio of opportunities at a given distance over intervening opportunities.

It is against the background of these three theories, individually and collectively, that the association between immigrant residential patterns and immigrant marriage patterns in Auckland will be examined, interpreted and assessed.

The tenor of the above theories is familiar to geographers, for it is clear that for marriage, like migration, distance is explicitly recognised as a basic intervening obstacle with respect to the extent of human interaction. This is implicit in the generalisation arising from Bessard's initial examination of residential propinquity in relation to marital selection, namely that the proportion of marriages (Bessard, 1932, 222) "decreased steadily and markedly as the distance between contracting parties increases." As Katz and Hill show in their review of the literature, Bessard's generalisation has been validated in a number of subsequent studies. Variations and deviations in the patterns of residential propinquity, however, have also been reported. Within the context of the theories summarised above such variations may be explained by the following factors.

1. The prior geographic distribution of a given population or populations within a particular area. The prior geographic distribution of population(s) would affect the potential for interaction and interaction opportunities at a given distance.

2. The strength and extent of adherence to group norms within a particular population under varying conditions of residential distribution. For example, a population that is residentially dispersed may nonetheless conform to group norms with the result that propinquity distances for normative marriages are high while propinquity patterns for normative-deviants are low. In this case conformity with norms over-rides the obstacle of distance so producing a residential propinquity pattern opposite to that implied (or explained) by the 'norm-segregation theory', but which is entirely consistent with the 'norm-interaction theory'.
3. Variations in the socio-economic status and resources of members of a population. Such variations may result in differential perceptions of distance as an intervening obstacle and therefore differences in the patterns of residential propinquity.

These points must also be borne in mind in examining the association between residential and marital patterns of immigrants in Auckland.

Before the examination can begin, however, there are a number of technical problems common to research in this subject area that must be discussed and resolved. The accuracy with which the residential locations of the two parties contracting a marriage can be identified, and hence the accuracy of distance measurements between the two addresses depends entirely upon the addresses given by the two parties in their preliminary notice of intended marriage. These addresses are commonly accepted as an index of the residential propinquity at the time of first meeting, subsequent interaction and eventual decision to marry. Unfortunately, no corrections can be introduced into the data available to

counter residential mobility by either party between the time of first meeting and the eventual submission of a notice of intended marriage.¹⁵

Another problem, perhaps related to the errors arising from residential mobility, concerns cases where both parties give the same address. Such cases, as shown in the statistics for Dutch and Western Samoans in the following pages, may account for up to 50 per cent or more of marriages recorded. A high percentage of 'same address couples' will obviously have a considerable impact on the distribution of marriages by distance between bride's and groom's address.

The problem with 'same address couples' is to decide whether their residential propinquity is the basis of mate selection or a consequence of it. In other words 'same address couples' may simply be cases of pre-marital cohabitation or de facto unions. If this is so then they "should not be included in an analysis the purpose of which is to evaluate the effect of distance between residences on the selection of a spouse" (Ramapry, 1966, 776). In some cases the exclusion of 'same address couples' may be perfectly logical and reasonable. For example, Hooper (1961, 177), writing on Cook Islanders in Auckland, has said:

Formal 'engagements' are practically unknown. The most common preliminary to marriage - both mixed marriage and marriage within the community - is children, or expected children. Common law unions are frequent, and many result in a formal marriage after the birth of one or more children.

Perhaps a similar situation applies to Niueans and Western Samoans. But in the case of other groups, at other times and in other places, exclusion may be less logical and less reasonable. In her analysis of

marriages in Oslo, Ramsøy (1966, 776-777) found that 'same address couples' as compared with 'separate address couples' had a lower percentage of marriages solemnised by religious ceremony and a higher percentage of brides not actively engaged, both features which might be interpreted as indicative of pre-marital cohabitation or de facto unions. Ramsøy therefore excluded 'same address couples' from "those parts of the analysis concerned with evaluating the effect of distance on mate selection" (Ramsøy, 1966, 777). As Katz and Hill (1958, 28) point out, however, such a solution to the problem means that both valid and invalid cases are discarded and the solution is not one that has been generally adopted.

In the case of marriages in Auckland, an analysis of all marriages involving Dutch grooms (for the four years combined) revealed that in 'same address' cases 25 per cent of brides were not actively engaged (c.f. 9.5 per cent of other brides) and 52 per cent of marriages were solemnised with a religious ceremony (c.f. 81.5 per cent of other marriages). More marked contrasts appeared in the case of Western Samoan grooms. If the Ramsøy solution was adopted, however, the number of marriages remaining would be reduced to such an extent that already difficult problems of analysis would be even further complicated. Accordingly, it was decided to produce mean residential propinquity (m.r.p.) statistics of two types. Type A would include both 'same address' and 'separate address couples' residing within the Auckland Urban Area, and Type B would be limited to 'separate address couples' residing in Auckland. Because of the small number of marriages recorded for Hungarians, Niueans and Yugoslavs, analysis was once again limited

to the marriages of Dutch and Western Samoan immigrants (see Appendix F for detailed residential propinquity statistics).

Finally, there remains the problem of measuring distances between addresses. Studies carried out in the United States have traditionally used the city block as the basic urban distance measure, the more recent studies reviewed by Katz and Hill (1958, 28) utilising "the standard city block ... which is equal to one-eighth of a mile". The alternative to measurement by city block is, of course, measurement by computation of straight-line distances in miles, half-miles or some other unit of measurement (see Ramsay, 1966, 779). As far as intervening physical obstacles are concerned the usual procedure has been to measure distance around rather than through the obstacles, although the problem is sometimes ignored or unstated (see Ramsay, 1966).

For the Auckland study the measurement procedure was as follows. First a large map of the Auckland Urban Area was set up by fitting together the four appropriate sheets in the N.Z.M.S.17 series of street maps (published by the Department of Lands and Survey) - namely, North Shore, Auckland West, Auckland and Auckland South, all drawn to a scale of 1:20,000. Second, the addresses of groom and bride were located as accurately as possible and the straight-line distance between the two addresses was then measured and recorded at intervals of one (1) kilometre. Finally, where major physical obstacles appeared between the addresses of couples the shortest distances around the obstacles were measured and recorded.¹⁷

RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS:
DUTCH IMMIGRANTS IN AUCKLAND

The basic data on residential types ('same address', 'separate addresses'), residential locations and mean residential propinquity for both Dutch grooms and Dutch brides, differentiating in each case between in-group and out-group marriages, is presented in Tables LXXIX and LXXX. Inspection of these Tables reveals three prominent trends for both Dutch grooms and brides. As noted earlier, the percentages of in-group marriages have declined while the percentage of out-group marriages has increased markedly. This trend in favour of exogamous marriages has been paralleled by a process of residential decentralisation. Thus, whereas about 60 per cent of all Dutch grooms and brides resided in the Inner City and adjacent Inner Suburbs in 1958, the situation by 1970 was one of marked residential dispersal with the bulk (53.6 per cent of grooms and 69.2 per cent of brides) residing in the far-flung Outer Suburbs of Māngere, Manurewa, Henderson, Titirangi and similar areas encompassed by the broad divisions of Manukau City, North Shore and the western Waitemata periphery. Finally, the third trend has been one of generally progressive increases in mean residential propinquity (m.r.p.) distances, Types A and B, particularly noticeable in the case of Dutch brides (1958, m.r.p. A = 2.8, m.r.p. B = 5.4, whereas in 1970 m.r.p. A = 7.2 and m.r.p. B = 9.5).

With regard to the apparent association between residential decentralisation or dispersal and exogamous marriage, it could be argued that either residential dispersal is indicative of wider cultural assimilation (e.g. the waning of norms underlying in-group marriage), or that residential dispersal provides greater opportunities for inter-group contact and hence intermarriage.¹⁸ Since the Dutch immigrants

Table LXXIX

Comparison of Residential Types, Location and Propinquity of Dutch Grooms Marrying In-Group with Dutch Grooms Marrying Out-Group, Auckland Urban Area, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

		1958			1962			1966			1970		
		In-G	Out-G	Total	In-G	Out-G	Total	In-G	Out-G	Total	In-G	Out-G	Total
<u>GROOMS</u>	No.	32	43	75	18	45	63	8	47	55	5	51	56
Residential Types (%)													
Same Address		40.6	25.6	32.0	22.2	20.0	20.6	12.5	19.1	18.2	40.0	21.6	23.2
Separate Addresses		59.4	74.4	68.0	77.8	80.0	79.4	87.5	80.9	81.8	60.0	78.4	76.8
Residential Location (%)													
Inner City		21.9	27.9	25.3	11.1	13.3	12.7	-	12.8	10.9	20.0	11.7	12.5
Inner Suburbs		37.5	39.5	38.7	33.3	33.3	33.3	12.5	34.0	30.9	20.0	35.3	33.9
Outer Suburbs		28.1	32.5	30.7	55.6	53.3	54.0	87.5	53.2	58.2	60.0	52.9	53.6
Outside Auckland		12.5	-	5.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Residential Propinquity (Mean Distance in Kilometres)													
A		2.6	5.8	4.5	5.4	5.0	5.1	5.7	6.9	6.8	10.8	6.4	6.8
B		5.2	8.0	7.1	6.9	6.5	6.6	6.6	8.9	8.5	13.0	8.4	9.2

Residential Propinquity A = All marriages involving couples residing within the Auckland Urban Area.

B = All marriages involving couples residing at separate addresses within the Auckland Urban Area ('same address couples' excluded).

Source: Marriage Certificates, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

Table LXXX

Comparison of Residential Types, Location and Propinquity of Dutch Brides Marrying In-Group with Dutch Brides Marrying Out-Group, Auckland Urban Area, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

		1958			1962			1966			1970		
		In-G	Out-G	Total	In-G	Out-G	Total	In-G	Out-G	Total	In-G	Out-G	Total
BRIDES	No.	32	10	42	18	9	27	8	26	34	5	21	26
Residential Types	(%)												
Same Address		40.6	40.0	40.5	22.2	44.4	29.6	12.5	26.9	23.5	40.0	14.3	19.2
Separate Addresses		59.4	60.0	59.5	77.8	55.5	70.4	87.5	73.1	76.4	60.0	85.7	80.8
Residential Location	(%)												
Inner City		25.0	20.0	23.8	11.1	33.3	18.5	-	23.1	17.6	-	4.8	3.8
Inner Suburbs		40.6	40.0	40.5	27.8	22.2	25.9	-	15.4	11.8	-	33.3	26.9
Outer Suburbs		28.1	40.0	31.0	61.1	44.4	55.6	100.0	61.5	70.6	100.0	61.9	69.2
Outside Auckland		6.3	-	4.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Residential Propinquity													
(Mean Distance in Kilometres)													
A		2.6	3.3	2.8	5.4	2.5	4.5	5.7	6.3	6.1	10.8	6.1	7.2
B		5.2	6.0	5.4	6.9	5.0	6.5	6.6	9.0	8.3	18.0	7.5	9.5

Residential Propinquity A = All marriages involving couples residing within the Auckland Urban Area.

B = All marriages involving couples residing at separate addresses within the Auckland Urban Area ('same address couples' excluded).

Source: Marriage Certificates, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

rank high in the social distance preference hierarchy of New Zealanders and since they also have a high rating in socio-economic status as compared with other immigrant groups, the residential and marriage patterns of the Dutch might well be regarded as a classic case of assimilation. However, this still leaves the problem of explaining the increases in m.r.p. distances for both grooms and brides. From the data available one can argue that since the percentage of Dutch grooms and brides employed in 'White Collar' occupations has generally increased over the period from 1958 to 1970 (paralleled by an increased mean 'socio-economic level' for grooms), then it is possible that the perceived power of distance as an obstacle to interaction has also altered.¹⁹ In short, the three prominent trends evident for Dutch grooms and brides can be explained by and are consistent with elements included in the 'norm-segregation', 'interactionist time-cost' and 'norm-interaction' theories outlined earlier. The utility of these theories can be further illustrated by reference to both in-group and out-group marriages in 1958 and 1962.

In 1958 both grooms and brides were residentially centralised; this appears to have been slightly more pronounced in the case of those migrants marrying in-group spouses. By reference to the 'norm-segregation' theory it could be predicted, therefore, that normative (i.e. in-group) marriages would be characterised by low m.r.p. values, given the physical concentration of interaction opportunities, whereas normative-deviant marriages (i.e. out-group) would be characterised by comparatively higher m.r.p. values. The results obtained (Tables LXXIX and LXXX) were

as predicted, especially for Dutch grooms. Whereas the m.r.p. distances for grooms marrying in-group were 2.6 (A) and 5.2 (B), the m.r.p. distances for out-group marriages were 5.8 (A) and 8.0 (B) kilometres.

The data for 1962 are of particular interest because of the decentralised residential pattern for Dutch grooms. Under these conditions it could be predicted, with reference to the 'norm-segregation' or 'norm-interaction' theories, that normative marriages for grooms should produce higher m.r.p. distance values since the field of eligibles is also dispersed, whereas the m.r.p. distance values for normative-deviants should be lower in response to increased contact-interaction opportunities. Once again the results obtained were as predicted, the m.r.p. values for in-group marriages of grooms (Table LXXIX) being 5.4 (A) and 6.9 (B) as compared with 5.0 (A) and 6.5 (B) kilometres for out-group marriages. Although the difference between the m.r.p. values for in-group and out-group marriages may appear rather small, it must be remembered that only 22.2 per cent of grooms marrying in-group were employed in 'White Collar' occupations as compared with 33.3 per cent of grooms marrying out-group (Table LXXV, see also differences in 'mean socio-economic level'). Within the context of the 'interactionist time-cost theory' therefore the ability and willingness of normative deviant grooms to travel further and at greater cost underlies the narrow differences between the m.r.p. distance values.²⁰ Finally, while caution is required with the small numbers involved, the above features appear to be applicable also to Dutch brides in the same year.

RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS:
WESTERN SAMOAN IMMIGRANTS IN AUCKLAND.

The marriage, residential and propinquity patterns of Western Samoans (Tables LXXXI and LXXXII) provide some interesting points of comparison. In common with the Dutch immigrants, the period 1958 - 1970 has also been one of residential decentralisation for Western Samoans. Over 80 per cent of grooms and brides resided in the Inner City and adjacent Inner Suburbs in 1958, but by 1970 the percentage located in the Inner City had declined by about 20 per cent, while comparable increases were recorded in the Outer Suburbs. Chief among the new Outer Suburban locations was the Otara-Mangere area of Manukau City. Increasing numbers of Western Samoans were also residing in the new low-cost housing areas of Te Atatu, Henderson (on the western periphery) and on the North Shore (e.g. Glenfield, Birkenhead). In common with the Dutch also, there was a marked increase in the mean residential propinquity distances, which rose (for grooms, closely matched by the brides) from 2.5 (A) and 3.9 (B) to 5.2 (A) and 6.8 (B) kilometres in 1958 and 1970, respectively. However, the common trends of decentralisation and increased m.r.p. distance values were not matched for Western Samoans by a comparable trend in favour of exogamous marriages. On the contrary, as noted earlier, the percentage of endogamous marriages increased substantially for both brides and grooms.

The factors underlying the decreasing intermarriage of Western Samoans need not be repeated here. It must, however be stressed that the example of the Western Samoans is of considerable significance

Table LXXXI

Comparison of Residential Types, Location and Propinquity of Western Samoan Grooms Marrying In-Group with Western Samoan Grooms Marrying Out-Group, Auckland Urban Area, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

		1958			1962			1966			1970		
		In-G	Out-G	Total	In-G	Out-G	Total	In-G	Out-G	Total	In-G	Out-G	Total
GROOMS	No.	27	29	56	68	33	101	116	33	149	113	44	157
Residential Types (5)													
Same Address		18.5	48.3	33.9	19.1	21.2	19.8	13.8	21.2	15.4	22.1	22.7	22.3
Separate Addresses		81.5	51.7	66.1	80.9	78.8	80.2	86.2	78.8	84.6	77.9	77.3	77.7
Residential Location (4)													
Inner City		74.1	62.1	67.9	67.6	45.4	60.4	52.6	36.4	49.0	45.1	40.9	43.9
Inner Suburbs		11.1	24.1	17.3	14.7	27.3	18.8	18.1	18.2	18.1	16.8	15.9	16.6
Outer Suburbs		3.7	13.8	8.8	10.3	27.3	15.8	22.4	45.4	27.5	33.6	43.2	36.3
Outside Auckland		11.1	-	5.4	7.4	-	5.0	6.9	-	5.4	4.4	-	3.2
Residential Propinquity													
(Mean distance in kilometres)													
A		2.4	2.5	2.5	3.8	4.5	4.0	5.0	8.2	5.7	5.2	5.1	5.2
B		3.0	5.2	3.9	4.9	5.9	5.2	5.9	10.8	6.9	6.8	6.8	6.8

Residential Propinquity A = All marriages involving couples residing within the Auckland Urban Area.

B = All marriages involving couples residing at separate addresses within the Auckland Urban Area ('same address couples' excluded).

Source: Marriage Certificates, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

Table LXXXII

Comparison of Residential Types, Location and Propinquity of Western Samoan Brides Marrying In-Group with Western Samoan Brides Marrying Out-Group, Auckland Urban Area, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

		1958			1962			1966			1970		
		In-G	Out-G	Total	In-G	Out-G	Total	In-G	Out-G	Total	In-G	Out-G	Total
BRIDES	No.	27	16	43	68	34	102	116	39	155	113	45	158
Residential Types (%)													
Same Address		18.5	31.3	23.3	19.1	20.6	19.6	13.8	17.9	14.8	22.1	20.0	21.5
Separate Addresses		81.5	68.7	76.7	80.9	79.4	80.4	86.2	82.1	85.2	77.9	80.0	78.5
Residential Location (%)													
Inner City		77.8	43.8	65.1	63.2	52.9	59.8	54.3	33.3	49.0	38.9	53.3	43.0
Inner Suburbs		22.2	25.0	23.3	22.1	29.4	24.5	19.0	28.2	21.3	23.9	24.4	24.1
Outer Suburbs		-	31.2	11.6	13.2	17.7	14.7	25.0	38.5	28.4	33.7	22.3	30.4
Outside Auckland		-	-	-	1.5	-	1.0	1.7	-	1.3	3.5	-	2.5
Residential Propinquity													
(Mean Distance in kilometres)	A	2.4	3.1	2.6	3.8	4.8	4.2	5.0	5.7	5.2	5.2	4.8	5.1
	B	3.0	5.3	3.6	4.9	6.3	5.3	5.9	7.2	6.2	6.8	6.2	6.6

Residential Propinquity A = All marriages involving couples residing within the Auckland Urban Area.

B = All marriages involving couples residing at separate addresses within the Auckland Urban Area ('same address couples' excluded).

Source: Marriage Certificates, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

to the study of adjustment, integration or assimilation of immigrants in urban areas. Group norms such as those pertaining to marriage do not necessarily become weakened as a result of changing residential patterns, nor are changing residential patterns, which may provide inter-group contact opportunities, necessarily matched by changing group norms which may facilitate inter-group interaction. This viewpoint is, of course, related to the argument that reductions in physical distance or residential dissimilarity are not necessarily matched by reductions in social distance between groups. Within the context of the 'norm-segregation' and 'norm-interaction' theories, the increasing m.r.p. distance values for Western Samoans are consistent with the predicted m.r.p. values for normative marriages under conditions of progressive residential dispersion.²¹

As before the above points can be illustrated by comparing those Western Samoans marrying in-group with those marrying out-group during each of the four years for which data have been collected. In 1958 both 'normative' and 'normative-deviant' Western Samoan grooms were residentially centralised or concentrated in the Inner City and adjacent Inner Suburbs. It could therefore be predicted that normative marriages would have a low m.r.p. distance value and that normative-deviant marriages would have a higher m.r.p. distance value. The results (Table LXXXI) were as predicted: normative (in-group) marriage m.r.p. values were 2.4 (A) and 3.0 (B) as compared with 2.5 (A) and 5.2 (B) kilometres for normative-deviant (out-group) grooms. A similar argument can be made with respect to Samoan brides in 1958, except that since normative-deviant brides were more residentially decentralised the

contrasting m.r.p. values can probably be explained by reference to the contrasting percentages in 'White Collar' occupations and of 'European descent' (Table LXIV). Provided similar considerations are made for both grooms and brides in interpreting the marriage-residence-proximity patterns for 1962, 1966 and 1970, the m.r.p. distance values can be shown to be similarly consistent with the three theories outlined earlier.

While residential dispersal per se need not necessarily be matched by a corresponding weakening of group norms or a reduction in perceived social distance between groups, it must still be allowed that residential dispersal to and settlement in certain suburban areas may be associated with a weakening of group norms and reduction of social distance. If this is so, then immigrants resident in such areas may avail themselves of contact opportunities and interact more freely, with the result that out-group marriages are more frequent. It is possible also that immigrants resident in areas where in-group interaction opportunities are limited will also resort to out-group interaction. In order to test this viewpoint data on place of residence and type of marriage (in-group and out-group) was matched against the residential pattern of Western Samoan immigrants in Auckland in 1966 (Table LXXXIII).

The procedure involved the following steps. First, using the map (Figure 3, Chapter 1) showing 'Residential Dissimilarity of Samoan Immigrants as compared with the Remainder of the Total Population in 1966', the Index of Residential Dissimilarity for each census sub-

division was inspected and areas were allocated to one of three categories - 'Over-represented' A (index of dissimilarity 3.0+), 'Over-represented' B (index of dissimilarity 0 - 2.99), and 'Under-represented'. In broad terms these three categories indicate the degree of residential concentration, population numbers and conform closely to general divisions of socio-economic status (see Chapter 5). Second, the residential locations of Western Samoan brides and grooms married in 1966 were noted and migrants allocated to one of the three residential categories wherein they were sorted into cases of either in-group or out-group marriage. Finally, as shown in Table LXXXIII, row and column percentages were calculated.

A relationship between residential distribution and marriage patterns is suggested by the results obtained from the analysis. For example, in the case of Western Samoan grooms, it seems that: (a) as group residential representation decreases, so too does the proportion of in-group marriages (drops from 84.45 per cent to 54.55 per cent of all marriages); (b) as group residential representation decreases, the percentage of out-group marriage increases (from 14.55 to 45.45 per cent of all marriages); and (c) grooms marrying out-group are concentrated in areas of group under-representation (15 out of 33 grooms marrying out-group spouses as compared with 18 out of 108 grooms marrying in-group spouses). In general the pattern for Western Samoan brides is similar - brides marrying out-group are concentrated in areas of group under-representation (17 out of 39 brides) and account for half of the marriages in such areas.²²

It is tempting to assume that the results in Table LXXXIII are a function of contact-interaction opportunities, in which case a strong argument could be made with respect to the importance of residential patterns in relation to human interaction. It could be argued

Table LXXXIII

Marriages of Western Samoan Grooms and Brides, Auckland Urban Area, 1966: Type of Marriage (In-Group/Out-Group) by Residential Location (classified by nature of residential dissimilarity).

Residential Location Classified by Index of Residential Dissimilarity of Western Samoans, 1966.		Grooms						Brides					
		In-Group		Out-Group		Total		In-Group		Out-Group		Total	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Over-represented (A) = 3+	No	47	85.45	8	14.55	55	100.00	43	79.63	11	20.37	54	100.00
	%	43.52		24.25		39.01		37.72		28.20		35.30	
Over-represented (B) = 0 to 2.99 *	No	43	81.13	10	18.87	53	100.00	54	83.08	11	16.92	65	100.00
	%	39.81		30.30		37.59		47.37		28.20		42.48	
Under-represented (all categories)	No	18	54.55	15	45.45	33	100.00	17	50.00	17	50.00	34	100.00
	%	16.67		45.45		23.40		14.91		43.60		22.22	
Total	No	108	76.60	33	23.40	141	100.00	114	74.51	39	25.49	153	100.00
	%	100.00		100.00		100.00		100.00		100.00		100.00	

* This category includes Henderson, Kelston West and Epsom North (Index of Residential Dissimilarity = 0).

Note: The residential location of Grooms and Brides was recorded/coded at the level of intra-urban census sub-divisions. The Index of Residential Dissimilarity for each census sub-division is illustrated in Figure 3 'Residential dissimilarity of Samoan Immigrants as compared with the Remainder of the Total Population, Auckland Urban Area, 1966.' Grooms/Brides residing outside Auckland are not included in the above Table.

that the residential concentration or segregation of minorities does indeed inhibit inter-group interaction and an outwardly reasonable case for residential de-segregation, 'pepper-pot' housing or some other scheme could be constructed. All this rests upon the tempting assumption that the results obtained are a function of contact-interaction opportunities. But are they?

To answer this question the 33 Western Samoan grooms and 34 brides resident in areas of group under-representation and married in 1966 were examined in more detail. It was found that 16 out of the 33 grooms were of part or full European descent (48.5 per cent, as compared with 28.8 per cent of all Western Samoan grooms in 1966) and that they accounted for 9 out of 15 (60 per cent, as compared with 51.5 per cent of all) out-group marriages. Moreover, these grooms of European descent also accounted for 7 out of 18 in-group marriages, but in 6 cases the in-group spouse was also of part or full European descent. Once again a similar result was obtained for the 34 brides. Females of European descent accounted for 13 out of 34 brides (38.2 per cent, Auckland total in 1966 was 27.1 per cent) and 8 out of 17 out-group marriages (47 per cent, Auckland total 46.1 per cent), while 3 out of 5 mixed-blood brides who married in-group spouses had grooms who were also of full or part European descent. While the argument in favour of contact-interaction opportunities may have somewhat more relevance for brides than grooms, therefore, the marriage patterns recorded in Table LXXXIII appear more generally to be a function of the groups' residential ecology and variations in adherence to group norms. Western Samoans of part or full European descent are associated with higher socio-economic

status (than Full-bloods), residential areas of group under-representation and are known to be oriented toward European cultural values (Pitt, 1970).

CONCLUSION

The primary objective of this chapter has been to explore and seek answers to the following question. Is contact and interaction between New Zealanders and specific immigrant groups differentially affected by (a) the subjective social distance attitudes of New Zealanders, and by (b) the residential patterns of immigrants? Marriage was selected as the form of interaction to be investigated and three general tasks were set, completion of which it was felt would provide some answers to the above question. Execution of these three tasks has been severely restricted by the form and nature of data available. Specific attention has been given to the shortcomings of official published statistics that appear annually under the title 'Marriages: Birthplace of Parties'. The problems of collecting and interpreting information from marriage certificates have also been discussed in this chapter and Chapter 1.

Despite the limitations imposed by the form and nature of data it has been demonstrated that insights into the associations between marriage patterns and either social distance or physical distance can be gleaned from the available materials. For example, to meet the requirements of the first of the three tasks, more refined estimates of intermarriage between New Zealanders and immigrants were obtained by judicious inspection of surnames so as to isolate Maoris and off-spring of immigrants among the New Zealand-born, or to differentiate between

Full-bloods and Mixed-bloods among the Western Samoans and Niueans.

Similarly by considering the ages, occupations, marital status and other characteristics of both immigrant brides and grooms involved in either endogamous or exogamous marriages some further interesting results were obtained. Even the investigation of associations between residential patterns and mate selection, the third set task, proved to be less difficult than anticipated, though there were the frustrations of unknown (uncorrectable) pre-marital residential mobility and the phenomenon of 'same address couples'. Explanation of the various residential propinquity patterns revealed by the Dutch and Western Samoan case studies was greatly facilitated by the research-theory resume provided by Katz and Hill (1958). The results presented in this chapter provide strong support for the 'norm-segregation theory' and, in the case of the Dutch, provide some support for the 'interactionist time-cost theory'. Since these two theories are virtually amalgamated in the Katz-Hill 'norm-interaction theory' the results do provide some indication of its utility, but further research is clearly required on the assumption "that the probability of interaction is proportional to the ratio of opportunities at a given distance over intervening opportunities" (Katz and Hill, 1958, 33). Such research would require the use of data (a) not fully available for this study, and (b) more refined than the data collected from marriage certificates.

The major conclusions arising from the initial question and specific tasks may be summarised as follows:

1. Provided the rates of intermarriage are refined, adjusted or corrected so as to overcome the multitude of errors arising from identification solely by birthplace, then there does appear to be an association between the social distance preference hierarchy of New Zealanders and the hierarchy of intermarriage rates exhibited by immigrants marrying New Zealanders. It must be noted, however, that this association between attitudes and behaviour was found for immigrant grooms only, and the result for immigrants brides was inconclusive partly because of the small number of marriages recorded.
2. Comparison of the characteristics of immigrants marrying in-group with the characteristics of those marrying out-group, suggests that exogamous marriages are selective in that both grooms and brides are on average of somewhat higher socio-economic status than their endogamous counterparts or that they have some other characteristic that appears to reduce the social distance between the two groups - immigrants and New Zealanders. In the case of Western Samoans, intermarriage was found to include, disproportionately, persons of part or full European descent. This latter result is deemed to be a most important confirmation of the 'race' factor underlying the social distance attitudes of New Zealand-born respondents interviewed in Auckland in 1970.
3. While it is accepted that physical distance may be an intervening obstacle influencing the degree of human interaction over a series of given distances, examination of the possible effects of residential

patterns upon mate selection has produced contradictory results. In the case of the Dutch a process of progressive residential decentralisation and dispersal has been paralleled by increasing intermarriage. Since an increasing proportion of the Dutch have also been engaged in 'White Collar' occupations (with attendant increases in the 'mean socio-economic level' of grooms), the association of residential dispersal and intermarriage conforms with traditional views of immigrant assimilation. On the other hand, the example of the Western Samoans is one of residential decentralisation accompanied by decreasing intermarriage. This result suggests that reductions in group concentration or increasing opportunities for inter-group interaction need not be matched by the occurrence of such interaction. Moreover, since the m.r.p. distance values have increased for in-group marriages parallel with the process of residential decentralisation it may be argued that distance or residential propinquity is subordinate to normative considerations. This subordination would probably be more obvious and predictable in the case of a racially visible ethnic group, since both 'race' and 'ethnicity' are important factors underlying perceived social distance between members of the host society and members of the minority groups concerned.

Footnotes.

1. For a useful review and bibliography of literature on mate selection see Jacobsohn and Matheny (1963).
2. Report of Comptroller of Customs to Minister, letter dated 31 January, 1939, coded CC 33/253.
3. Statistics derived from an examination of the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers.
4. While it was easy to identify Pacific Islanders (by birthplace), the identification of Maoris was rather more difficult and limited to the surnames and christian names of the spouse and parents. Usually this was straight forward, but it was sometimes necessary to check birth registrations for further details. In the latter case, a person would be defined as a 'Maori' if it could be shown that he or she was of half or more Maori blood.
5. The difference in support between females and males was statistically significant ($df = 3$, $\chi^2 = 8.189$, $p = .0418$) - see Table LIX, Chapter 6.
6. With regard to the occupations of women, the major problem was that (Elley and Irving, 1972, 155): "... the category 'housewife' is so heterogenous and occurs so frequently, that it reduces the sensitivity of an occupational index for women." For further details on the scaling of occupations, etc., readers should consult Elley and Irving (1972) and for commentary on the general validity of their work reference should be made to articles by Ballard (1972) and by Brooks and Cuttance (1973).

7. No allowance could be made for de facto unions in the absence of reliable information.
8. For the four years combined, a total of 10 Indonesian grooms and 6 Indonesian brides were identified, recorded and included in the statistics for 'Dutch' immigrants. These 16 persons appeared to be ethnically 'Dutch' on the basis of their names, parents' names and parents' occupations.
9. The nature and strength of these sanctions is discussed at some length in the study by Macpherson (1972, 148-158). Obviously such sanctions do not apply to all Pacific Islanders for, as Hooper (1961, 175) notes, " ... among Cook Islanders a certain amount of prestige is attached to marriage with a Pakeha, and both men and women actively seek Pakeha consorts, especially at public dances in the city".
10. See Siegel (1956, 202-213) for the function, rationale and method of the Spearman rank correlation coefficient.
11. A small problem here arises as to whether or not one should specify the statistical significance of the result obtained. Siegel (1956, 213) states: "If the subjects constitute a random sample from some population, one may test whether the observed value of r_s indicates an association between the x and y variables in the population." This condition is not strictly met by the data in this study and the statistical significance should not therefore be considered. However, for those who dissent from this viewpoint the value of r_s for grooms (0.90) would be significant at the .05 level (one tailed

test) - see Siegel (1956, 284).

12. One of the 'other factors' considered was the possibility of results being distorted by Muean brides of Mixed-blood ~~marrying~~ Pakeha New Zealanders. A close check was therefore made on the Muean brides in order to identify and eliminate those of part European descent. Two such brides were identified and discarded, with the result that the rank order of brides was changed so that Muean brides now ranked third, Hungarians second and the remainder as before, producing a value for r_s of 0.30. Even with this new value the association is rather tenuous and clearly owes much to the deviation of the Yugoslav brides.
13. This should not necessarily be interpreted to mean that the immigrant ~~grooms~~ were of a higher socio-economic status than the brides or the parents of brides. In the absence of a reliable socio-economic index for the occupations of females, the socio-economic level of immigrant ~~grooms~~ was compared with the socio-economic level of the fathers of New Zealand-born brides. In the case of Dutch ~~grooms~~, this comparison revealed (for ~~marriages~~ in 1970) that:
 - (a) in 32.4 per cent of cases the socio-economic level of the father was above that of the groom (for these cases the 'mean socio-economic level' of fathers was 2.16 and of ~~grooms~~ 4.00 on a scale of 1.0 down to 6.0);
 - (b) in 54.0 per cent of cases the socio-economic level of the father was below that of the groom (for these cases the 'mean socio-economic level' of fathers was 4.60 and of ~~grooms~~ 3.05); and

(c) for all marriages between Dutch grooms and New Zealand-born brides it was found that the 'mean socio-economic level' of fathers was 3.78 and that of Dutch grooms 3.57.

For Western Samoan grooms in 1970 the results were:

(a) in 61.7 per cent of cases the socio-economic level of the bride's father was above that of the groom ('mean socio-economic level' of fathers was 3.04 and of grooms 4.85);

(b) in 17.64 per cent of cases the socio-economic level of the bride's father was below that of the groom ('mean socio-economic level' of fathers was 5.66 and of grooms 4.33); and

(c) for all marriages between Western Samoan grooms and New Zealand-born brides it was found that the 'mean socio-economic level' of fathers was 3.85 and that of Western Samoan grooms 4.73.

While these results must be treated with the caution warranted for the small numbers of marriages involved, it does seem that New Zealand-born brides marrying Dutch grooms in 1970 are in the majority of cases upwardly mobile, whereas the majority marrying Western Samoans are downwardly mobile - at least with regard to the socio-economic level of the bride's father.

14. The summaries are close to but not exactly direct quotations from Katz and Hill - see Katz and Hill (1958, 29, 31, 33). Of the fourteen studies cited in this review of literature on residential propinquity and marital selection, the following were examined by this author: Abrams (1943), Bossard (1932), Kennedy (1943), Kerckhoff (1956), Marches and Turbeville (1953), Schnepf and Roberts (1952).

15. However, Kats and Hill (1958, 28), in considering this problem, suggest that: "... for massed data there is a tendency for the changes in address during the courtship period to balance out. The propinquity distribution then seems to be an adequate first approximation of distances at first meeting for the entire sample."
16. This is discussed by Macpherson (1972, 74-77) who suggests that "... few de facto, or Samoan custom marriages, are contracted in New Zealand." While this may be so for in-group marriages, because of group norms, the possibility for out-group marriages remains.
17. For the most part physical obstacles posed no real problems in the process of measuring straight-line distances. The two most obvious obstacles are the Waitemata Harbour and Manukau Harbour, closely followed by the Tamaki River estuary and the Whau River estuary. Where the Waitemata Harbour was the obstacle, the shortest route was invariably via the Auckland Harbour Bridge (opened in 1959, and there were no cases in 1958 marriages where this could have proved a problem). In the case of Manukau Harbour, access to Mangere and Papatoetoe (or other southern suburbs) from the isthmus could be attained via the Mangere Bridge or the Great South Road - where appropriate the shortest route was taken. On the isthmus itself, Auckland Domain, One Tree Hill Domain and Remuera Golf Course were also treated as physical obstacles.
18. These interpretations are characteristic of studies on the association between intermarriage and immigrant residential patterns in American cities. For example, see Lieberman (1963, 156-158) who

concludes: " ... in terms of assimilation viewed as an absolute descriptive phenomenon, the data on intermarriage clearly point to a negative relationship between segregation and intermarriage." See also Jones (1967, 420) who found that for eight immigrant groups in Melbourne " ... first-order partial correlation coefficients between residential concentration and of inmarriage ... show that a high degree of residential concentration tends to be associated with a high degree of inmarriage. This association is also consistent with findings that residential propinquity is a determining factor in the choice of a marriage partner."

19. The important point to be established here is that there is indeed a difference between those of higher and those of lower socio-economic levels with respect to residential propinquity. Dutch grooms married in 1970 (excluding cases where the spouse resided outside Auckland) were therefore divided on the basis of socio-economic level of occupation into two groups - 'Upper Socio-Economic Level' (grades 1 to 3) and 'Lower Socio-Economic Level' (grades 4 to 6). The residential propinquity patterns for the two groups were then compared and the m.r.p. distance values calculated. The results which speak for themselves, were: 'Upper Socio-Economic Level' = 9.32 (A) and 12.81 (B) kilometres; 'Lower Socio-Economic Level' = 5.11 (A) and 6.81 (B) kilometres.
20. Dutch grooms were again divided into 'Upper' and 'Lower' socio-economic groups and it was found that m.r.p. values were: 'Upper' = 5.76 (A) and 8.16 (B); 'Lower' = 4.74 (A) and 5.96 (B) kilometres.

All but four of the 17 grooms born in the Netherlands and in the 'Upper' socio-economic group married out-group brides.

21. This can be illustrated by comparing the residential propinquity patterns of Western Samoan grooms residing in Grey Lynn (Inner City, 'traditional' high concentration of Western Samoans) and in the south eastern area of Otara-Mangere-Papatoetoe. Using data for marriages of Western Samoan grooms residing in these areas in 1966 (all but two of the marriages were with in-group partners), the following pattern was observed.

<u>Distance in kms</u>	<u>Grey Lynn</u>	<u>Otara-Mangere</u>
0+	6	2
1-5	21	2
6-10	3	2
11-15	1	5
16-20	-	4
21-25	-	1
Total Grooms	<u>31</u>	<u>16</u>
m.r.p.distance values (A) 2.42		11.56
(B) 3.00		13.21
+ 'Same address'		

22. A somewhat similar situation was found among Cook Islanders in the 1950s. Hooper (1961, 150-151) reports: "The 76.0 per cent of the Cook Islander dwellings that lie within two miles of the Central Post Office house perhaps 90.0 per cent of the population ... Of the 24 per cent of Cook Islander houses outside of the two mile radius, nearly one-half represent the households of Pakeha-Cook Islander marriages."

CONCLUSION

This study has investigated the extent to which the residential distribution of immigrants within an urban area could be attributed to the operation of four general factors. These factors were: (a) the spatial organisation of urban land use; (b) the nature and relative importance of dimensions of, or factors underlying, urban residential differentiation; (c) the social, cultural and demographic characteristics of the immigrants; and (d) the social and cultural characteristics, attitudes and values, of the host population. Identification of these factors and their status as internationally recognised determinants of immigrant residential patterns was established in a review of literature on intra-urban ethnic residential patterns and urban ecology. The investigation was based upon case studies of five selected immigrant groups residing within the Auckland Urban Area. These five groups - the Dutch, Hungarians, Niueans, Samoans and Yugoslavs - were deemed to be representative of the post-war spectrum of immigrants from diverse national and ethnic origins.

Following a brief examination of the residential dissimilarity of each of the five selected groups, as compared with the remainder of the total population, seventeen hypotheses were formulated and proposed as guidelines for investigation and explanation of the observed residential distributions. These hypotheses may be interpreted as this author's conception of the operation and interaction of the four general factors noted above. In the following pages of this conclusion an evaluation is made of each of the hypotheses. The evaluations made are

then integrated to illustrate the operation and interaction of factors affecting the migration and subsequent adjustment of immigrants. Finally, on the basis of the findings of this study, suggestions are made with respect to future research.

EVALUATION OF HYPOTHESES

The following evaluations are based upon the research results reported in Chapters 2 to 7 and upon the initial conclusions drawn with respect to the subject area of each of the chapters.

Hypothesis 1:

The initial residential location and subsequent intra-urban residential distribution of immigrant groups reflects the (assumed) operation of centripetal and centrifugal processes that represent the dynamics of urban ecological differentiation.

This hypothesis is essentially a test of the Burgess concentric zone model of urban spatial organisation and differentiation. Key features of this model, with respect to the location of immigrants, are that: (a) new arrivals will settle in the central city in response to the concentration of employment opportunities and the availability of nearby cheap housing; (b) subsequent residential movement will be away from the C.B.D. toward the urban periphery; but (c) decentralisation will be limited by a time factor (duration of residence) necessary for their assimilation into the social, cultural and economic patterns of the host society.

Case studies of the Niueans, Hungarians, Dutch (Chapter 3) and Yugoslavs (Table XXIII, Chapter 4) indicate that some elements of the traditional model developed by Burgess and his contemporaries still apply. For example, a particularly high proportion (over 75 per cent) of Niuean arrivals (1956-1959, 1960-1964), and to a lesser degree the Hungarian refugees, moved initially into the Inner City area of Auckland. Moreover, 1966 Census statistics revealed that immigrants resident in New Zealand for under five years, generally tend to be over-represented in the vicinity of the C.B.D. and in nearby residential areas. The Dutch and Hungarian case studies also revealed a pronounced post-arrival pattern of residential decentralisation. This latter feature was also confirmed by 1966 Census statistics, particularly for the Hungarian refugees, but also for Dutch, Yugoslav and Samoan migrants resident in New Zealand for 10-14 years who were over-represented toward the urban periphery. These examples do not, however, represent perfect conformity to the centripetal and centrifugal processes, nor are they typical of the whole of each immigrant group. In other words, although some elements of the Burgess model still appear to be valid, a variety of deviations from the model were noted.

This study has provided firm evidence of three main deviations with respect to the initial and subsequent movements of immigrants. First, over 57 per cent of all Dutch arrivals (1960-1967) and Yugoslavs (1951-1967) settling in the Auckland Urban Area were initially located in the Outer Suburbs, as were almost 15 per cent of the Hungarian refugees and a small but growing proportion of Niuean arrivals (7.38 per cent, 1956-1959, and 23.19 per cent, 1967-1971). Even the intermediate Inner Suburbs

were an initial haven for about 40 per cent of the Hungarian refugees and over 20 per cent of Dutch and Yugoslav migrants. Second, the pre-dominant post-arrival centrifugal movement was paralleled by a small but not insignificant centripetal movement, especially of young, single, migrants as revealed by the Hungarian and Dutch (1960-1962 cohort) case studies. Finally, it has been shown that residential movements within the Urban Area, particularly away from the C.B.D. and toward the Outer Suburbs, have been accomplished within very short time-spans. Less than a decade and less than five years were required by many Hungarians and Dutch migrants, respectively, to make the shift from Inner City to Outer Suburbs as compared with the 'generation' incorporated in the Burgess model for movement from the 'zone in transition' (Zone II) to the areas of 'second immigrant settlement' (Zone III).

In summary, Hypothesis 1 is valid in part only. In other words, Hypothesis 1 appears to be of greater relevance to the initial and subsequent locations of 'visible' groups such as the Niueans and Samoans. But even in these cases deviations from the postulated initial attraction of the C.B.D. have been noted. The present findings confirm the alternative initial and subsequent movements tentatively illustrated by Francis (1969) and Whitelaw (1971) for 'Polynesian migrants' or 'visible migrants' settling in Auckland (Figure 32). In addition, data collected on the Dutch, Hungarian and Yugoslav migrants revealed that the alternatives to the Burgess model (centripetal and centrifugal movement) are particularly characteristic of the initial and subsequent movements of relatively 'invisible' European immigrants (Figure 32).

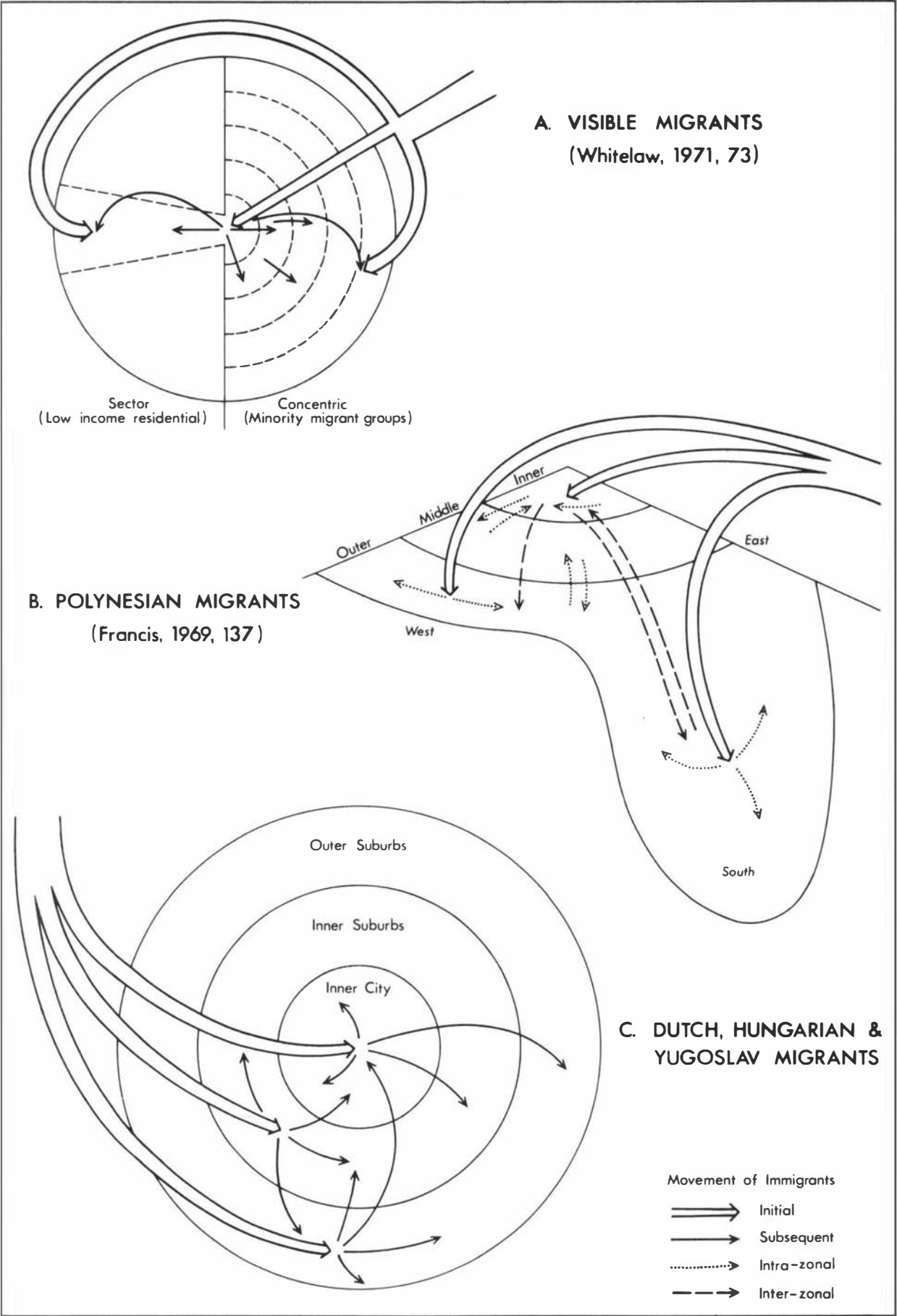


FIGURE 32: Schematic Illustrations of the Initial and subsequent Residential Movements of Immigrants in the Auckland Urban Area.

Hypothesis 2:

The response of immigrant groups to the (assumed) operation of centripetal and centrifugal processes will be dependent upon the (actual as opposed to the assumed) spatial location of employment and housing opportunities within the urban area.

The Burgess model of urban growth, spatial organisation and residential differentiation is characterised by the following features: (a) the C.B.D. is defined as the preferred location and focus of all economic activity and industrial employment; (b) the pattern of growth, expansion and spatial differentiation is one of concentric zones; and (c) the model depicts a neat upward gradation of socio-economic status and attendant life-styles with increasing distance from the C.B.D. Each of these features have been contested and at least partially rejected in a growing number of geographical studies of the Auckland Urban Area (reviewed in Chapter 3). For example, Dalms has shown that the Central Employment Region, consisting of the employment areas concentrated at the focus of Auckland's routes and surrounding Queen Street, accounted for only 49 per cent of employment. The balance of 51 per cent was shared among a number of Outer Suburban employment centres, dominated by the Southern Employment Region centred on Penrose and accounting for 15 per cent of employment within the Auckland Urban Area. Similarly, recent studies of the 'factorial ecology' of Auckland have revealed that 'family status' or 'stage in life cycle' is the major differentiating factor in the Urban Area's residential ecology, rather than 'socio-

economic status'. Moreover, whereas the spatial distribution of the 'family status' or 'stage in life cycle' dimension was decidedly concentric, the 'socio-economic status' dimension had a definite sectoral distribution thus negating the concept of increasing socio-economic status with distance away from the C.B.D.

The initial location of Niuean migrants, and more particularly the initial and subsequent residential movements of the Hungarian refugees and Dutch immigrants could be interpreted as responses to the actual as opposed to the assumed patterns of spatial organisation outlined above. Many of the immigrants resided initially within or in close proximity to suburban centres of employment - Onehunga, Otahuhu, Mount Wellington, Mangere, Mount Roadkill and New Lynn. In this respect the findings of the study confirm the probable attractions of alternative suburban centres of employment postulated by Whitelaw (1971) with regard to 'visible' migrants. For such migrants an additional suburban attraction was probably the availability of housing - either in the older areas of Onehunga and Ellerslie or in the newer planned peripheral State Housing developments - situated in close proximity to the planned suburban centres of employment. Finally, the initial and subsequent centripetal movement of young, single, Hungarian and Dutch migrants and the predominant centrifugal movement of newly-weds and older, married, migrants with children, may be interpreted as residential responses consistent with the concentric pattern of the 'family status' or 'stage in life cycle' dimension of residential differentiation. Clearly the findings of this study substantiate Hypothesis 2 and corroborate the findings of previous research on the spatial organisation and residential differentiation of the Auckland Urban Area.

Hypothesis 3:

The response of immigrant groups to the (assumed) operation of centripetal and centrifugal processes will be dependent upon their social and economic characteristics.

Burgess and his Chicago colleagues perceived the immigrants as being generally under-privileged, poor and frequently members of 'visible' minorities. Accordingly it was argued that such groups would be excluded, for simple economic reasons, from the more desirable residential areas and would be concentrated in the slums of the central city. In addition to the deviations from the Burgess model noted in the evaluations of Hypotheses 1 and 2, it has been shown in this study that not all immigrants are necessarily under-privileged and thereby destined to follow the classic intra-urban pattern of residence.

Examination of pre-migration occupational characteristics, together with data (from the 1966 Census) on the occupations, occupational status and incomes of members of each of the five groups, revealed that only the Niueans and Samoans conformed to the basic description given by the Chicago ecologists. The socio-economic characteristics of the Yugoslav and especially the Dutch and Hungarian groups, however, were in some respects considerably better than those of the total population of the Auckland Urban Area in 1966 (e.g. the percentages with incomes over \$2,200). These variations in basic socio-economic characteristics suggested differentials in the capacity of the five groups to enter a range of residential areas. Hence it was proposed that the residential dissimilar-

ity of immigrant groups in Auckland is related to their occupational dissimilarity. This proposition was tested using indices of residential and occupational dissimilarity and a Spearman rank correlation coefficient of 0.70 was obtained. Acceptance of the proposition was therefore warranted and was made easier by the occupational and residential contrasts between the Dutch and Niueans, two groups that respectively epitomised the affluent and the under-privileged 'visible' minority. A similar contrast also appeared between the Dutch and Samoans when the factorial ecology of each group was analysed (Chapter 5). For the above reasons, it can be concluded that Hypothesis 3 was substantiated by the findings of this study.

Hypothesis 4:

The initial residential location and subsequent distribution of immigrant groups will be influenced by socio-cultural factors (peculiar to each group) stemming from their respective origins and modified according to the constraints of the urban social and physical environment.

The formulation and proposal of this hypothesis was motivated by an awareness of the process of migration as both a movement of people and their 'cultural baggage'. Studies of various immigrant groups in Australia, Canada and the United States have drawn attention to the influence exerted by 'old world traits transplanted' in the course of migration. Such traits include, for example, the form of family structure

and organisation, religious practices, dietary patterns, recreational activities, specific occupations and tools of trade, kinship obligations, and a veritable host of other features.

At various points in this study mention has been made of the traditional skills applied by Yugoslavs in the vineyards and orchards of Henderson, Oratia and nearby areas of Waitemata County, and in the quarries of Mount Wellington. These traditional occupational activities have, of course, fostered particular residential patterns and ethnic concentrations akin to the Italian fishermen and market gardeners of the Wellington-Rutt and Nelson Urban Areas. However, these examples, though relevant, are rather limited and further research is clearly required to identify similar features among (for example) the Dutch, Hungarians, Māorians and Samoans.

Considerable attention has been given in this study to the possible influence of kinship ties and obligations as manifested in the phenomenon of chain migration. Case studies of Māorian, Dutch and particularly Yugoslav immigrants (Chapter 4) have shown that chain migration, based upon kinship ties, is a major determinant of the initial residential distribution and concentration of migrants from particular areas of origin (e.g. provinces and villages). The patterns observed might also be interpreted as a demonstration of the extent and importance of intra-group heterogeneity. Thus the explanation of the residential pattern of a given immigrant group in Auckland and other cities might better be approached via explanation of the residential location of migrants from individual points of origin. In other words the residential distribution

of a particular ethnic group could be described as the summation of sub-group differentials (associated with basic kinship ties) in the total pattern of settlement (see for example Tables XXXIII, XXVI and XXVIII in Chapter 4).

Given the general limitations of the present data it can be concluded that Hypothesis 4 is partially substantiated by the findings of this study. It is partially substantiated, in the sense that some socio-cultural factors (traditional occupational skills, kinship ties and obligations - the latter reinforced by a restrictive immigration policy) have been shown to influence the intra-urban residential patterns of immigrants.

Hypothesis 5:

'Urban villages', or ethnic neighbourhood concentrations, are based upon kinship ties and are sustained by additions via kin-based chain migration.

One of the distinctive features of immigrant settlement in North American cities was the development and durability of ethnic 'colonies' or 'villages' in close proximity to the C.B.D. The presence of such neighbourhood concentrations was recorded by Burgess in his concentric zone model ('Little Sicily', 'Greektown' and 'Chinatown' - all within the 'zone in transition'). However, although perceived and recorded, the social basis and importance of these concentrations was virtually overlooked until the later investigations of Firey (1947),

Gans (1962) and Macdonald and Macdonald (1964).

This study has shown that ethnic neighbourhood concentrations are a feature of both central city areas (Niueans and Samoans) and suburbs (Yugoslavs). The investigation of one of these neighbourhoods, the Mount Wellington Yugoslav community, was based on the premise that an appreciation of the mechanics of chain migration at the neighbourhood level would provide a sound basis for understanding and explaining the broader intra-urban settlement pattern of immigrant groups. Data collected on Yugoslavs arriving in Auckland between 1951 and 1967, and residing initially in Mount Wellington, demonstrate clearly that ethnic neighbourhoods are characterised by kinship networks and are sustained by kin-based chain migration. The 'Lavas', 'Radovanovich' and 'Franovich' migration chains were cited as specific examples.

From the evidence available, and research reported by other writers in New Zealand, there can be little doubt that the Mount Wellington example is typical of other ethnic neighbourhoods (particularly Yugoslav, but also Samoan and Niuean) in the Auckland Urban Area or in other New Zealand cities. Hypothesis 5 may therefore be accepted as valid. Recognition of the operation and importance of kin-based chain migration to ethnic 'villages' characterised by kinship networks, prompts the suggestion that the central city location of ethnic communities in the Burgess model may very well account for a sizeable proportion of the initial centripetal movement, quite apart from the economies of housing and employment opportunities.

Hypothesis 6:

Kinship ties and other normative considerations, manifested in the continuing existence of ethnic neighbourhood concentrations, will not only attract new arrivals to specific residential localities but will act also as constraints upon the subsequent residential movement of immigrants.

Collection of data to test this hypothesis was limited to a survey of social characteristics and attitudes of Mount Wellington Yugoslavs. The survey covered 69 out of 76 possible respondents residing within an area focused on Ferndale and Panorama Roads. Results obtained from this survey were regarded as a measure of the relatively high ethnic social cohesiveness in this area. For example, the majority of the respondents who were married had in-group spouses (82.14 per cent) and the majority with adolescent children expressed a preference for their children to marry someone of Yugoslav birth or descent (60 per cent). Approximately 75 per cent of respondents declared that at least 2 out of 3 of their best friends (excluding immediate family) were Yugoslavs, and in most cases such friends were local residents. The suggestion that Yugoslav families should stop using their own language was firmly opposed, but there was a general acceptance of the need to learn English. Against the background of these and other responses, together with the pattern of kin-based chain migration whereby 36 out of 49 arrivals (1951-1967) resided with their sponsor(s) while a further 9 resided

initially in very close proximity, it is hardly surprising that most new arrivals tend to remain in the local area. Of the 49 'new arrivals' (1951-1967), 35 remained at their initial address (by December 1967), 11 moved to another address within the Borough and only 3 had left the area. Those departing were more than compensated for by 16 other migrants attracted to Mount Wellington from areas elsewhere in Auckland.

On the basis of the more detailed findings reported in Chapter 4, Hypothesis 6 is probably valid as a general statement for those immigrants sponsored by kinfolk and residing in ethnic neighbourhoods. However, the Mount Wellington study is perhaps too limited for Hypothesis 6 to be accepted with complete confidence. This then is one area of the study to which future research should be directed, particularly in the case of Polynesian immigrants. Case studies, comparable to the Mount Wellington study, should be made of local Samoan and Niuean concentrations within the Inner City area of Auckland.

Hypothesis 7:

Residential differentiation within immigrant populations will be along at least ^{two} basic dimensions - 'family status' (or 'stage in life cycle') and 'socio-economic status' - in common with the residential differentiation of the total population within an urban area.

This hypothesis was proposed in response to the results reported in several studies of the factorial ecology of urban areas in both New Zealand and the United States. The hypothesis has been tested

using analyses of the factorial ecology of the Dutch and Samoan populations in the Auckland Urban Area. For reasons stated in Chapter 5, the 'selection' of these two immigrant populations was forced rather than a matter of free choice. Nevertheless, the two groups are so different in terms of their origins, socio-economic characteristics and residential distribution, that their 'selection' facilitated a test of the universality of dimensions of residential differentiation.

Principal components analysis was employed as a data-reduction device for this aspect of the study and Varimax rotated five-component and four-component solutions were adopted for the Dutch and Samoan populations, respectively. The first two components in the Dutch analysis could be clearly labelled as 'stage in life cycle' and 'socio-economic status' dimensions accounting for 25.3 per cent and 17.1 per cent of the total variation, respectively. This result clearly supports Hypothesis 7. In the case of the Samoan population, however, the first rotated component, interpreted as a 'family orientation' dimension (lacking the more diverse variable loadings of the Dutch 'stage in life cycle' dimension), accounted for only 16 per cent of total variation and was subordinate to a second component, interpreted as an 'old versus new immigrants' dimension, accounting for 22.9 per cent of the total variation. The latter Samoan component did include bi-polar loadings on variables measuring percentages in 'White Collar' and 'Blue Collar' occupations, but other variables measuring aspects of racial composition (X Mixed-blood), duration of residence and the amenities and possessions of dwellings were also distinguished by heavy loadings. While a case

could be made for the interpretation of this component as a 'socio-economic status' dimension, awareness of changes in the character and composition of Samoan immigration over the period 1945 to 1966 strongly favoured the 'old versus new immigrants' interpretation. This interpretation appeared to be supported also by the similarities between this Samoan dimension and the third dimension ('old versus new immigrant families') in the Dutch analysis. The remaining dimensions in the factorial ecologies of the two immigrant populations were interpreted as constructs peculiar to each of the two populations.

On the basis of findings in this study, Hypothesis 7 may be accepted as valid for immigrant populations that are similar - in terms of demographic, social and economic characteristics - to the total Urban Area population. Conversely, Hypothesis 7 may be claimed to have only limited validity in the case of dissimilar immigrant populations.

Hypothesis 8:

The spatial expression of each dimension of residential differentiation for an immigrant population will in general conform to the pattern for the total population, i.e. a concentric zonal pattern for 'family status' (or 'stage in life cycle') and a sectoral pattern for 'socio-economic status'.

The spatial patterns of the Dutch 'stage in life cycle' dimension and the Samoan 'family orientation' dimension were both essentially concentric. Inner City areas were typically areas of low family orientation, with high proportions of women (15 years of age and over) actively

engaged, persons formerly married (widowed, divorced and separated) and single males and females in the age group 15-34 years. On the other hand, the Outer Suburbs of the urban periphery were characterised by high family orientation, i.e. high percentages married and population 0-14 years of age. This basic pattern, further supported by high percentages of dwellings classed as flats and dwellings rented in the central city as opposed to dwellings owned with mortgages in the Outer Suburbs, was particularly applicable to the Dutch population.

The spatial pattern of the Dutch 'socio-economic status' dimension was found to be sectoral in form. 'High status' and 'low status' residential areas closely matched the spatial location of comparable sectors in the factorial ecology of the total Auckland population. Bearing in mind the possible 'socio-economic status' interpretation of the second component in the Samoan analysis, it should be noted that the spatial pattern was concentric rather than sectoral (Figure 29), though there was some evidence of a sector pattern.

The above findings indicate that Hypothesis 8 may be accepted as valid, particularly for the Dutch population. In the case of the Samoan population, the spatial form of the 'family orientation' dimension supports Hypothesis 8, but the spatial form of the second Samoan dimension, which could perhaps be interpreted as a 'socio-economic status' dimension, does not support Hypothesis 8. As pointed out in Chapter 5, however, and noted in the evaluation of Hypothesis 7, there are good reasons for accepting the 'old versus new immigrants' interpretation of the second component, in which case the validity of Hypothesis 8 may be accepted on the basis of those dimensions common to the immigrant and total populations.

Hypothesis 9:

The degree of residential differentiation for an immigrant population along the dimensions of 'family status' and 'socio-economic status', and the spatial expression of these dimensions, will be dependent upon the degree of in-group demographic and socio-economic heterogeneity and upon the resilience of in-group socio-cultural factors or social cohesion.

This hypothesis is generally supported by the results obtained from the analyses of the Dutch and Samoan factorial ecologies. In the sense that the Dutch population is well represented over a wide range of demographic and socio-economic categories it can be described as a heterogeneous population, which is in many respects similar to the total population of the Auckland Urban Area. The Samoan population, however, is heavily concentrated in lower income 'Blue Collar' occupations, with the almost exclusive occupational status of wage and salary earners (see for example Table XXXII in Chapter 3). Thus the Samoan population, at least in socio-economic characteristics, may be described as a relatively homogeneous population. It follows that the residential concentration of Samoans in areas of low socio-economic status and the absence of a truly distinct 'socio-economic status' dimension in their factorial ecology is no more or less than could be expected. A similar comparison could perhaps be drawn between the Hungarian and Niuean populations within the Auckland Urban Area.

A further example that supports the hypothesis concerns the nature and spatial expression of the Samoan 'family orientation' dimension. Compared with the corresponding Dutch dimension, the Samoan 'family orientation' dimension was marked by the absence of high loadings on variables concerned with the nature and tenure of dwellings; a fourth component was distinguished by high loadings on these variables. Moreover, it was found that some central city areas had average factor scores (between -0.40 and +0.15) on the 'family orientation' dimension (see Figure 28). It was therefore concluded that in both the Inner City and Outer Suburbs, Samoan families had purchased or rented homes. Those Samoan families remaining in the Inner City were probably responding to intra-group norms and influences. Similar observations, indicating the resilience of ethnic social cohesiveness in local areas, have been made in other studies of immigrants in New Zealand cities.

Hypothesis 10:

The hierarchy of residential dissimilarity of immigrant groups (expressed in summary form as indices of residential dissimilarity and centrality) will be positively related to the social distance hierarchy (social interaction preferences) expressed by the members of the host population. The higher the ranking of a particular immigrant group as a source of potential social interaction partners for members of the host population, the lower the degree of that immigrant group's residential dissimilarity as compared with the host population.

This hypothesis was framed to explore the association between social distance and physical distance. Initially proposed by Park (1952, 177), this association has been tacitly accepted by many writers, but rarely tested. The findings of the present study are summarised in Table LXXXIV. A mean social distance score for each of the five groups was derived from the ratings made by New Zealand-born respondents on a six step Social Distance Scale. The six steps on the Scale were assigned values ranging from 1, 'the least favourable' ("I would not be willing to admit to New Zealand"), to 6, 'the most favourable' ("I would be willing to admit to close kinship by marriage"), thus the higher the mean score the greater the preference for members of a particular group (see Table XLVI and related discussion in Chapter 6). The residential indices are as reported in Chapter 1 (see Table III). Comparison of the social distance mean scores with the indices of residential dissimilarity and centrality (Table LXXXIV) provides clear evidence of the validity of Hypothesis 10. A perfect positive rank order correlation was found between social distance mean scores and (a) indices of residential dissimilarity, and (b) indices of residential centrality.

Table LXXXIV

Social Distance Mean Scores and Indices of Residential Dissimilarity and Centrality for Five Immigrant Groups in the Auckland Urban Area.

Immigrant Group	Social Distance Mean Scores	Indices of Residential:	
		Dissimilarity	Centrality
Dutch	4.82	21.40	5.55
Yugoslavs	4.44	38.00	15.86
Hungarians	4.21	40.30	25.56
Samoans	3.61	40.31	43.64
Niueans	3.47	53.04	58.62

Hypothesis 11:

The greater the cultural and physical difference between immigrant groups and the host population, the greater the social distance between the immigrant groups and the host population.

This hypothesis was designed to test the possibility that both ethnicity and race are factors underlying the social distance (social interaction preference) hierarchy expressed by New Zealand-born members of the host population. The social interaction preferences of the host population, with regard to 14 birthplace groups, were assessed via responses to a modified Bogardus Social Distance Scale and the hierarchy of preferences was established by the calculation of social distance mean scores (Table XLVI, Chapter 6). The nature of the factor(s) underlying the ratings on the Social Distance Scale was examined using the technique of principal components analysis. Product-moment correlations of the vectors

of attitude scores for the various pairs of birthplace groups, computed over the sample of 317 registered voters (subsequently divided into New Zealand-born and foreign-born voters), formed the matrix analysed.

The findings (Chapter 6, Table L and related discussion) revealed that, for the population sampled, attitudes towards immigrants from various countries of origin consist of three strands referring to: (a) 'whites, non-English speaking' (continental Europeans); (b) 'non-whites' (Asians and Pacific Islanders); and (c) 'whites, English speaking' (immigrants of British and American origin). It may therefore be concluded that both ethnicity ('whites, non-English speaking'/'white, English speaking') and race ('white'/'non-white') are factors underlying the social distance hierarchy (Table XLVI) expressed by the host population. Hypothesis 11 may therefore be accepted.

Hypothesis 12:

The host population will probably support the ideal of residential integration as a means of facilitating inter-group social interaction, but such support of an ideal may conflict with their perception of the social distance between themselves and specific immigrant groups. The greater the perceived social distance between the host population and specific immigrant groups, the less the support for residential integration with members of the specific immigrant groups.

The formulation of this hypothesis was rooted in two observations. First, it was noted that several studies of the factors underlying

social distance attitudes in the United States (e.g. Triandis and Triandis, 1960; Ames and Sakuma, 1969) and Australasia (e.g. Hammond, 1954; Vaughan, 1962) have concluded that race and/or ethnicity were prime underlying determinants. Second, it was noted that Taft's (1963; 1966) research on the assimilation orientation of Australians, indicated the predominance of an 'interactionist' stance with respect to inter-group relationships and adjustment in the host society. When these findings were considered together, it seemed that an 'interactionist' stance would be subject to considerable tension under conditions involving disparate ethnic and/or racial groups. Hence the formulation and statement of Hypothesis 12.

Taft's measurement of assimilation orientation was applied as one aspect of the survey of attitudes towards immigrants in Auckland. It was found that about 71 per cent of New Zealand-born respondents favoured (as their first choice) the alternative of 'interactionism' as opposed to either 'monism' or 'pluralism' (Table LI). Moreover, it was found that the majority of respondents accepted residential integration as a means of facilitating immigrant assimilation (Table LIII). On the other hand, New Zealand-born respondents expressed a social distance hierarchy within which immigrant groups were stratified according to criteria of ethnicity and race (see Hypotheses 10 and 11 above). Against the background of these findings, Hypothesis 12 was tested with specific reference to Niuean and Western Samoan immigrants (Tables LXII and LXIII and related discussion in Chapter 6). It was found that of the 184 out of 231 New Zealand-born respondents who generally agreed with a statement

implying residential integration of Pacific Islanders, only 36 per cent were prepared to accept the possibility of Niueans and Western Samoans as neighbours. When the 184 respondents supporting residential integration were divided into categories of: (a) those willing to accept Niueans/ Western Samoans as neighbours; (b) those not willing; and (c) those who might not be willing, it was found that the three groups had mean social distance scores (with respect to Western Samoans, for example) of 4.50, 3.92 and 3.04, respectively. In other words, the greater the perceived social distance between the host population and the immigrants, the less the support for residential integration. Hypothesis 12 may therefore be accepted, particularly when attitudes towards each of the five selected immigrant groups are compared as shown in Chapter 6.

Hypothesis 13:

Social distance attitudes of the host population will be manifested in aspects of inter-group social interaction, notably the selection of marriage partners and the extent of inter-marriage. The less the social distance the greater the interaction.

The preceding hypotheses have been concerned with attitudes rather than behaviour. Accordingly, Hypothesis 13 was formulated to test the association between attitudes and behaviour. Marriage patterns were selected for this aspect of the investigation for two reasons. First, marriage and in particular ethnic intermarriage has been widely accepted,

as Bossard (1939, 792) noted, as "a severely realistic index of the social distance between distinctive groups and peoples living within a given area". Second, the appropriate data were relatively accessible.

The findings of this study (Tables LXXVII and LXXVIII, Chapter 7) provide considerable, but not complete, support for the hypothesis advanced. A close association was found between the rank order of the five selected groups as sources of possible marriage partners (from the viewpoint of New Zealand-born respondents) and the actual rank order of intermarriage rates of immigrant males. A similar association was not found in the case of the intermarriage rates of immigrant females, primarily because of the reversal of rank order for intermarriage rates of Yugoslav and Niuean females. The small number of marriages involved was identified as the probable source of 'deviation' in the pattern observed. Other findings that tend to support Hypothesis 13 are: (a) that immigrants marrying New Zealand-born spouses are on average of higher socio-economic status than those marrying in-group; and (b) in the case of Western Samoans, a disproportionate number of those intermarrying with New Zealanders were of (part or whole) European descent. The latter feature is considered to be of particular importance given that ethnicity and race have been identified as factors underlying social distance attitudes. Hypothesis 13 is, therefore, generally supported by the findings of this study.

Hypothesis 14:

Residential propinquity may facilitate social interaction between the host population and immigrant groups, but will be subordinate to perceived social distances between the groups and underlying normative considerations. The greater the perceived social distance between New Zealanders and members of a specific immigrant group, the less the effect of residential propinquity upon social interaction.

The association, postulated by Park, between social distance and physical distance, has been given considerable attention in the present study of immigrants in Auckland. But Park (1952, 80) also admitted that social distances may be maintained "in spite of geographical proximity", with the result that communities may be composed of people "who live together in relations that can best be described as symbiotic rather than social". This suggestion was fundamental to the formulation of Hypothesis 14. Given the substantial literature on the relationship between residential propinquity and marital selection, it was decided to test Hypothesis 14 by examining the patterns of immigrant marital selection under conditions of increasing residential decentralisation (hence integration).

For reasons specified in Chapter 7, the examination of residential propinquity and marital selection was limited to Dutch and Western Samoan immigrants. Given the social distance attitudes of New

Zealand-born respondents reported in Chapter 6, these two immigrant groups may be perceived as polar opposites with regard to ethnicity and race.

The findings of this study support the hypothesis as stated. Data on residential propinquity and marital selection were collected for the years 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970. It was found that the rates of intermarriage for both Dutch grooms and brides increased parallel with the pattern of residential decentralisation (Tables LXXIX and LXXX). Given the parallel pattern of observed increases in Dutch socio-economic status, and their high ranking in the social distance preference hierarchy of New Zealanders, it was concluded that the residential and marital patterns of the Dutch might well be regarded as a classic case of assimilation. In the case of the Western Samoans, the period 1958-1970 was also one of residential decentralisation. However, the changing residential pattern was not matched by a comparable trend in favour of exogamous marriages; on the contrary the rates of endogamous marriage increased substantially for both Western Samoan brides and grooms (Tables LXXXI and LXXXII). A key factor underlying this pattern of marriage was the increasing immigration and suburban settlement of Full-blood Samoans and the consequent decline in relative importance of Mixed-blood Samoans marrying out-group spouses. Thus, it may be concluded that the findings of this study support Hypothesis 14.

Hypothesis 15:

Social distance attitudes and assimilation expectations of the host population will be

reflected in the general character and particular details of New Zealand's immigration policy. The greater the perceived social distance between New Zealanders and specific immigrant groups, the greater the restrictions upon the immigration of specific national, ethnic and racial groups.

Studies undertaken in New Zealand and Australia have revealed a relatively uniform hierarchy of preferences for immigrants of different national backgrounds and/or ethnic and racial origins. Immigrants from the United Kingdom, the United States and Northern and Western Europe are generally the most preferred, followed by other continental Europeans and finally non-European groups. The basic structure of this hierarchy, based on considerations of ethnicity and race (see Hypothesis 11 above), was confirmed by the findings of the Auckland survey (Chapter 6).

Historical evidence of the relationship between attitudes and immigration policy is relatively abundant, particularly with respect to Chinese, Indians and Southern Europeans (see for example: Ponton, 1946; O'Connor, 1968; Roy, 1970). More recent evidence, for the period 1950-1970, is rather less abundant. In Chapter 2, it was noted that an official decision had been made in 1926 to curtail Yugoslav immigration once their numbers reached 3,500 - a decision apparently in force until at least 1953. Age restrictions on non-British immigrants in general appear to be universally enforced, but discrimination on the basis of nationality was noted with regard to overaged parents. Thus, the old

(45 and over) parents of 'favoured nationals' (e.g. Dutch, Danes, Swiss) are permitted entry under certain conditions, while overaged parents of 'non-favoured nationals' (e.g. Yugoslavs, Greeks, Italians) are permitted only if their relations sign a Deed of Covenant (covering possible costs of relief and maintenance). Another example of immigration restrictions is the operation of an annual quota of 1,500 Samoan immigrants per year.

These examples, though limited are suggestive of the association hypothesised. The basis of the restrictions was clearly indicated by the Minister of Immigration in 1968; namely "the great question of assimilation and integration", and the point was clearly made that "people who share a common heritage of language and tradition integrate very quickly". Ethnicity, as a factor underlying inter-group interaction and policy, could scarcely be more clearly stated. However, much more detailed research on the actual details of New Zealand's immigration policy is required before Hypothesis 15 can be completely accepted. It has been only partially substantiated by the findings of this study, and its acceptance is therefore partially intuitive.

Hypothesis 16:

Restrictive immigration regulations will reinforce the normal selectivity of the process of migration in terms of the volume of migration, the demographic, social and economic characteristics of arrivals, and

specifications concerning pre-arranged accommodation and employment organised by sponsors in New Zealand.

Virtually the whole of Chapter 2, concerned with the pattern of migration to New Zealand of each of the five selected groups, supports (a) the concept of migration as a selective process, and (b) reinforcement of normal selectivity by immigration regulations. For example, Samoan applicants for migration to New Zealand must be between the ages of 18 and 45 years and married applicants must not have more than four dependent children. The number of successful applicants is further limited by the annual quota of 1,500 Samoans per year. On a broader level, a major feature of New Zealand's immigration policy has been the general restriction of non-British immigrants to those within a defined degree of relationship with sponsors already permanently resident in New Zealand. The actual pattern of relationships between arrivals and sponsors has been investigated in this study via an examination of all Yugoslav immigrants over the period 1951-1967 (Table XVI). Even when this general policy is relaxed, for either humanitarian reasons (e.g. Hungarian and Yugoslav refugees) or economic reasons (e.g. Dutch assisted immigrants and Yugoslav contract workers), selection criteria of various kinds (skills, health, age, number of dependents, etc.,) are maintained. Hypothesis 16 may be confidently accepted, and immigration policy may be defined as one of the 'intervening obstacles' pertinent to the study of migration between a particular place of origin and a place of destination.

Hypothesis 17:

To the extent that restrictive immigration regulations reinforce the normal selectivity of the migration process, then the attitudes and values of the host society further influence the general character and residential patterns of immigrant groups in the host society.

The validity of this hypothesis rests upon and arises from the preceding hypotheses. It has been accepted (Hypothesis 16) that immigration regulations reinforce the normal selectivity of the migration process. One feature of these regulations is the normal restriction of entry for non-British immigrants (desiring to settle permanently) to those within a defined degree of relationship with sponsors already permanent New Zealand residents. Hypothesis 15, partially substantiated and intuitively accepted, associates New Zealand's restrictive immigration policy with the social distance attitudes and assimilation orientation of New Zealanders; namely, a preference hierarchy (based on ethnicity and race) coupled with a predominant 'interactionist' assimilation orientation (see Hypotheses 11 and 12). Finally, it has been demonstrated (and Hypotheses 4 and 5 accepted) that: (a) the initial residential location and subsequent distribution of immigrants is influenced by socio-cultural factors; and (b) ethnic neighbourhood concentrations are based upon kinship ties and sustained by additions via kin-based chain migration. Thus it follows, since kin-based chain migration is enforced by immigration policy, that the general character and residential patterns of non-British immigrant groups in New Zealand is further influenced by the attitudes and values of the

host society.

The above sequence, culminating in the acceptance of Hypothesis 17, represents the series of basic links in a cycle of causation outlined in Chapter 1 following the initial statement of the hypotheses. Given the belief expressed by the formulators of policy that (Department of Labour and Immigration, 1970, 3):

The greater and more obvious the differences between the immigrant and the average New Zealander, the longer and more difficult the period of assimilation, and [the] greater the tendency of immigrants to hive off into little colonies which become self sufficient and resistant to the process of assimilation ...

the cycle may be interpreted as an example of a self-fulfilling prophecy. The postulated function and importance of socio-cultural differences (ethnicity), as a (if not the) factor underlying both patterns of social interaction and ethnic residential distributions, becomes a reality.

INTEGRATION OF HYPOTHESES: FACTORS AFFECTING THE MIGRATION AND SUBSEQUENT ADJUSTMENT OF IMMIGRANTS

The objective of this study of immigrants in Auckland has been to examine the extent to which the intra-urban residential patterns of immigrants could be attributed to four factors. They were: (a) the spatial organisation of urban land uses; (b) the underlying dimensions of urban residential differentiation; (c) the social and cultural characteristics of the immigrants; and (d) the social and cultural characteristics of the host population. These four factors were encompassed by the seventeen hypotheses initially stated, evaluated above, and either wholly or partially substantiated. The findings of this study can now be

integrated to illustrate the operation and interaction of those factors affecting the migration and subsequent adjustment of immigrants.

Figure 33, described and explained in the following pages, illustrates the operation and interaction of the salient factors. The findings of this study (Chapter 2) support Lee's (1966) contention that the factors entering into the decision to migrate and the process of migration can be summarised as: (a) factors associated with the area of origin; (b) factors associated with the area of destination; (c) intervening obstacles; and (d) personal factors. Thus the first three of these 'components' form the basic framework of Figure 33.

Within the area of origin, the causes of migration stem from the interaction of four basic factors; namely, the social system, the economy, population and culture. The decision to migrate, however, arises from the numerous personal factors which affect the perception of conditions in both the area of origin and the area of destination. Letters, remittances, the mass media and temporary return migration by earlier migrants (especially if relatives) provide the potential migrant with information concerning the area of destination.

Examination of the form and composition of the stream of migration has revealed that the process of migration is selective. This selectiveness - in terms of the sex, age, marital status, occupations and other characteristics of the migrants - arises from the operation of two sets of factors. The first set consists of the various factors in the area of origin which have a differential effect upon members of that section of the population representing 'potential migrants'. The second set consists

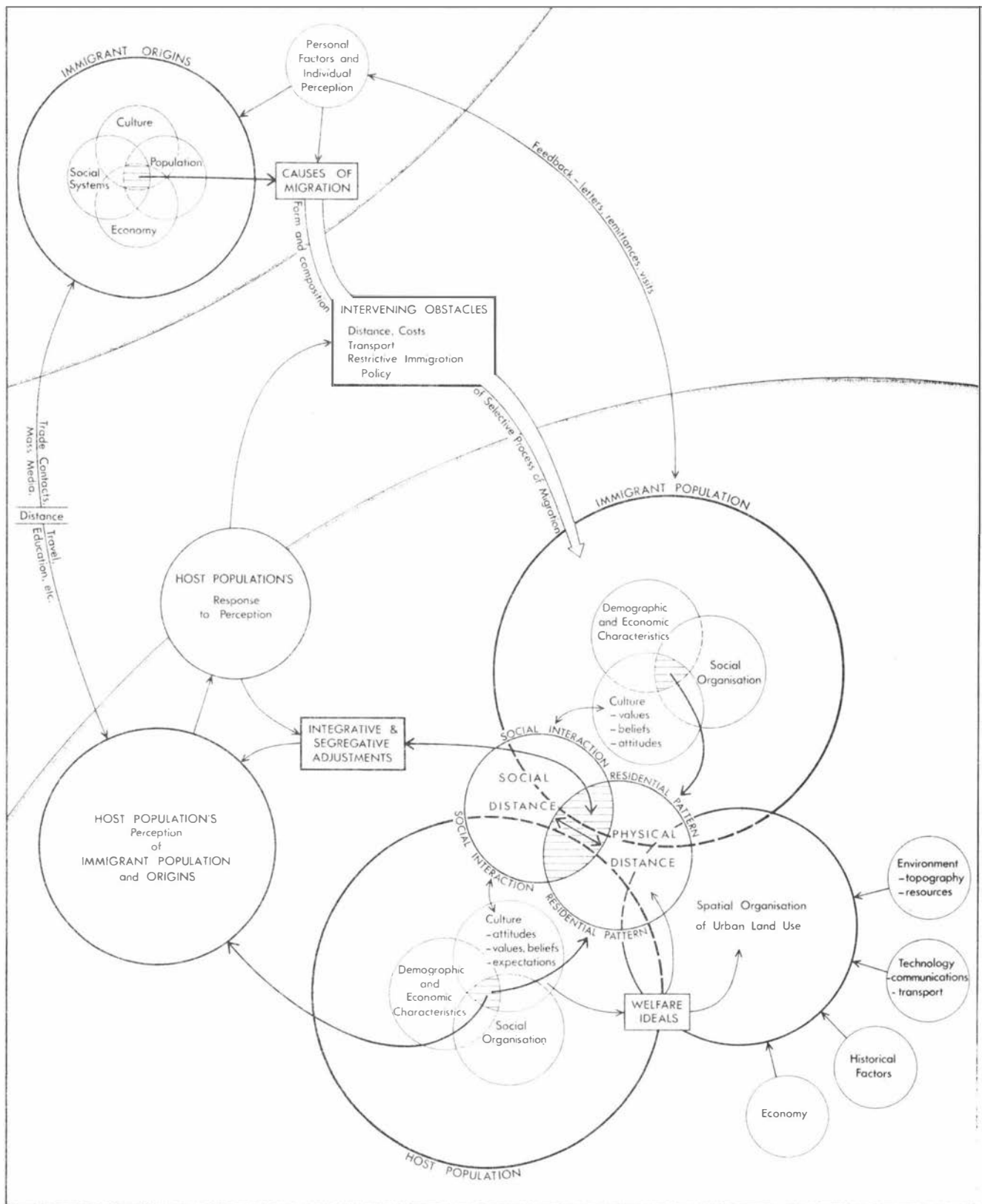


FIGURE 33. Factors Affecting the Migration and Subsequent Adjustment of Immigrants

of the intervening obstacles, which include distance, costs of migration, availability of transport and restrictive immigration regulations.

Together these two sets of factors govern the form and composition of migration, the outcome of which is the creation of an immigrant population within the area of destination.

Both the immigrant population and the host population within the area of destination can be described in terms of their respective cultures (values, beliefs, attitudes, etc.), forms of social organisation and demographic and economic characteristics. As shown in Figure 33 these three features of each population are inter-dependent and interacting. These features of each of the two populations affect their integration or segregation - social and residential.

Social interaction between the immigrants and the host population has been shown to depend to a considerable extent upon their respective cultures. The greater the cultural differences (and where appropriate, racial differences), the greater the social distance between the two populations and the less (or more restricted) the social interaction. To some extent also the nature and degree of social interaction is affected by the physical distance between the populations. Residential propinquity may provide opportunities for inter-group contact and modification of values, beliefs and attitudes and thus facilitate increased social interaction via a reduction of the perceived social distance between populations. Conversely, if the residential dissimilarity between the two populations is marked, social distance may be maintained and thus social interaction limited.

The spatial organisation of urban land use is one important factor underlying the residential pattern of each population. It should be noted that the urban land use pattern is itself the product of numerous factors - (for example) environmental, historical, technological and economic. In the New Zealand situation, welfare ideals emanating from the culture of the host population also influence the form of urban spatial organisation. The planned development and location of manufacturing industry and State Housing, for example, represent important aspects of the structure of major New Zealand cities, and can be attributed to the prominence of employment and housing in the policies of the Welfare State. To some extent also these welfare ideals impinge directly upon the pattern of residential differentiation (e.g. suburban State Housing for low income groups and planned racial integration via pepper-pot housing within State Housing areas).

Aside from the underlying influence of the urban land use pattern and the imposition of welfare ideals, the residential pattern of each population is derived from the interaction of their social, cultural, economic and demographic characteristics. Thus the host population is residentially differentiated along basic dimensions such as 'family status' and 'socio-economic status', and each dimension has a distinct spatial expression. In the case of the immigrants, it has been shown that residential differentiation along (and the spatial expression of) similar dimensions is dependent upon the degree of in-group demographic and socio-economic heterogeneity, and upon the resilience of in-group socio-cultural factors or social cohesion. Thus kinship and chain migration

may, together with other socio-cultural factors, have marked influence upon the residential distribution of a particular immigrant group. The development and persistence of ethnic neighbourhood concentrations is one example of the effect of socio-cultural factors within the immigrant population. In addition, socio-cultural differences, hence social distance, between the immigrant and host populations will affect the physical distance between them if members of each population wish to either facilitate or avoid or resist social interaction or the opportunities for interaction consequent upon residential propinquity.

Finally, this study has revealed the operation of a cycle of causation based upon the function of ethnicity as a factor underlying patterns of both social interaction and residential distribution. As shown in Figure 33, the operation of this cycle depends upon the host population's perception of: (a) the immigrant population; (b) the immigrants' origins; and (c) the patterns of integrative/segregative adjustment between the two populations. Perception of these three areas is probably influenced by the interaction of the host population's cultural, social, economic and demographic characteristics. Certainly the attitudes and beliefs of New Zealand-born respondents included in the random sample of registered voters, varied according to sex, age and occupation. Perception is also influenced by inter-group contacts and information obtained from alternative sources. For example, it has been shown that there was a significant difference in attitudes towards the Dutch, Yugoslav and Samoan immigrants between respondents who had contact and respondents who had no contact with these three groups (see Table LXVI). Information about the area(s) of origin is obtained via the

mass media, education, travel and trade contacts. Obviously, distance may act as one intervening obstacle to the flow of information and travel, while other obstacles may arise because of language and political ideologies.

The host population's response to its perception of the immigrant population and immigrant origins is twofold. First, within the host society the response may be either negative or positive with regard to aspects of integrative or segregative adjustment. Thus the social distance and physical distance between the two populations may be either maintained, increased or reduced. Second, the response beyond the host society may be manifested in restrictive immigration regulations. These regulations may have the effect of enforcing kin-based chain migration. Chain migration in turn affects the residential distribution of immigrants and patterns of social interaction, thereby providing the host population with confirmation of the importance of ethnic differences.

AREAS OF FUTURE RESEARCH

In a brief review of the literature on immigrants in New Zealand, Thompson (1963) concluded that very little was known about the nation's immigrant ethnic minorities. Seven years later, a bibliography compiled by this author included about ninety references almost half of them written between 1964 and 1969 (see Trlin, 1970b). Even so, it was obvious that there were still serious gaps in the literature requiring further research on all aspects of immigration, immigrants, ethnic group adjustments, assimilation, and so on. To some extent a few

of the gaps have been filled by research undertaken and reported since 1970. This study of immigrants in Auckland is one example of the type of research that is still required. It is hoped that completion of this study will provoke rather than deter future research in the same general subject area. For geographers, sociologists and other social scientists there are still large areas of New Zealand's immigration experience to be explored.

The following are offered as suggestions for future research. Areas and topics specified are those pertinent to the present study and the broader field of immigrants in New Zealand cities.

1. Community studies. These are becoming more numerous, but there are still two obvious deficiencies. First, the time is long overdue for research on all aspects of the immigration and settlement within New Zealand cities of migrants from the United Kingdom. The difficulties confronting such research are well known, but a recent study of British immigrants in Dunedin (Worcester, 1974) has demonstrated that the obstacles are not insurmountable. Second, it is an unfortunate fact that few of the community studies have attempted to investigate the patterns of social organisation and social interaction within immigrant communities. The structure, function and membership of formal associations, for example, offers a particularly good opportunity to investigate adjustments to the urban environment. Similarly, the investigation of kinship networks and social interaction within ethnic neighbourhood concentrations would yield information of considerable value to planners and decision-makers at both local and national government levels.

2. Immigrant perceptions of the city. Here is an area of research that could prove to be revolutionary with respect to the analysis of ethnic residential distributions in New Zealand cities. To date, it has been more or less assumed and accepted that immigrants perceive and respond to the city - spatially, socially, economically, aesthetically - in much the same way as members of the host population. Indeed, the completion of this study of immigrants in Auckland has made the writer uncomfortably aware of such assumptions. Immigrants, almost by definition, are representatives of different cultures, with ideals, values, beliefs and norms that are to varying degrees different to those of the host population. Why then should they see the city and respond in precisely the same way? Until geographers and other social scientists have investigated and charted ethnic mental maps of New Zealand cities our understanding of immigrant residential patterns will be incomplete. The Auckland Urban Area offers the opportunity for comparative research on the perceptions of immigrants from Europe, Polynesia and Asia. Such research, if repeated after specific intervals of time and matched with results obtained from surveys of the host population, could yield a uniquely geographic measure of cultural adjustment to life in a new environment. There is also the possibility of an additional benefit from such research; namely, the provision for New Zealanders of alternative interpretations of their own urban environments.
3. Attitudes and behaviour of the host population. The attention given in this study to the attitudes and assimilation orientations of the host population is virtually the beginning of such research in New

Zealand. The need for further research cannot be over-emphasised. One of the deficiencies of the Auckland survey was the failure to consider in detail the nature and quality of contacts with immigrants. Since one of the assumptions underlying policies of residential integration is the beneficial effect of contact, research is clearly warranted. Elsewhere in this study it was noted that no research on the movement of New Zealanders out of the Inner City area of Auckland, specifically related to the immigration of 'visible' ethnic minorities, had been conducted. How have New Zealanders in both inner city and suburban areas actually responded to the arrival and settlement of immigrant minorities? Census statistics suggest an early (limited) pattern of invasion and succession within the Inner City area of Auckland (see Francis, 1969; Whitelaw, 1971). But was this pattern accidental or a conscious response? These are but some of the questions yet to be answered.

For geographers, sociologists and other social scientists there are ample opportunities for research within the three areas specified above. Inter-disciplinary research projects would be particularly valuable in some specific areas; for example, geographers, sociologists and psychologists could pool their talents for the investigation of ethnic mental maps of the urban environment. Wherever possible research projects should be designed with practical applications in mind and the results obtained should be widely published. The reason for the latter suggestion is quite simple. Within the context of complex urban industrial societies it has

become abundantly clear that informed decision-making depends on the availability of all relevant information. It is this writer's belief that there are serious deficiencies in the information available. Given these deficiencies, New Zealanders are ill-equipped for informed decision-making on the diverse ethnic and racial elements in their society.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

ASSIMILATION ORIENTATION, SOCIAL DISTANCE AND ATTITUDES
TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS IN THE AUCKLAND URBAN AREA, 1970.

Interviewer Date

Identification of Respondent

1. Electorate
2. Reference Number

Demographic Characteristics of Respondent

1. Sex: Male Female
2. Age: (completed years to 1 March 1970)
3. Birthplace: In which country were you born?
.....
4. Race: To what Race group do you belong?
(1) European (2) Maori+ (3) Chinese
(4) Indian (5) Polynesian (6) Other
(specify)
5. Marital Status: Are you (1) Single (not married) (2) Married
(3) Widowed (4) Separated or (5) Divorced?
.....
6. If Married, Widowed, Separated or Divorced, what is/was the
birthplace of your husband/wife (country)?
.....

7. If Married, Widowed, Separated or Divorced, of what Race is/was your husband/wife?
.....
8. Where were your parents born (country)?
Father
Mother
9. How long have you resided at your present address?
Yrs Mnths
10. How long have you resided in Auckland?
Yrs Mnths

Social Characteristics of Respondent

1. What is your present occupation, or previous occupation if you are not employed, (retired etc.) State fully.
(a) Present Occupation
(b) Previous Occupation
2. What is your present Occupational Status?
(1) Employer (2) Employed on Own Account
(3) Salary Earner (4) Wage Earner (5) Relative Assisting (unpaid)
(6) Retired (7) Unemployed (8) Student
.....
3. Residential Status: Are you a (1) Houseowner (2) Tenant
(3) Boarder (4) Other?
(specify)
4. If you are not a Houseowner, is your present residence a State House?
Yes No Don't Know

If Respondent is Foreign-born (birthplace outside New Zealand)

1. In what year did you arrive in New Zealand?

.....

2. In what year were you naturalised or registered as a New Zealand citizen?

.....

3. If you secured British Citizenship outside of New Zealand, could you please state where and when

Where (country)

When (date)

N.B. For persons born in the United Kingdom (or British Commonwealth country) enter 'U.K.' (or name of Commonwealth country) and 'At birth'.

Assimilation Orientation

Please read (or listen to) each of the following three statements, then:

Indicate (under Column A) - (1) which statement you agree with most, (2) which statement you agree with next, and (3) which statement you agree with least.

Then indicate (under B) which statement you think that most immigrants would (1) agree with most (2) agree with next (3) agree with least.

Statement (X)

A

B

It would be best for New Zealand if all immigrants gave up their old ways of thinking and acting and tried to take on the New Zealand ways of thinking and acting as quickly as possible.

() ()

Statement (Y)

It would be best for New Zealand if all immigrants keep to their own ways of thinking and acting and New Zealanders keep to their ways.

() ()

Attitudes. Beliefs

For each of the following statements would you please indicate whether you (1) Strongly Agree (2) Agree (3) Are Uncertain - but probably agree (4) Are Uncertain - but probably disagree (5) Disagree (6) Strongly Disagree.

1. All non-British immigrants should be required by law to become naturalised New Zealand citizens as soon as they are eligible.
.....
2. Separate Church services for immigrants in their own language are desirable.
.....
3. Immigrant clubs and societies tend to keep immigrants and New Zealanders apart.
.....
4. Newspaper reports in Auckland have drawn more attention to criminal convictions against West Samoans than to convictions against other immigrants.
.....
5. Dutch immigrants are generally hard-working settlers in New Zealand.
.....
6. It harms no one if immigrants live together in their own communities.
.....
7. A landlord should be prosecuted if he refuses to accept as a tenant a non-European immigrant.
.....
8. Many Dutch immigrants act in a superior manner toward New Zealanders.
.....

9. Pacific Islanders should be helped to settle in all parts of Auckland rather than concentrate in small areas.
.....
10. Dutch immigrants are more welcome than West Samoans in New Zealand.
.....
11. Many New Zealanders are rather reserved or stand-offish toward non-British immigrants.
.....
12. One of the best ways for immigrants in Auckland to become New Zealanders is not to live in their own communities and to spread out and live alongside New Zealanders.
.....
13. New Zealand citizens should be given promotion chances at work before alien immigrants if they have the same qualifications.
.....
14. One of the biggest social problems faced by non-British immigrants and New Zealanders is the language barrier between them.
.....
15. Whether they deserve it or not, the West Samoans have a reputation for bad behaviour.
.....
16. The settlement of Dutch immigrants in your street would lead to a drop in property values.
.....
17. Generally the intermarriage of European immigrants and New Zealanders is approved of by New Zealanders.
.....

18. Do you agree with the New Zealander who said that "immigrant workers from the Pacific Islands were a threat to the employment standards of New Zealand"?
.....
19. New Zealanders should encourage non-British immigrants from Europe to become members of New Zealand clubs and societies.
.....
20. Pacific Islanders should be given as much special assistance with housing by the Government as is possible.
.....
21. New Zealand should stick to an immigration policy which favours British immigrants first, Western Europeans (e.g. Dutch, Germans, Danes) second, Southern and Eastern Europeans (e.g. Italians, Greeks, Poles) third, and other immigrants only as a last resort.
.....
22. New Zealand has a moral obligation to help those Pacific Islanders who live on Islands formerly administered by New Zealand.
.....
23. Skilled immigrants from Yugoslavia would be better for New Zealand than unskilled British immigrants.
.....
24. Immigrants in New Zealand whose native language is not English should attend English language classes.
.....
25. A 'Pakeha' New Zealander who married a West Samoan immigrant in New Zealand would encounter social disapproval from fellow New Zealanders.
.....
26. New Zealand should follow the example of Australia and recruit more immigrants from Southern Europe (e.g. Italy, Greece and Yugoslavia).
.....

27. The settlement of West Samoan immigrants in your street would lead to a drop in property values.

.....

28. Have you had personal contact with or become acquainted with immigrants from each of the following countries?

		Hungary	Nether lands	Niue Is	W.Samoa	Yugo- slavia
Yes	(1)					
No	(2)					
Don't Know	(3)					

29. If 'Yes', please state how this contact occurred (At Work, etc.)

	Hungary	Nether lands	Niue Is	W.Samoa	Yugo- slavia
a) At Work					
b) Living in the same house or next door					
c) In the street or shopping					
d) Through friends					
e) Through children					
f) Other (specify)					

Note: For each group respondents may nominate two contact situations. If two are nominated they should be clearly labelled No. 1 and No. 2 as an indication of priority.

30. Assuming that you are a wage or salary earner, would you mind if your employer took on immigrants from any of the following countries to work with you?

		Hungary	Nether- lands	Niue Is	W.Samoa	Yugo- slavia
Yes	(1)					
No	(2)					
Might/It depends	(3)					
Don't Know	(4)					

31. If you had any choice would you particularly avoid having next door neighbours from any of these places?

		Hungary	Nether- lands	Niue Is	W.Samoa	Yugo- slavia
Yes	(1)					
No	(2)					
Unsure/Might/ It depends	(3)					
Don't Know	(4)					

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

SURVEY OF YUGOSLAV RESIDENTS:

MOUNT WELLINGTON BOROUGH, AUCKLAND, MAY 1971.

- (1) Name
- (2) Address
- (3) Relationship to Head of Household
- (4) Sex (1) Male (2) Female (5) Age
- (6) Birthplace*
- (7) If not N.Z.-born, date of arrival in New Zealand
- (8) If N.Z.-born, birthplace of parents (father)*
- (mother)*
- (9) Marital Status (1) Single (never married) (2) Married
(3) Widowed (4) Separated (5) Divorced
- (10) If married, widowed, separated or divorced, please indicate
- (a) Birthplace of husband/wife*
- (b) If your husband/wife is (was) N.Z.-born, then indicate the
birthplace of parents of your husband/wife.
Birthplace of father of husband/wife*
- Birthplace of mother of husband/wife*

*Note: When specifying birthplace in each of the above questions
please give country of birth and city, town or village of
birth.

- (11) If you were not born in New Zealand, who acted as your sponsor in migration to New Zealand? (state fully, specifying relationship of sponsor, e.g. uncle, aunt, brother, sister, etc.)

.....

- (12) Have you acted as a sponsor for a Yugoslav migrant?

(1) Yes (2) No

If 'yes', then please indicate (a) How many persons

(b) When (year or years)

(c) Relationship of migrants to you (e.g. wife, fiancée, nephew, brother etc.)

PLACE OF RESIDENCE

- (13) If you were not born in New Zealand and were sponsored in migration, did you reside (live) with or near your sponsor upon arrival in New Zealand? (state fully)

.....

- (14) Is this address (present address) your first address in New Zealand?

(1) Yes (2) No

- (15) If 'no' where did you reside previously (please state full address of your last place of residence)?

.....

- (16) If your present address is not your first address in New Zealand why did you choose to reside at your present address? (state fully)

.....

- (17) How long have you resided at your present address?

- (18) Are you satisfied with your present place of residence?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't Know

- (19) If you are not satisfied with your present place of residence, where would you prefer to live in Auckland and why? (state fully)
- (where)
- (why)
- (20) Are you at present resident in either Ferndale or Panorama Roads?
- (1) Yes - Ferndale (2) Yes - Panorama (3) No
- (21) If you are not at present resident in either Ferndale or Panorama Roads, would you like to reside in either one or the other road alongside other Yugoslavs?
- (1) Yes - Ferndale (2) Yes - Panorama (3) Yes - either
- (4) No (5) Don't know (6) Other reply
- (22) Do you prefer to have Yugoslav neighbours?
- (1) Yes - 1st generation (2) Yes - 2nd generation
- (3) Yes - either 1st or 2nd (4) No (5) Don't know
- (6) Other reply
- (23) If you do prefer to have Yugoslav neighbours, state why
-
- (24) Do you think it is better for Yugoslav immigrants to live alongside New Zealand neighbours?
- (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know (4) Other reply
-
- (25) If you think it would be better for Yugoslav immigrants to live alongside New Zealand neighbours, state why
-

OCCUPATION AND WORKPLACE

- (26) What is your present occupation? (state fully)

.....

(27) Address of present place of employment (if employed)

.....

(28) What is your present occupational status

- (1) Employer (2) Employed on own account (3) Wages
(4) Salary (5) Relative assisting (6) Housewife
(7) Retired (8) Other (specify)

(29) If you are employed on wages, salary or relative assisting are you employed by a person of

- (a) Yugoslav birth (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know
(b) Yugoslav descent (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(30) If you are employed, do you work with persons of

- (a) Yugoslav birth (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know
(b) Yugoslav descent (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know
(c) both Yugoslav birth
and descent (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(31) If you are not at present employed by and/or working with persons of Yugoslav birth or descent, would you prefer

- (a) being employed by a 'Yugoslav' (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't Know
(b) working with 'Yugoslavs' (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't Know

(32) If you would prefer being employed by and/or working with 'Yugoslavs', please state why

.....

(33) Do you think it is better for Yugoslav immigrants to work with and/or be employed by New Zealanders?

- (a) work with (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know
(b) employed by (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

- (34) If you think it would be better for Yugoslav immigrants to either (or both) be working with or employed by New Zealanders, please indicate why

.....

KNOWLEDGE AND USE OF YUGOSLAV LANGUAGE.

- (35) Please indicate for each of the following whether you can

- (a) Speak the Yugoslav language (1) Yes (2) Yes-partially (3) No
(b) Write the Yugoslav language (1) Yes (2) Yes-partially (3) No
(c) Read the Yugoslav language (1) Yes (2) Yes-partially (3) No

- (36) FOR HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD OR REPRESENTATIVE ONLY (e.g. wife):

In your home do you and your family use the Yugoslav language for daily conversation

- (1) Yes - only Yugoslav (2) Yes - with English
(3) English - Yugoslav about equal (4) Mainly English with some Yugoslav
(5) Only English

- (37) FOR HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD OR REPRESENTATIVE:

If you have children at present under 16 years of age, do you encourage them to learn and/or use the Yugoslav language?

- (a) Yes - actively encourage them to learn and use the language
(b) Yes - actively encourage them to use the language
(c) No - do not actively encourage them to either learn or use the language

FOR ALL RESPONDENTS:

- (38) Do you think that Yugoslav immigrants and their families should continue using their native language in New Zealand?

- (1) Yes (2) Yes - only in the home (3) No
(4) Don't know (5) Other (specify)

(39) Do you think it would be better for Yugoslav immigrants and their families to stop using their own language and to learn English as quickly as possible?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know (4) Other

(specify)

(40) If you think it would be better for them to learn English as quickly as possible please explain why

.....

MEMBERSHIP OF CLUBS/SOCIETIES

(41) Are you a member or do you attend functions of either the

(a) Yugoslav 'Dom' (Hobson St.)? (1) Yes - member (2) Not member

(3) Attend functions

(b) Yugoslav Benevolent Society? (1) Yes - member (2) Not member

(3) Attend functions

(42) If you are either a member or attend functions, how frequently do you attend functions?

(1) Weekly (2) Fortnightly (3) More than twice a month

(4) Monthly (5) At least once every two months (6) Other

(specify)

(7) Only for special functions (national day, etc.)

(43) Do you think the Yugoslav Clubs help Yugoslavs settle down in New Zealand?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know (4) Other

(44) If you think they do help, state why

.....

(45) If you think they do not help, state why

.....

(46) Do you belong to (as a member) or do you regularly attend the functions of other non-Yugoslav Clubs and Societies?

- (1) Member (2) Not member (3) Not member but regularly attend

(47) Do you hold (or have you ever held) an office or position of responsibility in a non-Yugoslav Club or Society?

- (1) Yes - do (2) Yes - have (3) No

(48) Do you hold (or have you ever held) an office or position of responsibility in a Yugoslav Club or Society?

- (1) Yes - do (2) Yes - have (3) No

(49) Do you think it would be better for Yugoslav immigrants and their families to join New Zealand Clubs and Societies rather than Yugoslav Clubs?

- (1) Yes (2) No (3) belong to both (4) Don't know
(5) Other

(50) If you think it would be better, state why

.....

(51) If you think it would not be better, state why

.....

FOR PARENTS WITH CHILD OR CHILDREN NOT MARRIED

(52) Would you prefer your child(ren) to marry (a) a Yugoslav

(b) a person of Yugoslav descent (c) person of either

Yugoslav birth or descent (d) non-Yugoslav New Zealander

(e) choice up to children

FOR ALL RESPONDENTS

(53) Do you think that intermarriage between Yugoslavs and non-Yugoslav New Zealanders should be encouraged or discouraged?

- (1) encouraged (2) discouraged (3) uncertain, but probably encouraged
(4) uncertain, but probably discouraged
(5) Don't know

FOR HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD OR REPRESENTATIVE ONLY

(54) Have you any children over 16 years of age who have left home permanently?

(1) Yes (2) No If 'yes', state number

(55) If 'yes', please supply the following details about each child

	Child No. 1	Child No. 2	Child No. 3	Child No. 4
(a) Sex				
(b) Age (at last birthday)				
(c) Place of birth				
(d) Marital status				
(e) If married, birthplace of wife/husband				
(f) If husband/wife born in N.Z. birthplace of parents-in-law				
Father-in-law				
Mother-in-law				
(g) If married is religion of husband/wife the same religion of child				
(h) Present address				

(56) Think of your three (3) best friends (outside of your immediate family), then for each please indicate

- (a) present address (b) birthplace (c) is this person
in any way related to you (d) how often do you meet this
person (e) where do you meet this person (home, work, club,
etc.)

Person No. 1

- (a)
(b)
(c)
(d)
(e)
(f) Other information if N.Z. born

Person No. 2

- (a)
(b)
(c)
(d)
(e)
(f) Other information if N.Z. born

Person No. 3

- (a)
(b)
(c)
(d)
(e)
(f) Other information if N.Z. born

APPENDIX C

DISTANCE FROM THE C.B.D. AND DURATION OF RESIDENCE,
AUCKLAND URBAN AREA, 1966 : DEFINITION OF ZONES (see Chapter 3).

A series of six concentric circles, focused on the C.B.D. of the Auckland Urban Area, were drawn at intervals of two kilometres and the intra-urban census sub-divisions were grouped accordingly (see below). The interval of two kilometres was chosen since this generally permitted census sub-divisions to be easily grouped within the respective concentric 'zones'.

Zone 1 (0-2 kilometres from the C.B.D.)

Freemans Bay, Auckland Central, Newton, Grafton, Arch Hill, Eden Terrace, Parnell, Newmarket Borough.

Zone 2 (2-4 kilometres)

Westmere, Herne Bay, Ponsonby, Grey Lynn, Epsom North, Remuera North, Kingsland (Mount Albert), Morningside (Mount Albert), Mount Eden North, Mount Eden Central.

Zone 3 (4-6 kilometres)

Point Chevalier, Epsom South, Remuera South, Orakei, Northcote Borough, Sandringham (Mount Albert), Mount Albert Central, Mount Eden South, Three Kings (Mount Roskill), Royal Oak (Mount Roskill), One Tree Hill Borough.

Zone 4 (6-8 kilometres)

Avondale North, Waterview, Meadowbank, Mission Bay, Kohimarama, Takapuna City, Devonport Borough, Birkenhead Borough, Springfield-Ovairaka (Mount Albert), Hillborough (Mount Roskill), Sandringham (Mount Roskill), Onehunga Borough, Ellerslie Borough.

Zone 5 (8-10 kilometres)

Avondale South, Rosebank, St. Heliers, Glendowie, West Tamaki, New Lynn Borough, Halsey-Waikowhai (Mount Roskill), Mount Wellington Borough, Glenfield County Town.

Zone 6 (10-12 kilometres)

Henderson Borough, Glen Eden Borough, Kelston West County Town, Green Bay County Town, Waitemata County Territory (part).

Zone 7 (12+ kilometres)

East Coast Bays Borough, Howick Borough, Otahuhu Borough, Papatoetoe Borough, Manukau City, Papakura Borough, Titirangi County Town, Franklin County (part).

- Note: (1) The Auckland Central Post Office was chosen as the focal point within the C.B.D.
- (2) Devonport Borough was assigned to 'Zone 4' on the basis of distance by road (via Harbour Bridge) rather than linear distance from the C.B.D.
- (3) All census sub-divisions specified above are as defined in the New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966; for a location map of the census sub-divisions see Figure 1.

For a discussion of the results obtained, with respect to the relationship between residential distance from the C.B.D. and duration of residence in New Zealand of immigrants, see Chapter 3.

APPENDIX D

DALMATIAN-YUGOSLAV ARRIVALS, 1951-1967, RESIDING UPON ARRIVAL IN MOUNT WELLINGTON BOROUGH, AUCKLAND.

Migrant's Name	Sponsor's Name	Relation -ship of Sponsor	Date of Arrival in N.Z.	First Address of Migrant upon Arrival	Address of Sponsor
BACIC, Frances	BACIC, (Jim) BACIC, (Jack)*	Father Uncle*	1956	135 Penrose Rd.	135 Penrose Rd.
BAKARIC, Frano	RADOVANOVIC, Frana	Aunt	1965	157 Mt. Wellington H'way	81 Barrack Rd.
BATISTIC, Ursa	LAUS, Anton	Uncle	1967	190 Penrose Rd.	190 Penrose Rd.
BELIC, Marin	HASANI, Ljubica	Sister- in-law	1966	68 Ireland Rd.	68 Ireland Rd.
Dragica	" "	Sister	"	"	"
Ita } child-	" "	Aunt	"	"	"
Mirna } ren	" "	Aunt	"	"	"
BILIS, Ante	BILIS, Petar	Uncle	1965	23 Ferndale Rd.	23 Ferndale Rd.
BRCIC, Ivan	JERICEVIC, Jakov	?	1958	56 Ferndale Rd.	56 Ferndale Rd.
Kata	" , Zuva	?	"	"	"
Silva } child-	"	?	"	"	"
Slavica } ren	"	?	"	"	"
CURAC, Bartul	RABADAN, Jacica	Sister	1965	4 Leonard Rd.	4 Leonard Rd.

DRUSKOVIC, Martin	BOTICA, Frana	Sister-in-law	1965	442 Panama Rd.	442 Panama Rd.
Mara	" "	Sister	"	"	"
Petar)child-	" "	Aunt	"	"	"
Vidak) ren	" "	Aunt	"	"	"
FRANOTOVIC, Dinko	HASANI, Ljubica	Sister	1966	68 Ireland Rd.	68 Ireland Rd.
GRBIN, Milan	DUHOVIC, Kris	Uncle	1964	283 Mt. Wellington H'way	283 Mt. Wellington H'way
GRBIN, Mara	GRBIN, Milan	Husband	1965	283 Mt. Wellington H'way	283 Mt. Wellington H'way
GURDULIC, Tanja	BRCIC, Stipe (Mrs)	Aunt	1965	86 Ferndale Rd.	86 Ferndale Rd.
JERICEVIC, Zuva	JERICEVIC, Jakov	Husband	1953	56 Ferndale Rd.	56 Ferndale Rd.
LAUS, Mara	LAUS, Peter	Husband	1955	184 Penrose Rd.	184 Penrose Rd.
LAUS, Mara (Margarita)	JERICEVIC, Ante	Brother	1955	108 Panorama Rd.	?
LJUBETIC, Jure	MARTINOVIC, Jim	Uncle	1966	168 Ireland Rd.	?
MATULOVIC, Jakov	RADOVANOVIC, Marin	Father-in-law	1961	81 Barrack Rd.	81 Barrack Rd.
Marija	" "	Father	"	"	"
Marin(child)	" "	Grand-father	"	"	"
MELVAN, Ivan	LAVAS (LAUS), Dick	-	1967	34 Panorama Rd.	43 Panorama Rd.
Antica	" "	Uncle	"	"	"
Jelena)child-	" "	-	"	"	"
Ante) ren	" "	-	"	"	"

OROVIC, Blazonko	LOVRIN, Jakoma	Aunt	1966	164 Ireland Rd.	164 Ireland Rd.
RABADAN, Kuzma	LAVAS(LAUS) Dick (Mrs)	-	1961	34 Panorama Rd.	43 Panorama Rd.
Jacica	"	Aunt	"	"	"
Ivica)child-	"	-	"	"	"
Marko) ren	"	-	"	"	"
RADOVANOVIC, Frano	RADOVANOVIC, Marin	Father	1963	81 Barrack Rd.	81 Barrack Rd.
RADOVANOVIC, Vanja	RADOVANOVIC, Frano	Husband	1965	81 Barrack Rd.	81 Barrack Rd.
RADOVANOVIC, Vicko	RADOVANOVIC, Marin	Father	1959	3 Leonard Rd.	3 Leonard Rd.
SAIN, Katarina	MATULOVIC, Jakov	Uncle	1965	157 Mt. Wellington H'way	157 Mt. Wellington H'way
SELAJ, Ivan	?	?	1961	192 Penrose Road	?
SKOKANDIC, Alfreda	SKOKANDIC, Ante	Husband	1966	283 Mt. Wellington H'way	283 Mt. Wellington H'way
ZARNIC, Bartul	LETICA, Marija	Aunt	1956	19 Cleary Rd.	19 Cleary Rd.
ZARNIC, Slavko)	LETICA, Marija	Aunt	1961	19 Cleary Rd.	19 Cleary Rd.
Anka	ZARNIC, Bartul*	Brother*	"	"	"
	"	Brother-	"	"	"
	"	in-law	"	"	"
Miranda)child-	"	Uncle	"	"	"
Ivo) ren	"	Uncle	"	"	"

Note: Where two sponsors are named, the asterisk denotes the 'primary' sponsor.

Source: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers; 'Applications for Entry to New Zealand'.

APPENDIX E

PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS FACTOR ANALYSIS

Principal components factor analysis has been employed for analytical purposes in both Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 of this study. Included in this appendix are brief comments on three general questions concerning the use and methodology of factor analysis, together with the Type B Solutions referred to in the examination of the factorial ecology of Dutch and Samoan immigrants in Auckland (see Chapter 5). Answers to the three questions are based upon views expressed by Rummel (1970).

The first question is: "Why use factor analysis?" Two simple reasons can be advanced in answer to this question: (a) to establish or reveal patterns of inter-relationship; and (b) scientific parsimony or data reduction. If the researcher has a matrix of intricately related variables - for example, on the demographic, social and economic characteristics of populations residing in various areas within a city - factor analysis will reveal the separate patterns of inter-relationships involved. Moreover, the relationship of each variable to the separate patterns and the scores of each case (census sub-division, group or individual) on these patterns can be determined. The need for parsimony or data reduction can be readily appreciated when one considers the problem of describing or manipulating data on some 23 variables for Dutch migrants residing in 31 separate spatial units. The management, analysis and understanding of such data can be facilitated by factoring the data matrix into its basic dimensions. These dimensions, usually few in number, are a concise embodiment of of the data variation in the original matrix and replace the 23 variables. It is much easier to discuss and compare Dutch migrants

residing within 31 spatial units, for example, on 'family status' and 'socio-economic status' dimensions (if such exist) than on the numerous characteristics that each of these dimensions involve.

The second question concerns the number of factors to be extracted: "When should one stop extracting factors?" First of all it should be noted that the factors (dimensions) delineated by a factor analysis describe the independent sources of variance in the data matrix. The number of such sources usually equals the number of variables (e.g. 23 variables for Dutch migrants in 31 spatial units). The extraction of as many factors as there are variables, however, is hardly consistent with the data reduction solution often sought by the researcher. Fortunately, factor techniques (e.g. principal components analysis) extract the factors that account for decreasing variance. Thus the researcher can stop factoring the data when factors accounting for only 'trivial' variance are reached. But this poses a further question: "What is 'trivial', and how is it operationally defined for a given data matrix?"

According to Rummel (1970, 354) there is no general solution to the number-of-factors problem, but there are a number of 'rules of thumb' that serve as a general aid. Three of these 'rules of thumb' were considered in the analyses for this study. As specified by Rummel (1970, 362-364), these three rules may be summarised as follows:

1. Interpretability: the smaller factors are retained only if they have sufficient substantive meaning to be interpretable.
2. Strength of relationship: this criterion depends on the size of the factor loadings, so that factors are excluded if their highest loadings account for no more than 5 or 10 per cent of the variance of any one variable. Beside the size of the loadings, the specificity of a factor to a variable may

constitute an additional criterion. Since only common factors are desired in common factor analysis, a small factor might be discarded as a unique factor if it has a high loading for only one variable and very low loadings for the others. This will insure that only factors defining common variance are rotated.

3. Eigenvalue-one: this criterion is based upon the retention of unities in the principal diagonal of the correlation matrix and factors are limited to those with eigenvalues equal to or greater than unity. A problem here, however, is that the criterion may discriminate between factors that have little difference in eigenvalues. For example, a factor may have an eigenvalue of 1.02 and a subsequent factor an eigenvalue of .98. Exclusion of the latter factor by the eigenvalue-one criterion could result in the exclusion of an important factor.

In addition to the above 'rules of thumb', consideration was also given to (a) the contribution of a factor to the cumulative variance explained, and (b) to the possible splitting of larger factors. In the latter case this could be readily observed by considering two, three, four and five factor 'solutions'.

The final question concerns the interpretation and labelling of factors: "How does the researcher label a factor?" It is well known that the researcher's perspective colours his interpretation and labelling. There are two basic approaches to the problem of labelling. The first approach is descriptive and factors are perceived as descriptive of the inter-relationships in the data. In other words the factors are classifications to which descriptive names have been assigned and the factor structure is then a typology. The second approach is causal

and factors are perceived as underlying causes of the inter-relationships delineated and are causally labelled. In this study the approach adopted is descriptive (e.g. 'white, English speaking', 'socio-economic status').

There are various considerations involved in the descriptive labelling of factors. Some of the considerations noted by Rummel (1970, 477-479) are as follows:

1. Variables with zero or near-zero loadings are unrelated to the factor, but should be considered. In other words the name should reflect what is as well as what is not involved in a factor.
2. Squaring the loadings on a factor helps determine the relative weight the variables should have in interpreting a factor.
3. The naming of the factors with high positive and high negative loadings should reflect this bipolarity. One term may be appropriate, as is 'socio-economic status' for a high status-low status bipolar factor. For many bipolar factors, however, a suitable name incorporating both poles may not exist. Each pole then may be interpreted separately and the factor named by its opposite - e.g. 'old versus new immigrant families'.
4. Some factors that are difficult to name can be better interpreted by reversing the sign of some of the loadings. Reversing the sign for a variable has the effect of reversing the scaling - e.g. a 'geographic distance' variable becomes a 'geographic propinquity' variable.

The above are four of the more common considerations involved in factor labelling. For further considerations see Rummel (1970, 477-479).

DUTCH IMMIGRANTS IN AUCKLAND, 1966: ROTATED COMPONENT LOADINGS*

SOLUTION B (See also Table XLIII)

Variables	I	II	III	IV	V
1 Sex Ratio (males/100 females)	-41	18	-15	14	-48
2 % 0-14 yrs of age	48	28	-11	73	09
3 % 35+ yrs of age	63	-35	27	-50	02
4 % (15 yrs+) Formerly Married	-66	-12	-01	01	13
5 % (15 yrs+) Single	-89	-07	03	06	-12
6 % Females Actively Engaged	-83	-02	29	01	10
7 % Wage and Salary Earners	-24	10	75	21	23
8 % 'Blue Collar' workers	21	91	00	03	-05
9 % Males Professional/Managerial	-20	-75	-04	04	-09
10 % Males Clerical/Sales	13	-80	11	-08	07
11 % Males Craft.,-Prod.,-Process	09	88	20	-01	-07
12 % Males Manufacturing Industry	09	73	28	06	-18
13 % 0-4 yrs Residence N.Z.	-33	17	-01	82	37
14 % 5-9 yrs Residence N.Z.	22	15	07	-12	-82
15 % 10-14 yrs Residence N.Z.	23	-02	-07	-61	11
16 % 15-19 yrs Residence N.Z.	06	-45	09	-45	36
17 % Flats	-83	-11	12	35	14
18 % Dwellings Owned (with mortgage)	82	19	14	-39	-13
19 % Dwellings Owned (no mortgage)	09	-14	-72	-12	32
20 % Dwellings with Flush Toilet	67	11	12	-27	34
21 % Dwellings with Telephone	22	04	65	-29	08
22 % Dwellings with Wash. Machine	34	15	-14	-74	03
23 % Dwellings with Vacuum Cleaner	54	16	04	-49	29
Sum of Squared Factor Loadings	5.46	4.04	1.95	3.41	1.73
Percentage of Total Variance	23.7	17.5	8.4	14.8	7.5
Cumulative Percentage	23.7	41.2	49.6	64.4	71.9

* Decimal points omitted, and rotation according to Varimax criterion.

SAMOAN IMMIGRANTS IN AUCKLAND, 1966: ROTATED COMPONENT LOADINGS*

SOLUTION B (See also Table XLIV)

Variables	I	II	III	IV
1 Sex Ratio (males/100 females)	38	-35	54	-12
2 % Full-blood	00	-82	-25	08
3 % 0-14 yrs of age	69	29	46	37
4 % 15-34 yrs of age	-56	-40	-53	-33
5 % 35+ yrs of age	-65	09	-08	-28
6 % (15 yrs+) Formerly Married	-64	-10	09	02
7 % (15 yrs+) Single	-60	-14	-47	-42
8 % Females Actively Engaged	-64	-22	-47	-13
9 % Wage and Salary Earners	-13	03	27	57
10 % 'White Collar' workers	-35	65	-31	08
11 % Males Craft.,-Prod.,-Process	22	-75	33	04
12 % Females Professional-Technical	40	29	-30	13
13 % Females Clerical workers	-60	39	12	35
14 % Females Craft.,-Prod.,-Process	09	-00	92	10
15 % Females Service, Sport,Recreat.,	01	-23	-83	-20
16 % Males Manufacturing Industry	42	-66	38	05
17 % Females Manufacturing Industry	10	-04	89	16
18 % 0-4 yrs Residence N.Z.	-27	-75	-33	-28
19 % 5-9 yrs Residence N.Z.	43	-14	13	02
20 % 10-14 yrs Residence N.Z.	18	27	-09	76
21 % 15-19 yrs Residence N.Z.	04	40	45	-21
22 Mean Duration of Residence	-03	84	18	05
23 % Flats	-36	-01	-26	-69
24 % Dwellings Rented/Leased	-18	-13	-04	-76
25 % Dwellings with Flush Toilet	29	56	-10	35
26 % Dwellings with Telephone	53	57	09	13
27 % Dwellings with Wash. Machine	14	58	09	38
28 % Dwellings with Television	15	48	08	-48
29 % Dwellings with Radio	02	49	29	21
30 % Dwellings with Vacuum Cleaner	12	77	-03	12
Sum of Squared Factor Loadings	4.41	6.53	4.79	3.50
Percentage of Total Variance	14.7	21.7	15.9	11.6
Cumulative Percentage	14.7	36.4	52.3	63.9

* Decimal points omitted, and rotation according to Varimax criterion.

APPENDIX F

RESIDENTIAL PROPINQUITY AND MARRIAGE: STATISTICS FOR IN-GROUP
AND OUT-GROUP MARRIAGES OF DUTCH AND WESTERN SAMOAN
GROOMS AND BRIDES

Studies on the relationship between residential propinquity and mate selection/marriage commonly include statistics showing the pattern and degree of residential propinquity between partners over certain distances. In Chapter 7 of this study, mean residential propinquity (m.r.p.) values only were reported as more detailed statistics appeared to add little to the analysis of Dutch and Western Samoan marriage patterns. While m.r.p. values provide a concise summary of often lengthy statistical tabulations, they give no precise indication of the actual distribution of cases (grooms and brides) over distance intervals. Accordingly four Tables have been prepared for this Appendix and are presented in the following pages. The Tables record the residential propinquity of partners of Dutch and Western Samoan immigrants marrying in-group and out-group, where both partners resided within the Auckland Urban Area. For these Tables residential propinquity has been recorded at intervals of one kilometre up to 25 kilometres, with a final category of 'over 25' kilometres.

DUTCH GROOMS MARRYING IN-GROUP AND OUT-GROUP, RESIDENTIAL PROPINQUITY
WITH BRIDE, AUCKLAND URBAN AREA, 1958, 1962, 1966 AND 1970.

Residential Propinquity (kms)	IN-GROUP				OUT-GROUP			
	1958	1962	1966	1970	1958	1962	1966	1970
0*	13	4	1	2	11	9	9	11
0 - 1	-	3	1	-	8	2	4	5
1 - 2	3	-	1	-	-	4	5	4
2 - 3	3	1	1	-	4	3	1	4
3 - 4	3	1	-	-	4	4	3	2
4 - 5	1	1	-	-	2	3	-	2
5 - 6	1	4	1	-	1	2	-	3
6 - 7	-	1	-	-	-	4	2	2
7 - 8	1	1	1	-	-	1	3	-
8 - 9	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	1
9 - 10	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
10 - 11	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	2
11 - 12	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	1
12 - 13	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1
13 - 14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14 - 15	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	1
15 - 16	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
16 - 17	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	-
17 - 18	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
18 - 19	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
19 - 20	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
20 - 21	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
21 - 22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22 - 23	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
23 - 24	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1
24 - 25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
over 25	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	1
Total	26	18	8	5	39	39	41	46

*Groom and Bride 'same address couple'.

Source: Marriage Certificates, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

DUTCH BRIDES MARRYING IN-GROUP AND OUT-GROUP, RESIDENTIAL PROPINQUITY
WITH GROOM, AUCKLAND URBAN AREA, 1958, 1962, 1966 AND 1970.

Residential Proximity (km)	IN-GROUP				OUT-GROUP			
	1958	1962	1966	1970	1958	1962	1966	1970
0*	13	4	1	2	4	4	7	3
0 - 1	-	3	1	-	2	-	1	-
1 - 2	3	-	1	-	-	-	3	3
2 - 3	3	1	1	-	-	2	1	-
3 - 4	3	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
4 - 5	1	1	-	-	1	-	2	2
5 - 6	1	4	1	-	-	-	1	1
6 - 7	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1
7 - 8	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	1
8 - 9	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	2
9 - 10	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
10 - 11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
11 - 12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12 - 13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13 - 14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14 - 15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15 - 16	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
16 - 17	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
17 - 18	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
18 - 19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19 - 20	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
20 - 21	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
21 - 22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22 - 23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23 - 24	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
24 - 25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
over 25	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total	26	18	8	5	9	8	23	16

*Groom and Bride 'same address couple'.

Source: Marriage Certificates, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

WESTERN SAMOAN GROOMS MARRYING IN-GROUP AND OUT-GROUP. RESIDENTIAL
PROPINQUITY WITH BRIDE. AUCKLAND URBAN AREA, 1958, 1962, 1966 AND 1970.

Residential Proximity (kms)	IN-GROUP				OUT-GROUP			
	1958	1962	1966	1970	1958	1962	1966	1970
0*	5	13	16	25	14	7	7	10
0 - 1	4	10	21	14	3	7	1	4
1 - 2	7	10	15	12	2	1	3	8
2 - 3	3	3	12	9	2	1	1	1
3 - 4	2	9	6	2	-	2	1	1
4 - 5	1	2	1	5	1	-	1	3
5 - 6	-	3	4	2	-	2	-	2
6 - 7	1	-	2	6	1	-	2	1
7 - 8	-	5	3	4	-	2	1	-
8 - 9	-	1	5	2	2	2	3	1
9 - 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
10 - 11	1	2	2	5	-	-	-	1
11 - 12	-	1	5	3	1	1	-	-
12 - 13	-	-	3	3	1	-	1	1
13 - 14	-	-	1	2	-	1	1	-
14 - 15	-	1	3	3	-	-	1	-
15 - 16	-	1	2	1	-	1	-	1
16 - 17	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	1
17 - 18	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-
18 - 19	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
19 - 20	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-
20 - 21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21 - 22	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
22 - 23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23 - 24	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
24 - 25	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-
over 25	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1
Total	24	62	106	104	27	28	29	39

*Groom and Bride 'same address couple'.

Source: Marriage Certificates, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

WESTERN SAMOAN BRIDES MARRYING IN-GROUP AND OUT-GROUP. RESIDENTIAL
PROPINQUITY WITH GROOM. AUCKLAND URBAN AREA. 1958, 1962, 1966 AND 1970.

Residential Propinquity (kms)	IN-GROUP				OUT-GROUP			
	1958	1962	1966	1970	1958	1962	1966	1970
0*	5	13	16	25	5	7	7	9
0 - 1	4	10	21	14	3	3	6	6
1 - 2	7	10	15	12	-	4	2	3
2 - 3	3	3	12	9	-	3	1	4
3 - 4	2	9	6	2	1	6	5	3
4 - 5	1	2	1	5	-	1	3	2
5 - 6	-	3	4	2	1	-	-	5
6 - 7	1	-	2	6	-	-	1	-
7 - 8	-	5	3	4	-	1	2	-
8 - 9	-	1	5	2	1	-	1	-
9 - 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
10 - 11	1	2	2	5	-	-	1	1
11 - 12	-	1	5	3	-	1	-	1
12 - 13	-	-	3	3	-	2	1	1
13 - 14	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-
14 - 15	-	1	3	3	1	-	-	-
15 - 16	-	1	2	1	-	1	1	-
16 - 17	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1
17 - 18	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	3
18 - 19	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-
19 - 20	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
20 - 21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21 - 22	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
22 - 23	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
23 - 24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24 - 25	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
over 25	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-
Total	24	62	106	104	12	30	34	40

*Groom and Bride 'same address couple'.

Source: Marriage Certificates, 1958, 1962, 1966 and 1970.

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