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# **The Settlement of Skilled Chinese Immigrants in New Zealand: Issues and Policy Implications for Socioeconomic Integration**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Social Policy  
at Massey University, Palmerston North,  
New Zealand

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## Dedication

With love, to my Scottish-New Zealand mother, who taught me that  
“stones from other mountains can polish our jade”.

可 他  
以 山  
攻 之  
玉 石

## ABSTRACT

Changes in New Zealand's immigration policy, particularly the points system introduced in 1991, have facilitated the entry of large numbers of skilled immigrants from Northeast Asia. The emphasis in the points system on employment and settlement factors suggested that skilled immigrants who met the requirements would not experience settlement problems or would be significantly less likely to do so. Unfortunately, the reality was rather different. Many immigrants, especially those who were visibly different and/or from non-English speaking backgrounds, were failing to secure employment in their professions or, indeed, in any positions at all, with consequent negative effects on other aspects of their settlement.

This thesis examines the importance of English language proficiency in immigration policy and its role in conjunction with other factors in the settlement experiences of skilled immigrants from China. Policy changes over the period 1986-1998 are examined and the specific language requirements are analysed, along with their operationalisation. The role of English language proficiency and other factors in the settlement process are then examined via a longitudinal study of a panel of skilled Chinese immigrants who took up residence (mainly in Auckland) between August 1997 and August 1998.

Three main conclusions are reached in this study. First, the English language proficiency requirement, promulgated as a necessary prerequisite for successful settlement, was undermined by its manipulation as a tool to regulate the entry of certain groups of skilled applicants. Second, the expectation that skilled immigrants who met the English language and other selection requirements would be able to find suitable employment without post-arrival assistance failed to take into account the negative effects of various institutional, social and personal factors. Finally, the failure of immigrants to secure any or suitable employment had serious ramifications for their acquisition of further English language proficiency, social participation and socioeconomic integration. The findings presented in this thesis support the need for a balanced, well integrated institutional structure of immigration that includes not only a policy to regulate the entry of immigrants but also policies designed to meet their post-arrival needs and intergroup relations in a multicultural society.

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Two changes made, both on Contents pages:

p.v

Entry corrected:

Immigration policy: an institutional structure of migration 33

p.vi

Entry originally omitted, added:

Strategies to cope with unemployment 302

These 2 corrections to the list of contents were to assist readers who might use the thesis. I am very sorry that this action inadvertently caused problems.

Anne Henderson  
20 Nov. 2003

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## Chapter 1 Introduction

New Zealand is a country of immigration. With a caveat recognising the special position of the indigenous Maori people, this commonly voiced claim gained increased significance in the closing decades of the twentieth century. From the late nineteenth century, when punitive legislative restrictions were introduced to exclude Chinese migrants, immigration had remained, apart from inflows of Pacific Islanders with historical-political links to New Zealand and groups of refugees accepted in response to international crises, predominantly white and English-speaking. Moreover, a *laissez-faire* attitude prevailed towards the settlement of new arrivals. The assumption was that immigrants other than refugees arrived to take up jobs and/or as a result of family sponsorship and would “fit in” without further assistance (Farmer 1985; Kaplan, 1980; McGill, 1982).

The removal of a traditional source country bias in 1986 and the subsequent introduction, in 1991, of a proactive policy to counterbalance the “brain drain” and boost economic growth marked a radical shift in immigration policy. No longer was immigration to be restricted primarily to “kin-migration” from British and other European sources (McKinnon, 1996a: 1). Nor, from 1991, was occupational immigration to remain tied to labour market shortages. Policy was to focus on growing New Zealand’s overall human capital by tapping into an international pool of skilled migrants. A points-based system was introduced which favoured employability, age and settlement factors, along with character, good health and minimum English language proficiency requirements. This “key instrument” to attract “quality migrants” (Birch, 1991) was to provide entry to unexpectedly large numbers of immigrants from Asia in the years that followed.

The emphasis in the points system on selection factors suggested that skilled immigrants would not experience settlement problems, except of their own making, so long as they met the good character, health and English requirements and gained enough points from those available for employability, age, settlement factors and (until October 1995) investment funds. With their personal attributes, they would: secure employment commensurate with, if not directly related to, their previous qualifications and experience; be able to use their qualifications and skills; and make a valuable contribution to the economic growth of the nation through their human capital, innovative know-how and international linkages (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1991, 1995a, 1995b). Or so it was believed.

## **SETTLEMENT PROBLEMS**

Unfortunately, the reality for many new settlers was rather different. While Enterprise Auckland (c.1996) and Cremer and Ramasamy (1996) presented positive pictures of the increased Asian investment, and the New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS, 1995b) identified New Zealand's immigration policy as one of the best in the world, research into the personal experiences of immigrants was uncovering a different story. Post-arrival experiences indicated that the settlement and socioeconomic integration of skilled and business-category immigrants from Taiwan, South Korea, the People's Republic of China (hereafter "China" or the "PRC") and other parts of Asia, were not proceeding according to expectations. Many immigrants were failing to secure employment in their professions or, indeed, in any position at all (for example, Boyer, 1995; Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996; Ho and Lidgard, 1997).

Moreover, the social cohesion of the society was being strained by the large numbers of visibly different immigrants from non-traditional sources. The 1986 and 1991 policy changes together had major repercussions on the ethnic composition of the society and tested the nation's ability to absorb and capitalise on the resources of highly educated, but culturally and visibly different, immigrants. By 1996 over 150,000 of the usually resident population identified themselves as being of Asian descent (Thomson, 1999: 15). Visibly different, usually highly educated and sometimes very wealthy by New Zealand standards, these "new" Asians added another dimension to the

bicultural/multicultural debate. They challenged the security of many New Zealanders, already suffering the effects of rapid and significant socioeconomic restructuring (Kelsey, 1997; Shannon, 1991), and tested the government's avowed commitment to a policy of Asianisation. Immigration policy, with its hands-off approach and lack of attention to post-arrival provisions and wider societal policies, was ill-designed and the country ill-prepared to accommodate thousands of new, highly skilled and entrepreneurial immigrants from very different cultural backgrounds. As McKinnon (1996a: 2) observed, the historical reliance on immigration from traditional sources had:

... left the New Zealand community ... ill-equipped to cope with foreign, or non-British immigrants, lacking the institutional structures to cope with them, and, at a popular level, unsure if it even want[ed] them.

The settlement of most of the new Asian arrivals in the largest city, Auckland, contributed to tensions regarding the allocation of scarce resources in that city and triggered an "Asian invasion" backlash. Conspicuous wealth, inflated house prices, the widespread use of languages other than English (especially Chinese) and lack of English language proficiency, "astronauting" parents, unsupervised teenagers in flashy cars and the spectre of triads gained more popular and political attention than the dearth of post-arrival provisions, lack of employment and racial intolerance (Boyer, 1995; Barber, 1996a; Legat, 1996; Trlin et al., 1998a; Young, 1997). Significantly, a major incident in this backlash related to English language proficiency and the inadequacy of post-arrival provisions for immigrants from a non-English speaking background (NESB). The board of an Auckland state primary school announced its intention to refuse entry to Asian students who did not have "adequate" English language. This incident highlighted problems associated with Asian immigration and contributed to the stricter English language requirements introduced in policy changes in October 1995.

Despite the more stringent immigration requirements introduced in October 1995, the numbers of Asian immigrants continued to rise, with the PRC group accounting for a high percentage of arrivals. The ethnic Chinese population in New Zealand increased over threefold between 1986 and 1996 (from 26,616 to 81,309), with those born in China rising from just under 5,000 to 19,518 during the decade. By the time of the 2001 Census, nearly one-quarter of a million usually resident New Zealanders (one in 15, or

6.7 per cent) were of Asian descent. This included just over 100,600 ethnic Chinese, of whom nearly 39,000 (double the 1996 number) were born in China – excluding the Self-Administered Regions (SARs) of Hong Kong and Macau (which added a further 11,301 and 258, respectively).

### **Unemployment and underemployment**

Alongside the negative public response to Asian arrivals, the findings of small-scale surveys and larger studies alike uncovered problems associated with immigrant settlement and gaining the advantages of skilled immigration – the human capital, innovative know-how, international linkages and rich diversity associated with immigrants from different origins (Cope and Kalantzis, 1997; Trlin, 1997). Boyer (1995, 1996) found that immigrants from Taiwan were experiencing considerable difficulties establishing businesses in New Zealand. Similarly, in a study of Hong Kong Chinese in Auckland, it was found that less than half of all those who were 20-plus years old were employed at the time of the 1991 Census (Ho and Farmer, 1994: 229). Despite this rather dismal rate of employment, recent Hong Kong- and China-born arrivals in 1991 were found to have fared rather better when compared with their 1996 counterparts (Ho et al., 1997a), although many of the later arrivals were more highly qualified. Friesen and Ip's (1997) findings suggested that higher qualifications may, in fact, have been a handicap in the employment stakes, since less specialised Chinese para-professionals were able to find employment more easily than more highly qualified arrivals, who were likely to be underemployed, if employed at all.

The difficulties experienced by skilled immigrants from China and other non-English speaking backgrounds in accessing the mainstream workforce and the consequences of this for settlement and socioeconomic integration recur in the literature. Lack of recognition of professional qualifications contributed to unemployment and underemployment, as did the need for statutory professional registration, New Zealand qualifications, New Zealand work experience and greater English language proficiency (Barnard, 1996; Boyer, 1995; Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996; Ho and Lidgard, 1997; North et al., 1999; Selvarajah, 1998).

## THE RESEARCHER'S BACKGROUND

A researcher always approaches a topic from a personal perspective and particular set of experiences. And so it was in this case. Work that has revolved for several decades around issues related to language, immigration and Asia, and more personal experiences came together in this research.

My background employment and experiences alerted me to and provided insights into particular aspects of the topic and its importance. As a young teacher with an English-history degree, I was directed into teaching French as a foreign language. Via this unanticipated but enjoyable experience, I was involved in teaching language using a variety of methods – traditional grammar translation, audio-lingual and communicative language teaching. This motivated me both to increase my own level of proficiency in the language and to learn more about language teaching and learning processes. The completion of a Diploma in Second Language Teaching led on to a Junior Lectureship in linguistics and second language teaching, and the completion of a Master of Philosophy thesis investigating the language needs of Southeast Asian refugees in New Zealand (Henderson, 1988a, 1988b). During this time I also taught English as a second language to recently arrived Cambodian and Chinese-Vietnamese refugees on a voluntary basis.

From 1987 to 1992, employment within the Department/Ministry of Education as a Southeast Asian Refugee Resource Teacher and New Settlers and Multicultural Education Regional Coordinator for the lower central North Island provided insights into the policy decision-making process and the ramifications of policy decisions for NESB immigrants. This position involved: assisting, training and providing resources to staff in schools and other institutions across the region which had students for whom English was a second language; liaising with other ESOL, multicultural education and migrant services providers, and ethnic community groups; and direct contact with new settlers, increasing numbers of whom were from China.

In the first half of 1991, I was fortunate to be selected to join a three-teacher New Zealand-China Educational Programme team. A position teaching English at the Shanghai Foreign Languages Institute/Shanghai International Studies University for six



months was extended by the New Zealand Government to a one year contract at the university's request and subsequently became a five year experience when I was invited back to work in the university on a private basis. During this time I taught English, trained senior middle school teachers of English and learned to get by in basic spoken Putonghua/Mandarin in a Chinese environment. The experience of living in a different culture was cushioned by residence in a predominantly English-speaking Foreign Experts' residence, employment in a supportive bilingual environment where my qualifications were recognised and utilised, and the fact that my Chinese language learning efforts were positively received.

Since returning from China I have been a doctoral candidate and a part-time researcher in the New Settlers Programme, of which the longitudinal study employed and reported in this thesis forms a part. My experiences as a language teacher and provider, as a foreign (French) and second (Chinese) language learner, and as a member of a visible ethnic minority have alerted me to and provided insights into issues related to language and the immigrant settlement process. In particular, the time in China facilitated a (basic) measure of competence in the language and the culture of the Chinese panel members and an understanding of their backgrounds. These attributes provided a foundation for the establishment of the trust needed within the Chinese immigrant community to construct a panel, and the rapport with participants which developed in the course of the study.

## **THE FOCUS OF THE STUDY**

Within the context of developments in immigration since the mid-1980s and the insights gained from personal experiences, this thesis investigates issues related to the settlement of skilled immigrants in New Zealand. In particular, it examines: (a) the role of English language proficiency requirements in immigration policy; and (b) the role of English language proficiency together with other factors that emerge in the settlement process as experienced by skilled immigrants from China approved under the General Category and the General Skills Category variants of the points system introduced in 1991.

It is argued:

- (a) that, while the English language proficiency requirement in policy relating to the entry of skilled and business immigrants was promulgated as a necessary prerequisite for successful settlement, this rationale was undermined by its manipulation as a tool to regulate the entry of certain groups of applicants;
- (b) that the expectation that skilled immigrants who met the English language requirement should be able to find suitable employment without post-arrival assistance ignored the negative effect of institutional, social and personal barriers to employment; and
- (c) that the failure to secure any or suitable employment, coupled with the influence of other factors, would have serious negative ramifications for the acquisition of further English language proficiency, social participation within the wider society and immigrant socioeconomic integration.

### **Language and immigration policy**

English language requirements have long been an aspect of immigration policy but they have lain dormant except when challenged by large numbers of NESB immigrants. At the end of the nineteenth century immigrants were required to complete a landing application in a European language, a task which had the potential to exclude large numbers of arrivals, including immigrants from Britain who were either non-English speakers or illiterate in the language and would, therefore, not have been able to master the requirement unaided. In 1907, a reading test of “not less than 100 words” was imposed on Chinese immigrants explicitly to exclude these “undesirable” aliens. From 1920 when policy changes saw the introduction of individual immigration permits, specific English language requirements fell quietly into abeyance until 1986 when New Zealand was opened to immigrants from non-traditional sources and a degree of English language proficiency was identified as an (almost) essential prerequisite for successful settlement (Burke, 1986; Shroff, 1987).

A major problem was that the reactivated English language requirement lacked any clearly defined rationale underpinning its role or level. Used as a selection tool to monitor and control the entry of NESB immigrants, it was applied only to particular categories of immigrants (for example, targeted but not Family Category applicants).

Some immigrants, apparently, could learn English after migrating if they needed it; others needed it for approval. Moreover, within categories, the requirement was not evenly administered to those from all non-English speaking backgrounds. In part, this was a reflection of the widespread use of English as a lingua franca and world language (Cheshire, 1991; Kachru, 1992; Smith and Forman, 1997). In part also, it was a reflection of the relative importance placed on the language requirement vis à vis other requirements and features when selecting immigrants.

This study examines the hitherto neglected role of English language in immigration policies designed to attract and select skilled immigrants over the period 1986 to 1998. The specific language requirements and the arguments for them are analysed, along with the actual operationalisation of these requirements in China and other source countries, to uncover the rationales behind these policies and practices.

### **Language and other factors in the settlement process**

Following on from the investigation of English language requirements in immigration policy, the role of English language proficiency along with other factors in immigrant settlement is investigated via a longitudinal study of the experiences of a panel of skilled immigrants from China. Through a longitudinal study of a relatively homogeneous group approved for their skills, it is possible to trace settlement experiences in relation to on-arrival levels of English language proficiency. In particular, aspects of social and economic integration are examined in terms of: English and Chinese language experiences; patterns of employment and strategies to enter the workforce; and social participation.

The levels of English language proficiency related to the panel members' experiences are analysed to assess the relative importance of on-arrival language proficiency as opposed to the effects of post-arrival factors in the settlement process. Language is a tool for communication and proficiency in English facilitates participation in the wider society, including access to employment and social participation. At the same time, interaction with members of the target speech community, the amount and quality of which are affected by access to employment and social participation within the wider society, contribute to the development of sociolinguistic competence and fluency in the

language (Ellis, 1994; Kim, 1988). Access to suitable employment is a key not only to the potential economic growth that can accrue from the immigration of working aged immigrants admitted for their skills but also to the successful settlement and socioeconomic integration of such arrivals. Castles et al. (1998: 53) note that “the better an individual speaks English, other things being equal, the better is their employment and earnings situation”. Some of these “other things” are examined in the thesis in terms of the association between the participants’ English language proficiency, employment and social participation.

## **THE STUDY’S CONTRIBUTION**

The role of language in the policy process of immigrant selection has been seriously understudied in the past. For the most part, the importance of a certain level of on-arrival English language proficiency for the settlement of skilled immigrants and, therefore, the need for an English language prerequisite in immigration policy have been taken for granted in New Zealand, despite the fact that Family Category approvals do not need to meet similar requirements. Language decisions are, however, not neutral but sociopolitical as language teachers are becoming aware (see Burnaby and Cumming, 1992; Hall and Eggington, 2000)<sup>1</sup> and Lo Bianco, the architect of the 1987 Australian National Languages Policy, noted (1989: 182):

... in all cases ... a wide array of political, economic, aesthetic, legal and social factors form the contextual background which both constrains policy decisions and ... ensures that they are dependent on prior positions about non-language matters. Attention is focused on language only as a consequence of addressing an essentially non-linguistic problem.

The findings regarding the use of English language requirements in immigration policy presented in this thesis add to the body of knowledge on immigration policy and the immigrant settlement process. The study provides a comprehensive and critical assessment of the language requirements met by skilled NESB immigrants by tracing:

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<sup>1</sup> Language providers have been rather slower to recognise the political implications of language teaching and choice than those addressing language planning and policy issues (for example, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986; Skutnabb-Kangas, c.1981; Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins, 1988; Tollefson, 1991).

changes in immigration policies from the mid-1980s; the relative importance of English language in policy following the removal of the traditional source country preference in 1986; and the operationalisation of policy requirements. Together these topics provide a clearer understanding of how the English language filter has been used in immigration policy and offer a base from which more informed decisions and future immigration policy development can be undertaken.

While research exists on the part English language plays in the settlement and integration of immigrants, most of this research fails to control for levels of language proficiency on arrival, combines data on immigrants from a variety of different countries or categories, and/or relies on cross-sectional data. The major advantage of this study is that it employs a longitudinal approach to examine the experiences of a relatively homogeneous group of skilled immigrants. This permits investigation of the importance of the English language requirement and on-arrival English language proficiency as well as the identification and assessment of other key factors affecting aspects of the settlement process over a period of time. The findings in terms of panel members' experiences with regard to language, employment and social participation, provide a valuable addition to the existing body of research on immigrant settlement and enhance the knowledge base for more informed decision making and policy development.

### **A social policy framework**

This thesis is conducted within the field of social policy. While definitions of social policy vary and the area of inquiry is wide, it is concerned with: social, economic and political relationships, issues and institutions within society; collective social responses to perceived problems; and people's well-being or welfare (Hill, 1996; Hill and Bramley, 1986; Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1998a; Spicker, 1995). In short, social policy is concerned with "actions which affect the well-being of members of a society through shaping the distribution of and access to goods and resources in that society" (Cheyne et al., 2000: 3). Such actions are normally designed to promote the well-being of members of the society and to limit disadvantages through the distribution of opportunities and resources, a role identified by Shannon (1991: 2) as "the mark of a civilized society". However, this expected positive orientation may be

lacking if the rationale behind a policy is concerned more with the distribution of resources and power between different groups in society than altruistic outcomes. Hence, social policy is concerned with social values and principles, processes, procedures and outcomes.

Employment is an activity which occurs within a social setting and has significant social ramifications (Pavalko, 1988; Thomas, 1999). Thus, economic policy (which has a direct bearing on employment) cannot be divorced from social policy or be identified as only “marginal” to it as Hill and Bramley (1986: 18) suggest. Issues surrounding the processes through which marketplace resources, status and power are accessed and distributed are particularly important for economic immigration streams, especially when these involve visible ethnic minorities who may be more easily discriminated against and excluded. In terms of immigration to New Zealand, areas of particular significance for makers of social policy have been the admission and settlement of Pacific Island peoples and, more recently, the arrival of Chinese and other Asian immigrants under the points system. These immigrants were encouraged to immigrate to fill industrial labour market shortages or to stimulate growth in the economy. However, the outcomes of such policies have included unemployment, discrimination and ineligibility for welfare support.

As Cheyne et al. (2000: 117) note, it is:

... important to consider the well-being needs of ... ethnic groups ... whose level of social well-being is generally lower than that of the dominant Pakeha ethnic group, and who, particularly where they are recent immigrants, may be as marginalized [as] or more marginalized than some Maori.

Equal opportunities and social inclusion are central to a normative definition of social policy. They are similarly central to normative definitions of multiculturalism and civil society. Where prejudice and discrimination exist, there is a need for social policy which supports equal access to institutions, interethnic contact and shared goals (Bajilhole, 1997).

Social policy involves intervention and planning for desired outcomes. With regard to professional immigrants recruited for their qualifications, skills and experiences, the desired end results are positive processes and outcomes with respect to both immigrants

and the wider society. These include: the selection of immigrants who will settle successfully and make a positive social and economic contribution to the society; host society acceptance of immigrants; and the maintenance of social cohesion. Post-arrival policies affect the distribution of and access to the resources of the society, according to whether they offer immigrants equal status and access to welfare and other resources or limit these. While policy outcomes cannot always be accurately predicted even where there is careful planning, their unpredictability is magnified when there is no apparent planning or rationally determined, coherent policy-making in evidence. Moreover, where not consciously planned and stated but tacit and unstated, policies are both harder to identify and evaluate, and potentially arbitrary and wasteful of resources (Herriman and Burnaby, 1996: 3). Thus, it is important for not only the economic but also the social goals of immigration policy to be clearly stated and supported by appropriate social policies.

The same applies to language policies, as an aspect of social policy and immigration. Often revolving around efforts to balance differences that exists as a result of immigration (McKay, 1993: 27), they illustrate a nation's response to ethnic and linguistic diversity. Without a broadly formulated national policy, immigration and naturalisation policies often set ad hoc language agendas, as noted by Kaplan (1992) in his report on the "unplanned" language planning occurring in New Zealand at the governmental, quasi-governmental, and non-governmental level during the early 1990s. Hedging his criticism in general terms, he observed that (Kaplan, 1992: 10):

Language policies are developed in every sector of every society ... unrelated to language practices in other sectors of the same society, and ... the language situation in most countries is characterised more by chaotic disorder than by any sense of intelligent human resource development planning.

This "chaotic disorder" with its wastage of human resources was identified as a good reason for the development of a coherent national languages policy. The same wastage could be seen in an immigration policy that focused only on the selection and entry of immigrants.

## STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

In Chapter 2 the globalisation of international migration and the challenges this presents for countries which seek to tap into the pool of skilled immigrants are discussed. The establishment of less developed countries as major providers of skilled immigrants is seen to have contributed to significant numerical increases in the arrival and settlement of “stranger migrants” (McKinnon, 1996a), presenting new challenges for immigration policies and settlement programmes. Utilising Chiswick and Miller’s (1995) model of dominant language fluency to provide a language-oriented framework, research on the socioeconomic integration of skilled immigrants is then reviewed. This shows that, while proficiency in the language of the receiving country is an important factor in employment, post-migration factors including the transferability of skills and attitudes within the host society also have a significant impact on socioeconomic outcomes.

Chapter 3 addresses the challenges presented to both the processes of immigrant settlement and integration and to immigration policy-making by the increased ethnic diversity associated with international migration. The concepts of settlement and integration, and what constitutes “successful” settlement, are discussed, and Bauböck’s (1996a, 1996b) model of integration within the civil society is offered as a useful framework to visualise degrees of immigrant incorporation within the receiving society. Of the different institutional responses to cultural diversity – assimilation, segregation and accommodation – the last, associated with multiculturalism, is identified as the response best suited to capitalising on the potential advantages of ethnic diversity. The workforce-centred productive diversity paradigm (Cope and Kalantzis, 1997) is offered as a model of multiculturalism in practice. Finally, the implications of these concepts and the findings on settlement and integration presented in Chapters 2 and 3 for immigration policy are presented. It is argued that the achievement of positive social and economic settlement outcomes for immigrants from non-traditional sources depends upon the implementation of a balanced, well integrated institutional structure of immigration. The three components of an institutional structure of immigration are briefly defined and discussed.



Methodological issues related to the research are presented in Chapter 4. The methods used to collect information on pivotal immigration policy changes related to English language requirements are outlined, before turning to a consideration of the background data employed for an examination of recent Chinese immigration. The limitations of Census and NZIS immigrant approvals data are identified and the information that was able to be extracted from them is discussed. Attention then turns to the longitudinal study of 36 Principal Applicants (PAs)<sup>2</sup> and their dependants (where applicable) that provided the primary data on Chinese immigrant settlement utilised in Chapters 7, 8 and 9. Since there is a paucity of detailed literature on longitudinal research methods and tools, particular attention is paid to methodological issues related to the longitudinal study. The approach is identified as the most valuable means of investigating the processes of immigrant settlement and integration, notwithstanding issues associated with its implementation, particularly in cross-cultural research. The chapter ends with a discussion of four ethical principles – voluntary participation, informed consent, privacy and confidentiality – and the impact these had on the research

Chapter 5 examines important changes in immigration policy which occurred during the 1980s and 1990s and their ramifications in terms of the selection and arrival of immigrants from China and other non-English speaking backgrounds. Key policy decisions and their implications for the selection of skilled migrants are discussed. The outcomes of these policies are then examined through an analysis of the characteristics of “new” Chinese immigrants via: (a) a sample of 1991-1995 approvals drawn from the archival files of the NZIS; (b) 1996 Census data on those identified as having been born in China and resident there in 1991; and (c) the longitudinal panel of skilled approvals who took up residence in 1997-1998. Similarities and differences in immigrant characteristics revealed in these three data sources are identified.

A more detailed critical analysis of the changing English language requirements in recent immigration policy, flagged in Chapter 5, is offered in Chapter 6 against the backdrop of an earlier requirement, the 1907 reading test, which was used as a tool to

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<sup>2</sup> Principal Applicants are those who lodge an immigration application. Non-Principal Applicants (NPAs) are those dependants also included in an application (generally spouses and children).

exclude “undesirable” Chinese immigrants. Similarities and differences between requirements with reference to the various methods utilised to assess the English language proficiency of NESB applicants are highlighted. Case studies of the methods used to assess the “minimum level of English language ability” of General Category approvals from five countries – China, Taiwan, the former Yugoslavia, India and South Africa – are presented to provide insights into the operationalisation of the language requirement for the period 1991-1995. The more stringent International English Language Testing System (IELTS) requirement imposed in October 1995 is then examined along with subsequent moves to ease the requirement in order to facilitate the entry of desired immigrants. Overall, the chapter reveals the ambivalent role of English language proficiency in immigration policy, as an indicator of successful settlement and as an approval filter.

The language resources, problems and responses of members of the longitudinal panel are examined in Chapter 7. First, their Chinese language capital is established along with the contrasting perceived usefulness and actual use of this linguistic resource in New Zealand. The issue of language maintenance is addressed as a problem related to the young children of panel members and as one of concern to parents. The English language experiences and responses of panel members and their spouses as they seek to settle in New Zealand are then investigated. Attention is given to both: (a) details of their pre-migration contact with people from other cultures, English language use in China and plans to study in English language courses in New Zealand;<sup>3</sup> and (b) their post-arrival uptake of English language study and other strategies adopted to increase English language proficiency and to overcome language problems faced in the initial period of settlement.

While English has previously been identified as a key factor in the settlement of NESB immigrants (NZIS, 1995b), their entry into the labour market is an essential indicator of settlement and socioeconomic integration. Thus, Chapter 8 investigates the economic integration of panel members into the workforce. An outline of their pre-migration qualifications and work is offered and the focus then turns to their post-arrival work

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<sup>3</sup> English as a second or foreign language courses are commonly identified as ESOL (English to speakers of other languages) courses.

experiences. Efforts to secure employment and strategies to cope with the unfamiliar situations of unemployment and underemployment are investigated. Changes in their employment situation and strategies adopted during the first two to three years of settlement are examined to identify factors which have contributed to these changes and which have made it easier for some participants to find work than for others. The implications of longer-term unemployment and underemployment for these professional immigrants, the wider society and immigration policies are also discussed.

In Chapter 9 issues related to the social participation of panel members are addressed. This includes not only their membership of clubs and other social organisations but also less structured social participation with family members, friends and work colleagues. Pre- and post-migration patterns are compared to identify changes brought about through migration. The nexus between settlement factors, particularly English language proficiency and employment, and social participation is also examined to ascertain the importance of these factors in the development of personal relationships with members of the Chinese community and with those of the wider host society. Again, while the emphasis is on the experiences of PAs, the activities of other family members is not ignored, as these may have an impact on the social participation of PAs.

The final chapter presents the conclusions drawn from the study. First, it provides a summary of the key findings, including: (a) an assessment of the importance of English language proficiency as a selection tool in immigration policy and as a factor in the settlement of panel members; and (b) an assessment of the relative importance of other post-arrival factors with respect to settlement and socioeconomic integration. The findings are then considered in terms of Bauböck's (1996b) model of civil society and their implications for immigration policy and the development of a balanced and well integrated institutional structure of immigration. Finally, some key areas for further research are identified.

## Chapter 2 International Migration: Challenges and Responses

When the traditional source country bias was removed and then a points-based system introduced, the hope of immigration policy makers in New Zealand was that the targeting of skilled and business immigrants would result in an influx of people with skills and capital which would boost a flagging economy and counter a “brain drain”. That most of the ensuing immigrants with skills and capital came from Asian rather than traditional white source countries tested the country’s ability to absorb and benefit from the arrival of such immigrants, and highlighted limitations within New Zealand’s immigration policy.

Some awareness of the stresses being placed on the host society was reflected in an official background paper to the 1995 policy changes, which recognised that immigration “can also have significant impacts on social cohesion” (NZIS, 1995a: 6). The authors of the paper stated, however, that only very limited insights could be gained from overseas findings “given that New Zealand’s migrant intake is unique in terms of its bias towards the highly skilled” (NZIS, 1995a: 38). They looked mainly to economic outcomes-based research from the United States (for example, Borjas, 1990) for guidance rather than to Australia and Canada, despite the greater affinity of immigration policies in these two countries with the New Zealand situation and the examples they could have offered regarding settlement policies and practices. This was a mistake, particularly given the United States’ continued emphasis on family reunification,<sup>1</sup> the recent nature of its promotion of skilled immigration (Freeman, 1999: 104), and its continued policy of “benign neglect” (leaving things to sort

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<sup>1</sup> Family category immigrants are widely recognised as being generally less skilled than those admitted under targeted programmes (Borjas, 1990; Freeman, 1999).

themselves out) despite rising levels of immigration and a growing gap between immigration policy goals and outcomes (Freeman, 1999; Martin, 1995: 22).

In this chapter the impacts of increasingly diverse immigration are investigated through a discussion of the globalisation of international migration and the challenges it has presented for host societies seeking to reap the benefits of skilled immigration. A review of recent research on the socioeconomic settlement experiences of immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds (NESBs) shows mixed results, with the integration of “visible” skilled immigrants presenting a particular challenge for host communities. Proficiency in the language of the wider society is identified as an important, but not exclusive, determinant of socioeconomic integration. Host society responses to non-English speaking arrivals are shown to have important ramifications for their successful entry into the workforce and wider society, with increased ethnic and cultural diversity raising pressing questions regarding the integration of diverse and visible immigrants. Overall, it is shown that for the social and economic benefits of immigration to accrue, aspects of immigration and language policy cannot be planned or decided in isolation. Rather, they need to be coordinated within a broader policy framework which includes post-arrival settlement and ethnic relations policies. The discussion underlines the need for a model for the effective integration of immigrant minorities within society.

But first it is important to set the scene through a brief discussion of globalisation and how it relates to international migration, since, as a world systems analysis shows, the movements of peoples cannot be seen in isolation (Lidgard, 1998; Lidgard et al., 1995, 1998a, 1998b).

## **GLOBALISATION AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION**

The hallmark of the age of migration is the global character of international migration: the way it affects more and more countries and regions, and its linkages with complex processes affecting the entire world.

(Castles and Miller, 1993: 260)

While not a new phenomenon in world history, international migration has never been such a complex global and political issue as it is today. The “age of migration”, as Castles and Miller have dubbed the closing decades of the twentieth century, is notable for four general tendencies: the globalisation, acceleration, differentiation and feminisation of migration (Castles and Miller, 1993; Hugo, 1999). Permanent, long-term and temporary migration have been facilitated by the expansion and cheapening of international air travel, improved telecommunications, the growth of transnational corporations, and the implementation of less restrictive immigration policies. The latter reflects both a human rights-based acknowledgement of the racist bias of traditional source preferences and a more pragmatic move to reap the benefits of reoriented international trade and relations. All of these issues have ramifications for immigration policy-making, including issues pertaining to language.

There is no definitive figure on just how many people are currently residing outside their country of residence, but clearly the numbers are growing. According to Weiner (1995, cited in Robinson, 1999: xi), over four million people join the ranks of international migrants in any one year (by crossing national borders as permanent migrants, that is, for over 12 months). By the mid-1990s, there were conservatively estimated to be 60 million international migrants, including refugees, at any one time, a figure that constituted nearly half of the estimated total number of people on the move worldwide (Castles and Miller, 1993; Marchi, 1996).<sup>2</sup>

Within these numbers a greater variety of migration types now operate simultaneously. Migratory pattern modifications occur over time, such as the important movement on to chain migration once initial migration contact and settlement have taken place (Castles and Miller, 1993; Hugo, 1999). Some types of migrants, including asylum seekers, are actively discouraged. Some, like the large numbers of illegal Hispanic migrants upon whom particular sectors of the United States economy depend for cheap casual labour,

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<sup>2</sup> Estimates indicate an upward trend in the total numbers of international migrants. In 1997, Walker (1997) estimated the total number living outside of their country of birth to be 90 million. Castle (1998) posited a figure of 100 million and Castles and Miller (1998:5) estimated there to be 120 million “recent” international migrants.

are officially discouraged but actually condoned (Borjaš, 1990; Harris, 1995; Portes, 1978). Others, including quota-based temporary labour migrants, who often do dirty, dangerous and difficult (“3 D”) work (Stalker, 1997: 2) are actively promoted (Harris, 1995), as are permanent, independent, entrepreneurial and skilled professional migrants (Freeman, 1999; NZIS, 1995a, 1995b). Moreover, while there is increasing “South – North” (and East-West) movement from “less developed countries” (LDCs) to “more developed countries” (MDCs), the movement is not unidirectional. There are also circular movements of people between developing and developed countries (Bedford, 1997; Hugo, 1998, 1999; Huguet, 1995; Inglis and Wu, 1992; Ip and Friesen, 2001; Skeldon, 1994, 1998). Thus, international migration can no longer be characterised as the one-way, permanent decision it was once thought to be and the early settlement of arrivals becomes that much more important (Fletcher, 1999).

Migration on a large scale inevitably has a profound effect not only on those who migrate but also on the host society. The degree to which socialisation to the new society takes place depends not only on the migrants themselves but also on the incumbent society, its attitudes and immigration-related policies. As Cohen (1997a: 174) observes in his discussion of global diasporas,<sup>3</sup> “host cultures may be more or less open to newcomers or demand more or less in the way of cultural and social adjustment on the part of the migrants”. While this has always been the case, the scene has changed with increased cross-cultural and cross-national contact. The assumptions of one race-one space and the exclusive citizen requirements of the nation-state were, in the past, perpetuated by the promotion of migration from traditional (like us/“kin”) sources (McKinnon, 1996a). However, these assumptions have now been seriously eroded by increasing multi-ethnicity and cosmopolitanism, which are characterised by the development of multiple affiliations and associations which function within or stretch beyond (and so may threaten or enhance) the boundaries of the nation-state.

Not all host societies feel able to manage the diversity or, indeed, wish to celebrate what Cohen (1997a: 196) identifies as “the creative enriching side of living in

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<sup>3</sup> Diasporas are not a new phenomenon and clearly predate globalisation and the “age of migration”, but as Cohen (1997a: 175) observes they do “‘go together’ extraordinarily well”. See Skeldon (1998) for a critique of Cohen’s diaspora model.

‘Babylon’, the radiance of difference”. In some countries, such as Germany, legislation based on *ius sanguinis* largely precludes those not born of native parents from gaining citizenship and the rights which accompany this status.<sup>4</sup> *Ius sanguinis* may prevent the formation of an empowered multi-ethnic citizenry so that migration is not a challenge to national identity per se, but it does not avoid the challenges presented by a multi-ethnic society (Robinson, 1999; Bauböck, 1996b, 1996c). In other countries, including the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, citizenship may be attained through birth (*ius solis*) or by naturalisation, as well as by descent (*ius sanguinis*). The more open access to citizenship accepts the concept of a multi-ethnic citizenry, but must still grapple with the issue of multi-ethnicity and multiculturalism. Sub-national and transnational identities, allegiances and links, along with increased return or onward (step) migration, challenge the assumption of exclusive loyalty to one nation-state (and, with it, that of permanent migration). Issues of national identity and citizenship will be discussed further in the following chapter.

### **The internationalisation of trade and investment, and international links**

The upsurge in migration of the 1980s and 1990s has been linked to increasingly globalised movements in production, distribution and investment, and the accompanying globalisation of aspects of culture (Castles and Miller, 1993: 97). The internationalisation of national economies and accompanying deregulation have changed the context in which governments operate and make decisions and policies (Arndt, 1998). Kelsey (1997: 16), for example, notes that as early as the 1970s:

[t]he simple model of the sovereign nation-state with its national economy, national polity, national legal system and national identity no longer fitted the global reality. Major corporations were outgrowing their national boundaries.

Global economic transactions between major transnational corporate enterprises (TCEs) were already often beyond the control of financially weaker and more vulnerable governments, imposing constraints and injuring national pride rather than national economies or productive sectors, according to Arndt (1998: 15). At the same

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<sup>4</sup> From January 2000, children born in Germany of an immigrant parent legally resident in Germany for eight or more years have been able to claim German citizenship.



time, traditional markets were declining or closing to countries like New Zealand as allegiances shifted in a post-colonial world. This reorientation necessitated a shift of attention towards the establishment of alternative new markets.

So, from the late 1980s both New Zealand and Australia, largely deprived of their traditional British market and increasingly deregulated in terms of their agricultural production, focused their sights on countries of the Pacific rim, including those in an increasingly open and consumption-oriented Asia (Inglis and Wu, 1992; Lidgard, 1998). The potential trade value of such markets was noted by Australasian politicians, economists and planners. Don McKinnon (1993), then Minister of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister of New Zealand, expounded the benefits of international linkages for trade and external relations; Wolfgang Kasper (1990) argued, as an Australian advisor on immigration reform to the New Zealand Business Roundtable, for more open immigration policies and “cheque book” immigration; Poot et al. (1988) assessed the value of immigration from and contact with Asia using economic modelling; and Lo Bianco (1987, 1992) and Waite (1992a, 1992b) both promoted the instrumental value of trade languages, particularly those of Asia, in language policy documents in Australia and New Zealand, respectively.

The Asia 2000 Foundation of New Zealand was launched in 1993 as a government-backed, non-profit organisation in recognition of the greater importance of Asia to New Zealand economically and politically. Its mission statement was: to build New Zealand’s links with Asia; to develop New Zealanders’ knowledge and understanding of the countries and peoples of Asia; and to help New Zealanders acquire the skills to work effectively with Asian counterparts and be partners in the region (Gibson, 1996). Similar institutional measures took place in Australia to facilitate entry into the growing, lucrative Asian market by seeking to educate Australians in the cultural ways of Asia, if not its languages (Djité 1994; Neustupný, 1989).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> The importance of Asian trade has also been noted by Asian politicians. For example, during a visit to New Zealand in 1996, Hong Kong’s Special Administrative Region chief executive, Tung Chee Hwa, was reported to have said that “the depth of the economic opportunities in the coming decades in Asia in general, and in China in particular, for New Zealand and indeed the rest of the world, is staggering” (Gasson, 1998: 2).

*Immigration policy: “Open door” or restricted entry?*

While there have been on-going moves to promote free trade and open international markets, the ideological movement of national governments to deregulate trade and finance is not echoed in their actions with regard to immigration, where they still “prohibit, restrict, or at best regulate” (Arndt, 1998: 12). The sovereign rights of nations to control their borders are protected. No country has a completely open immigration policy. Indeed, the main function of immigration policy is generally the regulation and restriction of the movement of people across national borders (Faist, 1996; Weiner, 1996). In this regard, immigration remains an area in which deregulation is felt to have made virtually no impact. Stalker (1997: 1) observes that international migration remains a “largely ignored area of globalisation, with those enthusiastic about the benefits of the free flow of goods and capital much more reticent about proposing a correspondingly free movement of labour”.

In fact, the last decade of the twentieth century saw increased regulation in international migration. Countries sought to control the flow of immigrants, especially asylum seekers<sup>6</sup> and less skilled migrants no longer needed or desired as a result of technological changes and economic restructuring, and also to resolve issues regarding the status and integration of extant immigrant communities, particularly within the European Union (OECD, 1996, 1998). As Bedford and Lidgard (1996b: 40) note in their discussion of visa-waivers and the transformation of migration flows between New Zealand and countries of the Asia-Pacific region:

... it is clear that the extent to which a border ‘vanishes’ or becomes highly visible is subject to considerable manipulation by policy makers. When there is a public outcry about international migration ... then regulations governing inward flows are modified.

When immigration does occur it is generally because the receiving country has deemed it in its best interests to recruit or admit particular sorts of people. When there is a public outcry, openness to the entry of strangers is usually curbed by the government as not being in the nation's best interests.

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<sup>6</sup> While asylum seekers in Western Europe and North America were reported to number fewer than 100,000 in 1983, the figure in 1992 was over 800,000 (Stalker, 1997: 4).

Nevertheless, as the economies of nations have become increasingly open and internationalised, so too have populations. Investments, communications and technological know-how cannot be globalised without a similar opening of borders to human capital movements – both high-skilled and low-skilled. Short-term tourist movements, leading to longer-term immigration, have been facilitated by increased and cheaper international air travel, along with visa waivers and other foreign policy initiatives to facilitate international tourism and trade (Bedford and Lidgard, 1996b). These, in turn, generally reflect commitment to new regional alignments: in Europe towards the European Union (EU), in western countries of the Pacific rim towards Asia. And once large-scale movements have been effected, attempts to stem unwanted flows through the introduction of tighter immigration requirements have been only marginally successful, as later migrants are often able to gain entry through alternative, family-linked categories (Freeman, 1999; NZIS, 2001a; Hugo, 2001a, 2001b). Increased undocumented migration has occurred among groups who do not qualify for entry.

### *Migration from non-traditional sources*

The rapid social, political and economic changes which have been a feature of the later twentieth century and the opening years of the twenty-first century have all contributed to increased migration movements. These changes have included: movements in global and political relationships from the early 1970s; changes in global investment and trade patterns; the expansion of the service sector with positions for both highly skilled and low-skilled workers; and the casualisation of employment (Castles and Miller, 1998; Hugo, 1999). Along with these changes, the human rights movement has successfully lobbied for the removal of openly discriminatory immigration policies. More liberal immigration policies and open doors in both countries of immigration and countries of origin, together with wars and other crises, sometimes anticipated rather than actual, have seen increased cross-border movements of non-traditional migrants and the construction of transnational communities. All of these factors have contributed to increased movements of increasingly diverse populations of people between countries.

Cohen (1997b: xii) notes that “[g]lobalization has enhanced the practical, economic and affective roles of diasporas” and increased the interchange and impact of very different

peoples across national and cultural boundaries.<sup>7</sup> Among these, the Chinese diaspora is well-documented (see, for example, Cohen, 1997; Seagrave, 1995; Skeldon, 1994; Tu, 1994). Earlier movements beyond the fringes of Asia were generally temporary in intent – and usually favoured (at least initially) by both parties. Host governments wished to avail themselves of cheap and industrious labour, and invitees saw themselves as “sojourners” in search of wealth rather than as permanent immigrants. Such arrivals were, furthermore, destined to impact, at least initially, on more discrete, restricted areas within the host society and to remain more distinct, separate communities than the latest movements of non-traditional, particularly Asian, migrants. Non-returnees, however, gradually established more permanent settlements, family groups and local roots in their new countries, without losing their connections with their old homes, and so became bridges (*qiao*) for further migratory movements (Tu, 1994).

More recent movements have exhibited similar diasporic tendencies. The large outflows of business migrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan, fearing negative ramifications of the transfer of the sovereignty of Hong Kong from Great Britain to China in June 1997, is illustrative of this. Establishing an overseas base, moving one’s family off-shore and gaining citizenship of a western democratic country, rather than migrating to establish a new and profitable business venture overseas, were identified as the main motives behind such outflows (Skeldon, 1994). “Astronauting” became an established phenomenon (Ho and Goodwin, 1997; Skeldon, 1994, 1998), and return migration remained a viable option for youth unable to find work in receiving countries (for example, Ho, 1996). Such options, facilitated by globalisation and advancements in technology and communications, change the meaning of settlement and integration, and increase the challenges for countries of settlement if they are to gain optimum benefits from the talent, international skills, potential business and trade opportunities that immigrants represent.

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<sup>7</sup> Just as economic advantage and globalisation are not the only reasons for migration, nor are such movements and nation-crossing networks new. They are found throughout history, in refugee movements resulting from local, national and international wars, and in diasporas based on religion, subjugation, imperialism, indentured labour, cultural influences and trade (Cohen, 1997a).

### **Skilled migrants from non-traditional sources**

As Inglis et al. (1992: xiv) observed, “the globalization and restructuring of the world economic order have led to a preference for skilled labour migration and those who bring substantial amounts of wealth with them”. With the decline in numbers of traditionally sourced European immigrants and the removal of traditional source restrictions, a change of composition has occurred in the flow of immigrants into receiving countries. Factors contributing to this change include both the expansion of educational opportunities in countries where education and skills (though highly prized) return relatively low financial returns, and the rapid expansion of national wealth. Together these factors have created a pool of educated and/or affluent middle class potential immigrants, keen to improve the socioeconomic position of themselves and/or family members and willing to take advantage of new immigration policies. The movement of such skilled, non-traditional “stranger migrants” (McKinnon, 1996a) has boosted skilled migration numbers and financial investment for receiving countries.

A theory of the role of the “core” developed world (the “North” or MDCs) and increasingly subordinate economic periphery (the “South” or LDCs), leading to inter-country inequalities and the role of migrant flows in equalising them, may go some way towards explaining the movement of migrants as these flows include not only legal and illegal unskilled labour and contract workers, but also educated professionals seeking higher financial remuneration for their skills than they would receive in their country of origin (Jupp, 1998). The “North-South” divide or MDC-LDC distinction has, however, become blurred, with the increased mobility and deployment of highly-skilled professionals. As transnational movements and return migration suggest, the notion of an undeveloped “third world” with common developmental and economic problems is outdated. The South now has its own modern cities, educated middle classes and advanced technology. While still providing much of the migrant labour of industrialised nations, Newly Industrialised Economies (NIEs) themselves, including traditionally “closed”, non-immigrant countries like Albania, now provide a market for a transnational labour force and have entered the international migration arena (see Harris, 1995; OECD, 2001; Stalker, 1997). The increased openings for skilled professionals in the South contribute to onward and return migration flows of immigrants to and from these countries.

### *Professional migrants*

Less developed nations cannot any longer be characterised merely as a source of cheap unskilled labour for advanced industrialised nations. Much of the international movement of highly qualified, university-trained professionals is from these less evenly developed countries in the South to highly-developed countries in the North, which have instituted immigration policies to attract skilled immigrants. Hospitals in Britain are heavily dependent on doctors and nurses from former colonies in Asia and Africa (Castles and Miller, 1998). More specifically, China and India are major “exporters” of skilled migrants. The United States and, more recently, Germany draw on India’s large pool of computer graduates for permanent or contract positions.<sup>8</sup> Of 35,000 skilled stream visas granted by Australia in 1998-99, some 2,918 and 2,326 were for applicants from China and India, respectively (Hugo, 2001b: 146). New Zealand figures for skilled approvals for the same year (1998-99) painted a similar picture. Of 13,234 approvals under the General and General Skills Categories, 1,862 were from India and 805 were from China, placing these two countries among New Zealand’s four largest sources of approvals within these categories for that year (NZIS, 2000b: 4).

As highly-educated and professionally-trained graduates from LDCs move into the international labour market, they become “part of a global pool of substitutable labor sharing common skills, a common language – English – and common core values. ...part of a professional network that cuts across national boundaries” (Stahl, 1995: 226). In terms of educational levels, they may be as qualified as, or better qualified than, members of the host population. An analysis of the educational backgrounds of overseas-born residents in the United States as far back as 1967 (just two years after the 1965 opening up to immigrants from non-traditional sources) indicated that: at least one tenth of immigrants were professional, technical or similar workers (including 30 per

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<sup>8</sup> An alternative trend that has emerged is the locating of new (or relocation of existing) computer businesses in the south of India, taking the work to the labour source rather than recruiting immigrant labour. Such a trend is made possible by modern transportation and technology, including the information industry such businesses use and develop. The locating of businesses in immigrant source countries both recognises the international relevance of other-country qualifications and experience and obviates immigrant settlement issues, as does the practice favoured by Germany of recruiting short-term contract labour.

cent of those from Asia)<sup>9</sup>; and over a third were highly qualified scientists, engineers and doctors (Fortney, 1970).

Since that time there have been claims by some (Borjas, 1990, for example) that recent immigrants have neither been as highly qualified nor as beneficial to the United States economy as publicised. According to the 1990 census, however, one in five of all immigrants to the country held a college degree, the same proportion as for the native-born population (Waldinger, 1997). Furthermore, the proportion holding a postgraduate degree was above the native-born average, including a high 65 per cent among Indian immigrants. In Los Angeles, over one third of all pharmacists, over a quarter of dentists, and over a fifth of doctors, engineers and computer specialists were foreign-born (Waldinger, 1997). Unfortunately, however, documented examples of success among the foreign-born are all too rare. Research into the outcomes of migration for skilled immigrants is more likely to highlight the problems experienced by such arrivals: the non-transferability of overseas qualifications and skills; language problems; unemployment or underemployment; and discrimination.<sup>10</sup>

### **Implications of globalisation for immigrant settlement**

Globalisation has impacted on international migration through its liberalisation and diversification of trade, technology and communications. Increased movements of capital – financial, social and human – and increased ethnic diversity within immigrant intakes have posed challenges to countries of settlement at the same time as immigration policies have increasingly favoured skilled and entrepreneurial immigration (OECD, 1998: 43, 55). Multi-ethnicity and cultural diversity are already a reality for most highly-developed countries, even those which, like Germany, seek to keep their culturally different immigrants at arms length. Many LDCs like China have

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<sup>9</sup> The high percentage of skilled immigrants from Asia in the immediate post-1965 period reflects not only the removal of discriminatory quota restrictions placed on Asian immigrants by western hemisphere countries but also the need for those without family members already resident in the United States to gain entry via the skilled category.

<sup>10</sup> The list is long. Some references from Australia, Canada and New Zealand are: Burnett (1998), Clyne (1994), Daley (1998), Ethnic Affairs Service (1996), Freeman (1999), Hawthorne (1997), Laquian et al. (1998), North et al. (1999), VandenHeuvel and Wooden (1999), Winkelmann and Winkelmann (1998), Wooden (1994).

also become far more culturally diverse than they were even a generation ago through inflows of temporary and long-term immigrants, including migrant workers, foreign experts and representatives of transnational corporations.

The trend towards large-scale immigration from non-traditional sources has not only brought significant changes in the pattern of immigration to settler countries but has highlighted the importance of language and ethnicity in the settlement process.

Those who engage only in manual labour and/or stay within the confines of an ethnic enclave may be able to function without proficiency in the dominant language (see, for example, Harris, 1995; Tseng et al., 1999). But for immigrants who seek social and economic integration within the wider society, a command of the language of the host society is widely seen to be a necessary requisite, as is an acceptance into the wider workforce which language facilitates. This is clearly illustrated in the settlement of refugees, who nowadays are not only involuntary movers, traumatised and unlikely to speak the language of the receiving society but also often highly visible and from culturally very different, non-traditional source countries. Though many are also highly educated, they suffer disadvantages, often long-term (Abbott, 1988; Beiser, 1999; Valtonen, 1999). The advantage of a command of the dominant language can also be seen in the settlement of self-selected, voluntary skilled immigrants, who are increasingly likely to be visibly and culturally different from the dominant group(s) in the receiving society, but are able to meet rather exacting points-related entry requirements.

## **SKILLED IMMIGRATION PROGRAMMES: A QUEST FOR SKILLS**

Immigration policies designed to attract skills and investment money from non-traditional sources test the settlement and integration aspects of such policies and the openness of countries of immigration to difference. Changes in emphasis in countries in Europe and Asia are leading to a greater interest in professional immigrants, but Australia, Canada and the United States are identified by Freeman (1999: 110) as “the most important examples of skill immigration policy”. His case studies of developments in each of these three countries describe scenarios for Canada and Australia that are very similar to, and to a large extent mirrored in, New Zealand.



Despite Freeman's omission of New Zealand, his critique of the "quest for skills" of the three countries is pertinent to this country, where restrictions on non-traditional immigration were lifted in 1986 and a skills-based points system was instituted in 1991.

A summary of important changes regarding the entry of skilled immigrants in all four countries is offered in Appendix 1, along with other legislation and policies related to the immigration of Asian and other non-traditional immigrants. This summary clearly shows that the four countries have been grappling with similar "problems" and, in many cases, offering similar immediate "solutions". There have been, however, underlying differences in their official responses to increased cultural and ethnic diversity (for example, whether they choose to officially sanction multiculturalism) that have implications for the longer-term outcomes of such programmes.

### **Participation in the workforce**

As Waldinger (1997: 8) notes, the arrival of skilled immigrants raises a number of "different, though not utterly distinctive, sets of social issues from those concerning migrants of the labour type". A particular challenge facing policy makers regarding skilled immigration from non-traditional sources is the formulation and implementation of programmes which capitalise on their financial, human and cultural capital. Integration into the wider society is identified as a key to the successful settlement of immigrants (Bauböck, 1996b; Neuwirth, 1999). The potential benefits of productive and cultural diversity depend on the entry of migrants into positions within the workforce where their cultural backgrounds, qualifications, professional skills, and experiences are recognised and utilised.

To what extent have the policies related to skilled immigrants achieved this goal of successful socioeconomic integration? While there are caveats related to the comparability and recognition of qualifications and experience, the selection of immigrants based on their skills does seem to have the effect of raising the human capital of the overall population (Castles et al., 1998; Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996; Iredale, 1999; Thomson, 1999). Studies using data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA), and more recent Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA) figures, indicate that there was a link between visa

category and early success in the labour market for immigrants (DIMA, 1997; Hugo, 2001b; Williams et al., 1997). Those who gained entry under the skilled categories were not only more likely to be employed but also more likely to find positions similar to those they had left behind. A Canadian longitudinal study of a cohort of new migrants during the early 1990s also found higher economic integration levels at 26 weeks for those who gained entry under skilled criteria compared with family category arrivals and refugees (Piché et al., 1999). The higher employment levels, however, did not necessarily reflect the entry of migrants into positions which utilised their qualifications and experience.

The pattern of overall employment was similar for some of the newly arrived skilled immigrants involved in the New Settlers Programme Longitudinal Survey. However, very different employment outcomes were reported across the Chinese, Indian and South African panels in this survey (Pernice et al., 2000; Trlin et al., 1999, 2000). The South Africans proved to be very successful in gaining employment. Only 8.6 per cent were unemployed at the time of the first interview and 2.9 per cent at the time of the third interview two years later, with job satisfaction and relevance increasing with job changes and length of residence. In contrast, the Chinese panel faced many problems accessing work (see Chapter 8), and the situation was similar (albeit to a lesser extent) for the Indian panel (where 64 per cent were unemployed at the time of the first interview and 27.3 per cent a year later).

Other New Zealand and Australian studies have also found unemployment to be higher among visibly different immigrants, particularly those from non-English speaking backgrounds, than among the native-born (Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996; Flatau and Wood, 1997; Hawthorne, 1997; Winkelmann, 2000; Winkelmann and Winkelmann, 1998; VandenHeuvel and Wooden, 1999). Moreover, employment figures disguise the extent to which those who are employed are underemployed and/or in positions which do not use their qualifications (including self-employment) because they cannot obtain recognition of their qualifications and/or face discrimination in the workplace (Castles, 1992; Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996; Flatau and Woods, 1997; Ho et al., 1998; Tseng et al., 1999).

The experiences of recent skilled immigrants from Asia in New Zealand illustrate a marked transferability gap, what Freeman (1999: 113) describes as “disjuncture between the pre-migration experiences and qualifications of migrants and the assessment of those experiences and qualifications by employers”. Ho et al. (1997c), in their preliminary comparison of the occupational experiences of recent Chinese (from Hong Kong, Taiwan and mainland China) and Korean immigrants, found that, despite the fact that those from China had the highest proportion with tertiary qualifications and the highest labour force participation, they had fared least well in terms of occupational levels. High numbers were employed in sales and services or factory positions rather than in administration/management or professional/technical positions. Boyer (1995, 1996), Lidgard (1996) and Friesen and Ip (1997) all noted similar difficulties in surveys of recent skilled immigrants from Asia, as did Winkelman and Winkelman (1998) in their wider study of the labour market outcomes of recent immigrants.

Despite the apparent advantages enjoyed by Canada and Australia (that is, their longer involvement in the recruitment and settlement of skilled immigrants, their multicultural policies and their larger, more diverse economies), the New Zealand findings are echoed in research in both countries (Freeman, 1999; Halli and Driedger, 1999a). They, also, have been challenged by the ethnic and cultural diversity of skilled and business immigrants, especially “visible” immigrants, who have highlighted a raft of settlement issues. These include: the appropriacy and transferability of overseas-gained qualifications and experience; post-arrival retraining and up-skilling provisions; language and cultural capital; and, perhaps most importantly, the amount of acceptance and discrimination immigrants from less-developed and generally non-English speaking backgrounds (NESBs) face in host communities, especially when they are highly educated and skilled professionals. Freeman (1999: 116) concludes that:

Taken together, the technical, administrative, and political difficulties of mounting a successful skilled immigration programme suggest that governments so inclined will need to make major commitments of finances, personnel and time. Even then, the odds appear to be against anything more than an erratic, episodic and modest success.

With countries of immigration continuing to recruit skilled labour to fill shortfalls or replace “brain drains” and predictions that the competition for skilled migrants will

intensify rather than decline in the future, the increase in the availability of highly educated (and more visible) migrants from less-developed countries underlines the pressing need to address issues related to settlement and integration. These issues become even more contentious and difficult where host communities are themselves facing economic recession, undergoing major restructuring and grappling with issues of national identity. They need to be addressed, however, if the aims of immigration policy are to be achieved and effective use is to be made of inflows of human capital, since “the [settlement] trajectories of immigrants are largely determined by how they negotiate the obstacles throw up by the native born” (DeWind and Kasinitz, 1997: 1102).

The discussion which follows will now focus more specifically on research into the relationship between language proficiency and the socioeconomic integration of immigrants. It will be seen that language proficiency, frequently identified as a key to successful settlement and integration, cannot be seen in isolation from other aspects of settlement. Moreover, the “obstacles thrown up by the native born” may focus negatively on language and undercut not only the potentially positive effects of language proficiency among skilled immigrants and other aspects of their human capital but also their acquisition of greater fluency in the dominant language.

## **LANGUAGE AND SOCIOECONOMIC INTEGRATION**

As an essential ingredient of most human interaction, language affects all aspects of immigrant settlement including participation in the labour market. Some caution is required in the formulation of generalisations across studies, since analyses vary in the methods and benchmarks used to assess successful economic integration and levels of language proficiency. Nevertheless, the findings relating to host-language proficiency are relatively consistent (Fletcher, 1999: 47): migrants with higher levels of proficiency in the dominant language are generally found to have higher average participation rates in the labour force, and higher levels of fluency tend, *inter alia*, to increase immigrant earnings. As Boyd et al. (1994: 549) observed, knowledge of the language (or languages) of the host society is “both an indicator and a facilitator of the integration of immigrants”. Orientation to the new society, participation in its social and economic

life, knowledge of its social and business discourses, and the legal acquisition of citizenship are among their examples of the tasks likely to require some degree of proficiency in the dominant language. Length of residence, exposure and participation in the socioeconomic life of the country, in turn, provide access to country-specific linguistic and cultural capital.

### **English as an international language**

Skilled migrants from non-traditional sources are often proficient in English, which, as an international language, is increasingly available and used as a second or foreign language, even while it remains the preserve of a social and educated élite in many multilingual countries (Cheshire, 1991; Stahl, 1995; Wardhaugh, 1988). Tertiary educated, professionally trained immigrants are part of this élite. Most have, therefore, accessed at least some higher education in English and many have used English as an everyday medium of communication at work.

In Western Europe, Africa and most of Asia, including China, English is the most common second (or first foreign) language taught in schools and universities (often as a compulsory subject, if not the medium of instruction). In India, this associate official language is not only more prestigious but also more politically acceptable to many than the official language, Hindi. It is the main language of the mass media, education, administration, science and technology (Kachru, 1979; Sahgal, 1991), and “enters freely into both the public and personal domains” (Kandiah, 1991: 273). In pre-1999 Macau, English rather than Portuguese was a required subject at most levels of education and was a medium of education in the University of Macau. It was also widely used in research and study, business and commerce, tourism and interethnic communication. It cannot be assumed, therefore, that an immigrant who is visibly different and from a non-English speaking background (NESB) will be unfamiliar with western cultural practices and unable to communicate in English.

### **Language proficiency: both cause and consequence of employment**

The economic consequences of language proficiency are usually measured in terms of rates of employment, position in the occupational structure, earnings, or a combination

of these (Jones, 1998). A position within the employment structure indicates a degree of socioeconomic integration. This is increased by movement into an occupational position equivalent to that held pre-migration or commensurate with qualifications, and by earnings which converge with those of native-born equivalents within the dominant culture. According to orthodox “human capital “ theory, where language is identified as one form of human capital, lower language skills levels lead to lower levels of productivity and then to lower wage rates. Conversely, higher language skills levels lead to higher levels of productivity and then to higher wage rates (Boyd, 1999; de Vries, 1999). The increased arrival of immigrants from non-traditional sources means, however, that the effect of language skills cannot be examined in isolation, since the cumulative disadvantage of visible minority and immigrant status affects both the utilisation of existing capital and the accumulation of further capital in the country of settlement (Boyd, 1999).

Furthermore, research findings identify an increased discrepancy between the employment status and earnings of the native-born and those of more recent immigrants across countries (Bevelander, 1999; Borjas, 1990; Jones, 1998; Miller and Neo, 1997; Valtonen, 2001; Winkelmann and Winkelmann, 1998). This increase in the employment disadvantage of immigrants is attributed to both micro-economic features of individual immigrants and to macro-economic features related to the wider host society, with the emphasis varying according to whether the discrepancy is attributed mainly to a decline in ability within the immigrant population (Borjas, 1985, 1990) or to an inability to transfer skills gained in the country of origin to the new marketplace (Chiswick, 1978, 1986, 1991; Chiswick and Miller, 1995; Duleep and Regets, 1997).<sup>11</sup>

Miller and Neo’s (1997) summary of research from the 1980s identifies four main explanations for employment disadvantage among immigrants: lack of skills transferability; lack of information among immigrants regarding the job market and among employers about the productivity of immigrants; a decline in English (dominant) language skills among immigrant groups; and discrimination. These explanations continue to be supported by researchers, with discrimination, in particular,

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<sup>11</sup> See Duleep and Regets (1997) for a discussion of the two models, Borjas’s immigrant distribution-immigrant abilities model and the skills transferability hypothesis.

identified as a major barrier to socioeconomic integration in both employment-related and language-related studies of visible and skilled minority groups (for example, Boyd, 1999; Freeman, 1999; Hawthorne, 1997; Lippi-Green, 1997; Roberts et al., 1992).

### **Language proficiency and employment experiences**

Research on the socioeconomic adjustment of immigrant groups indicates that the employment experiences and earnings of immigrants are closely linked to proficiency in the language of the dominant culture. So, for example, low levels of language proficiency were found to increase the probability of immigrant unemployment in all but one case in Stevens' (1999) analysis of Australian census data. This finding reinforces the earlier findings of: (a) Inglis and Stromback (1986) and Brooks and Volker (1985, cited in Stevens, 1999), who noted a two-fold increase and a three-fold increase, respectively, in the probability of unemployment among those not proficient in the dominant language; and (b) of Carliner (1981) and deVries (1999), who found that native speakers of a language other than English who used their native language in the home domain earned less than those who spoke only English.

However, the fact that non-native speakers of French were found to earn more than monolingual speakers of the language in French-speaking Canada in Carliner's (1981) research underlines the importance of factors other than proficiency in the dominant language for employment, as do Steven's more recent findings. In contrast to expectations that migrants with proficiency in English would be more likely to be employed, and in contra-indication to de Vries's (1999) typology which predicts that those who speak the dominant language in the home will be more likely to be employed, some subgroups in Steven's analysis who spoke only English in the home also registered high rates of unemployment in Australia (Cambodians: 19.4 per cent, Vietnamese: 17.9 per cent, and Turks: 14.2 per cent).<sup>12</sup> Nor was unemployment a necessary corollary of low levels of English language proficiency. Lack of proficiency in the dominant language did, as found in other research involving self-employment

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<sup>12</sup> This loss of the first language, as a cornerstone of and link into the culture of the ethnic group, without "making it" in the new society raises major concerns involving acculturation (marginalisation, separation), anomie, culture clashes and intergenerational strains (Berry, 1984; Ho, 1995a).

and immigrant enclaves (Tseng et al., 1999), serve to isolate individuals from the mainstream society and from participation in the wider economic sphere, but it did not preclude access to employment. High levels of education were associated with self-employment (particularly among the Chinese and Korean groups), and networks within the ethnic community were seen to enhance employment opportunities.

Moreover, the notion that linguistic assimilation (resulting ultimately in monolingualism in the dominant language of the wider society) implies economic success and structural incorporation, is identified by Garcia (1995: 145-147) as a “sociolinguistic myth” for visible minority groups:

... although the myth became reality for millions of white immigrants during the era of physical and economic expansion, it has remained a myth for Native-Americans, African-Americans, and Latinos.

Garcia offers two reasons to reject the notion: (a) that linguistic assimilation does not necessarily lead to equal structural incorporation; and (b) that structural incorporation does not require linguistic assimilation. Loss of Spanish language for Latinos who spoke English was not seen to be a positive determinant of income levels among Spanish-speaking communities in the United States. Those communities where only English was used in the home had not fared better than those where Spanish had been retained. Rather, the bilingual Cuban-Americans of Dade County, Florida, were the most successful of the Latino groups she studied. With their high levels of education and English proficiency, the members of this group were able to attain structural incorporation in the wider society while maintaining their Spanish in the home. Through their status in the wider community, they were also able to negotiate a wider socioeconomic role for the language. It seems, therefore, that while acquisition of the dominant language may be a necessary condition, linguistic assimilation does not necessarily lead to successful socioeconomic incorporation (Cross and Waldinger, 1998; Garcia, 1995). Structural barriers, prejudice and discrimination may persist.

For immigrants from minority language sources, their levels of proficiency in the language of the receiving country depend on a wide range of factors, both individual and institutional. These include: age at migration, marital status, qualifications, level of education on arrival, study post-arrival, amount of exposure to the language pre- and post-arrival, motivation or incentive to learn the language, the country of origin, the



country of settlement, the linguistic distance between the first (or other) language(s) and the target language, and length of residence.<sup>13</sup> Chiswick and Miller's (1995) model of language proficiency and immigrant employment, is useful in that it encompasses both individual and institutional variables, pre-migration and post-migration issues, and underlines the interaction of language and other factors. It identifies language fluency in the dominant language as a function of three major variables: second language acquisition *efficiency*, *exposure* to the language, and *economic incentive*. This model is used below to review research on these individual and wider social variables in terms of their implications for immigrant employment and socioeconomic integration. Since immigration policy involves decisions associated with pre-migration immigrant selection criteria and post-arrival settlement provisions, the research findings are discussed under these two headings.

### **Pre-migration factors, language proficiency and employment**

Chiswick and Miller's (1995) "efficiency" variable refers to the extent to which an individual's exposure to the target language is likely to produce fluency in the language. This potential for linguistic return on exposure to the language is related to two individual factors: age and educational level. These two factors are usually part of the selection criteria in policies which target skilled immigrants for their human capital and are (to some degree) interrelated. Chiswick and Miller's second variable, "exposure", relates to pre- and post-migration exposure to the target language, and thus will be addressed in both sections.

#### ***Age***

Age is widely associated with the ability to learn new languages and, while few researchers would go so far as to fully embrace the critical period hypothesis (Lenneberg, 1967), it is generally assumed that younger people learn another language more easily and better than older learners. Most very young children seem to acquire not only their first but also second and even third languages effortlessly. Older children

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<sup>13</sup> See, for example, Carliner (2000), Chiswick and Miller (1995), Dustmann (1994), Espinshade and Fu (1997), Schumann (1978c), Skehan (1989), Spolsky (1989).

and adults, on the other hand, experience very variable outcomes. While the research favours the conclusion that older learners learn faster (at least initially) and younger learners are more likely to attain native-like skills in the second language, there is little clear evidence to support any general claim regarding an optimum age for language acquisition (Cook, 1991; Ellis, 1994; Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991; Spolsky, 1989).<sup>14</sup>

Even in the area of pronunciation, the research findings are not definitive. Neufeld (1976), for example, found that some adults were able, through teaching specifically focused on pronunciation, to acquire native-like skills in Japanese and Chinese. Younger learners, though, are more likely to acquire a native-speaker accent than adult learners. Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991: 157) posit a maximum age as young as six for the acquisition of a native-like accent. This has implications for second language providers who must decide whether native-like standards of pronunciation are attainable or, in some cases, even desirable. It also becomes important in situations where a marked accent is taken to be a sign of poor education and lack of proficiency in the dominant language, as it was for Liu's (1996) Chinese immigrants in Toronto, or where a marked accent is the basis for ethnic or racial discrimination (Collins, 1996; EEO Trust, 2000; Lippi-Green, 1997; Roberts et al., 1992; Singer and Eder, 1989).

Besides the association of biological advantages for second language learning with youth, a young age at migration increases exposure to the language, including formal instruction and interaction with native speakers in school, before employment is sought. Participation in the compulsory education system of the new society provides the time, the motivation, the exposure, and the means for most young immigrants to acquire the target language (and its culture). Carliner's (2000) analysis of 1990 census data for the United States identifies only 0.5 per cent of children from China between 5 and 8 years of age who were not able to speak any English. Conversely, 65.9 per cent within this age group were identified as speaking only English or speaking it "very well", with a further 23 per cent already speaking it "well" (Carliner, 2000: 166).<sup>15</sup> Each additional

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<sup>14</sup> See Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991) for a detailed discussion of the research.

<sup>15</sup> Carliner's findings highlight the speed at which language shift may take place within immigrant groups.

year of schooling in the United States was seen to increase the probability of proficiency in English by 5 percentage points.

### *Educational level*

English language proficiency is also positively related to years of schooling, both pre- and post-migration (Carliner, 1996, 2000; Chiswick and Miller, 1992, 1995; Liu, 1996; Samuel, 1998). In a 1993 case study of 230 mainland Chinese, mostly post-1989 Tiananmen amnesties, in Toronto, Liu (1996: 593) found pre-migration educational attainment to have the most important and positive effect on fluency in the language. This supports the findings of other researchers (for example, Boyd et al., 1994; Chiswick and Miller, 1992; Samuel, 1998).

Education was also seen to be more important in the longer term than in terms of immigrants' initial positions. Though pre-migration education had a less marked effect on the employment of immigrants than on that of the native-born, the initial disadvantage experienced by immigrants in a United States study by Chiswick et al. (1997) was found to be short-lived and negligible after some five years. Unfortunately, most studies from other countries are rather less positive about the speed of attaining recognition of educational backgrounds, appropriate employment, and occupational or earning-based parity (for instance, Boyer, 1995; Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996; Freeman and Jupp, 1992; Hawthorne, 1997; Winkelmann and Winkelmann, 1998).

Educational attainment may also be associated with age and language aptitude, and therefore to the likelihood that an immigrant with a tertiary education will have achieved a reasonable level of English in their language studies pre-migration. Both the Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT) and Pimsleur's Language Aptitude Battery, associate intelligence with an aptitude for formal second language learning.<sup>16</sup> Such aptitude relates to the more formal language learning skills rather than informal oral/aural skills and language acquisition. Nevertheless, it does increase the likelihood that skilled immigrants will have a sound base in the second language on which to build

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<sup>16</sup> See Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991) for a discussion of these.

and that they will have mastered or will achieve mastery of the second language requirements associated with their professions.

### ***Pre-migration exposure***

Pre-migration exposure to the target language includes formal language learning plus contact with the language as a lingua franca or through contact with foreign nationals and may depend on the linguistic and geographical distance of the source country from the target environment. Among immigrants, younger people are more likely than older migrants to have been exposed pre-migration to classroom learning of English as a second or foreign language at school and university. They are also more likely to have had informal exposure to the language as an international language and lingua franca in science and technology, through both the media and increased opportunities for contact with speakers of the language in the country of origin. It is not surprising, therefore, that younger adult immigrants are identified as being more likely to be fluent in English on arrival than older immigrants (Carliner, 2000; Espinosa and Massey, 1997).

While linguistic distance from English is a feature of non-traditional source countries such as Asia, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East, geographical distance is a less clear-cut variable since it does not necessarily equate with lack of exposure. This is particularly so for educated skilled immigrants, who are likely to have had considerable pre-migration contact with English as an international lingua franca and language of science and technology. Carliner (2000) found that large differences in fluency between ethnic groups in the United States were less a factor of the geographical distance of the source country from the host country than a factor of linguistic distance or inter-country economic differences (compare with Borjas, 1990). That immigrants from geographically and linguistically close countries (Mexico and others in Latin America) had weaker skills than those from more distant sources (Europe and Asia) was felt to be a reflection of the degree of self-selection, cost of migration, and investment in education (including second language learning) pre-migration (Carliner, 2000).

### ***Pre-migration factors and immigration policy requirements***

The entry of self-selected skilled immigrants who apply to migrate to Canada, Australia

or New Zealand is regulated for in immigration entry policy, with the operation of points systems in each country, which reward youth, education, work experience and fluency in the language (Freeman, 1999). Age at migration, level of education and pre-migration exposure to the target language where this is English are usually positively interrelated for such immigrants (Carliner, 2000: 167). They are also more likely than other immigrants to have invested in target-language proficiency pre-migration, in their previous education or occupations and through formal learning or practice, in order to meet the base language requirements for entry and/or in anticipation of using the language post-migration.

Among voluntary migrants, the very young, along with unskilled female dependants and elderly migrants (generally the result of chain family reunion) are identified as being more likely to lack target language proficiency at migration (Boyd, 1992; Stevens, 1999). Refugees also provide an exception to the coincidence of age, education and target language proficiency. As involuntary migrants, they are more likely to have experienced disrupted formal education and are less likely to have invested in language learning prior to migration (Beiser, 1999; Henderson, 1988). These groups (apart from the very young, who will be incorporated into the compulsory education system) are likely to suffer more isolation and require more target language assistance than other arrivals.

### **Post-migration factors, language proficiency and immigrant integration**

Post-migration language proficiency and labour market integration involve factors related to the immigrant population (exposure and motivation) plus those related to the host society which are largely outside of the immigrants' control (economic restructuring, recessions and downturns which impact on employment, and host society attitudes). As Castles et al. (1998: 53; emphasis added) note, "the better an individual speaks English, **other things being equal**, the better is their employment and earning situation". As is increasingly evident in the research on immigrant integration and is discussed below, language proficiency is affected by, and cannot be seen in isolation from, these "other things", including macro-level economic factors, the transferability of skills, and discrimination.

### *Post-migration exposure*

Post-migration exposure is related to length of residence, neighbourhood choice, and access to work, study and/or other activities in the mainstream society. Experiences within these, in turn, impact (positively or negatively) upon the other major post-migration variables in Chiswick and Miller's (1995) model; that is, an immigrant's motivation or incentive to achieve proficiency in the language.

### *Length of residence*

Length of residence (also referred to as "years since migration", or YSM) is positively related to the acquisition of host language proficiency for children and those of employable age in most immigration research. For example, Carliner (2000) found that among both male and female immigrants to the United States, each additional year of residence increases the probability of fluency for those over 15 years of age by 1.1 percentage points. Research on Mexican migrants to the United States similarly found "clear and unambiguous evidence" of a sharp rise in English language proficiency with greater length of time in and exposure to the society (Espinosa and Massey, 1997: 44). This was particularly true for those from business, professional and service backgrounds.<sup>17</sup> Such positive findings regarding the impact of length of residence are not surprising considering the dependence of individuals on meaningful input and interaction for successful language acquisition. If language fluency is to be an important predictor of employment within the dominant or mainstream society, length of residence should contribute to positive outcomes, with a proviso that when migration of a temporary nature is planned, the anticipated as opposed to the actual length of residence may also affect language acquisition (Dustmann, 1999).

Educational levels may suggest a greater aptitude for second language learning and increase the likelihood of formal second language learning pre-departure, but cross-

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<sup>17</sup> Interestingly, those in Espinosa and Massey's (1997) research who lacked legal residence status spoke and understood more English than those who had already received legal U.S. residence status. While the finding is noted by the researchers as somewhat unexpected, they do not offer any explanation for it. Possible reasons include increased motivation to acquire adequate English to avoid being identified as illegal aliens and apprehended and a bias in self-selection among participants in the research.

sectional census data analysis and surveys indicate that the second language proficiency of less well-educated immigrants also rises rapidly with length of residence, access to the mainstream and exposure to the target language. The acquisition of general oral language, in contrast to more academic language skills, does not seem to be significantly affected by intelligence (Genesse, 1976; Neufeld, 1976). In an American survey of illegal Mexican immigrants with an average of only seven years of education, the percentage reporting that they had no English declined from 80 per cent on arrival to 41 per cent when interviewed, usually two years after arrival (Chiswick, 1991). There was a clear pattern of improvement with years of residence, irrespective of levels of education.

Most children who migrate as dependants quickly become bilingual in the language of the home and that of the wider society once exposed to compulsory education (Clyne, 1982; Kipp et al., 1995).<sup>18</sup> As young people are acculturated into the host culture, the problem becomes more one of maintaining the first language than one of introducing the second language (Kipp et al., 1995; Roberts, 1991; Veltman, 1983). With a large amount of exposure to and interaction with native-speaking students, immigrant children are likely to acquire not only the language but also the prevailing local accent. Their development of fluency in spoken English most often reflects a parallel underlying cognitive competency in the language. It may, however, for some disguise a disjuncture between informal spoken language (basic interpersonal language skills, or BICs) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) (Cummins, 1981, 1984). This is an important issue for schools, especially those with older immigrant students who are required to function academically in their second language.

### *Neighbourhood choice*

While length of residence almost inevitably increases exposure to the dominant language, residential factors may diminish or abrogate the effect of this time-related

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<sup>18</sup> A spin-off of the more rapid acquisition of English by children is their role of interpreters for parents, especially mothers at home while "astronaut" husbands commute back to the country of origin for work (Schak, 1999). This reliance on children turns the traditional hierarchical order of the household on its head, and places young children in adult roles with associated strains and tensions in terms of intergenerational relationships.

factor on second language proficiency (Kipp et al., 1995; Schak, 1999). Thus, there is a tendency for married immigrants living in a first language-speaking environment to maintain the first language longer than single immigrants or those in mixed marriages (Dustmann, 1996; Kipp et al., 1995). Older immigrants, too, are less likely to acquire host language proficiency. Living generally in a first-language environment, with family members who have sponsored their immigration and/or in close proximity to others from the same ethnic and linguistic group, they may have little incentive to learn the language unless they wish (or are required) to become involved in activities within the wider host society. Following this pattern, Thomson (1999: 167) found that among those of Chinese ethnicity living in New Zealand at the time of the 1996 census, the highest proportion (52 per cent) unable to speak English was for those aged 60 plus, whereas the 15-24 year age group had the lowest proportion (13 per cent).

Census figures for those speaking little or no English in Australia in 1986 reflect particular problems with English language learning among the earlier Southern European settlers and later Southeast Asian refugees, groups which settled in concentrated ethnic communities (Hugo, 1992). Of those born in Greece and Italy, 34.4 and 27 per cent, respectively, reported that they were not able to speak any English. The highest proportion claiming to speak no English was found within the later arriving Vietnamese community (43.2 per cent). The Vietnamese-speaking community, along with the Khmer-speaking community, also recorded the highest proportions unable to speak any English at the time of the 1991 Census (12 per cent) (Kipp et al., 1995: 81). Reasons offered for their lack of English language skills included extended periods of unemployment and long working days in manual occupations. These reasons mitigated against attendance at language courses, wider social contact with the host population, and finding more suitable employment.

Self-employment, an option taken by many who find that their professional qualifications and previous experience count for little or nothing in their new country, may have a similar isolating effect. Diffused settlement patterns, with concentration in the food industry, and the resultant relative invisibility of Chinese as an ethnic group may be a two-edged sword. While avoiding racial antagonism, they may be committed to lonely, frustrated lives, isolated from the wider community by time, language and their work environment. The point is vividly portrayed by Timothy Mo's (1982)



fictional character Chen. “Still an interloper” after four years, he worked in his restaurant for seventy-two hours during six days of the week and spent the seventh day “in recuperation on his back on the sofa”.

Lack of education and lack of proficiency in the target language may both lead to unemployment, secondary employment and/or participation in an ethnic enclave, where there is not a need for, or exposure to, the dominant language. Comparing labour market data on wage earners from the 1991 Canadian Census, Boyd (1999) identified the foreign-born visible minority population as being more severely affected than the non-visible foreign-born population by the “correlates of lower levels of [official] language proficiency” (Boyd, 1999: 305). These correlates included unemployment, secondary employment in production and processing occupations, and depressed earnings. In Australia, Schak (1999) noted the lack of contact with mainstream culture of many Taiwanese business migrants in Brisbane. With enough money to purchase their own homes, most have settled in a new area favoured by other Taiwanese migrants. Finding it difficult to get out and meet Australians, they chose to associate with family and friends, and opt for Chinese videos rather than mainstream, English-language television programmes.

*Access to the mainstream: employment, further study and other activities*

Since language “is primarily a social mechanism, languages are learned in social contexts” (Spolsky, 1989: 131). Hence, while immigrant participation in the mainstream economic marketplace is a primary goal of skilled immigration programmes and of most economic migrants, it is also a primary source of exposure to the language and culture of the country, of the workplace, and of one’s profession. A longitudinal study of “boat people” in Canada (Beiser, 1999) found that those who were consistently employed or found work within the first two years of the study were more likely to report improvements in their English language proficiency than those who became or remained unemployed (virtually no change and slight deterioration, respectively). These improvements were paralleled by reports of increased use of English in the workplace (Beiser, 1999: 102). In her critique of the economic situation of and settlement provisions for Vietnamese refugees in Finland and Canada, Valtonen (1999) also found the workplace to be one of the main sources of cross-cultural

encounters and interaction they experienced. In a New Zealand study of the experiences of immigrants and refugees, the workforce was rated by those surveyed as the most preferred avenue for the development of English proficiency (White et al., 2001). Employment in the mainstream of the new society rather than in an ethnic enclave has the potential to provide the social context and the otherwise often difficult to establish contact with native speakers of the target language that is associated with acculturation (Berry, 1992; Schumann, 1978a, 1978b, 1986; Kim, 1988), communicative competence (Hymes, 1971), and oral fluency in the second language (Ellis, 1994, 1999).

Immigrants' access to mainstream employment (and thus access to the language, both workplace-related and social, that this affords) is, however, often thwarted. A decline in the employment and earnings of skilled immigrants has been noted in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States, particularly since the mid-1980s.<sup>19</sup> This decline in the position of skilled immigrants is better explained by the skills transferability hypothesis (Chiswick, 1978; Chiswick et al., 1997; Duleep and Regets, 1997) than by the income distribution-immigrant ability model (Borjas, 1987, 1990), which attributes the deterioration to a general decline in human capital as a result of an increase in family reunion and lower calibre of immigrant. While immigrants accepted for settlement under a family reunion policy are approved on the basis of their relationship with the sponsoring party, those admitted to a country as skilled immigrants are approved on the grounds of their qualifications, experience and other attributes, including age and language skills.

### *Motivational factors*

The third and final major variable in Chiswick and Miller's (1995) model of dominant language fluency is economic incentive, that is, the benefit that accrues from fluency in the target language. Chiswick and Miller (1995: 279-280) note that:

[i]nvestments in language fluency ... appear to be very profitable for immigrants who are not fluent in the dominant language. ... language

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<sup>19</sup> This research includes: in Australia, Birrell and Hawthorne (1997), Han (1999), Hawthorne (1997), Miller and Neo (1997); in New Zealand, the New Zealand Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux (2000), Winkelmann (2000), and Winkelmann and Winkelmann (1998); in Canada, Boyd (1999); and in the United States, Chiswick (1991), and Chiswick et al. (1997).

skills have an important effect in the labour market, and ... earnings and language fluency are determined jointly.

For skilled immigrants wishing to re-enter their professions or to secure equivalent work, a move which for most will entail proficiency in the dominant language, motivation to bridge the cultural and skills gap is likely to be positive.

According to the skills transferability hypothesis, those excluded from their professions because of issues related to the transferability of skills should, as they accrue the requisite country-specific capital, regain positions in their former fields or attain alternative positions commensurate with their qualifications and other human capital. Research has found that further education and training undertaken post-arrival is a common response to both the non-recognition of pre-migration education, qualifications and experience in the workforce and underemployment among immigrants, and one which contributes to occupational upgrading for many (but not all) who embraced this strategy (Birrell and Hawthorne, 1997; Castles et al., 1998; Chiswick and Miller, 1992; Hawthorne, 1997; Iredale and Nivison-Smith, 1995).

The strong inverse relationship between initial earnings and subsequent growth in earnings of immigrant groups is seen to be relatively stronger for Asians than for those from Central or South America or Europe. This could be accounted for by a number of factors: that Asian immigrants were initially more likely to be in low paid or casual employment, often in the secondary sector; that as they became established in small businesses they earned more; that they required local work experience to secure more than basic level positions as employees; or that they were initially outside of the workforce while they gained further, local qualifications. This trend was found to hold for Asian immigrants in New Zealand (Winkelmann, 2000; Zodgekar, 1997) and the United States (Duleep and Regets, 1996a, 1996b). Duleep and Regets felt that this might be the result of the greater emphasis placed by Asians on acquiring country-specific human capital through further study to overcome the skills transferability barrier. This response kept them out of the workplace for longer but with time and the completion of studies, their socioeconomic situation improved with entry to the economic mainstream.

### *Motivation and second language learning*

Motivation is also clearly an important factor in the second language learning process itself, since the more motivated a learner is the more time and effort he or she will expend learning the language (Spolsky, 1989: 148). Motivation is closely related to attitude – the attitude of the learner toward the target language and those who are members of the cultural group which speaks this language, plus the perceived attitudes of target language speakers toward the learner and other members of his or her group.<sup>20</sup> While some aspects of motivation and attitude are clearly intrinsic and dictated by personal attributes such as personality, others, which are the main focus of this study, are more extrinsic and dependent on the social context.

Motivation for second language learning was divided by Gardner and Lambert (1972) into two basic types: instrumental and integrative. Instrumental motivation involved motivation which was directed at obtaining an extrinsic, practical goal, while integrative motivation referred to identifying oneself with and becoming part of the target group. Gardner's (1985) development and refinement of a "socio-educational model" more clearly placed the findings within the context of formal second language learning, with more relevance for ESOL provision than the acquisition of a second language proficiency within the wider cultural context. Further research findings broke down the initial either/or dichotomy and indicated that instrumental motivation could no longer be identified as a less effective driver in the second language learning process (for example, Gardner, 1985; Gardner et al., 1979; Lukmani, 1972). However, a positive attitude towards speakers of the target language and a desire to be accepted as one of them is identified as likely to lead to more interaction and a greater uptake of native-like linguistic, prosodic and nonverbal features of the language.

Differences in, and the consequences of, an immigrant's motivation to conform to the sociolinguistic norms of the receiving society are addressed in ethnolinguistic identity theory and communication accommodation theory (Beebe and Giles, 1984; Giles et al.,

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<sup>20</sup> Indeed, the two, motivation and attitude, are sometimes treated as one factor, though more often in tandem. See Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991) for a discussion of the research.

1991a).<sup>21</sup> Speech convergence is seen to reflect an individual or group's "need (often unconscious) for social integration or identification with another" (Giles et al., 1991b: 18). The more a speaker wishes to identify with and gain the acceptance and approval of another, the greater the degree of convergence. While integrative motivation is stressed in accommodation theory, instrumental motivation is also recognised as leading to convergence "under some conditions" (Giles et al., 1991b: 20).

Accommodation is generally aimed at reducing social distance between speakers and so increasing acceptance, but goals and outcomes do not always coincide. Listeners may tolerate and, in some cases, favour incomplete convergence which recognises ethnic and/or status differences. Conversely, positively-oriented convergence attempts may be construed as inappropriate and negatively perceived. Platt and Weber (1984) found this to be the case for some Australian businessmen in Singapore and immigrant workers in Australian factories. Relative social and economic status, perceived social distance and the degree of threat represented by the speaker are all factors that impact upon responses. So, stereotypical attitudes have been found to affect the degree to which speakers from a different ethnic group are perceived to sound more or less standard or competent in the language. Those who are seen to be more competent than they actually are are also perceived to be using a more standard accent, and, conversely, those who are negatively regarded are perceived to speak a less standard variety than they actually do (Giles et al., 1991b; Thakerar et al., 1982). Such subjectively based native-speaker responses underlie the socio-psychological nature of communication and illustrate the importance of positive host society responses for effective interethnic communication and second language learning. As Gallois and Callan (1991: 247; emphasis added) observe:

[c]ommunication accommodation over time, **and the perception of it by members of the host community**, are very relevant in countries where there is substantial immigration.

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<sup>21</sup> Communication accommodation theory (CAT) developed out of speech accommodation theory (SAT) (Giles, 1977).

### *Post-migration factors, language and settlement*

Unlike pre-migration factors, those factors which are associated with second language acquisition and use post-migration are largely determined by the social situation in the country of settlement and the settlement process. An individual's personality may increase risk taking or inhibit contact with members of the target culture. Educational background is positively associated with second language learning in a formal setting but is seen as playing a less independent role in second language acquisition post-migration, particularly with regard to the development of oral fluency. Similarly, length of residence is usually associated with exposure to and use of the language, but does not necessarily lead to language acquisition and fluency since life may be lived in isolation from the mainstream society. Ethnic enclaves, confinement to the home (often the case for immigrant women, particularly those with small children, and the elderly), and social participation predominantly within one's own speech community, reinforce the first language and may provide few opportunities and little motivation to learn the second language. As Spolsky (1989: 164) notes:

It is the social situation ... that indirectly affects second language learning by determining the learner's attitudes and motivation. The social context also determines the existence and kinds of situations and opportunities that are available for formal and informal second language learning.

One factor stands out for the achievement of native-like fluency and sociolinguistic competence in the dominant language: positive contact with members of the speech community. For skilled immigrants, who are recruited for their human capital and the economic contribution they can make to the society, exposure to the language through appropriate employment is most likely to provide the relevant specialised and social language required for successful integration into the workforce. The importance of a professional work environment for the acquisition of fluency in and use of appropriate registers and work cultures underlines the need to focus on professional and/or occupationally-oriented language courses to gain skilled immigrants the earliest access to the primary labour market and positive participation in the wider society.

## ISSUES OF DISCRIMINATION

While Jupp (1993) cautions against overlooking history and collective psychology when seeking reasons for xenophobic and racial responses, and Bergman (1989: 219-222) warns that “[e]thnicity is probably the most widespread cause of conflict in the world”, it is economic factors (including competition for employment and other valued resources) that act as the catalyst for much ethnic conflict (Bergman, 1989; Hugo, 1992). Immigrant employment, the most commonly used indicator of immigrant integration, is affected by, and in turn impacts on, economic and social changes in cities and suburbs. Australian research has found that recent arrivals (particularly Vietnamese and Lebanese) were more disadvantaged than earlier arrivals, though skilled immigrants were comparatively better positioned than others in their cohort (Castles et al., 1998; Hugo, 2001b; Stevens, 1999). Similar results were found by Winkelmann and Winkelmann (1998) in New Zealand, where more recent Asian and Pacific Island arrivals were disadvantaged compared with earlier arrivals and other groups of immigrants. Recessions, restructuring and shrinking economies were identified as contributing factors. On the one hand, restructuring and a resurgence of market forces have opened up investment opportunities, service industries and the informal economy, where middle class immigrants may more readily find employment in small ethnic enterprises or blue collar work. On the hand, such changes have shrunk the job market and created uncertainty for workers in both salaried and waged groups.<sup>22</sup>

According to the “ethnic competition” hypothesis, which acknowledges wide diversity in immigrants’ experiences according to whether they remain in, or leave the protection of, their ethnic groups, the chance of conflict and discrimination is seen to increase when entry to the economic mainstream increases competition with members of the dominant group (Portes, 1987). In Pacific rim countries much of the recent ethnic/racial discrimination has been targeted at Asian immigrants, who are more visible, have higher profiles in terms of their lifestyles, urban concentrations and educational and occupational expertise, and are settling at a time when the economy is hit by downturns (Laquian et al., 1998) and (as in New Zealand) by radical economic and social

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<sup>22</sup> See Neymarc (1998) for a brief overview of the European literature on post-industrial economic restructuring and immigrant integration.

restructuring (Kelsey, 1997). Hugo (1992: 136-137) posits that discrimination towards Asian immigrants in Australia in the early 1990s was more a reaction to the impact of immigration on the economic situation and high unemployment in general, than particularly targeted racism.

This notwithstanding, immigrants – particularly those who are racially visible – continue to be blamed for “economic woes”. As countries have restructured, negative attitudes towards immigrants in opinion polls and the marketplace have become more explicit (DeWind and Kasinitz, 1997; Lequian et al., 1998), despite economists showing immigration to have a positive rather than a negative effect on the economy of a country and the promotion of immigration policies which promote entrepreneurial and skilled immigration to stimulate economic growth (Poot, 1992; Poot et al., 1988; Yeabsley, 1996; compare with Borjas, 1990).<sup>23</sup> In New Zealand, for example, threat to the economy was second behind concerns over national identity among the reasons offered for negative and mixed feelings towards Asian investment and immigration in the 1990s (Cremer and Ramasamy, 1996; Trlin et al., 1998: 235). Such concerns have tended to be more vocal in Auckland, the centre with the largest concentrations of “new” Asians, conspicuous wealth among Asian business migrants and NESB students placing extra pressures on limited school resources (Legat, 1996).

As Cohen (1997b: xv) observes, “there is an immense and probably widening gap between what the experts think and what the bulk of the population believes” about the value of immigration, particularly when it involves immigrants from non-traditional backgrounds:

The construction of a politics of differences pulls together a number of cognate phenomena variously described as heterophobia, contestant enmity, racism, otherness, boundary formation, nationalism and xenophobia. Though these terms are subtly different, they are all closely tied to emotional, not rational, responses.

Immigrants are identified as an economic threat rather than a source of economic advantage and cultural or productive diversity (Cope and Kalantzis, 1997); difference is equated with deficit and a source of discrimination.

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<sup>23</sup> Lane (1970) also held such a view, but he was out of step with other writers of the 1960s and 1970s.



### **An unjustified discriminatory component**

There has been a negative swing in the employment integration of immigrants in both Australia and New Zealand over recent decades, a pattern which has been particularly marked for those from non-traditional and, thus, non-dominant language speaking sources. While qualification accreditation may have become less complex since the late 1980s, providing easier access to recognition of qualifications for immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds (Flatau and Wood, 1997), and tighter pre-migration registration requirements have reduced the numbers of skilled immigrants from designated occupations such as medicine gaining entry, many skilled immigrants in the two countries clearly face discrimination unrelated to their qualifications, prior experiences and language skills (Castles et al., 1998: 58; Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996: 46-47; Hawthorne, 1997).

In Australia, Miller and Neo (1997: 168) noted in their summary of immigrant employment research that between 1986 and 1996 immigrants of both sexes were at a disadvantage compared with the Australian-born, and that this disadvantage had increased. They argue that, other things being equal, the unemployment rates for immigrants in Australia should have been lower than that for the native-born but they remained higher due to an “unjustified” discriminatory component. This component, which remains after the effects of restructuring have been considered, is related to the continued non-transferability of human capital and attitudes which lead to discrimination in the workforce. The disadvantage was found to be greater for those from non-English speaking backgrounds (Miller and Neo, 1997: 167-169).

A more recent study in Australia (Hawthorne, 1997), which reported cases of labour market discrimination against those from non-English speaking backgrounds, indicated that both direct and indirect discrimination are experienced by skilled migrants trying to enter the Australian workforce. Using as a point of reference a 1997 study, based on Census data, reporting the outcomes of migrant professionals according to their countries of origin, Hawthorne (1997: 406) observed that “[t]he literature on immigration and settlement to Australia has rarely focused on occupational outcomes for relatively advantaged groups”. Her 1991-1994 longitudinal study of the settlement

and employment status of a group of 81 engineers, “the *elite* of Australia’s recent skilled immigration programme”, found the effect of ethnicity to be statistically significant in terms of employment, both before and following vocational-access course training. While ESB immigrants readily secured employment, the situation was very different for NESB immigrants. Moreover, ethnic stereotyping and cross-cultural differences overwhelmingly influenced employer attitudes and judgements regarding readiness for work of NESB applicants, “with a decided preference operating in favour of East Europeans” (Hawthorne, 1997: 412) irrespective of English language competence and other variables. Qualitative data showed that length of residence, accompanied by considerable action to upgrade skills and gain Australian qualifications, was an important factor in the long-term (over ten years or so) but that the initial settlement period of one to five years was marked by “severe labour market disadvantage” and discrimination, both direct and indirect, for NESB professionals.

Analyses of the employment rates of immigrants in New Zealand have found similarly limited skills transferability and a penalty for being from a non-English speaking background. Winkelmann and Winkelmann (1998) observed that there was a large, and increasing, entry disadvantage among Pacific Islanders and Asians. Only some of this was attributed to structural changes in the marketplace. Part remained unexplained by country of origin or observed characteristics, including language. In another study involving the employment patterns of European and Asian immigrants, Winkelmann (2000) found similar disadvantage for visible (that is, Chinese) immigrants. Despite this, most New Zealand researchers (see also Fletcher, 1999) have remained more circumspect than both Australian (for example, Hawthorne, 1997; Miller and Neo, 1997) and Canadian researchers (for example, Basavarajuppa and Jones, 1999; Pendakar and Pendakar, 2002; Piché et al., 1999), in not attributing such disadvantage to ethnic or racial discrimination. Exceptions have been the Office of the Citizen’s Advice Bureaux (2000) and the Equal Employment Office Trust (Basnayake, 1999; EEO Trust, 2000).

### **Accent and discrimination**

That discrimination on the basis of accent (and what it represents in the mind of the hearer) is a widespread phenomenon is supported by a considerable body of research.

This includes matched guise-type experiments and other research involving judgements on accents conducted in New Zealand (Bayard, 1990; Huygens and Vaughan, 1983; Vaughan and Huygens, 1990; Watts, 1981) and overseas (Edwards, 1982; Giles and Powesland, 1975; Roberts et al., 1992).<sup>24</sup> Being better educated appears to offer little protection against such linguistic prejudice. Huygens and Vaughan's (1983) second year university students were as ready as Watts' (1981) high school subjects to apply social and personal ratings on the basis of recorded voices.

International research has shown that language, rather than being a neutral tool for interpersonal communication, can be a "loaded weapon" (Bolinger, 1980) in interethnic communication and a major source of discrimination in employment (Burnaby and Cumming, 1992; Hall and Eggington, 2000; Lippi-Green, 1997; Roberts et al., 1992; Vasta and Castles, 1996). Exclusion from the workforce (ranging from professional gatekeeping via unrealistic accreditation requirements to more blatant racial prejudice) as a result of discrimination against a marked accent which signals immutable characteristics (that is, country or area of origin, ethnicity and visibility) has been identified in New Zealand research. In a study of English language provision for adult NESB immigrants and refugees, a head of department in an ESOL institution noted that even a "slight foreign accent and the foreign flavour of their qualifications" could outweigh proficiency in English (at IELTS 7 level) for skilled job seekers (Watts et al., 2001: 34). Respondents in the *High Hopes* survey (Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996) also reported discrimination on the basis of accent. Fluency in English was positively associated with employment in the survey, but there were those (Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996: 37):

...whose written English comments appeared lively, correct and articulate. and who considered themselves thoroughly fluent, [who] believed they had met discrimination because New Zealand employers did not accept their foreign accents.

Sixteen per cent of those in the survey who identified themselves as fluent or fully fluent in English remained unemployed and looking for work at the time of the study.

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<sup>24</sup>Interestingly, New Zealanders, despite wanting others to sound "like us", appear to have ambivalent attitudes towards the New Zealand accent (Bayard, 1990, 2000; Gordon and Abell, 1990; Vaughan and Huygens, 1990). A culture cringe persists.

That accent is a powerful cue to ethnicity, as well as education and socioeconomic status, is graphically illustrated in Singer and Eder's (1989) study of ethnicity, accent and job status. They separated out the effect of ethnicity from accent in simulated selection interviews by using pair-wise comparisons of subjects in a video-taped interview situation. Controlling for ethnicity, accent was found to have a negligible effect on selection. In contrast, when accent was controlled for, the ethnicity of the applicants was found to have "a significant effect on selection decision ratings" (Singer and Eder, 1989: 28). Singer and Eder concluded that accent, rather than being the source of language-focused evaluations regarding suitability for a position, triggers the appropriate ethnic schema or set of stereotypes associated with the accent. This then influences decisions and evaluations. That the interviewer subjects reported having evaluated applicants according to accent rather than ethnicity suggests the more socially acceptable nature of discrimination on the basis of language, though this point was not made by the researchers.

More recent studies on the recruitment of talent confirm the negative effect of ethnic and linguistic stereotypes on immigrant job-seeking. In a study of Sri Lankan immigrants in 1999, nearly 50 per cent of respondents reported having faced discrimination in finding work despite their high level tertiary qualifications (Basnayake, 1999). A later survey of 243 recruitment consultants confirmed that "unfair and wasteful discrimination is occurring in employment in New Zealand" (EEO Trust, 2000: 28). Apart from people who were older or had disabilities, those most likely to experience discrimination in recruitment were job seekers with a non-New Zealand accent followed by those from a different culture (the two generally being synonymous). A recruitment consultant with ten years' experience reported that (EEO Trust, 2000: 12):

many employers, or their HR recruitment staff, will consider applicants with a foreign accent or a foreign name only as a last resort, regardless of their qualifications, experiences and references.

Asians were perceived to be considerably more likely to experience discrimination than either Pacific Islanders or Maori.<sup>25</sup> One of the most common reasons offered to justify

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<sup>25</sup> The figures were 50 per cent versus 37 per cent and 32 per cent, respectively (EEO Trust, 2000: 11).

discrimination was that the applicant would not “fit in”. Overseas qualifications, foreign names, and the assumption that Asians would struggle with English were also mentioned. Most respondents believed that “if applicants were given a chance to show their talent they would have a better chance of being hired” (EEO Trust, 2000: 23) and felt that immigration policies did not promote employment-related opportunities. The report concluded with a warning to employers to reassess their practices to ensure that they did not pass over the talent in New Zealand or breach the Human Rights Act, and with the assertion that encouraging a diverse workforce was “just a step in facing the reality of the changing demographics in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: our population is ... becoming more culturally diverse” (EEO Trust, 2000: 28).

### **Immigrant responses to discrimination in the labour market**

For immigrants unable to gain employment and without the funds or willingness to ride out lengthy periods of unemployment, alternative strategies are required. Those found in the literature include: the acceptance of underemployment, self-employment, “astronauting”, onward or return migration, and further education or retraining.

#### ***Underemployment***

Discrimination, coupled with an on-arrival lack of second language proficiency and the inability to transfer overseas skills may force those without funds into the informal, secondary economy for economic survival (Boyd, 1992, 1999; Brubaker, 1989). This move may also impact on the traditional expectations of some ethnic groups with women entering the workforce to provide economic support for the family. Not only do they often end up in exploited positions as seamstresses, chambermaids or kitchen service workers (Boyd, 1992; Lewins and Ly, 1985, Hugo, 1992), but their participation in the workforce challenges the traditional family structure and exacerbates tensions created by the unemployment of male household members.

Underemployment often goes unnoticed among both refugees and voluntary migrants (Beiser, 1999: 97). Settlement programmes can themselves contribute to this underemployment by providing only survival-level, general second language courses. The danger of such programmes leading to economic and social self-sufficiency in

dead-end jobs, that was of concern of Neuwirth (1999), provoked Tollefson (1991: 104) to claim that migrant language education is often:

... part of a broad policy to channel migrants into marginal jobs in the peripheral economy that offer little security and no opportunity to gain additional language or job skills.

Research findings bear out Neuwirth's (1999: 55) concern that settlement policies which stress the need for immigrants to become economically and socially self-sufficient "as soon as possible" are likely to result not only in underemployment, dead-end jobs and frustration for immigrants, but also in an under-utilisation of immigrant skills and ethnic-related social problems for the host society. In New Zealand, the *High Hopes* report (Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996) highlighted the underemployment of professional immigrants, as did reports on the experiences of doctors, unable to gain statutory registration (Bain, 1999; North et al, 1999; Selvarajah, 1998).

### ***Self-employment***

An alternative response to labour market disadvantage and discrimination against qualifications, experience and non-native language proficiency has been a withdrawal from the wider employment market. Immigrants, and particularly those from non-English speaking backgrounds, are identified as being more likely to be self-employed than non-immigrants (Castles et al., 1998; Ho et al, 1998), and self-employment is not confined to those gaining entry under business categories; it is often the route to workforce participation taken by skilled immigrants (Ho and Lidgard, 1997; Ho et al., 1998; Ip, 1999; Lever-Tracy et al., 1999; Schak, 1999).

Self-employment is not always eagerly sought, however. David Ip (1993), for example, noted the reluctant shift of Chinese immigrants into small family businesses in Brisbane and Sydney. While he suggested that they may come to enjoy the independence, they were driven to self-employment by what were perceived to be insurmountable cultural and institutional barriers. A later study, conducted by the same researcher, found that most of a sample of professional Chinese immigrants who were self-employed had also resorted to business to escape their predicament (Ip, 1999). Arriving in Australia between 1987 and 1992 (mainly to study in English as a Second Language courses) and granted permanent residence after June 1989, they lacked the financial resources more

commonly found among Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrants to cushion themselves against the hardships encountered. Almost all had suffered severe downward mobility “to the bottom of the occupational ladder” or “humiliating” underemployment in their occupational fields before turning to self-employment (“jumping into the sea”) as a solution. Ip (1999: 157) noted that “like their predecessors [of the nineteenth and earlier twentieth century] they also faced tremendous obstacles to mobility arising principally from their language difficulties.” However, while most of his sample had close-knit social networks of fellow mainland Chinese immigrants who often supported them into their ventures, the majority were engaged in professional and business fields and catering to non-Chinese clients. Since this activity presumably necessitated the use of English, language ability was no longer preventing (if it had previously prevented) these predominantly highly educated and skilled professionals from functioning in the wider community.

A similar initial reluctance to opt for the self-employment route out of unemployment was observed among mainland Chinese in a study of self-employment among Chinese immigrants in New Zealand (Ho et al., 1998). Recent arrivals from China, most often admitted as skilled immigrants, were found to be less likely to be self-employed and more likely to be wage or salary earners or unemployed and looking for work, than Chinese from Hong Kong or Taiwan. With increased length of residence, the mainland Chinese group's level of self-employment rose (eliminating the differential between the three groups).<sup>26</sup> Ho et al. (1998: 282) concluded that self-employment “has become a significant alternative for many contemporary China-born [skilled] migrants who are unable to find employment that can fully utilise their skills and abilities”.

### ***“Astronauting”***

Another immigrant strategy in response to an inability to enter the workplace has been the advent of “astronauting”. This involves the return of one (or more) member of a family to the country of origin to work while the rest of the family remains in the country of settlement, with the “astronaut” making frequent long-distance flights to

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<sup>26</sup> With increased self-employment, the level of unemployment among the mainland group dropped below that of the Taiwanese and Hong Kong groups.

visit the remaining family (Ho et al., 1997b: 20; Skeldon, 1994). Portes (1997: 812) noted that transnational participation, a situation made possible by modern technology, had become “normative” within certain groups. “Astronaut” families had, he reflected, become common in Monterrey Park, California, as an alternative to dead-end jobs and discrimination. Similar “astronauting” transnational migration patterns, undertaken for like reasons, have been found in other research into the settlement of entrepreneurial Chinese business immigrants in Canada (Lam, 1994), Australia (Inglis et al., 1992; Kee and Skeldon, 1994) and New Zealand (Beal and Sos, 1999; Boyer, 1995, 1996, Friesen and Ip, 1997; Ho, 1995; Ho et al., 1997b; Lidgard, 1996). Ip and Friesen (2001: 214) noted that, while most Chinese immigrants try to settle in New Zealand, find jobs and integrate into the society, “the reality is that many are part of an expanding transnational community” who choose to return to work in the source country was a planned strategy to avoid unemployment or underemployment.

As Ho et al. (1997b: 21) noted, there are methodological problems associated with the identification of “astronaut” households, since the Census provides only a snapshot of those present in the country at a particular time and the phenomenon is “a highly personal and sensitive topic”, which has attracted negative attention from the media and the wider population. The sensitive nature of the situation and the inability to capture some “astronauting” parents in surveys (Boyer, 1995; Ho, 1996) notwithstanding, the phenomenon has been identified as relatively common in New Zealand, particularly among immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Ho et al. (1997b), using a *Supercross* package to analyse census data, estimated that around 12 per cent of all immigrant families with children who migrated from Hong Kong between 1986 and 1991 included an “astronaut”. In smaller surveys, the proportions were higher. Nearly one third of Boyer’s (1995) 49 Taiwanese families, a quarter of Lidgard’s (1996) 42 Taiwanese, Hong Kong and South Korean families and just over half of Ho et al.’s (1997) 124 Taiwanese, Hong Kong and South Korean families included “astronauts”. While these studies involved other than mainland Chinese, “astronauting” could also be expected to be an alternative for skilled immigrants from China unable to find any, or appropriate, work in New Zealand.



### ***Return and onward migration***

Return and onward migration patterns have also been observed by researchers in New Zealand and elsewhere (for example: Bedford et al., 2000; Castles and Miller, 1993; Ho et al., 1997; Lidgard and Bedford, 1999; Schak, 1999; Skeldon, 1994, 1998). The extent of return and onward migration from New Zealand cannot be accurately gauged in the absence of a birthplace question on arrival and departure cards between 1987 and 2001. However, the proportion of overseas born in the Australian intake from New Zealand in 1998 was reported to be 24 per cent (compared with 10 per cent in 1991), higher than the percentage of overseas born in the total population (17.5 per cent) (Bedford et al., 2000: 11), a situation which gave rise to claims of “back door entry” to Australia (Birrell and Rapson, 2001).

Failure to gain employment commensurate with one’s qualifications and experience is not the only reason for return or onward migration. Nevertheless, it plays an important part in decision-making for many immigrants. Of particular concern to some researchers has been the return migration of the younger generation of Asian immigrants, that is, those who have attended high schools and universities in the country of settlement and would like to stay but return to their home country, either because they cannot find employment or the employment prospects are better in their country of origin (Ho, 1995; Lidgard et al., 1998). Schak (1999: 145) asserted that the retention of such people was “crucial to the establishment of a firm and stable migrant community”.

### ***Further study and retraining***

Immigrants with limited language skills and/or unrecognised qualifications may decide to undertake further study in order to gain entry to or improve their competitiveness in the marketplace. Skilled Asian immigrants with higher qualifications on arrival could be expected to choose further academic study rather than general courses, and so to prefer ESOL courses with an academic orientation. Such was found to be the case in a survey of English language provisions for adult immigrants in New Zealand (Watts et al., 2001). Most commonly, courses offered by the surveyed institutions were general in nature, but nearly half were reported to be more focused academic English courses,

reflecting a move away from the English-for-ever courses criticised by Gubbay and Coghill (1988). However, an overwhelming majority (81.3 per cent) of the providers surveyed still felt that changes were needed with respect to ESOL provision to better meet the settlement needs of immigrants. Among the main areas identified for changes were those required to facilitate easier access and the provision of more up-to-date and appropriate courses (Watts et al., 2001: 22).

There is little research available on the prevalence or effectiveness of the further-study response to unemployment and the non-recognition of skills apart from the provision and utilisation of ESOL and language-related bridging programmes (discussed further below). However, in the Ethnic Affairs Service (1996) study of skilled immigrants, 14.5 per cent of those who had gained entry under the General Category introduced in 1991 (particularly from North Asia and Eastern Europe) reported that they were studying at a tertiary institution and/or preparing to sit qualifying examinations. In comparison it may be noted that only 11.7 per cent were in employment and 13.6 per cent identified themselves as being unemployed (Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996: 45). No information was provided in this research on post-study employment, but at the end of the 1990s Masters and Doctors programme graduates who were Asian were reported by the New Zealand Vice-Chancellors' Committee (1999: 73) to be experiencing difficulties finding work.

ESOL-skills bridging programmes are an investment which is identified as very profitable in terms of the rate of economic return for immigrants who are not fluent in the dominant language (Chiswick and Miller, 1995). In Israel, the Ulpan system provides six months of intensive Hebrew language tuition for new immigrants. This facilitates a modest level of fluency and literacy in the language, which can then be used and further developed by professionals in the workplace or through work-related training programmes (Beenstock and benMenahem, 1997). In Finland, instruction in the language of the host society also remains a function of the central government and immigrants are quickly absorbed into the workforce (Valtonen, 1999).

The inclusion of a substantial work component is a feature of most bridging programmes for skilled immigrants in Australia and New Zealand. Plimer et al. (1997) reported that Australian bridging programmes which concentrated on a combination of

English language and employment-related skills led to between 60 and 85 per cent of participants moving into either employment or further education. These figures reflect rather more successful outcomes than the results shown in other bridging programmes in either Australia or New Zealand (Hawthorne, 1997; Market Research and Evaluation Team, 1998). The research conducted by Hawthorne (1997) into the training outcomes of a group of immigrant engineers found only a limited degree of success for such programmes. Racial and ethnic discrimination kept those from Asia out of employment in their fields, after the successful completion of programmes and despite their fluency in English.

A New Zealand bridging programme also returned disappointing results despite its aims: to “develop personal motivation and self-esteem”; to provide “a sufficient level of English” to participate successfully in society; to develop confidence in the use of English and an awareness of culture and gender issues in New Zealand; to provide skills and make participants “work ready”; and to “address misconceptions held by job seekers” (Market Research and Evaluation Team, 1998: 6-7). Even though the participating institutions selected the most promising applicants for their courses, only 24 per cent went on to either further training (15 per cent) or into employment (9 per cent). The report claimed that the programme “successfully assists in moving the tertiary qualified unemployed people from non-English speaking backgrounds (NESB) towards employment and training” but “found that the course length and the work experience component should be extended” (Market Research and Evaluation Team, 1998: 11, 18). “Lack of spoken English” was identified as a continuing barrier to employment along with lack of New Zealand work experience and the non-recognition of qualifications (Market Research and Evaluation Team, 1998: 18), though participants had been selected for the courses primarily on the basis of their English language ability. More telling was the fact that the greatest concern expressed by participating employers in taking on tertiary qualified immigrant job seekers in the programme was their lack of “ability to speak **New Zealand English**” (Market Research and Evaluation Team, 1998: 11; emphasis added).

Language involves the cooperative negotiation of meaning, but as this example clearly illustrates, language also remains a powerful tool for discrimination. Without any change in the attitudes of job providers, adult immigrant job seekers from non-English

speaking backgrounds will immediately be placed in a disadvantageous position. The identification of deficiencies – expressed in terms of immigrants' inability “to speak New Zealand English” – reflects a negative attitude to difference. Where discrimination is ostensibly applied only to those with certain marked varieties of English, questions arise regarding the underlying judgements and the need for changes in attitude within the wider marketplace if society is to achieve the potential economic and social rewards of an ethnically diverse and highly skilled immigrant labour force.

## CONCLUSION

The research review presented in this chapter has investigated globalisation and its implications for countries which operate immigration policies that seek to recruit migrants with skills in an international market. While establishing and developing trade and international links with new markets, countries may be less willing to extend these contacts to include migration. With modernisation, opening borders, increased cross-border ties and the growth of a pool of highly educated professionals in non-traditional source countries, increased diversity among migrant populations has been inevitable. Non-traditional immigrants have contributed to the development of societies that are increasingly multicultural and challenge notions of cultural homogeneity, one race-one space, permanent migration and sameness.

The increased ethnic diversity of immigrant populations has tested the settlement provisions and modes of integration of receiving countries. These challenges have been identified as particularly pressing when capitalisation on the potential benefits from qualifications, professional skills and prior experiences depends on the transfer of skills and insertion into high level, and therefore often scarce, positions within the mainstream marketplace. Where markets are open, the retraining or upskilling of immigrants have still often been required. Where they are not, discrimination and other “obstacles thrown up by the native born” (DeWind and Kasinitz, 1997: 1102) have been likely to hamper settlement and integration.

An ability to speak English is clearly an important requisite for socioeconomic integration in a wider society where English is the dominant means of communication.

Language proficiency is identified as both cause and consequence of employment, facilitating the entry to employment which in turn provides opportunities for interaction that facilitate increased proficiency and wider social integration. The acquisition of country-specific language and culture was shown to be related not only to pre-migration factors including age, education and pre-migration exposure, which can be targeted in immigration policies, but also to post-migration factors. These included post-migration exposure with length of residence, location, and access to employment in the mainstream or further study and other activities, plus motivational factors. Such post-migration factors are context-related and therefore depend on the extent and quality of interactions with members of the wider society.

Immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds, and settlement policy makers, are faced with a challenge to optimise immigrant use of English and their other human capital and, where necessary, the further development of these skills in a positive and productive environment. Unfortunately, research has been shown to support the view that ethnicity is a cogent source of discrimination, and accent (relatively fixed in adult immigrants) is a powerful cue to ethnicity. Thus, discrimination is often elicited in terms of language, language becomes a source of discrimination, and exclusion from the workforce and wider social interaction opportunities results.

An inability to access the workforce at an appropriate level has seen immigrants adopt a variety of strategies to cope with discrimination and their exclusion from socioeconomic participation in the mainstream economy. A variety of alternatives have been discussed - unemployment, underemployment, self-employment, "astronauting", onward and return migration, and further study and retraining. All of these alternatives were seen to involve costs for both the affected immigrants and the wider society in terms of time, money and the wastage of skills.

As an overview of the research on immigrant settlement and socioeconomic integration has indicated, proficiency in the language of the wider society is an important, but not exclusive, determinant of employment. In fact, settlement has been seen to cover a wide range of states of inclusion in the society, leaving a question regarding what constitutes successful settlement and how this relates to integration. Other questions are also thrown up by skilled immigrants from non-traditional sources. They include questions

regarding acceptance and belonging, about the part played by ethnicity in the formation of national identity, and what immigration policies should include to best achieve the goals of a targeted immigration policy which seeks out and facilitates the entry of highly skilled immigrants. These issues will be addressed in the following chapter.

## **Chapter 3 Meeting the Challenges: Concepts, Models and Policies for Immigrant Settlement**

The potential socioeconomic rewards of international migration may be many, but it is apparent that these cannot be attained without first addressing the challenges presented to the process of immigrant settlement and the wider society by increased ethnic diversity. The type of immigration that is promoted and the institutional support that is provided at a national and a community level, through immigration-related and wider social policies, will impact on the settlement process and on the success or otherwise of the outcome for both immigrant populations and the wider society. As has been shown in the previous chapter, even where immigrants are selected on the basis of their human capital and a variety of positively-oriented settlement provisions are in place, the desired outcomes are not necessarily assured.

In this chapter, what constitutes the successful settlement and integration of immigrants, particularly those who are both skilled and visible, will be examined. First, the concepts of settlement, integration and “successful” settlement will be discussed. In this context, Bauböck’s (1996b) model for immigrant inclusion within the civil society will be presented both as an option for a nation faced with an increasingly diverse ethnic population and as a touchstone of immigrant inclusion. The importance of socioeconomic integration will also be addressed. A range of institutional responses to cultural diversity (assimilation, segregation and multiculturalism) will then be examined along with their ramifications for immigration policy making within the broader sociopolitical context. Multiculturalism will emerge as the most viable option for a multi-ethnic civil society, as the choice that is most likely to result in interethnic harmony and that allows the greatest economic and social benefits to accrue to a society from ethnic diversity. Multiculturalism will then be related to the implementation of the concept of productive diversity and the creation of an environment where cultural

diversity can be fully capitalised on in the workplace and the wider society. Finally, the achievement of the potentially positive outcomes identified with productive diversity in the workplace and multiculturalism in a civil society will be seen to depend on the implementation of a comprehensive institutional structure of immigration which incorporates not only an immigration policy to regulate entry but also an immigrant settlement policy and an ethnic relations policy.

## **SETTLEMENT, INTEGRATION AND A MODEL FOR INCLUSION**

In this section the processes of settlement and integration will be examined and what it means to be successfully settled will be discussed. A model for inclusion within a democratic civil society which can be used to measure immigrant integration will then be provided.

### **“Settlement” and “integration”**

The terms “settlement” and “integration” are often used interchangeably in the literature on immigration, but they tend to have different foci. Galbally (1979: 29) defined settlement as “the complex process of adjusting to a new environment following immigration” with the ultimate goal of “acceptance by and the feeling of belonging to the receiving society”. Fletcher (1999: 8) perceived settlement as a “multi-dimensional process involving all aspects of the migrant’s (and migrant’s family’s) life”, a process that is more likely to focus on the experiences, adaptation and acculturation of immigrants within the social context than on host society responses. Burnett (1998) identifies six main features of settlement in her discussion of immigrant settlement issues in Australia. These, too, focus attention on the immigrant. They are: that settlement is a process; that it takes place over a period of time; that the context in which it takes place is not static; that it involves the activities of the immigrant within the receiving society; that individual differences influence the process; and that the initial period of settlement is very important. She notes that “[s]ettlement is constructed by the immigrant’s interaction with the various elements of the political, economic and social structures of the host society” (Burnett, 1998:17).



“Integration”, in contrast, is more likely to be identified as involving adaptation not only of immigrants but also of structures within the host society (Bauböck, 1996a, 1996b; Heisler, 1992; Neuwirth, 1999; Vertovec, 1999). It implies some form of multicultural policy, where immigrants are able to retain aspects of their own culture, rather than an assimilation model (which expects only one party, the immigrant, to adapt). It involves “ ‘citizenship’ membership in the host society and the ability to participate fully therein” (Valtonen, 1999: 470), cohesion, insertion, and adaptation of both immigrants and the state (Bauböck, 1996b; Faist, 1996). Viewing integration as both process and end product, Neuwirth (1999: 62) observes that:

[a] theory of integration needs to explore ... to what extent, depending on their ethnic origin, immigrants are able to effect their integration and what obstacles are preventing it.

A second, but less clear-cut, distinction between settlement and integration is the time factor associated with each of the processes. While Burnett sees settlement as a process which may take a lifetime, settlement provisions more commonly focus on shorter-term adaptation, “the early parts of the longer integration process” (Fletcher, 1999: 8). Policies which promote immigrant settlement generally aim to render immigrants economically and socially self-sufficient as quickly as possible. The focus on very short-term economic goals is seen to be problematic in that it may result in immigrants being stuck in dead-end jobs rather than in positions where they and the society can benefit more fully from their skills (Neuwirth, 1999). Language and orientation courses, of particular importance for refugees, who often arrive with little or no knowledge of the host language and culture, generally focus on low level, functional competence and are normally available only within the first year(s) of settlement, despite the acquisition of the higher-level communication skills in a second language being a longer-term process (Cummins, 1979; Clyne, 1994).

Discussions of integration are more likely to take a longer and more complex view of the process of immigrant incorporation. This is clearly illustrated in the following quote (OECD [SOPEMI], 1998: 62):

Along with the control of flows one of the principal objectives of migration policy is the integration of immigrants already settled or who wish to reside in the host country for an extended period. ... Integration sets into play complex social relationships that cannot be reduced to

estimates of a few select indicators (e.g. employment, sector of activity, income level, place of residence, family situation, etc.). In addition, differences between nationals and immigrants with respect to a number of indicators do not necessarily imply inequality between the two groups, nor does a convergence of behavioural patterns necessarily reflect a successful integration process.

### **“Successful” settlement**

A goal of immigration policies in New Zealand and other traditional countries of immigration is the “successful” settlement of immigrants. However, there appear to be no definitive empirical benchmarks against which successful settlement can be measured. This situation renders any judgement rather subjective. As Burnaby (1992: 123, cited in Burnett, 1998: 16) notes:

[w]e do not have absolute criteria for success... Therefore, we cannot create criteria for success for immigrants ... Success can be measured by the satisfaction of the immigrants we serve, but we will never be able to produce statistics on our success that ministers can take to cabinet meetings.

Nevertheless, there are some common features associated with settler “satisfaction”. Research has generally shown these to involve a desire: to be employed (if employment is aspired to) in a position somewhat commensurate with one’s expectations on migration, if not one’s actual education and skills; to have access to the services of the host community, including health and education for oneself and one’s children; to be able to participate in the wider society; and to be accepted as belonging. These features are reiterated by immigrants from a wide range of backgrounds in studies of immigrant settlement in New Zealand and elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

The Australian immigration studies reviewed by Burnett (1998) reflect a common core of factors pertaining to successful settlement. Martin (in a study posthumously published by Lewins and Ly, 1985), identified four main features: identity, competence, position in the social structure, and the opportunity structure. These are echoed by Taft (1986) under five headings: socioeconomic situation, national and

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Beiser (1999), Boyer (1995), Burnett (1998), Hawthorne (1999), Ho (1995), Ho et al. (2000), Ip (1990, 1996), Jansen (1990), Lidgard (1998), and Skeldon (1994).

ethnic identity, cultural competence, social absorption and role acculturation. Lewins and Ly's (1985) Vietnamese refugee study identifies as keys to successful settlement: being aged 25 to 35 on arrival; arriving with some (financial) capital; being well-qualified; having good English on arrival or studying post-arrival; being self-employed or in a skilled position; living in a household with no significant family members left behind or elsewhere; and having frequent contact with non-Vietnamese. Education and employment, proficiency in the language of the host society, contact with both the host and the ethnic communities, and access to services and provisions are recurring themes in these lists.

Burnett (1998) herself identifies three sets of variables (akin to those Chiswick and Miller associated with target language levels, used in the previous chapter) as affecting the settlement of an immigrant. They are the immigrant's background (pre-migration variables), the migration process (migration variables) and the context in the host society (post-migration variables). Of these, Burnett (1998: 19) claims that "the socioeconomic and cultural context encountered by the immigrant in the new country has the greatest influence on the settlement process". Burnett's emphasis on the crucial significance of the labour market, of finding (suitable) employment, and her claim that fluency and literacy in English are required if "full participation and equitable access" are to be achieved, presuppose that immigrants wish and/or need to enter the work force, to communicate with members of the host society and to participate fully in the host society. These may not always be priorities, especially for elderly immigrants, joining already settled family members under a family reunification programme, and for those working in large ethnic enclaves. But it is likely that at least one member of a family approved for permanent residence under a targeted skills or business/investment category will wish to obtain employment and to achieve "full participation and equitable access" to provisions within the receiving community.

While the levels of each component required for successful integration remain moot, the importance of employment and language for integration are highlighted in Canadian studies. In a document outlining "best practices" on immigrant integration to guide service providers, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) (1998) defined five key elements or principles. These were: that integration is a two-way process; that immigrants need to be able to communicate in an official language (English or French);

that immigrants' contributions need to be valued in order to bring about economic and social self-sufficiency as quickly as possible; that there should be political integration in the democratic society; and that the goal of settlement and integration service delivery is immigrant self-sufficiency.<sup>2</sup> And in a list derived from the Canadian Refugee Resettlement Programme's longitudinal study of Vietnamese refugee resettlement, Beiser (1999) encapsulates the key factors contributing to successful settlement rather more succinctly than Lewins and Ly (1985) did in their Australian study of a similar group. He identifies three factors as being essential for successful settlement to take place: employment, health and mental well-being, and competence in the language of the host society.

The degree of fluency and literacy in the language of the host society required for participation in the wider community is an important issue. It depends, in large part, on the occupation sought and the expectations and attitudes of members of the host community. It also requires consideration of how policies, particularly those relating to the processes of immigrant selection and immigrant settlement, impact on and are affected by the host community. Does the host society embrace cultural and linguistic differences, require assimilation to the norms of the dominant culture, or fall somewhere in the middle? Does it favour an interactive process involving accommodation and integration rather than assimilation or unadulterated ethnic pluralism and separation (viz. "maintaining one's own ethnic identity and culturally ignoring the host society" [Ho, 1995a: 7])? Broader economic conditions allowing, do immigrants have equal access to employment in the receiving country or are some discriminated against and excluded from this key to successful settlement? If people are discriminated against and excluded from employment, is language a legitimate reason for this discrimination or is it an excuse? While these important issues will be discussed further in the following chapters, the outcomes depend largely on the policies and prevailing attitudes of the host society. These in turn reflect how the society responds to (and is modified by) ethnic pluralism and cultural (including linguistic) diversity.

These issues return us to the criteria for "successful" settlement. It can be measured

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<sup>2</sup> See Neuwirth (1999) for a critical discussion of these principles. She notes that the principles generally take immigrants' economic and social rights in Canada for granted while emphasising their obligations.

against the degree of satisfaction of the government, of the wider host society and of the immigrants themselves. From the receiving society's perspective, a measure of the successful outcomes of immigration policy at the institutional level will be the degree to which the goals of government policies are achieved. While some criteria such as employment levels may be objectively measurable,<sup>3</sup> others such as social cohesion inevitably remain very much more subjective and difficult to assess, particularly in the shorter term. Ultimately, successful settlement involves the right to participate socially, economically and politically in the wider, mainstream society on merit, without prejudice or discrimination. As Bauböck (1996c: 232) put it in his taxonomy of the cultural rights of minorities, "[t]he target is a 'level playing field' where race, gender or ethnic origin no longer counts as a disadvantage".

### **Bauböck's civil society: a model for inclusion**

Participation in the wider society can be framed within a model of the civil society, and involves a balance between three institutions: the state, the marketplace and the family. Civil society is seen to consist of "a plurality of voluntary associations" (Bauböck, 1996b: 86) within the sort of "modern society which underlies normative theories of liberal democracy" (Bauböck, 1996b: 70) such as is found in western countries of settlement. It provides a model for society which is grounded in political theory through the ages, as Bauböck (1996b) illustrates in his discussion of its historical antecedents, and in which there has been a revival of interest with the break up and democratisation of Eastern bloc countries, and increased multiculturalism challenging the concept of the one-nation state and national identities (Bauböck et al., 1996; Castles, 1997; Frideres, 1997).

The adoption of the concept of a civil society allows for the insertion and unity of a heterogeneous citizenry within a democratic social and political framework. But it is not seen as an easy or necessarily stable option. Rather it requires effort to maintain cohesion within the society through "a common and shared public culture" (Bauböck,

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<sup>3</sup> Even here there may be problems as Weinfeld (1998) notes in a discussion of the methodological bias inherent in benchmarking immigrant settlement against indicators derived from the native-born population. There may also be problems associated with measuring levels of under-employment where immigrants hold qualifications gained overseas.

1996b: 76) while including newcomers who are different and maintaining democratic principles of equality of access, participation and associational pluralism (Bauböck, 1996b, 1996c).

Civil society is envisaged as “a precarious but not unsustainable balance between the institutions of the modern state, the market economy and the family” (Bauböck, 1996b: 76). The three institutions are identified as the cornerstones of modern society.

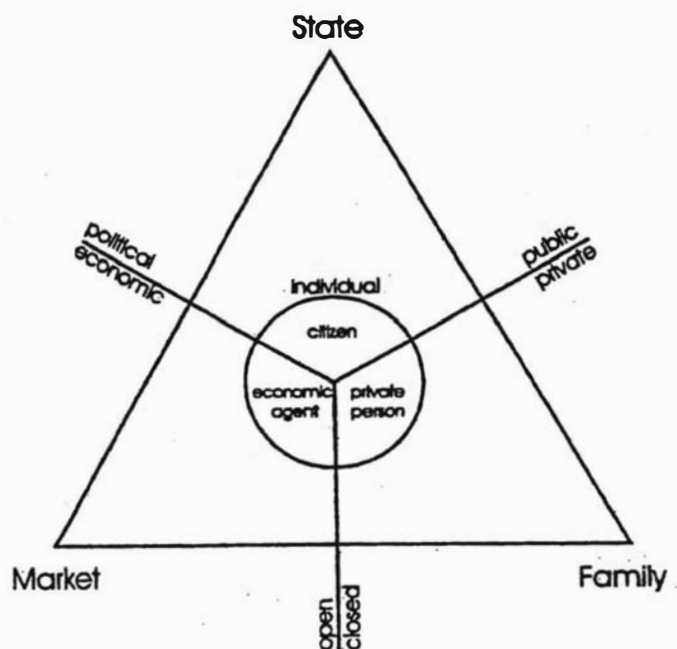
Representing the rules that structure the social interactions within them, these institutions are presented by Bauböck as three equal spheres in a three-part model (see Figure 3.1) similar to the welfare triangle (with its state, market, and households) of Evers and Wintersberger (1990), among others. Immigrants along with other members of the state have a role as private person within the family sphere of home and wider personal relations, as public citizen (or permanent residents) within the state and as economic agent within the marketplace (Bauböck, 1996b: 83):

A well-balanced structure of civil society is that institutional arrangement within modernity which increases the scope of individual autonomy for all members. It combines equal and substantial citizenship with voluntary transactions in markets ... as well as with a sheltered sphere of privacy in which individuals are involved in intimate relations and chosen communities.

The boundaries between the spheres and the roles of the individuals within each will tend to overlap as is shown by the location of associations in Figure 3.2. The greater the distance between the corners of the spheres, the broader are the boundaries of the civil society. This is true, too, for individuals. For example, self-employment confined to an ethnic enclave and social participation restricted to friends of the same ethnic group will contract the triangle and reduce the scope for participation, and hence integration, in the wider society. Exclusion from a sphere further restricts one's role and/or participation. Ideally, no one sphere is identified as dominating the life of the individual; each person operates within each sphere and assumes a number of different roles in their private lives, public lives and economic lives (Bauböck, 1996b: 81):

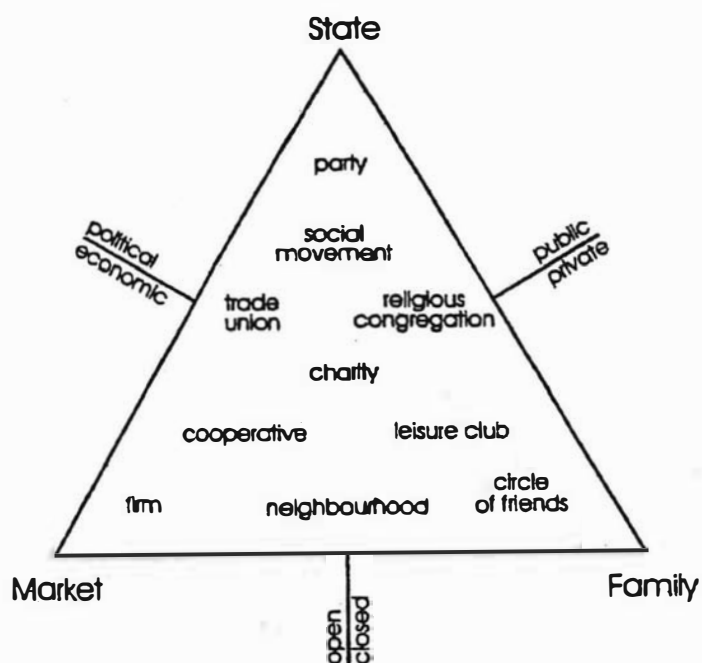
... the notion that individuals are equal both in their moral capacities and as members of society gains plausibility if everyone has a recognized place in each social sphere and no one is confined in his or her activities to one single sphere only.

Figure 3.1 The Civil Triangle: Boundaries of spheres and roles of individuals



Source: Bauböck (1996b: 80).

Figure 3.2 The Civil Triangle: Location of associations



Source: Bauböck (1996b: 86)

Citizenship is identified as the basic tie connecting individuals to the society through the provision of legal rights and obligations. The model requires a common and shared culture as well as the practice of civility and respecting of differences, and implies social cohesion and unity in an open and heterogeneous democratic society. As permanently resident citizens or denizens (that is, residents with the rights of citizens), legally-admitted immigrants of all ethnic groups are similarly bound to the state through such rights and obligations. Fully integrated immigrants are identified as those who are able to participate freely in all three spheres of society and who are involved in the general cultural discourse of the society (Bauböck, 1996b; Castles, 1997).<sup>4</sup>

Immigrant integration across all three spheres of society is seen as “a key test for the openness and stability of civil society” (Bauböck, 1996b: 113). The ability to access mainstream associations beyond the circle of family members and friends of the private person (Figure 3.2) is an indicator of social and cultural integration in the host society. As Helly (1997: 2) notes, the tendency for young immigrants, along with other young people, to opt for informal, non-institutional forms of social participation “raises the problem of a theoretical definition of types of integration into social life”. While this may create problems in empirical studies, in terms of participation formal membership is secondary to activity and social exchange (Breton, 1997: 2; Helly, 1997). The wider neighbourhood, study groups, leisure clubs and religious groups all extend activity into the wider society. In the market sphere, integration includes access to employment commensurate with one’s skills in private endeavours or within mainstream institutions and contact with members of the society outside of one’s own ethnic group. Barriers which result in underemployment, employment only within an ethnic enclave, or self-employment are indicative of socioeconomic exclusion from participation in the wider economic sphere, with a concomitant reduction in the potential for social interaction (and therefore language acquisition and fluency, as noted in the previous chapter).

With the primary motivation of most newly arrived skilled immigrants being to gain access to employment, activity in the economic sphere is expected to precede active

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<sup>4</sup> Such unrestricted involvement in the wider society is an essential aspect of successful immigrant incorporation as Reitz (1988) notes in his discussion of the institutional structure of immigration and comparative analysis of immigration policies in England and Canada.



involvement in associations within the political state sphere and social participation within voluntary organisations of the host society.<sup>5</sup> An inability to access the labour market may, however, itself lead to social participation in a voluntary organisation as a means of establishing contacts within the society. It may also act as a catalyst for activity in the political sphere, particularly if there is a suitably politicised ethnic group or association in which one can become involved.

Neuwirth (1999: 61, 62) observes that “the possession of economic rights, that is, the right to access the labour market, does not ensure, by itself, that immigrants can compete effectively with the native-born population for jobs” and that “[a] theory of integration needs to explore, therefore, to what extent, depending on their ethnic origin, immigrants are able to effect their integration, and what obstacles are preventing it”. She also notes that a theory of immigrant integration needs “to specify further factors in the relationships between the dimensions of economic and social integration and the sphere of privacy and social life as the voluntary aspect of cultural adaption” (Neuwirth, 1999: 67).

Bauböck’s civil society triangle provides a useful addition to Neuwirth’s (1999) immigrant integration theory building. It provides a model of the spheres within a civil society where integration takes place and within which factors in the relationship between aspects of economic and social integration can be analysed. It reflects the importance of the economic sphere and the market as a cornerstone of modern society. It also provides a representation of the balanced relationship between the private and wider social, economic and political life that marks the successful integration of an immigrant within a civil society. The extent of immigrant participation within each sphere can be analysed in terms of intraethnic and interethnic contacts. Such relationships, in which language is an important element – as a potential means of access to (and outcome of) participation in the society – are associated with immigrant settlement and ethnic relations policies within an institutional structure of immigration (discussed further below).

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<sup>5</sup> While this focus on employment involves the pursuit of private financial interests and therefore, after de Tocqueville, could diminish the individual’s role as a “citizen” (Breton, 1997), such a focus among immigrants usually involves a desire for socioeconomic participation in society rather than the exclusive pursuit of personal interests.

## INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES TO NON-TRADITIONAL IMMIGRATION

While immigrants are “neither invaders, nor ... slaves ... [but] agents in their own right [they are] confronted with constrained options not of their own making” (Bauböck, 1996a: 12). Receiving countries are not passive targets but actors and stakeholders in global migration, and it is upon their internal structures that the integration outcomes of immigrants primarily depend (Bauböck, 1996b: 67-68). As DeWind and Kasinitz (1997: 1098) note in their summary of a discussion of immigration incorporation (integration/settlement): “the economic, social, political and cultural processes of ‘incorporation’ are fundamentally interactive” rather than dependent only on immigrant adaptation. Immigrants from non-traditional sources, in particular, challenge perceptions of nationalism, about who “belongs”.

Being premised on a considerable degree of ethnic and cultural uniformity within its citizenry, the unity of the traditional nation-state is threatened by increased ethnic and cultural diversity (Castles, 1998). The social integration of non-kin or “stranger” immigrants, whose numbers have rapidly increased with globalisation, impacts on the basic norms and values of the receiving society. This raises questions about “the degree of cultural pluralism that modern societies can or must accept” (McAndrew and Weinfield, 1996: 191) and the extent to which non-conformity threatens social cohesion and engenders a racist backlash.<sup>6</sup> Issues of national identity and social cohesion must be grappled with as the ethnic composition is modified by inflows of these non-traditional, and more visible, immigrants. This is especially important if “social cohesion in a civil society is possible only if the subcultural groups who make it up feel they are equally protected and have equal opportunities” (Beiser, 1999: 110).

A transnational or global rather than national orientation means, also, that immigrants may be seen as “outsiders” with little loyalty to their new country and as a threat to social cohesion. Voluntary, professionally-qualified immigrants with multiple affinities and transnational links may move back or onward in response to local treatment and opportunities, with astronauting or a pattern of migration characterised by “sojourning”

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<sup>6</sup> These questions were central issues at a conference on Asian immigration and racism in Canada and other Pacific rim nations held in Vancouver in June, 1998 (see Laquian et al., 1998).

rather than settling permanently as options (Beal and Sos, 1999; Cohen, 1997; Ho, 1997; Skeldon, 1994, 1998). This increased mobility of immigrants is, in turn, a source of suspicion, particularly “in some places, where periods of febrile nation-building take place” (Cohen, 1997: 169).<sup>7</sup> Nation-building tends to undermine the degree of acceptance of difference and, therefore, the contribution that recent immigrants might otherwise make through their innovative techniques,<sup>8</sup> contacts and networks in other countries, familiarity with different cultures, and language skills.

### **Integration options**

Where an assimilationist paradigm operates, there is an assumption that the ease and degree of assimilation is a mark of “successful” settlement and acculturation.

Immigrants relinquish their own cultural identity and are either absorbed into the dominant group or merge with other cultures to form a new society, in a “melting pot” situation (Berry, 1992: 72). Such assimilation depends largely on the degree of cultural and phenotypical similarity that already exists or can be achieved between the immigrant and dominant host cultures. A problem with the assimilation model, as found in both the United States and New Zealand, is its Eurocentricism.

It has been questioned, however, whether assimilation or indeed acculturation is a necessary outcome of contemporary international migration since neither is a necessary prerequisite for economic integration in a globalised world. Grant (1995: 287) argues that many immigrants to the United States are familiar with post-industrial societies and western cultural values pre-migration and are therefore familiar with the forms of institutions that they will face in their new environment. Socioeconomic backgrounds support this premise with a significant representation of urban, middle class, highly educated individuals among more recent arrivals. The self-identification of these immigrants may be more global, their locus of identity centred on factors outside the

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<sup>7</sup> In their paper on the local outcomes of transnationalism for “new” Chinese migrants in Auckland, Ip and Friesen (2001) emphasise that most Chinese have tried to integrate within the mainstream society.

<sup>8</sup> Cohen (1997:170) offers examples of diaspora immigrant innovation – tin mines in Malaya/Borneo (Chinese), viticulture in South Africa and lace-making in Britain (Hugenots) – and of trade in the Ottoman Empire (Lebanese Christians) and between the Orient and Europe (Armenians). Such groups were identified as exhibiting “sechal” (Yiddish for intuitive knowledge), that is, being street-wise, quick witted, having gumption. More recent examples include viticulture in New Zealand and Australia (Dalmatians, Lebanese, Germans), and ethnic restaurants, delicatessens and fast food outlets.

nation of settlement. Identity as a generic middle class “immigrant” rather than a hyphenated national (for example, Asian-American) is common (Grant, 1995), as are the return, re-entry and onward migration patterns mentioned above.

As Grant suggests, along with movement towards greater cultural pluralism, a more global transnational culture is emerging. This culture is not homogeneous but allows for broad variations and is inclusive with regard to differences, “passionately syncretistic” and allowing for “informed choice among a myriad of possibilities” (Castles and Miller, 1993: 273). While Cohen (1997: 171) feels that the deterritorialisation of social identities will more likely result in horizontally overlapping multiple cultures rather than a single global culture, he nevertheless endorses the view that globalisation contributes towards a greater degree of internationalism and cosmopolitanism, characteristic features of globalisation and global cities. Asian immigration is, for instance, having a significant impact on the social composition of Vancouver. With over 20 per cent of the total 1.6 million population being of Asian ethnic origin by the 1991 census, it is “swiftly and visibly becoming an Asia Pacific city” (Hutton, 1998: 306). While less Asian in nature, the City of New York has also been shaped by immigration, with over 50 per cent of the population categorised as other than White non-Hispanic by 1990, including 300,000 Asian-born arrivals (Tang, 1998). Families and social networks often extend to the country of origin and elsewhere; households are “multinational, multiracial and multicultural” (Cohen, 1997; Grant, 1995; Skeldon, 1994, 1998).

Immigrant integration, therefore, may no longer conform to classical adaptation patterns based on assimilation, or even permanence. Whether immigrants settle successfully or remain “outsiders” and a perceived threat to social cohesion depends largely on the relationship between the host population and incoming migrants. This relationship, in turn, is seen by Weiner (1996) to depend on three interrelated factors: the degree to which the labour market structure allows for the absorption of non-traditional immigrants; the related willingness of the society to absorb new arrivals into the social, economic and political life of the society (a willingness which is reflected in and influenced by post-arrival settlement and ethnic policies); and the preparedness of migrants to be integrated or assimilated, to redefine their identity (a change that depends largely on host community acceptance). Weiner acknowledges that the

relationship he posits between these three factors is based on hypotheses rather than research findings, and warns that even when a relationship between them is found, such findings should be applied with caution since cross-national comparisons “can only be done at some risk” (Weiner, 1996: 48). While heeding his warning regarding cross-national comparisons, it is believed that his proposed interrelationship between the three factors is supported by the literature on immigrant integration, and that the risks associated with ignoring the lessons provided could be rather greater.

Like Weiner, Gans (1997) notes that an immigrant’s willingness to assimilate or integrate depends largely on the acceptance of such a movement by the receiving society, his “two-way street”. He also distinguishes between “assimilation” and “acculturation”, and notes that the latter has occurred more quickly among both old and new immigrants in the United States. He also notes that differences in research findings can often be attributed to the values of the researchers (outsider versus insider) or the generational cohort (first or second generation) under investigation. Berry (1992: 74) points to the implications of acceptance for acculturative stress and for an immigrant’s willingness to be integrated or assimilated, a finding supported in Ho’s (1995) investigation into the settlement of Chinese youths in New Zealand.

The ultimate goal of immigrant acculturation means different things depending on the model of immigrant integration adopted by the host community. The various options available and choices made by individual countries reflect different attitudes to cultural diversity and presuppose different outcomes, but a central issue involves (Weiner, 1996: 54):

the incentives for migrants to learn the language of the host society and more broadly, to adopt behavioral patterns that make them more acceptable to the host population.

These incentives are seen to entail, in particular, opportunities to obtain education, housing and employment, key elements of access and equity. Whether migrants are more willing to be integrated if some value is granted to their culture and if a policy of multiculturalism (which acknowledges and values differences) is adopted, is discussed but not resolved in Weiner’s paper. Nevertheless, this question does raise an important issue underlying the economic and social integration of immigrants. What sort of society are they being required to acculturate into?

## **Responses to cultural diversity: segregation, assimilation, accommodation**

With most states are now de facto multicultural in the demographic sense of multi-ethnic as a result of diversified international immigration, a suitable response is required from the system to maintain internal unity and social cohesion. As Bauböck (1996b) notes, successful immigrant integration in a civil society involves cohesion, insertion and adaptation. This process, he asserts, will involve one of three core responses to perceived differences: segregation, assimilation or accommodation (a tripartite distinction also made in Inglis, 1996).<sup>9</sup> These three options will be examined below.

### ***Segregation***

The first response, segregation, is exclusionary, involves no change in the existing social structure and results in externalisation of the difference. Residential concentration favours cultural maintenance including own language use, and in-group marriages. Minority groups, excluded from opportunities within the mainstream economy, may develop niches for self-employment which are predominantly (though not necessarily exclusively) oriented towards ethnic enclaves. This will further contribute to isolation from the mainstream society. The test of on-going segregation, Bauböck (1996b: 116) claims, “is not to be found in the spheres of the economy or the family but rather in the position of immigrants in civil society”. The taking up of citizenship, which is easily identified and widely taken as an important marker of integration, is not seen by Bauböck as a necessary or sufficient condition for participation; an immigrant may be a denizen and integrated, a citizen and still largely segregated from participation in civic associations and general cultural discourse.

### ***Assimilation***

In contrast to segregation, assimilation is an integrative solution, but like the first option, there is no structural change on the part of the receiving society (Bauböck,

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<sup>9</sup> These are paralleled at the individual psychological level in models of individual acculturation, though the latter generally offer four options – assimilation, integration, separation and (an added) marginalisation (see Berry, 1992; Ho, 1995).

1996a: 10, 1996b). The existing sociopolitical structure is preserved; there is no change to the state. The onus for adaptation and incorporation is placed squarely on the immigrant. Immigrants go into the melting pot and become like others by adopting the culture and language of the receiving society. Difference is abolished, and with it any potential value. In terms of the marketplace, assimilation assumes an even distribution within the existing labour market, with household dispersal and exogenous marriages. Social mobility generally favours assimilation to the mainstream; isolation leads to cultural and linguistic (low prestige) localism and identity.<sup>10</sup> Such assimilation involves “cultural impoverishment” (Ben-Rafael, 1996: 142) for both the wider society and the individual; the acculturation process is subtractive rather than additive.

Furthermore, if assimilation is seen as a process which includes the acquisition of an identity pertaining to the wider society (Ben-Rafael, 1996: 134), the dangers inherent in ultimately being rejected by the dominant culture are enormous. This danger is also noted by Bauböck, who warns that without language, history and lifestyles “to distinguish who belongs to whom religion or skin colour may ... be used as relevant markers” (Bauböck, 1996b: 94). Assimilation into the new culture is seen to require “intensive identification and also some kind of retraining with regard to one’s secondary socialization ... sufficient facilities and incentives”, **and**, most importantly, openness of the national culture towards outsiders (Bauböck, 1996b: 95).

### *Accommodation*

Bauböck’s third option, accommodation, involves the internalisation of differences, a positive and additive acculturative response, mutual acceptance and adjustment with citizenship, dual citizenship and denizenship open and optional to all (Bauböck, 1996b: 114-115). In the marketplace, barriers to access and mobility are removed, and increased opportunities are provided to use specialised skills and provide new services. Required conditions for accommodation (Burnett’s “settlement process”) to occur are identified as: cultural recognition, respect for cultural origins, access to the culture of

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<sup>10</sup> This pattern of movement and identity is noted also in social network and language studies (see Milroy, 1989).

the receiving community and inclusion in cultural discourse as participants.<sup>11</sup>

Immigration must be an on-going process involving substantial numbers, and access must be available to one's own associations plus those of the host society.

In the 1970s, with increasing cultural diversity and non-white immigration, Australia, Canada and (to a lesser extent) the United States were to realise that an assimilationist approach was impracticable. The melting pot was too Eurocentric. Policy changes moved these countries to this third option, accommodation, with a "salad bowl"/"mosaic"/multicultural approach to accommodate diversity. Changes were to be rather slower in New Zealand where immigration policy restricted non-traditional immigration until the latter half of the 1980s.

While citizenship needs to be open and optional to all, its uptake is often identified as a mark, if not *sine qua non*, of immigrant adaptation, particularly for those who are visibly and culturally different. It is not in itself, however, a necessary prerequisite of settlement and integration. As Tepper notes (1998: 56), the fastest uptake of citizenship in Canada is found among visible immigrants, the slowest among those who are physically and culturally similar to the majority group and considered likely to assimilate. Hence, uptake of citizenship cannot be seen as a universal mark of adaptation, and inferences need to be drawn with caution. Naturalisation may be of particular integrative significance where the country of origin does not allow dual citizenship (currently the case in India and China). Conversely, it may mean, particularly in an era of globalisation, that there is greater instrumental advantage to be gained from the new citizenship. Taking the issue of globalisation as it impacts on citizenship and national identity, Castles (1997) analyses the works of contemporaries on the topic. These are seen to offer differing perspectives that wrestle with the tensions inherent in globalisation without providing a way forward, a viable alternative to the nation-state since a concept of citizenship based on a unified cultural identity

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<sup>11</sup> These conditions incorporate the key features identified as necessary for settlement, for example: Martin's (1975) identity, language competence, position in the social structure, opportunity; Taft's (1986) socioeconomic, national and ethnic identity, cultural competence, social absorption, role acculturation; Burnett's (1998) employment, English language learning access, housing, education, use of welfare provisions, job access/training; Beiser's (1999) employment, language of the host society, and health and well-being; Shergold and Nicolaou's (1986: 63, cited in Burnett, 1998:14) "full participation and equitable access".



within a nation-state does not accommodate “the immigration of the Other” (Castles, 1997: 11, 17). The basic problem is, Castles concludes (1997: 18):

... to work out new rules for conviviality, which provide not only the basis for equality but also the conditions for cross-cultural communication and the development of a new sense of community. ... Globalisation makes it necessary ... to develop approaches to citizenship designed to achieve both individual equality and recognition of collective difference.

This is the issue addressed by Bauböck et al. (1996) in their discussion of the civil society and the sociopolitical situation in Europe.

### **Multiculturalism**

Bauböck holds that the presence and participation of ethnic minorities in a liberal democratic civil society will gradually transform it into a multicultural society. He contends that while (Bauböck, 1996b: 123):

[t]his is a difficult transformation for societies where the national culture has been the major force of cohesion ... it is also unavoidable if these societies wish to maintain their standards of democracy in a world where transnational mobility is continually increasing.

Tepper (1998) similarly identifies multiculturalism as an essential state policy in a plural society. His evaluation is that multiculturalism “does not create diversity; [but] it does provide a means to deal with it” (Tepper, 1998: 62).

Multiculturalism is here seen as a positive end result rather than merely the transitional stage en route to a more integrated nation (Glazer, 1997; Hugo, 1998: 225). Balance is maintained when “individuals are equal” and “everyone has a recognized place in each social sphere and no one is confined in his or her activities to one single sphere only” (Bauböck, 1996b: 83). Inglis (1996: 22) also sees multiculturalism as the only model that can incorporate all “individuals and groups ... into the society without either losing their distinctiveness or being denied full participation ... the key to the absence of ethnic conflict”. Moreover, in acknowledging “the legitimacy and need for equality of ethnic groups in the expression of their diverse cultures”, Inglis believes “it comes closest to a model that has the potential to address the aspirations contained in the

various United Nations instruments on cultural, linguistic and religious diversity” (Inglis, 1996: 22).

Multiculturalism grew out of the failure of assimilation to meet the needs of a changing society (Vasta, 1996: 47) and is a response to the challenges posed by pluralism, by the co-existence of people of multiple ethnicities and cultures in one society. As an option, it is seen as both pragmatic and ideological, designed as it is to “manag[e] the consequences of cultural diversity in the interest of the individual and society as a whole” (Office of Multicultural Affairs [OMA], 1989, cited in Burnett, 1998: 7). The recent coining of the term “multicultural” indicates the relative newness of the institutional response to racial and ethnic diversity in society rather than any newness of the social phenomenon of multiethnic diversity. The term first gained currency in 1965 after a Canadian report on bilingualism and biculturalism recommended multiculturalism as a policy initiative to meet the needs of an increasingly ethnically diverse society. Inglis (1996: 7) notes that this initial programme-oriented and political usage was later extended to identify the existence of racial and ethnically diverse groups within a society (a relatively neutral demographic-descriptive usage) and also an ideological-normative usage “which generates the greatest level of debate”. In this last sense, according to Inglis (1996: 7):

Multiculturalism emphasises that acknowledging the existence of ethnic diversity and ensuring the rights of individuals to retain their culture should go hand in hand with enjoying full access to, participation in, and adherence to, constitutional principles and commonly shared values prevailing in the society.

Despite its generally positive connotations, there are critics who direct attention to the financial costs of multiculturalism, its ineffectiveness as an educational strategy to modify societal attitudes, (disputed) potential to undermine social cohesion and integration, and the persistence of racism despite multiculturalism (see discussions in Bodi, 1996; Bullivant, 1995; Vasta and Castles, 1996). Bullivant’s critique of the concept, “taken to be synonymous with cultural pluralism” (Bullivant, 1981: 231) particularly in education, concurs with this last claim. He concluded that, despite the rhetoric, the concept was being used largely in its normative rather than substantive form, with the emphasis on lifestyles rather than life chances (Bullivant, 1981: 233). Glazer’s claim that multiculturalism is “*the price* America is paying for its inability or

unwillingness to incorporate into its society African-Americans, in the same way and to the same degree it has incorporated so many groups ” (Glazer, 1997: 147; emphasis added) implies multiculturalism by necessity not choice, and negative values.

Inglis (1996), on the other hand, argues that multiculturalism, rather than leading to social conflicts as some claim, reduces the potential for social conflict while it enriches the whole society. She acknowledges that the process of globalisation with its breaking down of old institutions, fostering of transnational allegiances, and increased international population movements, especially in a time of recession, involves tensions (Inglis, 1996: 12). But she argues that multi-ethnicity is a hallmark of most modern states and they must, therefore, consider new programmes and policies to address this demographic multiculturalism and “reduce the potential for conflict” by focusing on social justice.

Such changes are now being seen, even in countries where responses had previously favoured assimilation or exclusion, depending on the racial and ethnic orientations of the minority community. For example, *ius solis* and an emphasis on immigration for those seen as able to be assimilated characterised France’s state-centred, assimilationist policy while *ius sanguinis* and guestworker status excluded all but those of German bloodlines from citizenship in a volk-centred differentialist Germany (Inglis, 1996: 22-23; Faist, 1996). Each of these countries is now moving to accept the inevitability of permanence and to include the culturally and visibly different, in the case of Germany offering naturalisation to often third generation “aliens” (Bauböck, 1996b).

Nationalism and multiculturalism are identified as conflicting forces (Castles, 1996, 1997; Bauböck, 1996a, 1996b), particularly in countries where indigenous minorities, see their stake in the nation threatened by other groups (Walker, 1995). However, while Castles (1996: 19-20) paints a rather gloomy picture of racism as an integral part of modernity, globalisation and a nationalism which involves not only rights and inclusion but the exclusion of “others”, Bauböck’s (1996b) model of civil society avoids such conflicts by maintaining that “individuals are equal in both their moral capacities and as members of society” and providing “a social *structure* which establishes *constraints* on the pursuit of private interests and provides *incentives* for individual and collective agents to develop habits of civility” (Bauböck, 1996b: 81, 83). These aims underline

the inclusive nature of multiculturalism but are obviously antithetical to the neo-liberal belief that the task of politics is not to actively pursue the common good of society but merely to maintain order, leaving the marketplace to provide the best solutions for the provision of public goods.

### ***Multiculturalism and language policy***

The adoption of multiculturalism as a policy strategy in the area of language policy-making involves a multicultural (or pluralist) model rather than an assimilationist or a differentialist model (Inglis, 1996; Koenig, 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1984). The latter models, both promote monolingualism, either through the linguistic homogenisation of society with the assimilation of linguistic minorities to the dominant language or via the exclusion of such minorities from the institutions of the mainstream society. In contrast, a multicultural model promotes non-discrimination, equal participation and the promotion of linguistic minorities' identities and rights. Multicultural language policies are perceived to be not only more reflective of international human rights but also more effective in promoting interethnic harmony and social cohesion than either of the alternatives.

While proficiency in the language of the host society may be a key factor in successful integration, immigrants from non-traditional sources often carry further human capital – bilingualism. There is an extensive literature on the potential benefits which may accrue to the individual from bilingualism, benefits which need to be remembered but will not be discussed in detail here.<sup>12</sup> Rather, attention will focus on immigrant bilingual capital in the socioeconomic context. This is often overlooked, particularly in countries where an international lingua franca such as English engenders a “monolingual myopia” (Stanley et al., 1990)<sup>13</sup> or Tsuda's diffusion of English paradigm (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

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<sup>12</sup> See, for instance, Skutnabb-Kangas (1995).

<sup>13</sup> Stanley et al. (1990: 5) identify “monolingual myopia” as one consequence of belonging to a “monolingual empire”. It involves the inability to communicate effectively as a consequence of monolingualism, but also not being aware that there is a communication deficiency there because the alternative (bilingualism/biculturalism) is quite foreign to the myopic.

Bilingualism, and hence the ability to function in two cultures, conveys benefits at economic and political levels through personal and cognitive enrichment, productive diversity in the workforce, and (the potential for) economic advantage and external linkages, as recognised in Australia's National Languages Policy (Lo Bianco, 1987). At an economic level, an awareness of the culture of one's customers and the ability to speak to them in their own languages is seen to offer an important competitive edge in trade and international relations (Cope and Kalantzis, 1997; Stromback et al., 1991; Watts and Trlin, 1999, 2000). New Zealand's loss of its traditional market with Great Britain, with the latter's entry into the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973, meant that other trading partners needed to be fostered. With these new markets have come increased communication challenges, both linguistic and cultural. If, as Dicker (2000: 127) posits: "[i]n the global economy of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, bilingualism (and multilingualism) will not only be a valuable asset but a vital necessity", the bilingualism of immigrants constitutes valuable cultural capital.

This is particularly relevant for the Chinese language, which is not only the language (with its various dialects) of a major trading partner but also one that is widely recognised as being among the hardest for native speakers of English to learn (Chiswick and Miller, 2001; Hart-Gonzales and Lindermann, 1993; Kirkpatrick, 1995, 1997; Mackerras, 1996; Waite, 1992b).<sup>14</sup> Those who argue for the classroom teaching of Chinese, despite its level of difficulty, acknowledge that it is unlikely that formal learning situations can provide students with the language proficiency required to be able to handle complex interactions with native speakers of the language, even where courses are longer (Mackerras, 1996). A combination of communicative competence and "socioeconomic competence" (Neustupný, 1989: 7), which includes the language itself, "Asia literacy" and business skills is, therefore, favoured. Such a combination is seen to provide more valuable returns on investment. This highlights the value of the cultural and linguistic resource that bilingual immigrants who are native speakers of the language can provide for international trade. A similar argument pertains to language

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<sup>14</sup> Chinese and Arabic are identified as the most distant from English and, therefore, the hardest languages for anglophones to learn. The United States Foreign Service Institute (FSI) places Mandarin in the most difficult of four language categories, requiring some 2400-2760 hours of intensive study for English-speaking adult learners to reach a "basic" level of proficiency, compared with only 720 hours of study for French, German, Italian and Spanish (Kirkpatrick, 1995a; Mackerras, 1996; and compare with Waite, 1992b).

teachers, who need to have a high level of fluency in the Chinese language to teach in a communicatively-oriented course (compare with Waite, 1992a, 1992b). As noted in an argument against providing Mandarin classes for non-native speaking students at the primary or lower secondary school level, Kirkpatrick (1995: 8) expresses the view that:

Australia ... [and, one might add, New Zealand have] been blessed with the resource of background-speakers of a variety of Chinese dialects and this resource must be nurtured.

### *Language shift*

Bilingualism among younger immigrants is a victim of the dominance of English. While migrant studies have long pointed to social inequalities generated as a result of English-only situations, the dominance of English also leads almost inevitably to the loss of valuable language resources, especially among young children schooled in the second language (Nettle and Romaine, 2000: Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins, c1988). In the early 1980s, Clyne noted that the fact that those who immigrate as small children and second generation members of all non-English speaking groups in Australia tend to “use English to each other when not in the presence of their elders spells **doom** for language maintenance efforts” (Clyne, 1982: 148; emphasis added). The tone in Nettle and Romaine’s (2000) *Vanishing Voices* is similarly pessimistic.

### *Bilingualism and language policy making*

Vague positive statements regarding language and multiculturalism are seen to achieve little in the development of a national languages policy. Rather, there needs to be a clear statement of intent with some policy action (Kaplan, 1992; Peddie, 1993; Lo Bianco, 1987). The advent of an Australian National Languages Policy in 1987 resulted in increased attention being paid in that country to linguistic resources and second language teaching, including some provisions for main community languages other than English (see, for example, Kipp et al., 1995; Peddie, 1991, 1993). Government initiatives that have been taken to survey the spread and variety of languages other than English spoken by specific immigrant groups elsewhere (for example, the Linguistic Minorities Project in Great Britain during the 1980s) have usually been commissioned as a part of investigations concerned with a transition to English as their ultimate goal. In many situations little has changed since Kloss (1971) noted that it was assumed that

immigrants would quickly give up their own languages and replace them with the dominant language.

McKay (1993: 27) observed that language planning issues today often revolve around “attempts to balance language diversity that exists within a nation’s borders caused by immigration”. Australia and the United States offer contrasting responses to this challenge presented by language diversity. While one has introduced a stated explicit national language policy with government funding (albeit a reduced amount in the revised, 1991 policy), the other has remained with an unstated, implicit policy which lacks resources (McKay, 1993: 32). Among the advantages of having a formal language policy is the clear stating of principles according to which decisions can be made regarding linguistic resources and needs within the society (Lo Bianco, 1987; Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997). Without a broadly formulated national language policy, education, immigration and naturalisation policies often institute *de facto* language policies which lack coherence and forethought.

The value placed on language capital and the provision of language policies related to NESB immigrants are a microcosm of wider immigration and ethnic policies in society. Minority language instruction for children (both immigrant and the native-born) is important for the maintenance and development of a valuable and often threatened minority language resource. Language facilities to aid the settlement and integration of NESB immigrants is also a matter for immigration policy makers, as is the valuing and utilisation of immigrant language and cultural resources. The tenor of language policies is likely to mirror, and may influence, wider attitudes regarding cultural difference and provisions (or the lack of them) for the settlement and integration of immigrants.

### **Some examples of paths taken in settler countries**

Immigration policy and immigrant adaptation choices do not remain constant, just as culture is not static and cultures and languages are never simply maintained in multicultural and bilingual situations. A change in the structural environment of a society “requires new cultural and linguistic solutions [to] be developed” (Kalantzis et al., 1989: 22). The immigrant settlement paths followed and solutions developed by

countries to meet the changes wrought by increasingly diverse immigrant populations are impacted on by historical, political and socioeconomic factors.

While increased international movements of people have challenged the settlement responses of most countries, existing immigration policies were tested earlier in the North American and Australasian settler countries of the Pacific rim than in the traditional emigrant countries of Europe. In the nineteenth century, Chinese and other non-traditional immigrants had been admitted to work the goldfields and to undertake menial labouring occupations (Price, 1974). While it was felt that those from European sources would assimilate in time, there had been no intention of letting Asians stay permanently. When they did stay on, and as their numbers grew and they interfaced more with European settlers, they faced increasing hostility, segregation and institutionalised racism. Details will not be offered here on the well-documented exclusionary actions taken against these mainly Chinese immigrants,<sup>15</sup> but relevant legislation will be discussed later (Chapter 6) in relation to language issues in immigration policy.

Other settlers, from European backgrounds, were expected to assimilate. So, up until the late 1960s, immigrants from non-English speaking European backgrounds were pressured to “fit in”, to conform to the Anglo-Celtic norm as quickly as possible (Borrie, 1991; Jupp, 1998; McGill, 1982; Martin, 1978; Price, 1975; Lowenstein and Loh, 1977). The success of their settlement was measured according to their ability to disappear within the dominant community, usually with little help from the receiving society. For example, Lowenstein and Loh (1977: 11) felt that:

Until quite recently Australian governments, despite their anxiety to attract immigrants from all over Europe, have done very little to help newcomers adapt to language, lifestyle or workplace. ...Immigration has been a constant theme in Australian history, but for most of its history it has been a British theme, with little variation.

From the late 1960s into the 1970s this policy of assimilation gave way to integration, and then to multiculturalism in Canada (1971) and Australia (1972), with the

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<sup>15</sup> See, for example, discussions in Boyer (1995), Beatson and Beatson (1990), Borrie (1991[1941]), Butler (1977), Ip (1990), Murphy's (1988) annotated bibliography, Ng (1995), Roy (1970), Taher (1970), and Trlin (1987).



recognition that many immigrants needed assistance to adapt to their new country and that the desire to retain their own languages and cultures was not only legitimate but a positive contributing factor in their settlement (Burnett, 1998; Castles, 1992; Jupp, 1998; Price, 1975). Multiculturalism has not been without its problems however (Laquian et al, 1998). For example, while it is an official policy in Canada, Moodley (1998: 351-52) found ambivalent support for multiculturalism in practice: a 1993 opinion poll reported that 57 per cent of Canadians wanted minorities to become more like the majority; and a 1994 Reid Report found that while only 39 per cent of a Chinese sample of 800 individuals reported personal discrimination, 81 per cent felt that they were not accepted in Canada, feeling the brunt of social distance as “the constructed other”.

In New Zealand, immigration policy has been a target for critics of moves to make the country a multicultural nation. Walker, in particular, takes a very cynical view of the motivation behind the 1986 and subsequent immigration changes. He asserts (Walker, 1995: 192) that:

Although its primary rationale is economic, the government’s immigration policy must be seen for what it is, a covert strategy to suppress the counter-hegemonic struggle of the Maori by swamping them with outsiders who are not obliged to them by the treaty [sic].

As elsewhere, in New Zealand issues of immigration and national identity are linked and need to be examined together. Up until 1985 immigration policies were concerned with maintaining the relative homogeneity of New Zealand society along with the well-being of New Zealand citizens (Farmer, 1985). However, there were moves afoot in the 1980s to promote multiculturalism not only in immigration policy (Burke, 1986) but also in education and race relations (Hirsh, 1987; Hirsh and Raymond, 1988; Holmes, c.1982; Metge and Kinloch, 1982) to meet the pressures placed on the society by diversified immigration flows. With poorly integrated populations of Pacific Islanders already in the country (particularly in Auckland and Wellington) as a result of increased immigration in the 1970s to meet the labour demands of industry (Pitt and McPherson, 1974; Kaplan, 1980), New Zealand was faced with the need to settle large numbers of not only very visible but also culturally different and often traumatised Southeast Asian refugees. Admitted under the humanitarian category, they posed a settlement challenge for which the country was ill-prepared (Abbott, 1989; Henderson,

1988; Liev, 1995; Pernice, 1988). Ad hoc resettlement arrangements were instituted, some of which would remain in place after the Southeast Asian refugee resettlement programme officially ended in 1989, and were further stretched by later intakes of refugees and non-traditional immigrants.

Paralleling the tentative moves towards multiculturalism were two major forces which would, in the 1990s, swamp any multicultural initiatives: economic and social restructuring at a national level, and a resurgence of Maori activism focused around the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi. Economic and social restructuring was not amenable to any changes which would increase the government's involvement in the wider society or its responsibility for immigrant settlement provisions (Kelsey, 1997) and Maori activism was increasing demands for special recognition of the Maori minority, as *tangata whenua*, and Maori-Pakeha biculturalism.<sup>16</sup> Not surprisingly, the 1990s in New Zealand were marked by an official retreat to a bicultural stance as a result of Treaty of Waitangi settlement negotiations and perhaps because of the influx of large numbers of visible "others" who were seen to threaten the bipartisan Maori-Pakeha New Zealand identity and settlement issues.

### ***Multiculturalism and the constructed "other"***

Symbolic representation is identified by Moodley (1998: 356) as a negative feature of multiculturalism, which, he asserts, prevents the exclusion of immigrants from "the cultural construct of Canadianness" and "makes immigrants officially welcome at little cost to the state". In an assimilationist model, minorities are expected to be grateful to be let in and are never truly seen as belonging until they "disappear". Paradoxically, multiculturalism is also seen to contribute to a sense of not belonging through its celebration of the "other". This is a concern expressed by immigrants in Canada (Moodley, 1998: 352) and New Zealand (Thakur, 1995).

The issue of the constructed "other" may be prompted by historical events and the opposing interests of biculturalism and multiculturalism. In Canada the issue of two

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<sup>16</sup> The Maori term *Tangata whenua* translates literally as people of the land. *Pakeha* identifies a "white New Zealander as opposed to a Maori" (Burchfield, 1984: 539), and a New Zealander "of (mainly) British descent" (Bayard, 1995: 18).

colonising forces (rather than indigenous minorities) complicates the multiculturalism issue. While the relative autonomy of the Quebec government has perpetuated differences in expectations of new settlers, the broader differences were resolved by declaring Canada a multicultural country with two official languages, thus recognising its English and French colonising elements, if not the indigenous peoples. Immigrants to Quebec are expected to have (or to gain) competence in the French language, whereas immigrants to other parts of Canada would normally have (or learn) English.

In Australia and New Zealand there have been increasing claims from indigenous minorities, as well as the presence of more recent and varied immigrants, to be accommodated. The ethnicity question in the New Zealand census has the effect of alienating and emphasising the “otherness” of those, including New Zealand Chinese, who cannot insert themselves into the “New Zealand European/Pakeha” category (Ip, 2000: 242).<sup>17</sup> The biculturalism versus multiculturalism debate has continued. Some feel that biculturalism and multiculturalism can coexist (Renwick, 1988). Others, like Thakur (1995: 271), see the debates on biculturalism and multiculturalism as “mutually exclusive”. With the government’s slowness in endorsing a policy of multiculturalism, many immigrants are left wondering about their position in the society. Ip (2000: 243) likens immigrant communities to the guest who is unfortunate enough to arrive in the middle of a domestic dispute. In such a socio-political climate the successful settlement and integration of immigrants may be seriously hampered. Those from non-traditional sources and visibly distinguishable from the Pakeha majority, are more likely than other immigrants to be identified as “other”.

Castles and Miller (1993: 273) acknowledge the challenge that ethnic diversity presents, even to those countries that see themselves as a nation of immigrants, with traditions of racial exclusion and cultural homogenisation (assimilation) needing to be worked through:

Clearly trends towards political inclusion of minorities and cultural pluralism can threaten national identity, especially in countries in which it has been constructed in exclusionary forms. If ideas of belonging to a nation have been based on myths of ethnic purity or of cultural

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<sup>17</sup> The census question on ethnic identity is currently under review. Its problems have been brought home to statisticians in Statistics New Zealand by the increasing numbers of New Zealand-born (including their own children) who are choosing to identify themselves as “other” rather than accepting the pre-defined categories offered (personal discussion with Statistics New Zealand senior staff members).

superiority, then they really are threatened by the growth of ethnic diversity. ...ethnic diversity inevitably requires major political and psychological adjustments...

They acknowledge that there are countervailing tendencies (racism and “fortress” mentalities, and the resurgence of nationalism in some areas), but remain positive that “new principles of identity can emerge, which will be neither exclusionary nor discriminatory, and which will provide the basis for better intergroup co-operation” (Castles and Miller, 1993: 274). Increasing cultural and ethnic diversity, transnational networks between emigrant and immigrant societies, and the growth of cultural interchange are identified as “inescapable” and positive central trends. Economic downturns, restructuring, increased competition for available resources, professional gatekeeping (credentialism, lack of skills transferability) and racial discrimination can only, they believe, delay the achievement of these positive central trends. In the meanwhile, however, while many new migrants seem well-suited for “white collar, technical and professional employment, there is a gap between preparation, expectations and actual experience” (Grant, 1995:287) leading to downward social mobility.

### **Productive diversity: multiculturalism and effective human resource management**

The same differences that may elicit negative responses in the wider society may also result in an under-utilised resource in the form of cultural diversity. The promotion of a positive workplace response to and the harnessing of the economic potential of this diversity were the main drivers behind the formulation of the concept of productive diversity and its promotion as an Australian federal government initiative in the early 1990s (see Cope and Kalantzis, 1997; Bertone et al., 1998). Nevertheless, it may be broadened to encompass issues surrounding the positive aspects of diversity – cultural and other – not only in the workplace but also in the wider social environment. That its tenets are equally applicable in the workplace and the broader context of a multicultural society renders it a particularly valuable precept for the settlement and integration of non-traditional immigrants. With this in mind, the development of productive diversity as a concept and its implications for immigrant settlement will be summarised below.

From the late 1980s responses within the fields of human resource management and organisational behaviour have been offered to meet the demands posed by growing cultural diversity and the expansion of hitherto non-traditional markets. Workplace practices based on a largely monocultural post-Fordist model have been challenged by more multicultural alternatives. These have included models based on the related concepts of “cultural diversity”, “productive diversity”, “valuing diversity” and “managing diversity” (Bertone et al., 1998; Cope and Kalantzis, 1997; Cox, 1993; Pringle and Scowcroft, 1995). The last term, as used in the United States, tends to concentrate only on the avoidance or minimisation of cultural clashes in the business environment rather than the exploitation of the positive aspects of diversity. The published literature on productive diversity, on the other hand, while also centred on economic rather than social outcomes, seeks to emphasise the benefits which may accrue from diversity in the workforce (Bertone et al., 1998: 26).

The concept was introduced in Australia by the Office of Multicultural Affairs (OMA) as a new model for work and management in recognition of the fact that, with nearly a quarter of the population recording an overseas birthplace and some 13.9 per cent from non-English speaking backgrounds (NESBs), the potential advantages could only be tapped by acknowledging and capitalising on the diversity present in the workplace. Difference was to be seen as a resource, an advantage, a unifier rather than as a deficit, a problem and/or a divider. Bertone et al. doubt that productive diversity constitutes a new paradigm, since much was borrowed from earlier American developments, particularly Cox’s (1993) cultural diversity model. However, they do identify the characterisation of the three systems of work organisation outlined in Cope and Kalantzis (1997) (Fordism, post-Fordism and productive diversity) as “unique” and see the “embedding of human differences within a pluralist model that promotes negotiation in decision making [as] an important distinction” (Bertone et al., 1998: 27). This has important lessons for New Zealand policy and practices as the officially-adopted model of our nearest neighbour, as relevant to our increasingly multicultural workforce and as a readily accessible and practicable model for the local workplace and wider institutions.

Productive diversity is defined (Cope and Kalantzis, 1997: 289) as:

... a system of production that uses diversity as a resource.  
 Organisational cohesion is created through managing diversity. Culture is the process of negotiating differences to find common ground or create new ground.

It is considered to be more suited than either Fordism (with its machine metaphor, mass production and uniformity) or post-Fordism (with its cloning to a shared vision and “culture-as-sameness metaphor”) to a situation where globalisation and local diversity go hand in hand. The key elements of Cope and Kalantzis’ model are: flexibility, multiplicity, devolution, negotiation and pluralism. The model claims that employers need to recognise that all employees have skills that can be used for mutual gain and to seek these out. The act of negotiating diversity means that culture is not static but dynamic and changing. This creates energy (synergy) and “hybrid creativity”. The model embodies a paradoxical metaphor of culture as “cohesion-in-diversity” within a multicultural social environment; diversity is a resource for forging cohesion, both organisational and social. The model emphasises socioeconomic inclusion, access to power, to wealth, and to social services, and so provides a model through which to achieve a cohesive multicultural society and the civil society outlined in Bauböck (1996b).

Cope and Kalantzis note that critical lessons can be drawn from the success of Chinese small businesses. However, while drawing attention to the success of such businesses, they caution that over-generalising and stereotyping on the basis of ethnicity, as on other grounds, leads to dangerous over-simplifications and misrepresentations. “Cultures are always locally specific and contextually contingent” (Cope and Kalantzis, 1997: 201); over-generalisations are seen to create again a sense of static sameness, blurring actual diversity and dynamism and potentially squandering the valuable contributions which may come of diversity. Their warning notwithstanding, Cope and Kalantzis would agree with Cohen (1997: 170, 171), who notes that immigrant societies have valuable members who, being bilingual or multilingual, “can spot ‘what is missing’ in the societies they visit or in which they settle ...[and] societies that nurture the presence of such groups seem most likely to flourish”.

There is seen to be no single cultural model for business success; rather, success is contingent and happens for various reasons. Globalisation has brought wide and more

frequent contact with other cultures and ideas, along with increased international trade and business contact, particularly with Asia. These challenges add value to the diversity introduced to organisations by immigrant employees with their high levels of skills and education, urban backgrounds often imbued with substantial western culture, valuable transnational networks, and cultural and linguistic resources.

Based on a human resources model of management, which stresses a structural environment where a manager's basic task is to tap human resources by creating a cooperative, participatory environment in which all members can contribute to their optimum potential (Steers and Black, 1994), the productive diversity model provides a sound framework for multiethnic business organisations. Through it companies can "grow and build advantages rather than just eliminating disadvantages" (Porter, 1997: 49). Beyond this, it provides a framework for economic advantage through immigration.

It is perhaps significant that the importance of immigration for international business and trade linkages flows is the subject of an increasing number of economic analyses of immigration in New Zealand, Canada and Australia.<sup>18</sup> The potential in applying the productive diversity model to reap the benefits of multilingualism among recent immigrants who are employed is exhibited in individual success stories. Kipp et al. (1995: 19), for instance, report three examples of the benefits which have accrued to Australian businesses from using the often-overlooked or undervalued existing resources of NESB immigrants. These examples were: an ethnic Vietnamese refugee, taken on initially as a "trainee lawyer", who became a key to contracts with the Vietnamese State Committee for Cooperation and Investment; an engineer from Hong Kong who was sent back to Hong Kong following two years in his Australian electronics firm's environment to find export opportunities; and finally, an immigrant, with Brazilian experience who developed import-export links with that country. On a broader scale, results have remain less positive, with the linguistic and cultural resources of immigrants under-valued and under-utilised.

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<sup>18</sup> See, for example: Bollard et al. (1989), Duncan and Steel (1998), Engelbrecht (1997), Head and Ries (1998), Ip (1993), Yeabsley (1997).

### *Summary*

Although it focuses on economic issues, the productive diversity model ranges beyond the confines of management and organisational behaviour, drawing on concepts from the social sciences, and addressing issues associated with cultural diversity, including social cohesion in the wider society. Civic pluralism allows for multiple ways of participating and the state is perceived as a neutral arbiter of differences and guarantor of the equitable distribution of symbolic representation, access and opportunities. Cope and Kalantzis (1997: 261-262) argue that:

[d]iversity ... is the central issue of our time, and on two fronts, the local and the global ... Civic pluralism means that negotiating diversity is now the only way to produce social cohesion; that a pluralist citizenship is the most effective way of holding things together; and that an outward looking, internationalist approach to the world is the only way to maintain the national interest.

Productive diversity thus provides a model not only for good business practice but also for a multicultural society where the emphasis is on inclusiveness, harmonious co-existence, the negotiation of differences and the valuing and productive use of diverse cultural resources, including immigrant languages. As Cope and Kalantzis (1997: 260) conclude, “[t]he way organisations deal with the inevitable differences among their citizenries defines the nature of the organisation”. This applies not only at the business organisational level but also at the national level. Hence, a society needs to have as its goal the full integration of immigrants into all three core institutions identified in Bauböck’s civil triangle. This will require a comprehensive, balanced policy structure which attends not only to the issue of immigrant entry, but also to immigrant settlement and wider ethnic and race relations within society. Such a policy structure may be found in an institutional structure of immigration.

### **A COMPREHENSIVE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF IMMIGRATION**

All of the factors of power, conflict, structuration, agency, identities, communication, and security that Richmond describes [in *Global Apartheid*] are part of the mix that every nation must struggle with when formulating immigration policies.

(Halli and Driedger, 1999: 8)



Policy decisions concerning immigration occur in a changing national and world environment, with the increased movement and ethnic mix of international migrants posing new challenges for policy makers and host societies. International demographic shifts, socioeconomic realities and aspirations, and political agendas all have a profound affect on immigration and outcomes for immigrants and the wider society (Trlin, 1993: 3). If the potential benefits are to accrue from contemporary patterns of skilled immigration from non-traditional sources, policy decisions need to take into account the complex nature of immigrant settlement and integration.<sup>19</sup> While it is usually the main focus of immigration policy decisions, the setting of criteria regarding who will be granted approval to reside in a country constitutes but one aspect of a balanced institutional structure of immigration, and will not, of itself, secure the desired settlement outcome for those who immigrate or the wider society.

The importance of the social and political context for immigrant settlement was clearly identified by Reitz (1988) in his comparison of post-World War II policies in Great Britain and Canada. Differences in institutional structure were seen to determine the very different public perceptions within these two countries of the immigration of visible minority groups and of the likely impact of this immigration on the society. The unrestricted entry of unexpectedly large numbers of immigrants from the colonies and Commonwealth countries to Britain throughout the 1950s and 1960s led to a marked, negative response among some politicians and the general British public. Non-white immigrants were identified as a welfare burden and as otherwise bad for the society. Negative attitudes translated into interracial competition and violence, and these forced changes in policy regarding immigration. In contrast, immigration to Canada occurred within a nationally planned and strictly controlled immigration programme, with immigrants identified as an economic and social asset. Immigration flows were regulated according to the economic absorptive capacity of the country, and other criteria. Hence, while employment discrimination was found to be somewhat similar in Britain and Canada, the careful selection and regulation of immigration meant that Canada was able to avoid the racism and immigration backlash that occurred in Britain. In particular, the higher education of the Canadian immigrants was identified as a

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<sup>19</sup> See, for example, Appleyard (1989), Bauböck et al. (1996), Bergman (1989), Halli and Driedger (1999), Ho et al. (2000b), Reitz (1988), Trlin (1993).

source of reduced concentration in specific industries and so of inter-racial tension. Reitz (1988: 140) concluded that “the institutional structure of immigration differed between Britain and Canada in ways that appear to have affected race relations”.

One consequence of the more muted response in Canada was that immigration controls did not need to be linked to race relations as they were from 1965 in Britain. There is evidence of continued racial discrimination in Canada (Halli and Driedger, 1999; Laquian et al., 1998). However, positively- focused immigration programmes and settlement provisions plus a policy of inclusive multiculturalism, endorsed through public feedback and on-going debate, have prevented serious racial disharmony despite increased cultural diversity and some cutbacks in post-arrival provisions with the devolution of services.

Reitz’ (1988) identification of the “institutional structure of immigration” as a determinant of race relations and settlement outcomes (including housing and the insertion of immigrants into the labour market) is endorsed in later papers providing theoretical frameworks to analyse immigrant integration and the social effects of migration in receiving countries (Bergman, 1989; Frideres, 1999; Neuwirth, 1999; Simmons, 1999; Trlin, 1993). All emphasise the multi-faceted nature of an effective institutional structure of immigration. Integration is identified as a two-way process affected by the positions of players in the process. Policies on immigration, trade and cultural identity are linked in an “imagined future” which is shaped by the place of the nation in the international context (Simmons, 1999). An appropriate policy framework incorporates material post-arrival support and the education of the autochthonous population. The modelling of a three-part structure of immigration which provides such a framework is found in Bergman (1989) and Trlin (1993).

### **A balanced institutional structure of immigration**

A comprehensive and balanced institutional structure of immigration is seen to comprise a number of necessary and interrelated components (Bergman, 1989; Trlin, 1993). These are: (a) an immigration policy; (b) an immigrant policy; and (c) an ethnic relations policy (Table 3.1). The first regulates the entry and residence status of immigrants. The second provides measures to assist immigrants to settle in the new

society and obtain equal opportunities. The third involves measures to facilitate positive adjustment by the majority population and immigrants to the new social mix and the adoption of anti-discriminatory practices within the wider population “in a situation of emerging multiculturalism” (Bergman, 1989: 218). Within the host society there is an interplay between the institutional structure of immigration and the social effects of immigration. The former is given expression in the government’s immigration (and related) policy making. The latter are reflected in interactions between members of the host society and incoming migrants, which affect and are affected by patterns of immigrant acculturation. These societal features are, in turn, impacted on (and may themselves influence to varying degrees) broader aspects of the society including cultural differences and the national economy, international trade, restructuring and economic recession or expansion.

Table 3.1 Comprehensive policy making in immigration

A balanced institutional structure of immigration			
Policy	Immigration	Immigrant	Ethnic Relations
Main focus	Immigrant entry (and exit)	Settlement programmes	Integration and cohesion in a multicultural society
Functions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decisions on overall numbers and categories</li> <li>• Setting of criteria for entry</li> <li>• Selection of immigrants</li> <li>• Control of borders</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On-arrival orientation</li> <li>• Educational programmes including ESOL courses, upskilling and retraining, bridging programmes for employment</li> <li>• Productive diversity</li> <li>• Housing</li> <li>• Health</li> <li>• Social welfare provisions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Race relations</li> <li>• Anti-discrimination laws and education</li> <li>• Equal employment opportunities</li> <li>• Multicultural education</li> <li>• Productive diversity</li> <li>• Language and cultural maintenance and development</li> </ul>

The key feature in the interrelationship between immigrants and members of the host society is the institutional structure of immigration with its three, balanced areas of policy. Through these, decisions are made not only about who gains access to the host society and the structural provisions that are made (or not made) to support their integration as equal players in the society, but also how the wider society identifies

itself. An outline of the features of a comprehensive institutional structure of immigration, drawing on the models presented by Bergman (1989) and Trlin (1993), is provided in Table 3.1 and discussed further below.

### *An immigration policy governing entry*

The most immediate, publicised and instituted policy component is that regulating the entry and residence of immigrants. Right of residence is generally controlled by the legislature, but decisions regarding how many and who shall be approved for entry are more often considered to be “the prerogative of the executive” (Burke, 1986: 11). In New Zealand, this prerogative regarding the selection of immigrants was clearly separated from legislation in Burke’s 1986 policy document. In Canada and Australia, while the three main categories of immigrants were established under the 1978 Immigration Act and the 1989 Migration Legislation Amendment Act, respectively, annual intakes and mechanisms for selection are also decided by the executive and are similarly manipulated to reflect changes in political, social and economic agendas (Freeman, 1999). An exception to this vesting of power regarding immigration policy in the executive is found in the United States, where most decisions are still embodied in legislation (and hence less amenable to frequent changes).

Impinging as they do on both the sovereign rights of nations and socioeconomic aspects of society, issues concerning who are to be admitted under what conditions receive considerable political attention in all settler countries. While illegal immigrants, including overstayers, are an on-going (and sometimes condoned) problem for many countries, the issue of who may enter and settle in a country has been thrust into the international spotlight by burgeoning numbers of asylum seekers (Freeman, 1999: 106; Suhrke and Zolberg, 1999). Permanent immigrants usually comprise a selection of applicants (plus their immediate dependent family members, where applicable) approved under three broad categories: economic (skilled/independent and business/entrepreneurial), family reunion and humanitarian/refugee. The prioritising of different categories of immigrants and the formulation and implementation of criteria for their selection are important features of this aspect of immigration policy. Decisions regarding the criteria for entry within specific categories, targeted numbers and overall

quotas are closely related to the type of settlement provisions required, and the impact of immigration on the host population.

Since decisions regarding who should have the right to permanent entry have long-term ramifications for a nation, consultation with the wider society is generally a professed principle in policy making and execution (see, for example, section 1.3.5 in Burke, 1986: 11).<sup>20</sup> In Canadian examples of this principle, “a broad consultative process [was] undertaken during 1994” (Freeman, 1999: 97) before the announcement of a new long-range immigration strategy, and in 1998, a proposal to introduce a compulsory language test for prospective NESB immigrants was taken to the people by the government only to be dropped in response to lobbying from ethnic minorities, who saw it as a means to exclude those from NESB source countries (CIC, 1999).

More often than not, however, governments act in accordance with their own economic goals and foreign relations policies when deciding on entry criteria, quotas and regulatory issues pertaining to immigrants. So, for example, immigration policy in Australia was seen as a means of “cementing economic, social and political ties with [Asia]” (Freeman, 1999: 93). Hence, the granting of temporary and then permanent residence to the thousands of Chinese students studying (mainly in ESOL courses) at the time of and after the events of Tiananmen Square (June 1989) required expeditious diplomatic handling to avoid upsetting these goals.

### *An immigrant policy*

While all governments concern themselves with the formulation of policy to regulate the entry and residence of immigrants, there is enormous variation in the amount of attention given to the second and third platforms of a balanced institutional structure of immigration, those which involve provisions and institutions within the host society. An immigrant policy involves post-arrival measures provided (or not) to assist immigrants through the settlement process, with its complex and interdependent social, cultural and economic dimensions. The amount and nature of provision depends upon

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<sup>20</sup> Canada's process of consultation and reporting back to the public regarding immigration issues also forms an important part of an ethnic relations policy.

the nature of a country's immigration policy (the numbers and characteristics of immigrant approvals), the government's philosophy regarding assistance (for example, hands-on or laissez-faire) and its prioritizing and resourcing of immigration issues. Provisions may be ad hoc, short- or long-term, tailored to suit the needs of specified intakes of immigrants and particular goals or more integrated and broader-based, and government funded or reliant on voluntary participation.

In a civil society, immigration is continuous (rather than intermittent) and the goal is the integration of immigrants as equal players within the three spheres of the society – the private, the economic and the political. Thus policy should be well-integrated and broad-based. As shown in Table 3.1, the functions of an immigrant policy in such an environment may be wide ranging and overlap with mainstream provisions within the society in areas such as health and education or specifically immigrant-oriented. Immigrant policies place greater financial, organisational and social demands on the host community than immigration policies. Hence, they are likely to receive less attention than the more up-front immigration (entry) policy in countries which remain committed to a hands-off, neo-liberal market-oriented, and essentially assimilationist approach in immigration.

### *An ethnic relations policy*

An ethnic relations policy seeks not only to support ethnic minorities but to “facilitate adjustment [to immigrant ethnic groups] by the majority population” (Bergman, 1989: 218) and to enhance ethnic relations (Bergman, 1989; Trlin, 1993). While immigrant policies may be tailored to suit particular groups and shorter-term goals, ethnic relations policies need to be broad-based and on-going to be effective. The difficulties associated with the enforcement of anti-discrimination laws in practice is noted by both Bergman (1989: 220) and Trlin (1993: 14-15), as it is elsewhere (see Lippi-Green, 1997; Roberts et al., 1992; Vasta and Castles, 1996). Language discrimination has already been discussed in the previous chapter and identified as a very potent but elusive form of discrimination. Anti-discrimination measures, therefore, need to be accompanied by programmes to educate the public regarding the benefits of the diversity and difference that come with international migration and increased

multiculturalism.<sup>21</sup> As Bergman (1989: 223) warns, even where institutions at both the State and the local government level support a policy of cultural pluralism and equal opportunities, the situation may not be stable and an “[a]dherence to a policy of equality must ... be very deeply rooted in the population as a whole”.

Where no commitment to an inclusive multicultural society exists, settlement provisions for visible minorities are likely to remain limited to efforts directed at economic self-sufficiency. Without a longer term focus on integration and inclusion as equal participants within the fabric of the wider society, their position will remain ambiguous at best. As Ip (2000: 242) observes regarding Chinese New Zealanders, “[their] long-term future ... is likely to be heavily influenced by ... government policy regarding immigration and settlement. The broader race relations issue will also have a definite impact”. In contrast, commitment to an official multicultural policy (as in Canada and Australia) is evidence of an ethnic relations policy already in place. The settlement and integration of visible immigrants constitute an integral aspect of immigration policy-making. Therefore, a desire by the state to shift to a more hands off and cost-recovery approach regarding settlement and integration provisions for ethnic minorities, as noted by Simmons (1999: 45), is likely to be restricted by the extant commitment to multiculturalism.

Except as required by law, the views of the wider population may be sought only when support is needed for a particular policy. Such was the case with the multicultural issue that was taken to Australians in the late 1990s in response to an attack on the existing policy of multiculturalism and immigration (see Jupp, 1998). Polls dating back to the early 1970s indicating increased concerns about the numbers of immigrants being admitted to Australia had done little to stem the flow (Betts, 1995: 75-76). Blainey’s attack on multiculturalism (in the early 1980s) roused concerns among ethnic minorities and liberals (Jupp, 1998), but it was the anti-Asian vitriol exhibited during the rise of Pauline Hanson’s One Nation Party that produced a situation requiring urgent damage control. Thus followed an appeal for public support and a renewed, if somewhat muted, assertion of government commitment to a policy of multiculturalism.

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<sup>21</sup> The productive diversity model developed in Australia by the Office of Multicultural Affairs (Cope and Kalantzis, 1997) is an example of such a programme.

In New Zealand, too, as Kelsey (1997: 338-340) notes, governments have generally overlooked the views of citizens, at least until after the event. The 1980s Labour government rejected demands that the Treaty of Waitangi be considered in matters involving immigrant admission and a similar disregard for the views of the *tangata whenua* and other New Zealanders was exhibited by the National government when, in 1991, it introduced its targeted immigration policy and points system for the selection of skilled immigrants (Kelsey, 1997). Immigration was seen as “integral to the new international economy and ... an unquestioned good” (Kelsey, 1997: 338). Economic considerations and replenishment of the skills pool were the primary policy concerns.

Indeed, political interest in and public debate on immigration are usually muted unless people feel themselves or their positions to be threatened. Negative public opinions rarely threaten the executive prerogative or cause more than minor adjustments in officially sanctioned policies regarding the selection and entry of immigrants. Betts (1995: 78-79) rather cynically suggested that the intelligentsia is, for the most part, “only marginally interested in immigration” and that silence is preferred over political incorrectness and accusations of anti-liberalism. Immigration issues, she noted, were more likely to be taken up (often at election time) by those seeking political advantage from xenophobic and nationalistic sentiments as illustrated by Pauline Hanson in Australia (Jupp, 1998), and Winston Peters in New Zealand (Trlin et al., 1998) to gain voter support.

Ultimately, post-migration socioeconomic outcomes for both individual immigrants and the host society are seen to be “profoundly influenced by the institutional structure of immigration” (Trlin, 1992: 99). For example, ethnic conflict is frequently the result of perceived competition for valued resources such as education, housing and employment (Bergman, 1989: 219; Bernstein et al., 1999: 184). Such animosity is often found in societies when members of an identifiable immigrant minority are perceived to be gaining superior access to valued resources (money, housing, educational provisions, jobs, etc). Discriminatory responses are triggered or exacerbated by economic downturns and by social distance between immigrants and the host community and a lack of structures to counter discrimination (Trlin, 1993). The need for a vision – Simmons’ (1999) “imagined future” – which combines rather than



juggles immigration, economic participation, cultural identities and other concerns, underlines the inadequacies of ad hoc, reactive decision making.

Such a vision requires policy makers to focus on developing qualitative, long-term goals for individuals and the wider society, and to provide for these through a comprehensive balanced immigration policy. Trlin (1993: 19) notes that:

... the less desirable social effects [of immigration] perceived or experienced by New Zealanders, stem from defects in the institutional structure of immigration. The fundamental problem has been a lack of complementarity between the three components.

By coordinating immigrant settlement and ethnic relations policies with immigration entry policies, the short-term gains of immigration are not achieved at the expense of long-term social costs. Rather, the cost of providing programmes is likely to be off-set by longer-term social and economic gains for the individual and the wider society.

### *Immigration policies in context*

Immigration policies already affect most other areas of policy toward immigrants, and raise the consciousness of immigrants and members of the host population regarding immigrants' status in the society. Social structures, the histories, cultural practices and ideologies of the receiving society are more important in immigrant exclusion than their recency, social and economic difference. As Castles and Miller (1993: 201) observe, immigration policies "cannot stop the completion of the immigration process, but they can be the first step towards the marginalisation of the future settlers". Conversely, they can recognise immigrants as valued and equal members of society.

Immigration policies and the socioeconomic aims and outcomes of immigration cannot be seen in isolation from the context of changes in the wider situation – nationally and globally. In New Zealand, however, decisions related to population and development have continued to favour short-term policies in response to rapidly changing economic situations, just as Farmer (1985) and Pool (1985) noted back in the mid 1980s, despite some pressure for longer term decisions. Unfortunately, immigration has often "been seen as a simple way of priming the economy" (Pool, 1985: 198). Restrictions have been imposed at the entry level but little provision has been made to aid the settlement

of new arrivals in the country. As a consequence, even those immigrating from a cultural background similar to that of the majority population have been shown to face considerable problems related to social and economic adjustment (Cowan, 1980; Farmer, 1985; Pernice, 1988).

While the need for a balanced institutional structure of immigration has increased with the changed context of international migration since the 1980s, New Zealand has moved only slowly to provide settlement support services and ethnic-related policies (Ho et al., 2000b; Trlin, 1993). It could be argued that the establishment of Asia 2000, with its focus on New Zealand-Asia relations, provided a positive example of a national ethnic relations policy. However, the main focus of the organisation was to be on the promotion of international trade links and relations with Asian communities overseas rather than on internal ethnic relations. And while Asia 2000 now regularly promotes a number of public cultural events in New Zealand such as dragon boat racing and Asian festivals, thus showcasing aspects of Chinese (in contrast to New Zealand) culture, it is a moot point whether “exotic” activities impact positively on everyday interactions involving Asian immigrants and other New Zealanders.

Immigration policies operate within the context of and are challenged by issues on the domestic front (employment problems, economic restructuring, welfare policies and ethnic relations) and the wider, rapidly changing international environment. Responses to these challenges are often made in a very ad hoc fashion, without consideration of the ramifications for a balanced institutional structure of immigration. Ultimately, as Blos et al. (1997: 533) note, immigration policies are often very limited in their efficacy because of attempts to compromise between competing pressures and interests (as was the case in Britain during the 1960s), and therefore they need to be kept as simple and as transparent as possible. This is particularly true when the challenges presented by the increased globalisation of immigration, transnationalism and diasporic movements, and the ethnic diversity of immigrant populations are considered.

Even when a more balanced structure is provided, the outcomes of immigration policies may be other than those which are predicted and/or desired. For example, Freeman (1999) found that skilled immigration policies have faced major problems, even where there are programmes to assist skilled migrants to adjust to their new setting, as is the

case in Australia and Canada. Similarly, Blos et al. (1997) found that the active integration policy provided for long-term foreign residents in Sweden did not produce significantly better results in the labour market than the immigrant selection policy in place in Switzerland. Nor did the immigrant rotation policy in Switzerland result in the predicted turnover of migrants; most stayed anyway. Immigration policy was found, in each case, to have only a limited influence on labour market performance. Immigrant characteristics such as ethnicity and cultural proximity to members of the host community were found to be important for labour market success, as were macroeconomic issues of state policy and changes in economic structures.

## CONCLUSION

In this chapter the key themes associated with international migration at the turn of the twenty-first century and a number of models relevant to immigration policy making in New Zealand have been discussed. Immigration policy has been seen to involve not only the political regulation of immigrant entry but also a post-arrival immigrant settlement policy and an ethnic policy involving the wider society. The institution of a balanced structure of immigration has been shown to be especially important in an age of globalisation, where large numbers of immigrants from non-traditional sources increase the ethnic and cultural mix in a society. Skilled professionals may have transnational links and international aspects (in terms of both attributes and outlooks). The successful settlement and integration of such immigrants into the host society has been shown to require equal access to and incorporation into all spheres of the society (private, economic and political).

A socioeconomic model developed within the Australian Office of Multicultural Affairs, productive diversity reflects the challenges posed for an organisation by cultural diversity and the positive synergies which multiculturalism can provide. Applied at a national level, it is in accord with and facilitates Bauböck's model of a civil society. As Hugo (1999) observed in a paper presented at a Population Association of New Zealand (PANZ) conference marking the end of the twentieth century, old paradigms of international migration do not take into account features of contemporary immigration. The context in which the movements of people take place has changed

markedly in the past 30 years and immigration policies need to reflect these changes. A productive diversity paradigm with its cohesion-in-diversity and a civil society model with its inclusion of all as equal citizens in all spheres of the society seek to do this.

That immigrant settlement may be so difficult even under favourable conditions underscores the importance of a balanced institutional structure of immigration. Immigration has the potential to enrich a society through the admission of immigrants who are highly educated and skilled, who bring other views and values. An immigration policy concentrated on entry criteria can determine who is eligible for approval, but without policy provisions to assist these arrivals to settle and to meet the wider challenges thrown up by the increased ethnic mix that international immigration in a globalised environment engenders, the goals of skilled immigration will fail to materialise. Nor will this be the only loss. Social cohesion will be threatened and discrimination will persist.

## Chapter 4 Research Methodology

While there has been a burgeoning of research over the last decade and there is now “no shortage of literature on international migration to and from New Zealand” (Bedford et al., 1998: 4), a lack of methodological clarity remains a feature of some of the research relating to the settlement of recent immigrants. The main factors contributing to this shortfall are the pragmatic focus and one-off nature of much of the research. Researchers often concentrate on particular aspects of immigration policy, the settlement process or provisions, in projects undertaken to meet short-term research contracts or to “illustrate” outcomes. As a result there may be little space, time, or even incentive for a discussion of methodological issues, if indeed these issues are considered important at all. This means that there is often an absence of discussion of the rationale underpinning the selection of a sample or choice of key informants, of limitations on the generalisability of findings, and of the possible vested interest of researchers. As Friesen and Ip (1997: 3) note in the introduction to their research profiling the new Chinese in Auckland: “[where] sample selection and composition is not defined ... the validity of the conclusions reached can be questioned”.

Fortunately, research which eschews the need for methodological transparency and rigour is balanced by other research which recognises (and critically presents) the implications of methodological choices and procedures. Those studies that do clearly define their research parameters tend to fulfil one or more of three basic criteria. They are conducted: (a) by researchers who operate within disciplines such as psychology, which require a detailed account of methodological procedures (for example, Ho, 1995a; Pernice and Brook, 1996a, 1996b); (b) as part of an academic research requirement for a higher degree (for example, Barnard, 1996; Boyer, 1995; Lidgard, 1998); and/or (c) as part of a substantial on-going research programme (for example, Ho et al., 2000a; Friesen and Ip, 1997). In such studies, methodological choices, along

with the advantages and limitations these impose on the nature of the research, on data collection and on outcomes, are considered important. This chapter seeks to emulate the transparency of such research by offering a detailed account of the methodological issues encountered and decisions made in the course of the research.

In the following pages, a brief account is first given of the methods used to collect information regarding the policy changes leading to the IELTS Band 5 language requirements of the General Skills Category. Then the collection of the “baseline” data which provided the national samples used to illustrate the application of pre-1995 language requirements and which informs the discussion of the Chinese population in New Zealand is described. Next, attention is turned to methodological issues pertaining to the longitudinal study of the Chinese panel sample. These issues include: the pros and cons of longitudinal surveying; questionnaire design; the accessing and retention of the longitudinal panel; interviewing; and ethical issues associated with longitudinal and cross-cultural research.

## **POLICY BACKGROUND: LANGUAGE POLICY IN IMMIGRATION**

A critical analysis of important changes in the English language requirements for targeted skilled immigrants and of two cross-sectional profiles of earlier immigrants from China provided a platform from which to study the settlement experiences of the longitudinal panel, the members of which took up residence in New Zealand approximately two years after the implementation of the 1995 immigration policy decisions.

The introduction, operationalisation and effect of policy changes in the language requirements for immigrants were examined from a critical historical perspective. An analysis of nineteenth century immigration restrictions drew on official legislation from the New Zealand Statutes and debates in Parliament as reported in Hansard, plus commentary from secondary sources on the settlement of the early Chinese arrivals. Major policy changes since the mid-1980s were then traced through an analysis of official policy documents published by the New Zealand Immigration Service (hereafter NZIS), ministerial speeches and policy statements available via the internet,

the New Zealand Yearbook, legislation and other official sources including Hansard and papers of the Cabinet Committee on Enterprise, Industry and Environment.

While documents signalling some of the policy changes since the mid-1980s were readily available in the public domain (for example, Burke, 1986; NZIS, 1995a, 1995b), information on the debates leading to such changes was not so easily accessed (apart from those delineating right of residence and expulsion) as they were only rarely embodied in legislation. Thus, they did not require debate in the House and reportage in Hansard. Decisions regarding the levying of immigration dues were an exception to the policy-outside-of-legislation practice as the legalising of the language bond (as a means of raising revenue) was required to be tabled in Parliament (as was its later removal from legislation). But even then disappointingly scant information was available on its official institution since the bond requirement was already operational, and its overlooked legislation was tabled and passed under urgency. Parliamentary Cabinet Committee papers, which provide an important source of information on decisions regarding government policy decisions, were not readily available in the public arena. However, those pertaining to the 1995 policy changes were obtained on request, as able-to-be-accessed official information, through the policy and research section of NZIS.

### **“BASELINE” DATA**

There is often a problem associated with the use in research of data collected for another purpose. And so it is with both immigration approvals data and census data. Nevertheless, with all their limitations, such sources provide a wealth of data, on a large scale, that would not otherwise be obtainable. These data sets were, therefore, drawn on to provide the baseline or backdrop against which the longitudinal panel could be profiled.

Those targeted in the longitudinal survey were newly arrived in New Zealand in the 1997-1998 intercensal year and therefore there were no up-to-date data on a contemporary national cohort that could be used for the purposes of comparison. Hence, cross-sectional profiles that could serve as a basis for comparison were obtained

by: (a) drawing a sample of General Category approvals from the files of the NZIS; and (b) obtaining statistical data from the 1996 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings on “recent” permanent immigrants from China (that is, those who arrived in New Zealand during the five years after the March 1991 Census). Methodological issues associated with the establishment of these two data bases are discussed below.

### **Sample of General Category approvals 1991-1995**

In the latter half of 1997, baseline pre-migration data on a representative sample of 151 applications from citizens of the People’s Republic of China (hereafter China or the PRC), approved under the General Category between November 1991 and December 1995, were collected from archived files of the NZIS. Since these files were confidential and most were held in storage in Wellington, the bulk of the data gathering was completed in the National Office of the Service. Some recent files were located in the Wellington Branch Office and were accessed at that location. Apart from a small number of files which were able to be accessed in Palmerston North, files held outside of Wellington were requested by the records staff for the researcher to access at the National Office.

Access to archival files was granted only after formal acceptance of terms and conditions concerning the maintenance of confidentiality. This acceptance involved the signing, before a magistrate of the court, of a document drafted by the legal section of NZIS. No files were removed from NZIS precincts where they were accessed and no names were recorded. All files were referred to by number only.

A questionnaire schedule was designed after examining the application form that each General Category applicant was required to complete and after viewing a number of files held by NZIS in order to ascertain the nature and order of presentation of material contained in files. Questions were formulated and ordered to allow for the recording of information in the most efficient fashion. This schedule (see Appendix 2) included items designed to collect demographic data on each approved Principal Applicant (hereafter PA) plus dependent family members included in the application. Information was also collected on other family members not included in the application, as an indication of familial links in the country of origin or elsewhere and (potential) chain



migration patterns. Details regarding qualifications and employment plus information confirming the PA's English language ability, important criteria in the skilled category, were recorded, as were the reported English language skills of all dependants. Finally, a sheet was included to record the points assessment for each approval. Answers for all items were allocated coding boxes and numbers for later data entry and statistical analysis.<sup>1</sup> Additional information was recorded on the questionnaires where this was seen to be relevant to immigration decisions, patterns and possible settlement outcomes.<sup>2</sup> Each questionnaire was given a number, which was then matched with a file number from the master computer list of Chinese approvals between November 1991 and December 1995 held by NZIS.

A representative sample was then drawn from an NZIS list of the total approvals from China (3,693) for the defined period. Two hundred and twenty-six approvals in this chronologically ordered list were found to be either Hong Kong approved files (203) or Taiwan approved files (23). This reduced the population from which the sample was to be drawn to 3,467. A systematic selection of one in 24 files was made with a random start to obtain a representative sample of 150-152 approvals (4.3 per cent). Of the selected files: seven were found to be approvals from Hong Kong; one was a refugee; three contained insufficient information (only a Residents' Information Management System [RIMS] form or Return Resident's Visa information); and one was not able to be located. Eleven replacement files were selected to meet the required sample size. This involved randomly selecting (by the toss of a coin) the previous or following file number in the master list. One hundred and fifty-one completed questionnaires finally made up a sample representative of those approved for residence over the four-year period. Similar procedures were used by this researcher and other members of the New Settlers Programme research team to complete the samples for General Category immigrants approved from India, South Africa, Taiwan and the former Yugoslavia. Comparative reference is made to data on approvals from these countries in Chapter 6.

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<sup>1</sup> Where items were replicated in the longitudinal survey (for example, sex, qualifications and occupations), the coding was also replicated.

<sup>2</sup> For example: the location of dependants and other family members not included in the application; that there was correspondence from the PA to the NZIS on file in English; and if an immigration consultant was used.

While the sample provides a profile of those approved for residence in New Zealand under the General Category between November 1991 and December 1995, some caution was required in interpreting the data. The period covered did not include all approvals under this category (as some would be approved after December 1995), and those approved did not necessarily take up permanent residence, two negative aspects of approvals data noted by Lidgard (1998: 10). However, it was felt that for every applicant approved who did not arrive there was likely to be a replacement (among those not sampled) who presented a similar profile, given the relatively narrow range of characteristics for which points could be awarded under the points system introduced in November 1991.

### **1996 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings data**

A second cross-sectional profile was drawn from the 1996 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings (hereafter the Census). Since the aggregated data made available on a free and public basis from Statistics New Zealand do not identify persons according to length of residence in New Zealand, special tables were ordered on a user-pays basis. These tables included data on employment, occupation, income, languages spoken, geographical distribution, dwelling tenure and household incomes. With the exception of language, dwelling tenure and household incomes, the tables for the variables were cross-tabulated by sex and age groups.

The target group was identified as being composed of those born in China, who were resident in their country of birth at the time of the New Zealand Census taken on 4 March 1991 (or born in China thereafter), and normally resident in New Zealand at the time of the Census taken on 5 March 1996. This population paralleled somewhat the representative sample drawn from the NZIS archives described above. However, it covered a longer time span and was not limited to those who entered New Zealand under the General Category. Rather, it included all categories of immigrants and therefore reflected a broader spread of qualifications, ages and other features than would have been obtained if it had been disaggregated to include only General Category and post-October 1995 General Skills Category arrivals. Nevertheless, the data provided a good general profile of recent arrivals from China who were already

resident in New Zealand when those who would make up the panel in the longitudinal study arrived.

Although the Census aims to provide a comprehensive enumeration of the total resident population, this five-yearly snapshot of the nation's people and their lives has a number of limitations. First, it does not provide a full enumeration. In 1996, some 43,000 persons were missing according to the Post-Enumeration Survey (Lidgard, 1998: 14). Nor do all residents answer all the questions, as evidenced by the presence in tables of a "not stated/not specified" category. Furthermore, the data collected from Census questions do not always meet the needs of researchers. For example, the language question (Question 12 in the 1996 Census) is very vague. It offers no criteria against which respondents are asked to judge their ability to use a language beyond being able "to hold a conversation about a lot of everyday things". There is also variation in the reporting of ability to speak the Chinese language. The particular dialect or dialects of the language spoken are usually identified, but some respondents are not so specific and are therefore reported under a "Sinitic, not further defined" category. In the 1996 Census, there were 12,912 in this category. Sixty-nine others were classified as "Sinitic not elsewhere classified", that is, as identifying themselves as speakers of a dialect outside of the six dialect groups identified in the Census data (Thomson, 1999: 211).<sup>3</sup>

## THE LONGITUDINAL STUDY

The longitudinal study in this research draws on data which form part of the New Settlers Programme longitudinal survey. Initially, the research was to include data from only the first two rounds of interviews for the New Settlers programme; that is, those interviews conducted in 1998 and 1999. However, it was possible, within the time constraints of the thesis, to add data from the third round of interviews, carried out in 2000. The addition of this third round of data was seen to add valuable depth to the study of the settlement process.

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<sup>3</sup> These six dialect groups were Yue (including Cantonese), Northern Chinese (Putonghua/Mandarin), Min, Hakka, Wu (including Shanghai hua) and Tieu-Chow.

### **The advantages of longitudinal studies**

“Longitudinal studies have an obvious advantage over cross-sectional ones in providing information describing processes over time” (Babbie, 1991: 100). They provide data on a particular group of people over a specified period of time and, particularly in the case of panel studies, offer a coherence and understanding of the dynamics of complex processes that cannot be obtained from one-off, ad hoc cross-sectional studies (Babbie, 1991; NZIS, 2000a; Sarantakos, 1998). For example, most studies which involve research into language use are cross-sectional and obtain data through a single interview. Respondents are often asked to recall not only current but also past patterns of language use and/or problems (for example, Burnett, 1998). Such retrospectivity necessarily depends heavily on the immigrants’ accurate recollection of past practices which they would not generally have consciously paid attention to or noted at the time. In contrast, a longitudinal survey allows the researcher to ask the same questions about language practices over several rounds of interviews. Accordingly, the data collected reflect how interviewees see the situation to be at the time of the interview and/or over a very recent, and therefore more likely to be accurately recalled, period of time. Because of their longitudinal nature, such studies also incorporate a flexibility that is not available in one-off surveys, in that they allow for the addition, modification or deletion of questions in response to new developments over time. With these attributes, they are generally seen as the best research tool with which to study the outcomes of particular policy decisions and processes such as those associated with immigration and immigrant settlement.

Where the effects and outcomes of policy issues are being examined, a longitudinal study of a group that meets a particular policy requirement has clear advantages. Admission criteria, socioeconomic circumstances in the country at the time of arrival and throughout the study, and length of residence, are all variables that can be taken into account by the researcher. As these variables are widely recognised as having a major impact on settlement and integration outcomes, commonality across the group under investigation facilitates the analysis of settlement responses and experiences, and the evaluation of policy outcomes. In the United States, Canada and Australia, longitudinal studies have been undertaken by government agencies to monitor and

evaluate immigration policy decisions and settlement provisions. Such studies are seen to provide reliable information to improve immigration and settlement policies.<sup>4</sup>

However, while adhering to the principle of repeated interviewing of a cohort or panel over a period of time to obtain a longitudinal perspective, the procedures used in longitudinal studies vary across projects. Government-driven studies, usually large in scale, may investigate a specific group of immigrants or members of the wider immigrant community, and time spans, interviewing frequency and numbers of interviews will vary, though at least three rounds of interviews are generally conducted. The National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 (NLSY79), on which Reagan and Olsen (2000) draw for their study of the emigration patterns of the 1.5 generation (that is, foreign-born who entered the United States as children), has tracked a national panel of 12,686 individuals from the 1957-1964 birth cohorts living in the United States in 1978, interviewing those trackable, including those outside of the country, every year since 1979.<sup>5</sup>

Most studies have not, however, pursued such ambitious time lines. The Refugee Resettlement Programme (RRP) in Canada targeted Vietnamese refugees and investigated their socio-cultural and psychological adaptation, with three rounds of interviews conducted over the period 1981-1991 (Beiser, 1999). The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA), begun in March 1994, surveyed an immigrant sample of over 5,000 PAs from all immigrant categories, who arrived in Australia between September 1993 and August 1995, with each individual or family unit interviewed three times over a three year period. In New Zealand, the Longitudinal Immigration Survey: New Zealand (LisNZ) is projected to run for eight years (1999-2007), with interviewing from 2003, and to follow the Australian model, interviewing some 7,500 new immigrants at around six, 18 and 36 months after taking up residence (NZIS, 2000a). A parallel longitudinal survey has been developed to investigate the settlement of refugees.

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<sup>4</sup> This purpose is iterated in publications presenting findings from the Australian Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA); for example, Flatau and Wood (1997), VandenHeuvel and Wooden (1999), Williams et al. (1997).

<sup>5</sup> Statistics Canada administers a similarly lengthy longitudinal database (annually from 1980 on), the Immigration Database (IMDB). However, this project links immigration and taxation administrative records to provide data on the performance and impact of immigration policies and hence involves rather different methodological issues from those based on interview-based surveys.

The difficulties associated with longitudinal surveys and the short timeframes of most studies have generally mitigated against the use of a longitudinal design in smaller scale immigration research in New Zealand. Apart from a study of migration and health among Tokelauan immigrants (Wessen et al., 1992), longitudinal-type studies completed over a period of years have usually involved a two-stage survey design, with the longitudinal aspect involving interview follow-ups with a sub-section of questionnaire respondents (for example, Ip and Friesen, 2001). In other cases, a quasi-longitudinal perspective has been obtained by interviewing different groups of subjects at significant phases of the immigration process. For example, Boyer (1995) investigated two groups of Taiwanese (prospective immigrants and others who had settled in Auckland) and Ho (1995a, 1995b) interviewed three groups of Hong Kong Chinese adolescents representing different phases in the immigration and settlement processes (pre-migration, less than two years in New Zealand and four years in New Zealand).

#### **Lack of information on longitudinal methodology**

Notwithstanding the number of (particularly large-scale) projects which have been undertaken, there is a dearth of accessible literature which addresses methodological issues associated with longitudinal studies. A special issue of the *Journal of Human Resources* (Spring, 1998) (including papers by Fitzgerald et al., Lillard and Panis, and Zabel, among others) is devoted to attrition, identified as “a special problem” of panel surveys (Babbie, 1991: 100). But there are many other important issues that tend to be glossed over in the literature. These include: the construction of panels – who is included, how they are recruited and how representative they are of the wider population; the effects of intermittent but on-going researcher contact with participants on the settlement process; issues related to the interviewing process, including the importance of the interviewer-interviewee relationship and the use of single or multiple interviewers over the course of the survey; interviewer and language choice; and the effect of the presence of interviewing equipment on the interview situation. Such issues, as they relate to this study, are discussed below.

## **The interview schedule/questionnaire**

Data were collected through personal in-depth interviews using a questionnaire schedule developed by the New Settlers Programme research team. The schedules used in the three rounds of interviews conducted in 1998, 1999 and 2000 are included as Appendix 5. Where referred to, they are identified by the appropriate round of interviews – Round 1 (Rd1), Round 2 (Rd2) and Round 3 (Rd3), respectively. Each questionnaire schedule comprised seven sections (A-F). Question numbers within each section were prefixed by the appropriate section letter (for example, A1, B2) and open-ended questions that were to be tape-recorded were further identified by the use of an asterisk and bold type (for example, **\*D12**). Since the questionnaire was to be administered in English, care was taken to avoid grammatical constructions and vocabulary which it was felt would cause problems for participants.

### ***Content and format***

The sections and scope of the questionnaire were informed by the immigrant research literature and the longitudinal survey of immigrants to Australia (Bureau of Immigration and Population Research, 1996). Where appropriate, questions from the Australian instrument were replicated to facilitate the possible comparison of data as part of the broader New Settlers Programme. Like its Australian counterpart, the New Settlers Programme instrument included questions on: demographic information and initial contacts (Section A); the immigration process, plus kinship and friendship networks and movements (Section B); accommodation (Section C); language (Section D); employment experiences, qualifications and further study (Section E); social participation (Section F); and health (Section G). For the purposes of this thesis attention is focused mainly on data collected in Sections D, E and F.

The questionnaire also followed a similar order to the Australian questionnaire. It was deemed preferable to open the interviews with straightforward questions related to biodata rather than leave them to the end as Hatch and Lazarton (1991: 39) prefer, claiming that full participation and completion of information is more likely if other

data are collected first and personal data later.<sup>6</sup> However, such questions are easily answered and so serve as a “warm up” and straightforward entry to the interview, with more sensitive and open questions appearing later, after rapport had been established with the respondent. Another advantage of this order, when interviewing in a second language, is that it recognises that interviewees are more likely to misunderstand a question or to be nervous about their English ability at the beginning of the interview situation. Relatively simple, straightforward biodata questions allow such difficulties to be identified and resolved at the outset.

The New Settlers Programme study is on a much smaller scale and has a more focussed nature than national projects. With numbers limited to 35-36 PAs per panel (plus their spouses/partners and other family members where appropriate), and participants drawn only from among immigrants from China, India and South Africa approved under the General Skills Category (or its predecessor, the General Category), it was possible to focus on and address individual settlement issues in more depth. A larger number of open-ended questions were incorporated to add qualitative depth to answers. More detailed questions to ascertain patterns of language use and English language experiences were also possible, along with more questions related to the settlement of immediate family members, where applicable.<sup>7</sup> As just one aspect of the human capital that skilled immigrants bring to New Zealand, language is, by its very nature, not discrete from other factors involved in the settlement process. Hence, sections of the questionnaire other than that specifically devoted to the topic involved issues and questions that related either directly or indirectly to language.

### *Pilot testing*

The initial questionnaire schedule was pilot tested in March 1998 with representatives from the three immigrant groups included in the New Settlers Programme. With regard to the Chinese panel in particular, the schedule was administered to and discussed with

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<sup>6</sup> This is the sequence followed by Lidgard (1998). In her study, participants self-completed this section while other sections were checked for completeness by the interviewer.

<sup>7</sup> The opportunity that this type of research presented for the accurate reporting of patterns of language use, along with the wider nature of the New Settlers Programme, meant that more data were collected in the language section and other components of the questionnaire than would be used in the current research.



two Chinese friends of the researcher, one male and the other female. Both were immigrants from China, tertiary qualified, in their thirties, and brought an awareness of the immigration situation to be investigated. One had lived in New Zealand some eight years, had experienced English language difficulties and problems gaining employment commensurate with his qualifications, and had recently returned to academic study to gain further qualifications. The other had been in the country barely a year (arriving in February 1997), held a Masters degree in English, had been an academic colleague of the researcher in Shanghai, and was working in a (temporary) position commensurate with her skills. Only minor changes, most involving the polishing, clarification or simplification of the wording of questions, were made as a result of the pilot testing.

### *A dynamic rather than a static instrument*

As noted above, an advantage of longitudinal surveys is that the questionnaire is a dynamic instrument. Questions can be added, deleted or amended in response to changes in the situation and/or their effectiveness. Hence, some changes were made to the questionnaire before Round 2 (Rd2) (1999) and Round 3 (Rd3) (2000). These included: the removal of questions which referred to pre-migration factors plus those dealing with post-migration issues which were deemed to have yielded little information of value; the rewording of questions to reflect length of residence and the on-going, longitudinal nature of the research; and the addition of questions to cover new or developing situations. In the language section, for example, obsolete questions in the first group included the question on all languages spoken and written which needed to be asked only once (for example, Rd1: D1), plus questions about pre-migration English language qualifications, patterns of English language use pre-migration and plans to study the language in New Zealand (including Rd1: D4-6, D7, D8). A small number of questions which did “not work” were also removed (for example, Rd2: D7). And many questions in the section were reworded to reflect the on-going nature of the research (for example, Rd2: D5, D7, D19, D20).

While a longitudinal survey has the advantage of flexibility to add, amend or subtract questions from the interviewing schedule, such changes may have negative ramifications. The removal or rewording of questions reduces the ability to draw comparisons. For example, questions on the experience of problems in making friends

with “New Zealanders” (Rd1: F37, F38, F41, F42, Rd2: F26, F27, F37, F38) became awkward with increasing length of residence, the fact that several respondents explicitly identified themselves as “(new) New Zealanders” by the second round of interviews, and a desire to signal an acceptance of participants rather than keeping them apart as “other”. The rewording of the questions in recognition of their more established position within the wider society (Rd3: F26, F27, F37, F38) meant that a degree of comparability was lost and comparisons across years needed to be carefully qualified.

Most changes were, however, positive. For example, the removal of questions pertaining to pre-migration characteristics left space to increase the number of questions regarding the experiences of spouses and dependent children. The language situation, Chinese and English, of family members was seen to play an important part in and reflect the settlement of the family unit as a whole. While the main focus remained on the PA, adding questions on the spouse and child(ren) in the language, employment and education, and social participation sections added a broader dimension to the settlement picture and recognised the importance of the family unit in the migration and settlement process (Elliott and Gray, 2000; Ho et al., 1997a, 2000a; Lidgard, 1998). This was to be especially significant when one participant became an “astronaut”, leaving his family in New Zealand while he worked back in China. The greater balance of questions across family members allowed for a profile to be maintained of the family situation in New Zealand and for the PA to be retained in the panel in absentia, with his spouse answering relevant questions.

### **The panel**

The construction of the panel was dictated by the funding available and the criteria set for inclusion. The panel size was set at 35-36 PAs plus their families, where applicable. This panel size was governed by the funding available to the New Settlers Programme, but was felt to be large enough to allow for attrition to around 30 participants by the third round of interviews in 2000 (the time span covered by this research) and 25 by the end of the wider study (in 2002). All participants in the Chinese panel were: (a) to be from China; (b) to have been approved as skilled immigrants under either the General Skills Category (introduced in October 1995) or its predecessor, the General Category

(introduced in November 1991); (c) to have taken up permanent residence in New Zealand between 1 August 1997 and 1 August 1998; and (d) to have settled initially in either the greater Auckland urban area or the greater Wellington urban area.

While the panel was relatively small, it appeared to be representative of skilled immigrants from China approved under the General Skills Category or the earlier General Category who were entering New Zealand during the period 1997-1998. The key factor in this representativeness was the operation of the points system with respect to the applicants' age, qualifications, work experience, ability to settle and (from October 1995) minimum standard of English (IELTS 5). Overall, the points system resulted in the approval of PAs with marked similarities in their "demographic" profiles.

The four criteria for inclusion seemed very straightforward, but each was to present some problems. These will be addressed before moving on to a discussion of how panel members were located, recruited, interviewed and tracked.

### *Criteria for inclusion*

The selection of only those who came from the People's Republic of China seemed straightforward enough until Hong Kong became a part of China at midnight on 30 June 1997. Two potential participants were found to have migrated to New Zealand from Hong Kong. While they presented a somewhat different profile from other members of the panel, they were technically from China and so were retained.

Also of significance in terms of the criteria for inclusion in the panel was the backlog of General Category approvals after 1995. While policy changes had seen the General Category superseded by the General Skills Category in October 1995, a number of those approved under the former category continued to enter the country in subsequent years.<sup>8</sup> This would be important in terms of English language requirements met for approval as those approved under the General Category (1991-1995) did not need to

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<sup>8</sup> For example, during the 1997-1998 year, 457 applicants were approved under the General Category and 13,568 were approved under the General Skills Category (*Immigration Fact Pack*, number 11, July 1999: 4).

meet the IELTS Band 5 requirement introduced in October 1995. Nine (25 per cent) of the original 36 PAs in the panel had been approved under the old policy.

Originally it had been planned to include only immigrants who gained permanent residence after 1 November 1997 in the three panels for the New Settlers Programme longitudinal study. However, it was very soon realised that there would be difficulties achieving the targeted number for each panel from among such recently arrived (or on-shore approved) immigrants,<sup>9</sup> and this date was extended back three months, to 1 August 1997. A consequence of this time change was that some interviewees had been in New Zealand for a longer period of time when first interviewed. However, increasing numbers of on-shore approvals meant that a number of participants were likely to have been in New Zealand before the 1 August 1997 date anyway. Such was found to be the case for three members of the Chinese panel.

Auckland and Wellington are recognised as the two main areas of settlement for immigrants, including those gaining residence under the General Skills Category (Bedford and Goodwin, 1997; Lidgard, 1998). Hence, they were seen to provide the most likely and representative locales in which to recruit participants and those settling initially in these two areas were targeted in the construction of the panels. Among the Chinese, though, more so than among members of the Indian and South African panels, there was a movement into tertiary educational institutions to retrain. This meant that some would quickly move from Auckland or Wellington to other university centres in order to undertake studies. By the time of the first interview, three Chinese participants had moved (two from Auckland, one from Wellington) to Palmerston North in order to study at Massey University.

### **Accessing and recruiting potential participants: the construction of a panel**

As anticipated in an early paper outlining the New Settlers Programme (Trlin et al., 1998b: 279), accessing potential participants was “problematic”. As indicated in Table 4.1, construction of the Chinese panel involved a considerable investment of time and a

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<sup>9</sup> In 1996-1997, 39 per cent of all approvals for residence across all categories were on-shore approvals; that is, already in New Zealand when approval for permanent residence was granted (*Immigration Fact Pack* Issue 9, November 1997: 2).

variety of approaches, both formal and informal: official letters and endorsements; brochures; a bilingual flyer; a newspaper advertisement lodged in the Chinese press; and personal contacts. Participants were often found through a combination of methods, but some methods proved to be more fruitful than others.

Of the two methods originally planned to access potential participants – that is, via the NZIS, and immigrant voluntary organisations – the former was the more successful. This method involved two steps. First, copies of a brochure (see Appendix 6) which outlined the project and invited the recipients to participate were sent out in February 1998 with an NZIS covering letter endorsing the research. These two items were enclosed (by NZIS staff) with notifications of successful applications for residence under the General Skills Category emanating from NZIS branch offices in Auckland and Wellington. With the Auckland office alone reporting that it sent approval notices to around 130 applicants per month (personal communication to the researcher), it was hoped that this strategy would return many positive responses. When returns on this approach were disappointing, a second NZIS mail-out was initiated. This required potential participants to be located through the flight arrival cards of skilled immigrants landing in New Zealand, a task that proved to be a particularly time-consuming and frustrating activity. Not only did the potential Chinese participants searched for tend to arrive on large international flights (with up to 400 passenger arrival cards), but the chance of there being any useful contact address on a card was as low as one in four. This second mail out was also sent by the NZIS to those who had paid the \$20,000 language bond. Overall, the small number of Chinese participants (five) found through the two-step NZIS-supported approach was disappointing. However, it was significant in providing the three panel members who originally settled in the Wellington area, where the researcher did not have a Chinese network with links to recent skilled immigrants.

The ethnic associations approach was not a particularly useful method for targeting Chinese skilled immigrants approved under the General Skills Category. Immigrant voluntary organisations in Auckland and Wellington which might include or have links with new skilled arrivals were contacted and given brochures and bilingual flyers. The

Table 4.1 Accessing and recruiting potential participants: a summary of the methods employed

	Nature of group	Action/mode of contact
Official channels	NZIS	NZIS mail out of invitation with notifications of approval for permanent residence (PR).
		NZIS mail out to arrived immigrants whose contact addresses were found on flight arrival cards, and IELTS Bond listees.
Ethnic associations	New Zealand Chinese Assoc.: National body, Wellington, plus Auckland Branch	Telephone contact; sent brochures and bilingual flyers plus information on New Settlers Programme.
	New Chinese Friendship Assoc., Wellington	Telephone and email contact; sent brochures and bilingual flyers plus information on the New Settlers Programme.
	New Zealand Chinese Professional Assoc., Auckland	Telephone contact and personal visit; given brochures and bilingual flyers plus information on New Settlers Programme.
Tertiary institutions	Polytechnics: Auckland, Wellington/ Lower Hutt	Telephone contact, ESOL (and Home Tutor schemes, where applicable) coordinators; sent brochures and bilingual flyers Visited ESOL section, Auckland Institute (now University) of Technology.
	Home Tutor schemes: branches in Auckland and Wellington	Telephone contact with Coordinators; sent brochures and bilingual flyers.
	University English Language support centres/English Language institutes	Telephone or personal contact with centres and individual staff members where known; brochures and bilingual flyers sent or delivered.
	University libraries: Auckland University, Massey University (Albany), Victoria University	Telephone contact and sent brochures and bilingual flyers; or personal visits and brochures/flyers posted on boards and counters.
	Computing Dept, Massey University (Albany); Engineering School, Auckland University	Personal contact; given brochures and bilingual flyers for distribution; bilingual flyers posted on notice boards.
	Auckland University Chinese Students' Assoc.	Visited, plus telephone contact with President; brochures and bilingual flyers sent.
	Private ESOL establishments, Auckland	Several visited and given brochures and bilingual flyers.
Other public access points	Chinese restaurants, Auckland	Personal visits; given brochures and bilingual flyers displayed on boards or in windows.
	TV: Asia Dynamic Radio: Access Radio, Auckland and Wellington	Telephoned/visited and given or sent brochures and bilingual flyers, plus information on wider project.
	Chinese newspapers	Notice about research in Chinese with invitation to participate (written and inserted by Chinese friend).
	Chinese churches	Personal attendance at services (Auckland, Wellington); given information plus brochures bilingual flyers.
	"English corners", Highland Park and Potters Park, Auckland	Talked to organisers; attended Saturday morning meetings; provided brochures and bilingual flyers.
Personal contacts	Skilled immigrants-cum-student friends, Victoria University and Massey University (Palmerston North, Albany); friends and former colleagues	Friends provided contact with recent arrivals among their friends. Endorsement of and support for the research and researcher.
	Panel members' contacts and friends	Recruited panel members provided contacts and supported friends' participation (informal snowballing).
	Motel owner	Introduction to former visitor.
	Academic colleague, Auckland	Introduction through a university colleague at Massey, Albany, to a Chinese student who provided many contacts for the study.

organisations contacted included not only the New Zealand Chinese Association but also Chinese church groups and two ethnic organisations (the New Chinese Friendship Association in Wellington and the New Zealand Chinese Professional Association in Auckland) which were more likely to include, or have contact with, non-Cantonese speaking new arrivals. Other Chinese associations known of by Chinese contacts and/or found in the directory of ethnic associations accessed through the NZIS website were identified as having Taiwanese, Hong Kong or business affiliations and, thus, were unlikely to have members who met the criteria for inclusion in the panel. The New Zealand Chinese Association, an old established organisation with roots in early Cantonese settlement in New Zealand, also proved to have weak links with the predominantly Mandarin-speaking new arrivals. Where possible, personal contact was made with ethnic organisations by telephone or in person to increase the likelihood of interest and trust in the project and the researcher, and to open channels of communication and cooperation. While these direct approaches did not yield results, the informal church-based networks of Chinese contacts and prospective panel members proved to be more fruitful.

The process followed to locate participants underscored the importance of supportive networks and community-based endorsement of the research and the researcher. These (rather than formal approaches) provided the assurances needed by immigrants to participate in a research project. By the end of February 1998 the Chinese panel numbered just one, a new arrival who boarded with an immigrant Chinese friend of a New Zealand-born Chinese friend and former colleague of the researcher. This participant's location illustrated the serendipitous nature of some of the finds and the importance of personal contacts. The friend and former colleague telephoned her friend to see if he knew of any recent arrivals who would be prepared to join the panel. Her friend was out but the future panel member answered the telephone, and subsequently talked to the researcher and agreed to participate in the programme.

With interviewing scheduled to begin in late April/May 1998, more extensive networking strategies were adopted to recruit panel members. These included the dissemination of information (via brochures, bilingual flyers and word of mouth) through tertiary institutions, immigrant support schemes, other public access points, and personal contacts. The two most successful strategies proved to be: (a) personal

contacts and endorsements, and (b) an advertisement placed in the free Chinese press in Auckland. Chinese friends of the researcher (themselves willing but failing to meet the criteria for participation), suggested their friends and acquaintances as possible participants. In one case a potential participant was found to have arrived in July 1997, outside of the time specified for inclusion in the panel, but she, in turn, provided a friend who met all the criteria for participation as her replacement. Similarly, a discussion with a colleague in Auckland about the problems associated with obtaining a sample lead to an introduction to one of his students, a permanent resident originally from China, who had extensive contact with newly arriving immigrants in Auckland. After meeting and talking to the researcher about past experiences in China and the research project itself, this contact felt happy to refer on possible “recruits” who agreed that she could pass on their contact details. Contact with these referrals, at times a somewhat stressful procedure as the researcher called on her very limited Mandarin skills, led to agreement to participate from all who met the criteria.<sup>10</sup> The fact that the researcher spoke a little Chinese and had lived in China for what those contacted saw as a long time (five years), was definitely an advantage. Indeed, the researcher’s linguistic struggles almost certainly rendered her less threatening as a member of the dominant host culture and gave her access which would not have been possible had she spoken only English.

While the researcher’s limited facility in Mandarin was of use, recourse to the literacy skills of native speakers of the language was also valuable in the search for panel members. A friend<sup>11</sup> volunteered his skills to translate the flyer (Appendix 7) into Chinese, so that a bilingual version could be distributed and displayed. Another friend (and former colleague) offered to inset a notice about the research in the Auckland Chinese press. Both of these Chinese-language notices were seen to be instrumental in alerting members of the wider Chinese population to the research and in obtaining panel members. Six participants, including one of the two from Hong Kong, referred to the newspaper notice as **the** source of information regarding the research. One, who wrote to the researcher rather than telephoning her via the contact number given,

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<sup>10</sup> One female contact was subsequently to withdraw her offer to participate, as noted below.

<sup>11</sup> A skilled immigrant ex-Shanghai and, therefore, educated through and fluent in Putonghua/ Mandarin while also a Shanghai hua (and Cantonese/Guandong hua) speaker.



included a copy of the advertisement with his letter.<sup>12</sup> For others, the newspaper advertisement and/or bilingual flyer acted as only one source of information about the project. Another source was usually a personal contact.

### *Retention of panel members*

A major methodological concern, once one has obtained a panel to take part in a longitudinal survey, is panel attrition (Babbie, 1991; Lillard and Panis, 1998; Reagan and Olsen, 2000; Sarantakos, 1998; Wright et al., 1995; Zabel, 1998). While attrition can be avoided by opting for trend or cohort studies, these alternatives are all seen to lack the precision in describing changes in processes over time that is offered by a panel study (Babbie, 1991: 100). Cohort studies also involve reconstructing one's panel each year. Hence the aim, once a longitudinal panel is constructed, is to retain it as intact as possible for the projected life of the research – in this case for five years.

A list was made of participants with contact information (postal addresses, telephone numbers and, later, email addresses), with each given an identification number (prefixed with "PRC"). These numbers were allocated sequentially, so they indicate the order of entry of participants into the research project. Information was updated as changes were found or notified.<sup>13</sup> Means of keeping in contact included the sending of: a formal thank you letter plus a personalised thank you card after each interview, a summary of findings from each annual round of interviews, and a card for Christmas/New Year.<sup>14</sup> After the first round of interviews (when the summary went out in the following year at the appropriate time), a card was included for the Chinese New Year. Participants were also encouraged to notify the researcher if they moved, either through the return of a change of address card or via email. The most useful aspect of the tracking section added to the end of the questionnaire for the second and subsequent rounds of interviews proved to be the request for an email address, especially if that was an international and free address through which participants could still be

<sup>12</sup> While two of those who initially responded to the newspaper notice were not themselves eligible, they provided access to others who were: a husband (the PA) for one, a friend for the other.

<sup>13</sup> Initial plans to use a card file were abandoned in favour of updating the computerised list. The latter was found to be an easier and more useful means of keeping abreast of the large numbers of changes in accommodation, especially during the first year of the project.

<sup>14</sup> The Christmas/New Year card chosen was of the non-religious "season's greetings" variety, since only some of the panel were Christians.

contacted if outside the country. The majority of panel members had difficulty naming a stable and reliable contact person in New Zealand as their friends were also relatively mobile.

Most participants who moved from their last known address were able to be tracked for subsequent interviews (Table 4.2). Some, who had initially shared accommodation, were tracked through information from others at their previous address. Others, when they did not change towns (or suburbs, if in Auckland), generally retained their telephone numbers or email addresses unless they travelled overseas between interviews. If not otherwise located, their continued residence in New Zealand was ascertained through an inquiry to the NZIS.

Table 4.2 Panel attrition, Round 1 (1998) to Round 3 (2000)

<i>Status of PAs</i>	<i>Round 1 (1998)</i>		<i>Round 2 (1999)</i>		<i>Round 3 (2000)</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Interviewed	36	100	32	88.9	29	80.6
“Astronauting”	0	0	1*	2.8	1*	2.8
Left New Zealand	0	0	2	5.5	4	11.1
Lost	0	0	1	2.8	2	5.5
Total	36	100	36	100	36	100

\* PA working overseas. Information, as applicable, from spouse living in New Zealand.

In the event, the size of the panel was reduced from 36 to 30 over the three interviews. Of the six participants who dropped out, four were known to have left New Zealand and returned to China and only two remained unaccounted for. It had been thought that one of the two lost participants would withdraw after the first interview; she had almost pulled out at the beginning of that interview but then decided to participate so long as her interview was not tape-recorded.<sup>15</sup> One PA remained in the panel, albeit somewhat indirectly, as an “astronaut”. As his family was resident in New Zealand, contact was maintained with his wife to report on the nature of their settlement.

<sup>15</sup> Surprisingly, she was one of the few who remembered to send a change of address card when she moved between the first and second interviews, and she expressed no concern about being tape-recorded at the time of the second interview.

## **Interviewing**

Data for the longitudinal study was collected via personal in-depth interviews. Aspects of the interviewing activity will, therefore, be discussed below under two subheadings: logistics and the interviewing procedure.

### *Logistics*

Interviews involved the use of the questionnaire schedule described above, and a small battery-powered tape recorder with an extension microphone to record open-ended questions. The PA, and where present (and available) the spouse, was interviewed. Sometimes a child was present and able to answer questions regarding his or her activities. This was more often the case in the second and third rounds of interviews, when the children had acquired a greater level of competency in English, were more confident, and they and their parents knew the interviewer better.

Interviews were conducted between May and August each year (1998, 1999 and 2000), more or less one year apart. Initially, most interviews took place during the daytime. However, as participants became more involved with studies or work, interview times needed to be fitted around these activities and so for the second and third rounds more interviews were completed at night or during the weekend. Participants being out of the country, their involvement in university examinations, locating “misplaced” participants and increased travel to complete interviews were also factors that affected the timing of interviews.

Interviewing took place in Auckland, Wellington, Palmerston North and Christchurch, for the most part in the homes of the participants. However, the importance of maintaining harmonious relations with others, a widely recognised feature of Chinese society (Goh, 1996), was to influence the location chosen since, particularly at the time of the first round of interviews, accommodation was often shared with persons other than immediate family members. In such cases, interviews were sometimes conducted in the panel member’s own space (usually a bedroom) to avoid disrupting the larger group. At other times they were conducted in shared space, either while others were outside of the house or when they were home, in which case there was sometimes input

from these others, especially when open-ended questions were asked. Occasionally an interview was conducted at an alternative site, usually because the home was shared with others and the surroundings were too noisy, crowded or distracting, or a lengthy interview would impinge on the rights and activities of other residents. In several cases it was more convenient, in terms of timing and location, for the participant to elect to hold the interview at the place of work.

Some surroundings were more conducive to interviewing and recording than others. Offices offered quiet uninterrupted spaces and proved suitable, as were the researcher's home (for Palmerston North participants) and the Auckland motel used by the researcher (sites chosen by three interviewees in the first round). A university library and two public libraries were not very suitable sites, mainly because of the disturbance that an interview could create for other users. While a sensitive extension microphone was used to record open-ended questions, this did not pick up *sotto* voices very well.

In the third round, two interviews were conducted by telephone when face-to-face interviews could not be arranged (with panel members in Hamilton and Dunedin, respectively). A speaker telephone was used by the researcher so that open-ended questions could still be tape recorded. Though one participant felt that he would have said more in a face-to-face situation, these two interviews were felt by the researcher and the participants to have gone well. Part of their success is attributed to the ability of each participant to express himself easily in English and to the fact that both already knew the interviewer from two earlier rounds of interviews.

### *The interviewing procedure*

As Hughes (1996: 172) notes, "the successful interview involves a series of linked activities rather than a single event." These activities he divides into five stages: preparations, introductions, the uneven conversation, the ending, and after the interview. The first of these stages is largely organisational and will not be dealt with further. Brief comments will be made about the other four stages, particularly as they relate to the cross-cultural interviewing of participants from a non-English speaking background.

The successful completion of the introductory stage of the interview process was very important to the success of the ensuing interview, particularly since the interview was to be conducted in the participants' second language, English. Entering the setting for the first interview as a stranger, as a member of the dominant culture and as a native speaker of New Zealand English, the researcher was potentially threatening to all but the most self-confident participants. However, she had lived among Chinese for five years, was keen to meet them in person and to hear what they had to say, an inclination noted as essential for the conduct of good interviews (Hughes, 1996; Patton, 1980). Having resided and taught in China, the researcher was also conscious of the need to slow her speech and to avoid colloquialisms, and had some familiarity with the culture she would encounter in their homes. These factors, along with the time spent leading into the interview, sharing experiences, discussing the research and offering the consent form (Appendix 8) in both Chinese and English, helped to establish rapport, reduce social distance and to create a non-threatening environment for the first interview.<sup>16</sup> While rapport had to be re-established at the beginning of subsequent interviews, the interviewer-interviewee relationship was no longer (strictly speaking) one of stranger-stranger.

While it may be identified as a form of "conversation, albeit one contrived for research purposes" (Dowling, 2000: 24), the interview takes place in a social context, with societal norms and expectations and power structures. Hence, the interview itself (particularly the first one), was an uneven and potentially stressful interaction. Actions were taken to reduce this tension. A participant's copy of the questionnaire was given to participants to provide them with written support throughout the interview and to indicate the response options for closed-ended questions. It was stressed that the interview was not a test of their English language skills, that grammar mistakes were not important, and that open-ended questions were tape-recorded so that the interviewer could listen rather than write, and to ensure that their views would be reported accurately.<sup>17</sup> The use of a small, inconspicuous tape recorder with a small extension microphone was beneficial in reducing self-consciousness. The researcher's poor

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<sup>16</sup> Fifteen participants signed only the English version of the consent form, 12 signed only the Chinese version, and nine signed both.

<sup>17</sup> Brief notes were made on questionnaires themselves in case of technology failure. More substantive written notes were recorded when interviews were not tape recorded at the request of the participant.

Chinese and lack of concern when others spoke this language in front of her were also felt to relax participants. Interviews were conducted in English, but if there was a communication impasse, as sometimes happened (particularly in the first round of interviews), both languages were used to move forward.

The emphasis throughout the interviews was on maintaining rapport and obtaining accurate and data-rich responses. Where an answer to a closed-ended question was only “near-formatted” (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 2000: 53), qualified or elaborated on, notes were made on the questionnaire, adding a qualitative dimension to some quantitative data. Open-ended follow-up questions acted as a check that yes-no questions had been understood, though sometimes they did not have to be asked as the participant offered the extension without prompting. To adhere to standardised interviewing rules and iterate an already answered question would have seriously threatened rapport (Bradshaw and Stratford, 2000) and contributed to a style that could possibly be perceived as an interrogation.<sup>18</sup> So, when a participant asked what a question meant, it was not merely repeated, as strict protagonists of standardisation would have one do (Foddy, 1993: 149; Houtkoop-Steenstra, 2000: 181). Rather, it was rephrased and/or explained to clarify the meaning. Similarly, when respondents could offer only a “don’t know/not sure” response to a yes-no closed-ended question, this response option was added to avoid a non-answer or the forcing of an inappropriate response.

Patton (1990: 165) considers that research involves a trade-off between breadth and depth. The relatively small size of the panel interviewed meant that while the questionnaire schedule comprised predominantly closed-ended questions, open-ended questions (with tape-recorded responses) could be used to obtain greater detail and depth of information from participants. To this extent the small panel size facilitated the collection of more qualitative data on the settlement process, as seen from the participants’ perspective. While open-ended questions in the researcher’s copy of the questionnaire contained probes, these were omitted from the participant’s copy. In this way the danger of restricting respondents to answers which fitted within the framework of priorities and cultural expectations of the researcher was reduced (Foddy, 1993). Of

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<sup>18</sup> This was an issue faced by Smith (1994) in the trialing of her questionnaire for use with Lao refugees in Wellington.

course, the likelihood of going off the topic, an “almost endemic problem with open questions” (Foddy, 1993: 151), was increased. However, this tendency was not always negative, as it allowed participants to talk about what they, rather than the interviewer, saw as relevant. The tape-recording of answers to open-ended questions also overcame the tendency to record the answer that was expected rather than that which was offered.

Inevitably, with the introduction and rapport-establishing time at the beginning of the interview, the inclusion of open-ended questions, and the need to maintain rapport to the end, the interviews could take a considerable amount of time to complete. Interview times for the first interview ranged from two and a half to five-plus hours, depending on the volubility and English level of the participants. The two longest interviews in the first round of interviews involved, on the one hand, a former English lecturer and voluble spouse with much to say and, on the other hand, a couple who found the English demands of the interview somewhat difficult. Later rounds of interviews tended to be a little shorter as the participants became both more familiar with the questionnaire schedule and the researcher and more fluent in English. Although administered only once per year, the time required to complete the interview was a difficulty when participants were busy with studies and/or work. Some commented negatively on its length and said that they would have been happier to fill it out themselves and send it back. None, however, withdrew from the study – they simply made the time.

The repeat interviewing associated with a longitudinal survey affects the researcher-interviewee relationship in a way that one-off interviews for cross-sectional surveys do not. Sarantakos’s (1998: 465) definition underlines the difficult balancing act of the “neutral” interviewer, who strives for:

... interviews that lie between hard and soft interviews and in which the interviewer takes a factual, distanced, friendly and impersonal position.

The degree of “fit” between researcher and respondents is not easy to predict (Padgett, 1998: 48), but the establishment of a degree of rapport with those being interviewed is a necessary condition to retain participants in a longitudinal panel. This is more easily achieved when one researcher is constant across rounds of interviews so that rapport is established and maintained. Through an association which spans a number of years, the

researcher is often the recipient of hospitality when interviewing and finds out more than would be offered to an outsider. Initially “dependent on the kindness of strangers” (Padgett, 1998: 46), and sometimes the only “Kiwi” New Zealander that participants had in their homes or talked to at length, the researcher was over time admitted to a privileged position through her research, that of an insider-outsider.

## DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

Data from the 1991-1995 sample of approved entry applications and the longitudinal panel study were coded by the researcher. Coding was kept consistent across the three years of the panel study to facilitate the analysis and comparison of findings. Apart from the fixed coding already indicated on the questionnaire, there was little extra coding of data. Responses to tape-recorded, open-ended questions were generally not coded for statistical analysis. Among the exceptions, where the responses were more categorical, were: questions concerning the respondent’s occupation, which was coded using categories identified in the New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations 1995 (NZSCO95); and reasons for particular actions (for example, reasons for migrating to New Zealand and for doing or considering voluntary work). Once coded, the questionnaires were submitted to Computer Services at Massey University for data entry and formatting for analysis. The formatted data were edited before use.

Quantitative data obtained from the questionnaire was analysed using SPSS-9 for Windows. Since the panel involved a relatively small number of participants who were not randomly selected, the findings are not **statistically** generalisable to the wider population. The main statistical procedures used were frequencies to describe the baseline groups (the 1991-1995 sample and those included in the aggregated Census data) plus the panel, and basic cross-tabulations to examine the degree of association between different variables. As Patton (1990: 165) notes, “under conditions of limited resources, we can look at a narrow range of experiences for a larger number of people or a broader range of experiences for a smaller number of people”. While the baseline data adopted the first option, it was the latter option that was adopted with the data collected from the longitudinal study. Hence, the emphasis is on describing and



interpreting the settlement process as it was experienced by members of the panel. From there it is permissible, given the nature and characteristics of the panel, to extrapolate the types of experiences that are **likely** to be faced by others with a similar profile.

### **Transcribing**

The researcher transcribed all audio tapes from the first and second rounds of interviews, while tapes from the third round were transcribed by others. Despite the researcher's familiarity with the content of the tapes and with Chinese-accented English, transcriptions of interview material covering three-quarters of an hour to one and a half hours took up to eight or nine hours to transcribe. In part this was because of: (a) the researcher's typing speed, which reduced her to longhand transcription; (b) the poor tape quality or lack of volume in some recordings; and (c) the nature of the exercise – transcribing is widely known to be a very time-consuming activity (Hughes, 1996: 174; Padgett, 1998: 71). Two other persons, each with secretarial skills, transcribing experience and familiarity with non-native speaker accents, transcribed the tapes from the third round of interviews. While this affected the researcher's level of "intimacy with interview data" (Padgett, 1998: 75), it facilitated the earlier completion of transcriptions and access to interview data for analysis. The two transcribers were bound by the ethics approval confidentiality requirements under which the research was conducted, as was the secretary who typed up the longhand transcriptions from the first and second rounds of interviews (see Appendix 3).

Notes taken on questionnaires, as a back-up to technical failure or for poor audio quality, a practice advised by Bradshaw and Stratford (2000: 72) among others, proved useful in both scenarios. In the first round, taping failure for two interviews meant that recourse was made to backup notes recorded on questionnaires. Notes on questionnaires also aided the listening required to hear and transcribe some comments.

Taped material was transcribed verbatim, in recognition of the fact that respondents need to be able to use their own voices without potentially distorting changes being made (Padgett, 1998; Redmond, 1995). In their breaks, restarts and repetitions, many

voices convey a lack of fluency in English. They carry aspects of Chinese speech, particularly in the omission of tense markers and plurals, the fillers and repetitions. They also reflect the oral expression of ideas that the respondents were thinking about on their feet. Participants were not offering prepared answers in a formal setting, but responses, usually made within their own homes, to questions put by an interviewer who tried to provide a relaxed atmosphere conducive to the use of their second language, English.

Transcribing one's own tapes not only allows the researcher to get closer to the data, but as Padgett (1998: 75) points out:

... affords an opportunity for immediate feedback on your performance as an interviewer – opening the door to making improvements in your interviewing technique.

Such was the case in this research. When transcribing the first round of interviews, the researcher noticed that there were instances where she should have allowed a longer pause for the respondent to frame an answer in English before recasting the question or offering a prompt or comment. A conscious effort to wait longer for a response was made in subsequent rounds of interviewing.

### **Analysing qualitative interview data**

The use of a qualitative data analysis software package such as NUD\*IST for content analysis was considered. However, in the absence of such a package, the division of the interview schedule into thematic sections and the predominance of closed-ended questions were seen to provide an adequate framework within which to study the transcribed responses to open-ended questions. Tabular charts were developed for each of the three main themes studied (language, employment and social participation), with data entered for each of the participants across the three rounds of interviews. Patterns emerging from these charts were compared with the experiences of participants as reflected in frequency data and cross-tabulations for variables measures elsewhere in the annual questionnaire. This approach was a pragmatic one for dealing with a panel that was small and familiar to the researcher.

## **ETHICAL CONCERNS**

The research reported in this thesis adhered to the four basic ethical tenets governing research involving human subjects: voluntary participation, informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, and the non-exposure of participants to harm. Ethical issues were seen as especially important since the subjects were recent and “visible” immigrants and, therefore, in a notably vulnerable position. This situation has also been marked by other researchers investigating groups with a similar profile (Ho, 1995a; Lidgard, 1998).

The formal ethical requirements of the NZIS were met in order to access the Service’s archival material for the 1991-95 sample of General Category approvals. Formal approval was obtained from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, plus its sub-committee responsible for research of an intercultural nature, for the longitudinal study as part of the New Settlers Programme. The ethics application to the Massey University Human Ethics Committee and a copy of the notification of approval are included as Appendix 3 and Appendix 4, respectively.

### **Voluntary participation**

No participants were coerced into participating in the longitudinal research. As indicated in the discussion of the recruitment procedure used to construct the panel, potential participants were provided with information about the New Settlers Programme and the longitudinal research and invited to join the study. The choice to participate was theirs. All were also free to withdraw from the study at any time if they chose to do so. One person, who had initially agreed to take part, decided to withdraw before the first interview. No reason was given for this withdrawal beyond the fact that she no longer wished to take part. The researcher did not push to obtain a reason that was not freely offered, respecting the decision as her choice for whatever reason(s) she had. No others signalled their desire to withdraw from the research when contacted before the first or subsequent rounds of interviews.

As noted above, apart from those who were lost from the panel because they had left the country, only two PAs were lost when they changed their addresses and the

researcher was unable to regain contact. It is not known whether these two planned to withdraw or not, as there had been no indication of such an intention from either of them at the end of the previous interview.

### **Informed consent**

Once contact had been established between each prospective panel member and the researcher, the nature of the New Settlers Programme, the longitudinal research and the researcher's thesis were described and a brochure and a bilingual flyer (Appendix 6 and Appendix 7, respectively) further explaining the project were posted out if these had not already been seen. The nature of the project was again discussed before the commencement of the first interview, and any queries were answered and points clarified. Only then was the ethics consent form (Appendix 8) signed, and the interview begun.

In recognition of the bilingual backgrounds of the interviewees, the ethics consent form was provided in a bilingual format. Participants were given the option of signing either the Chinese or the English version, or both if they so wished. The consent form was translated into Chinese by a Hong Kong-born colleague, and checked by another more recently arrived friend from China. The latter, and some participants, commented that the language used was a little quaint and old fashioned, but all said that it was "OK" and felt that offering a bilingual consent form was a good idea. This point was endorsed by those who chose to sign this version.

Before the tape recorder was used to record the first response to an open-ended question, permission to use this tool was again checked or confirmed. At times when the discussion seemed to become personal and sensitive, the participant was usually asked if he or she would like the tape recorder to be turned off. Occasionally, the researcher felt that the points being made were not relevant to the interview and/or too sensitive to record and made this move herself. Two participants, while happy to have notes made on the questionnaire, chose not to be tape-recorded at the time of the first interview. None declined in subsequent interviews, reinforcing the findings of Buchanan et al. (1988: 61, cited in Hughes, 1996) that few refuse to be taped.

## Privacy and confidentiality

Privacy and confidentiality were always in the researcher's mind when making contact with people about their willingness to be involved in the study, when contacting them before each interview, during interviewing, when labelling, storing and analysing data, and when preparing and presenting results.

As each panel member was recruited he or she was given a number, prefixed by "PRC". A master list of panel members and their contact details was kept together with their correspondence, in a locked filing cabinet. All audio tapes, questionnaires and transcriptions were labelled and identified only by number. Knowing this was the case appeared to reassure participants that their privacy and interests were being safeguarded.

Transcribed passages used in the text of this thesis are also identified by these identifying numbers, plus round of interview (for example, *PRC8 Rd1*). While pseudonyms would have been the preferred option, the researcher was not happy to label participants willy-nilly with other names (with their various meanings and connotations). A letter was sent out to participants asking them for their choice of name. What came back was a mixture of pseudonyms, own names and identity numbers. Pseudonyms offered were, in turn, a mixture of Chinese and western names that could be confusing and not denote the gender of the speaker. They could also be cumbersome as identifiers. For example, the polite form of address in Chinese requires the whole name with the surname first (for example Wang Xiao Jun or Wang Xiaojun, Li Peng), the family name preceded by "Xiao" (little/young) or "Lao" (elder/old), or the family name followed by title (for example, Lu laoshi for a teacher). Furthermore, a female spouse does not normally take her husband's family name, so names would not indicate marital relationships. So, for cultural and practical reasons, conformity and ease of reference for the reader, the decision was made to identify speakers in transcribed passages by their identification numbers alone. The relationship of a speaker other than the PA, where cited, is noted as appropriate (for example, *PRC35 spouse Rd2*).

The two issues of privacy and confidentiality were also identified as important by organisations approached in the course of the research. For one organisation they were to pose an insurmountable barrier to the distribution of information regarding the nature of the project (despite the fact that the organisation's coordinator was asked to distribute the information and was not asked to provide any names or other confidential information). Privacy as an issue was also commented on by a university-based English language provider and a school within a university, but these and other ESOL and student learning centres, lecturers, departments/schools, university libraries and groups were happy that information be displayed where it was accessible to students or to pass it on to them themselves. Similarly, the NZIS sent out letters to approved immigrants on its mailing lists on behalf of the New Settlers Programme. It later also provided access to flight arrival cards, names and flight numbers of recent arrivals, in order to find possible contact addresses. All recordings of names and addresses in the course of this exercise remained within the office where the tracking took place and were returned to an NZIS staff member who mailed out the information, thus guarding the privacy of those being invited to participate and the confidentiality of NZIS files.

In general, privacy did not appear to be an issue for those contacted by the researcher regarding their possible participation in the project once it was found that the approach had the endorsement of one of the friends of the person contacted. Only one participant asked specifically that his participation not be divulged to others. Having graduated from the same university as a number of other participants, he would have been known to other panel members. In fact, awareness of the close-knit nature of much of the Chinese community meant that the researcher took special care to avoid mentioning others interviewed to participants, even when she was aware that they must know each other and most likely knew of each other's participation in the research. Only when one panel member had introduced another was this mutual relationship recognised. Even then, interview and other comments remained confidential and no mention of the relationship was initiated by the interviewer.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The guarding of privacy and confidentiality occasionally created an awkward social situation. For example, an introduction at a public gathering triggered a first-meeting response that obviously rather puzzled the participant until told of the researcher's dilemma. Fortunately, such occasions were rare. They would, almost certainly, have been more frequent had the researcher lived in Auckland, where contact with participants in settings outside of the interview situation would have been more likely.

The strict maintenance of privacy and confidentiality has ramifications peculiar to a longitudinal study that spans a number of years. Among other things, it makes the maintenance of the detached but empathetic, anonymous but known researcher position more arduous. Interviewing the same people each year, asking them questions that would not be acceptable from a “stranger” and being entrusted with their answers, sharing their settlement experiences and concerns, and watching their children grow, put the researcher in a privileged and ambiguous position: as stranger, known researcher, acquaintance, confidant, friend. Bear in mind also that the researcher was sometimes the only “Kiwī” New Zealander with whom they had any extended contact. The literature on longitudinal surveys does not provide information on this relationship that springs from the extended nature of the exercise, or the ethical tensions, possibly because the larger longitudinal studies usually involve rotating, contracted interviewers. However, the experience is akin to that of the fieldworker engaged in participant observation research, and this situation is well documented in the literature (for example, Babbie, 1991; Denzin, 1970; Milroy, 1987; Whyte, 1984).

In practical terms, the maintenance of confidentiality made the tracing of participants more time-consuming and prevented some initiatives related to settlement support and the sharing of experiences. As mentioned above, had others been able to know who was participating, they could have been asked if they knew where a misplaced participant was. There would also have been opportunities to put participants in touch with others in the project or the wider community.<sup>20</sup> Some in the panel expressed an interest in meeting others and it is felt that benefits could have accrued from such meetings for participants. Research ethics and methodological implications, however, precluded such activities.

To sum up, confidentiality was a priority throughout the research. Participant identification numbers rather than names were used to label all data (questionnaires, audio tapes and transcriptions). Confidentiality agreements bound the secretary who typed up the handwritten transcriptions, those who transcribed the third round of interviews and the person who entered the coded data for SPSS analysis. Data were

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<sup>20</sup> Some information re useful community contacts was fed back to panel members during and after interviews, but this could only be done in a general way. The researcher could not, as would be the practice in Chinese culture, act as introducing go-between to smooth the first contact.

stored for safe keeping in locked filing cabinets in a secure environment and on a password-accessed computer hard drive. Finally, as noted in the ethics application, material used in the research (specifically completed questionnaires, audio tapes and transcriptions) will either be returned to individual participants or destroyed at the completion of the New Settlers Programme.

### **Protecting participants from harm**

Throughout the research, the potentially vulnerable position of panel participants as members of a visible ethnic minority group and as new arrivals entering and seeking to settle in the wider society was a factor underpinning procedures to protect participants in the process of recruitment, tracking, interviewing, recording, and the presentation of results. All attempts have been made to protect the individual identities, privacy and confidentiality of panel members without losing sight of them as separate entities in the process. Personal and other information of a sensitive nature is often obtained through the reflective process of the interview (Finch, 1984: 71; Patton, 1990: 353). All attempts were made to avoid harm by being sensitive when probing for responses to open-ended questions and when dealing with personal topics (for example, PA/spouse status and relationships, and health issues). As far as possible, within her power, the researcher has sought to present participants' cases clearly, honestly and without detriment to any.

Concerns about some incidents reported in interviews have been tempered by issues of confidentiality and a desire to support and empower, rather than act for, participants. The researcher offered support but took only an indirect role in dealing with reports of racial discrimination and other negative behaviour in the wider society. Possible courses of action to overcome barriers or respond to actions were suggested and points of contact in the wider society identified. Where such incidents carried negative implications for institutions, persons in these were contacted with general comments (to alert them to the fact that such activities were occurring) and with queries about what action might be taken. The advice received was passed on to relevant participants and the decision to take any action was left with them.



## CONCLUSION

In this chapter the various methods for this research have been discussed and the implications of choices and procedures have been analysed. The investigation of immigration policy requirements involved the accessing of historical records, the examination of legislation and parliamentary debates, and a critical analysis of more recent policy pronouncements and papers – the latter including Parliamentary Cabinet Committee papers that proved to be a valuable source of information on decisions involving the 1995 imposition of the IELTS Band 5 language requirement.

Baseline data which underpin the examination of recent Chinese immigration (Chapter 5) were drawn from two main sources: archival material from the New Zealand Immigration Service and 1996 Census data from Statistics New Zealand. The archival and census data were identified as posing some limitations regarding their use, including: the timeframes covered by each data set; the population included; and the nature of the data available. These limitations notwithstanding, the NZIS archival files were seen to provide a very rich source of data on skilled immigrants from China approved under the General Category over a period (1991-1995) when the New Zealand Chinese immigrant population was undergoing a major transformation. Similarly, the 1996 Census offers a valuable snapshot of recent immigrants from China, and a wider context in which to place the findings from the longitudinal study.

The nature and methodological issues of longitudinal research were discussed in detail in order to provide a clear outline of this form of research and its implementation in the study. A longitudinal approach was identified as a valuable research method for studying the process of immigrant settlement that is influenced over time by institutional features and socioeconomic factors in the host country. A longitudinal study also allows the flexibility to add, delete and amend questions to reflect and capture changes in conditions and experiences over time. While such a strategy is time-consuming and expensive, it allows for the collection of a body of rich quantitative and qualitative data.

However, longitudinal research is not without its problems. For example, panel retention and attrition is of particular importance when the initial panel size is relatively

small (rendering the loss of a participant more significant than would be the case from a larger-scale project). The construction of the panel was also a major issue, because it involved a sub-set of very recently arrivals who were members of a visible ethnic group from a non-English speaking background. Accessing this group and recruiting participants involved the utilisation of a wide variety of strategies. In particular, the active support of members of the Chinese community, including other immigrants and already-recruited panel members, was a vital factor in the successful construction of the panel.

The importance of the four principles of ethical human research to which the study adhered – voluntary participation, informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, and the non-exposure of participants to harm – was magnified by the cross-cultural nature of the longitudinal research. The fact that the Chinese panel members, while they might have very good English skills, were all from a non-English speaking background and a culture different from that of the researcher and the host society underlined the need to recognise, to respect and to respond to these differences in the design, implementation and conduct of the research. Examples included the use of a bilingual flyer, a bilingual consent form, a neutral “season’s greetings” card as part of the panel tracking and retention procedures, and especially efforts made to maintain privacy and confidentiality and to avoid exposing panel members to harm.

## Chapter 5 Immigration Policy and Immigrant Characteristics

The late 1980s and the 1990s were watershed years for New Zealand society. Significant changes in immigration policy meant that high numbers of both skilled and entrepreneurial immigrants arrived from non-traditional sources, particularly Northeast Asia. New Zealand was enriched in terms of human capital and monetary investment, the ethnic composition and language base of the society were diversified, and international trade and tourism linkages were developed or strengthened.<sup>1</sup> With these benefits came challenges: the need to determine and/or clarify the institutional position regarding immigrant assimilation, integration and multiculturalism; the accommodation of large numbers of visibly different settlers; and the conceptualisation of the national identity as the numbers of Asian residents and citizens increased.

This chapter addresses immigration policy decisions of the late 1980s and 1990s and their consequences in terms of the selection and immigration of skilled migrants from China. The focus is on key immigration policy developments in New Zealand which have occurred within the wider context of globalisation and international migration movements discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Only general comments are offered here on the English language component of the policies, as this will be studied in detail in Chapter 6. Following a discussion of the important policy changes, attention is turned more specifically to immigration from China and those who were accepted under policies governing the approved entry of skilled migrants. The selection effects of immigration policy are highlighted along with factors which not only distinguish recent skilled arrivals from China from other groups of Chinese in New Zealand, but also affect their settlement and integration. The characteristics of three groups of “new” immigrants from China are examined, namely: approvals under the 1991-1995 General

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<sup>1</sup> See Cremer and Ramasamy (1996), Enterprise Auckland (1996), Ethnic Affairs Service (1996), Ip (1996), McKinnon (1996a) and New Zealand Immigration Service (1995a, 1995b).

Category; China-born immigrants identified in the 1996 Census as having been in China at the time of the 1991 Census (or as having been born thereafter); and a panel of skilled immigrants who took up residence in 1997-1998. Attention is given to such features as age, qualifications, occupations, language backgrounds and points of origin in China, features that reflect the impact of changing immigration policies on the selection and arrival of immigrants from non-traditional source areas.

### **NEW ZEALAND'S IMMIGRATION POLICY, 1986-1998**

As one of four historical countries of immigration on the Pacific rim, New Zealand received large numbers of Asian immigrants from the late 1980s. This situation was precipitated by the removal of the “traditional source” bias in 1986 (Burke, 1986) and the institution of a proactive immigration policy. The traditional source bias restricted the inflows of voluntary migrants to those who were predominantly white and ostensibly assimilable (McKinnon, 1996a) at a time when an assimilationist policy was no longer openly touted and respect for other cultures was officially sanctioned. This policy shift during the 1980s was reflected in such publications as the *Let's Work Together* series (Race Relations Conciliator, undated, c.1985) and *Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities – What Words Should I Use?*, a booklet designed to promote “better understanding and harmony” between “New Zealand’s different ethnic groups” (Interdepartmental Committee on Resettlement, 1985: 1).

The perception and assumptions which drove the 1986 immigration policy changes reflected the emergence of globalisation in New Zealand thinking. For politicians, multiculturalism was in tune with the new liberal economic ideology, which favoured deregulation and required a larger skilled labour force to kick start and sustain the expansion of tertiary industry. A wider catchment area for potential immigrants would, it was hoped, not only compensate for the “brain drain” evident in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Farmer, 1985, 1986) but also counter monetary deficits and a lack of entrepreneurial energy within the economy. To tap into the markets, money and business acumen of Northeast Asia, with its “countries and regions of present and future economic and political importance to New Zealand”, required the removal of the traditional source restriction and “an environment which welcome[d] human as well as

financial investment” (Burke, 1986: 15). Other catalysts for a more inclusive multicultural society included the settlement of Southeast Asian refugees from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia (Henderson, 1988a), and growing Pacific Island populations (Kaplan, 1980).

### **1986: a multicultural immigration policy**

In 1986 the doors were opened. Immigrants with high human capital value and/or money were to be actively welcomed into New Zealand, irrespective of source country, in order to foster economic growth. Multiculturalism as an ideal was officially endorsed in immigration policy; greater cultural diversity was sanctioned, if not anticipated, hoped or planned for at the level it would later occur. Burke (1986: 9) acknowledged that immigration had “moulded our national characteristics as a Pacific country and given our community richness and cultural diversity”. Along with the introduction of a new Immigration Bill (passed into law in 1987), a more open, non-assimilationist immigration policy was now ushered in, a policy that aimed to enrich “the multicultural fabric of New Zealand society” via (Burke, 1986: 10-11):

... the selection of new settlers principally on the strength of their potential contribution to the future well-being of New Zealand...[with] the selection ... based on criteria of personal merit without discrimination on grounds of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, sex or marital status, religion or ethical belief.

New immigrants were to be “encouraged to participate fully in New Zealand’s multi-cultural society while being able to maintain valued elements in their own heritage” (Burke, 1986: 11).

Apart from attracting investment capital, a major aim of the 1986 immigration policy changes was to attract skilled migrants to counter the net migration losses which had occurred during the previous 15 years (Farmer, 1985, 1986). However, while immigrants with entrepreneurial skills and investment finance were encouraged to establish an enterprise of their own choice under the Business Investment Policy, the potential for economic growth through large-scale skilled immigration was limited by the retention of the Occupational Priority List (OPL). This “instrument of labour market policy” (Burke, 1986: 14) restricted prospective skilled immigrants to those

whose occupations matched existing vacancies and areas of skills shortage. It was not “a force for broader economic growth” (Burke, 1986: 14). Economic deregulation was not matched by deregulation of either immigration or the employment market.

Immigrants seeking residence on occupational grounds were to be selected not only according to their personal qualities, skills, qualifications and potential contribution to the New Zealand economy and society but also their capacity to settle in New Zealand (Burke, 1986). Not only were they to be in designated occupations, but there was to be a compulsory personal interview plus an assessment of the English language skills of all family members over 12 years of age. These policy changes were designed to ensure that immigrant adjustment and settlement proceeded smoothly. Both were the subject of criticism. It was felt that not only could the interview be covertly discriminatory and its very requirement disadvantageous to some potential skilled migrants but the pre-departure English language requirement was questionable and favoured immigrants from traditional sources (Bedford et al., 1987). A similar concern was expressed regarding the inclusion of an “English language competency” requirement for Family reunification (Bedford et al., 1987: 55).

Apart from selection criteria, the policy review (Burke, 1986) outlined a series of proposed provisions related to the settlement process. These included: the establishment of a Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs; the promotion of ethnic affairs organisations in the major centres – initiatives which were to evolve into Ethnic Councils; and equal access to welfare provisions and adequate interpretation services. Beyond the newly formed Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs and the mooted ethnic affairs organisations, however, little was to be required of or provided in the host community to ensure acceptance and equal access to resources (Bedford et al., 1987: 64).

In a subsequent review of immigration policy by the Working Party on Immigration, the Occupational Priority List was deemed to be “inflexible and ineffective” as a tool for attracting human capital and stimulating economic growth (Wilson et al., 1991: 3). Its retention also ran counter to the liberal economic ideology of the time, which supported an open, competitive economy, and to calls for an injection of more people to counter the “brain drain” and expand the workforce (Kasper, 1990; Poot et al., 1988) –

thinking that was blooming after its emergence in the mid- to late-1980s and exceeding other countries' initiatives and responses to globalisation (Kelsey, 1997). According to the economic model developed by Poot et al. (1988), an annual net migration gain of 15,000 would stimulate the economy without having any detrimental effects on inflation or the society. Kasper (1990) favoured a larger intake of 30,000-40,000 settlers per year. He also advocated a more open selection process, based on ballot or a fee, which stipulated "no more – and perhaps less – than the possession of some starting capital and of a good general education and skill training" along with the general health and character screening (Kasper, 1990: 71).

### **1991: a points system and promotional entry**

The important policy changes of November 1991 incorporated changes proposed by both Wilson et al.'s (1991) working party and the economists (Kasper, 1990; Poot et al., 1998). The Occupational Priority List (with its catalogue of occupations in demand) and "selective entry rules" (Weiner, 1985: 444, cited in Trlin 1992: 24) gave way to "promotional entry rules". Immigration policy was to operate as a tool for economic growth by increasing the overall level of human and financial capital. A points system, similar to that used in Canada and Australia, was introduced for both skilled (General Category) and business (Business Investment Category) migrants.

The General Category (GC) was to function as the "key instrument" to attract "quality migrants" (Birch, 1991). Skilled applicants could accrue points for employability, age, and their ability to settle. Employability was measured in terms of qualifications and work experience, and the ability to settle in terms of settlement funds, having a sponsor, and investment funds (Table 5.1). The maximum age was set at 55 years, and all applicants were to meet health, character and English language prerequisites (the last discussed in Chapter 6) for approval. Those with the required points would go into a pool for monthly selections if they did not reach the autopass mark, a points score which gave them automatic approval. As approved numbers ballooned, the autopass mark rose from around 27 to 31 out of a possible 40 points (NZIS, 1995c: 5) and became the required minimum for the granting of approval for permanent residence.

Table 5.1 Points system for assessment of General Category Principal Applicants, November 1991-October 1995, with the example of points allocated for an approved engineer from the 1991-1995 sample

<i>Categories</i>	<i>Points</i>	<i>Example</i>
Qualifications (maximum of 15 points)		
Successful completion of 12 years schooling	2	
Diploma/Certificate, at least 1 and under 2 years full-time study	4	
Diploma/Certificate, 2-3 years full-time study	8	
Bachelor's degree (other than science, technical or engineering), Trade Certificate or Advanced Trade Certificate	12	
Postgraduate degree or Bachelor's degree in science, technical or engineering area	15	15
Work experience (maximum of 10 points)		
1 point for every 2 years of relevant work experience up to 20-plus years of such experience	1-10	5
Age (maximum of 10 points)		
18-24 years	8	
25-29 years	10	
30-34 years	8	8
35-39 years	6	
40-44 years	4	
45-49 years	2	
Settlement factors (maximum of 5 points)		
NZ\$100,000 settlement funds	2	
NZ citizen/resident, close family relative sponsor	2	
Community sponsorship	3	
Investment funds, 1 point for each additional NZ\$100,000 up to maximum of NZ\$300,000	1-3	
Offer of skilled employment	3	
Maximum points, total all categories	40	28

Sources: NZIS (1991a, 1991b); Trlin et al. (1998: 239); and NZIS 1991-1995 GC approvals files.

The Business Investment Category (BIC) specified three different types of investment through which applicants could gain approval for residence, ranging from a passive investment of NZ\$750,000 to an active investment of \$500,000 in a location outside of Auckland or Wellington. Residency was contingent on: (a) the funds being identifiable as a product of the applicant's own efforts; and (b) their investment in New Zealand for a minimum of two years. The introduction of a General Investment subcategory (GIC) within the General Category allowed business immigrants who could meet the required



points within the latter a route to residence which was preferred over the new Business Investment Category. The GIC allowed those with money to gain up to three points for investment capital (NZ\$100,000-\$300,000) on top of the two points for settlement funds (NZ\$100,000). The BIC, on the other hand, required a minimum investment of NZ\$500,000, and imposed tighter controls on investment capital. Thus, the GIC option was widely favoured over the new BIC, especially by applicants from Hong Kong and Taiwan. The Working Party's prediction that an applicant who qualified under both the BIC and the GC would choose the latter (Wilson et al., 1991: 20), was borne out.

As anticipated by Trlin (1992: 25), "the 1990s [were] set to offer sharp contrasts with the immigrant experiences of earlier decades". The 1991 changes heralded what Trlin (1992: 24) described as:

... a pronounced shift in the regional and/or national origins of successful applicants, characterised by a decline in the proportion from traditional European and North American sources, and increases in the proportions from Asia and the Pacific.

The Government's new regional alignment towards Asia, which was to lead to the establishment of the Asia 2000 Foundation in 1994, included the "official encouragement of immigration from countries in East Asia, especially Hong Kong, Taiwan and the Republic of Korea" (Bedford and Lidgard, 1996: 2; Lidgard et al., 1995). Just how great a contrast or shift the new policy would bring in source countries for skilled immigrants, was a surprise to most. The policy changes of 1991 and active promotion of immigration from Asian sources by immigration consultants accelerated the source country and ethnicity shift and exacerbated the negativity towards Asian arrivals. Media hype about an "Asian invasion", triggered by an influx of affluent business immigrants to Auckland in the late 1980s (Gordon and Reynolds, 1988), resurfaced.

It proved to be rather too much too soon for an ill-prepared nation. Not only were immigrants finding it difficult to settle into a largely monolingual, bicultural society with very little settlement support, but public attitude surveys reflected an increase in anti-Asian sentiment and public concerns. A 1992 Insight survey found that almost two-thirds felt that Asian immigrants made a positive contribution to New Zealand

society. However, the 44 per cent in this survey who believed that there were already too many Asians in the country (Yarwood, 1993) foreshadowed more negative responses to Asian immigrants and investment in later polls (Hunt, 1995; National Business Review [NBR], 1994 and 1995; Trlin et al., 1998).<sup>2</sup> Growing ethnic diversity uncovered latent prejudice in a country stressed by an economic downturn, restructuring and social reform, and provoked a backlash not unique to New Zealand.

The entry of large annual intakes of predominantly professional and business migrants was to be cited in 1995 as a key reason for the success of New Zealand's immigration policy (NZIS, 1995a, 1995b). However, it was very difficult to absorb into the workforce so many arrivals who were both highly visible and culturally very different. They were settling during a period of fiscal constraints and economic retrenchment in which individual contracts and the down-sizing of government services and agencies increased pressures on most professionals, immigrant or otherwise. And, post-arrival, they were facing unexpected gatekeeping and professional registration requirements (Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996). Factors such as ostensible wealth, "astronauting" parents, "satellite kids", and the large numbers of students from non-English speaking backgrounds stretching the (unprepared) ESOL resources of middle class (mainly anglophone) Auckland schools also drew attention to problems in the existing policy for "targeted" (skilled and business) migrants (Ho et al., 1995b; Lidgard, 1996). There were also rumours of scams related to community sponsorship. Despite the claim that "New Zealand ha[d] one of the best immigration systems in the world" (NZIS, 1995b: 4), changes were needed if a new overall aim of "economic growth with social cohesion" was to be achieved. In a briefing paper to the 1997 Population Conference, Bedford and Lidgard (1997: 6) noted that, while overall Asian net migration in the calendar year 1995 was no greater than that from white sources, the conspicuousness of Asian arrivals outweighed their numbers as a proportion of the total record levels of immigration during the period and provided a catalyst for further policy changes.

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<sup>2</sup> While 72 per cent felt there were too many Asian immigrants and 69 per cent that there were too many Pacific Islanders, the negative response to immigration from South Africa was much more muted (32 per cent) (NBR, 1995). For a more detailed discussion of the public concerns, movement in public attitudes and their policy ramifications, see Trlin et al. (1998).

### 1995: stemming the flow

Apart from changes associated with entitlement to a Return Residents Visa, the October 1995 policy changes affected only “targeted” immigrants, that is, those who entered under the skills and business categories. Requirements for other categories remained as before.<sup>3</sup> The General Category (GC) and the Business Investment Category (BIC), the provisions under which unprecedented numbers of Chinese and other Asians had gained permanent residence between 1991 and the last quarter of 1995, were replaced by a General Skills Category (GSC) and a new Business Investor Category (BIC) designed to attract higher quality (and wealthier) investors. More than merely a semantic difference, the new labels were to identify two completely separate categories, each with its own points system and criteria. The previous GIC loophole for those business migrants who wished to invest in New Zealand only the required amount to obtain enough points to secure permanent residence, was removed.

The October 1995 changes focused on a goal of “economic growth with social cohesion” underpinned by four strategic objectives: to increase New Zealand’s human capital; to strengthen international linkages; to encourage enterprise and innovation; and to maintain social cohesion (NZIS, 1995b: 3). “Fine tuning” was to “allow better management of migrant numbers, encourage a broader mix of skills and attract people with a genuine commitment to New Zealand” (NZIS, 1996b: 2). To this end, a quota management system was introduced with nominal annual targets for each category, including some 15,500 for GSC approvals in an annual total target of around 35,000 (Trlin, 1997: 20). Numbers were to be more strictly controlled through the weekly adjustment of GSC and BIC pass marks and an autofail mark (replacing the 1991-1995 autopass mark). Professional and trade qualifications were to receive equal points weighting to broaden the occupational mix and increase the numbers with trades and technical qualifications (NZIS, 1995b: 11). Statutory registration (where required) was to be a prerequisite for application to overcome the problems faced by doctors and others who had to meet statutory registration requirements in order to practise their profession (Barnard, 1996; Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996). Greater commitment of immigrants to New Zealand was to be assured through greater financial commitment by

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<sup>3</sup> For further details and discussion of the different categories, see Trlin (1997) and Trlin et al. (1998a).

business immigrants and the linking of immigrant entitlement to a Return Resident's Visa to the tax residence status of the PA.

In the General Skills Category, a greater emphasis was to be placed on the transferability of human capital into employment and settlement factors associated with the individual applicant – features reflected in the new points system (Table 5.2). Potential immigrant unemployment was to be redressed through pre-application registration in those professions and trades which had statutory regulations and a pass in the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) to ensure at least a modest level of English (see Chapter 6), plus a minimum of two years' work experience, and a flatter points structure for qualifications with the removal of the premium on science-related qualifications. There was an increased emphasis on settlement factors: job offers earned more points; spouses' settlement factors (language and qualifications) were recognised; New Zealand work experience earned points; and family, but not community, sponsorship gained points as did settlement, but not investment, funds.

Other family members were also targeted in the new policy. The application of the IELTS Band 5 requirement not only to spouses but also to all dependants over 15 was intended to reduce the much-publicised pressure on schools for ESOL provisions for senior students. The option of paying a language bond for spouses and other dependants who did not meet the IELTS Band 5 threshold was intended to ensure that an effort was made to learn English to the required level as quickly as possible post-arrival.

Policy changes to regulate entry and/or enhance selection criteria, including the allocation of points for factors considered to be associated with more successful settlement – rather than a retreat from “promotional entry rules” (Trlin, 1997: 24) or the development of a post-arrival settlement policy and an ethnic relations policy – were again seen as the panacea for existing immigration settlement problems. It was part of a government reaction, or “over-reaction” according to Thompson (1997: 24), that was to drastically reduce the immigration of entrepreneurs and skilled immigrants from Northeast Asia and other NESB sources. This would cut incoming investment funds and lead to calls for additional policy revisions, which duly followed in December 1997

Table 5.2 Summary of points system for assessment of General Skills Category Principal Applicants, introduced October 1995

<i>Categories</i>	<i>Points</i>
<b>Human capital factors:</b>	
Qualifications (minimum of 10 points)	
Any equivalent to a base degree, trade or 3 year diploma/certificate	10
Any advanced trade or professional qualification	11
Any equivalent of a Master's degree or better	12
(Where applicable, statutory registration required)	
<b>Employability factors:</b>	
Work experience (maximum of 10 points)	
1 point for every 2 years of relevant work experience up to 20-plus years of such experience	1-10
Age (maximum of 10 points)	
18-24 years	8
25-29 years	10
30-34 years	8
35-39 years	6
40-44 years	4
45-49 years	2
(Maximum age: 55 years)	
Job offer	
An offer of skilled employment	5
<b>Settlement factors:</b>	
Settlement funds	
NZ\$100,000	1
NZ\$200,000	2
Partner's qualifications	
Base qualification	1
Advanced qualification	2
New Zealand work experience	
1 year	1
2 years	2
Family sponsorship	3
(Maximum settlement points: 7)	

Sources: NZIS (1995b, 1996b).

(a lowering of the English language requirement to IELTS 4 for business immigrants to encourage an increase in applications) and again in October 1998.

### **1998: making New Zealand an attractive destination again**

Two months after the introduction to Parliament of an Immigration Amendment Bill “designed to tighten up on immigration scams” (Bradford, 1998), the doors were reopened in October 1998. The objectives were to increase the levels of business expertise, investment and skilled workers in New Zealand and to keep New Zealand competitive internationally by “ensur[ing] that it has the highest level of skills, enterprise, innovation and strong international linkages” (Delamere, 1998a). Both skilled and business immigrants were affected by changes in the language requirements (see Chapter 6). Increased flexibility in qualifications (to include those without university degrees) was reinstated for skilled migrants, all work experience rather than only that directly related to qualifications was to be valued and awarded points, and those with New Zealand-gained qualifications were to be exempt from the work experience requirement and earn a bonus point in recognition of their existing association with New Zealand (Delamere, 1998a; NZIS, 1998c).

Business immigrants would be able to enter under an Entrepreneur or an Investor Category, or under a Long Term Business Visa. Entrepreneur Category applicants would need to demonstrate that they had an established business in New Zealand that was “benefiting NZ in some way” (NZIS, 1998c: 9), while Long Term Visa applicants had to have a specific business proposal, the background to carry their proposal through and enough money to finance it and keep themselves. While no longer able to gain points for academic qualifications, settlement funds, sponsorship or New Zealand business experience, Business Investor Category migrants were encouraged by the removal of the IELTS requirement in favour of a small language tuition fee and by the introduction of more points for work experience. They were also able to be rather older (maximum age: 84) so long as they were very rich, despite the Minister’s claim that “younger investors” were being targeted (Delamere, 1998b). The fiscal challenge remained, with the raising of the minimum investment fund stake to NZ\$1million. As Bedford and Ho (1998: 130) note: “Age and money are clearly the big point scorers in the new Investor Category”. The inclusion of expanded quotas and eased requirements

for international students in the same immigration package, plus comments that the replacement of a relatively complex points system by a more streamlined system would expedite procedures not only for applicants but also for immigration offices, suggest that the policy changes were motivated rather narrowly by matters of economics.

In their review of these policy changes, Bedford and Ho (1998: 101) indicated that “[t]he present reactive policy ...very much influenced by short-term economic trends” did not give way to “some long-term social goals”. The focus had not changed, as had been hoped after the 1997 Population Conference, to a more socially-oriented and consistent immigration policy. There still seemed to be no attempt to address the issue of post-arrival settlement policy, which immigrants from different cultural backgrounds had been raising for years, beyond a proposed Business Liaison Unit (Bedford and Ho, 1998: 130). Bedford and Ho (1998: 132) softened their criticism that “[t]he drip-feeding of policy creates the impression of a lack of coherence in thinking about and planning for immigration” with a rider that the October 1998 announcements went “some way to dealing with a few of the more critical problems identified by migrants” in the October 1995 policy changes. That said, they closed with a warning about the need for continuity in policy “if New Zealand is to maximise opportunities to develop durable exchanges of people, capital and commodities with countries on the Asia-Pacific rim” (Bedford and Ho, 1998:132). In this context they offered a masterfully understated assessment of the new Minister of Immigration’s position outside of Cabinet with the comment that it was “not necessarily an advantageous position for a portfolio which remains highly vulnerable to political manipulation and interference” (Bedford and Ho, 1998: 132).

## **CHINESE IMMIGRANTS: CHANGING CHARACTERISTICS**

The changes in immigration policy discussed above affected both the number and the characteristics of new Chinese immigrants settling in New Zealand. The removal of the traditional source country bias and move to selection on personal merit, qualifications, financial and entrepreneurial contribution to New Zealand in 1986, opened the doors to increased immigration from Asia (McKinnon, 1996a; Ip, 1995; Trlin, 1992). The further policy changes in 1991, notably the removal of the Occupational Priority List

and the introduction of the General Category with its points system for the selection of skilled immigrants, resulted in a sharp increase in the number of arrivals from Northeast Asia. Annual approval numbers burgeoned into the thousands, with particularly large numbers from Taiwan, a non-traditional Chinese source country, and increasing numbers from China itself. The policy changes in October 1995 curbed the numbers of skilled approvals from Northeast Asia, through the imposition of more clearly defined and challenging criteria for entry (NZIS, 1995a, 1995b), and reduced immigration, particularly that of entrepreneurial migrants, from Chinese sources.

Not only did Chinese arrive in unexpectedly large numbers as a result of the 1986 and, more especially, the 1991 changes in immigration policy, but the immigrants of the later 1980s and the 1990s were “very different from their predecessors who came in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries” (Ip, 1995: 187). Predominantly urban entrepreneurs and technocrats, the new Chinese initially came mainly from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore. Some were “astronauts” and “reluctant exiles” (Skeldon, 1994). Many were wealthy “with ready cash and no time to shop around [for houses], and no time to bargain” (Ip, 1990: 7). Others, particularly after the 1995 policy changes, were more likely to be highly educated professionals and to come from China itself.

### **Increased immigration of Chinese from Northeast Asia**

While Britain initially remained the main source of immigrants during the late 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, this balance quickly swung in favour of Northeast Asia, along with South Africa. The significant increase in the numbers of visible, particularly Chinese, non-white migrants overshadowed the continued arrival of British immigrants and fuelled an “Asian invasion” backlash in the mid-1990s.

Table 5.3 illustrates just how significant immigration policy changes were in terms of their effect on the number of skilled immigrants from Asia applying to come to New Zealand. The introduction of a points system in 1991 for the selection of skilled and business migrants (irrespective of source country), involving a more easily attained points target than corresponding policies in Australia and Canada, opened New Zealand to a large number of potential immigrants. In particular, the conflation of points for



financial investment with those for settlement and employability factors in the General Category (1991-1995) facilitated the entry of immigrants with access to money, and contributed to the very large number of approvals, especially from Taiwan, through the 1994-1996 period.

Table 5.3 Numbers of people approved for residence by General Category/General Skills Category and other categories by nationality, 1992-1993 to 2000-2001

Year (July-June)	Great Britain		China		Hong Kong		Taiwan		All nationalities	
	GC/ GSC	Other cat's	GC/ GSC	Other cat's	GC/ GSC	Other cat's	GC/ GSC	Other cat's	GC/ GSC	Other cat's
1992-1993	2,318	1,589	1,266	1,050	2,588	1,111	2,454	373	16,852	12,795
1993-1994	3,119	1,634	1,002	1,056	1,300	1,387	3,254	347	22,721	10,800
1994-1995	5,420	1,877	3,476	2,266	1,097	1,611	7,160	413	35,530	15,231
1995-1996	3,715	1,637	4,010	1,435	690	1,909	11,367	958	37,827	16,610
1996-1997	3,560	1,940	2,525	2,425	489	633	330	334	17,017	16,666
1997-1998	2,985	1,890	872	2,982	178	308	205	282	13,029	16,616
1998-1999	2,346	1,868	803	2,256	114	177	102	258	13,201	15,321
1999-2000	3,064	1,911	1,118	2,348	161	188	240	271	16,768	18,108
2000-2001	3,578	2,025	2,014	3,413	149	217	343	825	23,526	20,525

Source: figures supplied by NZIS, March 2002.

Numbers of approvals from Northeast Asia declined in the 1996-1997 year as the restrictive October 1995 policy changes took effect. In Taiwan, this followed a significant rise in approvals during 1995-1996 when there was a rush to qualify under the less stringent General Category requirements. The 1995 policy changes, with their much stricter and more clearly defined criteria, were to virtually halt entry from this source until 2000-2001, when new policies and the proactive recruitment of businesspeople and students facilitated an increase in numbers (though considerably fewer than those of the early 1990s). The number of approvals from Hong Kong also dropped, but the decline in numbers from this source occurred only after the 1997 transition of sovereignty to Chinese control and reflected the impact of global issues as much as local policy changes on immigration flows (Lidgard, 1998). A smoother than

anticipated hand-over of Hong Kong to China allayed many fears of economic upheaval within the former colony.<sup>4</sup>

The 1995 policy changes were to have a less marked and relatively temporary effect on skilled and overall immigration from China, as the figures in Table 5.3 indicate.

Numbers rebounded to close to the 1996-1997 level for skilled arrivals and the peak 1994-1995 level for overall numbers by 2000-2001. There was a large pool of skilled applicants who were still able to meet the more stringent immigration requirements.

Moreover, a decline in numbers of approvals in one category was counter-balanced by an increase in approvals in another category. Not having family members in New Zealand on arrival, many would, once established, sponsor their relatives. So, between 1996-1997 and 2000-2001, Chinese from China (excluding Hong Kong, for which the NZIS has continued to provide separate figures) would constitute the largest national group approved for entry under Family provisions, with approved applications falling mainly in the Family Parent and Family Marriage sub-categories (NZIS, 2002: 31).<sup>5</sup> That a similar ballooning in family reunification applications has not occurred among recent immigrants from Hong Kong or Taiwan suggests that relatives from these source countries prefer to remain in the country of origin or choose other destinations. The global diaspora, "astronauting" and return migration patterns of immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan observed by other researchers (Beal and Sos, 1999; Cohen, 1997; Ho et al., 1996, 1997a; Skeldon, 1994) would mitigate against the settlement of extended family groups in New Zealand and suggest that some of them may have come, albeit with other family members, as sojourners rather than to settle permanently.

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<sup>4</sup> The smooth transition may also have reduced the desire of Taiwanese to establish an overseas base, but the drop in approval numbers to 330 in the General Category and only 664 overall in 1996-1997 reflects a major reduction in applications which pre-dates the 30 June 1997 hand-over date for Hong Kong and so cannot be attributed to this event.

<sup>5</sup> Of the total 12,685 people approved in the Family Category during 2000-2001, 12 per cent of the 6,077 approved under the Family Marriage sub-category and 23 per cent of the 4,351 approved under the Family Parent sub-category were from China (NZIS, 2001: 32-34).

### *Public perceptions and responses*

The large inflows of visibly different immigrants within a short time span drew varying responses from other New Zealanders and attracted considerable media and political attention. Stereotypes of wealthy Asians buying large houses in the eastern suburbs of Auckland, of parents leaving children in New Zealand to study while they returned home to work, of teenagers with flashy cars and triad connections, of Asian businessmen buying up New Zealand properties and businesses, all at a time when the country was undergoing restructuring and an economic downturn, provoked negative xenophobic reactions (Beal and Sos, 1999; Ip, 1996; Legat, 1996; Trlin et al., 1998a; Yarwood, 1993). Given such reactions it is important to understand that the combination of human and financial capital in the General Category (1991-1995) tended to disguise differences between different groups of Chinese immigrants, and to foster a myth that all Chinese immigrants, including those who gained entry without points for either settlement funds or investment funds, were rich. It is hardly surprising, therefore, as Ip (1996) notes, that the new influx upset the delicate balance at a time of significant social and economic change, cracking the “vener of tolerance”.

Immigration policy changes, too, were attributed to the strains being placed on the fabric of society by the new arrivals. Roger Maxwell, then Minister of Immigration, was reported to have stated that the large numbers of Asian arrivals were the catalyst for the October 1995 changes and that the new English language requirements were introduced because “tolerance and acceptance of new immigrants without some disruption or adverse reaction had reached its optimal level” (Barber, 1996b: 12). The goal of the revised policy was to be “economic growth **with social cohesion**” (NZIS, 1995b: 3; emphasis added), a signal that national unity was seen to be threatened by existing immigration patterns. Support for such perceptions and responses came from a variety of sources. Schools in Auckland complained of too many new Asian students, and cornered most of the then existing national ESOL funding provision; journalists wrote emotively of the “Asian invasion”; and Winston Peters used the Asian immigration issue (when numbers were already declining) to rally voter support in his pre-1996 election campaigning (Trlin et al., 1998). According to Vasil and Yoon (1996: 22, 40), even New Zealand-born Chinese felt strong resentment and considered more recent arrivals as “expatriates” without commitment to New Zealand.

The arguments which identified bias and racism as sources of disharmony (for example, Chen, 1993; Bedford and Pool, 1996; Pool and Bedford, 1996; Friesen and Ip, 1997) went largely unheard. Indeed, Thorns and Sedgwick (1997: 29) noted the dearth of accurate statistical data collected on the Chinese community, and went so far as to suggest that “this [lack of accurate data] might lead to the conclusion that for political reasons ethnic statistics are purposefully neglected to allow exaggeration to go unchecked or [to be] at least unverifiable”.

So, who were these “new” Chinese New Zealanders who stirred such reactions in the resident community? Have stereotypes of “the new Chinese” as a single entity been unhelpful and has a failure to identify Chinese as individuals led to a blanket identity and blanket criticisms, as Ip (1996) claims? Does more attention need to be paid to migrants from China, “as their settlement patterns and employment profile have revealed them to be quite distinctive” (Friesen and Ip, 1997: 15)?

In the following sections, three data sets are utilised to examine the characteristics of recent skilled immigrants from China. First, a sample of 151 General Category approvals for the period 1991-1995 is analysed. While this sample does not (as noted in Chapter 4) include post-1995 approvals in the General Category, it does provide a representative profile of Chinese accepted for residence under the old points-based policy. The characteristics of this group are then set against those of recent Chinese arrivals using data from the 1996 Census. Finally, the characteristics of participants in the New Settlers Programme longitudinal panel are examined to provide a group profile. While the panel is small in size (36 PAs and their immediate families, where appropriate), the narrow criteria for points by which skilled immigrants gained approval for entry mean that the panel, in essence, reflects the characteristics of the wider population of General Category and General Skills Category immigrants who took up residence around the same time (August 1997-August 1998).

### **Approved General Category Applicants, 1991 – 1995**

The introduction of the points system in November 1991 saw an increase in the numbers of approved applications from China, with most PAs reaching the required

“autopass” (rather than the lower pool) mark without the benefit of points for investment capital or the more common settlement capital. The characteristics of those approved within the General Category, as illustrated by a cross-sectional representative sample of 151 of the total 3,467 approvals from China between November 1991 and December 1995, are presented below.

### *Demographic profile*

The PAs were young and usually married. Ages ranged from 25 to 44 years, with a little over half (51 per cent) aged 30-34 years. A further third (34 per cent) were 25-29 years of age, while only four (2.6 per cent) were in their forties. Over three-quarters of the sample (117, or 77.5 per cent) were married. One single applicant was divorced and four married applicants were approved as individuals, without other immediate family members, suggesting that they were separated since there were no policy-related deterrents to inclusion (as there would be from 1995 when statutory registration and the IELTS Band 5-or-language bond requirements were introduced).<sup>6</sup> Four more PAs left spouses, approved for residence, behind in China. Female applicants were slightly more likely to migrate without their spouses than male applicants.<sup>7</sup>

As expected, considering the ages of the applicants and China’s one-child policy, one-child families predominated. In all, a total of 86 applications (57 per cent) included children, ranging in age from under 1 year to 14 years. Of these children, over 50 per cent were under 5 years of age (and therefore preschoolers) and 84 per cent were under 8 years of age. Thus, they presented a profile of children rather younger than the Chinese students who were the focus of the mid-1990s furore over ESOL and other educational resources and provisions in Auckland intermediate and secondary schools. As well as the eight spouses who were not to come with their respective PAs, 13 children were to be left behind initially, usually with the mother or grandparents, because they were considered too young to travel and/or to wait until their parents were

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<sup>6</sup> The national divorce rate for China was recently reported as 10 per cent, 50 per cent higher than the pre-1990 figure. The incidence rose more sharply, to 20 per cent, in big cities such as Shanghai and Beijing (O’Donnell, 2002).

<sup>7</sup> While reasons were not always clear from the files, an example of one family that nearly fell into this split-family category involved an approved female PA who would have brought the daughter and left her husband in China except that he subsequently wrote to the NZIS office in Beijing indicating his desire to come.

settled. Where children were not coming, the PA was more likely to be male (11 out of 13 cases).

Most PAs were male (107, or 70.9 per cent) but the percentage of females was greater than among similar samples drawn from other countries. In the Indian, South African and Taiwanese samples of General Category approvals for the same time period, 88.8, 82.8 and 78.2 per cent, respectively, were male. In large part the presence of females among the Chinese could be attributed to the fact that husbands and wives tended to be about the same age and to have similar qualifications, often having been classmates at university and/or colleagues at work. This meant that not only would a joint decision to emigrate be more likely but also that both partners/spouses would gain similar points for age, qualifications and work experience.

### *Qualifications and employment experience*

The emphasis in immigration policy on higher education and qualifications in technical or scientific subjects was also reflected in the tertiary qualifications and preponderance of science/technical/engineering-related degrees among PAs in the sample, as it had been in the *High Hopes* (Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996) survey. Only four (2.6 per cent) of the sample held less than a Bachelor's degree.<sup>8</sup> Ten (6.6 per cent) held a Bachelor's degree in non-science subjects, and 125 (82.8 per cent) had a Bachelor's degree in a scientific, technological or engineering field. Twelve (7.9 per cent) had postgraduate degrees, mainly in similar science/technology/engineering-related subjects. That the General Category sample had proportionally more with science/engineering/technology degrees at the Bachelor's level and fewer postgraduate and non-science degrees, is probably because maximum points could be accrued for a science/engineering/technical qualification (see Table 5.1). As expected, both men and women were equally likely to have science-related undergraduate degrees and post-graduate qualifications.

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<sup>8</sup> Among these was a maverick market gardener. This applicant was consigned to the General Category by NZIS staff for administrative convenience when the Occupational Priority List (OPL) category that he would have fallen under when he applied was discontinued. The pragmatic nature of this bureaucratic decision was highlighted by his being approved when he scored only 8 points altogether, a fraction of the threshold level.

Engineers (35 per cent), doctors (12 per cent) and computing professionals (12.6 per cent) were the three largest occupational groups. Most of the sample (74.9 per cent) had graduated between 1982 and 1988, and had six to 12 years of relevant work experience in their field at the time the application was approved. However, 20.4 per cent had graduated since 1988, including 9.3 per cent who had just graduated and had either no work experience or only one year of such experience. Thirteen PAs (8.6 per cent), all but one of whom were male, had been offered skilled employment in New Zealand. Those who had been offered skilled employment tended to be on-shore applicants who were recent graduates of New Zealand universities.

During the second half of the 1990s, very recent graduates with little or no work experience would disappear from applications with the introduction of the 1995 requirement of two years work experience, only to reappear as a result of the October 1998 provision for applicants (except New Zealand Overseas Development Aid [NZODA] assisted students) “with a New Zealand qualification recognised under the General Skills Category [who would be] exempt from the requirement to gain points for work experience” (NZIS, 1998b: 2). The fact that, for the period 1991-1995, those who had offers of employment in New Zealand tended to be on-shore applicants who were recent graduates (albeit often NZODA assisted) of New Zealand universities raises questions as to why the ability to apply without two years of work experience was dropped in 1995, only to be reinstated in later policy changes (NZIS, 1998b, 1998c). One could be forgiven for assuming that the work experience requirement was part of the tap-on, tap-off decision-making that marks immigration policy. It was: (a) introduced as part of the general tightening of entry criteria when the numbers of applicants and approvals were high, and there was concern over the numbers unable to find work; and (b) dropped when the numbers of applicants and approvals declined sharply under the terms of the October 1995 policy requirements.

### *English language ability*

As the English language ability of applicants under the General Category (as assessed by the NZIS for approval to immigrate) will be discussed in the next chapter, the focus here will be restricted to the attributes of the applicants as reflected in their application files. PAs were asked to assess their own and their dependants' level of English on a

five point scale: "native speaker", "fluent", "conversational", "limited", or "none". Virtually all PAs identified themselves either as "fluent" (41.7 per cent) or, more often, as having a "conversational" level of English (54.3 per cent). One was "limited" (0.7 per cent), one (the maverick market gardener) had "none", and four (2.6 per cent) offered no self-assessment (Table 5.4). American Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) results were provided in five instances to confirm levels of English and 18 PAs provided evidence of university degrees in English as a subject or that they had completed degrees overseas in English. Most others included documents (such as university transcripts and letters) in their applications to confirm their English language ability. Overseas exposure was associated with higher levels of English language proficiency with 47.6 per cent of those who identified themselves as fluent living outside of China when approved for permanent residence. In particular, it should be noted that 14.5 per cent of PAs were already in New Zealand when approved (compared with only 2 per cent of the Taiwanese sample), often having completed a New Zealand qualification.

Table 5.4 Self-assessed English language proficiency of PAs in General Category sample by place of usual residence at the time of approval

<i>Self-assessed English language proficiency</i>	<i>Place of residence when approved</i>									
	<i>China</i>		<i>New Zealand</i>		<i>Australia</i>		<i>Other*</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Fluent	33	30.5	12	54.5	13	86.7	5	83.3	63	41.7
Conversational	69	63.9	10	45.5	2	13.3	1	16.7	82	54.3
Limited	1	0.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.7
None	1	0.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.7
No assessment	4	3.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2.6
Total	108	100	22	100	15	100	6	100	151	100

\* Including: Hong Kong (2), Japan (1), USA (1), Scandinavia (1).

As expected, dependants were generally identified as having a lower level of English language proficiency than PAs, the percentage classified as "fluent" (19.3 per cent) lagging behind those described as either "conversational" (47.4 per cent) or "limited" (28.1 per cent). Interestingly, while over half the children for whom an assessment was



offered were reported to have no English (a not surprising result considering their youth), 11 (14.5 per cent) were reported to have at least a "limited" level, two (2.6 per cent) a "conversational" level and three (3.9 per cent) to be "fluent" in English. As for PAs, living in an English-speaking environment tended to be associated with higher levels of English proficiency.

The minimum English proficiency levels required of General Category applicants were generally somewhat lower than those that would be required of later post-October 1995 General Skills Category applicants (see Chapter 6). However, in the course of completing their degrees most applicants would have had to study English as a support subject for two years and, most likely, to read some material in English. While their English language skills would not match their technical skills, levels reached during two years of compulsory study within a science-oriented undergraduate degree would generally be considered adequate to meet the minimum level of English language required – about that of a native-speaking 12 year old. The latter level underpinned the NZIS test administered to those who struggled to communicate in the required face-to-face interview situation (Chapter 6). Some applicants would have used English regularly for their work within China (for example, as computer scientists or as doctors trained in western medicine)<sup>9</sup> or for further study or work in an English-speaking environment.

### *Non-traditional sources*

While their home addresses at the time of application and access to sponsorship from the predominantly Cantonese New Zealand Chinese Association lend support to the view that some of these new settlers would be natives of Guangdong Province, there was a clear swing away from the historical preponderance of Cantonese with rural roots (see Butler, 1977; Ip, 1990, 1996; Ng, 1996, 2001). As shown in Table 5.5, a home address at the time of application within Guangdong Province was reported by more of the 1991-1995 Chinese sample (31, or 20.5 per cent) than any other single area in China. It cannot be assumed, however, that all of these residents were natives of Guangdong Province, since Shenzhen is a magnet for Chinese from all over China

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<sup>9</sup> Most doctors who graduate from large universities in China are trained in both western medicine and traditional medicine.

wishing to capitalise on its special economic zone status and Guangzhou is similarly attractive to young entrepreneurs and professionals.

Notable are the numbers who applied from the metropolitan areas of the rapidly developing eastern seaboard region and other non-traditional sources of Chinese migration to New Zealand. These included: Shanghai, Beijing and Tianjin (19.2 per cent of the sample); cities of the northeast, northwest, and the central and southwest regions (including Jilin, Xi'an, Guilin and Kunming); and Fujian Province, an area of traditional out-migration, but this usually to Southeast Asian countries (Seagrave, 1995). Addresses given on applications lodged overseas (some 28 per cent of the sample) hide the point of origin within China. Of the six who gained two points for family sponsorship, only one gave a Guangdong address on the application for residence, as did only one of the 23 with community sponsorship. Transnational networks between Chinese from non-traditional sources were already developing.

Table 5.5 Contact addresses of PAs in General Category sample at the time of approval for residence

<i>Place</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Eastern Seaboard:		
Guangdong Province:		
Guangzhou	20	13.3
Shenzhen	5	3.3
Other	6	4.0
Beijing/Tianjin	13	8.6
Shanghai	16	10.6
Fujian Province	17	11.3
Other	7	4.6
Northeast (Dong bei)	11	7.3
Northwest (Xi bei)	8	5.3
Central and Southwest	5	3.3
Other places:		
Hong Kong	2	1.3
Australia	15	9.9
New Zealand:		
Auckland	12	8.0
Elsewhere	10	6.6
Other (Japan, Scandinavia, USA)	4	2.6
Total:	151	100.0

### *Dialects of Chinese*

Home addresses and a general lack of family-related or New Zealand Chinese Association sponsorship indicate a shift away from almost exclusively Yue/Cantonese-speaking immigrants to increasing numbers of speakers of other Chinese dialects among skilled arrivals. While no information regarding dialects or languages other than English spoken by the applicants was provided in the files, some could be expected to be native speakers of other southeastern dialects (including Min and Hakka/Kejia), some of the Wu dialect of Shanghai and the Yangtze Basin area and many of Putonghua/Mandarin.

This creates linguistic distinctions not only between immigrants of different eras (that is, earlier sojourners and settlers versus post-1991 arrivals) but also between and within different categories of immigrants. While most Family Category approvals between 1991 and 1996 could still be expected to be Yue/Cantonese-speaking arrivals, the result of chain migration to join earlier settled families, General Category approvals would be less likely to be Yue/Cantonese speakers. Once General Category arrivals began sponsoring other family members, however, the pattern would change. Furthermore, the fact that formal education in China now generally takes place (at least officially) in Putonghua/Mandarin means that educated and urban applicants approved from China in all categories would normally have a lingua franca, whether or not it was their first dialect. In this they are unlike their Hong Kong counterparts, whose language “remains a regional [Yue/Cantonese dialect] one ... [that] continues to assert itself powerfully, regardless of other pressures” (Dudbridge, 1996: 7). Even this situation was to change with bureaucratic control from Beijing and increased social and economic links between Hong Kong and the rest of China.

Information collected on the sample cannot address the question of residency patterns in New Zealand – since the sample consisted of approved rather than landed applicants and application forms did not include information on anticipated post-arrival addresses. However, the available evidence suggests that most were far from affluent and so less likely than their Taiwanese or Hong Kong counterparts to settle in affluent suburbs. That so few in the sample gained the two points for the optional \$100,000 settlement funds (45, or 30 per cent, compared with 99.4 per cent of the Taiwanese sample) and

even fewer gained any points for investment funds (only two, or just over 1 per cent compared with 53.8 per cent of Taiwanese) reflects a lack, rather than a surfeit of capital among mainland approvals.<sup>10</sup> The young, skilled immigrants from China who gained approval for entry under the General Category were rich in qualifications and work experience, but not in money.

### **The 1996 Census: a profile of recent Chinese residents**

How does the sample of 1991-1995 General Category applicants approved for residence compare with **all** those born in China and settling in New Zealand between 1991 and 1996 (that is, immigrants admitted under the General Category, the Business Investment Category, the Family Category, et cetera)? To answer this question, unpublished data made available by Statistics New Zealand from the 1996 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings will be examined.

#### *Demographic profile*

As general census tabulations do not identify respondents by date of arrival, special tables were obtained in order to focus upon those who were born in China but resident in New Zealand in 1996 and for whom the normal place of residence in March 1991 was China (or they were born in China after this date). As at March 1996, there were around 8,100 Chinese in this category of "new settlers", accounting for almost 10 per cent of all ethnic Chinese in New Zealand (81,309) and for 25.7 per cent of all those born in China and usually resident in New Zealand at the time of the 1996 Census (31,512, of whom 17,718 were aged 15 and over).

China has continued to be a steady and significant source of skilled and other categories of immigrants. 1996 Census figures for those who had resided in China in 1991 (Table 5.6) indicate a considerable bulge in numbers for the 30-39 age bracket and, to a lesser extent, the 20-29 age bracket. These two age groups accrued high points for age in the

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<sup>10</sup> The percentage in the sample gaining points for investment funds was smaller than the 3.8 per cent of General Investment Category (GIC) approvals in the total 3,693 GC approvals from China between November 1991 and December 1995, a difference at least in part explained by the inclusion in the total approvals of some China-born Hong Kong and Taiwan applicants.

November 1991 policy and accounted for most of the 1991-1995 sample. The number of children aged 0-14 years was also high as could be expected with so many adults in the 20-39 age bracket, but family sizes appeared to be small. Figures on usual household composition for those resident in China at the time of the 1991 Census indicate that 77.6 per cent of all households which comprised "a couple and children" included only three people – a pattern that one would expect from China's one-child policy.

As Table 5.6 shows, females outnumbered males in four of the eight age groups specified (20-29, 40-49, 50-59 and 60+) and in the population overall. There are a number of possible factors that may explain this pattern. Among these are: the greater numbers of females among Family (marriage) Category arrivals; age at marriage and subsequent age differentials; the greater frequency of male "astronauting" and female-headed satellite families; male mortality; the one-child policy; and visiting or resident mothers providing child-care assistance. Though little can be inferred regarding immigration decisions from the slight preponderance of males in the three youngest age groups,<sup>11</sup> the greater number of males in the 30-39 age bracket is a marked turnaround from the dominance of females in the 20-29 years age group, and mirrors the large numbers of skilled points arrivals, an area where males outnumber females and married couples predominate.

Table 5.6 Sex and age at 1996 Census of new settlers from China usually resident in China in 1991

<i>Age group</i>	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
0-4	159	4.2	126	2.8	288	3.5
5-14	582	15.4	534	12.2	1,116	13.7
15-19	159	4.2	153	3.5	309	3.8
20-29	588	15.5	1,065	24.3	1,653	20.4
30-39	1,545	40.9	1,485	33.9	3,030	37.4
40-49	276	7.3	396	9.0	672	8.3
50-59	165	4.3	279	6.4	396	4.9
60+	300	7.9	339	7.7	639	7.9
Total	3,774	100	4,374	100	8,103	100

Source: Statistics New Zealand, unpublished data from the 1996 Census (figures randomly rounded to base 3).

<sup>11</sup> Except, perhaps, that their parents' migration was not necessarily motivated by the desire to have a first son - and so second child when the first child was a daughter.

### *Qualifications and employment experiences*

In terms of qualifications, a high percentage of new arrivals in the 25-39 age range, and particularly those in the 30-34 age bracket, held university degrees (Table 5.7). This feature is in tune with the large numbers of skilled General Category immigrants falling within this age range. In the 25-29 age group females outnumbered but were proportionally less well qualified than their male counterparts (38.4 per cent held a Bachelor's or higher degree compared with 51.4 per cent for males).<sup>12</sup> In the older age groups, however, the sexes were more evenly balanced and a higher percentage of males than females held a Bachelor's or higher degree (63.4 and 49.7 per cent for males compared with 48.3 and 29.9 per cent for females in the 30-34 and 35-39 age groups, respectively).

Table 5.7 Highest qualification at 1996 Census of new settlers from China usually resident in China in 1991, by selected ages

Highest qualifications	Age groups											
	20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		45+	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Higher degree	6	1.5	81	6.5	294	13.6	90	10.3	39	8.4	36	2.8
Bachelor's degree	27	6.7	459	36.6	921	42.7	252	29.0	69	14.8	69	5.4
Advanced vocational	15	3.7	93	7.4	114	5.3	48	5.5	33	7.1	27	2.1
Other (including school level)	201	50.0	408	32.7	576	26.7	312	35.7	174	37.4	339	26.2
No qualifications	117	29.1	165	13.2	201	9.3	132	15.1	120	25.8	603	46.6
Not specified	36	9.0	42	3.4	54	2.5	39	4.5	30	6.5	219	16.9
Total	402	100.0	1,254	100.0	2,157	100.0	870	100.0	465	100.0	1,293	100.0

Source: Statistics New Zealand, unpublished data from the 1996 Census (figures randomly rounded to base 3).

Despite the number of higher qualifications identified in Table 5.7, the proportions of "new" arrivals from China employed within the occupational categories "Legislators, administrators and managers", "Professionals" and "Technicians and associated

<sup>12</sup> In this 25-29 age bracket, females (828) outnumbered males (426) almost 2:1. The difference in qualifications occurred at the undergraduate level. Proportions with higher degrees were alike (6.2 and 6.3 per cent, respectively).

professionals” (see Table 5.8) were very low. Yet, it is in these categories that one would have expected to find graduates with science, engineering, medical and similar qualifications. The proportions in the categories “Service and sales workers”, “Plant and machinery operators and assemblers” and “Elementary occupations”, on the other hand, were relatively high. This occupational pattern suggests that many skilled immigrants might have been holding jobs in these occupational categories if they were not among the nearly two-thirds of the total aged 15 years and over recorded as “Not employed”.

In the 35-39 age group, 519 new Chinese residents (24 per cent) were "unemployed and actively seeking work" at the time of the Census and another 825 (38.2 per cent) were "not in the labour force", despite the fact that 42.4 per cent in the age group already held university degrees. Most of those who returned to study either to improve their English or to obtain further (New Zealand) qualifications, to supplement those for which they had gained immigration points, would be included within these two employment categories. Whether new arrivals ended up in unskilled occupations, returned to study, or were unemployed and not studying, it is clear that in a high proportion of cases their qualifications and professional expertise were not being used.

Table 5.8 Occupation by sex at 1996 Census of new settlers from China (aged 15 years and over) usually resident in China in 1991

<i>Occupational Category</i>	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Legislators, administrators, managers	96	3.1	84	2.2	180	2.6
Professionals	78	2.5	51	1.6	132	1.9
Technical & associate professionals	108	3.5	81	2.2	186	2.7
Clerks	48	1.6	78	2.1	129	1.9
Service & sales workers	300	9.9	282	7.6	582	8.6
Agriculture & fishery workers	30	1.0	24	0.6	57	0.8
Trades workers	93	3.0	27	0.7	117	1.7
Plant & machine operators & assemblers	90	3.0	255	6.8	345	5.1
Elementary occupations	141	4.6	129	3.5	270	4.0
Unidentifiable/not applic./not specified	183	6.0	210	5.6	396	5.8
Not employed	1,866	61.6	2,490	67.0	4,353	64.5
Total	3,030	100	3,714	100	6,744	100

Source: Statistics New Zealand. unpublished data from the 1996 Census (figures randomly rounded to base 3).

*English language ability and dialects of Chinese*

Little information is offered in the Census on languages beyond the numbers who identified themselves as being able to hold a conversation about everyday things in specific languages or dialects. In total, 10,551 China-born residents identified themselves as having this level of competency in English, with 3,720 (35.2 per cent) of these being new immigrants (including over half of all new settlers within the 30-39 age bracket). With a language requirement consistently imposed on General Category applicants from China between 1991 and 1995 (see Chapter 6), it would be expected that all PAs (and many adult non-PAs [NPAs]) approved and taking up residence under the General Category would be included in these numbers, unless they were exceptionally self-effacing or very unsure with respect to their English language speaking ability.

Immigration policy changes are also reflected in the Chinese dialects spoken by immigrants, with the Census confirming an increase in the overall number and proportion of speakers of Putonghua/Mandarin. The numbers of Yue/Cantonese speakers increased in the 1991-1996 intercensal period by less than a quarter, adding 2,229 to make up a total of 9,774 for all of those born in China. In contrast, half of those identified as born in China and speaking Putonghua had arrived between 1991 and 1996 (1,857 out of 3,660). A sizeable portion of those identified as "Sinitic, not further defined" would also, one may presume, be Putonghua speakers who identified their language (in English) as "Chinese" rather than as "Putonghua", "Mandarin", "Northern Chinese" or "Modern Standard Chinese". The Wu dialect intercensal increase of only 51<sup>13</sup> seems low, considering the numbers in the 1991-1995 sample of approved General Category applicants who gave their place of normal residence as Shanghai, but this may reflect earlier internal migration to larger eastern seaboard cities. Alternatively, it may reflect a lack of reporting of non-standard dialects of Chinese, particularly among males.<sup>14</sup> Low, too, were the Census figures for Fujian-related dialects other than Min hua (also spoken in Taiwan).

<sup>13</sup> This figure was further diminished by rounding in the overall total, where it shrank to 48.

<sup>14</sup> Over half of the new Chinese who reported speaking Wu/Shanghai-Yangtze dialect were women (36 compared with 15 males). A similar gender bias was found in the figures for the total China-born population in New Zealand, where apart from the 5-14 age bracket, females constantly outnumbered males.



While the Census data offer no more specific point of origin than “China”, the numbers identifying themselves as speakers of dialects other than Cantonese support the proposition that the new arrivals include higher proportions from the north of China and other non-traditional areas of origin in terms of the history of Chinese settlement in New Zealand. These new arrivals would, therefore, lack an established community in New Zealand and well-established networks which they could tap into for assistance. However, new Chinese (dialect) communities are likely to become established with time and a movement on to family reunification. This immigration category movement is a pattern already apparent in New Zealand (see NZIS, 2001) and one that has been widely identified (if not necessarily officially desired or planned for) in other countries of immigration (Freeman, 1999; Hugo, 1999).

### **A profile of more recent arrivals: the longitudinal panel**

As discussed in Chapter 4, the longitudinal panel comprised 36 PAs from China approved for permanent residence under the General Category (GC) or General Skills Category (GSC) plus their families, where applicable. Seven were General Category and 29 General Skills Category approvals. All took up permanent residence in New Zealand between the beginning of August 1997 and the end of July 1998. While many were obtained through networks of personal contacts or snowballing, they are, nevertheless, representative of all those PRC arrivals during the same period who met the rather narrow points levels and other criteria for skilled immigration.

#### *Demographic factors*

On arrival, panel members ranged in age from 28 to 44 years (with only two under 30, one over 40, and a mode of 31). The mean age was 34, just over one year younger than that of the 1991-1995 sample. This would have placed most of those interviewed in either the highest or second highest scoring age bracket for points under the GC/GSC points system (see Tables 5.1 and 5.2) at the time they lodged their applications. Spouses were also typically in their thirties, with ages ranging from 30 to 46 years, a mean of 34.2 and a mode of 35 years of age. Single applicants, as expected, tended to be a little younger than married applicants.

There was a similar sex ratio between PAs in this panel and those in the 1991-1995 sample. One third of the PAs in the longitudinal panel were female, as compared with 29.1 per cent of the earlier GC approvals. Where an application involved a married couple, the decision regarding who should apply would include consideration of the post-October 1995 requirement of statutory professional registration and English language ability. There were a number of doctors, for example, both male and female, who had not received statutory registration and would not, therefore, have met the GSC application criteria. Their spouses, with other occupations, not requiring statutory regulation, became the PAs. The higher English language requirement introduced in October 1995 is also likely to have influenced the choice of PA. Since an IELTS score of Band 5 or more in each English language skill was a prerequisite for PAs in the General Skills Category (see Chapter 6), all other things being equal it was the spouse with the better English who lodged the application.

Married couples with one child again predominated. Twenty-three families (63.8 per cent) fell into this bracket. One of the two couples from Hong Kong had two children. Six PAs were married without children and a further six, four male and two female, were single PAs (including one who was separated). Most married couples arrived as intact nuclear families. However, five married PAs, at least initially, took up permanent residence alone, without their spouse or child (including four instances which involved families split, at least in part, because of the English language IELTS requirement). In several other cases families arrived intact but for one reason or another spouses, within the first few months, returned to China or went elsewhere overseas.

Like the children of PAs in the 1991-1995 sample, the children of panel members tended to be young and there was a reasonable balance of the sexes. In fact, only the second child in one family upset the balance, with 11 boys and 12 girls. The ages of these 23 children ranged from 2 to 13 years. Half were under 5 years of age and 77.3 per cent were under 9 years of age on arrival in New Zealand. Only one was of high school age. As with the 1991-1995 sample of approvals, these children were usually younger than the intermediate and secondary-school aged NESB students who were at the centre of the furore over ESOL provisions in the mid-1990s. Their youth would be important for socialisation into the wider society, the acquisition of English (with a

New Zealand accent) and issues associated with maintenance of their Chinese language and culture.

### *Pre-migration qualifications and employment experience*

The panel members and their spouses were all very well educated on arrival, with each holding a formal tertiary qualification, usually at a Bachelor's level or higher. Among the PAs, only two held a highest qualification assessed by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) as less than the equivalent of a New Zealand university degree. Fourteen (38.9 per cent) held postgraduate degrees, a higher percentage than that for the 1991-1995 sample and a reflection of the October 1995 reallocation of points for qualifications to remove the premium on science-related degrees. Another 14 PAs had undergraduate degrees in some area of science, technology or engineering, with engineering-related fields predominating. In all, the highest qualification held by over 60 per cent of all PAs was in an engineering-related field. Only eight PAs (22.2 per cent) held Bachelors' degrees in non-science subjects, including English language, British and American literature and culture, international trade, and agricultural economics. Eight spouses also held postgraduate degrees and 18 held Bachelors' degrees, 12 of these being science/technology/engineering-related and six non-science-related. Two other spouses held diplomas or certificates assessed at below the equivalent of a Bachelor's degree. Most qualifications had been completed at an institution which was identified as one of the key universities (that is, among the top 36 in China).<sup>15</sup>

Before migrating to New Zealand most PAs were employed in a field commensurate with their professional qualifications. Most commonly this was in a field where there was no statutory registration requirement in order to practise in New Zealand. This characteristic made it easier to gain approval for permanent residence. Apart from diverse engineering positions (ranging from electronic engineering to chemical engineering), other pre-migration occupations involved commerce and computing (Information Technology/Information Systems), medicine, teaching at secondary and

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<sup>15</sup> This meant that the institutions were likely to have not only very competitive academic entrance requirements but also foreign experts within their teaching staff.

university levels (English, engineering and genetics), accounting and international trade. A nurse (*PRC17*) was able to gain the necessary registration for application, aided by the fact that the original degree was from an Australian institution but a doctor (*PRC24*) would be restricted to the non-western aspects of his profession. A veterinary scientist (*PRC13*), an agricultural scientist (*PRC32*) and an agricultural economist (*PRC30*) were attracted to New Zealand as a major agricultural producing country, hoping to be able to use and further develop their skills. Two business and international trade graduates (*PRC2*, *PRC22*) and several others who had traded professions for business careers, came to New Zealand with business experience in joint or foreign ventures.

For the most part, and in line with patterns of socialisation in universities and work units in China, spouses' pre-migration employment experiences tended to mirror those of PAs. An exception to this was that there were more spouses with medical backgrounds, who would not have met the statutory registration pre-requisite for PAs from other than traditional source countries under the General Skills Category. All of those spouses with medical qualifications would face the issue of qualification recognition and skills transferability and the need to retrain if they were to re-enter their profession.

Primary among the reasons for migrating to and seeking permanent residence in New Zealand were the opportunities and challenges the move offered, including the experience of living and working in a Western English-speaking country. While some looked forward to being able to return to university to undertake further study in their professional field or to gain formal qualifications in another field, most often business- or computer-related, the majority hoped to practise their professions or enter related fields in New Zealand. Those with business experience pre-migration hoped to be able to establish personal ventures where they could use their business expertise. Four PAs (one already onshore) had business/work contacts in New Zealand before taking up permanent residence, and three onshore applicants were already employed, two full-time and one part-time, when they applied for permanent residence.

### *English and other language ability*

The English language proficiency and other language capital of the longitudinal panel will be examined in detail in Chapter 7. Suffice it to say here that the on-arrival levels of English language proficiency exhibited by the immigrants in the panel were, as expected given the IELTS Band 5 pre-requisite introduced in October 1995, generally higher than levels reported in research on other categories of immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds (see, for example, Boyer, 1996; Friesen and Ip, 1997; Trlin and Kang, 1992).

In terms of first language, of note was the frequency with which Putonghua/Mandarin, or “Northern Standard Chinese” as it is identified in the 1996 Census data, was reported as a respondent’s main or other dialect of Chinese. All but one Cantonese-speaking PA (ex-Hong Kong) reported speaking Putonghua/Mandarin (including regional variations), with most identifying it as their best spoken dialect, reinforcing the trend towards this dialect found in the 1996 Census data among “new” Chinese. The predominance of Putonghua speakers and the use of dialects other than Yue/Cantonese at home reflect their non-traditional source in terms of New Zealand’s history of Chinese immigration.

### *Non-traditional sources*

This trend towards immigration from other than Cantonese-speaking regions of China is borne out by an analysis of birthplace, which identifies only a quarter of the PAs as born in Guangdong Province or in Hong Kong (see Table 5.9). The rest were born in a wide variety of regions. Differences between birthplace and place of residence when an application was approved indicate considerable internal (and some external) migration prior to taking up permanent residence in New Zealand. Movements into Guangzhou and Shenzhen are particularly noteworthy. While a large number have come from the large eastern seaboard cities, this is not a universal pattern. Other PAs, while not necessarily residing in such large, expanding and modernised cities, also lived in major metropolitan areas prior to settlement.

Table 5.9 Place of birth and address of Principal Applicants (PAs) in the longitudinal panel at time of approval for permanent residence in New Zealand

Place	Place of birth		Address when approved for residence	
	No.	%	No.	%
Eastern seaboard:				
Guangdong Province: Guangzhou	3	8.3	6	16.7
Shenzhen	-	-	5	13.9
Other	5	13.9	4	11.1
Beijing/Tianjin	5	13.9	5	13.9
Shanghai	3	8.3	2	5.6
Fujian Province	1	2.8	1	2.8
Other	6	16.7	3	8.3
Northeast (Dong bei)	3	8.3	1	2.8
Northwest (Xi bei)	5	13.9	3	8.3
Central and Southwest	4	11.1	-	-
Other places: Hong Kong	1	2.8	2	5.6
Australia	-	-	1	2.8
New Zealand - Auckland	-	-	3	8.3
Total	36	100.0	36	*100.0

\* Rounding raises total to 100.1.

### *Contacts and networks in New Zealand*

While few in the panel had family members living in New Zealand at the time of migration and fewer had ethnic association contacts, this did not necessarily signify a lack of personal links and support networks for these new settlers. In contrast to the five PAs (13.9 per cent) who reported the presence of family members (either immediate family members or siblings) and the two (5.6 per cent) who reported the existence of ethnic association contacts, 26 (72.2 per cent) reported the presence of friends. Close friendships formed at university and/or work in China (especially the former) appear to have led to a pattern of migration similar to the chain migration which is more often associated with family groups.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Of interest was the migration of graduates from a large engineering institution in Xi'an, which at one point had had a New Zealand teacher.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined key immigration policy changes of the 1980s and 1990s and their implications in terms of skilled immigration from China. The major policy changes of 1986, 1991 and 1995 were shown to have important short- and longer-term ramifications with respect to immigration from Asia, the nature of the Chinese community in New Zealand and the ethnic composition of the wider society. The full effects of the 1986 removal of the traditional source country bias were moderated until November 1991 by the retention of the Occupational Priority List. The replacement of this list with a points-based system and the proactive recruitment of skilled immigrants to boost economic growth led to large scale immigration from within the pool of educated professionals in China and other Northeast Asian source countries. These highly skilled new arrivals offset New Zealand's longstanding "brain drain" but their visibility, ethnicity and sheer numbers contributed to tensions and discrimination within the wider society. A resultant tightening of immigration requirements in October 1995 stemmed the flow of not only skilled but also business immigrants, which led to further reactive policy adjustments to again make New Zealand an attractive destination.

The overall profile of "new" immigrants presented through the 1996 Census data and, more particularly, the profiles of skilled points immigrants from China provided by an analysis of NZIS General Category approval data (1991-1995) and the New Settlers Programme panel of General Skills Category immigrants did not fit commonly held stereotypes of Chinese in New Zealand. They lacked the rural Cantonese and historical goldfield links of earlier waves of Chinese immigrants (Ng, 1996, 2001). The "new" Chinese admitted under the General Skills Category and its predecessor, the General Category, were typically young (usually in their early thirties), highly qualified, Putonghua/Mandarin-speaking professionals. They were also likely to be married, to spouses who were similarly well qualified and experienced young professionals, and to have one child. Some married PAs initially took up permanent residence alone, and while they did not have the strong family connections and dense networks of the old, established Chinese families, with their New Zealand-born and raised children, they did have an expanding network of friends from China.

There was little evidence among the skilled approvals examined of the affluence often associated with “new” Chinese immigrants by the media and some of those who would wish stricter controls to be placed on immigration from other than traditional sources. General Category (1991-1995) approvals rarely indicated investment funds, relying on their personal qualifications (age, education and work experience) to gain the points required to meet the pass mark for entry. Nor had large numbers of those from China who settled in New Zealand in the five years before the 1996 Census found work in areas “where they [could] use their expertise” (Anderson, 1997: 67). Those in the longitudinal panel presented a similar profile.

The more diverse origins of recent Chinese arrivals have significant implications not only for their settlement and adaptation but also for the nature of the future Chinese population of New Zealand. One would not normally go so far as to claim that “[t]he Chinese ...consist of quite different ethnic groups such as the Cantonese, Hakka and Fukienese” (Statistics New Zealand, 1995: 1), since the Han people who share roots in China generally regard themselves as belonging to the same larger ethnic group, regardless of claims of other differences (Dudbridge, 1996; Norman, 1988). However, their differences do mean that the “new” Chinese are very different from the “old” Chinese immigrants and they offer New Zealand new challenges. Being predominantly Putonghua/Mandarin dialect-speakers from urbanised areas, they do not fit the Yue/Cantonese-speaking linguistic profile of earlier Chinese settlers. As young skilled immigrants, they bring qualifications and professional experiences that are different from those of young New Zealand-raised Chinese professionals. If the “new” Chinese are to settle successfully in New Zealand and the most is to be made of their skills, the differences as well as the similarities between them and the “old” Chinese need to be recognised and inaccurate stereotypes avoided.



## Chapter 6 Politics and Policies; Legislation and Language

Language has become a major factor in the immigration debate. Widely identified as a key in the immigrant settlement process, it is an element in immigration policy which can be manipulated to restrict the entry of those seeking permanent residence. The need for functional competency in English for successful resettlement is generally accepted as a truth, a given, by the government (New Zealand Immigration Service [NZIS], 1995a: 23) and the wider population (see excerpts from submissions in Department of Education, 1987: 80-81, 83). This belief is reinforced (albeit in some cases with assumed rather than proven causality) in immigration research (for example, Boyer, 1995; Greif, 1974). English language proficiency is identified as a major cause of adjustment difficulties among adolescent migrants (NZIS, 1995a: 24; Ho et al., 1996: 54), of potential and actual settlement difficulties among business migrants (Trlin and Kang, 1992; Boyer, 1995), of failure to gain professional registration and employment (Barnard, 1996; Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996), and of English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) provision problems and related costs in schools (NZIS, 1995a: 23-24; Preddey, 1996).

So, when large numbers of immigrants under the General Category – mainly Asian, predominantly young, university educated, and skilled – remained unemployed (Boyer, 1995; Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996; Friesen and Ip, 1997), and therefore created a “burden” on society rather than providing the fillip to the economy that had been hoped for and predicted in economic circles (Poot et al., 1988; Kasper, 1990; Birch, 1991), one of the first and main factors to be blamed was their lack of English language competence. Friesen and Ip’s (1997) study of recent Chinese arrivals in Auckland, however, was less conclusive

regarding the language barrier, with a large proportion of their well-qualified sample underemployed or not gainfully employed, even though “a very healthy 47 per cent of them read English language newspapers daily” (Friesen and Ip, 1997: 12). Lack of recognition of qualifications, an issue clearly identified in *High Hopes* (Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996), rather than simply a lack of English language competence, was mooted as a major problem faced by immigrants in their study. Moreover, despite the importance attributed to English language proficiency for settlement, entry requirements are not applied universally across categories of voluntary immigrants, with family reunion applicants not required to meet the English language prerequisite. Nevertheless, English language is still widely seen as **the** rather than **a** key to successful settlement. This emphasis on prospective immigrants’ English language proficiency has led one critic to claim that “the only language policy formulated in response to immigrants in New Zealand is that they should be able to speak English as well and as quickly as possible” (Roberts, 1997: 83).

With such stress placed on English language skills, and considering the public outcry over the numbers and language needs of Asian students in Auckland schools, it was not surprising that one of the major changes announced in the October 1995 immigration policy statement concerned the English language requirement. The official view and policy guideline was that (NZIS, 1995b: 10):

Immigration is most successful for the immigrant, the community they live in, and the whole country if the new resident has a modest command of English. This applies not only to the principal applicant but also to the whole family unit. Lack of English can be costly for everyone.

As New Zealand has received increasing numbers of immigrants from non-traditional sources, the English language requirement has been imposed and tested in a number of ways – the process reflecting host society attitudes towards (particular) non-English speaking background (NESB) immigrant groups, policy making processes and the availability of resources on the ground. The tenet that English language ability is important for successful resettlement is a reasonable one. However, the selective application of language requirements to certain categories of immigrants raises questions regarding the

necessity of an "adequate", "modest" or "basic" level of English pre-migration for successful settlement, as does the uneven application of requirements within categories regarding equity.

This chapter examines the changing language requirements within New Zealand's immigration policies. It highlights similarities and differences between past and present practices, particularly as they relate to the various methods used to assess the linguistic suitability of applicants from non-traditional sources. It is shown that language requirements for skilled categories: may have been decided in haste and reactively, without due consideration of their significance in the settlement process; have been seen as a panacea for resettlement problems; and have been applied only intermittently, and at times only selectively, giving rise to legitimate questions regarding both discrimination and the very importance of English as a major factor affecting immigrant adjustment. While particular attention is paid to the entry of immigrants from China, the 1991-1995 situation regarding skilled immigrants from other non-English speaking countries is also discussed to provide a comparative perspective of the application of immigration policy requirements.

### **HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS: LANGUAGE AS A TOOL TO EXCLUDE "UNDESIRABLE" IMMIGRANTS**

Needing English to settle successfully has not always been the rationale behind the language requirements for entry to New Zealand. Until 1899 there was no language requirement in New Zealand immigration legislation. Thereafter, immigrants were required to fill out the brief immigration schedule in a European language, though not necessarily in English. It was not expected that all immigrants would speak English on arrival, which was

as well since many did not (Borrie, 1991; Roberts, 1997).<sup>1</sup> Indeed, successful settlement was not the reason behind the introduction of the first English language requirement.

The 1907 Chinese Immigrants Amendment Act followed on the heels of increased anti-Chinese activities and punitive anti-Chinese legislation enacted in 1881, 1888 and 1896 (see Appendix 1; and Murphy, 1994; Ip, 1995). Restrictions imposed on human cargo proportional to tonnage of vessels carrying Chinese to New Zealand and the poll tax had, along with diminishing returns on the gold fields, reduced the number of Chinese arrivals to double figures by 1897, with annual departures outnumbering arrivals (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates [hereafter NZPD], 1907: 839), a trend which was to continue until 1903 when arrivals again began to outnumber departures. By 1906 Chinese immigrants made up only 0.289 per cent of the total population (Ip, 1990: 178). However, the arrival of 24 females in the three years from 1904 to 1906, a threefold increase on the 1896 - 1903 period, plus the birth of 10 Chinese babies in the colony in 1906 (NZPD, 1907: 839) undoubtedly added urgency to the debate over the exclusion of further Chinese immigrants and fired the introduction of an English language test designed to exclude them.

As Roy (1970: 15) noted, “[t]hough they are a fertile seed-bed for virulent racial prejudice, generalized fears and antipathies alone are seldom sufficient to provoke restrictive immigration legislation”. The numbers needed for the perceived Asian threat to germinate had materialised with the Chinese miners in Otago, Southland and Westland. Their presence, industriousness and difference incited politicised reaction among European miners and others (including Seddon, a future Prime Minister) with a “plentiful dollop of prejudice” (Roy, 1970: 17). The arrival of women and the birth of Chinese children in New Zealand who were “unfortunately, brought up to live according to the habits of Chinese”,

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<sup>1</sup> Illiteracy was common in the early days of settlement in New Zealand. Sutch (1966: 29) has estimated that some 50 per cent of the Pakeha/European population could not write and 33.3 per cent could not read. His figures for 1856 were 40 per cent and 25 per cent, respectively. Census enumerators were reported as often filling out census forms for individuals (Thorns and Sedgwick, 1997). No doubt, other people were often used as scribes to fill out illiterate individuals' immigration forms too.

which included speaking Chinese rather than English (NZPD, 1907: 839), added fuel to a fire that was fanned by merchants, working- and middle-class urban citizens whose livelihoods and neighbourhoods were being threatened by Chinese with their drift into towns and to the north (Borrie, 1991; Ip, 1990; Ng, 1996). This antipathy was to surface in Parliament and gain expression in restrictive legislation.

Opening the debate on the 1907 Bill, which turned out to be more a forum for anti-Chinese speeches than a debate, the Prime Minister, Sir Joseph Ward, as overtly anti-Chinese as the other Prime Ministers of the era (Grey, Seddon, Reeves and Massey), clearly stated the racist aim of the legislation (NZPD, 1907: 838):

The object of this Bill is to further restrict the immigration of Chinese ...by the imposition of an education test of the reading of a hundred words in English ...The reason for this education test is this: a great many people have urged that there should be a complete stoppage of Chinese immigration but this could not be done without the possibility of trouble in connection with Imperial matters – that is, the royal assent would almost certainly be refused; and I think the course suggested in this Bill is the best to meet the difficulty and prevent an increase in the number of Chinese arrivals.

This “education test”, following the example of the “Natal formula”, which involved immigrants reading a passage in any European language the Customs Officer presented (Murphy, 1994), was more draconian than the general requirement imposed in 1899. Moreover, despite its “education” label, it made no attempt to sidestep the racial issue. Ward desired “to have the purity of our race maintained in our country”, a sentiment echoed by other Members of Parliament, including Heke, the Member for Northern Maori, who wanted all Chinese banned from New Zealand and those already in the country expelled within 12 months (NZPD, 1907: 844):

... so as to give effect to the intention of the Government and the sentiment of the anti-Chinese people of New Zealand to forever prohibit such people living in this country; also to enable the anti-Chinese people of New Zealand to live in comfort after disposing by this Act of Chinese competition; [and] to also cleanse the pakeha community of the immorality brought about by the Chinese owing to their contact with the pakeha people.

The required three readings of the Bill were conducted within one sitting, punctuated by numerous motions and instructions to further increase the poll tax and ban all future immigration from China. Such proposals were ruled out of order by the Speaker for several reasons. These included the argument that any further raising of the poll tax would have required “the recommendation of the Crown”, which, it seems, would not have been forthcoming. A more punitive poll tax would have meant that arriving Chinese miners would be even less likely to return to China, their intention to sojourn rather than settle foiled by their inability to raise or earn enough money to both pay off their debts and buy passage home. Moreover, banning “Asiatics” from New Zealand would have invited the ire of the Colonial Office in Britain by going against its treaty obligations with China, against its new trade relations with Japan, and against other members of the British Empire – specifically Indians.<sup>2</sup> None of these arguments reflected support for Chinese settlement.

No dissenting voices were raised against the imposition of the language test, which became the reading of “a printed passage of **not less than one hundred words of the English language, selected at the discretion of [the] Collector or principal officer**” (New Zealand Government, 1908, no.78: 711, emphasis added). Chinese affected by negative decisions were to have some recourse; they could lodge a complaint with a magistrate, who would then administer another test “as he [thought] fit”, with his decision being final. Ip (1995: 173) reports that one officer used the headlines of the *New Zealand Herald* for the test. Others, however, must have used more standardised tests, as in 1910 the test was modified to defeat recitation (Roy, 1970), a problem that was to resurface in the 1990s.

As with later legislative and policy requirements, the reading test was not universally applied. For example, Chinese who were ministers and teachers of the Christian Church duly accredited (to the satisfaction of the Colonial Secretary) by any of the Christian

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<sup>2</sup> Attempts to pass a law banning all Asiatics from New Zealand in 1899 were thwarted by the Colonial Office in London, which reserved its approval of the legislation.

Churches in New Zealand were to be exempted. Returnees who had been off-shore could also be excused from taking a further test for re-entry. Despite this, the aim of the reading test was to keep all Chinese out if at all possible. One Member of Parliament expressed a concern that the educated Chinese who passed the test and were able to speak English could be worse than “the ordinary ones who cannot speak English at all”, and described the Bill as only “the half-loaf which is better than no bread” (NZPD, 1907: 838). The barriers to prevent Chinese immigration were, however, strengthened by the language requirement, which remained in force until 1920 when opportunities to gain entry were effectively closed down by the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act. This amendment, which remained in place until 1964, removed the need for a blatantly discriminatory test by requiring everyone except those of British and Irish descent to obtain a special permit from the Minister of Customs. There was no mention of racism, but it was a very effective tool to keep New Zealand “white”, and more particularly Anglo-Celtic (Ip, 1995: 175; O’Connor, 1968: 41; Price, 1974). In tandem with the need for a permit from 1920, and reinforcing its exclusionary effect within New Zealand, no Chinese person was to be naturalised until 1952. By the latter year, however, some allowances had been made to permanently accommodate family members. Wives and children, originally admitted on a temporary basis as “refugees” (with a 200 pound bond) from the Japanese invasion of China, were allowed to stay permanently rather than being repatriated to a homeland that was under communist rule. This change in policy came about largely as a result of advocacy on behalf of the affected families in the Chinese community by the Presbyterian church.

The Chinese were becoming an established, if still discriminated against, ethnic minority (Fong, 1959; Ip, 1990, 1995). The formal removal of the English language test for Chinese immigrants in the 1944 Finance (No.3) Act, while mainly symbolic, was an important acknowledgement of the permanence of the Chinese population. With the communist victory of 1949 and subsequent events in China, including the Cultural Revolution, few Chinese resident in New Zealand still considered themselves sojourners. They were, by desire or necessity, permanent settlers. Most set about providing their children with the

best education New Zealand could provide in preparation for their futures. Their children rapidly acquired English through the school system, and many went on to complete tertiary qualifications and gain entrance to the professions (Ip, 1990, 1996; Ng, 1996, 2001). Immigration policy, too, consolidated the position of the Chinese community in New Zealand. Families were able to sponsor relatives and single males their fiancées, thus further establishing and enlarging the Chinese New Zealand population. This would occur without language requirements having to be met, since these were not to be imposed in family reunification cases.

## **LANGUAGE REQUIREMENTS IN IMMIGRATION POLICY, 1986-1998**

### **Language requirements 1986 – 1991: “adequate English language skills”**

A landmark change in New Zealand immigration occurred with the 1986 policy changes, but all was not new. While the traditional source country preference was abolished, there was a continuation of the belief that “[t]hose coming to live here must take the country as they find it and accept the rules applying to its citizens and other residents.” This meant that “it [was still] important that they should have adequate English language skills” (Burke, 1986: 16). A specific job to come to plus competence in English were seen as “a reasonable basis on which to manage the transition” to life in a new society (Burke, 1986: 44). Language was identified as a “significant element in the assessment of occupational immigrants’ ability to settle well in New Zealand” (Burke, 1986: 16). In fact, not only principal applicants but also spouses and children over 12 years of age were to meet the “adequate English language skills” requirement – in theory, if not in practice.

Language assessment was to be one function of a required face-to-face interview. In his 1986 review, Burke noted that in the past most prospective occupational immigrants and their immediate families had been interviewed, but unsatisfactory lapses had occurred in



some instances. A directive was, therefore, issued that “in future **all** applicants for occupational entry, and their families, **must be personally interviewed**” (Burke, 1986: 16; second emphasis added). A reasonable level of competence, though not necessarily fluency, in English was to be expected in potential immigrants. But again differences in treatment were appearing, this time according to category of immigrant rather than ethnic origin.

No mention had been made of special entry requirements for Asians or other ethnic groups in immigration policy since 1978, but, as Trlin (1986: 3) warned, it would be “foolish to equate ‘absence’ [of racism in policy] with ‘nonexistence’ for what was once overtly stated may now be present in a more subtle, covert form”. Bedford et al. (1987: 53) noted, for example, that it was a moot point not only whether all immigrants really needed English to contribute to the economy but also, where required, whether English really needed to be exhibited pre-departure rather than learned post-arrival (as was the case for most family reunification category arrivals). This issue was raised again in another article by Trlin (1992: 5) and resurfaced with regard to dependants in the 1995 requirements. Indeed, the need for a pre-arrival demonstration of English language ability was undermined by an acknowledgement by the Minister of Immigration that allowances should be made for applicants such as ethnic chefs and market gardeners, whose jobs would not require English and for whom support would be available within the Chinese community (Shroff, 1987: 68-69). The Minister of Immigration was reported to have indicated that the requirement of at least minimum English language skills was “to be applied with some flexibility by interviewing officers” (Shroff, 1987: 68), taking into account the Principal Applicant’s (PA’s) occupation and accepting a lower level of English language skills from spouses and children.

It should be noted, also, that, while those admitted under the occupational category (and under a new combined occupation within family reunification bracketing) were required to meet “normal criteria including English language competency” (Burke, 1986: 22), there

were situations where English language ability was not a prerequisite for immigration approval. Alternative requirements existed for some entrepreneurial and business migrants, straightforward family reunification cases, refugee and other humanitarian cases, and special quota arrangements such as existed with the Netherlands, Samoa and other Pacific Island countries. While it was recognised that many of these arrivals would initially have only minimal or no English language competency, it was felt that most would learn enough English post-arrival to settle successfully. This learning would be done through: night classes, other educational programmes, or voluntary agencies such as home tutor schemes, which had been established in the 1970s and extended to meet the needs of Southeast Asian refugees (Burke, 1986: 46).<sup>3</sup> Thus, while the “ability to communicate in English” was identified as “probably the most important single factor in facilitating participation in the workforce and the community at large” (Burke, 1986:46), there were obviously exceptions to this rule – and probably more than would ever be acknowledged.

In practice the compulsory interview requirement for occupational migrants was not always applied, while for many business migrants the interviews obviously concentrated on requirements other than English. A study of Business Immigration Policy approvals from Hong Kong and Taiwan for the period 1986-1988 (Trlin and Kang, 1992) found that over a third of the 225 cases studied were below average in English and 8 per cent had no conversational English ability at all. For spouses, those with no English language ability accounted for 32 per cent of the Taiwanese sample and 10 per cent of the Hong Kong sample. These results reflected the tension that existed (and still exists) in immigration policy between business criteria (money to invest and business acumen) and assessments of applicants’ general suitability for settlement, including their English language ability. Despite being subject to two interviews which formed “a significant part of [the] selection

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<sup>3</sup> Education provisions were to include Department of Labour Training Assistance Programmes (TAPs) and the newly established, joint Department of Labour-Department of Education Refugee Resettlement Programme facility at Mangere (made available initially only for Southeast Asian refugee intakes). Gubbay and Coghill (1988), British Industrial English trainers invited to New Zealand as consultants by the Department of Education, expressed serious reservations about many of the existing ESOL provisions (including the voluntary Home Tutor Scheme), which they saw as limited and controlling rather than empowering, and they questioned the motivation behind them.

process” (Trlin and Kang, 1992: 50), business immigrants were ultimately accepted with less than the stipulated minimum English language standard, and not infrequently with no English language proficiency at all. With poor English skills and limited access to post-arrival provisions (certainly no English language classes as of right), it was perceived that these immigrants were handicapped with regard to business investment and resettlement, and that New Zealand had failed to capitalise fully on their potential contribution to the economy and society. Immigrants’ concerns regarding lack of access to information about how business was conducted in New Zealand could, in fact, have been met more quickly and effectively by means other than their learning more English; relevant information could have been provided via the immigrants’ own language. This, however, was an option rarely considered in New Zealand’s predominantly monolingual environment.

An entry in the *New Zealand Official Yearbook, 1988-1989* (Shroff, 1989: 205; emphasis added) noted that for occupational migrants “[a]n interview to assess the settlement prospects and English language capacity of the principal applicant and spouse is **normally** required”. This indicated the introduction of an official degree of flexibility in this requirement, possibly, it must be acknowledged, to accommodate immigration applications from countries in which there were no New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS) offices. But when major exceptions already existed, it was reasonable to see pre-departure proof of English language skills as discriminating against many aspiring migrants from countries in which English was not at least a second language or a compulsory or widely available subject in schools (Bedford et al., 1987: 53-55). The 1986 language requirements were neither tested in any catholic, objective manner nor universally or consistently applied. Shroff (1987: 67) in effect acknowledged this when he stated that “...we would like if possible to come up with some mechanism that ensures the language assessment element in selection is applied consistently”. A short duration interview test was to be investigated with a view to greater consistency.

**1991-1995: “a minimum level of English language ability”.**

Consistency, though, was not to be the key word in English language ability assessment during the 1991-1995 period, when a modified, points-based immigration policy was to see not only the greatest influx of immigrants since the early 1970s but also the realignment of immigrant populations as a result of the earlier removal of the traditional source countries preference. A net migration loss in the 1980s, declining economic activity and a “brain drain” led to new immigration policies to encourage the immigration of entrepreneurial and skilled migrants to stimulate a sluggish economy and promote economic growth (Birch, 1991; Poot, 1992; Poot et al., 1988). Economics was increasingly driving New Zealand’s immigration policy, with user-pay charges, self-funding NZIS offices overseas, and an emphasis on attracting business investment immigrants and highly educated, skilled migrants (possibly with investment funds), that is, those who would contribute to the economy and not be a drain on the country’s welfare provisions.

With lack of English seen as a potential cost to the host society, a “minimum level of English language” (NZIS, 1991a: 14) remained a prerequisite for General Category immigrants under the policy introduced in November 1991, though this requirement now applied only to principal applicants and not to spouses or dependent children over 12 years of age as had previously been the case. No points were to be allocated for English language ability as they were in the Canadian and Australian points systems. In the Business Investment Category, only one family member over 17 years of age was to meet the minimum requirement. The latter English language requirement was added because “to do business successfully in New Zealand it will be necessary to speak English” (Birch, 1991).

So how was this ability “to speak English” to be assessed? Again, the situation varied both between and within categories. Bilateral quotas, Pacific Island groups from Niue, the Tokelaus and the Cook Islands, plus the Family Category and refugee and humanitarian intakes were still not subject to an English language prerequisite. Migrants in the General (GC) and Business Investment (BIC) categories were, but application of the requirement

was inconsistent. Many, therefore, would still have little English and could be expected to experience difficulties in the resettlement process (see Boyer, 1995; Lidgard, 1996; Friesen and Ip, 1997). It appears that most potential business immigrants, despite the more challenging English language ability requirement, opted for the General Category, with its less stringent residence requirements and smaller investment option (NZ\$100,000 – \$300,000, carrying 1-3 points, compared with a minimum BIC investment of NZ\$500,000). They were, therefore, at least in theory, subject to the same English language requirements as all other General Category (points system) applicants.

### *Case studies*

In the General Category, the Principal Applicant (PA) was required to meet a minimum level of English ability. The NZIS Operational Manual (NZIS, 1992: 7-G-22) defined this English language requirement as follows:

The acceptable level of English comprehension is set at no less than that expected of an 11 year old [native English-speaking] child. At this level the applicant should have a reasonable command of English sufficient to enable that person to read, understand and respond to questions, and be able to maintain an English language conversation about themselves, their family or background.

This requirement was measured in a variety of ways, depending on the country of origin and the management infrastructure in place for the assessment of applications.

An examination of NZIS files for General Category approvals for the period November 1991 to December 1995 identified seven main methods of assessment: a face-to-face interview; a telephone interview; the administration of an NZIS English test; a pass in a recognised English language test – generally either the British International English Language Testing System (IELTS) or, less commonly, the American Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) examination; proof of having studied at an English-medium school or tertiary establishment; a degree in English; and work experience in New Zealand or another country where English was at least a main national language. One or a

combination of the above might be required, depending on the area and the perceived English language ability of the applicant. As the data collected involved approved applications submitted by PAs from five countries – China (referred to here as the “PRC” when “China” or “Chinese” might be ambiguous), Taiwan, the former Yugoslavia, South Africa, and India – inter-country variations in English language assessment provide interesting insights into not only logistical issues surrounding the processing of very large numbers of applications but also the relative importance attributed to English as a settlement factor for each group.

For PRC applicants the situation was fairly clear-cut. Unless they were already in New Zealand (or Australia) as students, graduates or workers, they were required to attend a compulsory interview at the NZIS office in Beijing.<sup>4</sup> This requirement covered both the PA and his or her spouse. While several letters informing PAs of interview appointments were sighted which mentioned the possibility of an interpreter, file notes recording interview proceedings and personal communications with a former interviewing officer indicated the consistent use and assessment of English during these sessions. If the PA was able to converse freely with the interviewing officer, the level of English was considered adequate. If, however, there were some doubts about the level of English of the applicant, an NZIS test was incorporated into and administered as part of the interview. This test consisted of two reading passages, the first of which the applicant was required to read aloud before answering oral questions on each of them, plus an interview. The latter, according to guidelines issued to NZIS offices, was to consist of at least five conversational questions. These were to be asked in such a way that they put applicants at ease and provided them with “the best chance to demonstrate their English ability”. As the numbers of applicants burgeoned, the use of the NZIS English test increased and criteria were applied more rigorously (personal communication with former interviewing officer). Failure to pass the NZIS test meant non-acceptance, or, in several cases (for marginal but otherwise very good

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<sup>4</sup> An awareness of the language issues involved in immigration was reflected by a former immigration officer to Beijing, who arranged for official NZIS form letters to applicants regarding interviews and other issues to be “translated” into a simplified form, using Nation’s (1986) 1000 word “little language” of high frequency words, to facilitate effective communication.

applicants), a period of grace to hone up English skills before attending another interview. As only approved applications for entry were included in the sample, it is not clear how common this second chance interview was, but considering the heavy workloads of the small staff in Beijing and the requirement that only New Zealand immigration officers conduct interviews, it seems likely that such occurrences were rare. Spouses were not required to have equal competence in English. However, with most being graduates, with qualifications similar if not equal to those of the PAs, their English levels were often comparable, if not better, according to the file notes of NZIS interviewers.

Taiwanese applicants present a very different picture with a large proportion recorded as not requiring interviews, and therefore not being subject to either the face-to-face scrutiny or the NZIS test used to assess PRC applicants. Since many Taiwanese PAs also engaged the services of immigration consultants, who filled out application forms and otherwise acted as intermediaries, corresponding with the NZIS on the applicants' behalf and acting as interpreters if required, personal correspondence and other forms of communication as an informal means of English language assessment were not available either. English language was usually absent as a subject of study in the few university transcripts sighted in files (unlike the more complete records of PRC applicants which were usually included and generally indicated at least two years of English language study within the science, medical and technical degrees that most applicants had). These factors plus the generally older profile of Taiwanese applicants (a mean age of 39 compared with 31 for PRC applicants), their dependence on points from settlement and investment funds (see Trlin et al., 1998), and the use of consultants as intermediaries and interpreters, all suggest a lower "minimum level of English". Since many of the Taiwanese PAs were labelled as General Investment Category (GIC) rather than straight General Category (GC) approvals, the possession of substantial investment funds may well have been seen to compensate for other prerequisites. Indeed, Taiwanese PA case files indicate that the scrutiny of capital assets, in sharp contrast with that of English language ability, was very thorough.

Though applicants from the former Yugoslavia often engaged the assistance of immigration consultants to expedite their applications, like PRC applicants they, too, were carefully vetted for minimum English language competence. In large part, this appears to have been necessitated by their political situation and the lack of NZIS representation within the area. With face-to-face interviews in the country of origin ruled out, the normal procedure involved a series of steps. First, an applicant would be required to telephone an immigration officer at the London NZIS office at a pre-notified time for a “voice-to-voice” interview. In a few cases applicants were able to travel to London itself but these were rare, accounting for only 1.9 per cent of the sample of 157. In the telephone interview, questions would first be asked to ascertain that the “applicant” was bone fide and then the interview assessment would continue. Nearly 40 per cent passed the telephone test. For the rest, where there were doubts about the interviewee’s identity or English language ability, he/she would be advised to either: (a) take an IELTS examination at the nearest British Council post; or (b) attend a face-to-face interview in either Bonn or The Hague. While the former option was expensive in terms of fees and possibly travel expenses, impossible for those with no accessible British Council Office, and possibly involved delays until a course or examination was scheduled, the latter option might be an impossibility because of visa restrictions, travel requirements or cost. In the event, only 28 (29.5 per cent) out of the remaining 95 approvals (that is, 17.8 per cent of the total sample) produced IELTS results with an overall pass average of 5.0 or higher. Most travelled to Bonn or, less often, The Hague for the face-to-face interview, which included the NZIS test if the applicant could not easily be assessed as having the required competence. Since the NZIS test measured a lower threshold level than the international test, with a pass at the level of an 11 or 12 year old native English speaker, some who had failed the IELTS requirement still managed to pass and be accepted for settlement. As few had more money than the NZ\$100,000 required for settlement funds, points could not be accrued or trade-offs made through investment capital.

English assessment procedures for South African and Indian applicants were more straightforward. Though South Africans, like the “Yugoslavs”, were required to apply



through the London or another designated NZIS office outside of their own country,<sup>5</sup> it was assumed that, as they were at least regular second language speakers of English, they would have no problems with language while settling in New Zealand. Interestingly, only 22 PAs in this group (14 per cent) identified themselves as non-native speakers of English, though names and the identification of dependent children as non-native speakers would indicate that some who rated themselves as fluent “mother-tongue” speakers were, in fact, likely to be fluent second-language speakers of English (that is, fluent bilinguals rather than monolingual English speakers). No queries were indicated on application forms regarding the linguistic status claims of such applicants. Recorded comments on language all reflected fluency in English; for example, “spoke to client – from South Africa, fluent in English”, “has excellent English ability”, “has published ...books in English”, and “educated in an English-speaking country”. The other NESB applicants in the South African sample (born in Poland and India) were also, files suggest, taken on their own self-assessments and assumed to have adequate English in the light of the English milieu and their length of residence in South Africa.

In contrast, among the Indian applicants self-assessment as mother tongue speakers of English was rare, with only nine cases (5.92 per cent). While the norm was for a self-assessment as “fluent”, for most applicants English was identified in official transcripts for Secondary School Certificate, the Higher Secondary Leaving Certificate and pre-university examinations as well as in later university examination results as their second or third language. In the General Category only PAs were required to attend an interview in New Delhi, and this was often waived. There was no evidence on files of the NZIS test having been taken and generally little specific information on English language ability, other than the official transcripts of educational qualifications, which were generally provided to prove not English language ability levels but verification of date of birth and university qualifications. However, with English as an official language in India, the medium of

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<sup>5</sup> With no NZIS office in South Africa, most applications were made through the London office. However, the high workload at this office – including the large number of applications for residence from the former Yugoslavia – meant that some South African applications were processed in Hong Kong or New Zealand.

education for some at school and for university studies and of work in the wider professional community (if not at home), the normal comment on interview sheets was, where included, not unexpectedly “no problems with English”. A “reasonable command of English” could be expected in such circumstances.

It can be seen from this review that procedures varied widely in the assessment of applicants from different origins. While a face-to-face interview was the officially preferred mode of assessment for all PRC applicants, this method was not so common elsewhere. In the case of applicants from the former Yugoslavia logistical issues dictated the course of action; for South African and Indian PAs sociolinguistic (and possibly some logistic) considerations prevailed; while among the Taiwanese PAs, one must assume, considerations of a financial and economic nature took precedence. Arguably, the Taiwanese were considered to be much more westernised than their counterparts from China and therefore more likely to speak adequate English. But this assumption is hardly supported by their greater average age, which would suggest that they were less likely to have benefitted from the burgeoning provision of English as a Foreign Language in Asia over the last two decades. Furthermore, the files of most Taiwanese PAs lacked university degree transcript evidence, which could have shown English studies undertaken, or other evidence (such as written correspondence in English) which could possibly have mitigated against the need for a formal interview and language assessment, though they did not in the case of either PRC applicants or those from former Yugoslavia. That such “evidence” of English language ability was lacking while information on economic considerations was scrupulously documented, suggests that considerations of an economic nature were pre-eminent. The “minimum level of English” required of General Category immigrants, the “ability to conduct a simple conversation in English as a minimum – about yourself, your work and family, everyday things” (NZIS undated guide for General Category applicants), was a greater hurdle for some than for others.

### **1995 policy changes: “a modest level of English”**

As discussed earlier, the more stringent language requirements affected only “targeted” immigrants, that is, those who entered under the skills and business categories.

Requirements for other categories remained as before (Trlin, 1997; Trlin et al., 1998). For skilled immigrants, more emphasis was to be placed on reducing the wastage of human capital and expense to New Zealand, which was seen to be caused by immigrant unemployment, the costs of retraining, **and** lack of English language proficiency (NZIS, 1995a; NZIS, 1995b).

That “English is a key to successful settlement” and that “a lack of English can be costly for everyone” (NZIS, 1995b: 10) were cited as reasons for closing the doors on (targeted) applicants who did not have the required “modest command of English”. The argument flowed thus. The policy requirement of English at the level of an 11 year old native speaker (as in the NZIS test) was considered too low for the language needs of professional immigrants. It was felt that not only PAs but also their family members should meet a higher required standard. There was pressure on ESOL and other educational resources. A lack of English was seen as impeding rapid integration into New Zealand society. The Government was bearing the cost of providing ESOL to immigrant families and was concerned about the social and economic costs on society of admitting skilled and business immigrants who did not have good English (Cabinet Committee on Enterprise, Industry and Environment, 1994: part ii: 5). It was stated that not having to fund these “economic” immigrants would allow for the better targeting of resources to family reunion immigrants and refugees.

No longer was it to be enough for only the PA in the skilled category or one family member over 17 years of age in the Business Category to meet the minimum English language requirement. All family members 16 years of age and over in each category were now to prove that they could meet the “modest” required standard, a pass at Band 5 in the

General Module of the International English Language Test System (IELTS). The PA was to pass the test pre-application, while the spouse and dependants 16 years and over (non-principal applicants - NPAs) had an option. They were either to meet the requirements pre-departure or to take the test post-arrival, with the forfeiture of part or all of a NZ\$20,000 fee (later “bond”) upon failure to meet the standard within a specified time – nothing if the prescribed level was reached within three months, \$6,000 if reached within four to 12 months, and the whole amount (\$20,000) if not reached within 12 months. The new language requirement was seen as recognising “the cost lack of language can impose on New Zealand” and the fee was to “act as an incentive for a person to rapidly acquire [sic] basic English language skills” (NZIS, 1995b: 10).

In a bid not to preclude motivated immigrants with high human capital a “second-chance provision” was proposed by both the Treasury and the Department of Internal Affairs’ Ethnic Affairs Service (Cabinet Committee on Enterprise, Industry and Environment, 1995a: part ii: 3). However, this provision was not accepted and the PA was required to meet the prescribed standard pre-application. Without this, he or she was to be given no (second) chance to “make a valuable contribution to New Zealand in the long-term” (Cabinet Committee on Enterprise, Industry and Environment, 1995a: part ii: 3). Furthermore, the second chance provision for NPAs was available only on a cheque-book basis, with an up-front fee/bond of NZ\$20,000 per person, which was well beyond the means of many potential immigrants – especially when this money was likely to be forfeited.<sup>6</sup> The IELTS handbook estimates that an individual usually takes between 100 and 200-plus hours of instruction to improve by one IELTS band, with a marked tendency for more rapid progress at the lower levels (IELTS, 1995: 27). A refund of all or part of the bond was, therefore, unlikely for a spouse/partner trying to cope with all the issues

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<sup>6</sup> A Chinese Government State Education Commission allowance for Foreign Experts in a university in Shanghai in 1995-1996 was about 25,000 renminbi yuan or the equivalent of a little over NZ\$4,000 per year. Chinese lecturers in English could earn a similar amount by moonlighting. Without moonlighting and bonuses a Chinese lecturer’s salary was around 9,600 renminbi yuan (NZ\$1,536) per year. With such salaries, NZ\$20,000 would represent a huge amount of money to find on top of other immigration charges and expenses. And so it would be for those in the panel who had to pay the bond (see Chapter 7).

surrounding resettlement or for teenagers grappling with education in a new country and culture.

There were obviously other than just linguistic considerations involved. “Targeted” migrants were seen as having adequate personal resources to provide for their own English language training. If they wanted to come to New Zealand, they paid for it. There was no need for input from the Government to assist in the settlement process of these highly qualified or investment capital bearing migrants who were being specifically sought for the contributions they could make to New Zealand. Arguments for the recovery of settlement costs associated with language provisions went further than this. The children of GSC and BIC approved applicants were seen as placing pressure on the always stretched ESOL funding allocated to schools. This funding, originally provided only for refugees through the annually funded, Cabinet-approved Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement Programme, had been extended in scope rather than quantity to cover all ESOL students. In 1995 this amount stood at NZ\$1.7 million, with \$1.2 million going to primary and secondary schools and half a million going into adult provisions (Cabinet Committee on Enterprise, Industry and Environment, 1995b: part ii: 1-2; Preddey, 1996).

Cabinet Committee on Enterprise, Industry and Environment (CCEIE) discussions between December 1994 and May 1995 on adjustments to immigration policy, recommended that a flat “cost recovery” fee of \$2,500 be charged for each NESB child aged 5 – 15 years inclusive in the “targeted” migrant category, to cover ESOL costs in schools. Problems were noted regarding the difference between this mooted sum and the amount currently allocated in Ministry of Education per capita ESOL funding to schools – \$250 for NESB children identified as having no or limited English language ability. These were those identified as falling within the Ministry of Education’s ESOL categories 1 – 3, on a 5 point scale (ranging from 1: “cannot understand simple English” to 5: “competent in English”). This \$250 per child fund was for all NESB children “in need”, but the “cost recovery” fee was to be required only from “targeted” migrants. Moreover, since Ministry allocations were only for children seen to be most in need of ESOL assistance (Preddey, 1996), it

would be necessary to test “targeted” migrants’ children at some point to ascertain whether they should be charged this fee (if post-arrival payment was required) or reimbursed (if pre-paid fees were required).

This raised further major issues. How were the children to be assessed? By teachers and schools (perhaps with a vested interest in low ability results, carrying as they did large financial sums, though this problem was not mentioned in the Cabinet papers) or through some pre-departure test as adults and children over 15 years of age were to be? What test(s) would be needed?<sup>7</sup> Should the money be collected pre-departure or post-arrival? If post-arrival, was it ethical to levy some permanent residents and not others? This was recognised in discussions to be highly discriminatory and, therefore, perhaps not a good idea. And who was the money to be used for? Only the children of “targeted” migrants or all ESOL children, including those whose parents were not required to pay the \$2,500? Again, there were questions of discriminatory practices.

In the event, while recommendations on charging for the ESOL education of children aged 5 to 16 (sic) were supported in the 9 May 1995 paper (CCEIE, 1995c: part i: 3), no requirements of this nature were included in the final policy changes of October 1995. The fact remains, however, that the idea had been raised and supported that all ESOL costs should be placed on the “targeted” immigrants themselves. That is, no cost should be borne by the Government, despite the clear advantage in attracting highly educated immigrants (educated at no expense to New Zealand) and business investors with foreign capital to boost the economy. In language, it was to be user-pays all the way. The IELTS Band 5 requirement (with its optional NZ\$20,000 bond for non-principal applicants) would ensure this.

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<sup>7</sup> Clearly the IELTS test would not have been suitable for young children.

## IELTS Band 5

So what is this test, how was it decided on, and just how “modest” is the requirement? Briefly, IELTS is an international ESOL testing programme jointly operated by the British Council, the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES) and IDP Education Australia: IELTS Australia. It is designed to provide an assessment of the preparedness of candidates for further and higher education and research work through the medium of English. A set of four modules covers the four macro skills of listening, reading, writing and speaking, tested in that order. There are two versions of the reading and writing modules – Academic and General Training. The first is designed for students wishing to study at an undergraduate or postgraduate level. The second, concentrating on “basic survival skills in a broad social and educational context”, is “suitable for candidates who are going to English speaking countries to complete their Secondary education or to undertake work experience or training programmes not at a university level” (IELTS, 1995: 6). Band scores on each are designed to be of equal standard; the content and purpose are different.

It was the latter, the General Training Module, that aspirant “targeted” immigrants over 15 needed to sit, obtaining a pass of Band 5.0 (“modest user”), the middle of a Band 1.0 (“non-user”) to Band 9.0 (“expert user”) scale. The descriptor for Band 5 is (IELTS, 1995: 26):

### Modest User

Has partial command of the language, coping with overall meaning in most situations, though is likely to make many mistakes. Should be able to handle basic communication in own field.

The decision to use this particular test was apparently based on “trailing IELTS on some 400 customers from ex-Yugoslavia and the Middle East” by the NZIS Bonn office, with “90% of customers achiev[ing] a pass at band 5 (modest user) or above” (CCEIE, 1995a: part ii: 3). Since IELTS is a reputable, internationally recognised ESOL test provided in a large number of countries and it measures not only proficiency but also communicative performance, it is a suitable tool for assessing English language skills. Treasury’s belief

that a “fair and impartial test of English is crucial to the transparent and effective operation of immigration policy” (CCEIE, 1995a: part ii: 3) is clearly met by such a test. Moreover, the General Module is identified as being suitable to measure “basic survival skills in a broad social and educational context”, so it seems to be appropriate in the immigrant resettlement context, even though it was not designed for such a purpose.

However, there are questions regarding not only the motivation behind but also the actual 1995 test requirements for “targeted” immigrants. In particular, there are two issues that do not seem to have been taken into account in the Bonn office “trailing”, or at least in the discussions and decisions which ensued. First, between November 1991 and October 1995, PAs involved in the “trailing” were accepted as having met the required standard if they received an aggregate score of Band 5.0 **overall**, whereas the NZIS *Operational Manual* was to require that applicants score 5 on **each** of the four macro skills (NZIS, 1996: PRO 3-8 and POL 3-16). This made the “modest” pass level rather less modest and much harder to attain. Second, between 1991 and 1995 it was only PAs in the General Category and one family member over 17 years of age for business migrants who had to meet the minimum English language requirement, whereas the new policy required all immigrants over 15 years of age in both categories to reach the new minimum standard. Nor did the requirement take into account the specific needs of the applicants. While offering guidelines regarding the fit between Band scores and different academic courses, the IELTS handbook cautions that these are only guidelines and **receiving institutions** should always consider the particular language demands of a course, including which skills will be required, when assessing the suitability of students and band score requirement. They should also take into consideration the age, motivation, educational and cultural background, first language and language learning history of a candidate (IELTS, 1995: 27) plus the amount of support that will be offered to students within the course or host institution. Presumably, so too should **receiving countries**.

In August 1997, sharp criticism was levelled at the impact of the October 1995 policy changes, especially the new English language requirement, in the wake of an



announcement that arrivals were well down with particularly large reductions in numbers from Asian countries.<sup>8</sup> The sharp reduction in skilled and business category immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds (discussed in Chapter 5) could in part be attributed to changes in the point system, a tightening of taxation residency requirements for new residents and the requirement for PAs in some 25 occupations to gain registration before departure (see Trlin, 1997), or other reasons such as the anti-Asian element in the 1996 election campaign (see Trlin et al., 1998a). However, the notable decline in numbers from non-English speaking background countries was also attributed, at least in part, to the “combination of a new, more objective English test, [and the extension of] the English language requirement ... to all General Skills migrants 16 years and over” (NZIS, 1997: 4). John Read, a Senior Lecturer at the English Language Institute, Victoria University, questioned whether Band 5 was an appropriate level (a) in the final analysis, and (b) in the short term. Aussie Malcolm, an immigration consultant and former Minister of Immigration, argued that Band 5 was too high, that Band 3 or 3.5 would be better. Pansy Wong, a National Party list Member of Parliament (MP), suggested that seeing immigrants from Asia only in economic terms and expecting English language skills on arrival was not helpful; British immigrants were not seen only in an economic light, nor were westerners going to Singapore, Hong Kong or other Asian destinations expected to speak Chinese before going. As Wong noted, no other settler countries of the Pacific Rim had such rigid and financially punitive ESOL requirements.<sup>9</sup>

### **1997 Policy Changes: a “modest” or a “basic level”**

As expected, the policy package announced in December 1997 included some change to this English language requirement. Recognising “the need for longer term planning” and

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<sup>8</sup> 26 August 1997 National Radio “Morning Report” programme.

<sup>9</sup> It was observed that Australia charged a flat fee of A\$2,000 while Canada and the United States had no charge (though Canada was later to introduce cost-recovery “landing fees”). Moreover, both Australia and Canada had well-established ESOL programmes for new NESB arrivals (adults and children), programmes which had been decentralised and scaled down with economic retrenchment but which remained within post-arrival immigration policy provisions. These countries also allocated points for English language proficiency within their points systems rather than it being a blanket prerequisite as in the New Zealand system.

“aiming for stability in ... immigration policy to attract immigrants who add value in terms of skills, culture and investment” (Bradford, 1997a), the Minister of Immigration announced a new target of 10,000 net immigration. This was to include 500 Business Investor Category migrants. Success in attracting such numbers would, however, require a readjustment of the 1995 English language requirement, perceived as a major hurdle for this group. Therefore, while General Skills Category immigrants would continue to need “a modest level of English language ability...to maximise their chance of getting a job”, the requirement for PAs and NPAs under the Business categories would be relaxed “to a basic level (IELTS 4)” (Bradford, 1997b). This lesser requirement, Band 4, is described as (IELTS, 1995: 26):

Limited User

Basic competence is limited to familiar situations. Has frequent problems in understanding and expression. Is not able to use complex language.

The rationale offered for this change was that (Bradford, 1997b):

The successful settlement of business migrants is less likely to depend on the domestic labour market as they create their own businesses in New Zealand, often retaining links with an international business community.

It will be recalled that only six years earlier another Minister of Immigration believed that “to do business successfully in New Zealand it will be necessary to speak English” (Birch, 1991). Obviously a rather different perception of the enterprises established by business migrants now prevailed, albeit one qualified by words such as “less likely” and “often”.

Despite the relaxation of the English language requirement for business migrants, the need to speak English for successful settlement and employment was still acknowledged. The Minister’s statement that “there may be other options for ensuring business applicants have sufficient English language skills to settle successfully” suggested the provision of post-arrival English language tuition to ensure that business migrants did not “end up by being on the wrong end of the economic system – a burden rather than a benefit to New Zealand” (Bradford, 1997b). While such a provision would be a positive move, it would expose the inadequacies of post-arrival immigrant policy in New Zealand. It would also, once again, raise fundamental questions regarding not only the necessity of a higher language skills

prerequisite for skilled immigrants but also the vexed issue of pre- rather than post-migration English language learning.

### **Further changes**

These two issues – the different language requirements for skilled applicants and entrepreneurial/business applicants bearing investment funds, and the prerequisite versus post-arrival provision debate – would again be highlighted and undergo further adjustments in the English language requirements for skilled and business category immigrants.

In October 1998, in a policy package designed to “[make] New Zealand a more attractive destination”, the IELTS levels required in each of the four skills (that is, Band 5 for PAs and dependants over 15 in the General Skills Category and Band 4 for those in the Business categories) remained the same, but the compulsory pre-migration nature of the requirement was removed for business immigrants. Also, the financially burdensome and linguistically questionable English language bond for dependants, retrospectively legitimised as a fee in the Immigration (Migrant Levy) Amendment Act, only five months earlier, was finally abolished after a poor report in an evaluation contracted by the Immigration Service (Forsythe Research, 1998a). It was to be replaced by ESOL tuition pre-purchase provisions. From 30 November 1998, NPAs over 15 years of age who did not meet the IELTS Band 5 or Band 4 requirement as appropriate would be able to pre-purchase English language training from an approved ESOL provider. This option would also be available to PAs in the Business categories and to some on-shore applicants in the General Skills Category. Costs for ESOL tuition would range from NZ\$1,700 to NZ\$6,650 in accordance with the dependant's level of English and immigration category (with a cap of NZ\$3,350 for business category purchasers).<sup>10</sup> The maximum charge was to be applied

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<sup>10</sup> The pre-purchase fees were costed on the basis of NZ\$1,500 of ESOL entitlement per 0.5 Band of IELTS plus an administrative charge. The maximum fee for a business immigrant (PA or NPA) would thus provide for ESOL tuition covering only one band score compared with two band scores for an NPA under the GSC.

where there was a failure to provide any evidence of English language ability in an application.

The replacement of the Bond with pre-purchased, post-arrival English language tuition recognised the potential for, and greater opportunities and returns associated with, post-arrival language study. It also provided more realistic timeframes to learn the language, with three years to use the training allowance (extended to three and a half years if purchased off-shore, that is, pre-migration). However, while a positive move, the shift to the pre-purchase of tuition did not guarantee that there would be any uptake of ESOL study post-arrival. The forfeiture of the tuition fee remained a relatively likely scenario for many (especially business) arrivals, not financially straitened by the amount outlaid and too busy to get around to or not interested in arranging their own ESOL study through a certified provider. Nor, if the pre-paid tuition was used, did it guarantee that a learner would complete the course or achieve the level of English associated with the relevant immigration category. That the pre-purchase option was to apply to business category PAs unable to reach the IELTS Band 4 threshold and skilled PAs who were work permit holders already employed in New Zealand for one year and meeting all other General Skills Category requirements undermined the argument that a “modest” level of English was a necessary requirement for employment in New Zealand. It “remove[d] the need for people who are clearly employable in New Zealand to pass an English language requirement to gain residence” (NZIS, 1998: 2).

Further minor adjustments to language requirements announced in February 2001 (effective from July 2001) were “aimed at ensuring that the New Zealand economy has the skills and entrepreneurial base it needs to develop high value industries and services in the 21<sup>st</sup> century” (Clark, 2001; media release). Skilled migrant numbers were to be increased by 60 per cent on 1999-2000 figures, to 27,000 in the 2001-2002 year, with skilled and business migrant approvals raised to a level where they would constitute 60 per cent of total immigration approvals per year. Regional occupational shortages were to be identified

(reminiscent of the old Occupational Priority List), and the IELTS requirement was adjusted from a minimum score in each skill to an average across the four skills in order to “make New Zealand a more attractive destination for migrants who are less fluent in English, but have other attributes, such as occupational skills” (Clark, 2001). This change not only made the minimum English language requirement somewhat easier to attain but brought the method of assessment of IELTS band scores in line with that of other users of the instrument and with claims made by language professionals from the introduction of the IELTS requirement in 1995.

However, the media release also stated that people who scored below Band 7<sup>11</sup> in the test were to “be encouraged to purchase additional English as a Second Language tuition” (Clark, 2001). A person with a Band Score of 7 on IELTS is identified as:

Good User

Has operational command of the language, though with occasional inaccuracies, inappropriacies and misunderstandings in some situations. Generally handles complex language well and understands detailed reasoning.

Was this now to be the desired level for new settlers from non-English-speaking backgrounds? If so, how were those with less than the Band 7 level “to be encouraged” to purchase additional ESOL tuition? With no policy change or mention of coercion, a penalty or a pre-purchase fee, there was nothing to suggest that the purchasing of additional post-migration study to reach the Band 7 level was to be more than personal choice. Business migrants could still enter the country with no English, so long as they pre-purchased a little not-necessarily-to-be-taken-up ESOL tuition and brought the requisite amount of investment funds. Of all those immigrants approved from non-English speaking source countries, only PAs under the General Skills Category were required to prove that they had a given level of English language proficiency (IELTS 5) pre-migration. Policy changes reacting to the fall-off in numbers of applications had removed the language

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<sup>11</sup> IELTS Band 7 is above the level required for entry to most university courses in New Zealand (though universities require a score including the Academic rather than General reading and writing modules). An approximately equivalent TOEFL score would be 600.

prerequisite from the business categories. It was unlikely that it would be re-introduced, let alone at a higher level, at a time when the Government was actively seeking business immigrants and their investment capital. For those immigrants arriving under the General Skills Category, still finding it difficult to obtain appropriate or any employment in New Zealand – and exhibiting patterns of unemployment, underemployment, returning to study, and onward or return migration – it could be a different matter.

## CONCLUSION

The review of legislation and policy has shown that while English language may be seen as “a key in the immigration process”, it is the purpose as much as the use of this key which may be a cause for concern. Proficiency in the English language was not required of new arrivals until the beginning of the twentieth century. First introduced into immigration legislation in 1907 to close the doors on Chinese immigration, the required reading of not less than one hundred words of the English language was explicitly discriminatory and fell from use before its formal revocation in 1944. In contrast, when the traditional source country preference was removed in 1986 the “adequate English language skills” requirement applied to **all** occupational category applicants and their families and **all** were to be personally interviewed. In practice, however, there were to be exceptions. Some involved in ethnically oriented occupations were exempted, as were those in the family reunion and humanitarian categories, and **not all** occupational entry applicants were interviewed. Similar exceptions were found in a survey of five groups of General Category immigrants who entered New Zealand between November 1991 and December 1995. The “minimum level of English language ability” required of those from non-English speaking backgrounds was tested in a variety of ways and with varying degrees of commitment, ranging from rigorous application of gatekeeping procedures to assumptions of adequate levels of English.

Near universality of English language testing finally arrived with the October 1995 policy decisions, which required all targeted PAs, their spouses and other dependants over the age of 15 to achieve Band 5 in IELTS (or provide evidence of an equivalent attainment).

According to the policy makers this would ensure “successful” resettlement; arrivals would be able to secure employment, use their skills, and not place a financial burden on the state. From the introduction of the 1995 language requirements, queries were repeatedly voiced regarding the level of English demanded, the selective (discriminatory?) application of the test to targeted categories of immigrants and their dependants, the timing of and hence motives behind the introduction of the prerequisite, and issues regarding its pre-departure/post-arrival administration. The requirement stood, but adjustments, usually reactive policy changes in response to unforeseen inflow outcomes, were made.

Language requirements have continued to be identified as a mechanism which can be manipulated to influence, if not control, the entry to New Zealand of immigrants for whom English is a second language. In 1986 when the traditional source countries preference was removed it was considered to be unlikely that New Zealand would be open to or welcome substantial Asian immigration. When unforeseen and unprecedented numbers of immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds, particularly Chinese from various sources, arrived under the Business Immigration Policy in the late 1980s and (especially) the General Category points system during the first half of the 1990s, serious deficiencies in New Zealand’s immigration policy were exposed. Not only were many skilled immigrants unable to secure employment and thereby contribute to the economy but they were seen as placing demands on precious resources, including ESOL provisions in schools. The most obvious factors to blame for the failure of such migrants to resettle quickly and effectively were the new arrivals’ lack of “suitable” professional training, “irrelevant” work experience and lack of English language proficiency.

However, while English language ability was seen variously as “the key” and “a key” to successful settlement (NZIS, 1995b: 10), there were no clearly defined criteria for assessing what constituted “adequate English language skills” (Burke, 1986: 16), “a

minimum level of English language ability” (NZIS, 1991), or “a reasonable command of English” (NZIS Operational Manual, 1992: 7-G-22). Nor were existing language assessment mechanisms applied consistently across or within categories. The prerequisite of an adequate level of English, for example, was imposed only on “targeted” immigrants and then only inconsistently as demonstrated in the investigation of General Category approvals from five source countries. It is not surprising that researchers on immigration from non-English speaking sources since 1986 (including Trlin and Kang, 1992; Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996; Ho et al., 1996; Lidgard, 1996; Friesen and Ip, 1997) have uncovered a mosaic of English language ability ranging from fluent to no English. The introduction of the IELTS Band 5 prerequisite in October 1995 provided a clear yardstick for measuring “a modest level of English”, but the requirement was again less than universally (and somewhat reactively and arbitrarily) imposed. It is important to note that the language requirements discussed were implemented as Cabinet-approved policy changes for the Minister of Immigration, who has the power to “publish the policy of the Government relating to the rules and criteria under which eligibility for the issue or grant of visas and permits is to be determined” (Immigration Amendment Act 1991, Section 13A). Such executive powers are important in that they allow for substantive reviews and changes to immigration selection criteria outside of the legislative process. However, while this enables timely fine-tuning and adjustments to be made, it also favours reactive policy-making and allows for potentially ill-founded decision making. Moreover, it removes such processes from the wider forum of Parliament and the people, where more questions regarding decisions might be raised.

In December 1997, in news statements which signaled changes to immigration policy, Jenny Shipley (as Prime Minister) and Max Bradford (as Minister of Immigration) both indicated their dissatisfaction with a policy that has a history of “over-correcting and then under-correcting” and of changing targets “up and down and sideways” (Bain, 1997; Bell, 1997). As Fawcett and Carino (1987b: 7) have noted, however, changing immigration policies remain both a cause and a reflection of national attitudes to immigration and ethnicity. In these terms, it is hard to see the December 1997, October 1998 and February



2001 changes to the English language requirements as anything more than simply on-going tinkering to ensure that the economy kept growing and investments flowed in, without regard to the issue of pre- and post-migration English language requirements that could have unlocked the skills, ideas and vitality of new immigrants. While the language bond was replaced by a more constructive policy requirement involving the pre-purchasing of ESOL tuition in 1998, a proper policy – one that was part of a broader, well integrated, institutional structure of immigration that included an immigration policy, a post-arrival immigrant policy and an ethnic relations policy (see Trlin, 1993) – was not realised.

## Chapter 7 Beyond IELTS: Languages, Experiences and Responses

That proficiency in the language of the receiving country is a key component in the successful integration of immigrants into the wider society is a view generally shared by researchers, immigration policymakers, employers, teachers of English to speakers of other languages (ESOL) and immigrants alike. It is a theme that has gained prominence and recurred in the literature in New Zealand<sup>1</sup> and overseas<sup>2</sup> as increasing numbers of immigrants have been drawn from non-traditional and non-English speaking backgrounds and societies have struggled to incorporate these often highly skilled and visible arrivals into the wider society.

As has been shown in Chapters 5 and 6, New Zealand immigration policy statements have not always been reflected evenly across categories or in a catholic fashion within a category. Nevertheless, the emphasis on the importance of English language proficiency for the settlement and integration of immigrants from a non-English speaking background (NESB) is clearly reflected in policy decisions affecting the selection of skilled immigrants from at least some source countries, including the People's Republic of China. To gain the right of permanent residence in New Zealand, skilled immigrants from China have had to meet the requirement of at least a minimum level of competency in the English language before being approved for settlement. Thus, they provide a good group in which to study the short- and longer-term effects on settlement of the English language requirements in immigration policy and the English language proficiency they bring.

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Daley (1998), Ethnic Affairs Service (1996), Fletcher (1999), Forsythe Research (1998a), Ho et al. (2000), Kaplan (1980), Lidgard (1996), Waite (1992a, 1992b), Trlin and Kang (1992), Winkelmann and Winkelmann (1998).

<sup>2</sup> Including Beiser (1999), Burnett (1998), Halli and Driedger (1999a), Inglis et al. (1992), Skeldon (1994).

With the emphasis in immigration policy and research on the English language proficiency and requirements of NESB immigrants, it is often overlooked that such immigrants constitute a valuable linguistic resource in languages other than English. Their language capital is not confined to that of the dominant society. The high level of fluency that skilled immigrants have in their mother tongues is generally taken as a “given”, and glossed over (at best) or, more often, ignored in policy analyses and settlement studies (see, for example, Fletcher, 1999). While some research has been carried out on issues of language maintenance and language shift among immigrant minorities in New Zealand including the Cantonese-speaking Chinese community (for example, Holmes and Harlow, 1991; Jamieson, 1980; Roberts, 1997; Smith, 1994), the emphasis has been on stemming the process of language shift among young immigrants and members of the New Zealand-born NESB population. Moreover, the research has concentrated on the value of language resources other than English in the private domain, for individual speakers and ethnic communities, rather than in the public domain and for the wider society.

### **Chapter Objectives**

Given the importance of proficiency in English for successful settlement to take place and of the personal and wider public value of competence in an international language other than English, this chapter comprises two sections. First, it addresses the Chinese language resources of the longitudinal panel. Consideration is given to how useful their Chinese language is perceived to be by the immigrants themselves and how much it is used in New Zealand. The issue of language maintenance is also addressed since, while language shift is unlikely to be a major problem among the adults who make up the panel, language attrition among their children is likely. Following this discussion of first language resources, the English language experiences and responses of the panel as they seek to integrate into their new country are investigated. Pre-migration English-language proficiency and patterns of English language use are outlined along with plans for further ESOL study. This is followed by an examination of the post-arrival experiences of the panel as they work through the settlement process. Attention is given to the shifting patterns of English language use (at home, at work, at study and in social interactions), to the problems that panel members have faced using English in New Zealand and to the strategies adopted to overcome the “language barrier”. These

strategies include enrolment in formal ESOL courses and other informal strategies to learn more English. Finally, in the conclusion, participants' views on immigration policy language requirements are addressed.

## LINGUISTIC RESOURCES OTHER THAN ENGLISH

### Chinese language capital

All of the panel members had native speaker proficiency in at least one dialect of Chinese. While 15 (41.6 per cent) of the Principal Applicants (PAs) came to New Zealand from Guangzhou, Shenzhen or elsewhere in Guangdong Province, most were originally from more northern areas. Hence, 23 (63.9 per cent) identified Putonghua/Mandarin (also identified as Modern Standard Chinese, Northern Chinese, and in Taiwan as *guoyu*) as their best spoken dialect of Chinese (see Table 7.1). Five others (13.9 per cent) identified Putonghua/Mandarin plus another dialect (Cantonese/Guangdong hua/Yue or Shanghai hua/Wu) as their best spoken dialects. Cantonese, Shanghai hua/Wu and Min dialects were the other main dialects spoken best.<sup>3</sup>

Besides being bilingual in Chinese and English, over half of the panel (55.6 per cent) were bi-dialectal or multi-dialectal in Chinese. Only 16 (44.4 per cent) spoke just one dialect of Chinese. Normally this sole dialect was Putonghua/Mandarin, the main dialect of the north, west and southwest of the country, but one participant from Hong Kong spoke only Cantonese (and, contrary to the norm, read and wrote Chinese via this dialect). Most commonly the second, or third, dialect spoken was Cantonese or Shanghai hua/Wu, dialects associated with major metropolitan areas of the eastern

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<sup>3</sup> Participants often identified Chinese dialects by their Chinese names (offered here as alternatives), but these tend to be unfamiliar in New Zealand. This is particularly so for Cantonese, which is the most commonly and widely spoken in New Zealand. Hence, "Cantonese" is used throughout rather than "Guangdong hua" or "Yue" for this dialect. The Shanghai or Wu dialect is, however, spoken by participants not only from Shanghai but also further inland (Suzhou, Wuxi) where there are dialectal differences so the terms are bracketed to cover the range. "Mandarin" and "Putonghua" are also bracketed, in recognition of the common western label and the pinyin form (as "Aotearoa" and "New Zealand" are often bracketed in writing about Maori and other New Zealand issues). The Chinese terms are used for the Fujian dialects (Min and Minnan hua) and to identify "Kejia/Hakka", there being no common equivalents.

seaboard (Guangzhou, Shenzhen and Hong Kong, and Shanghai).<sup>4</sup> Other dialects spoken included Min hua, a Fujian Province dialect, and Kejia/Hakka, also found in Fujian Province as well as in other southeastern areas. Two participants spoke four dialects. The main dialect used in the home usually, but not always, corresponded with the “best spoken” dialect. At the time of the first round of interviews (1998), 24 PAs spoke Putonghua/Mandarin at home, six spoke Cantonese, five spoke Shanghai hua/Wu, and one spoke Min hua plus Putonghua/Mandarin.

Table 7.1 Chinese dialects and other languages spoken by members of the panel

<i>Dialect</i>	<i>Identified as “best spoken”</i>		<i>Total number of dialects spoken</i>			<i>Other languages (other than English)</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3 +</i>	<i>No.</i>
Putonghua/Mandarin	23	63.9	15	4	4	3
Cantonese	3	8.3	1	2	-	-
Cant. + Mandarin	2	5.6	-	1	1	-
Shanghai hua/Wu	4	11.1	-	4	-	2
Sh’hua/Wu + Mandarin	3	8.3	-	3	-	-
Min	1	2.8	-	1	-	-
TOTAL	36	100	16	15	5	5

Similar linguistic resources were reported by spouses and other adults within family units. In the initial interview, 22 of the 26 spouses for whom information was given were reported as speaking two or more dialects of Chinese. Dialects spoken included: Putonghua/Mandarin (24), Cantonese (eight), Shanghai hua/Wu (two), Min hua (one) and Minnan hua (one). Most adults who joined PAs during the course of the research were reported to be similarly bi-dialectal in Chinese; six spoke two dialects (Putonghua/Mandarin plus Cantonese or Shanghai hua/Wu). Children generally spoke only one dialect (Putonghua/Mandarin or Cantonese), but four were using two dialects on arrival.

<sup>4</sup> In Guangzhou, Hong Kong and Shanghai, the ability to speak the local dialect rather than or as well as Putonghua/Mandarin is a feature of “belonging” and successful trade negotiations in these cities may depend on an ability to speak the local dialect. Shenzhen has a higher proportion of first-dialect Mandarin speakers than would be expected, but PAs who came via Shenzhen all (also) spoke Cantonese.

All adults arrived in New Zealand with literacy skills in Chinese. The small number of children who were old enough to have attended kindergarten and school in China had also attained a reasonable level of literacy in the language, at least equal to the prescribed level for the University Entrance, Bursaries and Scholarships Chinese paper introduced in New Zealand in 1998.<sup>5</sup>

### ***An added bonus: Second languages other than English***

Five PAs (13.9 per cent) also spoke another second language besides English – four Japanese and one French. Of the five with a foreign language other than English, two spoke two dialects of Chinese and one spoke three dialects. All five PAs reported that they were literate in their other second language. One bi-dialectal spouse also spoke Japanese, and a mono-dialectal spouse, who had studied in Europe, spoke two Eastern European languages as well as English.

### **Perceived and experienced usefulness of Chinese**

Three-quarters of the PAs interviewed reported that before arriving they had felt that their Chinese would be only “occasionally”, “a little” or “no” use at all for everyday activities, work or career advancement in New Zealand (Table 7.2). For the remainder, its potential usefulness had been seen as more for work and career advancement than for everyday activities. New Zealand was viewed as an English-speaking society where they would use the English skills which had been required of them to gain permanent residence.

Some 40 per cent reported that they had changed their pre-migration views about the usefulness of their Chinese by the time of the first interview. It had been found to be of less value to them in the work/career advancement areas than anticipated. For most, this was because they had been unable to find any employment, let alone positions where

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<sup>5</sup> Candidates are expected to “recognise approximately 600 Chinese characters” and “write approximately 350 Chinese characters from memory” (NZQA memo CQ98/66S). Recognition of the level of Chinese of immigrant students enrolling for the examination is expressed in the memo. A first language speaker is identified as someone who: “comes from a home where Chinese is the language of communication; and has had two or more years of formal education in a school system in which Chinese was the language of instruction”.

they might use their Chinese for career advancement, and so had returned to study, where they needed English rather than Chinese. Comments were offered on the lack of usefulness of Putonghua/Mandarin in the established, predominantly Cantonese-speaking Chinese takeaway and restaurant trade. If not already speakers of Cantonese, PAs and spouses were generally unable to find casual employment in a Chinese restaurant or fast food outlet that was not owned or staffed by others who had recently arrived from China (and so spoke Putonghua/Mandarin).

Table 7.2 Perceived usefulness of Chinese in New Zealand pre-migration, as reported at Round 1 (1998), and at Round 2 (1999) (percentages)

		<i>Very</i>	<i>Quite</i>	<i>Occasionally</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>N/A</i>
Pre-migration (N=36)	Everyday activities	8.3	13.9	8.3	47.2	8.0	-
	Work	16.7	8.3	5.6	19.4	50.0	-
	Career advancement	19.4	5.6	5.6	19.4	50.0	-
Round 2 (N=32)*	Everyday activities	25.0	12.5	21.9	37.5	3.1	-
	Work	6.3	15.6	9.4	28.1	25.0	15.6
	Career advancement	12.5	-	6.3	21.9	56.3	3.1

\* "Astronaut" working in China not included.

Elsewhere, however, Chinese had been more useful than expected. It could be used in many Chinese-owned retail outlets, to obtain service in many restaurants, and was the preferred language in the personal domain. It was the language of choice with friends from China, with the social group limited by dialect if the PA was able to speak only Putonghua/Mandarin or Cantonese. Thirty-one PAs (86.1 per cent) used only Chinese, usually Putonghua/Mandarin, when talking to their friends from China; others used mainly Chinese. Chinese was also, as expected, the language of the home. While sharing accommodation could potentially have required the use of English in the home domain, with only two exceptions those who shared accommodation at the time of the first interview (22, or 61.1 per cent) lived in a house or flat with other Chinese speakers. Such accommodation had been found either through Chinese friends or contacts or through the Chinese language press. To sum up, of those who had changed their minds about the value of their Chinese in New Zealand at the time of the first

interview, two-thirds reported that they had found it more useful than they had anticipated.

This change in the perceived value of Chinese was reflected in the increase in numbers identifying their language as “quite useful” or “very useful” for everyday activities a year later, at the time of the second interview (Table 7.2). While only 3 out of 36 (8.3 per cent) had felt on arrival that it would be “very” useful for everyday activities, 8 out of 32 (25 per cent) reported that it had been so, with 19 (59.3 per cent) finding it to be at least “occasionally” useful. Within the home, Chinese remained the only or main language spoken to spouses and children. Since most of the panel lived in Auckland with access to Chinese retail stores plus proximity to Chinese friends, churches and other groups, and as over 90 per cent reported that at least half of their friends outside of work were of the same ethnic group, Chinese remained for most the main language of the wider personal, if not public, domain.

The upward trend for everyday activities was not reflected in perceptions of the value of Chinese for work or career advancement (Table 7.2). In these contexts, Chinese was still likely to be considered only “occasionally” or “a little” useful. Those who did consider it “quite useful” or “very useful” for work generally used Chinese with clients/customers or patients. Cases included: a participant who had established a retail business and found the language useful when dealing with Chinese suppliers and customers (*PRC22*); one who was working in a café with other Chinese staff (*PRC31*); two who were studying in a area related to Chinese culture (*PRC23*, *PRC29*); and a real estate agent, who had sold a house for a Chinese vendor (*PRC4*). Of the 17 PAs employed by others in 1999, 14 said that their employer was aware of their fluency in Chinese, and eight felt that more effective use could be made of their Chinese language skills at work.

With increased length of residence, exposure to English and contact with the wider society, a clearer distinction was being drawn between the language of the private domain and that of the public domain. By the third round of interviews (in 2000), virtually all of the remaining 29 PAs in New Zealand were still using Chinese at home “most days” or “every day” (27, or 93.1 per cent) and socially at least “sometimes” (28,



or 96.6 per cent). In contrast, it was being used rather less frequently for study and at work than had been the case one year earlier.

### *Chinese at work*

The reduced use of Chinese in the public domain is reflected in the decline, albeit small, in the reported need for the language at work (Table 7.3). This suggests increasing contact with persons other than Chinese immigrants (or speakers of their own dialects) and, related to this, increased use of and facility in the English language – a reflection of, and factor contributing to, their integration into the wider society. At Round 3, with two of the three who saw both English and Chinese as needed in their main job being self-employed, it also suggests that little use was being made by New Zealand employers of the bilingualism that immigrants brought. It was notable that no one had been employed until the time of the third interview in a position where Chinese was the only language required, such as might happen in an ethnic minority enclave (Tseng et al., 1999) or among some Family Category immigrants working in the Chinese restaurant industry.<sup>6</sup>

Table 7.3 Languages needed in (main) job in New Zealand by employed PAs, Rounds 1-3

<i>Round</i>	<i>English only</i>		<i>English + Chinese</i>		<i>Chinese only</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Round 1 (N=7)	5	71.4	2	28.6	-	-
Round 2 (N=18)	13	72.2	5	27.8	-	-
Round 3 (N=17)	14	82.4	3	17.6	-	-

### **Language maintenance or language shift: a threatened resource?**

The better educated an immigrant is, the more likely he or she is to have a high degree of proficiency in the target language, to have contact with the host society and to use the second language for work or study (Boyd et al., 1994; Chiswick and Miller, 1992,

<sup>6</sup> The argument could be made that the “astronaut” (PRC35) was using only Chinese in his work back in China, but this was a consequence of the employment situation and his inability to find work in New Zealand rather than one of language resource utilisation in the country of settlement.

1995; Miller, 1986). This being the case, it was not surprising that English was moving to challenge the position of Chinese as the “main” language for many PAs, especially but not only in the public domain. Seventeen PAs (56.7 per cent) identified English as their “second language learned . . . , but main language used” at Round 3.

The language of choice with spouses, children, friends and other students from the same ethnic group remained Chinese for the majority of participants. However, the widespread use of English in education and the workplace and its pervasiveness in the wider society, were threatening adults’ literacy skills in Chinese to the extent that the literacy dominance of Chinese had been displaced in three cases by the time of the third round of interviews.<sup>7</sup> The number and frequency of free Chinese newspapers – a common source of information regarding accommodation, work opportunities and local cultural activities – were reported by participants in Auckland (where the majority of the panel resided) to have increased over the three years of the study. Reading these newspapers remained a regular, if no longer daily, activity for many (Table 7.4). However, the writing of personal letters and notes (including e-mails) in Chinese declined appreciably, from 50 per cent writing at least “sometimes” (weekly) at the time of the first interview to only 33.6 per cent by the time of the third interview. Despite some clawing back after a sharp decline in the second year of residence, the decline in letter writing in Chinese was expected to persist as participants continued to be very busy completing studies and working and at the same time became more established. Increasingly they were reliant on other, more convenient forms of communication to maintain contact with family and friends in China and elsewhere. Most often, these involved the telephone and e-mails; the latter were mainly in English because of software limitations, convenience and speed, plus the ability of recipients to read English.

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<sup>7</sup> These cases were: (a) a nurse (*PRC17*) from Hong Kong with an Australian medical qualification, in whose case both spoken and written English were self-assessed as better; and (b) two former engineers (*PRC19*, *PRC24*) engaged in postgraduate studies, each in courses requiring large amounts of reading and writing, who considered their written English was better than their Chinese.

Table 7.4 Access to and use of Chinese media and literacy among PAs during previous 4 weeks, Rounds 1-3

	Round*	Every day		Most days		Sometimes		Rarely		Never	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Read magazines or newspapers in Chinese	Rd 1	5	13.9	7	19.4	20	55.6	4	11.1	-	-
	Rd 2	4	12.5	9	28.1	16	50.0	3	9.4	-	-
	Rd 3	1	3.4	9	31.0	15	51.7	4	13.8	-	-
Write personal letters including e-mails in Chinese	Rd 1	-	-	7	19.4	11	30.6	17	47.2	1	2.8
	Rd 2	-	-	-	-	3	9.4	25	78.1	4	12.3
	Rd 3	-	-	3	10.3	7	23.3	13	43.3	6	20.0
Watch TV or videos in Chinese	Rd 1	1	2.8	-	-	1	2.8	5	13.9	29	80.6
	Rd 2	2	6.3	-	-	6	18.8	3	9.4	21	65.6
	Rd 3	-	-	2	6.9	4	13.8	5	17.2	18	62.1

\* Round 1: N=36; Round 2: N=32; Round 3: N=29. "Astronaut" absent Rounds 2-3.

Watching television programmes and videos in Chinese was not a common pastime, though weekly to monthly viewing increased a little over time. Regular viewing was restricted to those not working, in the home with young children and with access to pay television channels. Others sometimes watched free-to-air programmes on the Triangle TV channel, but Chinese radio broadcasts appeared to be more popular.

### *Second generation language shift*

If the language resource that immigrants bring to New Zealand is to be valued in the long term, consideration needs also to be given to the maintenance of the first language among the children of adult immigrants. While the literacy skills of the PAs in the panel may be coming under threat through lack of practice, their spoken Chinese is unlikely to suffer any marked regression, except perhaps for non-standard dialects which are little used in New Zealand. The same, however, cannot be said for the fate of their children's Chinese skills, a fact which was already a cause of concern for PAs in the panel.

The literature on language maintenance among the children of immigrants almost invariably sees the maintenance of the minority language as a struggle (see, for

example, Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Veltman, 1983). This is exacerbated for those in this study both by the lack of extended family, particularly grandparents, or monolingual parents to whom the language would provide the only means of communication, and by the fluency in and use of English by the parents in the panel. Their education means they can not only encourage but also assist their children to learn to read and write Chinese. But the difficulty of obtaining literacy in the language, with its predominantly ideographic script, mitigates against the maintenance of the language, unless it can be studied within the mainstream school. This is now a possibility at the secondary level but one that may be less than appealing to those who have studied in the formal education system for two or more years pre-migration as they would be ineligible (as native speakers), under the present conditions, for National Scholarship consideration in the subject.

As expected, English was almost inevitably encroaching in parent-child interactions. By the third round of interviews only six PAs reported using no English with their children. In turn, of the 19 children old enough to talk, five (26.3 per cent) were reported as speaking Chinese and English equally or mostly English to the PA. The shift of children to English was more marked in other situations in the home (with siblings, where applicable, and other children) and outside the home (at school and other places).

Such a swing to English signalled a rapid move towards the classic three-generational pattern of language shift noted by researchers (for example, Williamson and van Eerde, 1980; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Veltman, 1983). While the process may take longer than three generations, with a more extended bilingual phase, "the end point is almost always the same" (Nettle and Romaine, 2000: 136). As the "pulse of a [vanishing] language clearly lies in the youngest generation" (Nettle and Romaine, 2000: 8), so, too, does that of a language resource brought to a nation by its immigrants.

As their children's Chinese vanish, the concerns regarding language maintenance expressed by 17 (81 per cent) of the 21 parents with children in New Zealand were well-founded. The rapid shift to English was exacerbated by: the movement of families into their own homes, away from the more crowded spaces shared with other Chinese families; the lack of extended family members with whom Chinese might be the

preferred (if not only possible) language; attendance at English-dominant preschools and primary schools; and the young age of most of the children on arrival. The older the children, the higher their levels of proficiency in the written script and the easier it was to maintain some degree of literacy. Even without access to books, the weekly free Chinese newspapers provided reading material that could be, and was, read by all of the older children. With an average (mean) age of 6 years at the time of the first interview, however, most of the children born outside of New Zealand had not attended school in China, meaning that they had little, if any, literacy skills in their first language to build on.

Almost all (90.5 per cent) of the parents reported that they had made some provision to support the maintenance and development of their children's Chinese language. Where no special provision had been made, the children were either older and already literate in Chinese or young babies. Intentions and/or attempts to provide literacy in the script were mentioned by most parents, and by the third round of interviews some children were attending formal Saturday morning Chinese classes.<sup>8</sup> One parent noted, ruefully, however, that once her child came out of the class, she spoke English to her Chinese classmates.

### **Summary**

The survey of dialects and languages spoken by PAs, their spouses and dependants shows that they brought to New Zealand a great wealth of linguistic resources in Chinese and that a larger than expected number were speakers of a second language other than English. Chinese proved to be more useful than had been anticipated by participants in the settlement process. While Cantonese provided those who spoke it a means of linking with the more established New Zealand Chinese population, immigration over the last decade has seen increased numbers of Putonghua/Mandarin speakers settle in New Zealand. Thus, there was a wider Chinese immigrant community in which the predominant dialect of the group could be used. Literacy in Chinese, skills which were shared by all adults in the panel and some of the older children, provided

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<sup>8</sup> These Putonghua/Mandarin Chinese classes were, in some cases, coupled with art lessons from a Chinese teacher.

access to the expanding Chinese print media. Little use appeared to have been made of this Chinese “community” (and international) language resource by the wider society.

## **ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AND EXPERIENCES**

As has been shown in Chapter 6, the language requirements which need to be met in order to migrate to New Zealand have changed over the years, with different criteria set in place according to the category under which an immigrant applies for permanent residence. Some applicants are not required to meet any English language requirement at all, some are required to meet a prescribed level of English or to pre-purchase English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) tuition to meet the required level after taking up permanent residence; and others are required to meet a prescribed level of English in order to lodge an application to immigrate. Refugee and Family Category approvals fall within the first group, dependants in the General Skills Category over 15 years of age and all Business Category approvals fall within the second group (with the English language bond applying until 1998), and PAs in the General Skills Category fall within the third group. The language requirements faced by General Category/General Skills Category immigrants have remained the most demanding and applicants from China have rarely been granted an exemption, no matter how good their English is, unless they have applied on-shore in New Zealand or from another “English-speaking” country.

The IELTS Band 5 language proficiency required of General Skills Category immigrants was assumed to entail a level of English adequate for successful settlement in New Zealand. Has this assumption proved to be justified? Has English language proficiency still presented skilled Chinese immigrants with a barrier to employment in their chosen professions and to successful settlement? If so, what steps have been taken to overcome this barrier and how effective have they been? Have ESOL courses been taken up and have they provided access to employment and social participation in the wider society? In addressing these questions with regard to the experiences of the Chinese panel, this section will raise questions regarding not only immigrant language requirements but also the dearth of appropriate post-arrival settlement provisions and wider issues involving host society attitudes and discrimination.

### **Pre-migration English language proficiency, patterns of use and plans for study**

Being relatively young and highly educated professionals, panel members brought with them a level of proficiency in English that was adequate to gain entry to New Zealand under the General Skills Category or its predecessor, the General Category. With levels of English varying within families, all other things being equal, the spouse most likely to pass the IELTS Band 5 requirement was the PA if English proficiency was an issue. Most of the PAs had been required to study English not only at middle (that is, secondary) school but also for at least one or two years at university, so had a reasonable command of written if not spoken English. Moreover, while for most participants English had not been their major subject and its use post-graduation had varied, English was generally more than just an academic subject. Proficiency in English was a requirement not only for those teaching the language at a secondary or tertiary level but also for those working with computers, for those in joint ventures or called upon to act as interpreters and/or translators in their work unit, and for those already working or studying in New Zealand or another English-speaking environment.

#### ***Meeting the English language requirements: a “minimum” or “modest” level***

While maybe not accustomed to speaking or listening to spoken English (particularly New Zealand English), all PAs arrived with at least a “minimum” or “modest” level of English, and a good base to build on. The nine PAs who had been approved under the General Category (but had taken up permanent residence after the policy changed) had not been required to produce an IELTS score in order to apply for residence. However, they were all interviewed by an NZIS immigration officer (usually in Beijing) and if their level of English was considered borderline, they were required to take the in-house reading and comprehension test as part of their interview. In the event, only two applicants had been required to sit this test. Another participant (with a TOEFL score of 585) had been deemed to have inadequate spoken English at the interview in Beijing and had been told to go away and to learn more English for six months, before being re-interviewed. This he had done, successfully.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> This practice of sending interviewees away for six months to improve their English had also been found in the 1991-1995 sample investigated.

General Skills Category applicants had almost invariably been required to meet the IELTS Band 5 requirement. Exceptions to this rule included the two applicants from Hong Kong, who were recognised as having met the required level by dint of having lived and worked in an English-speaking environment. One of these two applicants had not been asked for an IELTS score by the NZIS but had, nevertheless, needed to take the academic form of the language test in order to meet registration requirements for the nursing profession in New Zealand, despite having studied in English for a degree in nursing through an Australian university. The other PA from Hong Kong, while working in a Chinese-medium school, had used mainly English language teaching materials at work. A third General Skills Category exception to the IELTS 5 prerequisite was an applicant already employed in New Zealand.

The rest, however, had had to meet the IELTS Band 5 “pass” score regardless of previous English language qualifications and experiences. Among these applicants, five held degrees in English language or literature, and ten had reported TOEFL scores ranging from 560 to 600-plus, approximately equivalent to IELTS Band 6 or higher<sup>10</sup> and sufficient to gain entry to university studies in New Zealand and other English speaking countries (Elson, 1992; IELTS, 1995; McNamara, 1996). Such qualifications, however, did not exempt them from the IELTS requirement. As had been found with the sample of 1991- 1995 General Category approvals from China (see Chapter 5), the policy requirements associated with English language proficiency were strictly adhered to by immigration officers handling applications from China.

In the event, a band score of 6.0-6.5 (“competent user” plus) was the most common result (59.3 per cent) for those in the panel required to take the IELTS test. Individual scores ranged from the benchmark 5.0 (“modest user”) to 8.5 (“very good”–“expert user”) (Figure 7.1). The highest score was for one of those with post-graduate qualifications in English, a PA who had found himself unable to follow a friend’s advice to “not do too well” when he sat the IELTS test, lest he be required to attend an NZIS interview to verify his result. In the event, he had scored 8.5, with a 9 (the highest possible score, “Expert User”) for speaking, and then, as predicted, had been required

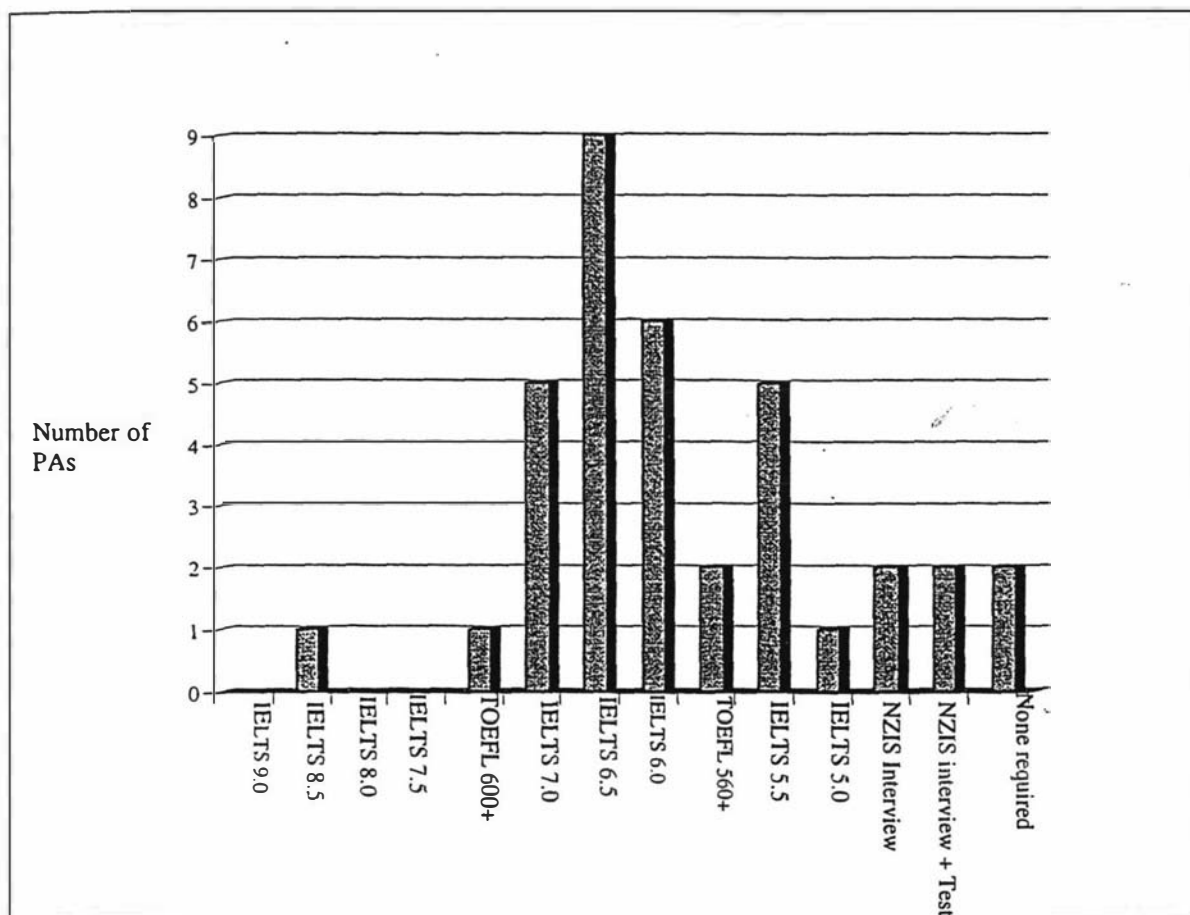
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<sup>10</sup> Personal communication with Massey University English Language Centre (MUELC) staff member.



to attend an interview in Beijing to verify his score.<sup>11</sup> It should be noted that this participant was an English lecturer in a prestigious languages-related university, with an overseas degree and course-material writing experience. An enquiry into his background should have been adequate to reassure NZIS staff in Beijing that his score of 8.5 was bone fide.

Figure 7.1 English language requirements met for permanent residence by PAs, including IELTS band scores or TOEFL scores



<sup>11</sup> Ironically, this PA had decided to apply to migrate to New Zealand only after he had been approached by another person who had hoped to apply but had felt he would not be able to meet the language requirement. This person had (unsuccessfully) solicited the participant to sit the test for him. Apparently, scams were possible.

### *Patterns of English language use in China*

Increased contact with other cultures (once China opened its doors to the outside world) and the expanding use of English as a means of communication are illustrated in the participants' patterns of pre-settlement cross-cultural communication. Over two-thirds of the PAs (25, or 69.4 per cent) had had at least "some" contact and a further 22.2 per cent had had at least a "little" contact with people from other cultures before being approved for permanent residence. Many had worked for joint ventures, undertaken contracts with overseas firms, or acted as interpreters in their Chinese work units for overseas visitors. An English lecturer had lived and studied in Great Britain. An engineer-turned-businessman had worked in Australia and two (an engineer and a nurse) had extramural degrees from Australian universities. Three more were already living in New Zealand, one studying and working part-time, the other two working full-time.

Such cross-cultural interaction had necessitated, in most cases, the use of English to communicate (Table 7.5). Furthermore, everyday professional requirements associated with using computer programmes, including computer aided design (CAD) packages, and keeping abreast of research and modern technologies had required the use of English. As a consequence, 47.2 per cent of all PAs had used English at work "every day" or "most days" before coming to New Zealand, and a further 22.2 per cent had used it "sometimes" (at least once or twice weekly). While all had completed initial degrees years earlier, most had continued to study formally in order to gain further qualifications (an extramural degree in English, overseas masters degrees in engineering and language) and/or, more commonly, informally to keep up with technologies and research in their areas. It was not surprising, therefore, that 25 per cent reported that they had used English "every day" or "most days" for study and that a further 38.9 per cent had used it "sometimes". As expected, most had "never" or only "rarely" used English at home (22, or 61.1 per cent) or socially (25, or 69.4 per cent), but five (13.9 per cent) had used English at home "every day" or "most days", and nine more (25 per cent) had used it "sometimes". Those from Hong Kong were regularly

exposed to English in the environment and media, but others, too, could tune in to English shortwave radio broadcasts or television programmes.<sup>12</sup>

Table 7.5 Pre-migration English language use of PAs (N=36)

<i>Use of English</i>	<i>Every day</i>		<i>Most days</i>		<i>Sometimes</i>		<i>Rarely</i>		<i>Never</i>		<i>N/A</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
At work	9	25.0	8	22.2	8	22.2	5	13.9	6	16.7	-	-
To study	3	8.3	6	16.7	14	38.9	4	11.1	3	8.3	6	16.7
At home	3	8.3	2	5.6	9	25.0	9	25.0	13	36.1	-	-
Socially	-	-	-	-	11	30.6	13	36.1	12	33.3	-	-

### *Plans for further ESOL study*

All of the PAs and spouses in the panel felt that English would be an important tool in their settlement in New Zealand. Hence, although most had already met the IELTS 5 requirement, a large proportion of the panel had contemplated further formal and/or informal ESOL study post-arrival. Such study was viewed as providing a stepping stone to employment or further study, or as a means of facilitating communication in everyday, social and family activities.

In all, 21 of the 36 PAs (58.3 per cent) had planned to undertake further formal English language study after they arrived in New Zealand. This included two with degrees in English, who hoped to further their academic studies of the language at a post-graduate level (*PRC 23* and *PRC 29*). Removing these two left 19 who had planned to enrol in an ESOL course post-arrival. Coming as young, skilled professionals from a work-oriented environment, most wanted to find work in New Zealand where they could use their skills. Their formal learning of English in China had emphasised reading, writing and grammar. There had been little opportunity for listening and speaking. Moreover,

<sup>12</sup> English shortwave radio broadcasts included those from the BBC World Service, Voice of America, Radio Australia and Radio Netherlands. Satellite dish reception and cable television were becoming more popular (despite an official ban being placed on satellite-dish use in 1995-1996). Those living in Shenzhen and Guangzhou could pick up English TV broadcasts from Hong Kong. Elsewhere, English language programmes were increasingly available through CCTV and local TV channels, as well as through local radio stations (for example, "Shanghai Calling"). Programmes in English and programmes teaching English via these media were also proliferating.

there had been a considerable gap for most between formal studies and emigration. This, along with the expectation of an unfamiliar dialect of English, left most feeling that they would need a higher level of technical English plus time and practice to use their professional skills in a new, English-speaking environment.

*"To get a job"* was the most commonly cited reason for planning further English study. When asked why she had planned to study ESOL, a CAD marine engineer replied: *"Me, at that time I think to work"* (PRC33 Rd1). Besides studying to get enough English to find a job or to gain New Zealand qualifications and then find a job. Seven (19.5 per cent) felt that ESOL study would provide an introduction to everyday New Zealand English and the society. But this was rarely the only reason given. An answer from a 35 year old electronics engineer succinctly summed up the balance of these two main reasons for contemplating further ESOL study: *"For a job and ... ah life"* (PRC26 Rd1).

Twelve PAs (33.3 per cent) had not intended to undertake any formal ESOL study post-arrival. Some believed that their English was *"good enough already"*, and most felt that the better course of action was to use the English they already had for work or further study and thereby to increase their proficiency rather than to study English further as a subject:

*If you can ... mmm ... nnn ... go to work with others, other people [who] speak English, you will improve very quickly. That's my point of view.*  
(PRC1 Rd1)

For the most part, those who planned this acquisition-rather-than-formal-study route to fluency had IELTS scores in the 6.5-8.5 range and/or considerable prior use of English (including living in Hong Kong, teaching English, doing business in English or interpreting at work).

Time and money were cited as reasons for not planning further ESOL study by two participants, an electrical engineer and a chemical engineer. One, having used English every day at work, having studied American English and having achieved a score of 6.5 in IELTS (including 8.5 for reading and 5.0 for writing), said he *"[didn't] want to waste time or waste money"* (PRC21 Rd1). In the event, finding the New Zealand accent *"not easy to get accustomed to"*, he enrolled in a 3-month course, and reflected that *"it's essential for some newcomer to study maybe for 1 month or 2 month[s] ..."*

*[to] get used to [the] new accent*". The other (PRC8) had gained a postgraduate degree through distance education from an Australian university and thus already had some contact with teachers using a variety of English close to that used in New Zealand. He felt, having gained a TOEFL score of 563 and an IELTS score of 5.5, that he would work and learn more English in his spare time. However, when he was unable to find work and decided to enrol in a course, it was to be a composite English-and-computing course rather than a purely language-focused course.

### **The English language proficiency of dependants**

The English language proficiency of spouses (Round 1: N=31, but not all in New Zealand) varied more and was generally lower than that of the PAs. In assessments made by their respective PAs, one spouse (ex-Hong Kong) was deemed to be "fluent" in English, four to have "very good" English, and twelve more to have "good/OK" English. Nine (34.6 per cent) were felt to have only "limited" English on arrival. These assessments, to a large extent, paralleled their language test results; band scores ranged from a highest score of 7.5 to the failure of five spouses to meet the Band 5-in-each-skill requirement (hence liability to pay the \$20,000 bond in order to be included in the PA's application for permanent residence). Those required to meet the language bond requirement to gain approval for permanent residence included one who had not sat the test prior to submission of the immigration application. Most of those who missed the cut-off point of Band 5 had gained an aggregate score of 5.0 but had failed to achieve this score on each of the four skills as required.

While fewer spouses than PAs had used English for work, for study, at home or socially in China pre-migration, English had been more than just an academic experience for a good number of them. Nearly a quarter (23.1 per cent) had used English at work "every day" or "most days", and a further 10 (27.8 per cent) had used it "sometimes". Nearly half (46.2 per cent) had used it at least "sometimes" for study. One had used it "every day" (a Hong Kong spouse) and six "sometimes" at home, albeit often only to listen to the radio or television and for reading. Seven had used it "sometimes" socially.

Among the 22 children aged 2-13 years who came with their parents, three (all of school age and ex-Hong Kong) were reported to have “good/OK” English. The rest were reported to have limited or no English on arrival. Since no child was over 15, however, when an immigration application was submitted, none had been required to meet the IELTS Band 5 requirement.

### ***English language bond requirement***

The English language IELTS 5-or-bond requirement (replaced in October 1998) placed major pressure on some arrivals. All time spent on-shore in New Zealand post-approval was potentially money lost. Wait times to take or retake the test (3 months in the latter case), long waiting lists for ESOL classes and placement in inappropriate classes all compounded the ensuing pressure and financial costs. Of the five language bonds reported by interviewees, two were paid for wives, three for husbands.

The bond placed considerable additional stress on family units where the potential financial loss associated with the provision was too high to accommodate. Two wives deferred their departure from China in order to improve their English before they came and to increase the possibility of a refund. Both were successful in meeting the requirement pre-departure but refund of the \$20,000 (paid to the Beijing office in American dollars) could not be obtained until after arrival in New Zealand, and then only in New Zealand currency. This refund usually needed to be converted back into American dollars to be repaid to those who had lent it. In two other instances, PAs had applied only for themselves initially, since their spouses (a husband and a wife) would not have passed the test. These spouses were to be applied for and approved later, but, until the bond was finally dropped in October 1998, would still have been bound by the IELTS 5-or-bond requirement as the sponsor (that is, the PA) had gained entry as a skilled migrant and had permanent residence rather than New Zealand citizenship status. For existing spouses arriving later, General Skills Category requirements would have pertained rather than those related to the Family Category, which did not include an English language requirement.

To sum up, the IELTS 5-or-bond requirement had a marked impact on the nature of the families who gained approval for settlement under the General Skills Category and

placed extra pressure on those who incurred it. As one PA commented, it was hard for both partners to have an English language level high enough to reach the Band 5 in each skill needed to gain entry without incurring the bond. For those who chose to pay the bond and come, the financial and personal stresses added significantly to the challenges posed by international migration and settlement in an unfamiliar cultural environment.

### **New Zealand experiences**

Everyone in the panel took up permanent residence in the later part of 1997 or the first half of 1998. All were highly educated and harboured hopes of using their skills while participating in and contributing to the wider society. The levels of English of PAs, as reflected in their IELTS and TOEFL scores, background experiences and greater than expected exposure to English pre-migration, would indicate that they all had at least a modest command of the language on arrival. Hence, while many anticipated some initial problems using English for work and everyday activities, all hoped to be able to manage, both professionally and socially, in New Zealand.

### ***Changing patterns of English language use***

Changing patterns of language use give some indication of the extent to which their hopes to capitalise on their linguistic skills in English in the new socioeconomic and cultural environment have been realised (Table 7.6).

Patterns of language use post-migration reflect the numbers who found work and the decision to return to study, to gain New Zealand qualifications in order to find employment. They do not indicate the type or amount of English used in each context. Employment in China was invariably on a full-time basis and usually in their chosen professions. Those who worked alongside foreigners used both the more specialised English of business and economics, academic study, science and technology and the social English of everyday interactions. Where there were no English-speaking colleagues, the language used was more text-based, more restricted in terms of style and register. In contrast, much of the work found in New Zealand was on a part-time or casual basis only and outside of their professions. Hence, the English used tended to be

spoken and less specialised. Moreover, the solitariness of ventures such as gardening and newspaper and flier distribution, the noise and/or businesses of service industries and factory work, and the fact that many found their jobs through Chinese friends or other contacts, with whom they worked, meant that only a little English was used daily or even most days for work.

Table 7.6 Use of English in New Zealand by PAs during the month prior to Round 2 (1998) and Round 3 (1999) interviews, compared with use in China pre-migration

<i>Use of English</i>	<i>Every day</i>		<i>Most days</i>		<i>Sometimes</i>		<i>Rarely</i>		<i>Never</i>		<i>N/A</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>At work::</i>												
<i>In China</i>	9	25.0	8	22.2	8	22.2	5	13.9	6	16.7	-	-
<i>Rd 2</i>	13	40.6	1	3.1	4	12.5	-	-	-	-	14	43.7
<i>Rd 3</i>	13	44.8	1	3.4	2	6.9	1	3.4	.	.	12	41.4
<i>To study:</i>												
<i>In China</i>	3	8.3	6	16.7	14	38.9	4	11.1	3	8.3	6	16.7
<i>Rd 2</i>	13	39.4	4	12.1	3	9.1	-	-	-	-	13	39.4
<i>Rd 3</i>	15	51.7	4	13.8	3	10.3	-	-	-	-	7	24.1
<i>At home:</i>												
<i>In China</i>	3	8.3	2	5.6	9	25.0	9	25.0	13	36.1	-	-
<i>Rd 2</i>	4	12.1	2	6.1	8	24.2	8	24.2	10	30.3	1	*3.0
<i>Rd 3</i>	6	20.7	-	-	12	41.4	8	27.6	3	10.3	-	-
<i>Socially:</i>												
<i>In China</i>	-	-	-	-	11	30.6	13	36.1	12	33.3	-	-
<i>Rd 2</i>	3	9.1	8	24.2	17	51.5	2	6.1	2	6.1	1	*3.0
<i>Rd 3</i>	2	6.7	7	24.1	16	55.2	4	13.8	-	-	-	-

\* "Astronaut" working in China.

For those who sought to gain New Zealand qualifications, study was their main source of sustained exposure to English. Listening to lectures, academic reading, writing assignments and theses in English, and oral presentations were identified by PAs as significant contributors to improvements in English language skills. Comments regarding problems associated with using English for study included a lack of the specialised English for study in a particular field, the speed of speech and the accents of staff and other students. By the third interview, problems were much more limited and clearly defined: grappling with specialised vocabularies (such as the medical



terminology in nursing studies), nerves associated with oral presentations, the broader New Zealand accents and colloquialisms of younger students.

English inevitably invaded the personal Chinese-speaking domain of the home. While exposure varied in intensity, all PAs were exposed to English within the home. Sources of exposure included: the media – English language newspapers, television, and radio; increasingly, the internet, which was accessed predominantly in English, including for e-mail communication with friends in China and elsewhere; children; and occasionally English-speaking residents or visiting friends.

As expected the use of English for social activities increased with settlement, with everyone using at least a little social English. While contact with Chinese with whom they did not share a common dialect meant the use of English, socially-oriented interactions in English were more likely to come from contact with other workmates, students and/or people met through church organisations. For those who were studying in large classes (as was usually the case in computer and business courses), a frequently voiced regret was the lack of social contact with English-speaking students. Contact with English-speaking students was inversely related to the size of classes. Those in smaller classes had more social contact with teaching staff and other students (albeit often also from a non-English speaking background), spoke more English and reported greater improvements in their spoken English.

### *The media and technology*

The frequency with which PAs read newspapers and magazines (though rarely the latter), watched television and video tapes and wrote personal letters including, and often only, e-mails in English is shown in Table 7.7.

While only the newspaper was consistently accessed by all in the panel over the three rounds of interviews, television remained the most frequently used “every day” or “most days” of the three media. Over half watched the news in English every day and virtually all reported that they had watched television during the 4 weeks prior to the interview. Watching television was to feature as one of the strategies most frequently adopted by PAs to improve their English (and learn about New Zealand society). Those

who watched no English television in all instances shared their accommodation with other Chinese. For Round 1: in one case the family rented only a room in a house and shared the other facilities and therefore did not have access to a television set when interviewed; and in the other case, there were two television sets in the flat, only one functioning but not watched. The reason in the Round 3 case was the lack of a television set in the flat. While study commitments resulted in reductions in both the frequency and time spent watching television, it remained the most popular source of news and other English-medium information.

Table 7.7 Frequency of access to and use of English language media and literacy among PAs during the 4 weeks preceding interviews for Rounds 1, 2 and 3

	Round	<i>Every day</i>		<i>Most days</i>		<i>Sometimes</i>		<i>Rarely</i>		<i>Never</i>	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Read magazines or newspapers in English:	Rd 1	12	33.3	9	25.0	11	30.6	4	11.1	-	-
	Rd 2*	5	15.6	11	34.4	12	37.5	4	12.4	-	-
	Rd 3*	7	24.1	6	20.7	13	44.8	3	10.3	-	-
Write personal letters including e-mails in English:	Rd 1	4	11.1	5	13.9	8	22.2	11	30.6	8	22.2
	Rd 2*	2	6.3	8	25.0	9	28.1	8	25.0	5	15.6
	Rd 3*	1	3.4	11	37.9	12	41.4	1	3.4	4	13.8
Watch TV or videos in English:	Rd 1	23	63.9	2	5.6	5	13.9	4	11.1	2	5.6
	Rd 2*	20	62.5	8	25.0	2	6.3	2	6.3	-	-
	Rd 3*	16	55.2	4	13.8	5	17.2	3	10.3	1	3.4

N values: Round 1, N=36; Round 2, N=32; Round 3, N=29.

\* Not including "astronaut" who was outside of New Zealand.

Newspapers, however, performed an important role, along with the internet, in the search for employment. Thus, at the time of the first interview, when only seven PAs had any work at all and 16 were looking for employment, a third of the panel were reading the newspaper on a daily basis. Two PAs had found their (current) work through the newspaper. This compared with three at the second interview and one at the third. The English language newspaper was also a means of accessing accommodation, though not to the same extent as the Chinese language papers; one PA had found accommodation via English sources at Round 1, two at Round 2 and two at Round 3. The fall-off in newspaper reading could, in part, be attributable to: (a) a reduction in the

numbers looking for work, with 18 PAs in some sort of employment and most of the panel engaged in further studies; (b) a lack of time as participants studied or worked, or both; and (c) the cost of newspapers, an added expense for new immigrants not eligible for student allowances or other benefits (except emergency benefits, if specifically applied for and granted) within their first two years of residence after December 1998. Since most employment vacancies appeared in the newspaper bi-weekly, these tended to be the only editions purchased.

Personal letters of the conventional type were rarely written, but e-mails in English were often sent to friends and (to a lesser extent) relatives back in China when the PA had access to internet and e-mail facilities. By the third round of interviews, over 80 per cent of PAs were sending e-mails of a personal nature in English at least once or twice a week. This feature draws attention to two issues regarding the use of English: with rare exceptions, software used on computers was in English;<sup>13</sup> and secondly, friends at home, being most often from similarly educated backgrounds, were also able to read and write in English. The use of English was testimony to its pervasiveness in computer technology for Chinese on the mainland and elsewhere.

#### *English language use within the home*

Children were a major catalyst for the use of English within the private domain. Where they were in daily contact with English through the education system, there was a shift to English in child-parent and parent-child interactions. While this shift was slower than it was in child-child communication at school, elsewhere outside the home and within the home (with friends and, occasionally, siblings), it, nevertheless, represented an inexorable creep in the process of language shift for the younger generation and an eroding of the position of Chinese in the home. At Round 1, 25 PAs (69.2 per cent of those in homes with a child or children) used exclusively Chinese to their own or other children residing in the home. By Round 3, this had dropped to 6 PAs (31.6 per cent).

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<sup>13</sup> Where Chinese software was available, writing in Chinese script via pinyin was not only a patience-sapping task but also, in many cases, a difficult one since most PAs would not have formally learned pinyin.

The Chinese in the panel rarely lived with other than Chinese. However, at the time of the first interview, one (single) PA, and by the third interview, four PAs (including two who were single) shared homes with at least one non-Chinese speaker. For the two single participants sharing accommodation with non-Chinese speakers at the time of the third round interview, the English-speaking environment had been consciously sought out as offering an English immersion situation. This involved, for one, flatting with the New Zealand owner of the house and, for the other, boarding with a New Zealand family. In the other two instances, accommodation was shared with a number of others, including a non-Chinese speaker.

The handling of the mixed language situation in the latter instances provided an interesting contrast. In one case, the PA and his spouse spoke English when the non-Chinese-speaking resident was present, thus including her by switching to their common second language – English. In the other case, the PA did not speak to the non-Chinese-speaking resident. These two cases reflected different degrees of settlement. The first situation involved a PA who had initially felt frustrated at not being able to “*understand about New Zealand*” (PRC10 Rd1) or work in his field, with his wife back in China. By the third interview, he was studying full-time, working part-time in a job he enjoyed, and his wife had joined him and was liking New Zealand. The second situation involved an older, single female PA who was experiencing difficulties integrating into the wider New Zealand society. She was neither working nor studying (a computer course was “*hard to get*” [PRC3 Rd1]), socialised mainly with other Chinese and liked “*the American accent or British. [She didn't] like the New Zealand accent*” (PRC2 Rd2) and did not want to acquire one. Her main contact with members of the wider society was through a once-a-week, church-operated class provided by older New Zealanders “*for mainly Chinese*” and teaching “*more about New Zealand than English*”. Apart from that contact, she spent most of her time at home. That “*Kiwi friends*” (Rd1) at church had become “*Kiwi people*” (Rd3) at church suggested an increased feeling of separation from the host society. While she said she was now more confident using English and her level of fluency had increased, it seemed that, unless there was a movement into work or education or a change in her social position, she would remain on the periphery of New Zealand society.

### *Translating and interpreting activities*

An aspect of language activity which reflected both the high level of on-arrival English language skills and the increasing fluency and acculturation of panel members was that of translation and interpretation. Participants were asked, at the second and third interviews, whether they had interpreted or translated for anyone else and if they had used such services. In retrospect, at the time of the second interview, 19 (59.4 per cent) of the 32 PAs interviewed could remember instances where they had helped others since they had arrived. Only 7 (21.2 per cent) remembered having used the services of others. One suspects that more had actually received help from friends when they arrived but, being part of the informal everyday interaction between friends, many incidents would have been forgotten. Over the next year, between the second and third interviews, 22 PAs (75.9 per cent of the 29 interviewed) interpreted or translated for others while 5 (17.2 per cent) received such assistance.

Most of the interpreting events that were recalled related to informal assistance and support given to friends and neighbours (sometimes elderly) who were involved in obtaining everyday goods and services (including shopping, buying or servicing cars, banking). For example, one bi-dialectal PA (*PRC22*) reported that he was able to interpret for a Min hua-speaking customer who happened to be in a bank at the same time and was experiencing problems communicating with a teller. Other events related to assistance in dealings with government and other quasi-governmental agencies (for example, Inland Revenue Department, New Zealand Employment Service/Work and Income New Zealand, hospitals). In incidents concerning hospitals, all commented on the added problem of stress often related to medical incidents, and the difficulties associated with medical terminology.

Two areas where PAs commonly sought help from others involved banking and medical visits. Both situations required specialised terminology generally unfamiliar to a new arrival: *“And, you know, the bank ...the words are special, they are not the daily words so [when] I found out what these words mean that was easier” (PRC4 Rd1)*. For this reason, help was often sought from friends when a bank was visited for the first time. Several Auckland banks were reported to have recruited Chinese staff who were able to speak Putonghua/Mandarin and, therefore, assist most, if not all, new arrivals

from China.<sup>14</sup> PAs who had visited anglophone doctors commented on the stresses and difficulties associated with understanding medical terminology. Those who received assistance from official interpreters provided by the large hospitals invariably reported positively on the value and quality of the service provided.

A less positive note was sounded by a PA who resorted to the unaccented assistance of a New Zealand colleague after his telephone enquiries to a government department received a negative, unhelpful response – “*sorry we lost the file*” (PRC18 Rd2). This he felt was at least in part due to his accent identifying him as a recent Chinese immigrant. A New Zealand English-speaking colleague was able to find out the information. Another PA, a former teacher, who often interpreted for friends in their dealings with government departments, noted that the fact that the telephone was superceding face-to-face assistance was increasing the problems immigrants encountered when seeking services. Automated answering machines, while removing the discrimination associated with accents, are likely to exacerbate difficulties related to telephone communications since the speed is invariable (at times too fast for even a native speaker) and clarification cannot be sought.

In some instances, the interpreting and translating activities of participants marked a formal recognition of their linguistic skills. For example, a university student held a vacation position as an interpreter in a District Court and Family Court. Others had acted as interpreters for the 2000 APEC meeting in Auckland, an official Chinese delegation to Auckland, a local Community Centre meeting, and an Asia Festival. One student was working towards postgraduate study in interpreting and translation. Finally, at work in a New Zealand-based firm, an engineer obtained up-to-date information on engineering equipment in Chinese from the internet for his employers. For these PAs, some formal recognition had come for their bilingual and bicultural skills. Such acknowledgement was, however, rare.

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<sup>14</sup> By the time of the last round of interviews for the New Settlers Programme longitudinal study in 2002, one panel member was working in a bank.

## Problems associated with using English in New Zealand

While most in the panel had very good skills in English on arrival in New Zealand, it was to be expected that they would, at least initially, face some problems functioning in an environment where English was the main language and the culture was unfamiliar. And so it turned out. The one PA to claim at the first interview that she experienced **no** problems using English noted that she had used English less than she had expected to. She was mostly at home, living in a Chinese household, with Chinese friends, and restricted in her activities. Exposure to more English was to bring her in line with other PAs, who were interacting more in the wider community and therefore more exposed to potential problems connected with using English.

Initially, the biggest problems pertained to the most obvious and distinctive features of the oral language as it is spoken in New Zealand: its accent and colloquialisms. The shifts which have led to a characteristic New Zealand variety of English, New Zealand English (NZE), would also make it harder for those in the panel to understand New Zealanders. NZE is somewhat removed (particularly in its broad form) from the two international standard accents (Received Pronunciation and American English) (Bayard, 1995: 113). This posed the greatest initial challenge for all except those who were on-shore applicants or applying from Australia. Coming to grips with NZE was “*like driving a new car*” (PRC21 Rd1); it took time and practice.

As expected, the New Zealand accent was the most frequently reported problem at the time of the first interview with over two-thirds commenting on this feature. Those trying to communicate with New Zealanders in face-to-face and telephone situations, or to follow broadcasts on the radio or television, found that they “*couldn’t hear*” what was being said. The accent and associated speed of delivery rendered input incomprehensible. Using the telephone to obtain information or enquire about job advertisements was reported to be particularly stressful, frustrating and demoralising. Face-to-face situations were easier, but still posed difficulties. Reports of New Zealanders speaking more slowly and clearly (and avoiding colloquialisms) when talking to them, unless in an ESOL classroom situation, were rare. The input usually remained “*so fast*”, “*too fast*”.

Broader NZE accents aggravated the comprehension problem. An engineer sent out on a community work scheme project found that he could not understand those he was working alongside at all, and others, working in factories, at least initially experienced major difficulties understanding workmates, both those issuing instructions and those on the factory floor. Communicating with colleagues in more professional work situations or with students and staff in tertiary institutions, where the language used, along with the accent, tended to be more standard, was not reported to present serious problems. Ears gradually became attuned to *“varied Kiwi accents”* (PRC21 Rd2). Broader accents were distinguished from more conservative standard varieties, and problems were identified as being related to broader accents rather than to all NZE accents.

While the New Zealand lexis, in part shared with Australia, in part taken from the Maori language, was seen to be less problematic than accent, “New Zealand words” and other colloquialisms added to the challenge presented by NZE. One PA commented that words in NZE did *“not have the exact meaning”* (PRC8 Rd1) compared with usage in preferred BBC programmes. Younger university students, with their slang and colloquialisms, presented a challenge for a tutor and several others who were studying, though it was the specialised vocabulary and formal written language which more often presented the greater challenges in both study areas and the workplace.

An absence of interaction with New Zealanders was also identified as a problem. Inability to access the workplace, little social contact with New Zealanders among those who were working, and a dearth of contact with Kiwi students and teachers in large university classes and ESOL classes, limited exposure to the New Zealand language and culture. This hindered the speed of improvements in fluency and exacerbated frustrations related to a lower level of sociolinguistic competence. One PA expressed frustration that he *“[couldn’t] get to the Kiwi way of thinking”* (PRC7 Rd1) and another that *“sometimes ... the culture is different so we cannot understand in depth”* (PRC14 Rd2). The significance of some cross-cultural situations, like eating roast pumpkin (PRC21 Rd3), remained hard to comprehend and explain in English. The cultural underpinnings of New Zealand references were also reported as sometimes remaining a puzzle – the Melbourne Cup, the face on the five-dollar note, Maori place



names (and their pronunciation). Many expressed the belief that more exposure and interaction would bring understanding.

Length of residence plus exposure and practice were inversely associated with language-related problems. By the third round of interviews, 13 PAs reported no on-going problems associated with using English in New Zealand: “*Not now*”, “*Not this year*”, “*I don’t think so*”. For the most part, persisting problems were related to the cultural aspects of NZE, to more specialised technical language for study, work and other specific situations (for example, organising a job with a local builder, medical diagnoses and treatments).

### **Actions taken to increase proficiency and overcome “barriers”**

A variety of strategies, formal and informal, were adopted by PAs to improve their levels of English and overcome the language barriers they faced. These strategies and their outcomes will be addressed in the following sections.

#### ***Post-arrival ESOL study***

Since all had learned English in the classroom in China, both at secondary school and university, and were accustomed to formal language learning situations, it was not surprising that so many (21, or 58.3 per cent) had planned to undertake formal ESOL study when they arrived in New Zealand.

In the event, only 16 PAs (44 per cent) had enrolled in an ESOL course by the time of the first interview. This included one PA who had originally come to New Zealand as a full fee-paying international student at a private language school plus four who had not planned to study ESOL post-arrival. It did not include one PA who, before migration, had been unsure about further ESOL study or ten who had planned to study in an ESOL course. So, what changed people’s minds? Who did end up in language classes and what sort of courses did they choose? And what did those who chose not to study do instead? Were other strategies adopted to learn English, and how effective were these?

### *Factors influencing decision-making regarding ESOL study*

While some would change their pre-migration plans for or against ESOL study in response to their post-arrival experiences and conditions encountered, three (8.3 per cent) had not made any decision before they arrived as to whether or not they would undertake further ESOL study. All three had recorded satisfactory IELTS scores to gain entry and/or had considerable contact with English speakers before migration. The situations and courses of action taken by each of these three individuals are outlined below to illustrate the context-related events which led to a particular decision and course of action.

#### *Case study 1*

The PA who had used English the least of the three before arriving had also considered Australia as a destination. Thus he had sat the academic modules of IELTS, achieving an overall band score of 6.5 (“Competent User” to “Good User”), a level of proficiency considered adequate for entry to courses of university study other than the most linguistically demanding (IELTS, 1995: 27). A belief that his English would be adequate for settlement had, however, been shaken one month after his application was approved and three months before his arrival when he received a letter from a friend already in New Zealand. As a result of his friend’s missive, he decided that study in an ESOL course post-arrival might help him to cope with New Zealand English and get to know more about the society.

At first, as he had been warned, he found New Zealanders’ English “*really hard to understand*”(PRC34 Rd1), particularly the accent, the speed and the colloquial everyday English. Being unable to find a job, having friends studying, not knowing what else to do to overcome his incomprehension, and to pass the time, he took an 18-week course offered by a polytechnic. In the process he received a subsistence allowance as a full-time student. He completed the course, which he described as “*a waste of time*”(PRC34 Rd1) before the first interview. He then moved into full-time employment in a sales position found through his friend. Not in his field of expertise or experience, the job involved considerable contact with strangers on a daily basis, both face-to-face and via telephone communication in English. When first interviewed, he had been in this job for one month.

### *Case study 2*

Unsure about studying ESOL post-arrival, this PA had scored only 5.5 on his IELTS test. However, he had been functionally competent in English before migrating, having used the language on a regular basis. At home, he had been able to receive English-medium television channels from Hong Kong with programmes which he “*mostly could follow*” (PRC35 Rd1). For study, while writing up his Masters thesis in Chinese, he had been required to read material in English. In his work, he used computer-aided design (CAD) software in English on a daily basis, had travelled abroad (to Singapore, Canada, the United States and Australia) and had undertaken joint venture contracts in China with a large overseas-based, English-speaking firm. A pre-IELTS-requirement General Category applicant, he had successfully taken an IELTS test (without prior study) on the advice of his immigration consultant in order to preclude the necessity of a long journey to Beijing for an NZIS interview. In the event, he was interviewed pre-migration in Guangzhou by an immigration officer, who had asked “*just two questions*”.

Having very recently arrived in New Zealand when first interviewed, he had not enrolled in a course and felt that he would be too busy with work (still having business-dealings in China) to study ESOL further. Such was to be the case. He did feel, though, that his English had improved. He was reading English-medium newspapers (both hard copy and on the internet), watching television and sending e-mails daily in English. He had also been able to buy household items secondhand, including some at auction, a challenging experience that he had enjoyed very much. He had not found many problems associated with language, but did aspire to be able to think in English at the same level as he could in Chinese.

### *Case study 3*

The third PA had originally planned to study English once in New Zealand. At the time of the first interview, however, she was no longer sure about the value of this course of action. In China, she had gained a Masters degree in English, had taught the language, and had worked in a bank. The latter position had involved not only the use of English “most days” but also, earlier in the decade, a six month English study trip to New Zealand. When asked why, as a graduate and with so much experience in the language,

she had thought pre-migration that she would study English further, she replied: “*I always think my English is not good enough and want to take another course*” (PRC31 Rd1). Her IELTS Band 7 score had helped to secure permanent residence for herself and her family. Her husband, an electronics engineer, considerably less proficient in English, had just failed to reach the Band 5.0 requirement (scoring 4.5). Thus they had incurred the \$20,000 language bond requirement (\$US 14,000) for entry as a family.

With her husband already studying ESOL in an expensive university course to try to recoup the bond money, the PA was, at the time of the first interview, unemployed, sharing accommodation with Chinese friends, and looking for work while caring for her son. She felt her English level was declining as a “*normal result*” of staying at home without a job and living with other Chinese, with little interaction with the wider society. Though unsure about being able to afford any further study at the time, she was nevertheless making enquiries about courses of study other than ESOL, including a teacher retraining programme since she hoped eventually to return to teaching.

### ***Formal ESOL studies***

ESOL courses were generally accessed in order to fill a need when first in the country. They were not seen as an on-going requirement as participants became more settled, fluent in the language and familiar with the peculiarities/idiosyncracies of the New Zealand dialect and culture.

Only 16 PAs (44 per cent) rather than the 21 (58.3 per cent) who had planned to, enrolled in ESOL courses after arriving. Ten who had planned further formal study on-arrival did not take classes while four who had not planned to had enrolled in courses. Ten of the 16 who had initially enrolled were still studying in a course when first interviewed. Five PAs with less than six months duration of residence remained undecided about ESOL enrolment at the time of the first interview, with a decision usually hinging on employment outcomes and the availability, cost and relevance of courses. Long waiting lists, lack of information about courses and problems finding an appropriate course were among reasons for delays in accessing courses.

The numbers enrolled in formal ESOL classes declined rapidly after the first year of settlement, until by the third year of permanent residence, participants' uptake of ESOL study had virtually disappeared (Table 7.8). Two PAs had studied in ESOL courses during the year, but both had completed their courses by the time of the third round of interviews. Each rated their course as "OK/middling" and neither intended to study English further. Three others still intended to study in an ESOL course in the future, but the rest indicated no such plans.

Table 7.8 Study in ESOL and other courses by PAs, Rounds 1-3

<i>Study undertaken</i>	<i>Round 1 (1998)</i>		<i>Round 2 (1999)</i>		<i>Round 3 (2000)</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
ESOL study:						
Course(s) completed or study discontinued during year	16	44.4	13	39.4	2	6.7
Studying in course(s) at time of interview	10	27.8	1	3.0	-	-
Other subject areas:						
Course(s) completed or study discontinued during year	16	44.4	23	69.7	-	-
Studying in course(s) at time of interview	16	44.4	10	30.3	20	66.6

Lack of ESOL studies did not mean that no conscious effort was being made by participants to improve their English language proficiency. Half of the 30 PAs remaining at round 3 reported that they had made a planned effort to improve their English during the year through Kiwi friends (two), colleagues at work (three), television and radio (seven), study in courses other than ESOL (three), and a variety of other means including reading newspapers, accessing the internet, and writing e-mails to friends. Informal learning situations were obviously taking over as the main method of improving one's level of English proficiency. These strategies are addressed further in a later section of this chapter.

#### *Reasons for enrolling in an ESOL course*

While some felt that English language classes would facilitate access to New Zealand English and insights into the culture, the main pre-migration motivation for planning to study English had been instrumental rather than integrative (compare with Gardner and

Lambert, 1972). ESOL was seen as a bridge or adjunct to other courses of study or, preferably, to employment. Enrolment in an ESOL course was a way of tackling one of the barriers to employment, the claim or belief that one's English language was "*not good enough*".

The participants arrived before the institution, in January 1999, of the two-year permanent residency requirement on eligibility for student allowances and social welfare benefits. Hence, enrolment in a full-time ESOL course during the early days of settlement qualified an attendee for a student allowance, and thereby the wherewithal to live while undertaking the initial process of orientation in an unfamiliar culture. Since other full-time study also carried eligibility for the student allowance, ESOL courses were not the preferred option if the person could meet the English language requirement for other tertiary study. If they could not obtain employment, most preferred to channel their study efforts into occupationally-oriented courses in a tertiary institution to gain the New Zealand qualification required by employers. Since immigrants often arrived in New Zealand at times that did not coincide with new academic semesters, however, enrolment in subject areas was not always possible. This rendered the expedience of a full-time ESOL course more attractive. In such cases, though, short courses were more commonly chosen.<sup>15</sup>

#### *Types of ESOL courses attended*

The wide range of ESOL courses taken by PAs (and spouses) attests to the proliferation of programmes to service the ESOL industry in New Zealand. Courses ranged from one-year, full-time courses offered by private language schools and polytechnics down to once-a-week community-based social English courses. Enrolment in a 6-month, full-time course offered by a private language school cost one PA \$2,900 for 12 weeks; another PA paid \$10.00 to study for a term in a high school seventh form General English class. Full-time courses offered by academic institutions were usually graded for levels of students and had a certificate or other qualification as the end-point.

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<sup>15</sup> The withdrawal of eligibility for the student allowance within the first two years of settlement in January 1999 is likely to have reduced this stop-gap, time-filling measure among those otherwise entitled to undertake university study. Reduced uptake may well have been balanced, however, by an increase in students as a result of the pre-paid tuition for NPAs and business PAs, Employment Service programmes for a backlog of longer-term unemployed professional immigrants, and increased numbers of international students wishing to enrol in ESOL courses.

Community classes and those offered through churches were more general and socially oriented in their content.

In fact, most ESOL courses taken were general English courses, rather than more focused English for Specific Purposes (ESP) or English for Academic Purposes (EAP) courses. Exceptions to this were the university language support courses attended by a number of PAs, which concentrated on skills required for the completion of tertiary study (though varying in their emphasis on macro skills), and a WINZ course which focused on English for employment for professional immigrants.

### *Assessments of ESOL courses*

Assessments of the effectiveness of ESOL studies varied widely. The most positive comments were related to the gaining of a clear outcome or goal – not necessarily a formal or internationally recognised qualification (IELTS, TOEFL), though courses which provided such outcomes were consistently rated as “very useful”. Other courses which were identified as “very useful” included: a university support paper carrying credits; an intermediate level polytechnic course that offered a lot of practice; and a WINZ English for Professionals course. This last course, one of only two enrolled in before the third interview,<sup>16</sup> was rated as “excellent” but unfortunately too short, at 8 weeks, to provide a concrete outcome for the participant and his classmates. The teacher, the PA reported, was also concerned that the course was only of 8 weeks duration while an “equivalent” course in central Auckland ran for 18 weeks and included the substantial work experience component lacking in the shorter course.<sup>17</sup> No explanation appears to have been offered for the different lengths of the two courses but one suspects that it had something to do with funding and the differential contracting of providers.

If finding a job, the aim of most of those who enrolled in courses, is taken as the

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<sup>16</sup> The other was an EAP course concentrating on summary writing. The PA concerned withdrew as it was too academic.

<sup>17</sup> An Australian evaluation of bridging programmes found that the work component was consistently rated the most valuable activity in such courses (Plimer et al., 1997).

benchmark for success, then few courses met this level. The greater proficiency that might accrue from ESOL courses rarely paved the way for entry into employment as many employers still required New Zealand qualifications and work experience. ESOL courses did, however, help prepare students for other tertiary study by providing: some access to New Zealand English and other aspects of culture; time to adjust to the new environment; and, in some instances, the opportunity to attain the level of English and/or ESOL qualifications (IELTS or TOEFL) required to gain entry to a course of study. However, the entry to tertiary studies of a large portion of the panel without formal ESOL study undermines any conclusion that such study was a prerequisite for entry being gained and courses completed.

That ESOL courses were not seen to provide the key with which to access employment is illustrated in the experiences of six PAs who completed studies before the first interview. Only one person had moved into full-time employment – an engineer (Case study 1 above), who described his course as “*a waste of time*”. His everyday English course had not appreciably increased his level of English language proficiency. Nor had it assisted his entry to work; that had depended on an “old” friend. Four others still faced skills transferability barriers and had gone on to undertake further university studies. An engineer with a TOEFL score of 587 and IELTS Band 5.5, intending further university study, had found his intensive, full-time English for Further Study course with a non-New Zealand teacher “*useful*” (PRC12 Rd1) and had gone on to successfully undertake an MBA course which involved a large amount of listening, reading, writing and seminar/presentation work. Another, the former economist and international ESOL student (PRC30), had (at the end of a year of full-time ESOL plus living in a New Zealand household and working part-time to fund her studies) gained an IELTS score of 6.5 to qualify for permanent residence. She moved on to university studies to retrain in her field. An IELTS-7 engineer (PRC36) who, along with her language-bonded husband, was directed by WINZ into a 10-week general certificate course to be eligible for a student allowance, gained nothing from such a low level, everyday English course. failed to secure employment and enrolled in a second Masters course (for which she received research scholarship funding) in the hope that a New Zealand qualifications would provide the key to employment in her field. A scientist also returned to university. His general ESOL course had been “*quite useful*” (PRC13 Rd1); it had given him confidence to speak to New Zealanders, if not the “*high level*



*technical language*” he needed for work or further studies in his area of expertise. The sixth PA had not (at that point) moved on to further studies. He was still unemployed and looking for full-time work.

Comments concerning the usefulness and choice of courses taken addressed the cost of such courses and the inappropriateness of their level and/or approach. Among these comments there were those that asserted that: a 3-month course was not difficult, but very expensive; a 12-week private language school course was “*very, very expensive*”; a \$1,000 dollar 19-week general course was chosen because the preferred, more tailored alternatives were too expensive; a course was not pitched at a suitable level; a course was too general; there was a lack of activities in the course; and there were not enough opportunities to practice. Other issues included the nature of the student body (“*too many Asians in the class*”) and lack of access in class to New Zealand English and culture (classmates used Chinese rather than English). Where the teacher was also a non-native speaker of English and/or spoke with a non-New Zealand accent, access to the local idiom was further restricted, a disadvantage to be weighed against the advantage of having a teacher who had experienced the ESOL situation firsthand. Similar concerns to those voiced by panel members were to be highlighted in the 1998 review of the policy related to the English language bond (Forsythe Research, 1998a).

***For spouses - the bond and IELTS 5: a clear and pressing goal***

A more measurable and clear-cut goal than “getting enough English to get a job” was posed for spouses who had failed to meet the General Skills Category IELTS language requirement and thus incurred a NZ\$20,000 language bond. Their pressing goal was a score of Band 5 in the IELTS test. On it depended the refund of all or part of the bond. Failure to achieve the target level in the requisite 12 months post-arrival (or on-shore approval) would result in the forfeiture of the total amount.

Satisfaction with the English language courses taken depended largely on their appropriateness and ability to provide the desired IELTS 5 outcome within the shortest possible time. For one spouse, a \$1,500 outlay on a year-long university-based ESOL course comprising a Foundation Course plus IELTS preparation and general English

led to a \$14,000 partial refund of the bond. Having felt very frustrated and “*dumb*” (PRC31 Rd2), this spouse gained considerable confidence from his success. Moreover, he went on to obtain steady full-time employment in his field, albeit at a considerably lower level than pre-migration and initially only on a temporary basis. He rated his ESOL course as “*extremely successful*” (PRC31 spouse Rd2). In contrast, the “placement” of a scientist in a 10-week general English course of 16 very mixed-ability students was seen as a waste of precious time, and a subsequent community evening course was rated as “not useful”. The forfeiture of the bond placed a heavy financial burden on the family and committed the research scientist involved to casual labouring jobs to earn money rather than the desired return to university study, which would incur more debt. The PA, however, was very supportive of her husband and philosophical about the loss of the bond money (PRC36 Rd1):

*In China someone said at that time if I came first, maybe, without my husband he didn't have to pay the money ... but as a family we have a child we don't want to separate. ... That [the money]'s a pressure ... You know something, if you push too hard, you know, something is very pressure, you cannot concentrate on studying, so later on I said, “Why not give up? Just give up the money.” .. And later on, actually, especially at the end of last year, she .. he really feel the big pressure, so I just try my best to comfort him and said, “just think if we had got that money, we might have a flash car. Just think the difference of having that money and not having that money is just the difference of having an older car and a new car .. Yeah, the old car does the same.*

The PA, while very philosophical about the financial loss, hit on a major criticism leveled at the bond before it was abolished: that it placed pressure on those who incurred it – the learner and the wider family unit – and did not help the learning process (see also Forsythe Research, 1998a).

### ***The decision to not undertake formal ESOL study***

Concerns about ESOL courses mentioned by those who had studied were often echoed in the first interview by the 20 PAs who had not undertaken ESOL study. Most frequently they felt that their English was already adequate and that they wanted to work rather than engage in more ESOL study. The courses they knew about were usually too general to meet their needs, or, where appropriate, cost too much or had

long waiting lists.<sup>18</sup> Most PAs felt they needed to practise, to use and thereby build on the English that they had, rather than to undertake more formal ESOL study, a sentiment which was echoed by participants in White et al.'s (2001) investigation of immigrant and refugee experiences of ESOL provision. Movement, therefore, was into work or further study to gain a New Zealand qualification. Despite losing the right to claim a student allowance or benefit (other than an emergency benefit) from 1 January 1999, most chose to continue studying, supplementing their dwindling savings with part-time work. All but one of the seven PAs who had intended to study ESOL post-arrival but had subsequently not done so had an entry level score of IELTS 6.0 or higher.

### *Informal strategies to learn English*

Second language learning did not stop with attendance at formal ESOL classes. Those who had initially chosen not to study in formal ESOL classes had felt that they could improve their English (while using it) via informal contexts. At Round 3, 15 PAs reported that they had made a conscious or planned effort to improve their English over the past year. Informal learning strategies varied from those that concentrated on grammatical structures and the form of the language to those that saw English as a tool and concentrated on content, culture and the development of fluency.

The most frequently cited informal strategies were studying in courses other than ESOL (usually at university), and watching television (especially for the news) or listening to the radio (Table 7.9). Self-study from books and tapes was a method familiar to most of the panel from their experiences in China, and was still a relatively popular method of learning at Round 1, but gave way to other more interactive methods as time passed. Many were also regularly reading English language newspapers, sending e-mails in English and surfing the internet ("other" strategies). Therefore, time spent reading and hearing English spoken would not have declined. Rather, it was the function assigned to the printed and spoken word that had changed: content was increasingly more important than the study of form.

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<sup>18</sup> Both Altinkaya (1999) and White et al. (2001) note the lack of adequate information available to recently arrived immigrants regarding ESOL courses.

Table 7.9 Informal strategies consciously employed by PAs to learn English, Rounds 1-3

Informal strategies	Round 1 (1998) (N=36)		Round 2 (1999) (N=32)*		Round 3 (2000) (N=29)*	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Tertiary studies	17	47.2	6	18.8	3	10.3
Books and tapes	7	19.4	4	12.5	-	-
TV and radio	13	36.1	18	56.2	7	24.1
Kiwi friends	5	13.9	9	28.1	2	6.9
Chinese friends	1	2.8	-	-	-	-
Workmates	4	11.1	-	-	3	10.3
Social groups	3	8.3	-	-	-	-
Home tutor	-	-	1	3.1	-	-
Other	-	-	2	6.3	6	20.7

\* "Astronaut" not included.

As PAs sought to integrate into the wider society, social use of the language became more important. Increasingly, efforts were made to communicate with New Zealanders, to learn about the culture in order to fit in. While Chinese was normally the language of the private domain, living in an English-speaking home was an option for unaccompanied applicants. One (*PRC30*), who had been placed in a home-stay situation when she first arrived in the country as a foreign student, had consciously chosen to remain living in an English-speaking New Zealand environment in order to be surrounded by English and other aspects of New Zealand culture. Another (*PRC4*) had lived with New Zealanders before her husband joined her, and she kept in touch with these (now close) friends. A third (*PRC21*) had moved, just before the third interview, to board with a New Zealand family while undertaking university studies, to improve his English and learn more about New Zealand society. He also listened to Newstalk radio to catch New Zealand voices and views.

A number of PAs (for example, *PRC10*, *PRC13*, *PRC15*, *PRC26*) reported that they made a conscious effort to talk as much as possible, to friends, classmates and work colleagues. Some of these were also from non-English speaking backgrounds but English was their common language and they had interests in common, being immigrants in shared situations. Only one PA (*PRC25*) reported, in the first interview, that he practised speaking English with Chinese friends, though this felt rather strange.

More effectively, another (*PRC12*) used only an English language dictionary to get culturally appropriate meanings and to avoid translating back into Chinese. A number attended English-speaking church groups rather than or as well as the “*easier*” Chinese-speaking groups in order to meet New Zealanders and to practise their English. Overall, these examples illustrate the wide range of strategies used by PAs to access the anglophone environment.

#### *A successful self-learning case study*

A case of successful self-study was that of a PA who was already working on-shore as an acupuncturist when he applied for permanent residence in August 1997, with a General IELTS score of 5.0. Through his work, the support of his New Zealand colleague and boss, self-instruction using books and tapes, and “*talking to people as much as possible*” (*PRC24 Rd1*), he achieved an Academic IELTS score of 6.5 just 6 months later (in February 1998). Such an improvement was a remarkable achievement considering that movement from one band to another usually requires “100 hours to over 200 hours” of formal study (IELTS, 1995: 27). After successfully completing his registration requirements, he set up his own practice. He had thought that he might enrol in an English-and-computing course in the future, but this course was yet to be undertaken, with the emphasis now on its computing aspects for the running of his practice.

With a clearly-focussed end (his professional registration and own practice) and using all the opportunities that presented themselves through his employment, coupled with a supportive English-speaking colleague and patients, and the wider but not private anglophone environment, this PA achieved a positive language (and settlement) outcome. He maintained his Chinese at home, and lectured by invitation in his specialty area, received referrals from and liaised regularly with general practitioners and others in the medical profession, and grappled with the paper work associated with Accident Compensation Commission (ACC) forms and the running of his own practice – all in English.

Having enough English to complete further local studies in one’s own field and thereby gain access to work had ramifications for English beyond the academic world. The

acupuncturist was in regular communication with other, referring doctors. In professional dealings and subsequent social contact, the sharing of knowledge helped overcome potential linguistic and cultural barriers to work and offered a point of entry into the wider professional and general English-speaking community. Although limited by New Zealand's laws to work in only one aspect of his own medical profession he was, nevertheless, able to call on his medical background when communicating in English with other doctors.

### *Limitations of informal ESOL learning strategies*

Limitations in the informal strategies employed by PAs included issues associated with learning English as a subject rather than as a tool for communication and isolation from the wider New Zealand English-speaking community.

#### *Self-study*

Self-study using books and tapes was generally related to the former shortcoming – learning English as a subject. Some of the language teaching books used had been brought from China. While offering a reassuringly traditional format, their emphasis on grammatical structures and content which dealt with situations of little relevance to immigrants in New Zealand, did not meet users' needs. Tapes could be replayed but again did not offer a real life situation with opportunities for interaction or provide listening practice involving New Zealand English. Lack of contact with New Zealand speakers of English was the most frequently mentioned impediment to “*interaction and speaking practice*”, remembering, “*thinking in English*” and “*get[ting] to the Kiwi way of thinking*”, to obtaining help when it was needed, and to picking up ever-day colloquial English. Increasingly, therefore, informal strategies focussed on accessing situations which provided or involved social interaction.

#### *Church groups*

Church groups provided an accessible avenue to social interaction with Kiwi New Zealanders for those who had become involved in church, bible-study or social groups. Meetings often took place in church members' own homes or in the homes of the migrants themselves, allowing for valued cross-cultural interaction as well as language practice. However, they also sometimes presented problems for PAs. These problems

were rarely to do with the teaching approach taken by church members, though such ESOL providers were often untrained, older volunteers. For the most part, concerns associated with this source of English and social interaction related to the religious nature of the interaction. As non-Christians with an interest in meeting Kiwi New Zealanders and learning about Christianity and New Zealand society but not necessarily any intention of converting to Christianity, some were uneasy in this learning environment

### *Tertiary studies*

Study in a subject area other than English as a second language at a tertiary institution provided an environment which lacked the potential ethical tensions of a religious setting and allowed them to develop their English language proficiency while also gaining New Zealand qualifications. Moving into an area of study that was in some way linked to their Chinese qualifications and/or work experience meant that previous knowledge could be used. The language might be new but much of the content was familiar.<sup>19</sup> So it was for an acupuncturist and for many of the engineers as well as the computer graduates moving into computing courses; the latter already had experience using computers in China, some at a more advanced level than they were studying in New Zealand.

The importance of a body of background knowledge and experience in the first language and the ability to draw on this underlying conceptual proficiency<sup>20</sup> when functioning in the second language is illustrated in the successful progress through the tertiary system made by many in the panel. Granted entry at postgraduate levels, PAs completed New Zealand diplomas and/or Masters degrees involving course work, research papers and thesis writing. One PA was engaged in research towards a PhD, a second had submitted her application to enrol and a third was doing bridging papers towards enrolment. A doctor passed professional examinations in traditional medicine with accolades.

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<sup>19</sup> Or in the case of nursing training, the content was new but the language, apart from technical terms, was familiar. Two spouses were studying in nursing courses which accepted enrolments from those who had either the medical background or the linguistic background to cope with the course.

<sup>20</sup> Cummins' (1984) Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP).

Unfortunately, tertiary studies often offered less social contact with Kiwi New Zealanders than had been hoped. Since most of those who returned to study chose to enrol in some area of computing (Information Technology or Information Systems), they found themselves in courses where student numbers ranged into the hundreds and lectures were the standard mode of information delivery. In such an environment there was little chance of interaction with other English-speaking students, to either socialise or seek clarification of points: *“We just join the class and sit there. ...In the university...there is a Student Learning Centre. If.. I think if I got too much difficulty I will go there, but I think I can go along.”* (PRC1 Rd1). Inevitably, those in such classes tended to gravitate towards other Chinese students, many of whom were also recent arrivals from China (if not already friends). Talking among themselves they used Chinese, but it was, some commented, a Chinese increasingly punctuated with English words for new concepts.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the language resources, experiences and responses of a panel of highly qualified and skilled immigrants from China granted permanent residence under the General Category or its successor, the General Skills Category. From a non-English speaking background, each gained the right of residence in New Zealand through approval in an immigration category which selected applicants for their high levels of education and “proven” skills and filtered out those who could not meet the immigration policy prerequisite of a “minimum” or (from November 1995) “modest” level of English. So, they came with at least a functional level of competency in the dominant language of the host society, along with a high level of proficiency in Chinese, an international language of increasing importance in terms of trade and international relations.

The first language capital of the panel was identified as one characterised by fluency in Putonghua/Mandarin, the official national language of China and internationally-recognised standard form of the language. Most of the panel members also spoke at least one other dialect. It went without saying that, as tertiary-educated professionals, all were literate in Chinese – cultural capital of significant value considering the



difficulties associated with literacy in the language. Spouses brought similar linguistic capital in Chinese. A number of PAs and spouses were also proficient in second languages other than English.

Expectations regarding the occupational utility of their first language resource were rarely realised by panel members in New Zealand. Pre-migration, most felt that their Chinese would be useful for work and career advancement. In fact, it was less valuable than anticipated in these areas, through a lack of employment opportunities (including within the established Cantonese-speaking food industry). However, it was more useful than expected for everyday activities and socialising, since Putonghua/Mandarin was a shared dialect within the “new” Chinese community. Literacy in the script also allowed access to the increasing number of Chinese newspapers published in the main centres to serve this group, and the community-centred information and opportunities this medium provided.

Language shift, while not a major issue for the adults in the study, was appreciable among their children and, therefore, a growing source of concern. The youth of the children and their lack of literacy in the language exacerbated the trend towards English once they entered the education system, and prompted efforts on the part of the parents to stem the movement. As they observed their children shifting rapidly to the use of English not only outside but also inside the home, many parents were taking steps to maintain Chinese in the home and to enrol their children in language classes.

All panel members arrived with at least a minimum or modest level of English. Their backgrounds in English included studying English at university and, for a larger number than expected, using English on a regular basis at work pre-migration. None gained approval without first “proving” their English language proficiency. For those approved under the General Category and for General Skills Category applicants living in an “English-speaking environment” this was through a face-to-face interview, and for the remainder it was through a pass in the IELTS test. A little over half had planned to undertake further English language study post-migration – to get a job and enter the society.

Some linguistic problems confront most migrants settling in an environment where their second language is the national language, but expectations are not always confirmed. So it was for the panel members with all but four reporting that they changed their view of the usefulness of their English language skills after arriving. Listening and speaking difficulties proved at least an initial setback for most, with a reported inability to understand what others were saying being more problematic than being understood oneself. The accent, speed and colloquialisms of New Zealand English shook the confidences of some attuned to the more formal delivery of teachers, and the standard British and American varieties of the BBC, Voice of America, and Chinese television and radio announcers. An initial period of exposure to New Zealand speakers and success in communicative situations led, however, to improvements and more positive feelings about the usefulness of their English. Usually this change came as a direct result of its effectiveness as a communication tool in the new environment. Of the thirty-two PAs (88.9 per cent) who reported that they had reassessed the value of their own English by the first interview, 20 had found it more useful than expected. This was reflected in the number of participants who, apart from taking courses to gain the qualifications required for entry to tertiary study, decided not to undertake proposed formal ESOL study, preferring to utilise informal language learning strategies which capitalised on opportunities available in the wider anglophone environment to further develop their language skills. Common concerns, including the speed and accent of New Zealand English, speaking, writing assignments and reports, declined with exposure and practice. Increased length of residence was associated with involvement in work and study, both of which were cited as important sources of self-assessed improvements in English. While opportunities to use English at work would remain limited, with fewer than half of the original panel employed in New Zealand at Round 3, the amount of English used elsewhere was rising, especially among those who were studying, with integration into the wider society reflected in the increased use of English in social interactions.

An elevation in the status of English among participants paralleled its utilisation for work and study. Its application in the wider public domain was the main rationalisation offered by the six PAs at Round 2 and 17 PAs at Round 3 who identified English as their “main language used”. By Round 3, three participants would also feel that they wrote better in English than in Chinese, a consequence of assignment writing within

tertiary studies, and one that his spoken English was challenging his spoken Chinese. While it was not surprising that most were using mainly English for their studies and work, with none of those working employed in an exclusively Chinese environment, the extent to which English was being used in the private domain and already moving to displace Chinese in many parent-child interactions in the home was noteworthy.

### ***Views on immigration policy language requirements***

Language was seen by panel members as being very important for the settlement process, and, asked for their views on the language requirements in immigration policy, most deemed that some sort of English language requirement was beneficial for both New Zealand and the immigrants themselves.

*This is a basic requirement, I think. (PRC11)*

*You need them [immigrants] working [to make] their contribution to society. If they can't speak to others ... they cannot work. (PRC15)*

*I think it's good. You should have some test. Otherwise, when immigrants arrive in New Zealand they have to learn the language first. It wastes a lot of time and a lot of money. (PRC2)*

While there was general agreement on the necessity of English and the need to measure language ability in some way, there was less agreement on the level that should be required of those seeking entry. For some, Band 5 was “quite high” and difficult to achieve, but for others it was too low.

*It's too high for some Asian[s]. It require[s] Band 5 in IELTS – I think [this] is not easy for a person who could ... who don't use the English as first language. (PRC17)*

*It's too low a requirement. .... Perhaps OK [for the spouse] but for the primary applicant [it] is not high enough. ... Actually when you pass the requirement you can't do **anything** with your language. (PRC7)*

*Maybe not high enough .... For the principal application I think [it] should be a little bit higher, yeah, ...for [a] family to have at least one [who] can understand reading, writing English quite well, so when they move here they can have someone to depend on. (PRC11)*

Some queried the favouring of the General Modules of the test for immigration, when those who then wished to move into further study could be required to produce evidence of a certain level on the Academic modules and thus incur not only delays

until a test could be undertaken but also the cost of the further test. The requirement that applicants achieve an IELTS score of Band 5 in **each** skill rather than as an aggregate score across the four skills was also questioned. The focus, it was argued, could be more on those skills which were “*more important to live*” (PRC6), though there was a lack of consensus on which of the four skills these would be. Listening and speaking were recognised to be the source of more difficulties than reading and writing, but while some felt these skills should be developed pre-departure, others felt they could more easily be honed post-arrival in a New Zealand-English-speaking environment. It was widely believed that it was possible to improve English levels more quickly post-arrival, if access could be gained to the institutions of the mainstream society, particularly via employment in an area one was familiar with.

There appeared to be general agreement that the level required of a spouse need not be the same as that required of a principal applicant. The main argument offered was that, while a high level of proficiency was identified as advantageous, particularly for work, the spouse would have the support of the PA in the settlement process and therefore would not need such a high level of English to settle. It was also seen as difficult for both husband and wife to achieve the minimum when an IELTS Band 5 score for each skill was required.

The NZ\$20,000 language bond received little support and was seen as a deterrent to potential immigrants. For those in the panel who did pay it, the bond was seen as a negative “pressure” rather than the positive motivation for the spouse to learn English that it had been touted as when introduced. It was identified as a source of compounding strain on the immigrant family unit, and a financial burden that did not end even when there was a full refund, since money that had been borrowed and paid to the NZIS office in China in US dollars was refunded for a spouse who “passed” the test pre-departure only after the family’s arrival in Auckland. This sum then had to be repaid in US dollars to those from whom it had been borrowed, “*so we lost very much*”(PRC5) (in one instance, around US\$3,000

Many of the concerns expressed by the immigrants in the panel regarding the English language requirements for skilled applicants have been reflected in later government statements and decisions regarding policy regulations. The requirement of separate

Band 5 scores has been replaced by an overall minimum score, this also lowered (from January 1998) to IELTS 4 for Business category migrants, if not for General Skills Category applicants. The November 1998 abolition of the language bond, after an NZIS-commissioned report (Forsyte Research, 1998a) returned similar findings to those expressed by the panel members, met with almost universal support, and the ESOL tuition pre-purchase requirement was favoured as a more constructive option, though some panel members wondered whether people who were required to pay would necessarily take up the tuition post-arrival.

## Chapter 8 Squandered Skills? Employment Experiences and Responses

While language is widely seen to be a major factor in the settlement of immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds, an emphasis reflected in the introduction of the IELTS Band 5 requirement in 1995, language is but a tool for communication in the process of integration. To be effective, it must be used and achieve its goals, and this does not happen in isolation. Settlement comprises “a multi-dimensional process encompassing economic, socio-cultural and subjective aspects” (Fletcher, 1999: 10). Among these, employment is widely seen to be an essential indicator of successful settlement and integration for immigrants of working age (Beiser, 1999; Bauböck, 1996b; Burnett, 1998; Fletcher, 1999). At the individual level, employment in positions where their skills can be utilised and extended is a key goal for young, professional, skilled migrants. Participation in suitable work is closely associated with health and psychological well-being (Beiser, 1999; Pernice, 1996). It provides a source of social and economic independence, self-fulfilment and personal well-being, plus a vital means of integration into the wider society (Pavalko, 1988). At the institutional level, the early engagement of skilled and “visible” arrivals in employment is a central goal of an immigration policy which focuses on economic growth and prosperity while maintaining social cohesion (NZIS, 1995b; Trlin, 1997).

Recent New Zealand research has identified labour market integration as a key area of concern in the successful settlement of skilled immigrants, with particular problems faced by those from Asia and other non-traditional sources.<sup>1</sup> Differences, particularly those of language, qualifications and experience, are seen to impede the transfer of valuable skills

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Barnard (1996), Boyer (1995, 1996), Ethnic Affairs Service (1996), Fletcher (1999), Friesen and Ip (1997), Ho and Lidgard (1997), Ip and Friesen (2001), Lidgard (1996), Pernice (1996), Pernice et al. (2000), Trlin and Henderson (1999), Winkelmann (2000), Winkelmann and Winkelmann (1998), Yoon (1995).

into the New Zealand marketplace and hence to mitigate against the successful settlement and acculturation of new arrivals. A positive response to difference is of particular importance if immigrants are to move beyond the confines of the private person and be integrated into the wider society as productive and equal economic agents and full citizens (Bauböck, 1996b). It is also necessary if the benefits of productive diversity are to accrue (Cope and Kalantzis, 1997). It is not a requirement that immigrants be employed in their own areas of expertise. However, “a migrant who was selected for a particular set of skills who is not utilising those skills is not, from an economic perspective, realising their productive potential” (NZIS 1995a: 36).

This chapter investigates the employment situation of the 36 skilled Chinese immigrants in the panel and examines how they have fared since their arrival in New Zealand. First, a brief outline of the human capital that they bring is provided. This is compared with their post-arrival work experiences. Unemployment and underemployment are shown to be the norm for the group. Issues related to obtaining employment are then explored. These issues include: the reasons they have found it so hard to secure jobs, including the role of English language proficiency in their search for employment; the strategies they have used to cope with the unfamiliar situations of job searching and unemployment; and whether the situation has changed over time. If the situation has changed, what changes have taken place and what factors have contributed to these changes? If it has been easier for some than for others to find jobs, what are the factors that seem to have made it easier?

## **HUMAN CAPITAL – QUALIFICATIONS, WORK EXPERIENCE AND LANGUAGE SKILLS**

As expected for immigrants approved in an immigration category that awards points for human capital factors, similarities were apparent in terms of the panel members' qualifications. All of the Principal Applicants (PAs) in the sample held tertiary-level professional qualifications. These included two (5.6 per cent) with two-three year diplomas (one having two diplomas), 20 (55.6 per cent) with Bachelors' degrees and 14 (38.8 per cent) with postgraduate degrees, usually in some area of engineering. As expected, spouses were similarly well qualified. Two (7.1 per cent) had diplomas, 18

(64.3 per cent) had a Bachelor's degrees and the remaining eight (28.6 per cent) had a postgraduate qualification.

While the area of study for these qualifications varied, the very large number of engineering degrees, usually from "key"<sup>2</sup> engineering institutes (*jiaotong*) in China, is noteworthy (Table 8.1). Engineering was the most common occupation not only of those in this panel but also of those in the 1991-1995 sample, the Ethnic Affairs Service's (1996) *High Hopes* study and the wider population of skilled migrants from China. This preponderance of engineers among migrants reflects the fact that over half of the 0.8 per cent of the population with a college education to be found in the Chinese labour force in 1986 (about the time when many in the panel would have graduated) were engineering or natural science majors (Li, 1997: 265).<sup>3</sup> It also reflects the lack of need for engineers to obtain professional registration in order to apply for immigration under the General Skills Category and to engage in their profession in New Zealand.

Table 8.1 Areas of study for qualifications gained by PAs prior to migration

<i>Subject/field</i>	<i>No.*</i>	<i>% of panel*</i>
Computer science/computer engineering/IT	3	8.3
Engineering:	20	55.6
Civil/metallurgical/structural (3) Electrical (5) Electronic (5)		
Mechanical (3) Chemical (2) Aeronautical/Astronautical/Marine (2)		
Architecture	1	2.8
Agricultural, veterinary and other sciences	2	5.6
Commerce/International trade/ Agricultural economics	4	11.1
English language, literature and/or culture	5	13.9
Teaching	2	5.6
Medicine	2	5.6

\* Totals sum to more than 36 and 100 per cent, as three PAs held qualifications in more than one area.

Medicine was relatively poorly represented among PAs (one doctor, one nurse) in comparison with the numbers from this profession found to have gained entry under the

<sup>2</sup> "Key" universities were, in the 1990s, those listed among the top 36 universities/institutes in China. This list was replaced in 2000 by a list of the top 100 universities/institutes.

<sup>3</sup> In fact, as a Chinese-born American scholar recently reported, "about three-fourths of ministers and deputy ministers are engineers or natural scientists by training ... [and an] overwhelming majority of new Chinese political leaders ... have come from the engineering profession – a very small proportion of the [total population] (Li, 1997: 265).



General Category, 1991-1995 (Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996; and Chapter 5 above). The introduction of the IELTS Band 5 prerequisite and statutory registration requirements had largely shut down entry for Chinese doctors, particularly those from Taiwan but also the large numbers that had come from mainland China. The doctor included in the panel was an on-shore applicant who was already working in a contract in New Zealand, albeit in a limited role, practising only traditional medicine as an acupuncturist. The nurse held Australian qualifications which were recognised in New Zealand. However, three spouses were doctors. Not being required, as PAs were, to meet the statutory registration requirements for entry, they, along with the acupuncturist in the panel and hundreds of other overseas trained doctors approved since 1991, would face the frustration of being excluded from practising their medical skills in New Zealand without arduous registration examinations and/or lengthy retraining (Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996; North et al., 1999; Selvarajah, 1998).

Many of the other qualifications found among panel members were reflective of the types of qualifications which might attract a prospective immigrant to apply for permanent residence in a western English-speaking country such as New Zealand. They also reflect those qualifications and occupations which would qualify an applicant to meet entry requirements without the hurdle of professional registration. Migration to New Zealand offered the potential for new challenges and wider experiences to those with degrees in agricultural and veterinary science,<sup>4</sup> agricultural economics, international trade, and English language and literature or English language and culture.

### **Pre-migration work experience**

All of the adults had worked before migrating to New Zealand (two years of work experience being a prerequisite for applications under the General Skills Category). As expected from their qualifications, most had been employed in some area of engineering. The rest came from backgrounds in technology, computing, architecture, medicine, veterinary and agricultural research, business, economics and international trade, or teaching. Several held qualifications in two areas, and had utilised both of these qualifications in their jobs in China (computing and business, English and

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<sup>4</sup> A veterinary scientist could work in research but not in a practice without a practising licence.

international trade, traditional and western medicine). Others had trained in one field but moved into another (from engineering to business or management, for example). Such job-switching had become more common with the opening up of the Chinese economy and the privatisation of industry, changes which had seen the encouragement of private, joint and foreign ventures, reductions in the numbers of people employed by the state, and an increase in employment mobility.<sup>5</sup>

The length and the nature of work experience pre-migration varied. However, with most in their mid-thirties on arrival, the norm for both PAs and spouses was to have worked in China for at least eight to ten years before coming to New Zealand. The length of time in employment meant that most had risen to relatively high positions in their fields (for example, “engineers” or “senior engineers”, senior teachers) and were well-established professionals or business people.

While employed in positions that utilised their qualifications and professional expertise, continuous employment in one work unit (*danwei*) meant that the majority were not familiar with the experience of job seeking or unemployment before coming to New Zealand. Having been placed in a job upon graduation from university, most had stayed in that designated work unit and career, if not their first position. Some, however, had changed their place of work and/or occupations. Those who had experienced mobility in the marketplace had generally gained their later positions by moving into non-governmental private, joint or foreign ventures.<sup>6</sup> Two PAs had worked or studied overseas in English-speaking countries pre-migration. Others had worked alongside English-speaking expatriates in joint or foreign ventures in China, a factor reflected in the numbers who had had pre-migration contact with people from other countries (eight PAs, or 22.2 per cent) and had used English daily at work (nine PAs, or 25 per cent).

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<sup>5</sup> For a graphic account of the profound structural and socioeconomic changes which have occurred in China post-Mao, see Li (1997).

<sup>6</sup> This movement into business ventures/private enterprises is often termed “jumping into the sea”, a phrase that embodies both the risks and the challenges of such actions. A compensation for losing the safety net of the *danwei* is the opportunity to make more money and get ahead, most often in a city of the eastern seaboard (for example, Shanghai, Shenzhen, Guangzhou).

### *English language skills for employment*

As shown in the previous chapter (Chapter 7), regularly speaking English, listening to New Zealand accents and the cultural environment may have been new to members of the sample, but most of them had a good basic level of English language proficiency, and more than the “modest level” required for entry. While it may generally be true that employment opportunities in New Zealand “for those people born in China ... [would be compromised by the fact that] four-fifths of recent immigrants and half of established immigrants without qualifications were unable to speak English at the time of the 1996 Census” (Statistics New Zealand, 1999: 45), such claims cannot be made either of the PAs in this panel or of their spouses. When first interviewed, all were “able to hold a conversation about everyday things”, the 1996 Census criterion for being able to speak English and that used by Winkelmann and Winkelmann (1998) to identify immigrants from English speaking backgrounds. Their proficiency in English supports the notion that just as “there is a strong link between lack of qualifications and the inability to speak English” (Statistics New Zealand, 1999: 45), so there is a strong link between education and the ability to speak English (Chiswick and Miller, 1995).

Access to employment was offered as the prime motivation for further English language study in New Zealand by the 58.3 per cent of PAs who had planned such study. The main reason given had been “*to get a job*”. In the event, as shown in the previous chapter, fewer than this had enrolled in English to speakers of other languages (ESOL) courses. Others had preferred, post-migration, to try directly for employment or, failing this, to undertake further study, improving their English by using it. This method of learning English, by using the language in the context of the wider New Zealand environment, was also found to be favoured by those among the 248 predominantly recent immigrants in White et al.’s (2001) study who were able to access work opportunities.

### **Employment experiences in New Zealand**

So how did the 36 highly qualified members of the panel fare in their search for employment and to what extent did they “from an economic perspective, realis[e] their productive potential” (NZIS 1995a: 36) by securing employment that utilised those

skills which had gained them the requisite points for entry under the General/General Skills Category? In this section, the post-migration work experiences of the members of the panel are examined. It is seen that transferability of skills was a major issue, with few able to gain recognition for or to utilise their Chinese-accredited qualifications and professional experience despite reasonable levels of English.

The decision to migrate to an English-speaking country was identified as a positive challenge, in preparation for which two-thirds had felt that they needed information on job prospects in New Zealand before departure. In the event, less than half reported that they had obtained such information. Where information on employment had been obtained, it had most often come from Chinese friends already in New Zealand and this had generally been found to be useful. Other sources of information had been the internet, the New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS) and immigration consultants/agents, the last being seen as the least reliable or useful.

***Post-arrival experiences: problems finding work***

Attempts to find work in either their own or another field on arrival in New Zealand were largely unsuccessful for most in the panel. One couple succinctly described how it felt to have been unable to find employment: “*Terrible. We were very upset*” and “*Upset and disappointed*” (PRC 5 and spouse, Rd1). While the situation would improve for most over time, the rates of unemployment and, where positions were found, underemployment remained high during the period covered by the three annual interviews (Table 8.2).

At the time of the first interview in 1998, seven (19.4 per cent) of the 36 PAs were employed, either full-time (11.1 per cent) or part-time (8.3 per cent). Of the seven, only three of those employed full-time (including two who had been on-shore applicants and already in full-time work) were utilising their qualifications in their positions: a doctor using his traditional rather than western medicine skills; and two engineers, one in an engineering service-oriented business and the other in research. A further engineer had secured work as a financial advisor through a friend (another Chinese immigrant and engineer), who was already working successfully in the firm after a frustrating period

of unemployment. An English lecturer was tutoring part-time while undertaking further studies, an engineer was gardening part-time and looking for work, and an economist was doing childcare work to finance further university study.

Table 8.2 Employment status of PAs in panel at time of interviews, 1998-2000

<i>Employment situation at time of interview</i>	<i>Rd 1 (1998)</i>		<i>Rd 2 (1999)</i>		<i>Rd 3 (2000)</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
In NZ – employed full-time	4	11.1	8	24.2	8	26.7
– employed part-time:						
- not looking for work	2	5.5	4	12.1	3	10.0
- looking for work	1	2.8	6	18.2	6	20.0
Total employed in NZ (full-time + part-time)	7	19.4	18	54.5	17	56.7
In NZ – unemployed/not employed:						
- looking for work (p/t, f/t)	15	41.7	12	36.4	2	6.7
- not looking for work	14	38.9	2	6.1	10	33.3
Total in NZ and unemployed/not employed	29	80.6	14	42.5	12	40.0
“Astronauting”	-	-	1	3.0	1	3.3
Total (remaining) in panel	36	100.0	33	100.0	30	100.0
Lost from panel:						
- returned to China	-		2		4	
- lost	-		1		2	

As shown in Table 8.2, the employment situation was a little rosier at the time of the second round of interviews in 1999, if lack of utilisation of human capital was still a cause for concern. Three of the four who had been employed full-time in 1998 were still in the same positions as a year previously. The fourth was in the same type of work but was moving to establish his own medical practice as his New Zealand registration

was finalised. Of the 16 who had been looking for work a year earlier, only two had returned to their pre-migration professions: a teacher, after a one-year retraining course, had found work in his subject area; and a nurse had returned to medicine after some study in an alternative area of interest. A course on small business practice had led on to self-employment for an English graduate and fluent English speaker with business experience, while another fluent in the language (a former English teacher) had found part-time work in a café. Two engineers with Masters' degrees had become factory workers. Seven of the 16 remained unemployed and looking for work, and three were studying full-time, one with part-time work. Two others had returned to China, one to rejoin a spouse who was a doctor; and three were studying, one with part-time work.

In all, over twice as many PAs (18 or 54.6 per cent of the remaining 33 PAs) were in some form of employment in New Zealand at the time of the second interview. Eight were in full-time positions and ten in part-time positions. One had two jobs, the second in his own field to gain more New Zealand experience; six were looking for different jobs to replace those that they had; and three were looking for a second job so that they could earn more money. Of the remaining PAs still in the panel, 12 were looking for work (nine for full-time and three for part-time work). One had returned to China to work in his existing architectural practice, having been unable to establish necessary contacts with others in his field in New Zealand. As this PA was an "astronaut" rather than a returnee and his family remained in New Zealand, where they had purchased a house, he was retained in the panel.

Despite the passage of time, the number in employment had seen little change by the time of the third round of interviews in 2000. A total of 17 (56.7 per cent) of the 30 remaining panel members (or 47.2 per cent of the original panel) were employed in New Zealand, eight full-time (none looking for other work) and nine part-time (six looking for other or further work). Of the three PAs who had been lost from the panel in the intervening year, two were female PAs who had lived with their children in New Zealand while their respective spouses remained in China. All three had been looking for work a year earlier. Two had returned to China and contact with the third was lost after a return visit to China.

## *Spouses*

Spouses do not form the core of this study. However, their employment status is important in that it impacts on the settlement of the family, and on the employment position of the PA. If one partner is able to find work and thereby bring an income into the household, the other partner is less pressured to find work and may be able to undertake further study to gain local credentials.

Spouses in New Zealand faced problems similar to those encountered by PAs. However, despite their qualifications and backgrounds being similar to those of PAs, only one was in employment at the time of the first interview in 1998. Six others were looking for work. Caring for children,<sup>7</sup> coupled with delayed migration, non-migration or return migration meant that few spouses in the panel were identified as unemployed and looking for work.

At Round 2 in 1999, the employment situation of spouses had changed somewhat, with seven employed (four full-time, three part-time with one looking for full-time work), seven unemployed looking for work and six studying in New Zealand. Two others were working in China, having chosen to return to or remain in positions rather than be unemployed in New Zealand. They were helping to financially support family members already in New Zealand. Where only two spouses had said they had ever been unemployed and looking for work in New Zealand in the period before the first interview in 1998, 13 had been unemployed and job-hunting in the 12 months prior to the second interview.

At the time of the third interview in 2000, eight (33.3 per cent) of the remaining 24 spouses were employed in New Zealand (six full-time, two part-time not looking for work) and one was working in China. Four were now using their qualifications in their jobs, but this included the off-shore worker. Of the other 14 spouses in New Zealand, 13 were not looking for work. Six spouses (25 per cent) reported that they had been

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<sup>7</sup> This was a task new to many. The need to care for one's own child(ren) was to cause added stress in some households, with parents now not only unemployed but away from the support of the extended family and other community-based child care provisions which were widely available and used in China. However, this situation was not always negative. Some were enjoying being at home with their child(ren).

unemployed and looking for work during the previous year. One spouse was still studying overseas.

### *Summary*

Overall, there were signs of increasing employment stability for those in work. By 2000, three PAs had been in their main jobs for at least two years, with a further five in the same position for between one and two years. Most of those who had been in full-time employment at Round 2 (1999) were still in the same positions at Round 3. However, there were changes: from factory work back into study with a spouse working full-time and the accumulation of some money plus prospects of renewed eligibility for the student allowance later in the year); from full-time to part-time employment in order to provide child care while the spouse studied full-time; and from one area of self-employment into another which was more akin to pre-migration experiences. There were also shifts in emphasis in the relationship between study and work, including increased numbers of students not engaged in part-time work (a reflection of renewed eligibility for student allowances).

## **FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO CONTINUED UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT**

The selection of skilled immigrants on the basis of their human capital and employability, through the allocation of points for age, qualifications and experience, with requirements related to English language proficiency and, where appropriate, statutory registration, was designed to attract young, well-educated immigrants whose skills could make a positive contribution to the economy of the nation. The continued unemployment or underemployment of a large proportion of the panel members indicates that the immigration policy was only partially achieving its goal. Why, with all their qualifications and professional skills, were the immigrants in the panel finding it so hard to secure the professional employment that would make the most of their talents?



Language, associated with being from a non-English speaking background (NESB), is widely touted, alongside other micro-level demographic characteristics (including age, sex, education, qualifications), as a critical factor in the employment outcomes of skilled immigrants (see, for example, Chiswick and Miller, 1995; Ho et al., 2000b; Miller and Neo, 1997; Winkelmann, 2000; Winkelmann and Winkelmann, 1998). New Zealand's immigration policy underlines the importance of language for successful settlement in its requirement that all skilled immigrants meet a required level of proficiency pre-migration. Researchers also suggest, however, that there are other important, micro- and macro-level structural factors governing the entry of immigrants to the labour force. These include: lack of work experience in the target marketplace; lack of portability and transferability of skills and qualifications; the absence of networks; the wider economic environment at the time of migration; and discrimination, including gatekeeping (Beiser, 1999; Chiswick and Miller, 1995; Han, 1999; Hawthorne, 1997; Liu, 1996; Liu, 2000; Valtonen, 1999). All of these factors were reported by members of the panel to have affected their employment opportunities, and will be examined in more detail below.

### **English language proficiency**

*Language is the most important, the biggest problem ... I'm not looking for a job of labourer, just I think I want to look for a job of engineer, so language is um most useful, used very much. (PRC7 Rd1)*

English language proficiency was identified by participants as an important factor in unemployment, at least initially. Inadequate levels of English and difficulties associated with lack of familiarity with New Zealand English in particular (its accent, speed and colloquialisms) were frequently cited by PAs in the first round of interviews as reasons for their unemployment.

However, there was no clear measure of the English language proficiency that was needed for work. For the seven who had found work at the time of the first interview in 1998, IELTS band scores ranged from 5.0 to 8.5 for the five who were tested, while those who remained unemployed included seven with IELTS band scores of 6.0-6.5 and three with scores of 7.0-7.5. None of the three engineers who remained unemployed and not enrolled in tertiary studies at the time of the third interview had been required to take the IELTS test to gain approval. Two had been interviewed and

approved under the General Category (one only after sitting the NZIS English language test). They had limited spoken English. However, the third, a General Skills Category approval, had applied from Australia after working there for two years and hence had good spoken English – a point acknowledged by NZIS in not requiring him to take the IELTS test. He also had experience of living in a western culture similar to that found in New Zealand.

Reflecting the importance of contact with and use of the language in the development of (particularly aural/oral) skills (Chiswick and Miller, 1995; Ellis, 1994; White et al., 2001), concerns regarding familiarity with New Zealand English were expressed less frequently in the second and third rounds of interviews. As could be expected, length of residence brought increased exposure to English, and more specifically to the New Zealand variety that so many had found difficult to understand on arrival. Increased fluency in the language was also a factor for all who engaged in some way with the wider anglophone society. Fluency and confidence had been augmented for some through formal ESOL studies, but for many others these had come through using English as a communication tool in subject-area studies and/or working and living in the wider English-speaking environment. As will be shown in the following chapter, work is a very important source of interaction with members of the host population.

However, English remained a barrier to employment for a small number of participants. An engineer who had been approved under the General Category only after completing the NZIS English test as part of the interview process identified English throughout the research as the main problem in finding work. She had attended only a short course in introductory computing and remained mostly at home, except for attendance at a church social group with other Chinese and several elderly “Kiwi” New Zealand volunteers. Her largely single-word responses to open questions in the three interviews corroborated her identification of English as a barrier to employment. A second engineer approved under the General Category, who had attended several ESOL courses including a “*too short*” eight-week Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ) course for professionals, also felt that he still had problems expressing his ideas in English at the time of the third round interview in 2000. This was despite his reporting, at the second interview, that he had found the prescribed textbooks easy to understand when contemplating further study in his own area and, at the third interview, that he felt

that he had successfully communicated his way through a one and a half hour job interview. While this interview had not resulted in a job offer, his increased oral fluency and confidence was a mark of the considerable improvements he had made in his level of (particularly oral) English proficiency. In comparison to the earlier-described participant, he exhibited a more positive, gregarious and outgoing nature. The third participant who identified English language *per se* as a barrier to employment had experienced difficulties associated with using English for a postgraduate course of study in engineering.

That the existing English language proficiency levels of immigrants were not always recognised and appreciated by the host community and that language was a source of discrimination is clear from incidents reported in the first (1998) and second (1999) round of interviews. Those who approached staff of the New Zealand Employment Service (NZES) or its successor, WINZ, for employment assistance were almost invariably told that their English was not good enough, and that they needed to go away and get more English before looking for a job. It appears that the instruction to “*go away and get more English first*” was a stock response (before the introduction of the two-year stand-down period for student allowances and benefits in January 1999) that was used to get immigrants to occupy the requisite six months to qualify for NZES/WINZ employment assistance or to get them onto a student allowance through placement in an ESOL course. Whether or not such language study was a needed or appropriate settlement strategy seemed not to be important.

The perception of negative attitudes among New Zealand employers towards immigrants with non-New Zealand accents was identified by respondents as a hurdle in their search for employment. For example, a participant with an IELTS score of 6.5 (Academic) and an Australian postgraduate degree in Information Systems had felt that his English was “*not bad*” and not in itself a problem when he was seeking work. Rather it depended on other people. He reported that there had seemed to be no communication problems and no comment was made about his English when he was interviewed for a position. Nevertheless, it was subsequently relayed back to him through the employment agent that there were some communication problems and that this was the reason his application was declined by the employer. Native English-speaker fluency and a New Zealand accent were unreasonable expectations to place on

a recently arrived immigrant from a non-English speaking background. Many employers, however, including those asked to provide work experience for participants in ESOL for Professionals courses, wanted immigrant employees who spoke New Zealand English.

In contrast, work was widely identified by panel members as an effective way to improve their English, to increase levels of fluency and accuracy:

*I think the best way to foster English is to be involved in some activities area with New Zealanders - work. To put you in a work situation, so you can practise and to give you work-type language (PRC7 Rd1).*

*If I um go to... work, I can do much better. If I don't understand what they ah talk about I will ask them to explain to me clearly and then I will get it. So I think it is not a big problem [but] just because my English is not good ...they think it, the job, is not suitable for me. (PRC4 Rd1)*

These sentiments were endorsed by those who were already in employment and effectively using their English in positions related to their areas of expertise, despite having less than a native-like command of the language. While initially experiencing some difficulties, none insurmountable, all who were employed felt that they were improving their levels of English proficiency through their communication with other English speakers at work.

Two examples from PAs employed from the first round of interviews serve to illustrate this. The acupuncturist reported at the first interview that:

*My boss, he [sic] is a good lady. Sometimes we work together. She always help me, support my English. ... I think in the work I can improve my language, so I like to study in the work, I got a job very good job and then conversations with the New Zealanders together and then English is all right. (PRC24 Rd1)<sup>8</sup>*

While the writing of medical reports presented him with some difficulties at the time of the first interview, he was able to improve his English language ability and subsequently to develop his own practice (the successful self-learning case study Chapter 7). A second PA was working in a customer-service position which involved

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<sup>8</sup> This PA made the he/she personal pronoun mistake that is very common among Chinese speakers of English (Chinese has a gender-neutral "ta" form). Over time this confusion disappeared from his spoken English.

technical English, some of which he was “*not quite familiar with*” (PRC11 Rd1), and taking orders from clients over the telephone (“*the customer here is seldom using the fax machine and not like in Hong Kong where everything is put in writing*”). This aural/oral medium of communication had created some communication difficulties for him initially. He found that not having a marked foreign accent was a mixed blessing; concessions regarding speed were not made when he was not recognised as a non-native speaker of English. When customers went in person to the business and found him to be a foreigner, it was not a problem. Face-to-face interactions overcame the reliance on verbal cues and formulae, anonymity and remoteness of the telephone. Language proficiency was a non-issue in employment for each of these participants in the later interviews.

Others who were working reported similar improvements in their English language skills. As found in other research regarding language and the employment of immigrants (Beiser, 1999; Dustmann, 1994, 1999; Liu, 1996; Valtonen, 1999), length of residence, exposure to and use of the language in real communicative situations in the workplace were an effective way to build on existing levels of English proficiency and to develop fluency.

### **Lack of New Zealand qualifications and work experience**

*No New Zealand experience and also no New Zealand diploma or certificate. (PRC20 Rd1)*

*The second one, recognise recognition of qualifications, yeah. lack of New Zealand qualification, yeah, experience – New Zealand experience, attitude of employers. (PRC4 Rd1)*

*We want to use our skills to contribute to the country, yeah, and we want our skills to be recognised. (PRC34 Rd1)*

Rather than English language proficiency, a lack of New Zealand qualifications and New Zealand work experience were identified by participants as the main problems in finding work. The latter reason presented something of a Catch-22 situation. Years of pre-migration experience, which had accrued valuable human capital points for entry, were not recognised or valued post-arrival. Meanwhile, the inability to secure

employment meant that the New Zealand work experience required in order to meet potential employers' demands could not be gained:

*They will never have this [New Zealand] experience ... To get employed they need experience but since they can't get employment they can't get experience ... Well, actually, I can't see any chance for me to get a job. What can I do? (PRC23 Rd2)*

Offers to work for nothing on a trial basis had invariably been declined.

Overseas qualifications had similarly gained points but were not being accepted in the marketplace. This non-recognition was the more aggrieving since: (a) points had been allocated for qualifications only after they had been assessed (at some expense to the applicant) by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) for New Zealand equivalence; and (b) all had either met the professional requirements to practise in New Zealand or were not required to be registered to undertake employment (for example, professional engineers). There appeared to be quite some distance between the Immigration Service's policy requirements and actual practices in the workplace with regard to the recognition of both overseas qualifications and prior experience.

Statutory registration was not seen by the PAs in the sample to be a major barrier to their employment, most having been approved under the post-October 1995 requirements, but it was frustrating and curtailing the medical activities of the doctor and also frustrating and delaying entry to the workforce for some spouses. The two medically trained PAs interviewed were both able to practise here. One, while initially choosing to study in another area, held recognised Australian nursing qualifications and had been able to return to the nursing profession. Although he found it hard to obtain a full-time position, part-time employment was to provide him with flexibility and all the hours he wanted in his specialty area. The other was already practising traditional medicine on-shore pre-application and was able to set up his own practice after passing registration examinations. Hence he was able to use his skills, albeit in a limited way since he was unable to utilise his western medicine skills. He had been offered a (full fee paying) place in a medical school but had been informed that to practise western medicine he would have to repeat a six year medical course, scoring straight "A"s to remain within the programme beyond the first three years. While extremely frustrated

by this requirement, he still harboured a hope of one day being able to retrain so that he could practise both western and traditional medicine, as he had pre-migration.

The barriers surrounding the medical registration of doctors also kept one spouse unemployed and frustrated, limited the activities of two further spouses, and had meant that two others had continued to practise in China while their PA spouses settled and searched for work in New Zealand. In the event, one of these unaccompanied PAs, having failed to secure work in the computing field in New Zealand, returned to China before the second interview.

Teacher registration had been an issue for several respondents. Unequivocal information had proved hard to find pre-migration, leaving some unclear about what would be required of them to gain a practising certificate. A teaching couple had faced differing retraining requirements to meet the registration demands of a quasi-compulsory practising certificate. These retraining requirements hinged on an assessment of their initial off-shore training rather than their subsequent teaching experiences or English language level and proven ability to teach in an English medium environment. The PA, who had taught in a Chinese medium school pre-migration, was required to complete a one-year diploma course including teaching practice. This was, happily, to lead to a temporary and later more permanent full-time appointment in a school made cognisant of the person's teaching skills through his completion of a teaching practice "section" at the school during his year of retraining. The spouse, despite having a teaching diploma regarded as the equivalent of her husband's in China plus teaching experience in a prestigious English-medium secondary school, was required to complete a New Zealand Bachelor's degree course to qualify for secondary school teaching.

For other professionals in the sample, the absence of statutory registration requirements notwithstanding, there were still many problems involving the recognition of overseas qualifications. University qualifications, even when obtained from one of the top 36

“key” universities in China, were not recognised by most employers in New Zealand.<sup>9</sup> While engineers could, theoretically, practise as professional engineers in New Zealand without being registered with their professional institute, IPENZ, this rarely happened. Without work experience in New Zealand, overseas qualifications lacked credibility in the marketplace but without New Zealand qualifications most could not get work experience. So, only two of the 21 PAs (58.3 per cent of the original panel) who were engineers had gained employment in their profession, one in a research position he already held at the time of application for permanent residency and the other in a service-related position that used only a fraction of his professional expertise. Where qualifications were recognised, applicants were often considered overqualified for the positions they might hold without New Zealand experience. Several applicants had toyed with the idea of “writing down” their qualifications in order to be more suitably qualified for low-level positions.

Publicity regarding the need to attract more overseas computer specialists to fill vacancies created by increasing technology and the “brain drain” of New Zealand-trained people (Dalziel, 2001), suggests that at least those with computer skills should have had few difficulties obtaining positions in the workforce. However, this was not to be the case for members of the panel. A young computer engineer, resident for only two months at the time of the first interview, had felt initially that just his English level (IELTS 6 and TOEFL 567) would prevent him from getting a job. He found that, even with increased fluency in English, his Chinese computer engineering degree and pre-migration experience did not open the doors to employment. Another, with an Australian Master’s degree and experience in computerised banking had believed that his computing background and Australian qualification would stand him in good stead even though he would have to backtrack from his former management role to more basic computing work: *“like computer, like accounting, like um .. this is two fields easy to get a job [whereas] the other fields like ah chemical, like architecture, maybe not so*

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<sup>9</sup> It was doubtful whether the introduction by NZIS of automatic recognition of qualifications from certain universities without requirement of NZQA assessment would have any effect on attitudes to overseas-gained qualifications, unless there was some effort to educate employers regarding the quality and value of such degrees.



*easy to get a job*"(PRC 25 Rd1).<sup>10</sup> However, having been unable to secure a position by the time of the first interview, he was contemplating further study. Others with computing backgrounds had also found that they needed to study further before obtaining employment in their field, despite having arrived in New Zealand with both university degrees and considerable post-graduation work experience in their fields.

In a few cases, Chinese practices and qualifications were seen by participants to be so different as to be totally non-transferable to the New Zealand situation, and led to new courses of study. For example, an electrical engineer who had hoped to practise in New Zealand, had felt that the system in China was so different from that in New Zealand that he would need to retrain and "*maybe it cost a lot of time*" (PRC21 Rd1). Since he "*[did] not have time*", he returned to study in another area, supporting himself by engaging in part-time unskilled work as a garment presser. An engineer who had been a ship designer using sophisticated computer-aided design (CAD) software pre-migration realistically felt that her specialty was not in demand in New Zealand (especially as she was a female engineer), but hoped to be able to use some of her CAD and draughting skills. Another engineer, specialising in aeronautical engineering, similarly felt there would be no call for his specialised engineering skills in New Zealand and planned to pursue a profession in management, an area he had moved into before migrating. A mining engineer felt, post-arrival, that his background in opencast mining would be of little use in New Zealand, as did a civil engineer with his different code of practice from that followed in New Zealand. They would continue to hold this view despite information being sent out, with the "thank you" letter, to all participants after the first round of interviews containing information on the New Zealand Institute of Professional Engineers (IPENZ) and contact details for this institute plus the suggestion that the Auckland president had provided – that civil engineers should try for employment in a local council, where, it seemed, numbers of immigrants from non-traditional sources were obtaining engineering positions, albeit low level ones. There was only one civil engineer among the PAs in the panel. He remained unemployed.

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<sup>10</sup> This PA's inability to secure a job meant that he would not settle, since he identified employment as a prerequisite to bringing his wife and child to New Zealand. Without the stability of a position and income that would come with a job, his daughter might have "*to move from one school to other school*", which would not be easy and she "*would curse*" him. Also, he would have to borrow more money to cover his wife's \$20,000 English language bond.

### **Lack of access to the workplace**

Gaining access to information on professional vacancies within the workforce and how one should go about applying for a position was a problem for most of the panel, despite their levels of proficiency in English, since they came from a different cultural background and had not generally had any experience of finding jobs for themselves (unless working for a private or joint venture). Professional vacancies in New Zealand are filled more often through an employment consultant than through direct newspaper advertisements. This is particularly true of engineering positions, which are only rarely advertised in the press. Moreover, obtaining information about professional engineering vacancies was handicapped by misleading material distributed to immigrants by NZES/WINZ. This material, shown to the researcher, incorrectly identified the Engineers' Union rather than IPENZ as the point of reference for immigrant engineers. It underlined the lack of awareness in NZES/WINZ of the particular characteristics and employment-related needs of professional clients. Knowing the New Zealand way of doing things was also very important when seeking employment or going into business. An electronics engineer felt that many immigrants were seen to have made mistakes and lost their venture capital "*just because they don't know the New Zealand way*" (PRC4 Rd2). Most in the panel had never had to find employment for themselves before. Many, therefore, were not sure how to go about finding a job or establishing a business.

Another difficulty was the absence of family connections or well-established friends in New Zealand to whom PAs might turn for guidance. Few (13.9 per cent) had extended family members in New Zealand and, while 72.2 per cent had friends, most were similarly recent immigrants without networks through which to obtain information on, and contacts in, professional employment. Hence, opportunities to find jobs through networks were limited. This was an important issue since Chinese are more comfortable dealing with persons they know or at least to whom they have been introduced (Goh, 1996). A participant trying to start a business voiced this problem:

*I am not familiar with the companies, the companies are not familiar with me, so not familiar with each other, big problem. (PRC19 Rd1)*

Finally, through a newspaper advertisement, he found a local gardening job where the employer gave him a trial run. The employer was very happy with his work and he had a job, temporary and limited as it was.

A computer with an internet connection allowed access to an expanding bank of employment sites, some of which specialised in professional vacancies. With little information available regarding the location or nature of sites, however, finding an appropriate site was serendipitous. The “Job Bank” site operated by NZES/WINZ, for example, had little for the professionally-trained job seeker despite including all of the major professional and management categories listed in the New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations. At the time the interviews for this research were taking place, many inappropriate and non-professional positions were found listed under the professional occupational categories on this web site (see Appendix 9). Vacancies under the Life Science and Health Professionals category included kiwifruit pickers, taxi drivers and takeaway shop positions, and vacancies under the Physical, Mathematical and Engineering Science Professionals category included boat groomers, muffler and towbar fitters, taxi drivers and a trainee serviceman. The last position (a trainee serviceman, Mt Eden) required “no experience ... as full training will be provided” and was identified as suitable for:

... a young person say 17-19 years or an immigrant with reasonable english [sic]. ... SUIT SOMEONE WITH SCHOOL CERT OR EQUIVALENT [sic].

Such inappropriately categorised entries were demeaning to all professionals, immigrants included, and indicative of the inadequacy of this service as a job-broker/provider for such clients. A reply from WINZ (26 July 1999) to a letter from the researcher regarding the inappropriateness of such vacancies: (a) explained that “the vacancy for a ‘Dial-a Driver’ was unfortunately listed under the wrong category [and the] second example [sent], for the trainee service person, should not have included the reference to migrants with reasonable English”; (b) offered an apology “for any distress these errors have caused”; (c) advised that the Job Bank was being reviewed; and (d) mentioned a new initiative regarding labour market barriers facing migrants in North Auckland. While none of the panel members indicated that they had used the “Job Bank” site to search for or find employment, jobs suggested to participants when they

sought assistance in person (for example, shop work, a library assistant's position, labouring jobs) were similarly unskilled and wasteful of their talents.

However, NZES/WINZ remained the best known agency and that most commonly approached by job seekers for assistance, not least because they were directed there for benefits and allowances.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, they were not then directed on to other, more appropriate, employment sites or employment agencies. The experiences of a young engineer underlined problems commonly faced by the professionals in the panel when seeking assistance from this source:

*I have been to [the] Employment Service but I don't ... think the Employment Service is useful. ...they just told you, "You need you need learning English. You need to take a course." ... Then, ah, they told me, "You must do anything. You must do anything". (PRC10 Rd1)*

When he told them that he was an engineer and wanted a suitable job, the response was that his chances of finding a suitable position were " 'zero'. ... yeah, 'is zero'. So I think that, no, that that's not useful". When he said that he did not want to become a warehouse packer, the job offered, he was given a list of general ESOL courses provided by community colleges and, despite his entry IELTS score of 6.5, was told that he must take a course.

### **Competition and the New Zealand economy**

When there is an economic downturn or pressure on existing resources in a contracting market, competition for employment increases, even among the native-born, and unemployment rises. Hence, the wider economic situation of the late 1990s, influenced by the Asian financial crisis, ongoing restructuring and downsizing, was an important factor in the availability of jobs, particularly in occupations which were associated with some form of manufacturing. A number of respondents noted that their efforts to gain employment within their specialist areas were being affected by a situation beyond their control.

*I think the most [important] problem is the whole economic situation in New Zealand, making the employment more difficult. (PRC22 Rd1)*

*When you find a job opportunity, many people come to apply for that job so [there] is more competition (PRC4 Rd2)*

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<sup>11</sup> Many mistakenly called the service "the Unemployment Service".

*Maybe the economy is not good now so a lot of people lost job. (PRC19 Rd3)*

Official unemployment figures in New Zealand had peaked at 11.1 per cent of the labour force in 1991 and dropped only gradually over the decade, to 5.6 per cent in December 2000 (McLoughlin, 2001). As in the mid-1990s, “the pliant nature of official statistics meant that the true level of unemployment for people wanting paid work was much worse” (Kelsey, 1997: 260), disguised by the numbers on sickness or invalid benefits, not actively seeking work and working as little as an hour a week. Statistics New Zealand (2002: 1) notes that:

Paid employment is no longer as accessible as it was. Over the last two decades, unemployment has become an increasingly visible feature of New Zealand society and growing numbers have found themselves trapped in long-term unemployment.

Recent immigrants from China were to be among those affected by the changes in labour market conditions.<sup>12</sup>

Moreover, with its small domestic labour market, New Zealand industry was seen by many, particularly engineers, to present few employment opportunities. Noting the lack of a relevant industry where he could apply his skills, an electronics engineer (*PRC16*) commented in the first interview in 1998 that he thought New Zealand “*didn’t need*” an engineer with his experience in Digital Video technology. While increasingly common in China during the 1990s, Digital Video Disk (DVD) machines were still relatively new in New Zealand at the end of the decade. Nor was there the wide variety of television programmes and services that could be found in China.

Alongside the lack of suitable industries and the retrenchments and layoffs in businesses as a result of an economic downturn and restructuring, another factor identified as a challenge was the business culture in New Zealand. This was seen to be very different from that in China, and sometimes frustrating. For example, compared with China during the 1990s, business practice and procedures in New Zealand were seen to be very slow and cautious. As one aspiring businessman put it:

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<sup>12</sup> The 2001 Census would identify 13.9 per cent (5,343) of the total ethnic Chinese population (not further defined) over 15 as unemployed (Statistics New Zealand 2001 Census: Ethnic Groups, Table 17a).

*I think all things go so slow. So slow, and China sometimes there is also slow but if you know people you can speed up by using their own way, but here you can do nothing, you have to wait. (PRC2 Rd1)*

Apart from being frustrating, the slowness of the business world was felt to be enervating for the economy as a whole and for the participant as an individual within it:

*I think it is no good. Sometimes when talking with my friends I tell them that if I stay much more longer I am afraid that I will have no more energy to do anything. I have this kind of feeling. (PRC2 Rd1)*

New Zealand's social welfare system was similarly felt to contribute to lack of vitality in the marketplace:

*... mak[ing] the economy very quiet because ah some people may think they have enough money for their daily life ah or their daily expenses so they are not very active in finding a job. (PRC22 Rd3)*

## **Discrimination**

Economic downturns and competition in the marketplace are often associated with increased racial tensions and discrimination against identifiable minority immigrant groups (Espenshade and Hempstead, 1996; Esses et al., 1999). Discrimination based on accent as a significant identifying feature is hard to quantify, but its seriousness is supported by a large body of research.<sup>13</sup>

That the accent of immigrants in the panel was sometimes targeted in a discriminatory fashion was indicated by a rather blatant example. A participant with IELTS 7 and a score of 8 for speaking was deemed by a senior staff member at WINZ to be "not suitable" for a position at a MacDonalds outlet because she did not have adequate English. The participant, a Master's graduate, had frequently acted as interpreter for foreign visitors to the large work unit where she was employed in China. Post-arrival she had already very successfully completed the first year of a Master's programme in a New Zealand university. When she asked why her English was not adequate for the position, she was told very sharply that she "[did] not have New Zealand English" (PRC36 Rd3). In retrospect, she was to remember this as her worst experience in New Zealand.

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<sup>13</sup> For example, Collins (1996), Ethnic Affairs Service (1996), EEO Trust (2001), Giles (1977, 1979), Giles and Powesland (1975), Lippi-Green (1997), McNamara (1996), Roberts et al. (1992) and Singer and Eder (1989).

It seems that job seekers were being discriminated against in their quest for employment on the basis of accent, a linguistic feature which said little about their English language proficiency and ability to communicate effectively in English, but marked them as “other”. “Foreigners” and their foreign qualifications and work experience appeared to carry little credibility in the workforce. Characteristics which identified one as an immigrant Chinese were seen to be disadvantageous in attempts to access the professions. Some participants felt that their accents meant that they did not make it past an initial telephone introduction of themselves. A spouse, for example, reported telephoning about a position that was newly advertised. He was told that it had already gone. However, his wife, who had been an English teacher in China, was offered more information about the same position when she telephoned a little later to test their suspicions of discriminatory practice. Telephone conversations, with their lack of non-verbal cues and very culturally oriented patterns of communication, are notoriously difficult and potentially stressful interactions for second language speakers. This stress generally causes a speaker’s accent to become more marked and thus creates a situation where negative evaluations of language ability are more likely. The wife (the PA), however, had nothing to lose in making the telephone inquiry, so was not stressed. She had learnt English with a British accent, so was not readily identified as a new immigrant from Asia and discriminated against.

Their feelings that they were the victims of discrimination on the basis of accent are supported by other research findings. For example, the “greatest concern” of employers who were approached to take on tertiary-qualified immigrant job seekers who were students in WINZ-funded ESOL for Professionals courses for work experience was: “the students’ ability to speak **New Zealand English**” (Market and Evaluation Research Team, 1998: 11; emphasis added). Names, with their unfamiliar pinyin spelling (for example, Zhou, Li, Wang and Huang, and Jun, Yan and Mei), so often mispronounced or misspelt, similarly identified recently arrived Chinese. Some panel members had considered changing the spelling of their names to more familiar versions (Joe, Lee, Wong, Mai), while others had thought of using a completely different “English” name to aid the passage of written applications past the first sorting and selection process. The adoption of English given names was common, some participants already having these from their English language study days or work in China.

Related to their lack of New Zealand English, New Zealand qualifications and local work experience, the reasons given by engineers and other members of the panel for their inability to find work varied, but certain themes recurred. These included the attitudes of employers (and employment agencies). According to participants, employers discriminated against women in positions such as mechanical engineering, which in China were filled by both sexes and they did not like to employ “*foreigners*”. The last reason was also referred to by the Auckland President of the Institute of Professional Engineers of New Zealand (IPENZ) both in a personal communication with the researcher and in a later *New Zealand Herald* article (Stone, 1998) in which he commented publicly on the plight of skilled immigrants in Auckland.

Sexism was identified as an issue in the engineering world, with women unable to gain entry. A ship designer with over ten years of work experience and skills in computer-aided design (CAD) said that she was not even given an interview, “... *maybe because in New Zealand women are just not so common to work in engineering*” (PRC33 Rd1). She had read in a professional magazine that two women “*had been in industry and business. But the article ... said it's not usual*”. She did not feel she could fight against this prejudice, and had hoped to get into a related position where she could “*use the skill I have. I can draw*”. Unfortunately the draughting positions available were in architecture and as she did not have prior experience in this field she was unsuccessful despite her extensive CAD experience.

The issue of racial discrimination arose in a context with a rather different slant in one first round interview. The PA qualified as a nurse mentioned having to deal not only with different and unfamiliar varieties of English but also with people from different cultures in a hospital environment. While he was able to deal with most clinical situations, and to minister to older Cantonese-speaking patients in their own language, he was concerned about providing for others in a culturally inappropriate manner:

*If I don't understand the different culture, that may cause some problem. They may claim that it is discrimination or something like that. (PRC17 Rd1)*



## STRATEGIES TO COPE WITH UNEMPLOYMENT

While most panel members had hoped to move straight into work on arrival in New Zealand, the majority of them were also prepared to face problems in achieving their goals. Therefore, they were philosophical about their situation and ready, if necessary, to be unemployed for a time, to enter the workforce at a lower level or in a different area and to retrain. As one participant rather colourfully put it: *“Like in ‘Forest Gump’, the employment and the unemployment is also part of the life”* (PRC25 Rd2). A variety of strategies were adopted and implemented to cope with unemployment and gain access to the workforce, the most common of which are considered below.

### Further study

*I think the first step [is that] I should get a New Zealand qualification, and then ...* (PRC5 Rd1)

Further study was seen as the main strategy for obtaining the New Zealand qualifications required for employment, and as a constructive alternative to on-going unemployment. The decision of over half of the panel to return to academic studies was not surprising, considering their educational backgrounds. All were familiar with the rigours of tertiary study and had succeeded in their previous academic endeavours. They also came from a country where a very high value is placed on formal education and tertiary qualifications, where access to such studies is highly competitive and where course work is very demanding. The opportunity to undertake further study, albeit “forced” upon them by unemployment, was, therefore, embraced willingly and wholeheartedly despite the cost of the exercise. In an environment which one could not change as a new arrival, the progress necessary for successful settlement based on employment was seen to depend on one’s own efforts:

*When I come here and I really want to find a job and not go to school to study ...but later I find it is not easy because I need ... to know more about the land and I need to get some qualification ..in New Zealand and I decided to study. I hope I can finish my course as soon as possible to get a job.* (PRC4 Rd1)

*... during this year I saw many of my friends got a job and also study very well and ...I also believe I can get a job here too ....* (PRC4 Rd3)

The sequencing of return to study varied but several patterns emerged (Table 8.3). Those with very good English, including those with degrees in the language, did not consider undertaking further ESOL studies. Rather, they enrolled directly in courses or programmes to extend their expertise in a specific area or tried to find employment, failing which they returned to study (again in an area other than ESOL). For the remainder several strategies were adopted, either consecutively or concurrently. These involved one or a combination of: ESOL study, search for employment, period of

Table 8.3 PAs' post-migration employment status and patterns of study, 1998-2000

<i>PRC No.</i>	<i>Round 1 (1998)</i>	<i>Round 2 (1999)</i>	<i>Round 3 (2000)</i>
1	Student	Employed f/t *	Employed f/t *
2	Unemployed #	Returned to China	-
3	Student #	Unemployed #	Unemployed #
4	Student	Student, employed p/t	Student, employed p/t
5	Student	Unemployed #	Student
6	Unemployed	Unemployed #	Employed f/t *
7	Unemployed #	Unemployed #	Student
8	Unemployed #	Employed f/t	Student
9	Employed f/t *	Employed f/t * #	Returned to China
10	Unemployed #	Student, employed p/t	Student, employed p/t #
11	Employed f/t *	Employed f/t *	Employed f/t*, student
12	Student	Unemployed #	Student
13	Student	Student #	Student, employed p/t * #
14	Student	Student, employed p/t * #	Employed p/t *, student #
15	Student #	Employed f/t	Employed p/t #
16	Student #	Unemployed #	Unemployed #
17	Student #	Employed p/t * #	Employed f/t *
18	Student #	Employed f/t *	Employed f/t *
19	Employed p/t #	Unemployed #	Unemployed
20	Unemployed #	Unemployed #	Student
21	Student	Student #	Student
22	Student #	Self-employed f/t*	Self-employed f/t*
23	Student, employed p/t	Student, employed p/t*	Employed f/t*, student
24	Employed f/t *	Self-employed p/t* #	Self-employed f/t*
25	Unemployed #	Returned to China	-
26	Home duties, student	Student	Student
27	Home duties	Home duties, p/t student #	Lost from panel
28	Student	Lost from panel	-
29	Student	Student, employed p/t	Student, self-employed p/t #
30	Employed p/t	Student, employed p/t *	Student, employed p/t #
31	Home duties #	Employed p/t #	Student, employed p/t
32	Student	Student, employed p/t #	Student
33	Student #	Unemployed #	Returned to China
34	Employed f/t	Employed f/t	Student
35	Not employed	"Astronaut"	"Astronaut"
36	Student #	Student	Employed f/t

Key: \* Using pre-migration qualifications/skills      p/t part-time  
# Looking for work      f/t full-time

unemployment, part-time or full-time study in one's own or another subject area, part-time or full-time work, and return to China. Elements were sometimes repeated. For example: a second ESOL course was undertaken when the first did not lead to work; a second qualification was gained after the first did not provide the expected entrée to work or was felt to be too basic; study led to work, work led to further study. The emphasis in combinations of study and part-time work was fluid, changing to suit the current situation. The ultimate goal was generally "a job", or a good or better job.

ESOL was usually regarded as a bridge or an adjunct to other study, a means to gain or hone skills to move on (with evaluations of the courses taken based on whether the desired outcome was achieved or not). Of the sixteen PAs (44.4 per cent) who enrolled in an ESOL course soon after their arrival in New Zealand, ten (27.8 per cent of the panel) were studying at Round 1, some concurrently enrolled in other studies (Table 8.4).

Table 8.4 PAs studying in ESOL and other courses at time of interviews, 1998-2000

<i>Study area</i>	<i>Round 1 (1998)</i>		<i>Round 2 (1999)</i>		<i>Round 3 (2000)</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
ESOL only	8	22.2	-	-	-	-
ESOL plus other subject(s)	2	5.6	1	3.0	-	-
Other subject(s) only	11	30.6	15	45.5	20	66.6
Total in studies at interview time	21	58.4	16	48.5	20	66.6
Total in panel	36	100.0	33	100.0	30	100.0

Just over one third of the panel had already returned to further study in a subject area other than ESOL by the time of the first interview. Most were studying in a university or polytechnic, having met the entry requirements and feeling that their English language proficiency was adequate to meet the demands of such studies. Others were intending to follow suit. That the English language levels of those enrolled at the University of Auckland and other tertiary institutions met the language requirements imposed on foreign-educated students, and that they were successful in their studies, endorsed this confidence in and positive self-assessment of their English language

ability. The only PA who was engaged in ESOL study at the time of the second interview was enrolled in an English for Academic Purposes (EAP) course, studying other subjects for interest and to extend his English language proficiency, and already in full-time employment commensurate with his qualifications.

While a small number of those who returned to further study chose to undertake vocationally-oriented short courses (for example, real estate or office computing), subjects were usually studied at a postgraduate diploma or Master's level. Some enrolled in areas closely related to their previous field of study and/or work (business, accounting, finance and computing, teaching, the applied sciences or engineering) but with a focus on the New Zealand context, registration and occupational options. Others, however, changed tack,<sup>14</sup> turning to business/management or computer/information systems studies. These new, different qualifications would, it was hoped, show greater returns on a relatively short course of study in terms of employment (including possible self-employment) either in a profession akin to, if not the same as, their previous occupation or in a quite different area such as real estate.

By the time of the third interview, fourteen participants had completed at least one course of study other than ESOL, sometimes two, and four were embarked on a further course. Those enrolled in computing-related postgraduate diplomas often moved on at the end of the one-year course to complete a Master's degree in the same area. In one instance, the completion of a Master's in Business Administration (MBA) course was, in retrospect, seen as the wrong choice of course to gain entry to the workforce if the PA and his family were to remain in New Zealand (rather than take up one of several job offers from China). A one year postgraduate diploma in computing was subsequently completed. In another case, a participant suspended study in a polytechnic management course to complete a fast-track MBA programme. The intention was to return to the former course in 2001.

Most participants had access to the workforce as their primary motivational driver, but several grasped the opportunity to undertake further longer-term study in their existing academic areas in order to gain higher-level qualifications. Migration to a western

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<sup>14</sup> This involved five or 38.5 per cent of those studying in an area other than ESOL at Round 1, four or 25 per cent at Round 2, and eight or 40 per cent at Round 3.

country gave them the opportunity to pursue their academic interests and possible careers at a higher level. Accordingly, some panel members who had initially returned to university only to obtain credentials to provide access to work in New Zealand, intended to or had already enrolled in other or higher degree courses (including a Doctor of Philosophy course following on from a Master's course completed in New Zealand).

The decision not to study further in a subject area was the exception rather than the rule. However, one PA chose to keep searching for a job in his field after reading through the relevant engineering textbooks. Because these texts covered material he was already familiar with, he found them "very easy" and concluded "*I don't want to study*" (PRC16 Rd1). While still unemployed he had undertaken his second ESOL course, an abridged WINZ ESOL for Professionals course that was of only moderate use as it did not provide the workplace placement experience which he felt would have been its most valuable aspect. While the main recommendation to come out of the 1998 evaluation of such ESOL programmes was that "the course length [of 18 weeks] and the work experience component [of four to eight weeks] should be extended" (Market Research and Evaluation Team, 1998: 1), the course taken by this participant had been considerably shorter, running for only eight weeks. The "reason" offered to the participant and other students for the brevity of the course was that it was being provided in West Auckland, rather than in Auckland Central, where it would have run for 18 weeks. At the time of the third interview, he had been engaged in only sporadic casual work and remained unemployed, looking for work.

### **Networks, institutional support and access to the workforce**

As found in overseas studies of recent Asian immigrants, personal contacts and networks are an important source not only of support but also of information about and access to employment (see, for example, Lever-Tracy et al., 1999). The most valuable assistance gained by panel members for accessing the job market seemed to come from friends, both those of the same ethnic group and others with whom the participants had studied ESOL or worked. Friends offered general support and information, introductions to potential employers, the opportunity to work with them in factories or other casual jobs, or employment in their own businesses.

Institutional structures were less helpful in this regard. While many had initially approached NZES/WINZ for assistance, this agency seems to have been unable to cope with the needs of such skilled job-seekers. An effort by a fluently bilingual teacher to gain entry to a Training Opportunities Programme (TOP) to train teacher aides was unsuccessful because of the claim that she was “over-qualified” of the applicant. A spouse was later able to access a course for library trainees and, via the course, to obtain employment which she was finding interesting, linguistically challenging and useful, a source of self-esteem, and financially rewarding. Job search strategies promoted by the agency were, also, inappropriately targeted to serve job-seeking professionals. Posting a Curriculum Vitae on the NZES/WINZ notice board was felt to be a waste of time, as the sort of employers that skilled immigrants wanted to work for were hardly likely to look at the board. Other advice received included: look at the vacancies notice board, read the newspapers, go to a company for yourself. Having an Employment Service staff member assist an electronics engineer (who specialised in computer work) to search for jobs on the web was similarly seen as a waste of time, and a put-down.

In contrast to NZES/WINZ responses, contacts made through ESOL and other tertiary studies proved more appropriate and effective methods of finding employment – whether full-time positions after the completion of study or part-time work as an adjunct to on-going study. Several participants obtained work within university departments as tutors, technicians or research assistants. A number found holiday work through the Student Job Search programme, including office work (for students of business and accounting) and an interpreter’s position in the District Court (for one who had initially come to New Zealand in 1997 as a fee-paying ESOL student with little spoken English). While for some this employment was for a finite period, for others it continued in a part-time capacity when studies recommenced. In either case, it provided not only valuable New Zealand work experience (often subject-related), potential contacts, referees and references, but also contributed to individual confidence and the funds required to continue studying. Fellow students, too, often but not exclusively from within the Chinese community, provided enlarged networks through which opportunities for employment became available.

## Voluntary unpaid work

Voluntary work was identified as another way of obtaining the New Zealand work experience that was so necessary to get a job: “*We are willing to do some voluntary job to get the NZ experience*”(PRC 5 Rd1). As can be seen from Table 8.5, however, the gaining of New Zealand work experience was not, even initially, the most frequently cited reason for being involved in or considering voluntary unpaid work. The desire to contribute to a particular group or the wider society was the single most important reason in the first interview and remained relatively strong in 2000 compared with the more pragmatic and self-oriented goals of gaining New Zealand work experience, learning about the society and practising one’s English. A desire to meet people was also cited over the three rounds of interviews, and enjoyment featured in the last round, reflecting a degree of settlement and desire to participate in activities for personal pleasure.

Table 8.5 Engagement of PAs in voluntary work in New Zealand, 1998-2000

<i>Reasons for participating</i>	<i>Round 1 (1998)</i> (N=36)		<i>Round 2 (1999)</i> (N=32)*		<i>Round 3 (2000)</i> (N=29)*	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
(a) Been involved in voluntary work	4	11.1	10	31.3	6	20.7
(b) Considered doing voluntary work	22	61.1	13	40.6	11	37.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>72.2</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>71.9</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>58.6</b>
<b>Main reasons given for (a) and (b) above:</b>						
- to gain NZ experience for work	8	22.2	7	21.9	3	10.3
- to contribute to group/society	10	27.8	7	21.9	6	20.7
- to learn about NZ society	7	19.4	5	15.6	1	3.4
- to meet people	5	13.9	6	18.8	5	17.2
- to learn/practise one’s English	4	11.1	3	9.4	-	-
- to keep busy	-	-	3	9.4	-	-
- for enjoyment	-	-	-	-	2	6.9

\* “Astronaut” not included.

## Return or onward migration

The option of returning to or remaining in China was seen by some PAs (and spouses)

as preferable to being unemployed, with or without the option of access to government welfare assistance, in New Zealand. A family member staying in a job in China provided a financial safety net for the partner unable to find work in New Zealand, and meant that at least one adult was able to continue working in his or her chosen field. Such cases included spouses who were: doctors excluded from the workforce by statutory registration requirements; engineers whose partners had themselves returned to study, unable to find work in New Zealand with their Chinese engineering qualifications and experience; and others left behind while the PA sought employment and an income so as to be able to provide a base for the rest of the family's deferred settlement.

The "astronauting" option has already been identified by other researchers among recent Asian arrivals unable to secure work in their new country (Beal and Sos, 1999; Boyer, 1995; Ho et al., 1997b; Lidgard, 1996; Lidgard et al., 1998c; Skeldon, 1994). It was an option taken up by one PA from the panel, plus several spouses during the period 1998-2000. An architect (*PRC35*) was unable to find work or to establish contact with New Zealand members of his profession – despite professional recognition of his qualifications, a history of joint venture work and the potential of lucrative contracts in China for a New Zealand partner. He was, therefore, commuting ("astronauting") rather than selling his practice in China (as intended) only to become unemployed in New Zealand.

Four other PAs returned to China during the study. While no exit questionnaire was administered to elicit information about the reason(s) for their return, their lack of employment is assumed to be a major factor. For example, an international trade graduate (*PRC2*), who had tried to establish his own business, was frustrated by the slowness permeating any responses to his attempts to establish a business venture and left before the second round of interviews. Similarly, a research engineer's short-term position was coming to an end at the time of the second interview and he was job hunting, without success (*PRC9*). He left before the third interview. Neither of the other two returnees (*PRC25*, *PRC33*) had a job when last interviewed, both were sharing accommodation with others, and each had a spouse still working in China.



### The small business option

An alternative to seeking employment from others, with or without first undertaking further academic studies, was self-employment, an option investigated by Ho and Lidgard (1997) and Liu (2000). While avoiding recruitment problems, this is not an easy option, especially in a society without a large, well established and supportive ethnic enclave.

Apart from the medical practitioner who set up his own medical practice, three PAs (PRC2, PRC22 and PRC35) hoped to establish their own businesses. All three had worked in business ventures in China, had had substantial contact with people from other cultures, and had previously used a considerable amount of English. *PRC2* was frustrated by the bureaucracy and returned to China before the second interview. *PRC35* was unable to establish professional links in New Zealand and opted to continue in his business in China, as an “astronaut”. Only the third, *PRC22*, successfully drew on his proficiency in the English language, practical experience of Western culture, previous business experience in an international trading joint venture in China, and a short post-arrival small business management course, to set up his own retail business within the first year of settlement.

#### *A case study*

In the latter case (*PRC22*), early self-employment was the preferred alternative when the PA found that “*the whole economic situation in New Zealand [was] making the employment more difficult*” (*PRC 22 Rd1*). He noted, for example, that there had recently been lay-offs in a major New Zealand company. Further long-term study was rejected on the grounds that to “*always take a licence to show to find a job, it’s ah it’s a waste of time*”. So, he attended a short course focussing on small enterprise establishment and set about creating his own family-based retail business. Compared with his expectations, however, he found it “*much harder than what I thought when I came here*” (*PRC22*). While happy to be self-employed he found it very difficult to make money in the venture and worked very long hours for small returns:

*I have to spend 70 hours a week. Long, very long time. I don’t have enough time to spend with my child, and I can’t relax myself sometimes,*

*and I have to recharge myself, to relax yeah, and ... I don't earn very much money. (PRC22 Rd2)*

Dealing with customers and suppliers had not been a problem but he noted that the small population base and high costs were problems for an immigrant settling up a business, and felt that, ultimately, he was working “*for interest, for the landlord, yeah for the owner of the shop, yeah, to pay the rent, and I work for the government – I pay the tax. A lot of money*”. Overall, he felt that this venture had been harder than both his work in China, where he had regularly worked six days a week, and being unemployed for half a year in New Zealand. In fact, setting up and running the business had been “*the hardest time since I've had work, for the last ten years. My hardest time, yeah*”.

Despite hardship or perhaps because of it, he was positive about the future:

*I like my job though it is the wrong time. I hope I can use this this ah this experience for my next venture even if it is different ... I don't think I will be unemployed any more. ... I'm very positive. Any job I can do in New Zealand. ...Yeah, I can handle it.*

By the time of the third interview, both his pre- and post-migration experiences had been capitalised on to establish his next venture, a business initially targeting mainly the Chinese market (hence utilising his Chinese as well as his English language skills). This was a business with less onerous hours and financial demands, one he could expand in the future while leaving himself time for his family and further study. It was “*a really good job*” (PRC22 Rd3).

## **CHANGES IN THE EMPLOYMENT SITUATION OF PANEL MEMBERS**

The main strategy adopted by panel members to breach the barriers excluding them from the workforce was one of further study. Initially, a frequent option was to study in an ESOL course, but the emphasis shifted away from studying English per se after the first year to using it in the gaining of qualifications in other subjects to strengthen one's position in the New Zealand labour market. The government's decision to withdraw immigrants' entitlement to the student allowance and other benefits within the first two years of permanent residency at the end of 1998 had financially affected all those in the sample already studying, or contemplating study. Faced with serious decisions about

whether or not to continue in study, most had decided to continue despite the financial ramifications of such a decision. The numbers studying had, in fact, increased over time with 20 PAs studying full- or part-time by the time of the third interview (all in areas other than English) compared with 19 at Round 1 (13 in areas other than English). One of those who returned to study explained that her family would lose the emergency benefit if she found work. Despite this, she was still looking for a part-time position.

The employment situation had also changed. One PA had entered the real estate business on a commission basis. After completing a short small business course, another (the case study above) had established his own family business. Two PAs with experience and further study in the computer field – through a tertiary institution and through self-study for a Microsoft Computing qualification – had gained full-time positions in computing, one in an international business, the other in a large institution where a friend had worked. Others, while still studying, accessed part-time work through their studies, as researchers or tutors, or in other study-related work through student job search or friends. Very “temporary” employment, taken up to help tide people over while they studied or sought other work, had, for some, become more long-term. One PA, who had cold canvassed for a petrol station forecourt attendant’s position, had stayed in this job through his studies. Another was still earning a little to support on-going studies by delivering free papers, as well as taking on some translation work, saying that it provided a combination of “exercise and sightseeing”. An engineer’s depressing period of long-term unemployment, punctuated only by a little part-time cleaning and a short stint on a physically onerous community work scheme, had finally been broken by a return to full-time study.

Those who had not undertaken any further, academically-oriented study had had mixed fortunes. The architect continued to “astronaut” with his family still in New Zealand. Two engineers were working part-time in factories, one on a general production line, the other with new computerised machines. An ESOL course had not been the key to employment for a mechanical engineer with computer-aided design (CAD) experience. Being more work-focused than regular ESOL courses, the English for Professionals course had the potential to offer a valuable bridge into the workforce through the provision of New Zealand work experience and network links. Unfortunately, offered in its very truncated form, it did not achieve this potential and the engineer remained

unemployed, albeit still hopeful, at the time of his third interview. Another engineer, who had good English from living and working in another English speaking country for two years pre-migration, had finally given up looking for paid work, “*full-time, part-time, anything!*” (PRC19), and was moving into self-employment. When asked what his main problems were in finding work, he replied, “*I don’t think it is English*”. Rather, he felt it was that he was a newcomer, without friends, relatives or contacts through whom he could find a position.

### **Use of qualifications and experience, and job satisfaction**

Despite the increased proportion in employment over the three rounds of interviews, the professional skills of panel members were generally being under-utilised or not used at all. Moreover, job satisfaction for many of those who did have work remained low; it was just a job, a means by which they could be active and support themselves and, where married, others in their families. Information conveyed by Chinese friends about their experiences were being replicated among the members of the panel:

*People tell me, y’ know, if they could get a job and get something that’s relevant they would be relatively happy but everything hinges around this getting a job, and some of them are considering going into quite different jobs, even though they’re ...all skilled migrants and they won’t be happy, but they need money. (PRC23 Rd1)*

The number of participants employed in the same or a similar sort of job as that held pre-migration was to rise over the three years (Table 8.6). Of the seven PAs working at the time of the first interview, four were in the same sort of position as the last one that they had held pre-migration, and were using their qualifications in their work. The number in the same or similar positions increased to six at the time of the second interview and to seven at the time of the third interview. This upward trend was not as marked, however, as that for those in different sorts of jobs: three at the time of the first interview, trebling to 12 at the time of the second interview, and dropping to ten (as a result of returns to full-time study without part-time work) at the time of the third interview. Those working part-time in areas different from their previous experiences were more likely to be looking for other jobs.

A number of those who had initially opted for further short-term training in their own, a related or an alternative field had found full-time work in their original professions

(teaching, computing and nursing). Others had found varying amounts of work in a vaguely related, less skilled area; for example, computerised machinery operation in a factory drawing on a CAD-production mechanical engineering background or casual part-time automotive repair work drawing on an electronic engineering background. Most of the others had been or were still employed in unskilled positions as cleaners, contract factory hands, garment pressers, café/restaurant workers, or petrol station forecourt attendants. For most PAs these unskilled manual positions were adjuncts to and sources of income for further study rather than “regular” jobs. However, they underline the fact that even after two-three years in New Zealand skilled immigrants were unable to utilise their overseas-gained qualifications and experience (Table 8.7).

Table 8.6 Similarity of jobs pre-migration and post-migration for employed PAs, 1998-2000

<i>Employment status</i>	<i>Round 1 (1998)</i>		<i>Round 2 (1999)</i>		<i>Round 3 (2000)</i>	
	<i>Same</i>	<i>Different</i>	<i>Same</i>	<i>Different</i>	<i>Same</i>	<i>Different</i>
Employed full-time	3	1	3	5	5	3
Employed part-time - not looking for work	1	1	1	3	1	2
- looking for work	0	1	2	4	1	5
Total	4	3	6	12	7	10

Table 8.7 Examples of occupations engaged in by employed PAs pre-migration and post-migration

<i>Pre-migration occupation</i>	<i>Post-migration occupation</i>
Computer programmer/engineer	Computer programmer
Electronics engineer	Part-time mechanic
Electrical engineer	Assistant to Teacher's Aide
Civil engineer	Cleaner
Metallurgical engineer	Factory worker
Chemical engineer	Shop assistant
Mechanical engineer	Sales engineer
Science researcher	Research assistant
Economist	Office person
Exporter	Importer
University lecturer	Café worker
Teacher	Teacher
Doctor	Accupuncturist
Nurse	Nurse
Business person	Gardener

### *Job satisfaction*

The desire to work in their own professional area was uppermost in the minds of most participants on arrival in New Zealand. Those who were working in a position related to their area of expertise at the time of the first interview reflected a positive attitude towards their job. For example, a researcher, who had been an on-shore applicant already in employment, “loved” his job. Similar to that which he had left, it involved using his qualifications to conduct research. The work environment was very good and he was accepted as an experienced professional and peer by his colleagues. While the English required for his work presented some challenges, he had access to professional support and felt that his English had improved, though he was not fluent.

That people were able to find employment in an area related to their pre-migration experiences and/or position did not automatically mean, however, that they would like their work. Expectations were not necessarily matched by the reality of work in a new cultural environment as illustrated in the following example:

*Mm, first, this is ... actually is not the job I expected, y' know. ... Maybe my expectation is a little higher before I come move here and ah then after I arrive here and I get my feet on the ground and, you know, because – check out with all the people around here – find it very difficult to find a job here so ... very difficult to find a job, especially a good job, so ... Ah, what can I say? It's just OK, yeah ... It's a new area and it's a new environment for me ... It's a start. It's OK. (PRC 11 Rd1)*

Almost inevitably those who did find work were required to enter the workforce at a lower level than that which they had left, so the new position did not offer the rewards or challenges hoped for.

### **CONCLUSION**

Despite the increased numbers in employment over the three rounds of interviews, the immigrants in the panel were generally under-utilising their professional skills or not using them at all. However, having work of any kind was generally seen as positive in that it provided: an income and degree of financial independence; freedom from dependence on government handouts; knowledge of and experience in the New

Zealand job market; interaction with members of the host community; a chance to use and improve their English; and satisfaction of the work ethic.

All of the participants had felt that they would experience some problems settling in New Zealand and finding a job, but they were ready to face the challenge. Some were having success after two or more years in New Zealand. One, who said that immigrants needed to have a good command of English, and that they needed to be able to “*stand on their own two feet and have lots of courage*” because “*it was really hard*” (PRC31 Rd1), was still working in a café but had just got a part-time teaching position. Another, who said that she had expected and found that hard work was required to succeed in New Zealand, had studied in an ESOL course, was studying at university and, after a number of other part-time jobs, was working in a position which she really liked, one that was using her skills. Others, though, were still frustrated and “*disappointed*”, left with the feeling that migrating to New Zealand was a mistake, a “*waste of [their] resources*”.

What were the factors that made it easier for some to find employment than others? One recurring factor is contacts. These included friends, both those of the same ethnic group (old and new) and others, and organisational networks and provisions, including student job search programmes. Some worked for or with friends. Others heard about their jobs, and sometimes were introduced to future employers, through friends. Immigrants from the same ethnic background were unlikely to discriminate; New Zealander employers were more willing to employ those who were known or came with a personal recommendation to back their overseas qualifications and experiences. Through personal contact discrimination against “foreignness” or “otherness” was overcome or avoided.

This leads to a second recurring factor affecting panel members’ access to employment: attitudes towards difference. Negative attitudes acted as a barrier to the utilisation of overseas-gained skills and qualifications. For many employers the unknown was seen as a risk; differences were seen as deficit. While multinational organisations and some professions (for example, computing) are long experienced in employing people from a variety of cultural backgrounds, even they were found to prefer recognized western qualifications. Not surprisingly then, local employers were more likely to discriminate

against the qualifications, work experiences, and accents of those from non-traditional source countries, as other New Zealand research on the employment of immigrants has also found (Basnayake, 1999; EEO Trust, 2001; North and Higgins, 1999; Watts and Trlin, 2000). New Zealand experience, New Zealand qualifications, and a New Zealand accent were required by many employers. The reduction in difference that accompanied retraining and acculturation, including the acquisition of New Zealand English (if not the use of a New Zealand accent), which came, for most of those who stayed, with length of residence, also facilitated study and employment. But this required considerable time, and in the interim immigrant skills were squandered, along with the advantages that could accrue to the New Zealand economy and society from cultural diversity (Bertone et al., 1998; Cope and Kalantzis, 1997; Watts and Trlin, 1999).



## Chapter 9 Social Participation, Settlement Factors and Integration

In October 1995 the admission of targeted immigrants into New Zealand was adjusted to achieve not only a goal of economic growth but one of “economic growth with social cohesion” (NZIS, 1995b: 3). To attain such a goal with the greatest benefits and the least likelihood of negative social disruption to the host society, the integration of new settlers needs to be accomplished as quickly as possible. This is particularly true when it can no longer be assumed that migrants will be lifetime or even long-term residents. Lack of a desired level of social participation may lead to return or onward migration, very real prospects for young skilled immigrants in a globalised, transnational environment (Cohen, 1997a; Fletcher, 1999; Ip, 1997; Ip et al., 1998; Skeldon, 1994). The importance of early participation in the social life of the society is especially important if a person is “to feel comfortable in their new social environment” and to meet “the [equally time-consuming] challenge of establishing new social networks and a circle of friends” (Kunz, 1999: no page).

In this chapter, issues related to social participation are investigated to gauge the extent to which those in the panel have been integrated into the wider society. Set against a background of pre-migration practices and aspirations, two particular areas of social participation in New Zealand are examined. The first of these is membership of clubs and other social organisations. This involves participation in structured or semi-structured organisations which involve a shared purpose or goal (Edwards and Booth, 1973), including “voluntary associations” which occur across the boundaries of the three domains identified in Bauböck’s (1996b) model of civic participation – private, economic and political. Membership of such organisations is not, however, the sum total of social participation. People may go through life without belonging to any of the formal, “goal-oriented” organisations that fall within the parameters of voluntary organisations and yet successfully participate in the social life of the wider society.

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Hence, contact with family members, friends and work colleagues, within and beyond one's own ethnic group, is also examined.

The second area of focus in the chapter involves settlement factors, especially those related to language and employment, that influence social participation as well as the ways in which the settlement process itself is influenced by social participation. In particular, attention is given to both: (a) the relationship between social participation patterns and fluency in the English language; and (b) the importance of employment in the development of social contact with those who are not from the same cultural background. Factors which could increase the social participation of panel members and thereby their more rapid and successful settlement and integration are also addressed.

While this study focuses on the experiences of Principal Applicants (PAs), it is acknowledged that successful settlement involves the whole family unit. Hence, there is some consideration in the analysis which follows of the social participation of the PAs' spouses and other family members.

## **PRE-MIGRATION SOCIAL PARTICIPATION**

Data on the pre-migration social participation of panel members support the contention that "[a]ctivity is at the core of participation" (Breton, 1997: 2) and that formal membership of clubs or other social organisations is secondary. Despite the general lack of formal affiliation to registered associations, clubs or other organisations, social participation was not a matter of concern to participants pre-migration. "Informal" participation, through ad hoc social activities with family, friends, other colleagues, and, where applicable, business contacts, plus participation in non-institutional group activities, was usually varied and frequent. Even where a participant reported that he or she was "*too busy*" to get involved in social activities, there was considerable interaction with others.

## Family, friends and work associates

At the time of the first round of interviews in 1998, most participants in the panel (N=36) reported regular pre-migration social contact with family members who lived outside of the immediate family home, with friends and with work colleagues (Table 9.1). Two participants reported that they were too busy with work to visit friends on a regular basis. All remaining PAs (34, or 94.4 per cent) reported that before migration they had both visited the homes of friends and received visits from friends. Slightly fewer (but at least 83.3 per cent in each instance) had also visited and received visits from other family members and work associates. Contact with relatives was more likely to be at home than outside of the home but other contacts were evenly spread. Those who reported less frequent personal contact with other family members were, prior to migration to New Zealand, living away from their hometown or city, often in one of the more modern urban centres like Shanghai, Guangzhou or Shenzhen.

Table 9.1 Pre-migration contact of PAs with family members, friends and work colleagues, as reported at Round 1, 1998 (percentages; N=36)

<i>Type of contact</i>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Friends</i>	<i>Colleagues</i>
Visited homes of ... on a regular basis	83.3	94.4	83.3
Received visits from ... on a regular basis	83.3	94.4	86.1
Met socially outside the home with ... on a regular basis	69.4	94.4	83.3

## Contact with people from other cultures

As a result of their urban lifestyles and professional or business work environments, nearly 70 per cent of PAs had at least “some” contact with people from other cultures before migrating to New Zealand. More specifically, 22.2 per cent had had “a lot” of contact, while 47.2 per cent reported “some” contact. A further 22.2 per cent stated that they had had a “little” contact. Only three PAs (8.3 per cent) said that they had had no pre-migration contact with people from other cultures. Most, therefore, already had some personal experience of cross-cultural communication. Often this involved working in foreign-owned enterprises, joint ventures or business contracts with western consortia. For nearly half of the PAs (47.2 per cent) it meant communicating in English

on a daily basis or most days, and sometimes also acting in an interpreting capacity for others (as noted in Chapter 7). Two PAs were from Hong Kong, with its strong British links and English-speaking environment; two had already lived and worked or studied in another English-speaking country for an extended period of time before migrating to New Zealand; and three were on-shore applicants.

The closeness of relationships with non-Chinese colleagues and other contacts varied. For some, they were the occasional foreign experts and visitors with whom one had formal dealings or for whom one interpreted when they visited the participant's place of work. For others, they were closer work associates or friends. For example, one PA with his own business had been involved in contracts with an Australasian firm and retained contact with members of the firm on visits to Australia and back in China. In another case, an English lecturer had been involved in the collaborative writing of a course book in English with an expatriate British lecturer. Other English teachers and lecturers as well PAs employed in joint- or foreign-owned ventures had frequently worked alongside foreign experts or staff members on a daily basis and regularly communicated in English. A good example was provided by a participant with an English language and culture degree who worked in a joint venture alongside non-Chinese staff:

*Most of my friends and my colleagues are, ah, from everywhere, a lot of parts of China or some other countries ... Yeah, it's very normal for me to have different friends from different parts of the world. ... When we work together or study together for a long time we can know each other very well and we can communicate very well as well. (PRC21 Rd1)*

It was such pre-migration social contact that frequently motivated the participants to migrate to an English-speaking country.

### **Membership of clubs and other social organisations**

Clubs and other formal social organisations did not form the basis of social participation for most participants pre-migration. Less than half of all PAs (15, or 41.7 per cent) belonged to clubs or other formal social organisations in China and, of these PAs, most belonged to only one organisation, two belonged to two and one belonged to three. The types of clubs and other social organisations varied, but they consisted mainly of sports clubs and/or professional organisations. Religious groups and service

clubs were also mentioned. Membership usually involved more than token participation. Five, or one-third of those belonging to clubs or other organisations, reported that they were very active and/or office holders, with a further six reporting that they were active participants. The principal reasons given for belonging had to do with professional interests and occupational status, recreational activities, meeting other people and contributing to society in some way.

Formal membership and/or participation in clubs or social organisations was much less common among spouses and the children of PAs. Only eight (30.8 per cent) of the 26 spouses who were in New Zealand at the time of the first interview reported membership and/or participation prior to migration. Spouses' affiliations were somewhat more varied than those of PAs, including sports, hobbies and religious affiliations, with the first more likely to be associated with male spouses and the latter with female spouses. As few of the children in the research were of school age, their membership of organised groups was, as expected, low (three out of 22, or 13.6 per cent).

### **Informal social activities**

Lack of membership of organised clubs did not necessarily mean that the panel members were not involved in sports and other recreational activities, since involvement in such social pastimes tends, in China, to be on a less organised and more personal basis. Both group and individual activities occur in workplace, college and school grounds, in public parks, on sidewalks, wherever there are spaces, facilities and those who wish to participate.

Moreover, most social relationships in China are not clearly differentiated into separate domains. Friends and relatives may be work colleagues; work colleagues are often neighbours and friends; business relationships are built on long-term associations which merge into friendships (Goh, 1996); and political activities parallel professional activities in many work units. The work unit (*danwei*) is intrinsic to social participation. It offers access to all three spheres of civil society identified by Bauböck (1996b) – political, economic and private – and provides for group activities more often

associated with formal clubs and other social organisations in western societies. This reflects a cultural difference in the pattern of social participation. In China, professionals and others often live in apartments provided by the work unit, and work colleagues are both neighbours and friends. In a western society, social networks, especially those in larger urban centres, tend to be less dense and the formal membership of organisations more prevalent.<sup>1</sup>

So, while formal membership of clubs and other social organisations pre-migration was low for panel members, regular social contact with family members, friends and work colleagues (the last two often one and the same) was a common feature. Lack of formal membership did not signal a lack of participation in social activities. Rather, all adults were, either directly or indirectly (through a spouse), associated with a work unit (*danwei*) or business and most lived in densely populated accommodation (often provided by the work unit). Thus, they could participate in the wide variety of formal and informal social activities that membership of such units or businesses provided or engendered.

### **Participation intentions**

Since they tended to rely on personal relationships with family members, friends, neighbours and work contacts for social participation, it could be assumed that in New Zealand PAs' social participation would, at least initially, be based around a network of relatives, friends and work colleagues rather than club or other formal association membership. However, as they were drawn from a different section of Chinese society and from different regions than the "traditional" Cantonese-speaking community already established in New Zealand, few in the panel had the local support of a network of relatives. Nevertheless, as will be seen below, most did already have primary support networks in New Zealand in the form of "old" (that is, existing) friends, and hoped to either work in their chosen professions or use their English language skills to advantage in commercial activities which would bring them into social contact with members of the wider society.

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<sup>1</sup> Winter (1997: 5) observes that the "separation between work and leisure is something very North American (culturally induced)".

Club membership was seen as a desirable form of social participation in New Zealand. Nineteen PAs (52.8 per cent) reported in the first round of interviews that they intended to join clubs and a further four (11.1 per cent) were unsure. Many of the remaining 13 PAs (36.1 per cent) who did not intend to join were married women with home duties that would involve child care. Most of those who did contemplate joining a club planned to join a sports club. A consideration of the situation with regard to sports clubs and activities in China goes some way to explain the high frequency of this response. Whereas sports grounds and clubs are a common feature of New Zealand urban life, and membership tends to be readily available and relatively inexpensive, organised sports clubs are a relatively recent (and still rare) phenomenon in China. Land for dedicated sports grounds is scarce, and soccer pitches, basketball courts, and recreational halls with ping pong/table tennis tables et cetera, are most often found within the precincts of a work unit, be it a factory or educational institution. Such facilities are usually well-utilised, often on a very informal basis, by the workers or students in that unit. Membership of public facilities is generally reserved (as *PRCS* noted) for the very wealthy and/or the well-connected – a mark of one's socioeconomic status, and thus inaccessible to most professionals.<sup>2</sup>

It was generally believed that joining a club or other social organisation in New Zealand would not pose a problem, with 11 of the 19 PAs planning to join not anticipating any difficulties. Five others were unsure whether they would experience any problems joining. Levels of proficiency in English were associated with anticipated difficulties, however the pattern was not, as one might expect, an association of fewer difficulties with greater proficiency in the host language. Four out of six of those with the equivalent of IELTS 7 or higher who planned to join an organisation felt that they could experience problems. In contrast, eight out of ten PAs with an IELTS level of 6-6.5 or an equivalent felt that they would experience no difficulties. The three participants with only a modest level of English (IELTS 5-5.5 or an equivalent) who planned to join an organisation, were evenly spread across the three categories (that is, one did not anticipate any difficulties, one anticipated difficulties, and one was not

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<sup>2</sup> In the mid-1990s, membership of a golf club on the outskirts of Shanghai cost at least 3,000 yuan/renminbi per year and further expenses to actually participate. This effectively precluded most professional people, particularly those working for the state, for whom the base membership fee might amount to two or three months' salary.

sure). Overall, the level of English language proficiency did not seem to eliminate pre-migration concerns regarding access to organisations. Rather, a higher proficiency level was more likely to be associated with the anticipation of problems.

## **POST-MIGRATION SOCIAL PARTICIPATION**

Social participation patterns in the first three years of permanent residence in New Zealand reflected the background characteristics and settlement issues facing panel members. As shown above, pre-migration social participation was predominantly through personal and work networks rather than through clubs and other more formal social organisations. The question now was whether these networks or membership of clubs and other social organisations would be the most important sources of post-migration social contact with members of their own ethnic community and those of the host society.

### **Membership of clubs and other social organisations**

Club and/or other social organisation membership in New Zealand proved to be rather less extensive than was anticipated by the participants (Table 9.2). Only eight out of 36 PAs (22.2 per cent) had joined a club or other social organisation by the time of the first interview in 1998. By the time of the second round of interviews a year later, the number had risen to nine out of 33 (27.3 per cent), with five who identified themselves as “active” members (that is, regular participants) and four as “low level” participants. For spouses, only two out of 26 at the time of the first interview<sup>3</sup> and four out of 23 at the second interview reported belonging to or participating in any club or social organisation. The number of PAs belonging to clubs or other organisations remained static in the third round, but that for spouses doubled. Their increased reportage of professional memberships was of particular note as an indicator of use, or at least recognition, of their professional skills. Formal religious affiliations were also notable, as was one spouse’s membership of her factory’s social club. It appeared that this

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<sup>3</sup> At the time of the second interview, only one of these two spouses reported having belonged to or participated in a club/social organisation at the time of the first interview. This may have been a case of forgetting or a feeling, in retrospect, that she was not really a member/a “proper” participant at the time.



electronics factory employed many skilled Chinese immigrants, gaining them through word of mouth and the personal networks of existing workers.

Table 9.2 Number and types of clubs/social organisations belonged to/participated in by PAs and spouses, 1998-2000

<i>Type of club/social organization</i>	<i>Numbers belonging</i>					
	<i>Round 1 (1998)</i>		<i>Round 2 (1999)</i>		<i>Round 3 (2000)</i>	
	<i>PAs (N=36)</i>	<i>Spouses (N=26)</i>	<i>PAs (N=32)*</i>	<i>Spouses (N=25)</i>	<i>PAs (N=29)*</i>	<i>Spouses (N=23)</i>
Professional	2	-	3	1	3	3
Student Association	#	-	2	1	#	1
Sports/recreational	2	1	-	2	3	2
Hobbies	1	1	-	-	-	-
Religious	3	-	6	-	4	2
Social	-	-	-	-	-	1
Other	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total number of clubs/social organisations.	8	2	11	4	10	10
No. of people belonging to clubs/social organisation	8	2	9	4	9	8

\* Excludes "astronaut" in China.

# Indicates no data provided, although some who were students would have been required to meet compulsory student dues.

The type of clubs and organisations joined by PAs varied. Those reported at the time of the first interview included sports, professional and religious organisations, and at the time of the second interview, professional, religious and student organisations. The reporting by PAs of membership in students' associations in the second round of interviews but not in the first or the third, would seem to reflect a greater awareness of the various components of the student fee levied rather than any increased participation in student affairs. Several who had returned to tertiary studies commented in the second interview on the compulsory nature of the student association fee/membership. No PAs belonged to sports clubs at the time of the second interview, with lack of time and health issues featuring as reasons for no longer participating. However, one PA commented that he regularly played tennis with a Chinese friend who was a member of a nearby club. Membership of sports and other recreational organisations picked up again for PAs by the time of the third round of interviews. Mostly this involved playing

for soccer teams made up of Chinese immigrants in a local social-grade competition. Several male spouses also played soccer.

### ***Reasons for not joining clubs or other social organisations***

Despite the increase in membership with length of residence, less than half of the 19 PAs who had indicated their pre-migration intention to join a club or other social organisation had done so by the third round of interviews. Nor did the increased involvement of spouses in social organisations by this time match pre-migration intentions to join. Why was the uptake of club and/or other social organisation membership low?

Reasons given for not joining clubs or other social organisations offer some clues to the low participation rate (Table 9.3). Recentness of arrival with other demands on their time was the most important reason for both PAs and spouses at the first interview. This gave way to other responsibilities, no time and other priorities with increased length of residence. The prioritising of employment and/or further study targeted at achieving employment, gained increased prominence in the second interview. By that time most participants had found that they could not obtain suitable employment and needed New Zealand qualifications to access the workforce. Not having a job was a barrier to joining clubs or other social organisations: *“Now I didn’t get a job, so.. so I didn’t make [a] decision to join” (PRC19 Rd2)*. Securing an appropriate job took priority. It would provide not only the financial backing but also the social standing and position within the wider society from which to move into other, leisure activities.

Communication issues also featured as barriers to social participation. Looking for information and lack of contacts were frequently cited barriers initially, but diminished in importance with length of residence. English language proficiency followed a similar downward trend as a barrier for PAs, but not for spouses. The trend upward in the reporting of English language as a barrier to membership among spouses reflected their lower on-arrival level of proficiency, and a potential lack, or loss, of confidence in their English language ability as a result of limited use or negative experiences within the wider community. It may also have reflected an increased awareness of and proximity to the opportunities and thus greater possible limitations. For example, a spouse with

limited English who had failed to meet the IELTS 5 requirement post-arrival and was engaged in a labouring position, had not realised his desire to join a Bridge club, although he still hoped to join one day when he was more settled and in different (and more appropriate) work.

Table 9.3 Reasons offered by PAs and spouses for not joining clubs/social organisations, 1998-1999\*

<i>Reasons for not joining</i>	<i>Round 1 (1998)</i>		<i>Round 2 (1999)</i>	
	<i>PAs (N=28)</i>	<i>Spouses (N=24)</i>	<i>PAs (N=24)</i>	<i>Spouses (N=19)</i>
Other responsibilities, no time	17	10	7	6
Looking for information, contacts	12	5	4	1
Cost	4	4	5	3
Language (need better English)	6	4	1	5
Entry criteria (citizenship, nomination, etc)	-	1	-	-
Not interested	-	1	4	2
Other priorities	-	-	5	3
Other	5	4	9	10

\* This question was not included in the third round of interviews in 2000.

Two further notable and related reasons were offered for the low level of club membership. The first of these was the cost of joining. This factor reflected the economic circumstances of participants as unemployed (or underemployed) professionals with limited financial resources, particularly once their eligibility for student allowances and benefits disappeared in 1999. Secondly, as noted above, joining clubs or other social organisations had not previously constituted an important aspect of their cultural and social life, which, in the past, had centred, rather, around relationships with family, friends and workmates. Work in a suitable profession or similar occupation was identified not only as a personal priority but also as an economic and social prerequisite to membership of other than informal and same-ethnic sports activities. It would provide not only the economic where-with-all for membership but also the involvement in a profession and/or social status and kudos for membership of a mainstream organisation.

### *Problems faced by those who did join clubs or other social organisations*

Few who made the move to join clubs or other social organisations experienced any problems in doing so. Only two PAs at the time of the first interview, and one at the time of the second interview reported any problems. In the earlier cases, entry criteria and language were mentioned as issues, while in later case not knowing other members left the PA and her spouse feeling “*embarrassed*” and “*isolated*”, having to make all the effort to enter the group.

The consensus was, however, that the availability of information and contacts made joining easy. Membership of professional organisations and student associations was associated with engagement in the relevant profession or study, and contacts for recreational activities usually involved Chinese friends or acquaintances. However, one spouse kicked a soccer ball around with others he found practising at a local park and was invited by the coach to join their team. Another was introduced to a soccer team by an Indian friend, also a recently arrived immigrant. Introductions to church-related activities tended to be either through existing friends or through contact with mainstream members of church organisations.

### *Case studies: two types of social organisations*

Two very different types of social organisations which have featured prominently in the settlement of Chinese immigrants in New Zealand, both in the past and more recently, deserve particular mention here. They are Chinese ethnic organisations and the Christian church.<sup>4</sup> The importance of each type will be briefly outlined and addressed in terms of its contribution to the settlement and integration of panel members.

#### *Chinese ethnic associations*

The most established and nationally represented of the Chinese ethnic organisations, the New Zealand Chinese Association, is made up predominantly of old settler families plus “attached” newcomers. As noted in Chapter 5, these earlier arrivals were almost

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<sup>4</sup> For historical information on these institutions, see Fong (1959), Fyfe (1948), Ip (1990), Ng (1996).

exclusively linked by village or descent and from Cantonese-speaking regions in Guangdong Province. It was this group that the Association was designed to accommodate, rather than new settlers like those in the panel. Not only do many new arrivals have no family links with the Association but they come from rather different socioeconomic and linguistic “roots” (as discussed in Chapter 5). Thus, a dilemma faces the organisation. On the one hand, set up by New Zealand Chinese, it has its roots in the Cantonese- and, increasingly, English-speaking, established New Zealand-Chinese community. On the other hand, as a national and established Chinese association, its functions and representation are severely circumscribed if it is not inclusive of the more recent and often very different arrivals from China.

The increased diversity, size, identities, political allegiances and socioeconomic backgrounds and goals of the Chinese population in New Zealand have been reflected in a proliferation of Chinese ethnic organisations. Where once there was one dominant association, by the end of the 1990s there were numerous organisations listed in the Chinese section of the New Zealand Immigration Service’s (1998) *Ethnic Communities Directory* and many more which were not included in this publication. Most were situated in Auckland, the city with the largest concentrations of recent arrivals (Ip and Friesen, 2001: 219-220; Lidgard, 1998), and seemed to be more aligned to meet the needs of Taiwanese and Hong Kong, business-oriented immigrants than the interests of recently arrived professionals from China. In the event, only one respondent, a Mandarin- and Cantonese-speaking PA (PRC24), reported participating (and then only informally) in an ethnic organisation – the New Zealand Chinese Association. None reported belonging to any other non-religious ethnic organisation, although many attended cultural gatherings and celebrations at different times.

#### *Religion and the Christian church*

While the New Zealand Chinese Association did not feature as an important social organisation for panel members, the church and Christian religious groups stood out as important avenues for social participation within both the Chinese community and the wider society. Many of the participants had contact with church groups and more

reported membership of or informal participation in religious organisations than of any other single type of club or social organisation. Only one PA reported membership of a Buddhist organisation; the rest (and their spouses) were involved with Christian groups.

No consistent pattern emerges, however, about the nature of the social participation, degree of contact or degree of religious commitment. Introductions to church groups (especially to Chinese church groups) were largely through Chinese friends or through house-to-house door-knocking visits by church members. These could (and in some cases did) lead on to regular attendance at services, language classes, bible reading classes and/or other social meetings at a local church, and sometimes visits to their homes by church members. Attendance ranged from sporadic to regular with more female PAs and spouses than male counterparts reporting frequent attendance. Some participants identified themselves as “belonging” and having very close friends (Chinese and/or members of other ethnic groups) within a church fellowship. Others owned to going along out of interest, for the social contact and language practice, and did not identify themselves as formally belonging to church group(s) they attended.

The ambivalent position of many participants *vis à vis* formal membership of religious groups was more easily accommodated in the third round interview, where they were able to identify participation as something they did on an informal basis rather than as a member of the organisation. Given the option of reporting informal participation, ten PAs identified themselves as attending church or church groups without actually “belonging”. Their degree of participation ranged from regular weekly attendance and small group meetings at home to “irregular social activities” at a community church. Social activities and social contact with other Chinese or with “Kiwi” New Zealanders (defined in the schedule as “those who were born or had lived in New Zealand for a long time”) were given as the main reasons for attending. A husband “*sometimes*” (every two or three weeks) went with his wife and daughter, who were regular church-goers. A wife attended a particular Chinese church group some distance from her residence after “*trying out*” a number of churches because she found the study groups personally rewarding and her daughter wanted to keep going to that church’s children’s group. Others attended a church which not only had a Chinese minister and sizable

Chinese congregation but also provided on-arrival assistance including accommodation for new arrivals, a service some had availed themselves of when they first arrived.<sup>5</sup>

One participant who went to church every Sunday explained the social vacuum the church filled in this way:

*You feel very [much] better when you sing songs. We have a spiritual need. ...we feel empty, you know, in our heart. ... In China, we have a community. Of course, here [in New Zealand] we have a Chinese community, but very limited. ... In China, we have friends, relatives, very, very close [and] we have workmates, that's very important. Every day ...you go to a company. You can talk, you can laugh... You feel, "Oh, I have a job." You have recognition and a society. Yeah, you have a place in the society. Now we have nothing. So that's why we meet some spiritual need, yeah. (PRC31 Rd1)*

Going to church once a week had been her "only contact with local people" when she first arrived. Her social life was limited as she was at home caring for her son, sharing accommodation with other Chinese, and unwilling to incur more debt through study while her husband was still studying in an English to speakers of other languages (ESOL) course (to meet the IELTS 5 requirement and recoup some of the \$20,000 language bond). The church met a spiritual and a social need, providing "a good chance for us to meet people" not readily available elsewhere. While friendship with members of the church was not without its problems, they were "very nice people".

People connected with church groups constituted the one group of New Zealanders outside of work who were consistently mentioned as approachable and welcoming. In one case, a couple who found it difficult to meet New Zealanders because they were not working and were mostly at home with a new baby, had met a church member at a local shopping centre. She had struck up a conversation with them: "We [were] just standing there watching ...something and we began to talk to each other and then I think she became our good friend" (PRC7 Rd2). This PA's knowing "no way to get in touch with ...Kiwis, ...[or] how to contact them..." had been overcome by the proactive advance of the church member. An opportunity had been provided for talk, to bridge the gap between the two cultures and ethnic groups.

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<sup>5</sup> Some had also rented accommodation from or shared accommodation with Christian contacts/friends.

While happy to associate with New Zealanders through church activities, and to be able to more freely explore religious beliefs and/or to embrace Christianity and the company of fellow-believers for the first time, there was sometimes an uneasiness associated with accessing New Zealand society through the church, aside from any pressure to convert. The concerns expressed by PAs usually revolved around the possibility that they were taking advantage of the hospitality and support of church members when they harboured doubts about Christian beliefs. While the church (both Chinese and mainstream) provided a valuable source of social participation and fraternity, these concerns tempered involvement in some instances.

### **Relatives, friends and other informal social contacts**

#### *Relatives*

Unlike the traditional inflow of Cantonese-speaking Family Category immigrants (see Ip, 1990; Ng, 2001), those who have obtained entry under the points system have tended not to have a network of family members already settled in the country to cushion their settlement. This was the case for panel members. Only five PAs (13.9 per cent) had other family members (including in-laws) already resident in New Zealand when they arrived. These relatives included parents, siblings and a spouse's sibling.

The chain migration of further family members was not identified as a major source of social participation, at least in the short-term. Some chain migration was taking place, but not on a large scale. Seven PAs had assisted other relatives to migrate to New Zealand since their own arrival. Those assisted included two spouses (one new, one existing) and four cases involving a parent or parents.<sup>6</sup> Others encouraged relatives to come during the course of the research (six PAs) or indicated their intention to assist or encourage them (three PAs in 1999, with seven others not sure, and three in 2000, with four others not sure). Most (23 out of 33 PAs, or 69.7 per cent in 1999; 22 out of 30 PAs, or 75.9 per cent in 2000) did not intend to encourage the immigration of (further) family members in the near future.

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<sup>6</sup> Assisted relatives included cases approved under the General Skills Category (1), Family Category (4) and Visitors' Category (2). One of the visitor approvals planned to become a Family Category applicant if the immigration criteria for this category were met. Only the General Skills Category approval would have needed to meet an English language requirement for approval.



The main reason given for not encouraging others to migrate was the job situation. This was offered as one of their two main reasons by at least one-third of the panel at the second and third interviews. However, a lack of interest on the part of those in China also became an important factor mitigating against chain migration by Round 3, with nine PAs reporting this as one of their two main reasons for not encouraging relatives. Return or onward migration were also likely to slow chain migration flows, especially that of parents who would be dependent on resident children for sponsorship, accommodation and other support.

### *“Old” friends*

While few had relatives living in New Zealand, a large proportion of the panel members (26 out of 36, or 72.2 per cent) had “old” friends already in the country when they took up permanent residence. Usually family friends, university friends and/or former work colleagues from China, these earlier arrivals often assisted with initial accommodation and settlement. Friends or relatives helped 17 PAs (47.2 per cent) find their first accommodation, and ten out of 36 PAs (27.8 per cent) initially shared accommodation with “old” friends.<sup>7</sup> The presence and support of such friends reduced the stresses associated with coping in a new and unfamiliar cultural environment.

Although most of the panel members had friends already in New Zealand when they arrived, the chain migration of further friends from China did not grow exponentially as a result of the PAs’ arrival. Seven panel members out of 33 (21.2 per cent) assisted or encouraged further friends to immigrate by the time of the second interview. Eight more (24.2 per cent) stated their intention to assist or encourage other friends, an intention which was realised in only three instances by the time of the third round of interviews. A year later, in 2000, only two PAs out of the 29 in New Zealand (6.9 per cent) indicated an intention to assist or encourage any friends in the future. Five others (17.2 per cent) were uncertain. As was the case regarding relatives, most PAs (18 out of 33, or 54.5 per cent of PAs interviewed in 1999 and 22 out of 29, or 75.9 per cent in 2000) indicated that they would not encourage further friends to come. Again, the main

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<sup>7</sup> Of the 22 (61.1 per cent) who were sharing accommodation at the time of the first interview, 13 (59.1 per cent) were sharing with “old” or “new” (that is, post-arrival) friends from China. In contrast, only two (9.1 per cent) were sharing with relatives.

reason offered was the employment situation in New Zealand. Unable to find suitable work themselves, they were unwilling to encourage others to leave their (usually professional) positions and increasingly prosperous and comfortable lives in China. Further, they also felt unable to provide the sort of support that would be expected of them as friends if others did come.<sup>8</sup>

### *Friends outside of work*

All panel members developed a network of friends outside of work. As expected, most of these friends were identified as being from the same ethnic group. Ethnicity was usually defined not only in terms of Chineseness but also with being from China and so having a shared socio-political background and language; that is, being able to speak Putonghua/Mandarin. Where Cantonese-only speakers were included within a PA's definition of "ethnic group", the panel member was able to speak this dialect.

By the time of the first round of interviews (1998), 29 PAs (80.6 per cent) had made new friends outside of work (Table 9.4). Four PAs (11.1 per cent), and the same number of spouses, reported that they had not yet made new friends as they had just arrived or had not yet had the opportunity to develop new relationships to this level. Of the three further PAs who said that they had had opportunities to make new friends but had not yet done so, each had arrived within 4 months of the first interview and was unemployed when interviewed. Moreover, each of these three PAs already had existing support networks in the country on arrival in the form of relatives or "old" friends with whom they had daily contact. None of the four spouses who had yet to make new friends was employed or studying at the time of the first interview, and in two instances they had arrived within the previous two months. The reasons given for not making new friends during the year were associated in later rounds of interviews with concentrating on work or studies and a lack of time and opportunities to develop new friendships.

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<sup>8</sup> For further details on the topic of "old" friends and networks and for a comparison with the other two New Settler Programme panels (the Indians and the South Africans), see Trlin et al., 2001.

Table 9.4 Friendships and the social participation of PAs with friends outside of work in New Zealand, 1998-2000 (percentages)

<i>Friendship patterns and activities</i>	<i>Round 1 (1998)</i>	<i>Round 2 (1999)</i>	<i>Round 3 (2000)</i>
<i>For all PAs:</i>	<i>N=36</i>	<i>N=32*</i>	<i>N=29*</i>
Friends outside of work of same ethnic group:			
- All	(no information)	9.4	3.5
- Most	"	75.0	79.3
- About half	"	12.5	10.3
- Few	"	3.1	6.9
- None	"	-	-
Experienced difficulties developing friendships outside of work with "Kiwi" New Zealanders/others #	58.3	53.1	27.6#
Made new friends outside work since arrival (Rd1)/since last interview (Rd2 and Rd3)	80.6	84.4	86.2
<i>For PAs with new friends:</i>	<i>(N=29)</i>	<i>(N=27)</i>	<i>(N=25)</i>
New friends outside of work of same ethnic group:			
- All	17.2	11.1	4.0
- Most	58.6	70.4	68.0
- About half	17.2	3.7	16.0
- Few	6.9	11.1	4.0
- None	-	3.7	8.0
Contact with new friends outside of work Since arrival (Rd1)/since last interview (Rd2 and Rd3):			
- Met socially with new friends outside of the home	86.2	92.6	92.0
- Visited homes of new friends	75.9	88.9	84.0
- Received visits from new friends	72.4	92.6	84.0

\* Not including "astronaut" in China.

# Wording change at Round 3 removed the reference to "Kiwi New Zealanders": "... experienced any difficulties in developing friendships with Kiwi New Zealanders (ie, those who were born here or have lived here for a long time) outside of work?" at Round 1/Round 2 became "... experienced any difficulties in developing friendships outside of work?" at Round 3.

While the tendency for new friends to be of the same ethnic group remained, cases of PAs reporting difficulties in developing friendships outside of work with "Kiwi" New Zealanders (that is, those who were born in or had lived in New Zealand for a long time) declined with increased length of residence. The removal of the phrase "with Kiwi New Zealanders" in the third round interview schedule means that caution must be exercised when interpreting the marked downward trend (to 27.6 per cent) in reported difficulties in 2000. Nevertheless, that there was a further decline in those experiencing difficulties making friends with "Kiwi" New Zealanders is supported by the increased numbers of new friends who were not from the same ethnic background.

Whereas new friends from other ethnic backgrounds were often other NESB immigrants attending ESOL courses at Round 1, this was rarely the case by Round 2. The percentage of PAs reporting that all or most of their new friends were from within their own ethnic group dropped from a high of 81.5 per cent in 1999 to 72 per cent in 2000, and the numbers reporting that none of their new friends were of the same ethnic group (albeit involving very small numbers of PAs and possibly few new friends) doubled. While the figures were lower than those for pre-migration social contact, most had contact with these new friends outside of the home, even if they did not socialise within the home domain. The slight fall-off in contact with new friends at Round 3 may reflect the longer term nature of many friendships.

### *Spouses*

The situation for spouses was similar to that of PAs but showed a greater development of friendship networks outside of the ethnic group over time. Initially, all or most of their new friends were also of the same ethnic group. Such was the case for 15 (78.9 per cent) of the 19 spouses who reported that they had made new friends outside of work by the time of the first interview. In contrast, among the 19 out of 24 spouses (almost 80 per cent) who had made new friends outside of work by the time of the second interview, only 11 (57.9 per cent) reported that their new friends were all or mostly of the same ethnic group as themselves. This represented a smaller proportion of same ethnic group friends than for PAs and suggests a broadening of contacts, including through the workplace (with nine employed either full- or part-time compared with seven at the time of the first interview), sports groups and the church (informal participation in the last). Despite this, 16 out of 24, or two-thirds of spouses, still reported difficulties developing friendships outside of work with “Kiwi” New Zealanders. Of the 20 out of 22 spouses (90.9 per cent) who had made new friends during the year prior to the third interview, 16 (80 per cent) reported that all or most were of the same ethnic group, an upward trend. The number reporting that they had experienced difficulties developing friendships outside of work dropped to six (27.3 per cent), including four students and two at home not looking for work. Being housebound with a new baby, lack of money, different ways of socialising in New Zealand, having Chinese classmates, and not being able to join in with the “*local housewives*’...

*gossiping on something you know nothing about*" (PRC23 Rd3) were among the reasons for experiencing problems.

### *Children*

Children are generally identified by researchers as experiencing more favourable conditions and fewer problems than adult immigrants in acquiring second languages and developing friendships with persons from other cultural backgrounds (Ellis, 1994; Schumann, 1986; Spolsky, 1989; Wong Fillimore, 1979), and so it was in this study with those who were considered old enough to be able to interact socially with other children. At Round 2 in 1998, 18 out of the 26 children (in 22 families)<sup>9</sup> in New Zealand were seen by their parents to have developed a network of friends. The eight negative responses included six infants and two primary-aged children living in a new subdivision where there were reported to be no other (young) children to associate with. For seven children (38.9 per cent), "all" (two cases) or "most" (five cases) friends were identified as being of the same ethnic group. The same number (seven, or 38.9 per cent) reported that "few" of their friends were of the same ethnic group, and the remainder (four, or 22.2 per cent) that about half were. By the third round of interviews in 2000, three children had returned to China with their parents and an infant remained there with relatives. All remaining children, excluding three who were too young (that is, 20 out of 23), were reported to have a network of friends. The composition of these networks ranged from "all" of the same ethnic group for two preschool children (10 per cent) to "few" of the same ethnic group for eight children (40 per cent). In only six cases (30 per cent) were over half of all friends of the same ethnic group as the child.

Increased interaction with children from a different ethnic background was paralleled by a decline in reported difficulties in developing relationships with other children. At Round 2, nine PAs identified their children as experiencing difficulties. The main reason cited in this second interview for children's difficulties was typically expressed as *"language, just language"* (PRC33 Rd2) or *"one of language ... not being able to talk to [classmates] in English"* (PRC31 Rd2). But for children it was seen to be *"easy*

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<sup>9</sup> Two families each had a New Zealand-born infant back in China. One was in the care of the extended family while the PA and spouse studied and sought employment. The other was with her mother (an NPA), who was on an extended health-related visit to China.

*to get a chance*" (PRC33 Rd2) to learn English. In fact, despite the large numbers of Chinese immigrants in Auckland, the children in the study were often reported to be the only Chinese and/or Mandarin-speaking pupils in their class. Thus, they were not only interacting with "Kiwi" children but rapidly acquiring fluency in English. While the older ones might struggle with the academic language of subject areas, social language and aspects of culture were rapidly acquired. A 9-year old son, who spoke only "limited" English on arrival in September 1997, was seen to fit in 21 months later because he could:

*... speak fluent Kiwi English now and also ... I think more or less he knows what is going on among the kids of his age ... and so its actually a cultural thing, a cultural stance. (PRC23 Rd2)*

His movement "*from [a] 'one of them' to 'one of us' grouping*" was attributed by his father to the amount of time he spent with children of his own age and his interests – he played soccer for a school team. The problems faced by an older, teenaged boy were linked to discordant interests rather than language differences; the son enjoyed table tennis rather than "*New Zealand sports ... [like] cricket and rugby*" (PRC9 Rd2).

Length of residence, exposure to English language and New Zealand culture, and affirming experiences within the educational domain were positively associated with integration into the wider society. By Round 3, only three children were reported to be still experiencing problems developing relationships with other children. One still "*[couldn't] understand two languages very well*" (PRC35 spouse Rd3). For the other two, the reasons related to more general issues not associated with culture or ethnicity – that is, being upset that possessions were being used or taken by other children (PRC8) and personality (PRC18). The latter was identified as "*not very outgoing. He's not very assertive, so not only with Kiwi kids. ...Even if there's no language barrier, no cultural differences, I think he would still be the same*" (PRC18 Rd3).

The rest were not identified as having any problems. In the event, by the third round of interviews, ten children were reported to speak exclusively or predominantly English in social interactions with other children (Chinese peers included) in the home and two to speak only English to a sibling. At preschool and school six spoke English in most situations while 13 used only English. Their youth meant that they were rapidly acquiring New Zealand accents and cultural values by the third round of interviews. In

the main, parents were happy with their children's adjustment, but some were becoming concerned that their children were becoming too "Kiwified" and isolated from their Chinese backgrounds. This rapid acculturation was seen as a potential problem should a family decide to return to China.

Club membership was low for children but social participation was higher in New Zealand than pre-migration. Participation was little changed at the time of the first interview, with five PAs reporting that their children had joined six clubs (at school and outside of school) compared with three pre-migration. However, by the second interview seven PAs reported having eight children in 11 clubs. A year later, at the time of the third round of interviews, the number of children involved in clubs or other social organisations stood at nine but the number of organisations participated in had risen to 14, including eight involving sports or other recreational activities. None of the children experienced any problems joining clubs until the third round of interviews when two children were reported to have had some problems related to accessing information and contacts in order to join mainstream activities. The increased social participation of children in clubs or other social organisations was, in large part, a reflection of age and attendance at school along with the less academically pressured educational environment in New Zealand. Children ranged in age from less than 1 to 13 years of age on arrival, and at the time of the first interview in 1998 had a mean age of only 6 years, with a median of 5.5 and mode of 8 years. As the age of the children increased and more moved beyond the home environment it would be logical to expect that the numbers participating in clubs and other social organisations would increase.

It was anticipated that children of preschool or school age would provide situations where their parents could meet others – at parent-teacher evenings, through institution-based activities, or when delivering and collecting their children. Such was the case, although the amount of social interaction generated was somewhat less than expected. Eleven PAs at the first interview, 13 at the second, and only six at the third, had attended school functions during the previous year. The drop in numbers at the third round of interviews was usually associated with a lack of "free" time outside of studies and work. The quandary this placed parents in was exemplified by a PA whose daughter had joined a netball team and the school choir. Neither the PA nor her husband could take the daughter to some of her games or to the choir's public

performance because of university examination commitments. The PA felt it was “*unfair to [her daughter]*” that she missed out on these activities and that they “*[had] no time and ... no weekends to go out together*” as a family (PRC14 Rd3). However, it was necessary for both her and her husband to study hard and for her to work part-time so that they could complete their retraining, with an end-view of “*gain[ing] money to support the whole family and ...[to] share more time with her [the daughter]*”. In other words, short-term sacrifices for long-term gains were impacting on the social participation of these parents and their school-aged daughter.

Many parents met teachers and other parents when delivering and collecting their children. The nature of such situations varied, as a very outgoing PA discovered. She commented (PRC4 Rd2) on the very different levels of friendliness among waiting parents at two schools her son attended. At one, walking to deliver or pick up one’s child(ren) was relatively common, and other parents were very friendly, greeting and talking to her and each other while they waited. At the other, in a more suburban area, cars were the norm, and parents were observed to be stonily incommunicative. The contrast between the latter situation and the friendliness of the neighbours in the cul-de-sac where she lived was noted. However, the fact that the parents depositing and collecting their children ignored not only her greetings but also each other reassured the PA that it was not a response directed at her personally. Another parent also noted the lack of interaction when parents collected their children from school, possibly aggravated by the fact that he was a man and “*the [other] parents are women. Nobody talk[s]*” (PRC14 Rd2). On the other hand, a parent of an older child faced a rather different problem. Her teenaged son wanted to be independent and just like his peers; he did not want to be met and was concerned that his mother had a “*funny accent*” (PRC11 Rd2). Finally, even where there was some interaction with other parents or teachers, panel members found that this was usually very brief and, as one PA observed, limited: “*we can’t make friends just on a wave and ‘hello’*” (PRC19 Rd2).

## **EMPLOYMENT, FURTHER STUDY AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION**

Since all of the panel members were of working age with tertiary qualifications and professional experience, but usually little in the way of financial resources, obtaining



employment on arrival was generally a priority. From this perspective, social participation in the wider New Zealand society was identified both as a route to and a consequence of employment. Like the mother whose university examinations kept her from taking her daughter to sport and choir activities, most of the participants found that their social lives in the host community revolved around work and/or study and the contacts they made in these places.

### Employment and social participation

The small number of PAs (7 out of 36, or 19.4 per cent) who were working at the time of the first interview – either full-time (4, or 11.1 per cent) or part-time (3, or 8.3 per cent) – had all been able to develop personal relationships with work associates. The relationships with those at work whom they felt closest to varied from “less formal work contact only” to “very good friend” (Table 9.5). Those with the closest relationships with work colleagues had been on-shore approvals, indicating that duration of residence was probably an important factor in the development of such relationships. They were also more often in jobs related to their professional backgrounds and thus more likely to be associating with people with whom they shared common interests and values, an important basis for friendships (Kim, 1987).

Table 9.5 Closest personal relationship\* with work associates, of PAs employed in New Zealand, 1998-2000

<i>Level of contact</i>	<i>Round 1 (1998)</i>		<i>Round 2 (1999)</i>		<i>Round 3 (2000)</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Formal work contact only	-	-	5	27.8	5	29.4
Less formal work contact	2	28.6	3	16.7	3	17.7
Friend	2	28.6	8	44.4	6	35.2
Good friend	2	28.6	2	11.1	3	17.7
Very good friend	1	14.2	-	-	-	-
Total employed	7	100.0	18	100.0	17	100.0

\* The question on which this table is based, read as follows: “With reference to all your **work associates** (old and new), how would you rate your relationship with those you feel closest to on the following scale?”

As the numbers of PAs in employment increased, social interaction and relationships with members of the host society also increased. While a change of workplace

eliminated the “very good friend” of Round 1 (1998), the number of PAs working with an associate they identified as either a “friend” or a “good friend” surpassed 50 per cent in both 1999 and 2000. Since the percentage of work associates who were of the same ethnic group as the participants increased, it is not possible to say whether these friendships involved persons from other ethnic groups or predominantly Chinese workmates. Nevertheless, they did reflect positive social relationships within a mixed-culture situation since no PAs reported having only ethnic Chinese work associates.

Social contacts outside of the workplace reflected the degree of closeness PAs felt with their work associates. By the time of the first interview, five (71.4 per cent) of the seven employed PAs had met socially with work colleagues although only two had received visits to their homes from them (Table 9.6). In 1999 and 2000, the high proportions in part-time employment and combining studies with work (over half and around a third, respectively, of those PAs employed in each year), along with length of job tenure (less than six months in over a third of cases) were likely to have contributed to the low number of home visits. Several PAs also indicated their reluctance to invite “Kiwi” New Zealand colleagues to their homes either because they were sharing accommodation (more commonly in 1998) or because it was not of the standard one would expect professionals to have. Others were working in factories where they had little or no contact outside of the workplace with work associates unless they were other Chinese immigrants.

Table 9.6 Social contact with work associates of PAs employed in New Zealand, 1998-2000

<i>Type of social contact</i>	<i>Rd 1 (1998)</i> ( <i>N=7</i> )		<i>Rd 2 (1999)</i> ( <i>N=18</i> )		<i>Rd 3 (2000)</i> ( <i>N=17</i> )	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Met socially with work associates outside of the home	5	71.4	8	44.4	13	76.5
Visited the homes of work associates	4	57.1	4	22.2	6	35.3
Received visits to own home from work associates	2	28.6	3	16.7	4	23.5

Nevertheless, employment of any type – skilled or unskilled, full-time or part-time, permanent or temporary – appeared to facilitate social interaction. Although visits to homes and received visits remained relatively low, the numbers meeting socially with

work associates rose to over three-quarters by 2000. This was despite the fact that most employed PAs had few or no workmates from the same ethnic group. Moreover, only one-third of employed PAs at Round 2 and less than one-quarter at Round 3 reported any difficulties in forming relationships with workmates who were “Kiwi” New Zealanders since the previous interview and similar proportions reported having experienced any difficulties in developing relationships with “Kiwi” New Zealanders outside of work (Table 9.7). In comparison, around twice as many of those who were not employed reported difficulties in developing friendships outside of work with “Kiwi” New Zealanders in the first and second rounds of interviews. Even although the change in the question at Round 3 (with the removal of the restriction “with Kiwi New Zealanders”) means that a comparison can only be partial and qualified, figures for Round 3 still support earlier findings which indicate that being in work made it somewhat easier to make friends with members of the wider host society.

Table 9.7 Difficulties reported by PAs regarding the development of friendships, 1998-2000 (percentages)

<i>Experienced difficulties</i>	<i>Round 1*</i> <i>(1998)</i>	<i>Round 2*</i> <i>(1999)</i>	<i>Round 3**</i> <i>(2000)</i>
For those working:	<i>(N=7)</i>	<i>(N=18)</i>	<i>(N=17)</i>
Difficulties developing friendships with work associates who are “Kiwi” New Zealanders/others**	28.6	33.3	23.5
Difficulties developing friendships outside of work with “Kiwi” New Zealanders/others**	28.6	38.9	23.5
For those not working:	<i>(N=29)</i>	<i>(N=15)</i>	<i>(N=12)</i>
Difficulties developing friendships outside work with “Kiwi” New Zealanders/others**	65.5	66.7	33.3

\* Round 1 and Round 2: “... with Kiwi New Zealanders?”

\*\* Round 3: wording change to “... with others?”

By the third round of interviews, those who had succeeded in entering the workforce felt less often that they faced major problems either communicating with colleagues in the workplace or in developing relationships outside of work. Increasingly, the problems they expressed regarding the development of relationships were those one

might expect from other people in the wider community: lack of time, financial constraints, different ages and interests (partying, going drinking), the relative isolation of working alone. As work experiences were shared with members of the wider society, the social and cultural gap diminished and relationships developed. So, as one participant who was also studying could say: *“The workplace is really comfortable, people are really friendly, the boss is really tolerant”* (PRC30 Rd2).

### ***Working spouses***

For the nine spouses who were working at the time of the second interview,<sup>10</sup> four (44.4 per cent) reported that more than half of their workmates were of the same ethnic group. While four reported that their relationship with the work associate they felt closest to was “formal work contact only”, four others identified this person as a “friend” and one as a “very good friend”. The percentage reporting any difficulties in developing relationships with “Kiwi” New Zealanders was 55.6 per cent.

By the third round of interviews in 2000, spouses’ work associates were more likely than before to be from the same ethnic group (“all” or “most” for five of the nine spouses who were working). This trend possibly contributed to the increase in those identifying their closest work associate as a “friend” (six, or 66.6 per cent). Again only one working spouse reported a colleague to be a “very good friend” (and this person was Chinese). However, the fact that only one of the nine working spouses (11.1 per cent) now reported any difficulties in developing relationships with work colleagues supports the finding for the PAs – namely, that employment contributed positively to social interaction with members of the wider society.

### ***Further study***

While engagement in further study increased one’s chances of accessing the marketplace and wider society upon graduation, it was less likely than employment to provide opportunities for interaction with members of the mainstream New Zealand

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<sup>10</sup> Information was not collected on the work relationships of spouses at Round 1 (1998). The removal of one-off questions asked in 1998 from the interview schedule allowed for the inclusion of more questions addressing the settlement of spouses in Rounds 2 (1999) and 3 (2000).

society. One student (*PRC4 Rd1*) reported that she made good friends in her ESOL course, but none of them – including the teacher – were “Kiwi” New Zealanders. This environment did not help her to master a New Zealand accent or to meet “Kiwi” New Zealanders. So she opted to switch into a course that would both expand and allow her to use her English skills at the same time. Another (*PRC36*), undertaking scientific research, shared a graduate room with non-English speaking background (NESB) students and when in the laboratory with other students was busy working alone on her own research. Thus, while studying in an area other than ESOL, she too had very little contact with “Kiwis” and reported problems in developing friendships with New Zealanders.

Participation in classes with predominantly “Kiwi” students was not necessarily the answer, either. Those studying in post-graduate business and information technology courses (the courses most commonly taken) at a university or polytechnic commented on both the large class sizes and their difficulties in making contact with the “Kiwi” students. Classes could involve 150-plus students. This, coupled with the fact that everyone seemed to rush into the class as it was due to begin and then quickly dispersed afterwards without time for social interaction, particularly with strangers, contributed to their inability to mix. Nor, as one noted, was it easy to become friends just through chance, through casual contact: *“If we can talk to each other very well, we can make friends. Otherwise we are just like general person[s], normal people, not friends”* (*PRC25 Rd1*). This need for engagement and more than superficial contact for friendships to develop was a theme that recurred throughout the interviews. The comments made by *PRC2* were echoed by nursing students. Also in large classes, they, too, found it difficult to meet “Kiwi” students. This was despite the fact that in order to enter a university school of nursing Chinese immigrants had to have either a degree in English language or a medical degree. A spouse thought when she started that it would be a good opportunity to improve her English, that she would be able to speak to “local people” because they were in the same class, *“but it [didn’t] happen”* (*PRC11 spouse Rd3*). She identified a lack of common interests and language as problems: *“I think they need to pay attention to what I say, you know. People get together for chatting, they want to relax”*. Chinese classmates tended to stick together, and to speak Chinese as *“it [was] quite difficult”* – both the studies and not being able to relate to other students in the class. In contrast, her husband studied in small classes, where *“basically*

*it's English*" (PRC11 Rd3). Not only were those in smaller classes more likely to use their English, but smaller classes were more conducive to social interaction with others.

Nevertheless, university studies usually provided a supportive environment for second language speakers. An English graduate, who tried to use his English as much as possible, found it was easier to talk to others at university, where you were "*talking about things you share*" (PRC29 Rd1) without being worried about doing the wrong thing and being embarrassed. In comparison, "*in the society [that is, away from the classroom or place of study] you tend to be more tense*". Meeting "*outsiders*" was difficult, he said, "*and sometimes it is not natural*" (PRC29 Rd1).<sup>11</sup> Even in the university, however, he found it easier to make contact with those from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan because they could communicate in Chinese. But otherwise, he felt, he would not interact with them. In contrast, another (PRC32) found that she had a lot in common with and got on well with a "Kiwi" Chinese classmate, though they had to communicate in English. She did note, however, that other students, too, in her laboratory were very kind and friendly and helpful if she had a problem or question: "*I think most people are nice*" (PRC32 Rd1).

Social activities with other students, though sometimes fraught with communication difficulties, both reflected and promoted social interaction beyond the confines of the Chinese student community. An engineer studying in an Information Technology (IT) course socialised outside of class with other classmates:

*I sometimes go to the Cobb and have a couple of beers, these kinds of things. The difficulty is I can't catch up with their talking. At the beginning I can understand but then they talk faster and faster and I cannot understand, so this is the problem. (PRC12 Rd3)*

While this student became involved in the cultural life of the wider student body, cultural differences and attitudes surfaced as barriers to interaction between him and other students in his class, as they did for other participants. Accustomed to working cooperatively in a close-knit class group at university in China,<sup>12</sup> he found the

<sup>11</sup> Despite this, he commented in the first round of interviews that he tried to strike up conversations with people when riding the buses. "*Some,*" he said, "*just want to sit in silence, but others talk*" (PRC29 Rd1).

<sup>12</sup> Chinese universities provide a situation somewhat akin to veterinary science or medical degree programmes in New Zealand, where gaining entry is fiercely competitive, and once in, students are more likely to support each other in their studies.

competitive, individualistic atmosphere of his IT classes not conducive to establishing friendships. He said of “Kiwi” classmates that, although they sometimes had very good ideas in tutorials and when working on exercises, *“they don’t like you to know their idea. They[’re]also not interested in your idea, so they don’t talk very much”* (PRC12 Rd3). Indian students, he found, were rather different to work with, but their accents and once again the speed of delivery in English made it *“very difficult to understand them”*.

Despite the problems some identified with regard to mixing with “Kiwi” students, a comparison of those students who reported that they were studying at the time of their third interview with those who were not studying or working, indicates that study, like work, helped to break down the barriers between panel members and other New Zealanders. Only four (26.7 per cent) of the 15 PAs who were engaged in further study during the research period and identified themselves primarily as students, reported that they had experienced any difficulties during the previous year in developing friendships with others outside of work. Moreover, of those four, three were students who were not also engaged in some form of paid employment. This supports the earlier finding that engagement in employment facilitates social participation with “Kiwi” New Zealanders not only within but also outside of the workplace and that study provides a similar aid to social interaction and acculturation by allowing students to use and extend their English language in a supportive environment within the target culture.

## LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

It is widely acknowledged that a shared language is a necessary pre-requisite for acculturation and that there is a reciprocal relationship between language proficiency, adaptation and social participation in the wider society.<sup>13</sup> But mastery of the formal features of a language alone is not a formula for effective intercultural communication (Clyne, 1994; Ellis, 1999; Hymes, 1971). Nor is merely living in an English language environment (White et al., 2001). Social interaction with members of the target

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<sup>13</sup> See, for example, Berry (1984), Ho (1995), Boyer (1995), Gudykunst and Kim (1997), Hurh and Kim (1984), Kim and Gudykunst (1988), Schumann (1978b), Valtonen (1999), VandenHeuvel and Wooden (1999).

language community “is almost certainly **beneficial**” (Ellis, 1999: 30) for the acquisition of fluency and sociolinguistic competence. Unfortunately, immigrants’ opportunities to converse with native speakers may be disappointingly rare (White et al., 2001).

The social participation of PAs with members of the anglophone community was, therefore, both a source of sociolinguistic input and an indicator of their successful integration. Accordingly, this section will examine: (a) the relationship between English language proficiency and social interaction within the wider society, through an analysis of the extent to which English language proficiency was reported to be an impediment to becoming involved in clubs and other social organisations and more general social participation; and (b) the intercultural communication problems faced in social interactions. The relationship between language proficiency and social participation will be shown to be interactive and reciprocal.

#### *English language levels and participation in clubs and other social organisations*

Knowledge of the language of the target community influences social interaction with its members. It could be assumed, then, that those with higher on-arrival levels of proficiency in English would be more likely to engage in social activities in the wider society. To investigate whether or not this was so for panel members, levels of English at the time applications were approved were compared with the joining of clubs and other social organisations reported in the second round of interviews. The situation at the time of the third round of interviews was not included in the analysis as the extra year of residence allowed for considerable changes in levels of language proficiency.

A positive relationship was identified between English language proficiency and aspects of social participation. More specifically, it was found that language proficiency was positively associated with membership of clubs and other social organisations. Those who had the highest levels of English language proficiency were the most likely to have belonged to social organisations pre-migration, to have planned to join social organisations once in New Zealand, and to have done so. Six of the nine PAs with an on-arrival English proficiency of IELTS 7-plus (“good user” or better) or



an equivalent<sup>14</sup> belonged to social organisations in China, and the same number (six) planned to join in New Zealand. By Round 2, three of the six belonged to a club or other social organisation. “Competent users” (IELTS 6.0-6.5) were somewhat less likely to have belonged pre-migration (seven out of 18, or 38.9 per cent), to have planned to join post-migration (ten out of 18, or 55.6 per cent), and to have taken out membership (five out of 18, or 27.8 per cent). However, they, too, registered higher participation rates than the nine PAs with an English language proficiency rated as IELTS 5.5 (“modest user”) or lower. Of this last group, only two out of nine (22.2 per cent) belonged to a social organisation pre-migration, three (33.3 per cent) planned to join post-migration, and only one (11.1 per cent) actually joined.

To sum up, it was found that membership remained lower than pre-migration and lower than planned for all categories but “competent” to “expert” users of English were more likely to be involved in social organisations than those with lower levels of English language proficiency. A cautionary note is required here, however, since while English language proficiency was associated with intentions to join and the uptake of membership post-migration, the fact that those PAs with higher levels of English language proficiency were also more likely to have belonged to clubs and other social organisations in China pre-migration, indicated that there were factors other than English language proficiency *per se* involved.

Nor did the positive association of English language proficiency with membership necessarily reduce the likelihood of English language proficiency also being identified as an issue with respect to club membership. In Round 1, six participants who had not joined clubs on arrival cited language as a hurdle to club membership. These included one “modest user” and one “limited” user, three “competent” users and one “good”-“expert” user. Two of the six, both “competent” users, had intended to join clubs or other organisations and had thought that joining would not be difficult, while another with better English who had also intended to join, had thought that joining **would** pose some problems. To put the language issue into perspective, however, it should be noted

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<sup>14</sup> A TOEFL score of 600-plus and/or living and working in an English-speaking environment pre-migration were equated with an IELTS score of 7-plus (“good user” to “expert user”); TOEFL 550-599 with IELTS 6-6.5 (“competent user”); TOEFL 500-549 with IELTS 5-5.5 (“modest user”); and less than TOEFL 500 plus being required to take the pre-1995 NZIS English test with IELTS 4-4.5 (“limited user”).

that double the number of PAs (that is, 12) reported that they were still “looking for information or contacts”. A typical response was: “*Yeah, difficult, mmm. We don’t know where to start*” (PRC36 Rd1). Wider cultural issues, rather than language alone, were hampering membership.

Another aspect of the association between language ability and social participation was the discovery that higher levels of English language proficiency were associated with the early engagement of panel members in voluntary unpaid work. One with very good English and two in the “competent” range undertook such activities by the time of the first interview. These numbers more than trebled by the second round of interviews, with three at the highest level and six “competent” users of the language participating in voluntary unpaid work as well as one PA with only a “modest” level of English (IELTS 5-5.5). However, while lower levels of English language proficiency may have accounted for some non-participation in voluntary work at the time of the first interview, it did not appear to be a deciding factor as length of residence increased. By Round 3, the numbers involved among “good”-“expert”, “competent”, “modest” and “limited” speakers were one, four, one and zero, respectively. As with participation in clubs and other social organisations, other factors were also important – personal motivation, contacts and increased familiarity with the host culture.

### *English language levels and social contact with “Kiwi” New Zealanders*

Most questions in the interview schedule did not stipulate whether the social contact identified was with “Kiwi” New Zealanders or others. Thus, attention focuses here on data from two questions – one concerning the experience of any difficulties in developing relationships outside of work and the other with the experience of any difficulties in developing relationships at work with “Kiwi” New Zealanders. When these questions were opened to include friendships across all ethnic groups at Round 3, they elicited rather different responses from the parallel questions in earlier rounds of interviews. Hence, while Round 3 figures are included in the analysis, they need to be treated with caution.

As shown in Table 9.8, difficulties in developing friendships outside of work with “Kiwi” New Zealanders were not restricted to those with lower levels of proficiency in

English. Little can be inferred from the figures in Table 9.8 as the total numbers in each group are small. However, there was a decline in the proportions of PAs experiencing problems in developing relationships with people outside of their own ethnic group. This decline was evident across English language proficiency levels over time, and more particularly after the initial settling period. Those with lower levels of English language proficiency on arrival tended to experience problems over a longer period of time. The proportions of unemployed PAs who experienced problems in developing relationships were higher than those for employed PAs, but also declined with length of residence (Table 9.7).

Table 9.8 On-arrival English language proficiency of PAs reporting any difficulties in developing friendships outside of work with “Kiwi” New Zealanders, 1998-2000 (with percentages for those reporting difficulties in each proficiency group at each round of interviews)

<i>English language proficiency on arrival (plus IELTS equivalent)</i>	<i>Number reporting difficulties</i>					
	<i>Round 1 (1998)</i>		<i>Round 2 (1999)</i>		<i>Round 3 (2000)#</i>	
	<i>(N=36)</i>		<i>(N=32)*</i>		<i>(N=29)*</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
“good”-“expert” (IELTS 7.0-9.0)	5	55.5	3	37.5	2	25.0
“competent” (IELTS 6.0-6.5)	11	61.1	10	58.8	4	26.7
“limited”/“modest” (IELTS 4.0-5.5)	5	55.5	5	62.5	2	28.6
Total number reporting difficulties	21	58.3	18	56.3	8	27.6

\* Excludes “astronaut”.

# Wording change at Round 3 (2000) with removal of “with Kiwi New Zealanders” restriction.

As with PAs’ comments regarding problems experienced in using English in New Zealand (Chapter 7), those related to problems experienced in developing relationships with New Zealanders in the workforce and outside of the workforce were often focused not on a lack of ability in English *per se* but on the cultural aspects of communication. Many did not know “*where to start and how*” (PRC36 Rd1):

*We went [to church] twice and we [didn't] know what we should talk about with all the other people because .. it's just that they knew each other very well. (PRC14 Rd3)*

A computer scientist felt that there was not really a language problem. Rather, it was that he was *“too busy”* and that there was a difference between the cultures – *“more the distance ... cultural I think. Culture [was] the main reason”* (PRC1 Rd1).

The inability to “read” New Zealanders was unsettling for some of the participants. It was difficult to interpret non-verbal features. One PA, for example, found that it was hard to tell which New Zealanders she could make friends with. She felt that she could not read the signs *“so maybe I have to wait a long time to get communion with the Kiwi culture ... Then I can make friends with them”* (PRC33 Rd1). Similar sentiments were expressed by an English graduate (PRC29 Rd1), who noted that he could judge the attitudes towards himself of other Chinese but it was more difficult to judge the attitudes of non-Chinese. Consequently, he was worried about being embarrassed or doing something wrong. Another was concerned that *“sometimes they say ‘yes’ when actually they mean ‘no’”* (PRC34 Rd1), a concern that brought a swift rejoinder from his spouse that *“[t]hey also have the same problem with us!”*

The lack of shared experiences and backgrounds created problems: *“It’s easier to communicate with someone who has the same language and has the same culture”* (PRC14 Rd3). Many felt that their conversations with New Zealanders were very superficial and did not touch on the deeper issues that both contributed to and marked the establishment of a closer personal relationship; *“It was hard to move beyond a shallow level”* (PRC14 Rd3). Most had not had the opportunity to develop closer ties with “Kiwis”, but at least some who had established relationships also faced dilemmas. These dilemmas included how to respond appropriately to or to reciprocate hospitality. Should they invite people home, to share a meal in a Chinese way that was unfamiliar, with Chinese cooking that their visitors might not like? Nor were they sure how to go about inviting them anyway. Other immigrants, if they spoke English, were felt to be more approachable than “Kiwis” New Zealanders. While they had different cultures, and were sometimes hard to understand because of their different English, they had *“something in common”* (PRC34 Rd1). Their interests and recent experiences were similar.

## CONCLUSION

The personal social contacts of panel members in New Zealand were found to include friends from China, often former university classmates and friends and/or former work mates, and, for a small number, other family members temporarily or permanently settled in New Zealand plus friends made post-migration, in the main through personal networks. Many PAs remained, for the moment at least, within the shelter of the supportive networks provided by old country friends. In an environment where, as Ng (1998: 11) notes, “loneliness must be a major factor to contend with”, “old” friends were extremely important. In an often expensive and sometimes rather unwelcoming environment, they coped by supporting each other.

That initial contacts and social participation were predominantly Chinese in scope was to be expected with the immigration of a non-traditional and “visible” group. Relatives and (more commonly) friends, particularly those from the same ethnic group, employment and children constituted more important sources of social participation for the panel members than club membership, despite pre-migration aspirations to join. For most there was a slow movement into the wider society as they become more established and settled. Such movement was, however, retarded not only by the size of the immigrant Chinese population and socially supportive personal networks within it, but also by the difficulties – structural, economic and cultural rather than linguistic – which impeded penetration of the wider society, particularly the workforce. Expressed desires to participate in the wider, mainstream society in New Zealand through joining clubs and employment in their professional fields, were thwarted for most panel members by their inability to bridge the divide that separated them from the resident population.

Work is generally the most immediate and sustained source of positive social contact for immigrants with limited financial resources. Engaging in an occupation provides a link to the larger social structure, a social role and the sustained contact with members of the wider society which is required to develop social relationships. A similar argument can be made with respect to the social interaction opportunities provided for children and many adults by study in educational institutions. Failure to secure employment in positions commensurate with their education and professional

backgrounds where they could associate with their professional peers, removed the most direct route to social participation in the wider society.

Valtonen (1999: 488) argues that:

... immigrants' involvement with civil society early in resettlement lays an important base for linkages with society both on the formal and informal levels, and promotes demystification of the 'new' culture.

Without post-arrival policies to facilitate an entry into employment and the development of positive ethnic relations, however, social participation cannot be expected to promote or to reflect the sort of integration needed to produce a balanced, participatory civil society of the sort presented in Baubock's (1996b) model. In response to severely restricted options for social participation, some will continue to be drawn, to varying degrees, into the folds of a church group. There they may have others from their own ethnic group for familiarity plus welcoming members of the host society, to directly or indirectly support them while demystifying the culture. However, while very positive settlement support may well be provided by church groups, such participation may also involve a considerable compromising of beliefs and unease among non-Christians. Ultimately, those unable to find work or another entry point into the social, economic and political life of the wider society may choose to return to China, to move on to another destination, or to withdraw into their own community and centre their aspirations on their children's futures.

## Chapter 10 Conclusion

Language proficiency has become a more salient issue in immigrant settlement as globalisation, with its increased movement of people from non-traditional sources, has impacted on English-speaking countries. There is general agreement that proficiency in the language of the host society is a necessary factor for the successful integration of immigrants, particularly those targeted for their skills and other human capital (Fletcher, 1999; NZIS, 1995b). The apparent consensus among researchers, policy makers and immigrants regarding its importance in the settlement process notwithstanding, what constitutes “enough” English and many issues related to language, immigration policy and the settlement equation have remained largely unexplored.

It was within this context that this thesis examined the importance of English language in immigration policy and its role in conjunction with other factors in the settlement experiences of skilled migrants from a non-English speaking background (NESB). Was the English language requirement used as a selection instrument to ensure the successful settlement of those approved and was it incorporated and applied effectively or was it an arbitrarily decided instrument to exclude particular applicants? For skilled immigrants, to what extent was proficiency in English a key to successful settlement? Did English language proficiency lead to employment commensurate with immigrant skills and qualifications and social participation within the wider society or were other factors important? If so, what were these other factors and how did they relate to immigrants' English language proficiency?

To examine these issues, the effects of changes in skill- and wealth-selective (Clarke et al., 1990) immigration policies with their various language requirements plus the experiences of skilled immigrants from China who gained approval for settlement in New Zealand under the General Skills Category or its predecessor, the General

Category, were investigated. The pre- and post-migration experiences of a panel of 36 immigrants were examined through three rounds of interviews; the first round was completed in 1998, within one year of residence, and subsequent interviews were conducted at approximately twelve-monthly intervals thereafter. Since language issues are an integral part of the broader settlement process, the relationships between the panel members' English language proficiency, adaptation strategies over time and settlement outcomes with regard to employment and social participation were analysed. The assumption that if experienced, well educated, skilled immigrants arrived with an approved level of English, successful settlement and socioeconomic integration would inevitably follow was explored and found wanting. While the study focused on the settlement of a small group of skilled immigrants from China, the findings have obvious implications for the settlement and integration of other skilled immigrants from a non-English speaking background (NESB), particularly those who constitute a visible ethnic minority.

This conclusion is divided into four parts. First, a summary is presented of the key findings from the research and answers are offered to the questions raised above. Second, the implications of these findings are related to Bauböck's (1996b) analytical and idealtypic model of civil society, modes of immigrant incorporation and the concept of productive diversity. The usefulness of Bauböck's model as a conceptual and analytical tool and how it might be developed or amended to better reflect the findings of the present research are examined. The third section presents the policy implications of the study, indicating the need for a three-part, balanced institutional structure of immigration. Finally, some suggestions are offered for future research.

## **KEY FINDINGS**

The key findings from the research are presented and discussed under four headings. These address: the role of English language proficiency in immigration policy; the lived experience of members of the Chinese panel as second language speakers of English; the employment experiences and responses of these panel members; and their social participation within the Chinese and the wider host community.



## **English language proficiency in immigration policy**

The assessment of English language proficiency was found to feature prominently in the selection and entry of applicants under the General and General Skills categories, and it was also identified by participants in the longitudinal panel as an essential factor in the settlement process. However, an analysis of the English language requirement in New Zealand immigration policies revealed its somewhat ambiguous and arbitrary role as a selection tool. The key findings are presented below.

### ***English language proficiency as “a key to settlement”***

English language requirements gained increased prominence as New Zealand immigration policies moved away from a traditional source country bias and a labour market goal to one of economic growth and the recruitment of international human capital. When the traditional source country bias was removed in 1986, there was an assumption of the importance of pre-migration English language proficiency for successful settlement, but a pre-arranged job to come to was considered more important for those approved for their skills (Burke, 1986). Hence, the English language requirement was waived for those in ethnic-specific occupations such as Chinese restaurant chefs and market gardeners (Shroff, 1987; Trlin, 1986). With the move in 1991 to policies which more generally targeted human capital, the language requirement was more clearly defined, on the presumption that so long as selection criteria were adequate, economic benefits would inevitably follow from the inflow of human capital without any further settlement provisions being made by government.

The key role of language proficiency for settlement was more clearly specified in the 1995 policy changes (NZIS, 1995b: 10). English language proficiency was variously identified as “the key” and “a key” to successful settlement. The International English Language Testing Service (IELTS) Band 5 requirement was accordingly introduced for targeted immigrants, along with the punitive language bond for dependants over 15 years of age who might be a financial burden on the welfare and education systems. These measures were part of an effort not only to reduce human wastage and economic costs on the country but also to curb immigration from NESB source countries, particularly Northeast Asia (Forsyte Research, 1998a; NZIS, 1995b; Shackleford,

1997). Nevertheless, the rationalisation offered was that a certain level of English language proficiency (IELTS 5) was a necessary prerequisite for successful settlement and integration (NZIS, 1995a, 1995b), a claim that was not supported by the lack of an English language requirement for applicants seeking entry in other categories (notably the Family Category).

It is clear from research on the large numbers of skilled immigrants from Asia both before and after the 1995 immigration policy changes<sup>1</sup> that, despite an increased emphasis on English language skills, New Zealand failed to capitalise on the skills of recent arrivals. The fact that New Zealand lacked the capacity to absorb large numbers of visible and culturally (including linguistically) different migrants was a contributing factor in the negative backlash against Asian immigrants. Manipulating the English language requirement to restrict the entry of skilled immigrants from NESB sources did not address the root of the problem.

#### *A level of English language proficiency for settlement*

The English language proficiency considered necessary for successful settlement was not set or held at a constant level. The minimum level of proficiency for applicants within the occupational/skilled categories rose from a 1986 requirement of “adequate English language skills” as identified in a face-to-face interview with an immigration officer, to a “modest level” benchmarked at IELTS 5 (in each skill) or its equivalent in 1995, and to an observation in 2001 that IELTS 7 would be more useful (Clark, 2001). That decisions regarding minimum levels were often politically rather than linguistically based was illustrated in the lowering of the requirement for business migrants when applicant numbers fell. The requirement dropped from IELTS 5, the level identified by Boyer (1995) as a more reasonable signal to prospective immigrants regarding the level of language they would need for settlement, to IELTS 4 in 1997, and then was effectively removed in 1998, when applicants who failed to meet the required level could gain entry by pre-purchasing post-arrival English for speakers of other languages (ESOL) tuition. For a relatively small fee, prospective business

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Barnard (1996), Benson-Rea et al. (2000), Boyer (1995), Ethnic Affairs Service (1996), Ho et al. (1997a, 2000b), Friesen and Ip (1997), Ip and Friesen (2001), Lidgard (1998), Redmond (1995), Winkelmann (2000), Winkelmann and Winkelmann (1998).

immigrants joined applicants in the Family categories and Pacific Island quotas, who did not need English for selection. The rationale that accompanied its effective removal was that business/entrepreneurial immigrants would be less dependent on local markets (Bradford, 1997b).

Fluency in the language of the host community is widely identified as a factor in successful settlement (Beiser, 1999; Burnett, 1998; Ho et al., 2000b; Wooden et al., 1994). The level of English language proficiency required is less clear, and dependent on other factors within the individual and the social context, including motivation, language support, situational demands, and exposure to and positive interaction with members of the host society (Bellingham, 1995; Chiswick and Miller, 1995; Ellis, 1994, 1999; Spolsky, 1989). The use of a formal language test to predict suitable settlement outcomes is, therefore, imperfect at best. Nevertheless, most of the Chinese in the longitudinal panel felt that a score of IELTS 5 or IELTS 6 was about right for a principal applicant (PA), endorsing the IELTS 5 vocational level used in Australia and New Zealand and raising questions regarding the lowering of the requirement for business immigrants.

### *Language as a selection tool*

Despite the regular insistence in New Zealand's immigration policy on the importance of English language proficiency, requirements were found to be arbitrarily reflected in its operationalisation. The English language requirements were frequently manipulated to regulate flows according to NESB source countries and immigration categories. The utilisation of a language test as a tool to exclude "undesirable" immigrants from Asia had an historical antecedent in the reading test legislated in the 1907 Chinese Immigrants Amendment Act to exclude Chinese immigrants, but that earlier test had required a parliamentary debate and the enactment of legislation for its institution. An analysis of 1991-1995 General Category approval data (Chapter 6) showed that: (a) proof of language ability based on a face-to-face interview was waived for applicants from China only when they were deemed to be living in an English-speaking environment; (b) stringent requirements were applied to applicants from the former Yugoslavia; (c) investment funds appeared to take precedence in the approval of Taiwanese; and (d) more traditional applicants from South Africa were assumed to

meet the required standard by dint of living in an “English-speaking” country, irrespective of their first language. Evidently, the stipulated level for pre-migration proficiency in English was not considered a *sine qua non* of successful settlement for all NESB immigrants approved on the basis of their skills; monetary considerations and perceived cultural distance could and did take precedence.<sup>2</sup> Language was used as a tool to manipulate, if not control, the entry of particular NESB immigrants.

A public outcry and backlash against an “Asian invasion” contributed to the institution of the IELTS 5 and language fee/bond requirement (Bedford and Lidgard, 1996b). The threshold level for effective functioning identified in Australia and Canada was adopted but the General modules were favoured over the Academic modules and the prerequisite was compulsory. In contrast, a Canadian proposal to introduce a compulsory language requirement in 1998 was overthrown by public, particularly ethnic group, opposition.

#### ***A pre-migration or user pays requirement***

Cost-recovery justifications in keeping with a neo-liberal economic ideology were found to drive many of the decisions regarding the role of English language proficiency in immigration policy. The NZ\$20,000 language fee-cum-bond option for dependants who failed to meet the IELTS 5 requirement paid scant regard to the economic or social costs this might impose on immigrants or to the lack of logic behind claims regarding its motivational force. Only the ethical issues involved appear to have prevented the 1995 adoption of an ESOL-cost-recovery related test for all NESB children of school age within the skills and business categories.<sup>3</sup> The questioning of the insistence on a pre-migration language requirement by researchers (Bedford et al., 1987; Trlin, 1992; Trlin and Kang, 1992) was answered in terms of a fiscally restrained, hands-off, user pays approach. The pre-purchase arrangement instituted in 1998 purported to be costed

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<sup>2</sup> The power of investment funds was similarly illustrated in Trlin and Kang’s (1992) sample of Hong Kong and Taiwanese Business Investment Category approvals. The 1986 regulations stipulated a compulsory interview to ascertain English language proficiency, but 8 per cent of the approved applicants (predominantly Taiwanese) were identified as having no English.

<sup>3</sup> These ethical issues included: charging some immigrants with children in need of ESOL assistance and not others; using money from some immigrant groups to fund ESOL provisions for others; and asking schools and/or teachers to identify particular cases.

according to the amount of ESOL tuition a new arrival would need in order to meet the required standard. However, the maximum penalty for business applicants was only half that for dependants in the skilled category,<sup>4</sup> whose personal characteristics (for example, age, education and formal qualifications) favoured them in terms of English language proficiency and learning (Chiswick and Miller, 1995; Spolsky, 1989).

Immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds, including those from less developed countries, may constitute a highly skilled and valuable human asset for receiving countries (Cope and Kalantzis, 1997; Fortney, 1970; Waldinger, 1996). Without a welcoming environment and suitable post-arrival immigration policies to facilitate the utilisation of skills, however, the benefits that may accrue from the admission of such immigrants are unlikely to be realised. While cost-recovery was becoming evident in other countries such as Canada and Australia, they tended to adopt a more conciliatory and positive approach to immigrants who did not speak the national language and made a greater effort regarding post-arrival provisions. For example, higher levels of English language fluency were rewarded with points and (albeit honed down) well-structured and nationally-provided post-arrival support was available. This support included the Australian Adult Migrant English Programme (AMEP) and the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) programme (Brindley, 2000; Burnaby, 1992; Watts et al., 2001), and interpreting and broadcasting services (Ozolins, 1993). In countries such as Finland, Israel, Sweden and Germany, where the national language was unlikely to be known by most immigrants pre-migration, the provision of on-arrival instruction in the target language for new arrivals was the norm (Beenstock and benMenahem, 1997; Coulmas, 1991; Dustmann, 1996; Valtonen, 1999).

### *Policy decision-making issues*

The ability to alter policy without resort to legislation, reflected the executive decision-making role of the Minister of Immigration in Cabinet Committee. It allowed for timely adjustments in a rapidly changing international environment, but it also facilitated (as evidenced by the English language requirement) ad hoc, reactive tinkering with

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<sup>4</sup> This was the reverse of the situation in Australia, where business immigrants could pay up to twice as much as independent/skilled approvals if they did not meet the language requirement.

selection criteria without regard to overall immigration policy decisions and provisions. This problem was noted by Bedford and Ho (1998). Furthermore, executive decision-making regarding the language requirement and other changes removed the debate from the public arena, reduced the likelihood of public ownership of policies and outcomes and thereby probably contributed to the negative response and xenophobic backlash of the 1990s. When this occurred, the response at the institutional level was, as happened in Britain in the 1950s and 1960s (Reitz, 1988), to link race relations to immigration controls rather than to the need for post-arrival settlement provisions and a more substantive race relations policy to deal with deteriorating interethnic relations (Trlin, 1993).

The problems associated with immigration are more likely to engender negative public reactions and social disharmony in countries where post-arrival settlement policies are not in place and the wider population is not included in the immigration policy making process (Bergman, 1989; Freeman, 1999; Reitz, 1988, Trlin, 1993). This was the scenario in New Zealand in the 1990s. Rather than being viewed as the economic asset to the country that they were recruited to be (NZIS, 1995b) and as “belonging”, affluent business migrants and highly skilled professionals were identified: both as challenging others’ socioeconomic positions and, contrariwise, as a burden on the country; as a threat to national identity and social cohesion; and as opportunistic outsiders with no intention of settling (Kelsey, 1997; Legat, 1996; Trlin et al., 1998a; Walker, 1995). Simmons’ (1998: 48-49) analysis of the 1990s backlash against skilled Asian immigrants in Canada, which included attacks on inflated real estate values, “monster houses” and “job stealers”, could as well have been a description of the “Asian invasion” reaction in New Zealand. As the old stereotypes were belied by the assets, experience, skills and qualifications of the new immigrants from Asia, the very features which gained them points for entry attracted other stereotypes. As Simmons’ comments illustrate, interethnic tensions will still arise in societies with well-planned immigration policies including established ethnic affairs policies, but at least in Canada there were institutional structures of immigration for their mitigation and control and the public were consulted on immigration policy proposals.

### *Summary*

In sum, the study of the role of English language requirements in immigration policy has shown that the ongoing adjustments in immigration policy reflected neither a clear philosophy regarding the importance of language for settlement nor consistency in the application of policy requirements. While identified as a prerequisite for the successful settlement of skilled immigrants, English language proficiency requirements and their enforcement were manipulated in a “tap-on, tap-off” fashion to provide the greatest benefits (in numerical and financial terms) to the country at the least cost. Such adjustments were not necessarily more frequent in New Zealand than in other countries of immigration, but they were rather more random. Furthermore, while the immigration policy changes of the 1980s and early 1990s focused firmly on selection procedures and the regulation and restriction of entry, identified by Faist (1996) and Weiner (1996) as the main purpose of immigration policy, the more complex issues associated with immigrant settlement and integration remained untouched until the end of the 1990s (Altinkaya, 1998; Bedford and Lidgard, 1996; Trlin, 1997).

In contrast, immigration policy changes in Canada have taken place within a framework of longer-term strategic immigration plans, public consultation (which gave voice to the ethnic lobby), Federal-Provincial co-operation in immigrant selection (especially with Quebec) and the provision of post-arrival services, plus the existence of a formal constitution enshrining a national policy of multiculturalism (Inglis, 1996). Australia resembled New Zealand in its more frequent tinkering with admission categories and the selection criteria for skilled immigrants (Castles et al., 1998; Freeman, 1999). However, along with Canada, it, too, provided a sharp contrast in its established institution of post-arrival immigrant and ethnic affairs policies, and avowed (if latterly somewhat diluted) multicultural stance and consultation procedures (Inglis, 1996, 1999; Jupp, 1998; Jupp and Kabala, 1993).

### **Language: the lived experience**

The study of the language experiences of the panel members (Chapter 7) investigated their pre-migration English language experiences, levels of English on arrival, and post-arrival language experiences and responses, including language learning and use.

Attention was also paid to their first language, which could constitute a valuable resource post-migration.

### *Pre-migration English language experiences and proficiency*

The pre-migration English language situation of principle applicants (PAs) reflected their relative youth, tertiary education and professional work experience plus the self-selective nature of voluntary migrants. All had studied English pre-migration, most had had contact with people from other cultures, and nearly half had used English most days or every day in the work domain. While fewer spouses had used English pre-migration, all had studied the language and half had used it at work at least sometimes. Reflecting this background, all adults arrived with at least a minimum level of functional competence in English, and many with considerably more, having lived and worked or studied in English-speaking environments. IELTS scores ranged from 8.5 for one PA to two PAs who were required to take the 1991-1995 NZIS test and two spouses who failed to meet the IELTS 5 requirement pre- or post-migration.

The findings for the panel members were consistent with other research. While age would prove a limiting factor in the acquisition of a native-like accent (Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991), education levels and age at migration have been identified as important factors contributing to language proficiency, learning efficiency and fluency (Boyd et al., 1994; Carliner, 1996, 2000; Chiswick and Miller, 1992, 1995; Liu, 1996; Samuel, 1998). Pre-migration exposure to and geographical and cultural distance from the host society have similarly been associated with language proficiency in younger skilled immigrants, who are considered more likely to have learned English in a formal situation, to have used it pre-migration and to be highly motivated to increase their language proficiency post-migration (Carliner, 2000; Chiswick and Miller, 1995; Espinosa and Massey, 1997). Taking Chiswick and Miller's (1995) model of language proficiency, lower levels of proficiency would be more likely among less well educated or older migrants, arrivals not intending to work in the country of settlement and/or those anticipating only a short length of residence (Chiswick and Miller, 1995; Dustmann, 1999).



### *Post-migration English language experiences*

Most reported that they had found their English skills more useful than anticipated despite initial problems associated with New Zealand English. Learning British rather than American English in China appeared to have helped them cope with colloquialisms and the lexicon specific to New Zealand English. In contrast to Boyer's (1995) Taiwanese subjects and like the Putonghua/Mandarin speakers in Leek's (1997) small scale study of new immigrants' familiarity with New Zealand English words, most reported few difficulties in this area. Their main comprehension problems were phonologically and culturally based. Exposure to the language in the wider environment (through the media, their studies and work) attuned them over time to the more standard forms of the new dialect, its accent and speed of delivery. In contrast, issues related to underlying cultural differences and sociolinguistic competence, the acquisition of which is more dependent on interaction with native speakers (Clyne, 1994; Hymes, 1971; Kim, 1988), persisted for many throughout the period covered by the research.

### *ESOL courses*

In New Zealand studies involving language provisions for immigrants, there is considerable support for ESOL courses that are short, intensive and goal-oriented and which do not hinder or delay social interaction with native speakers (Bellingham, 1995; Bryce, 1995; Symes, 1995). As Gubbay and Coghill (1988: 12) noted in their report on ESOL provision and the successful settlement of immigrants and refugees: "[l]ife does not wait for language, and neither should people. Neither should institutions encourage them to do so, or insist they do".

Such were the sentiments of most panel members; ESOL courses had been considered as a route to employment and as a means of facilitating social participation, but fewer than had planned to do so actually enrolled. Among those who did enrol, it was sometimes done reluctantly to meet the requirements for a student allowance or to obtain the ESOL qualifications required to enter tertiary study courses. Advice that merely improving their English would lead to a job was realised to be unrealistic and/or a path to dead-end employment, the latter a danger flagged by Neuwirth (1999) in her

assessment of Canadian proposals favouring assistance leading to the earliest possible self-sufficiency. Contrary to positive reviews in the NZIS-commissioned Forsythe Research (1998) investigation of the English language bond and frequent promotion by government agencies, general everyday English courses were identified as rarely meeting the needs of PAs and never meeting the needs of spouses attempting to pass the IELTS test within the prescribed timeframe.

The criticised lack of coordination and attention to the linguistic and settlement needs of NESB arrivals in ESOL provision (Altinkaya, 1998; Gubbay and Coghill, 1988; McGillivray, 1996; Shackelford, 1996; Syme, 1995) was evident in this research. General courses, particularly multilevel generic social English courses, were felt to be a waste of time, but other courses which catered to international fee paying students were rarely suited to immigrant needs or characteristics. Panel members were overqualified for Training Opportunities Programmes (TOP) courses, a situation also noted by Chang (1997), although one spouse somehow gained entry to such a course which led on to employment (albeit unskilled).

The possible value of bridging programmes was not shown in the research. Only one panel member undertook a New Zealand Employment Service (NZES) bridging-type ESOL for Professionals course, after finally meeting the entry requirement of a stand-down period of registered unemployment. This particular course – which was less than half the recommended length (Market Research and Evaluation Team, 1998) and which had its potentially more valuable professional work experience component significantly curtailed – did not lead to employment. While the brevity of the course may have contributed to this negative outcome, such courses have not been shown elsewhere to have the power to overcome discriminatory barriers to employment. Hawthorne (1997) reported a lack of movement into employment by Asian engineers upon the completion of bridging courses in Australia, irrespective of their levels of English language fluency, and an NZES (Market Research and Evaluation Team, 1998) evaluation found only a low rate of post-study entry to employment from New Zealand courses, although more went on to further study. The further study option was taken by panel members without attending such courses; short, focused academic preparation courses, with IELTS qualifications, were the preferred route to tertiary studies if required.

### *Informal learning strategies*

Informal ESOL learning strategies were identified as a more commonly adopted and on-going option to consciously increase language proficiency than formal ESOL studies. The most common informal strategy utilised by panel members over the three rounds of interviews was watching television, a medium also identified in White et al. (2001) and Ip and Friesen's (2001) studies. Grammatically-focused methods of self-study – familiar from China – were popular in the initial period of settlement, but declined in popularity with length of residence and increased participation in the second language environment.

That formal study in subject areas other than English was a common strategy at the first interview but faded in importance reflected the increasing use of the language as a tool without any conscious or planned effort to learn it rather than any drop-off in English language use for study. The successful completion of university postgraduate degrees and other tertiary studies and the subsequent entry to work of some panel members, despite reported limitations in skills and vocabulary, attested to the utility of their English language proficiency. While improved speaking and writing skills were usually attributed to tertiary studies, difficulties were associated with interacting with English speakers in large classes.

As in Beiser (1999) and White et al.'s (2001) studies, employment and the interaction with English speakers that this brought were identified by most panel members who were employed as the best route to increased proficiency. The exceptions were those participants engaged in secondary employment where the work conditions or composition of the workforce mitigated against social interaction in English.

A successful case of self-study was presented to illustrate the importance of the post-arrival exposure and economic incentive elements of Chiswick and Miller's (1995) model of immigrant language proficiency. With an IELTS band score of 5.0, this panel member: was employed in his profession (on a limited basis); used both English and Chinese languages daily; worked alongside and was mentored by a New Zealand employer (a "good friend"); and had a clear goal – to gain professional registration in order to practise on his own account. Using a range of informal strategies to increase

his fluency, he achieved an Academic IELTS score of 6.5 within 6 months of his approval for permanent residence and passed his examinations.

This example illustrated both the functionality of an IELTS 5 score in a positive work environment and the gains which could be made in language proficiency where the efficiency, exposure and motivation conditions of Chiswick and Miller's (1995) model existed. The participant was relatively young, well educated and had been exposed to English (albeit with a reading and writing emphasis) pre-migration. Living in a Chinese-speaking household, he worked in a collegial English-speaking, professional environment. Through work he had daily contact with native-English-speaking peers in a professional context that was free from the cultural tensions often reported in relation to unfamiliar social settings such as church groups. In the terms adopted by Gardner and Lambert (1972), he was highly motivated, both instrumentally (the need to communicate with patients, write reports and pass his examinations) and integratively (the desire to be accepted by "Kiwi" colleagues and friends, and to increase his involvement in the wider society).

Others, often with higher levels of proficiency, were not so fortunate. Few had such a positive work-related environment and many faced discrimination related to their non-native variety of English and accents, along with the non-transferability of their Chinese qualifications and experience. This impeded their entry into the workforce. Nevertheless, by the third round of interviews, over half of all panel members identified English as their "main language used", a reflection of their increased English language proficiency and use of the language in the wider society, for everyday activities and study, if not work.

### *First language resource*

The longitudinal study identified a linguistically rich pool of bilingual immigrants. All were literate in Chinese and usually bi- or multi-dialectal, with fluency in Putonghua/Mandarin. Being bilingual, many panel members often acted as a bridge between their own ethnic group and the wider society, informally interpreting and translating for friends and neighbours in a range of everyday activities. Occasionally this role involved more formal situations for specific events or short-term, part-time

positions. For the most part, however, their lack of employment and underemployment contributed to the non-utilisation of first language skills in the public domain.

While panel members' expectations regarding the occupational utility of their first language resources were rarely realised within the timeframe of the study, Chinese was found to be more useful than expected for everyday activities. Socially, it was used in the home, and with both "old" and "new" friends from China. It was also the lingua franca within the expanding "new" immigrant Chinese community and media. There was no distinct ethnic enclave in Auckland, but the size of the Putonghua/Mandarin-speaking population meant that many everyday activities could be transacted without recourse to English.

The significance of the panel members' bilingual resource was accentuated by the recognised difficulty associated with learning Chinese (Kirkpatrick, 1995a; Mackerras, 1996; Smith et al., 1993). Apart from its individual benefits, bilingualism is identified as constituting a valuable but often underutilised national resource (Cope and Kalantzis, 1997; Dicker, 2000; Enderwick and Gray, 1992). Watts and Trlin's (1999) observation that the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the skilled immigrants in their study were not being capitalised on by the wider society was endorsed in the experience of most of the panel members. Two notable exceptions were the self-employed panel members; they used both languages for work in their enterprises which straddled the two cultures.

### *Children's bilingualism*

It is widely accepted that as young children acculturate into a host society the problem is more one of maintaining their first language than of introducing the second (Kipp et al., 1995; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Roberts, 1997; Schumann, 1978; Veltman, 1983). The children in this study were no exception. Once they entered the education system there was a marked increase in the use of English in the public and private domains. While most still spoke only or mainly Chinese to their parents, they preferred English when talking with their peers. Clyne's (1982) warning that speaking English to each other when not in the presence of their elders spelt doom for children's bilingualism, indicated a negative prognosis for the maintenance of Chinese beyond the immigrant

generation. Indeed, it was already disappearing among younger arrivals who lacked the literacy skills in the language to support its maintenance, an issue of increasing concern to parents.

### **English and employment: language in practice**

Not only was employment identified as the main motivator for further ESOL study among panel members but it is an essential indicator of successful settlement and integration (Bauböck, 1996b; Fletcher, 1999; Neuwirth, 1999). Skilled immigrants may anticipate some initial difficulties settling and finding employment but, having been targeted for their qualifications and previous work experience, they generally expect to be able to work in an area where these skills are utilised. In fact, the success of an immigration policy which targets skilled immigrants is contingent upon employment in positions which utilise their human capital (Freeman, 1999; Trlin, 1997). In this section, findings related to the employment experiences of the panel and their responses to unemployment (Chapter 8) will be summarised and related to the findings of other researchers.

#### *Employment experiences*

Both the 1996 Census data and the post-arrival experiences of panel members revealed a pattern of unemployment and underemployment among recent immigrants from China. Initial entry to employment was slow, and only seven were employed in 1998, including three on-shore applicants. While the percentage of unemployed panel members declined with their increasing length of residence, less than half of the panel were employed in New Zealand (nine of them on a part-time basis) and one-third were still unemployed and looking for work and at the time of the third interview in 2000. No clear association was found between on-arrival English language proficiency and employment; while one PA with an initial IELTS 5 plus statutory registration gained a professional position, another with IELTS 7 plus a New Zealand postgraduate degree did not.

Signs of greater employment stability over time and of increasing comparability of employment to pre-migration occupations, were balanced by an under-utilisation of

skills and a lack of job satisfaction. Moreover, the data suggest that while the chances of employment, and especially satisfactory employment, did increase with length of residence, this was too slow for some. The fact that at least four panel members had already returned to China and that another one was “astronauting” by the third round of interviews, reflected both the increased international mobility of well educated migrants (for example, Ho et al., 1996; Hugo, 1998, 2001b) and the employment problems faced by many skilled immigrants in New Zealand. This finding endorsed the reported findings of other New Zealand researchers (Boyer, 1995; Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996; Ho and Lidgard, 1997; Ho et al., 2000b; Ip and Friesen, 2001; Winkelmann and Winkelmann, 1998) and also Freeman’s (1999) negative evaluation of skilled migration programmes internationally. The “brain drain” that has afflicted New Zealand from time to time since the 1960s might have been countered but there was little return for immigrants on their skills and a less than optimal contribution to the country’s economic growth.

The disjuncture between pre-migration employment, qualifications and experiences and post-migration experiences were, in New Zealand as elsewhere, marked by a general decline in the employment status and earning capacity of more recent, and particularly visibly different, immigrants (Bevelander, 1999; Borjas, 1990; Jones, 1998; Miller and Neo, 1997; Valtonen, 2001; Winkelmann and Winkelmann, 1998). For skilled immigrants, this situation has been attributed by researchers: (a) to economic environments affected by recessions, restructuring and shrinking labour markets (Hugo, 1992; Winkelmann and Winkelmann, 1998); (b) to a skills transferability gap (Chapman and Iredale, 1993; Chiswick, 1991; Duleep and Regets, 1997; Freeman, 1999; Hawthorne, 1997); and (c) to “unjustified” discrimination that particularly affects visible and NESB immigrants (Castles et al., 1998; EEO Trust, 2000; Hawthorne, 1997; Miller and Neo, 1997; Woldring, 1994), rather than to the lower quality of more recent immigrants hypothesised by Borjas (1990).

Do the above explanations apply to the experiences of Chinese panel members examined in this thesis? There can be no doubt that they do. A lack of New Zealand qualifications and work experience, along with their non-native English language proficiency, rather than statutory registration requirements which had thwarted the employment of many skilled immigrants pre-1995 (Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996; North

et al., 1999; Selvarajah, 1998), excluded panel members from their professions or commensurate employment. Indeed, the absence of professional statutory registration requirements for engineers among the panel members appeared to do little to increase employers' recognition of off-shore professional qualifications or experience (Stone, 1998) and hence closure of a possible skills transferability gap. Employers were identified by panel members as unwilling to take risks and to accept differences, identifying these as deficits rather than the potential benefits they represent in a productive diversity paradigm (Cope and Kalantzis, 1997; Watts and Trlin, 1999).

The key factor underlying the negative employment experiences of many panel members appears to have been the "unjustified" discriminatory reactions of prospective employers and/or recruitment agencies to accents, ethnicity and recent immigrant status. Such reactions have been identified in a number of previous and contemporary studies (New Zealand Association of Citizen's Advice Bureaux, 2000; EEO Trust, 2000; Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996; Singer and Eder, 1989). It may also be said that another factor in the experience of unemployment or underemployment among panel members was their inability to acquire the greater language proficiency, local cultural capital and work experience sought by employers as a result of: (a) being excluded from employment opportunities (a Catch-22 situation); (b) the absence of suitable training programmes, bridging courses or other support to find appropriate positions; and/or (c) the ineligible status of panel members with regard to the programmes, courses and support that were available.

### *Strategies to cope with unemployment*

Strategies to cope with unemployment varied. Remaining unemployed was the least desired option; participants neither wished nor could afford, unlike some more affluent migrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan and Korea (Boyer, 1995; Ho and Lidgard, 1997; Lidgard, 1996), to remain inactive or to take early retirement. Some found part- or full-time work in the secondary sector, a strategic response to immediate economic needs that Neuwirth (1999) warns has the potential to trap immigrants into a cycle of dead-end jobs. Most panel members engaged in such work were either simultaneously undertaking or later returned to tertiary study.



Enrolment in further study to secure recognised New Zealand qualifications was the most frequently adopted strategy, proving more common in this investigation than among General Category respondents in the *High Hopes* survey (Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996). The difference was probably attributable, in part, to the greater English language proficiency of panel members. While some panel members studied in ESOL programmes to enhance employment opportunities, the uptake of such courses was lower than planned pre-migration and then, as mentioned earlier, often only as a precursor to other study. This study usually involved postgraduate courses or research, or more vocationally-oriented short business or computing courses. Despite the withdrawal of entitlement to student allowances and benefits within the first two years of permanent residency in January 1999, most panel members continued with their study, often finding part-time work to support the household.

Further study was found to be an effective, if time-consuming, strategy. It furnished the marketable “western” qualifications to underwrite previous studies and work experience, led to the knowledge and credentials required for new occupations, or provided contacts and opportunities for part-time employment, which established a record of New Zealand work experience plus the networks and personal contacts for later full-time employment. Where those completing further study were unable to find any or suitable work, they generally lacked the networks and personal contacts which were found among Asian migrants in Australia (Lever-Tracy et al., 1999) to be a valuable source of support, information and access to employment opportunities. Without these networks and contacts they were dependent on the media or the assistance of institutional structures, which were rarely suited to the needs of professional job-seekers and/or discriminated against them.

In keeping with the trend noted by Ho and Lidgard (1997) for immigrants from China to be less likely to be self-employed than those from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Korea during the early years of settlement, the self-employment strategy was found to be rare in comparison with other studies (Castles et al., 1998; Ho et al., 1998). Of the two panel members who were self-employed, one had an English-related degree, considerable prior experience in a Chinese business venture and had completed a short business course in New Zealand. The other had established his own professional practice after initially working for someone else.

Returning to work in China was an option. The socially stressful “astronauting” strategy, common among Taiwanese and Hong Kong migrants (Ho et al., 1997b; Skeldon, 1994), was adopted by one participant who had been unable to develop the networks and contacts to establish an architectural practice in New Zealand. More often the strategy adopted was that contemplated by many Asian adolescents “in search of a better future” (Ho et al., 1996) – return migration. Those panel members who returned to China did so from positions of underemployment or after failing to secure employment with newly gained New Zealand qualifications. Rapid economic development, the growth of private and joint venture businesses and socioeconomic advances rendered major eastern seaboard cities in China attractive destinations. On-going failure to access the workforce or find appropriate employment beyond the third round of interviews seemed likely to lead to further return migration and/or step migration by disillusioned migrants.<sup>5</sup>

### **Social participation, English and employment**

Chapter 9 examined the nexus between social participation, employment and English language proficiency and use for members of the panel. Pre- and post-migration membership of voluntary organisations, patterns of socialisation with family members, friends and colleagues, and the relationship between work, social participation and language use were investigated. What effect did English language proficiency, club membership, employment and the presence of children have on social participation in the wider community?

#### ***Membership of clubs and other voluntary social organisations***

Few of the participants had belonged to voluntary social organisations in China and participation rates in New Zealand clubs and other types of voluntary social organisations remained low throughout the three rounds of interviews involved in this

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<sup>5</sup> Despite the publicity regarding “back-door” migration (Birrell and Rapson, 2001; Lagan, 1998, cited in Bedford et al., 2000: 11), no panel members were known to have migrated to Australia during the three years of this research. It would, however, become an easier option with New Zealand citizenship and if suitable work was not found after the completion of further qualifications.

study. Only nine principal applicants (PAs), less than half of those who reported a pre-migration intention to join, and a similar number of spouses, had actually joined clubs or other social organisations by the third round of interviews. Other responsibilities, a lack of time, communication issues, the costs associated with membership and securing appropriate employment were among the main reasons offered for not belonging.

### *Employment*

As expected, it was found that employment was the main avenue for social participation in the mainstream of New Zealand society. Employment, especially in the company of “Kiwi” New Zealanders facilitated social interaction as it involved sanctioned contact and task-oriented interaction, which in turn reduced the perceived social distance between the two groups. Since none of the panel members worked in an exclusively Chinese work environment, as the duration of residence increased so did interaction with non-Chinese work associates and the number of such associates identified as “friends”. Significantly, employment was also found to facilitate social interaction beyond the workplace; those who were employed were less likely to experience difficulties developing relations with “Kiwi” New Zealanders outside of the workplace than those who were not employed.

Work or paid employment is generally identified as the most immediate and sustained source of positive contact with members of the host society for immigrants of working age, particularly those new arrivals with limited financial resources (Chiswick and Miller, 1995; Pavalko, 1988). A ubiquitous feature of everyday life for most people and one which provides a patterned structure to daily life, relationships with others and a sense of identity (Pavalko, 1988; Thomas, 1999), work also affects one’s self-concept and “how one is perceived by others, the ‘social space’ within which life is lived” (Pavalko, 1988: 309). Work may spill over into leisure or leisure time may be compensatory, offering a counterbalance to work, but either way engaging in an occupation provides a link to a larger social structure and gives meaning to leisure and other non-work aspects of everyday life. Work is also a cornerstone of Chinese culture, which traditionally places great store (if no longer the greatest financial return) on education and professional status (Li, 1997). Moreover, alongside the family, work was identified as a key source of social participation in China. It was not surprising,

therefore, that employment was found to be such an important determinant of social participation among panel members in New Zealand.

### *English language proficiency and social participation*

An investigation of the relationship between English language proficiency and social participation identified a number of ambiguous patterns. Higher levels of proficiency were associated with the early engagement of panel members in voluntary work, plans to join clubs and other social organisations and the actual uptake of membership. However, English proficiency was also related to higher levels of social organisation membership pre-migration, which indicates that there were individual and/or structural factors other than English language proficiency involved. Language proficiency was not found to eliminate an expectation among participants that they would experience difficulties in joining social organisations or in engaging in social participation in New Zealand; it may, rather, have heightened the awareness of potential cultural issues. Sociocultural aspects of communication, rather than language *per se*, permeated the comments of PAs regarding problems experienced in developing friendships with “Kiwi” New Zealanders, particularly an inability to “read” people and the lack of a shared cultural background. It was easier to communicate with those who shared a cultural background and language. As Clyne (1994) observed in his study of cross-cultural communication in the workplace, the cultural discourse patterns of a language take rather longer to master than the purely linguistic features.

### *Length of residence and social participation*

Length of residence was generally associated with increased social participation in the wider society, but this was not a given. Those who were not studying and unemployed or employed in manual work, found the establishment of contact with members of the wider, established “Kiwi” society, more problematic. So, too, did those panel members engaged in university courses which involved very large classes, a feature which mitigated against the establishment of close relationships with fellow “Kiwi” students. Without work, or without study in reasonably small classes, there were few opportunities to engage in activities with people outside of a participant’s ethnic group.

Informal social networks outside of work involved mainly members of the same ethnic group. In contrast to the dense, interrelated kinship networks found within the established Chinese community (Ip, 1990; Ng, 2001), extended family networks were uncommon and unlikely to grow rapidly or substantially via chain migration if panel members failed to secure suitable work. However, nearly three-quarters of the PAs had “old” friends from China already in New Zealand when they took up residence. These friends provided a core of Chinese associates with whom one could socialise, to whom one could turn for help and support, and through whom one could develop wider networks of contacts and friends. Thus, “new” friends outside of work also tended to be of the same ethnic group – China-born and Putonghua/Mandarin speaking in most instances.

There was a greater likelihood of new friends for both panel members and spouses being non-Chinese with increased length of residence, although spouses were somewhat more likely to develop friendships with persons other than Chinese during the second year. This widening of social circles reflected a gradually increasing social participation in the wider society (mainly through work associates, but also through study, often informal participation in voluntary organisations and neighbourhood networks as people became more established), a feature paralleled by a slight increase in the percentage of panel members using English socially.

### *Children and social participation*

Children (via school attendance and school functions) provided their parents with fewer opportunities to interact with other adults than was expected. In part, this was because many parents were engaged in full-time studies and, in part also, because contact appeared to be very brief and not conducive to the establishment of personal relationships.

Children themselves, on the other hand, benefited from the sustained contact and opportunities for interaction at school. They quickly developed cross-cultural networks of friends and attained a native-like level of fluency in New Zealand English. The school provided an interactive environment where children, particularly the very young,

were rapidly socialised into the host society. As with language, the issue was more one of them losing their own culture than not acquiring the new one.

### **Summary**

Considering the socioeconomic indicators of successful settlement which recur in the literature – education, employment in a position commensurate with one's qualifications and skills, contact with both the ethnic and the host communities, social acceptance and absorption, and access to services and provisions (Burnett, 1998; Halli and Driedger, 1999; Lewins and Ly, 1985; Taft, 1986) – the settlement and socioeconomic integration of panel members during the time span of this study can be considered to be no more than a very qualified success.

Selected under the General Category or General Skills Category, the panel members, like those in the 1991-1995 sample, were found to be very well qualified, from professional or business backgrounds, and to have more than a basic functional competency in the English language. However, less than half of the original panel were working in New Zealand at the time of the third interview. Spouses had experienced similarly limited success in their efforts to enter the workforce, increasing the economic and social pressures on households. Not only were employment rates low, but many were engaged in part-time, casual and secondary employment which did not reflect or utilise their prior experience or qualifications or provide them with an environment conducive to skills enhancement or transference. Nor were many of those who were working satisfied with their positions, although there were some exceptions, including the two participants with very different on-arrival levels of English language proficiency who were self-employed. The large number of panel members engaged in further studies affected the employment situation, but this, too, reflected employment problems. Had they been able secure positions in their professions, most would have foregone further study which had been undertaken as a means of negotiating one of the barriers to employment – their lack of New Zealand qualifications.

All panel members had considerable contact with “old” and “new” friends and others in the wider Chinese immigrant community. Contact with the host society was more

restricted, with social participation closely related to employment status. Work not only provided greater contact but facilitated the establishment of relationships outside of work with “Kiwi” New Zealanders and other non-Chinese. Further study was also a significant source of contact with members of the host community, but only for those in small classes or research groups. Moreover, the demands placed on time by further study, along with a lack of employment or lack of suitable employment, contributed to a low uptake of planned membership in clubs and other voluntary organisations. Limited contact with similarly educated members of the host community had negative implications for settlement, language fluency and acculturation, as did experiences of discrimination and other signs of a lack of acceptance.

While panel members could generally access services and provisions, the withdrawal of one important provision in the second year of the study – their eligibility for benefits and allowances within the first two years of residence – had a significant effect on those panel members who were unable to secure suitable employment. This fiscally driven restriction of new immigrants’ rights paralleled a similar 1997 decision in Australia, and the removal of the safety net for those unable to secure skilled employment had similarly negative effects on settlement (Horsburgh, 1998). Continued eligibility for student loans mitigated the immediate economic hardship for those who were studying, but created longer-term economic stress. Support was withdrawn at the very time it was needed by immigrants; that is, within the first years of settlement when they were trying to get established in the new society (Beiser, 1999) and when they were more likely to achieve marked advances in their levels of English language fluency.

Of the three sets of variables affecting the settlement of immigrants – that is, their backgrounds, the migration process and the host society context – this thesis has found that the host society context has a marked effect on settlement outcomes. Overall, the findings support the arguments advanced in the introduction to this thesis. More specifically, it may be concluded:

(a) that the English language proficiency requirement in immigration policy relating to the entry of skilled immigrants, promulgated as a necessary prerequisite for successful settlement, was undermined by its manipulation as a tool to regulate the entry of certain groups of applicants;

(b) that the expectation that skilled immigrants who met the English language requirement would be able to find suitable work without post-arrival assistance ignored the negative effects of factors other than English language proficiency that influenced the settlement process; and

(c) that the failure of immigrants to secure any or suitable employment had serious negative implications for their socioeconomic integration and social participation.

As Bauböck (1996a: 21) observes:

How societies accommodate their new members ... does not depend so much on the immigrants' characteristics as on these societies' own interests, identities and norms.

### CREATING AN INCLUSIVE CIVIL SOCIETY

In this section, the power and utility of Bauböck's (1996b: 69) "analytical and idealtypic" model of a civil society introduced in Chapter 3 will be examined. With no critiques of Bauböck's model having been found and none known to the author of the model himself (personal communication, 2002), the critical discussion which follows is believed to be the first to apply the model to research data. The focus here is upon the extent to which his abstract model of a civil society, conceptualised as "a social *structure* which establishes *constraints* on the pursuit of private interests and provides *incentives* for individual and collective agents to develop habits of civility" (Bauböck, 2000: 98), has the power to reflect and analyse the "real world" situation presented in the findings of this thesis. In particular, can it account for: (a) inconsistencies in the use of English language requirements in immigration policy; and (b) the social, cultural and economic barriers that faced so many panel members in this study as they sought social and economic integration into the host society?

As noted in Chapter 3, Bauböck's model emphasises the settlement context and the pivotal role of the host society in the successful settlement and integration of immigrants. The integration of immigrants across the political, economic and private spheres of civil society is identified as "a key test for the openness and stability of civil societies" (Bauböck, 1996b: 113). The ideal goal is "a level playing field" where being an immigrant and member of an ethnic minority carries no disadvantage. Essential elements in his model include: the maintenance of balance and boundaries between the



three core institutions – the state, the market and the family; equal and open access to associations in all spheres of society; and acceptance and participation within a common and shared public culture. While acknowledging the equal importance of the state institution, this thesis focused on the socioeconomic integration of panel members, which is felt to precede political participation for most new settlers. Therefore, attention is paid primarily to private and market institutions rather than that of the state.

All members of a society are identified in the model as having the right to balanced and mainstream participation in all three spheres of society without prejudice or discrimination. In a globalised world, with its increasingly multiethnic societies, this requires a commitment to multicultural accommodation, which, Bauböck warns (1996b: 113), is most tested:

... when it concerns immigrants who have no shared membership with the receiving society prior to arrival, i.e., when they are neither citizens nor co-ethnics nor former residents.

A multicultural orientation was professed in Burke's (1986) immigration policy review but gave way to a bicultural bias in political discourse with the increased attention to Maori-Pakeha and Treaty of Waitangi issues from the late 1980s and to concerns over the increased Asianisation of the population by the mid-1990s. New Zealand was not ready for a multiculturalism which challenged its European-Pacific national identity. Immigration policy restrictions sought to curb the number of approvals and to filter the inflow of immigrants from non-English speaking source countries, particularly in Asia. The more stringent October 1995 English language requirement was a tool in this process, and the removal in 1999 of eligibility for student allowances and other welfare support within the first two years of settlement was another. The language requirement reinforced the boundaries of the society, the perceived cultural distance from Asia and the identification of nationals *vis à vis* "others" (see also Thakur, 1995), while the removal of eligibility for student allowances and other benefits contravened the principle of equal access for "resident citizens"/"denizens" embodied within the civil society model.

In the model, voluntary associations are seen to mediate between individuals and the institutions of society. Bauböck notes, for example, that participation in the workplace may provide: economic security and access to consumer markets; protection from the

pressures of the labour market; networks for further employment (of friends or relatives); a social environment which confers recognition, status and a sense of belonging; and, “for a broad middle class of employees” (Bauböck, 1996b: 85), opportunities to make new friends. This claim was supported by the findings of this thesis. For members of the Chinese panel, personal networks were found to be a valuable source of employment. Professional employment conferred status and recognition, brought contact with “Kiwi” New Zealanders, and provided both incentives and opportunities to increase English language proficiency. Any employment was positively associated with a reduction in difficulties in the establishment of relationships and interaction with New Zealanders both inside and outside of the workplace. Exclusion from the workforce created economic insecurity, exposed panel members to the pressures of the labour market and full-time study and reduced contact with people from outside of the ethnic group. It also mitigated against participation in mainstream associations, the multiple membership of which was identified in Bauböck’s model as enhancing social cohesion at the societal level by providing bridges between cultures and groups and increasing active participation in all spheres.

The ideal civil society identifies associations closest to the market corner of the schematic triangle (Bauböck, 1996b) as less amenable to negotiation of roles by members but economic and open, with “the rules tailored for the interaction of anonymous individuals” (Bauböck, 2000: 95). It is noted, however, that personal sphere influence (with its closed, private boundaries) can lead to racial or ethnic discrimination within businesses (and, one might add, employment agencies). This feature, according to Bauböck (1996b: 84):

... may exclude certain populations ... from the more attractive segments of labour and housing markets. When discrimination of this sort is pervasive, markets are usually not at all colour-blind but reinforce collective stigma via indirect mechanisms of segregation.

This also was identified in the research. Discrimination was found to restrict entry to work at all levels, particularly in the professions, which generally sought to protect their professional cultures, identities and status. Ironically, statutory registration requirements, where met, provided medical and teaching professionals with the credentials to overcome the very discriminatory barriers that these regulations

reinforced. Computer scientists also faced barriers, which was surprising since theirs was a rather more internationally oriented occupation, but they were similarly able to “prove” themselves, by taking short, recognised training courses. Engineers, on the other hand, had no clear or surmountable hurdle to overcome. Hence, their marked foreignness (physical visibility, ethnicity and accents) and non-transferable qualifications and skills remained obstacles to employment in their profession.

A potential limitation of Bauböck’s triangular model is that its idealtypic nature and whole society orientation do not provide a visualisation of the restricted associational activities of many immigrants, whose real worlds may include involvement in all three spheres of society but with this participation encapsulated within a very small part of the space demarcated by the civil society triangle. For example, self-employment and employment within ethnic businesses, rather than being located at a distanced and distinctive market corner, are often family- or ethnic-based. Just as professions may maintain their mainstream homogeneity, so immigrant businesses may maintain a specific ethnic identity, restricting the openness and space within the market sphere and the potential for participation in the wider society, with an ethnic-only client base adding further restrictions. Such employment has the potential to maintain the segregation of immigrants from the wider society. Bauböck, however, is aware of this danger of preserving a segregated social structure, and addresses it in terms of the “externalisation” of difference rather than the “internalisation” of difference in his discussion of modes of immigrant insertion (Bauböck, 1996b: 114).

The increased diversity created by globalisation and international migration necessitates the institution of policies to prevent social, political and cultural cleavages (Castles and Miller, 1993), if not to facilitate the integration of immigrants from very different cultural backgrounds. The option presented in Bauböck’s model is a positive two-way process (multiculturalism) involving both the incorporation of the immigrant and the accommodation of the wider society, with a realistic recognition of the asymmetrical nature of such adjustments. The process of integration offers “a ‘level playing field’ where race, gender or ethnic origin no longer counts as a disadvantage” (Bauböck, 1996c: 232) and maintains social cohesion in diversity through a shared overarching public culture (Bauböck, 1996b, 1996c; DeWind and Kasinitz, 1997; Gans,

1997; Inglis, 1996). It also provides an environment for Cope and Kalantzis' (1997) productive diversity model in which the differences that immigrants bring are recognised, valued and harnessed. The achievement of such a process and goals is dependent upon the institution of a balanced and integrated set of policies incorporating immigrant selection and entry, post-arrival settlement provisions and wider ethnic relations policies.

## **POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

While the "integration of immigrants depends primarily on the internal structures of the host society" (Bauböck, 1996b: 67), the major immigration policy changes which facilitated the entry to New Zealand of large numbers of skilled immigrants from non-traditional sources, including the new settlers investigated in this study, focused on immigrant entry criteria and the short-term goal of economic growth. In doing so they failed to adequately address the "factors of power, conflict, structuration, agency, identities, communication, and security" (Halli and Driedger, 1999b: 8) addressed in Bauböck's model of civil society. The clock cannot be turned back. The settlement needs of the large numbers of visible immigrants from non-traditional source countries who have already arrived need to be addressed, as do the needs of others who continue to gain approval through the skills category and, by chain migration, through the less selective and controllable family categories (Freeman, 1999; NZIS, 2001b).

This study has shown that more can be done and needs to be done to facilitate the integration of skilled immigrants into the labour market and the wider society if the skills, qualifications and experience for which they are targeted are to be effectively utilised with benefits accruing to their new country of residence. This task requires not only an immigration policy which focuses on the selection of immigrants but also greater investment in post-arrival policies, namely: (a) an immigrant policy with settlement programmes to assist immigrants to negotiate the complex and interdependent social, cultural and economic dimensions of the settlement process, and to gain access to suitable employment and other valued resources and opportunities;

and (b) an ethnic relations policy which reflects, and promotes the advantages associated with an increasingly multicultural society.<sup>6</sup>

The planning and implementation of all three aspects of this institutional structure of immigration need to be coordinated for sound policy decision-making. The economically-driven 1995 language bond was an example of poor policy development and over hasty implementation. The same can be said – depending on whether one’s perspective is economically-oriented or settlement-oriented – of the raising of the language requirement for business category applicants to IELTS 5 or its subsequent lowering to IELTS 4 and the later failure to ensure the up-take of pre-purchased ESOL tuition. More holistic planning and coordination of immigration entry policies and settlement programmes is required to avoid the reactive, ad hoc and often delayed or overlooked provision of post-arrival services which marks the current settlement process. Examples include the belated bridging programmes offered to doctors admitted under the 1991-1995 General Category (King, 2000), and the language rather than professional work experience emphasis of ESOL for Professionals courses (Market Research and Evaluation Team, 1998). General ESOL courses also fail to satisfy the needs of many immigrants when appropriate professional employment is the student’s goal (Gubbay and Coghill, 1998; Market Research and Evaluation Team, 1998).

Transparency and wider consultation are required to secure the engagement and support of stakeholders, and to promote democratic principles. The support of professional bodies and employers is required if the potential benefits of human capital gained via immigration are not to be forfeited: (a) through a lack of registration to practise, as was the case with immigrant doctors in the early 1990s (see North et al., 1999) and spouses in this study; (b) through a lack of recognition of the value and hence use of multilingualism and multicultural talent, illustrated by Watts and Trlin (1999) and experienced by employed panel members in this study with regard to their unutilised language and cultural skills; and (c) through discrimination based on race, ethnicity and

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<sup>6</sup> Within the NZIS two units/branches have been established to support the settlement of selected immigrants - the Business Migrant Liaison Unit with a promotional and settlement advice role, and the Settlement Branch (something of a recreation of the Settlement Unit disestablished in the late 1980s). A remodelled NZIS website has given prominence to the Settlement Branch and Business Migrant Liaison Unit, both of which concentrate on employment-related information.

linguistic markers as evidenced by panel members and reported in other studies (EEO Trust, 2000; Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996).

On a broader front, immigration is a process which has long-term ramifications for a country and all of its citizens. It belongs to the future as well as the present and past, affecting national identity and interethnic relations. Therefore, the indigenous Maori, who have a special stake in New Zealand's history (Kelsey, 1997; Walker, 1995), and all other New Zealanders – native-born, established ethnic groups (Ng, 2001; Thakur, 1995) and newer immigrant groups alike (Ip, 2000) – need to be involved in deciding what it is to be a New Zealander and who should be granted entry. As Reitz (1988) points out in his analysis of the immigration experiences of Canada and Britain, a well planned and supported immigration policy is much more likely to have the support of the population and to be successful.

Institutional frameworks are also required to restrict and counter discrimination. In particular, discriminatory obstacles to the transference of skills by visible immigrants, a problem noted in a number of recent overseas studies (Halli and Driedger, 1999a; Hawthorne, 1997; Roberts et al., 1992), need to be addressed. Legislation requires more teeth to counter such practices. In some areas, however, such as indirect discrimination on the grounds of accent, which is more difficult to counter, the proactive promotion of difference noted by Trlin (1993) as a discretionary activity of the Race Relations Office, is more likely to achieve success than punitive measures. The advantages of difference and potential returns on productive diversity need to be promoted so that employers will take the risks and facilitate the transfer of immigrant skills into the workforce, and thereby assist the incorporation of immigrants into the wider society.

## **SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

1. The extension of the longitudinal study beyond the first three rounds of interviews.

Immigrant settlement and integration are processes which take place over an extended period of time, up to a lifetime according to Burnett (1998). Therefore,

the restriction of the study to three rounds of interviews over a 2-year period provides data on only part of the process. An extension of the longitudinal study (covering a period of up to 10 years) would add depth to the research and allow for the investigation of the outcomes of post-arrival settlement strategies, including the extent to which these have aided immigrants to achieve positions commensurate with their qualifications and experience, and the implications for social participation. A longer-term perspective would also allow for examination of the incidence and effects of the uptake of naturalisation, patterns of chain migration and national and international networks and linkages. Overall, an extension would allow for a more comprehensive assessment of the utility of Bauböck's (1996b) model of civil society.

The extension will in part be met by the final two rounds of the New Settlers Programme longitudinal study but an extension for up to 10 years would be desirable. If this were done, it would then provide a valuable complement to other research currently being undertaken in New Zealand. Prominent among these other projects are: the LisNZ longitudinal research conducted by the New Zealand Immigration Service, which will investigate the initial settlement experiences of a sample of up to 7,500 voluntary immigrants, including those approved under the General Skills Category, over a period of three years; research into self-employment and transnationalism patterns among Chinese immigrants conducted by the New Demographic Directions Programme research team at the University of Waikato; and research into patterns of transnationalism and return migration among Chinese immigrants being undertaken at the University of Auckland.

## 2. Comparative studies of other visible and non-visible NESB skilled immigrants

Are the findings of a thesis which focused on one group of skilled immigrants generalisable to other immigrant groups? The answer to this question is important in relation to informed policy development. With this point in mind, there is a strong case to be made for comparing the experiences and settlement outcomes of the Chinese panel with those for immigrants from other source countries, to identify inter-group

commonalities and differences. Ethnicity and visibility have been identified in overseas research as important factors in the settlement process (Hawthorne, 1997; Halli and Driedger, 1999a) and a similar conclusion is suggested by the results of a study of the labour market outcomes of immigrants in New Zealand (Winkelmann and Winkelmann, 1998). Accordingly the comparison proposed above should involve groups of skilled immigrants distinguished by differences in visibility and ethnicity to allow the importance of these factors to be further examined in the New Zealand context.

### 3. Investigation of English language needs in employment

With varying levels of English language proficiency required to gain approval for residence and ESOL courses now being designed to equip immigrants for the workforce, there is a need for research into the levels of English proficiency required for different occupations. Such a study, for which planning is underway as part of the New Settlers Programme, would examine: the levels of English required by immigrants for training and professional registration; and the perceptions of employers and professional recruitment agencies with regard to the English language proficiency required by immigrant employees within a number of specific professions. The data collected in such a study would provide information required for programmes concerned with the provision of English for Occupational Purposes and also for professional employment bridging courses.

### 4. Research involving the immigration experiences of children

For the purposes of this thesis the settlement of children, who represent a potential long-term gain in human capital, was only touched on as it related to the settlement of the family unit. Research focusing on the settlement of the children of skilled immigrants would allow comparisons to be made in relation to the acculturation and integration experiences of other groups. Do the experiences of such children follow the same trajectories as those of other children of their age – in the wider New Zealand population or in various other types of immigrant groups – and is age (in addition to ethnicity and race) an



important factor in the settlement process? A study of the settlement of children would also allow for intergenerational comparisons of the settlement process, particularly the acceptance of visible and /or ethnic minorities in the 1.5 or second generation as they retain or lose their first language and culture. These issues have important implications for policy-making and underline the importance of post-arrival and ethnic relations policies. Data on the settlement of children would also add another dimension to Bauböck's model which focuses on the integration of adult migrants.

#### 5. The evaluation of post-arrival policies and provisions

Assuming that a balanced, well integrated institutional structure of immigration is developed to facilitate the socioeconomic integration of skilled and other immigrants, a further area for research will involve the monitoring and evaluation of the implementation and effectiveness of policies and programmes geared to the post-arrival needs of immigrants and to the broader issue of ethnic relations in New Zealand.

Since New Zealand is a small and predominantly English-speaking country, proficiency in English (however that is measured) will remain a key to the successful settlement and integration of skilled immigrants, but it is a moot point whether a particular level of proficiency should be required pre-arrival or post-arrival to ensure that the valuable human capital that immigrants bring in the form of other languages and professional skills is mobilised. It remains to be seen: (a) whether future language requirements in immigration policy will offer more of the past limitations and inconsistencies or constitute part of broader, more integrated language and immigration policies; and (b) whether policies will continue to focus on a gatekeeping role in the selection and entry of skilled immigrants rather than on post-arrival immigrant settlement and ethnic relations. As Castles et al. (1998: 119) have stated:

It would be hard to sustain the view that immigration is generally a disadvantage for our society and culture. ... The point is not to restrict immigration for fear of social and cultural problems, but to manage it effectively in order to maximise the positive effects ...

## Appendices

- Appendix 1 Immigration policy in New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States
- Appendix 2 New Settlers Programme General Category immigrants survey data recording schedule
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- Appendix 6 Longitudinal survey information brochure
- Appendix 7 Longitudinal survey bilingual flyer
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- Appendix 9 Exemplars of Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ) Job Bank advertisements

## Appendix 1 Immigration policy in New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States

## Part A; New Zealand immigration-related policy changes, 1870-1999 (with changes related to language requirements in bold)

1870s	1870: Julius Vogel's Immigration and Public Works Act £1,500,000 to provide free or assisted passage to immigrants sponsored by family members or employers, or selected by a NZ agent-general. Active recruitment efforts UK, Germany, Scandinavia, "for migrants who complied with certain age criteria and who had specified occupations or skills" (Shroff, 1989: 195). Assisted passages limited in 1875 with recession, and cut 1879.
1880s	1881: No. 47: Chinese Immigrants Act, 1881 To regulate the immigration of Chinese. List of all Chinese on board to be provided by captain, with defaulters liable to penalty up to £200; <b>one Chinese person per 10 tons of the tonnage of vessel; £10 poll tax; certificate of exemption those already resident in NZ.</b>
	1888: No. 34: Chinese Immigrants Amendment Act <b>one Chinese person per 100 tons of the tonnage of vessel.</b>
1890s	1896: Asiatic Restriction Act – an attempt to exclude all Asians including those from China, India and Japan. This Act was reserved by the Governor as it contravened the rights of members of the Commonwealth and moves by the British government to develop closer relations with Japan. No. 19: Chinese Immigrants Act Amendment Act (Seddon Govt). Poll tax increased to £100
	1898: Kauri Gum Industry Act Aliens could <b>dig gumfield reserves only after becoming naturalised British subjects</b> , a move to restrict entry from 1880s of Dalmatian immigrants.
	1899: Immigration Restriction Act <b>Except by executive discretion, all other than those of British or Irish birth or decent required to write and sign an application in a European language.</b>
1900s	1908: No. 78: Immigration Restriction Act, 1908 (Part III.-Chinese, Sections 29 –42, a consolidation of and replacing the Chinese Immigrants Amendment Act 1907; Parts I, II and IV: Imbecile Passengers, Prohibited Immigrants [other than Chinese] and General, respectively) ) 1 Chinese per 200 tons of tonnage of vessel, owner, master or charterer fined £100 per Chinese person over limit. Master to provide list of Chinese on board. Poll tax of £100 per person, fine of £50 or 12 months prison. Certificate of exemption (1881) retained. <b>Reading test "of not less than one hundred words of the English language" new arrivals (except accredited teachers of the Christian faith).</b>
1920s	1920: Immigration Restriction Amendment Act, 1920 <b>Entry of all other than those of British or Irish birth subject to the discretion of the Minister of Customs.</b> Prior application and approval and on-arrival oath of allegiance to the Crown required.
1940s	1944: No. 31: Finance Act (No.3) Part II: Immigration Restriction <b>Abolition of special restrictions on Chinese by repealing of Part III of the Immigration Restriction Act, 1908. Amending the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act, 1910, and repealing Section II of the Immigration Restriction Act, 1920.</b>
	1947: Assisted immigration scheme Free and assisted passage scheme for immigrants from UK, expanded 1950. Assisted immigration reduced 1958, suspended for continental Europeans 1959, and UK migrants only 1960.
1950s	1950: Bilateral agreement established with the Netherlands Government (see Shroff, 1989: 197).

1960s	<p>1964: Immigration Act, 1964 Consolidation and codification of 1920 principles and mechanisms for entry and exclusion. Discretionary powers vested in Minister of Immigration. Legal framework to exclude, restrict or promote migration of certain nationals or categories of immigrants. Breach of immigration law constituted a criminal offence with liability of deportation.</p>
1970s	<p>1970: Abolition of ceiling on subsidised immigration from UK, lowering of immigrant and employers' contributions, and removal requirement specific occupational skills. Record influx 70,000 permanent and long-term during 1973-74 year.</p> <p>1974: Immigration Policy Review (commenced June 1973 by Labour Govt elected 1972) Reaction to record influx 1973-74 of subsidised British immigrants and Great Britain's EEC moves and restrictions on entry of NZ citizens; prior entry approval became requirement for Commonwealth citizens of European and Irish ancestry. The assisted passage scheme ended in the following year, 1975.</p>
1980s	<p>1986: Review of Immigration Policy August 1986 by Hon. Kerry Burke (Burke, 1986) ("adopt[ing] a 'twin-track' approach which preserved the distinction between, on the one hand, legislation and regulations as the legal framework within which policy is carried out [ie the legal basis for being in NZ, etc], and on the other hand, the content and qualitative aspects of immigration policy itself." Shroff, 1989: 200). This twin tracking was to lead to problems with the Language Bond, which was introduced as a fee by regulation, when such monies could be raised only through legislation. Immigration: "to serve New Zealand's domestic, regional and international interests" (10), "to enrich the multi-cultural social fabric of New Zealand society" (Burke, 1986: 10), with selection of new immigrants based "on personal merit without discrimination on grounds of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, sex or marital status, religion or ethical belief" (Burke, 1986: 11). Occupational Immigration – traditional source preference abolished, greater flexibility family size, retention of OPL, interview of <i>all</i> applicants and immediate families for occupational entry. "Adequate English language skills" a significant element in the selection of applicants for occupational entry and their families, with some flexibility. Not required of other categories. Business immigration – entrepreneurial and business immigration continued and encouraged, with selection moved from proposals to people. Family – changes to sponsorship parents, and new provision for family members with skills. Special commitments to the Pacific Islands (including Western Samoa quota from 1960s, and South Pacific work permit schemes), to Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangements with Australia (unrestricted movements), and to refugee and humanitarian immigration (up to 800/year through UNHCR).</p> <p>1987: Immigration Act 1987 Restatement of immigration law. Legislation re rights citizens (with right to be in NZ at any time) and non-citizens, permits, removals, appeals; breaches of immigration law a civil rather than criminal offence with distinction between "deportation" and "removal". Introduction of fees and charges for immigration services (user pays)</p>
1990s	<p>1991: NZIS (1991) New Zealand's Immigration Policy Points system introduced. The General Category replaced the former occupational system (OPL), with points allocated for employability (qualifications and work experience), age (with age limit of 55), ability to settle (sponsor, settlement/investment funds, offer skilled employment). A minimum level of English language required, plus health and character/police checks. Business Investment Category to "significantly add to the wealth of New Zealand ..., create jobs and enhance development" (1991:14). Minimum of \$500,000; all ages; minimum level English required of either the PA or an NPA over 17.</p>
1990s cont'd	<p>1995 – Targeted Immigration policies, October 1995 Refs: NZIS (1995a, May) <i>Background Paper: A Review of New Zealand's Residence Policies: the "Targeted" Immigration Streams</i>; NZIS (1995b, July) <i>New Zealand's Targeted Immigration Policies: Summary of October 1995 policy changes</i>. Targeted Migrants: General Skills Category (GSC) &amp; Business Investor Category (BIC) (emphasis onto the person rather than assets). Immigration for "economic growth with social cohesion" (1995b: 3) – concerns re social impacts of immigration . Points-based ranking; autopass abolished (autofail system introduced); and quota management system introduced to control intakes. Flatter points structure to broaden qualifications base, and clearer separation skills and investment; no points GSC for investment funds. Minimum of 2 years' work experience required. Job offers (6 months plus) gain more points (5 cf 3). Statutory registration where applicable. NZ residence for taxation purposes for PR status. Language: "a modest command of English" in the form of an IELTS 5 prerequisite for PAs, and NPAs (or "fee" –1995b: 10), in both categories (GSC and BIC). English identified as "the key" (1995a: 23) or "a key to successful settlement" (1995b: 10). "...introducing criteria which were not previously considered critical to the selection of a business investor – for example, the principal applicant will be required to meet a minimum English standard" (1995b: 9)</p>

	<p>1996: Immigration Amendment Act 1996 (no.75) on powers of search for illegal immigrants.  Immigration Amendment Act (No.2) 1996 (1996, no.129). Administrative change: on appointment of members of Authority to chair by Minister.  Immigration Regulations 1991, Amendment no.8, by Governor –General through Order in Council, 9 Dec. 1996. Clause 2. <b>“English language fee-(1)Regulation 32A of the principal regulations (as inserted by regulation 5 of the Immigration Regulations 1991, Amendment No.6) is hereby revoked.”</b></p>
	<p>1997: Immigration policy changes announced  <b>“to create a certain long term immigration policy which will make a positive economic and social contribution to New Zealand”</b> (Bradford, 1997)  A pot pourri of changes including: setting medium term target of 10,000 net immigration, increasing business immigration by lowering English language requirements to IELTS 4 (\$20,000 bond retained), <b>“clamp[ing] down on immigration scams”</b>, screening and removal procedures, measures to cope with migrant trafficking, extension of visa-free countries.</p>
	<p>May 1998: Immigration (Migrant Levy) Amendment Act 1998 (1998 no.23) (through the House under urgency 19 May)  <b>Reinstatement of language fee as Language Bond through retrospective legislation.</b>  In <b>“Explanatory note. General policy statement”</b> (No.143-1): <b>“Clause 2 amends section 149A of the Immigration Act 1987, which establishes the Immigration Resettlement and Research Fund, to remove the particular reference to language skills in the purposes for which the fund is to be implied”</b> (pi), <b>“Clause 5 provides that the fees specified in regulations 32A and 32B of the Immigration Regulations 1991 as deemed to have been validly imposed. Those fees are the English language fee (revoked in December 1996) and the migrant settlement services fee”</b> (pii).</p>
	<p>July 1998: Immigration Amendment Regulations  <b>On the Settlement information fee and Migrant levy.</b></p>
	<p>Aug 1998: Immigration Amendment Act  <b>Tightening up on “immigration scams”, faster process of removal overstayers, new limited purpose visa for those from ‘high risk’ countries.</b></p>
	<p>Oct. 1998: Policy changes (NZIS, 1998) (under Delamere as Min of Immigration):  <b>“The changes ... recognise the importance of immigration to New Zealand in creating economic growth”</b> (Bradford, as Min. for Enterprise and Commerce in media release 12 Oct, of policy changes)  More streamlined process for BIC and entrepreneurs encouraged; student policy linked to future PR; 3000 more PRC student places; foreign students able to work p/t; std visas obtainable onshore; <b>English language bond for NPAs in GSC and Business Categories abolished &amp; replaced with pre-purchased language training through Skills NZ (to max \$6,650 for GSC and \$3,350 for Business applicant). GSC requirement remains IELTS 5. Business PAs no longer required to “pass” IELTS 4 – able to pre-purchase training. For an additional fee, the English language requirement on business immigrants is effectively abolished.</b></p>
	<p>Jan. 1999: Right to welfare (except certain emergency) benefits and student allowances withdrawn from immigrants (except refugees) with less than 2 years’ PR.</p>
1999 cont'd	<p>Oct. 1999: Immigration Amendment Act  Changes to removal procedures, country-specific restrictions student permits ceased. Application fees to be variable according to location of application. Bond (\$2,000-5,000) for marginal applications other than LPP/LPVs.</p>
	<p>Nov. 1999 Immigration policy changes  <b>“The ability to gain employment is a vital factor in ensuring that migrants settle well. [The changes] reflect that”</b> (Delamere, 29 Oct. 1999 media release)  Fail mark lowered from 24 to 23. Short term contracts (6 months plus) for job offer points (that currently a minimum of 12 months). From March 2000 new 6 months work permit for GSC immigrants without sufficient points to seek work. International students able to work 15 hours/week. New Delhi office to be upgraded, to cater for more GSC, tourists and student applicants.</p>

Part B: Australian, Canadian and United States' immigration-related policy changes, 1880 - 1999

	Australia	Canada	USA
1880s	(Until 1901 federation, state by state regulations to restrict entry, movement and rights of Chinese & others. Eg, restrictive legislation in Victoria from 1855. )	1885: Chinese Immigration Act - poll tax, set at \$50 to restrict Chinese immigration	1875: Immigration Act – barred prostitutes and convicts. To be expanded to include 33 categories. 1882: Chinese Exclusion Act – Chinese aliens excluded from citizenship; poll tax each immigrant; barred Chinese and other undesirable aliens (including lunatics) from entry.
1890s			1890: Frontier officially closed 1890-1924: 18.2m. immigrants, increasingly from eastern and southern Europe: sojourner, single, male, working class. 1891: 50 cent poll tax introduced. Raised to \$4.00 by 1907.
1900s	1901: Immigration Restriction Act Legislation by new Commonwealth Government – excluded non-Europeans through use of dictation test (in force to 1958)	1900: Amendment to Act to Restrict Chinese Immigration – poll tax doubled to \$100. 1904: Further amendment raised poll tax to \$500. 1906: Immigration Act – the Government able to exclude “any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada”.	1906: Naturalisation Act – knowledge of English required. 1907: Restriction on the immigration of Japanese through a bilateral agreement with the Japanese government. The poll tax on immigrants increased. Children unaccompanied by parents added to the list of excluded aliens.
1910s			1913: Californian law restricting Japanese ownership of land. 1917: literacy in some language required of all immigrants over the age of 16 except in cases of religious persecution excluded almost all Asians
1920s		1923: Revision of 1885 Act effectively terminating immigration from China (in place until 1947)	1921: Temporary annual quotas limited immigrants of each nationality to 3% of the 1910 foreign-born of that nationality. 1924: National Origins Act - 1 <sup>st</sup> systematic immigration regulations. Annual quotas set at 2% of nationality as in US at 1890 census with minimum quotas of 100. 1929: quotas based on 1920 census “permanent”, maximum intake of 150,000. (1928-1946: only 1.8m immigrants.)
1930s		1931 General regulation of the Immigration Act - prohibited independent migrants from Asia, Admissible immigrants to be white and British subjects, US citizens, wives and children of male residents, and farmers	

	Australia	Canada	U.S.A.
1940s	<p>1945: large scale post-war immigration aimed at strengthening national security and economic development through population growth. DPs and other Europeans targeted.</p> <p>1947: Adult Migrant Education (later "English") Programme established.</p> <p>1948: Australian Citizenship Act.</p>	<p>1946: Canadian citizenship</p> <p>1947: Prime Minister's statement reaffirming white Canada policy for next 15 years.</p> <p>The selection of immigrants related to the country's capacity for economic absorption.</p>	<p>1942: Bilateral agreement with Caribbean states regarding temporary immigration of agricultural workers.</p> <p>1943: Chinese exclusion legislation repealed.</p> <p>1946: War Brides' Act – to facilitate the immigration of spouses and children of armed forces personnel.</p> <p>1948: Displaced Persons' Act - ½ m. refugees per year.</p>
1950s	<p>1954: signing of the 1951 UN Convention Related to the Status of Refugees (UNCRSR).</p> <p>1958: Immigration Act ("a modestly revised version of the Immigration Act of 1901" [Freeman, 1999: 91] – established three main categories of immigrants: family, economic/Independent (special skills or business background leading to economic contribution), and refugees. Dictation test abolished, but administrative discretionary powers to select and exclude immigrants remained.</p>	<p>1957: origins of the skills programme. Emphasis moved from unskilled to skilled professionals and entrepreneurs.</p>	<p>1950: Internal Security Act – exclusion and deportation of subversives; all aliens required to report addresses annually.</p> <p>1952: Immigration and Nationality Act - National origins quotas retained; also favouring of Western hemisphere. Asian countries "a token share of visas (100 a year per country in the region)" (Freeman, 1999:106). Spouses and children outside quotas (and parents from 1965). The first legal targeting of skills (1<sup>st</sup> of 4 new preference groups and labour certification process). Half of all visas for skilled category.</p> <p>1953: Refugees Relief Act.</p> <p>1957: Immigrant benefits for some illegal, adopted and orphaned children and waive of exclusion for some relatives.</p>
1960s	<p>The gradual elimination of the White Australia policy and increase in immigration from Asia from the later 1960s.</p>	<p>1962: official movement to a "non-racist" immigration policy, with elimination of geographical discrimination</p> <p>1967: Revised Immigration Act – Canadian "points system" introduced for other than close relatives and refugees, target numbers set according to category and numbers needed by Canadian economy, with immigration to promote economic growth</p>	<p>1965: Preference System legislation - targeting skills, through a preference system and labour certification process for immigrants from eastern hemisphere in altered form, but not applied to western hemisphere applicants. Move to eliminate discrimination with abolition of the quota scheme and equal allocation of visas to eastern and western hemispheres, with ceilings for each hemisphere. Shift of emphasis from work-related to family links (74% of all visas) in preferences. This legislation brought a sharp increase in total immigration and shift in source countries. Asians, at least initially gained entry through skills. Total immigration set at 290,000/year.</p>

	Australia	Canada	U.S.A.
1970s	<p>1971: target for new immigrants reduced by 25%, and more selective policy.</p> <p>1973: "White Australia" policy formally abandoned.</p> <p>1975: National Population Inquiry – concerns re lack of growth of population</p> <p>1977: Green paper on immigration and population issues – favoured skilled and professional immigration.</p> <p>1978: "points system" introduced as the Numerical Multi-Factor Assessment System (NUMAS).</p> <p>1978: Galbally Report emphasised importance of multiculturalism and post-arrival services.</p>	<p>1971: signing of UNCRSR. A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual (English/French) framework developing under Trudeau.</p> <p>1973: amnesty period for landed immigrants saw around 39,000 gain legal status.</p> <p>1977: Bill 101 – immigrants to Quebec required to speak French in institutional areas.</p> <p>1976 (proclaimed in force 1978): Immigration Act (legislation reflecting an economic depression) – formalised three categories of immigrants and set target levels; greater emphasis on business immigration (entrepreneurs, self-employed and investors) in the points system.</p> <p>1978: Multiculturalism as an official state policy.</p>	<p>1976: Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1976 – extended 20,000 per country limit and category preference system to western hemisphere.</p> <p>1978: Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1978 – combines Western and Eastern hemisphere ceilings to make total of 290,000, and the 20,000 per country quota formally applied. The 7 preference category system retained.</p>
1980s	<p>1982: Concessional (sibling) family category - at first required to meet points requirements, relaxed in response to ethnic minority pressure. 1983: the points system modified, with points for semi-skilled/non-tertiary qualifications.</p> <p>1983-1984: skilled immigration cut by 25% by new Labour Government.</p> <p>1984: English language requirements in Australian Citizenship Act reduced from "adequate" to "basic" knowledge of the language (exempt if over 50 years of age) and length of residence for citizenship reduced from 3 in previous 8yrs, to 2 in previous 5 yrs.</p> <p>1984-1985: Occupation Share System (OSS) linked the recruitment of skilled immigrants to designated occupations, recognition of professional qualifications and fluent in English. Requirements circumvented as other routes for skilled entry.</p> <p>1986-1987: recruitment of skilled applicants outside OSS as independents, without occupation-targeting or English requirements.</p> <p>1987: National Policy on Languages.</p> <p>1988: FitzGerald Report recommended tighter economic focus.</p> <p>1989: Migration Legislation Amendment Act – reduced ministerial discretion. Entry requirements under three categories: humanitarian, family, and economic (business immigrants, the Employer Nomination Scheme, points approvals and distinguished people with special talents); OSS eliminated and Concessional sibling category modified but no English requirement.</p> <p>A National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia.</p>	<p>1981: "domestic worker" category for temporary live-in household staff. Workers immigrating on temporary basis able to apply for PR status after 2 years.</p> <p>Race relations added to Multicultural programme as an activity (following Brixton riots in England)</p> <p>1982: immigration of "selected workers" (those with job offers) and "independent immigrants" (those admitted on the basis of skills only) reduced.</p> <p>Constitution Act, 1982 – commitment to equal opportunities for all.</p> <p>1982: Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms – to operate in "a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians" (Frideres, 1999: 71).</p>	<p>1980: Refugee Act – adopted UN definition of a refugee to replace blanket acceptance those ex-communist and Middle Eastern countries, and refugees removed from preference list.</p> <p>1981: Report of the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy (SCIRP) argued for increase number of visas to "new seed" immigrants.</p> <p>INS Efficiency Act – technical changes in the Immigration and Nationality Act included the abolition of requirement that aliens report addresses.</p> <p>1986: Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) - dealt with the issue of illegal immigration, including penalties on employers of illegal aliens. Around 2.7 million illegal aliens (mainly Hispanics) granted legal status.</p>



	Australia	Canada	U.S.A
1990s	<p>1990-1991: Skilled immigrants 58.3% of total intake (Freeman, 1999: 93).</p> <p>1991: narrowing of focus of Adult Migrant English Programme (AMEP) to ASLPR2 level; Australian Language and Literacy Policy.</p> <p>1992: Migration Reform Act - changes to skilled programme, including ACCESS vocational English language test for Independent PAs, and that certain occupational groups (eg civil engineers) also pass if in Concessional categories.</p> <p>1993: reduction in points required for Independent and Concessional categories and working knowledge of English requirement dropped.</p> <p>1994: White paper (<i>Working Nation</i>) emphasising importance of maintaining and utilising resident workforce.</p> <p>1994: First round of Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LISA).</p> <p>1996: Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research (BIMPR) abolished.</p> <p>1997: Act extending stand down period for most social security benefits from 6 months to 2 years for most voluntary immigrants (excluding New Zealanders until 2001).</p> <p>1997: tendering of AMEP and establishment of Australian Training Framework.</p> <p>1999: tightening of requirements for Independent and Skilled Australian Linked categories</p>	<p>1991: Five year immigration plan 1991-1995. (10% population now non-white)</p> <p>Canadian Race Relations Foundation Act (proclamation delayed)</p> <p>1992: changes to reduce backlog with creation of three immigrant applicant streams: 1- immediate family members, Convention refugees and Immigrant Investors; 2- parents and grandparents, other refugees, and those with organised jobs; and 3- independent immigrants designated occupations and entrepreneurs (passed as Bill C-86, 1993).</p> <p>Skilled points immigrants required to fit General Occupational List, be on Designated Occupation List or have arranged employment in Canada.</p> <p>1994: two CIC publications – <i>Into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A Strategy for Immigration and Citizenship: A Broader Vision: Immigration and Citizenship, Plan</i></p> <p>Nov. 1994: reduction target for 1995 (190,000-215,000) of 1994 (230,000). Knowledge of E/Fr a “critical element” in selection process. Separation of refugees from immigrant programme</p> <p>1996: foreign-born = 17.4% population</p> <p>1996-2000 – aiming at reduced numbers and underline economic emphasis of policy.</p> <p>1998: moves to institute an English language test for points immigrants brought opposition from ethnic pressure groups within Canada, and dropped.</p>	<p>1990: Immigration Act – responding to fears of labour shortages and “broader concern of international competitiveness” (Freeman, 1999: 109). Set levels immigration, with a “pierceable” (and pierced) immigration cap of 700,000 for 1992-1994 and 675,000 thereafter, and total immigration from any one country of 25,000/yr. Aimed to redress fall in skills level from 1965 legislation. Labour certification remained. Employment-based admissions increased numerically and as proportion of total, with 5 category preferences (cf points system); large family admissions remained dominant (see Borjas, 1990, 1994, and Freeman, 1999, for comments).</p> <p>1996: Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act – new limits on aliens’ access to welfare and other social services. Political citizenship to precede rights to social rights to welfare, etc. (In the lead up to this change, nearly 1.1 million eligible immigrants took out citizenship, over twice the number for 1995 [Neuwirth, 1999: 53].)</p>

**NEW SETTLERS PROGRAMME      General Points immigrant forms 1991 – 1995**

Record Number

**PART 1 Residence Category**

			3
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2 (a) How many applicants?

PA only <sub>1</sub>

PA plus spouse &/or dependents <sub>2</sub>

	4
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2 (b) Total number of applicants

	5
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**PART 2 Personal details (principal applicant)**

7 Sex: Male <sub>1</sub>

Female <sub>2</sub>

	6
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8 Date of birth / age:

		8
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9 Country of birth:

China <sub>1</sub>

Taiwan <sub>3</sub>

U.K. <sub>5</sub>

South Africa <sub>2</sub>

"Yugoslavia" <sub>4</sub>

Other <sub>6</sub>

	9
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11 Home address in country of normal residence:

.....

		11
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17 Current citizenship:

Chinese <sub>1</sub>

Taiwanese <sub>3</sub>

British <sub>5</sub>

South African <sub>2</sub>

Yugoslavian <sub>4</sub>

Other <sub>6</sub>

	12
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18 Previous citizenship:

Chinese <sub>1</sub>

Taiwanese <sub>3</sub>

British <sub>5</sub>

Not Applicable <sub>7</sub>

South African <sub>2</sub>

Yugoslavian <sub>4</sub>

Other <sub>6</sub>

	13
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20 Prior application to enter New Zealand:

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

	14
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21 Already in New Zealand:

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

	15
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22(a) Permit to be in New Zealand:

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

Expired <sub>3</sub>

	16
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22(b) If YES, what type of permit?

Visitor's <sub>1</sub>

Work <sub>2</sub>

Student <sub>3</sub>

	17
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**PART 3 Family and Relationship Details**

**Spouse / Partner**

27 Marital status of P.A.:

- Never married  1
- Now married  2
- Divorced  3
- Widowed  4
- Separated  5
- Engaged  6
- Partner in a genuine and stable relationship  7

18

20

32 Spouse's date of birth / age:

33 Spouse's sex:

- Male  1
- Female  2

21

34 Spouse's country of birth:

- China  1
- South Africa  2
- Taiwan  3
- Yugoslavia  4
- U.K.  5
- Other  6

22

36 (a) Will spouse migrate with Principal Applicant?

- Yes  1
- No  2

23

36 (b) If not, why not?

.....

25

42 Spouse's current citizenship:

- Chinese  1
- South African  2
- Taiwanese  3
- Yugoslavian  4
- British  5
- Other  6

26

43 Spouse's previous citizenship:

- Chinese  1
- South African  2
- Taiwanese  3
- Yugoslavian  4
- British  5
- Other  6
- Not Applicable  7

27

45 (a) Does spouse have permit to be in New Zealand?

- Yes  1
- No  2
- Expired  3

28

45 (b) If YES, what type of permit?

- Visitor's  1
- Work  2
- Student  3
- Residence  4

29

**Children and dependent family members**

50 (a) Does P.A. or spouse have any children?

- Yes  1
- No  2

30

50 (b) Individual details

Child 1: (a) Sex: Male <sub>1</sub> Female <sub>2</sub> Don't know <sub>3</sub>  
 (b) Date of birth / age     
 (c) Coming? Yes <sub>1</sub> No <sub>2</sub>

Child 2: (a) Sex: Male <sub>1</sub> Female <sub>2</sub> Don't know <sub>3</sub>  
 (b) Date of birth / age     
 (c) Coming? Yes <sub>1</sub> No <sub>2</sub>

Child 3: (a) Sex: Male <sub>1</sub> Female <sub>2</sub> Don't know <sub>3</sub>  
 (b) Date of birth / age     
 (c) Coming? Yes <sub>1</sub> No <sub>2</sub>

Child 4: (a) Sex: Male <sub>1</sub> Female <sub>2</sub> Don't know <sub>3</sub>  
 (b) Date of birth / age     
 (c) Coming? Yes <sub>1</sub> No <sub>2</sub>

Child 5: (a) Sex: Male <sub>1</sub> Female <sub>2</sub> Don't know <sub>3</sub>  
 (b) Date of birth / age     
 (c) Coming? Yes <sub>1</sub> No <sub>2</sub>

Child 6: (a) Sex: Male <sub>1</sub> Female <sub>2</sub> Don't know <sub>3</sub>  
 (b) Date of birth / age     
 (c) Coming? Yes <sub>1</sub> No <sub>2</sub>

50 (c) Total number of children coming?

<sub>55</sub>

51 (a) Are all children coming?

Yes <sub>1</sub> No <sub>2</sub>

<sub>56</sub>

51 (b) If NO, why not?

.....

<sub>58</sub>

53 Details of other family members of P.A.

(a) Total number of persons detailed:

<sub>60</sub>

(b) Parents:

Father <sub>1</sub> Mother <sub>2</sub> Both <sub>3</sub>

<sub>61</sub>

(c) Siblings: Total number of brothers and sisters:

<sub>62</sub>

54 Details of other family members of P.A.'s spouse:

(a) Total number of persons detailed:

<sub>64</sub>

(b) Parents:

Father <sub>1</sub> Mother <sub>2</sub> Both <sub>3</sub>

<sub>65</sub>

(c) Siblings: Total number of brothers and sisters:

<sub>66</sub>

55 Family sponsor:

Yes <sub>1</sub> No <sub>2</sub>

<sub>67</sub>

**PART 4 Qualifications**

56 (a) Highest level of qualification:

- 12 years schooling
- Diploma / Certificate at least 1 year but <2 years full time
- Diploma / Certificate 2 – 3 years full time
- Trade Certificate or Advanced Trade certificate
- Bachelors degree (non-science)
- Bachelors degree (science / technical / engineering)
- Post-graduate degree

 1  
 2  
 3  
 4  
 5  
 6  
 7
 69

56 (b) Year highest qualification completed:

  70

57 Total years of work experience:

  72

58 Present occupation: .....

  74

61 Skilled job offer in New Zealand?

Yes  1 No  2

 75

64 If YES, what type of work will P.A. do?

.....

  77

65 (a) Family / community sponsor in New Zealand?

Yes, family  1 Yes, community  2

no  3

 78

67 Settlement funds equivalent to NZ\$100,000 or more?

Yes  1 No  2

 79

68 (a) Investment funds (in addition to settlement funds)?

Yes  1 No  2

 80

68 (b) If YES, how much? .....

 81

69 (a) P.A.'s assessment of applicants' English language skills:

	Mother tongue	fluent	conversational	limited	none	
P.A.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 82
Spouse	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 83
Dependent 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 84
Dependent 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 85
Dependent 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 86
Dependent 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 87
Dependent 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 88
Dependent 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 89

69 (b) Documents to confirm P.A.'s English language ability:

TOEFL  1 Degree  2 None  3  
 (score: )  
 IELTS  4 Other  5 .....  
 (score: )

 90

Record number

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**POINTS ASSESSMENT**

**1. Qualifications**

- Successful completion of 12 years schooling (2)
- Diploma or Certificate at least 1 and less than 2 years full time study (4)
- Diploma or Certificate from 2 to 3 years full time study (8)
- Bachelor's degree in any area of study not mentioned below or a Trade Certificate or Advanced Trade Qualification (12)
- Post graduate degree or a Bachelor's degree in any science, technical or engineering area (15)

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92

**2. Work experience**

- 2 years (1)
- 4 years (2)
- 6 years (3)
- 8 years (4)
- 10 years (5)
- 12 years (6)
- 14 years (7)
- 16 years (8)
- 18 years (9)
- 20 years (10)

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94

**3. Age**

- 18 - 24 years (8)
- 25 - 29 years (10)
- 30 - 34 years (8)
- 35 - 39 years (6)
- 40 - 44 years (4)
- 45 - 49 years (2)

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96

**4. Settlement factors**

- NZ \$100,000 settlement funds (2)
- NZ citizen / resident close family relative sponsor (2)
- Community sponsorship (3)
- 1 point for each additional NZ \$100,000 investment funds up to a max. of \$300,000 (1 - 3)
- Offer of skilled employment (3)

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97

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98

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99

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100

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101

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102

**Maximum points for Settlement factors 5**

**MAXIMUM POINTS: 40**

*Date approved*

**TOTAL**

--	--

104

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mth

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yr

MASSEY UNIVERSITY

APPLICATION TO HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE

**NAMES, STATUS AND DEPARTMENTS:**

Andrew D. Trlin, Associate Professor, Department of Social Policy and Social Work.  
Dr. Nicola North, Senior Lecturer, Department of Management Systems.  
Dr. Regina Pernice, Senior Lecturer, Department of Rehabilitation Studies.  
Anne Henderson, Research Officer and PhD student, Department of Social Policy and Social Work.

**EMPLOYMENT:** Massey University

**PROJECT STATUS:** FRST research programme (MAU-603) and PhD thesis

**FUNDING SOURCE:** Foundation for Research, Science and Technology

**SUPERVISORS:** Assoc. Prof. A.D. Trlin and Assoc. Prof. N.R Watts for Anne Henderson

**TITLE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT:** New Settlers Programme: Encounters, Responses, Policies

**ATTACHMENTS:** Information Sheet:  
Consent Form  
Confidentiality Agreement

**SIGNATURES:**

**RESEARCHERS:**.....

*A.D. Trlin*  
*Regina Pernice*  
*Anne Henderson*

**SUPERVISORS:**.....

*A.D. Trlin*  
*N.R. Watts*

**DATE:** 12 November 1997

## 1 DESCRIPTION

### 1.1 Justification

New Zealand is experiencing major changes in the nature and composition of immigration, the consequences and implications of which are far-reaching in the absence of well-integrated post-arrival policies geared to the needs of both immigrant and other New Zealanders. New Zealand's ability to benefit from immigration and the ability of immigrants to achieve their full potential via a relatively smooth resettlement process have been handicapped by deficiencies in research and policy. Research has been ad hoc, uncoordinated and marked by the absence of **longitudinal studies** of the dynamics of immigrant settlement necessary to support effective policy development and implementation. The policies introduced were flawed and their impacts not fully anticipated. The research proposal (known as and hereafter referred to as 'The New Settlers Programme') has been developed as a response to the above deficiencies.

The research team, under the leadership of Assoc. Prof. Andrew D. Trlin, has received funding from the New Zealand Foundation for Research, Science and Technology (FRST) for this research project from July 1997 to June 1998 (MAU-603). This application seeks ethical approval for the **initial data collection period (March-May 1998)**. It should be noted, however, that an application has been made to FRST (98-MAU-13-6539) for another four year funding period. If the application is successful we would like to extend the ethical approval to cover subsequent data collection periods (i.e. March to May 1999, 2000, 2001 and 2002), as there will be no significant changes to the initial data collection instrument (i.e. 'The New Settlers In-depth Interview Schedule' which is currently being developed and which will be presented to the Committee in February 1998).

### 1.2 Objectives

The New Settlers Programme aims to provide longitudinal data on aspects of immigrant resettlement (over a four year period) which will contribute to (a) the development of balanced, well-integrated post-arrival policies, (b) a reduction of resettlement difficulties experienced by immigrants, and (c) an increase in the benefits to New Zealand from its targeted immigration programme.

The specific objectives are:

- to investigate post-arrival *employment* experiences,
- to identify the *housing and neighbourhood* preferences and experiences of new settlers,
- to examine perceptions and experiences of *social participation*,
- to determine patterns of self-reported *health status*,
- to identify family and wider ethnic support networks, English language acquisition, cultural maintenance and *adaptive responses* to difficulties encountered in New Zealand society.



### **1.3 Procedures for recruiting participants and obtaining Informed Consent**

Three cohorts of new settlers from the People's Republic of China, India and South Africa will be followed over a four year period. Initial contact with potential participants will be made via: (a) the New Zealand Immigration Service as part of its normal notification procedure for successful applicants, and/or (b) immigrant voluntary organisations who may have new arrivals among their members or contact with them via the social networks of members. The aim is to obtain 35 families from each migrant group.

An Information Sheet explaining the New Settlers Programme together with details on the research team will be distributed through the New Zealand Immigration Service and/or immigrant voluntary organisations to General Skills Category immigrants settling initially in Auckland and Wellington between November 1997 and March 1998. The Information Sheet will include an invitation to participate in the longitudinal study, details on the researchers and how to contact them, and other information as required by the Massey University Code of Ethical Conduct for Research and Teaching Involving Human Subjects (see Appendix 1).

### **1.4 Procedure in which research participants will be involved**

Interviews will be conducted using 'The New Settlers In-depth Interview Schedule' (which is currently being developed and which will be submitted to the Massey University Human Ethics Committee early February 1998). The Schedule will include:

- (a) a personal semi-structured in-depth interview component as the principal qualitative data collection method, and
- (b) brief standardised questionnaires for each of the main topic areas (employment, housing, social participation, health status) to provide quantitative data.

Each interview will be tape recorded, will take up to 3 hours and will be conducted in English (with the assistance of an interpreter if necessary). The first interview will be carried out during the period March-May 1998 and four subsequent interviews will be conducted during the anniversary of the initial interview (i.e. March to May 1999, 2000, 2001 and 2002).

### **1.5 Procedures for handling information and material produced in the course of the research including raw data and final research reports.**

A master list of names, addresses and ID numbers of participants will be created and each researcher will have a copy of this list. The original list will be filed securely in the Social Policy Research Centre, Department of Social Policy and Social Work.

'The New Settlers In-depth Interview Schedule' and the tapes will have ID numbers which will correspond with those on the master list.

The audio tapes will be transcribed either by the researchers or by persons who have signed the Confidentiality Agreement (see Appendix 3). Each transcription will be allocated the same ID number as that on the audio tapes and the master list. Initials rather than full names will be used

in the transcriptions. The audio tapes will be stored securely within the Social Policy Research Centre with access restricted to the researchers and will either be sent to participants on request (with the transcripts) or destroyed upon completion of the research programme.

The completed brief standardised questionnaires (raw data), with ID numbers corresponding to those on the audio tapes, will be stored securely within the Social Policy Research Centre (after data analysis) with access restricted to the researchers. They also will be either returned to participants or destroyed upon completion of the research programme.

A concise summary of key points of the findings for each round of interviews will be mailed to participants. Reports on on-going findings will be made to end-users via: (a) dialogue with and one annual workshop/seminar for the New Zealand Immigration Service, Government Departments and the Race Relations Office; (b) speaking engagements with or the provision of material for the newsletters of immigrant voluntary organisations and Ethnic Affairs Councils.

Detailed data analysis will be presented each year in: (a) an annual issue of a New Settlers Programme (NSP) discussion paper; (b) conference papers; (c) papers prepared for publication in refereed journals or edited academic texts; and (d) one PhD thesis that will be submitted in the year 2000.

## **2 ETHICAL CONCERNS**

### **2.1 Access to participants**

Initial contact with potential participants will be made through an Information Sheet sent out by: (a) the New Zealand Immigration Service as part of its normal notification procedure for successful applicants, and/or (b) immigrant voluntary organisations who may have new arrivals among their members or contact with them through their newsletters or the social networks of members. The researchers will give clear instructions to the New Zealand Immigration Service and/or immigrant voluntary organisations concerning the defining characteristics of potential participants, but will not know the names and addresses of those to whom the Information Sheet is sent. The aim is to obtain 35 families from each migrant group.

Families volunteering to take part in the research programme (by responding to the Information Sheet) will be contacted by phone (or letter) and interviewed in their own homes, unless they request otherwise. At the first meeting the Consent Form (see Appendix 2) will be completed, once any other questions concerning the New Settlers Programme have been answered.

### **2.2 Informed Consent**

Each participant within each family will need to sign a 'Consent Form' (see Appendix 2). The researchers will make sure that each participant is fully informed about the study (see Appendix 1) before signing the Consent Form, which will be provided in bilingual format for the Chinese participants. As both India and South Africa have English as an official language, it is not considered necessary to translate the Information Sheet and the Consent Form for participants from these two countries. It should be noted that all approved General Skills Category applicants

(and their dependents over 15 years of age) are expected to have a basic English language ability.

### **2.3 Anonymity and Confidentiality**

Confidentiality will be maintained (a) by using ID numbers and initials instead of full names and addresses on 'The New Settlers In-depth Interview Schedule' and tapes, (b) by the secure storage of all raw data including tapes in the Social Policy Research Centre, (c) by requiring transcribers to sign a Confidentiality Agreement, and (d) by findings being presented in aggregate form so that no individual participant or their family can be identified.

### **2.4 Potential harm to participants**

No harm to participants is anticipated as confidentiality will be maintained. All questions in 'The New Settlers In-depth Interview Schedule' will be straight forward, and involve no deception or intrusion into areas that are highly sensitive, problematic or personally contentious.

### **2.5 Potential harm to researchers**

No harm to the researchers is anticipated.

### **2.6 Potential harm to the university**

No harm to the university is anticipated.

### **2.7 Participant's right to decline to take part**

Participants will always have the right to choose to take part and to continue to take part in this research programme (see Appendix 1). The right to withdraw from the research at any time is clearly spelt out in the Consent Form (see Appendix 2).

### **2.8 Uses of the information**

The information gained from this research will be used:

- (a) for annual feedback to participants,
- (b) for reports and publications to end-users via: (i) dialogue with and one annual workshop/seminar for members of the New Zealand Immigration Service, other government departments and the Race Relations Office; (ii) speaking engagements with or the provision of material for the newsletters of immigrant voluntary organisations and Ethnic Affairs Councils,
- (c) for national and international conference presentations and academic publications in refereed journals or edited academic texts.
- (d) a PhD thesis.

### **2.9 Conflict of interest/conflict of roles**

There is no conflict of interest or roles.

## **2.10 Other ethical concerns**

The researchers acknowledge that in the course of the interviews they may become aware of particular assistance required by the participants. This poses an important ethical issue, especially if the researchers have the knowledge to refer participants to professional help as required. In such circumstances we believe that it is our ethical duty to refer the participants in the New Settlers Programme to the appropriate professional assistance required in relation to matters arising in the course of the interviews. The researchers themselves will **not** provide professional assistance, but will have available a list of appropriate sources of assistance.

## **3. LEGAL CONCERNS**

### **3.1 LEGISLATION**

#### **3.1.1 Intellectual Property legislation**

The team is aware of the Copyright Act 1994 and will adhere to its requirements.

#### **3.1.2 Human Rights Act 1993**

The team is aware of the Human Rights Act 1993 which prohibits discrimination and helps to ensure that people are treated fairly in a number of areas of public life and commerce. The New Settlers Programme aims to assist immigrants in general to overcome such problems as part of the resettlement process and to contribute to policy development in this area.

#### **3.1.3 Privacy Act 1993**

The research team will follow the requirements of the Privacy Act 1993 as appropriate.

#### **3.1.4 Health and Safety in Employment Act 1992**

Not applicable

#### **3.1.5 Accident Rehabilitation Compensation Insurance Act 1992**

Not applicable

#### **3.1.6 Employment Contracts Act 1991**

Not applicable

### **3.2 OTHER LEGAL ISSUES**

None

#### **4. CULTURAL CONCERNS**

Letters of support for this research programme have already been received from the Office of the Race Relations Conciliator, the New Zealand Chinese Association (Inc) and the South Africa New Zealand Charitable Trust (Inc). Where appropriate, the officers of these organisations (and others yet to be contacted) will be approached for guidance on matters of possible cultural sensitivity.

The research team consists of academics who have been involved in cross-cultural research for many years. Assoc. Prof. Andrew Trlin, the programme leader, has conducted research with a number of ethnic groups and is a member of the Asian Migration Network set up by the Institute of Asian Research, University of British Columbia, Vancouver. Dr. Nicola North worked for a number of years in health and development programmes in Nepal and has completed an ethnographic study of the migration experience and health of Cambodian refugees in Palmerston North. Dr. Regina Pernice is herself an immigrant to New Zealand. She has conducted previous research with refugees from Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos and with immigrants from Tonga, Samoa, Fiji and Britain. Anne Henderson completed research in the 1980s on South East Asian refugees, was for six years a Regional Coordinator for New Settlers and Multicultural Education and has recently returned from five years lecturing in a university in Shanghai.

#### **5. OTHER ETHICAL BODIES RELEVANT TO THIS RESEARCH**

##### **5.1 ETHICS COMMITTEES**

None

##### **5.2 PROFESSIONAL CODES**

Associate Professor Andrew Trlin is a member of the Australasian Evaluation Society and the Royal Society of New Zealand, both of which have produced guidelines for the professional conduct of members. He acknowledges and abides by these guidelines.

Dr. Nicola North is a Fellow of the College of Nursing Aotearoa (NZ), which provides a Code of Ethical Practice, and is a member of the New Zealand Institute of Health Management and the Australasian Society for Health Administration Programmes in Education, both of which provide guidelines for professional conduct.

Dr. Pernice is a registered Clinical Psychologist and a Member of the New Zealand Psychological Society and is therefore bound by the New Zealand Psychological Society's Code of Practice (1985).

#### **6. OTHER RELEVANT ISSUES**

None

**Appendix 1****New Settlers Programme: Encounters, Responses, Policies****INFORMATION SHEET****The Researchers**

We are a research team consisting of four members based at Massey University:

Assoc. Prof. Andrew D. Trlin (Programme Leader)  
Department of Social Policy and Social Work  
Massey University  
Private Bag 11 222  
PALMERSTON NORTH  
Phone: 06 350 4305  
Fax: 06 350 5681  
E-mail: A.D.Trlin@massey.ac.nz

Dr. Nicola H. North  
Department of Management Systems  
Massey University  
Private Bag 11 222  
PALMERSTON NORTH  
Phone: 06 350 4378  
Fax: 06 350 5661  
E-mail: N.H.North@massey.ac.nz

Dr. Regina E. Pernice  
Department of Rehabilitation Studies  
Massey University  
Private Bag 11 222  
PALMERSTON NORTH  
Phone: 06 350 4160  
Fax: 06 350 2264  
E-mail: R.E.Pernice@massey.ac.nz

Anne Henderson (Research Officer)  
Department of Social Policy and Social Work  
Massey University  
Private Bag 11 222  
PALMERSTON NORTH  
Phone: 06 350 7316  
Fax: 06 350 5681

We are conducting a longitudinal research programme on the resettlement of General Skills Category migrants arriving in New Zealand between November 1997 and March 1998.

## The Research Programme

In the past ten years the number and variety of immigrants to New Zealand have changed from previous years. New Zealand has not been well prepared to assist new settlers in adjusting to New Zealand society. In order to assist in the development of improved support it is important to understand from the point of view of immigrants themselves what the needs are and what immigrants experience in their early years of adjusting to life in New Zealand.

Our research programme, 'The New Settlers Programme', will examine aspects of immigrant resettlement and adjustment in New Zealand. This includes:

- employment experiences
- accommodation
- involvement in the community
- health
- English language use
- cultural maintenance
- and coping with the challenges encountered in New Zealand society.

As migrant resettlement experiences change over time, we will seek to collect information from immigrants involved in the study once a year, beginning in March-May 1998 and concluding in March-May 2002. This research programme is funded by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology with a grant from the Public Good Science Fund.

## Your Participation

We are asking for your input and assistance in this programme so that the specific resettlement issues faced by skilled migrants recently arrived in New Zealand can be more clearly understood. We invite you to assist us by being available for a tape recorded interview once a year (for approximately three hours) to answer specific questions and to share with us your opinions and perceptions of immigrant issues and possible options for future policy developments. The first round of interviews will be conducted between March and May 1998.

## Your Rights

The interview will be confidential and the information gathered will be summarised so individual responses will not be identified. All other rights of participants will also be safeguarded i.e. you have the right:

- *to decline to participate*
- *to refuse to answer any particular questions*
- *to ask for the tape recorder to be turned off at specific points during the interview in order to clarify points etc. 'off the record'*
- *to withdraw from the research programme at any time*
- *to ask any questions about the programme at any time during participation*
- *to provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher*
- *to be given access to a summary of the findings of the programme when it is concluded*

Also the transcribers of the audio tapes will have signed a Confidentiality Agreement. The recorded tapes and transcripts for a particular family/participant will be available to that family/participant on request at the conclusion of the research programme or if not wanted will be destroyed.

The research team is willing to refer participants in the Programme to the appropriate professional assistance that we as researchers may be aware of in relation to matters arising in the course of the interviews.

We look forward to hearing from you if you are willing to participate in this research programme. Please fill out and return the enclosed form (no postage is required) or telephone one of us.

Please feel free to contact us for more information about the research programme, especially if there are any matters about which you are unsure or concerned.



**Appendix 2****New Settlers Programme: Encounters, Responses, Policies****CONSENT FORM**

I have read the Information Sheet and have had details of the research explained to me. My questions about the New Settlers Programme have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand I have the right to withdraw from the programme at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree to provide information to the researchers on the understanding that my name will not be used without my permission.

I agree to the interview being audio taped.

I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I agree to participate in the New Settlers Programme under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed.....

Name.....

Date.....

**Appendix 3**

Date

Name  
Address of Transcriber

Dear.....

Thank you for agreeing to transcribe audio tapes for the New Settlers Programme.

In the course of the transcribing you will be given access to information of a confidential nature. We therefore require you to agree that you will keep this information confidential, that you will not disclose to any other person any information you may acquire when transcribing the tapes. We also require that initials be used to distinguish the interview participants rather than full names.

To indicate that you understand and agree with the requirement to maintain confidentiality please sign this letter and return it to us.

Yours sincerely

Assoc. Prof. Andrew Trlin  
Dr. Nicola North  
Dr. Regina Pernice  
Anne Henderson

I agree to the confidentiality requirements set out above:

Signed.....  
Name.....  
Date.....



**MASSEY  
UNIVERSITY**

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New Zealand  
Telephone +64-6-35  
Facsimile +64-6-35

**FACULTY OF  
BUSINESS STUDI**

**DEPARTMENT OF  
HUMAN  
RESOURCE  
MANAGEMENT**

19<sup>th</sup> December 1997

Anne Henderson  
Department of Social Policy and Social Work  
MASSEY UNIVERSITY

Dear Anne

Re: Human Ethics Application HEC 97/164  
*New Settler Programme: Encounters, Responses Policies*

Thank you for your memo of 15<sup>th</sup> December and your amended application to the Human Ethics Committee. The amendments you have made in the consent form and the confidentiality statement now meet the requirements of the Human Ethics Committee and the ethics of your proposal are approved.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Philip Dewe', written over a large, stylized circular flourish.

Professor Philip Dewe  
Chairperson  
Human Ethics Committee

c.c. Associate Professor A D Trlin  
Department of Social Policy and Social Work  
Dr Nicola North  
Department of Management Systems  
Dr Regina Pernice  
Department of Rehabilitation Studies

Facsimile



**MASSEY  
UNIVERSITY**

Private Bag 11222  
Palmerston North  
New Zealand  
Telephone 0-6-356 9099

12 December 1997

**Anne HENDERSON**  
Department: Social Policy and Social Work

Dear Anne,

**Re: Human Ethics Application HEC97/164**  
New Settler Programme: Encounters, Responses Policies.

Thank you for the above application which has been received and considered by the Human Ethics Committee at their meeting held on Friday 28 November 1997. The Committee raised the following points regarding your application:

The Consent Form should include the clause:

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

Appendix 3 - amend sentence to read - We therefore require you to agree that you will keep this information confidential *and secure*. That you will not disclose .....

Subject to the above amendments and inclusions being received, the ethics of your application will be approved.

Any departure from the approved protocol will require the researcher to return this project to the Human Ethics Committee for further consideration and approval.

Yours sincerely

Professor Philip Dewe  
Chairperson  
Human Ethics Committee

cc: Supervisors: Associate Professor Andrew Trlin, Dr Nicola North  
Dr Regina Pernice.

**Massey University  
School of Policy Studies and Social Work  
Social Policy Research Centre**

**NEW SETTLERS PROGRAMME  
Encounters, Responses, Policies**

**FIRST ROUND  
QUESTIONNAIRE  
1998**

SECTION A: PERSONAL DATA

<sub>5</sub>

First I would like to ask you some general questions about yourself and your family.

Principal Applicant:

A1. Name: (family).....(given).....

A2. Gender: Male  <sub>1</sub> Female  <sub>2</sub>

A3. What is your date of birth? .....

A4. Where were you born?

(country)..... (city / province / district).....

<sub>10</sub>

A5. Where were you living when your application for permanent residence in New Zealand was approved?

.....

A6. When was this application approved? (date).....

<sub>16</sub>

A7. When did you take up permanent residence in New Zealand?

(month & year) .....

<sub>20</sub>

A8. Before taking up permanent residence in New Zealand, did you already have any of the following in New Zealand:?

(a) family member(s) Yes  <sub>1</sub> No  <sub>2</sub>

(If 'yes') What relationship to you?.....

(b) friend(s) Yes  <sub>1</sub> No  <sub>2</sub>

(c) ethnic association contact(s) Yes  <sub>1</sub> No  <sub>2</sub>

(d) business contact(s) Yes  <sub>1</sub> No  <sub>2</sub>

(If 'yes') Please specify: .....

(e) a job Yes  <sub>1</sub> No  <sub>2</sub>

(If 'yes') Please specify: .....

A9. (a) How many people altogether including yourself were included in your application for permanent residence in New Zealand?

(Number) ..... (If unaccompanied PA, go to Section B.)

<sub>30</sub>

(b) Of these, how many accompanied you to New Zealand?

(Number)..... (If unaccompanied PA, go to Section B.)

**Other household members who were included in the PA's application for Permanent Residence in New Zealand, if accompanied PA : SPOUSE / PARTNER.**

A10. Name: (family).....(given).....

A11. Gender: Male \_1 Female \_2

A12. What is his / her date of birth? .....

A13. Where was he / she born?

(country).....(city / province / district).....

A14. What is his / her relationship to you? .....

A15. Does he / she speak any languages or dialects other than English?

Yes \_1

No \_2

(go to A20 if applicable) otherwise to Section B)

(If 'yes') Please specify: .....

A16. How good do you think his / her English is?

Fluent.....	Very good .....	Good / OK .....	Limited .....	Poor	Not applicable (too young)
1	2	3	4	5	6

A17. How often did he / she use English before coming to New Zealand:

	Every day	Most days	Sometimes (weekly)	Rarely (1-3 x mth)	Never	Not applicable
(a) at work?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
(b) to study?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
(c) at home?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	
(d) socially?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	

A18. Did he / she sit an English test before coming to New Zealand?

Yes \_1

No \_2

Not required \_3

(If 'yes') Please specify type of test. ....

A19. If he / she failed or did not sit this English test, was a NZ\$20,000 bond required?

Not applicable (passed test) \_1

Yes \_2

No \_3

Other (specify) ..... \_4

32

36

40

45

48

**Other household members who were included in the PA's application for Permanent Residence in New Zealand, if accompanied PA : OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER 1.**

A20. Name: (family).....(given).....

A21. Gender: Male \_1 Female \_2

\_49

A22. What is his / her date of birth? .....

A23. Where was he / she born?  
(country).....(city / province / district).....

A24. What is his / her relationship to you? .....

A25. Does he / she speak any languages or dialects other than English?

Yes \_1  
No \_2 (go to A30 if applicable,  
otherwise to Section B)

\_55

(If 'yes') Please specify: .....

A26. How good do you think his / her English is?

Fluent.....Very good .....Good / OK .....Limited .....Poor Not applicable  
1 2 3 4 5 6 (too young)

**For all over 15 years of age:**

A27. How often did he / she use English before coming to New Zealand:

	Every day	Most days	Sometimes (weekly)	Rarely (1-3 x mth)	Never	Not applicable
(a) at work?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
(b) to study?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
(c) at home?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	
(d) socially?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	

\_60

A28. Did he / she sit an English test before coming to New Zealand?

Yes \_1  
No \_2  
Not required \_3

(If 'yes') Please specify type of test. ....

A29. If he / she failed or did not sit this English test, was a NZ\$20,000 bond required?

Not applicable (passed test) \_1  
Yes \_2  
No \_3  
Other (specify) ..... \_4

\_65



**Other household members who were included in the PA's application for Permanent Residence in New Zealand, if accompanied PA : OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER 2.**

A30. Name: (family).....(given).....

A31. Gender: Male \_1 Female \_2

\_66

A32. What is his / her date of birth? .....

A33. Where was he / she born?

(country).....(city / province / district).....

\_70

A34. What is his / her relationship to you? .....

A35. Does he / she speak any languages or dialects other than English?

Yes \_1  
No \_2 (go to A40 if applicable, otherwise to Section B)

(If 'yes') Please specify: .....

A36. How good do you think his / her English is?

Fluent.....Very good .....Good / OK .....Limited .....Poor Not applicable  
1 2 3 4 5 6 (too young)

\_75

**For all over 15 years of age:**

A37. How often did he / she use English before coming to New Zealand:

	Every day	Most days	Sometimes (weekly)	Rarely (1-3 x mth)	Never	Not applicable
(a) at work?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
(b) to study?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
(c) at home?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	
(d) socially?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	

A38. Did he / she sit an English test before coming to New Zealand?

Yes \_1  
No \_2  
Not required \_3

\_80

(If 'yes') Please specify type of test. ....

A39. If he / she failed or did not sit this English test, was a NZ\$20,000 bond required?

Not applicable (passed test) \_1  
Yes \_2  
No \_3  
Other (specify) ..... \_4

\_82

**Other household members who were included in the PA's application for Permanent Residence in New Zealand, if accompanied PA : OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER 3.**

A40. Name: (family).....(given).....

A41. Gender: Male \_1 Female \_2

\_83  
\_85

A42. What is his / her date of birth? .....

A43. Where was he / she born?

(country).....(city / province / district).....

A44. What is his / her relationship to you? .....

A45. Does he / she speak any languages or dialects other than English?

Yes \_1  
No \_2 (go to A50 if applicable,  
otherwise to Section B)

(If 'yes') Please specify: .....

\_91

A46. How good do you think his / her English is?

Fluent.....Very good .....Good / OK .....Limited .....Poor Not applicable  
1 2 3 4 5 6 (too young)

**For all over 15 years of age:**

A47. How often did he / she use English before coming to New Zealand:

	Every day	Most days	Sometimes (weekly)	Rarely (1-3 x mth)	Never	Not applicable
(a) at work?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
(b) to study?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
(c) at home?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	
(d) socially?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	

\_95

A48. Did he / she sit an English test before coming to New Zealand?

Yes \_1  
No \_2  
Not required \_3

(If 'yes') Please specify type of test. ....

A49. If he / she failed or did not sit this English test, was a NZ\$20,000 bond required?

Not applicable (passed test) \_1  
Yes \_2  
No \_3  
Other (specify) ..... \_4

\_99

Other household members who were included in the PA's application for Permanent Residence in New Zealand, if accompanied PA : OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER 4.

A50. Name: (family).....(given).....

A51. Gender: Male \_1 Female \_2

100

A52. What is his / her date of birth? .....

A53. Where was he / she born?

(country).....(city / province / district).....

A54. What is his / her relationship to you? .....

105

A55. Does he / she speak any languages or dialects other than English?

Yes \_1  
No \_2 (go to Section B)

(If 'yes') Please specify: .....

A56. How good do you think his / her English is?

Fluent.....Very good .....Good / OK .....Limited .....Poor Not applicable  
1 2 3 4 5 6  
(too young)

For all over 15 years of age:

A57. How often did he / she use English before coming to New Zealand:

Every day Most days Sometimes (weekly) Rarely (1-3 x mth) Never Not applicable  
(a) at work? 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 6  
(b) to study? 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 6  
(c) at home? 1.....2.....3.....4.....5  
(d) socially? 1.....2.....3.....4.....5

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A58. Did he / she sit an English test before coming to New Zealand?

Yes \_1  
No \_2  
Not required \_3

(If 'yes') Please specify type of test.....

115

A59. If he / she failed or did not sit this English test, was a NZ\$20,000 bond required?

Not applicable (passed test) \_1  
Yes \_2  
No \_3  
Other (specify) ..... \_4

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**SECTION B: THE IMMIGRATION PROCESS**

*I would now like to ask you a few questions about the immigration process itself.*

B1. Whose idea was it to seek permanent residence in New Zealand?

- Your idea \_1
- Your spouse / partner \_2
- You and your spouse / partner together \_3
- Some other relative \_4
- Someone else (specify)..... \_5
- Don't know / not sure \_6

B2. When applying for permanent residence in New Zealand, did you also apply to migrate to any other country or countries?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to B6)
- Don't know / can't remember \_3 (go to B6)

B3. (If 'yes') Which other country or countries did you apply to migrate to?  
(Tick one or more.)

- Australia
- Canada
- United Kingdom
- United States of America
- Other (specify) .....

\_10

B4. Was your application to migrate to this other country / these other countries successful?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to B6)
- Don't know \_3 (go to B6)

B5. (If 'yes') Which country / countries?  
(Tick one or more.)

- Australia \_1
- Canada \_2
- United Kingdom \_3
- United States of America \_4
- Other (specify) ..... \_5

\_15

B6. What were your main reasons (up to 3) for:

(a) migrating to / taking up permanent residence in New Zealand?

(i).....

16

(ii).....

(iii).....

b) leaving your country of origin / country of last permanent residence?

(i) .....

(ii) .....

20

(iii) .....

B7. Did you visit or live in New Zealand before you took up permanent residence in New Zealand?

(Tick all that apply.)

Yes, had previously visited  1

Yes, visiting New Zealand when approved  2

Yes, had previously lived in NZ  3

Yes, living and studying in NZ when approved  4

Yes, living and working in NZ when approved  5

No  6 (go to B9)

B8. (If 'yes') How long was your visit / period of previous residence? / How long have you been here?

(Record complete months; if less than 1 record 01.) .....

25

**Now I would like to ask you some questions about your information needs before you took up permanent residence in New Zealand.**

B9. Before applying to take up residence in New Zealand did you feel you needed information about job prospects in New Zealand?

Yes  1

No  2 (go to B14)

Don't know  3 (go to B14)

B10. (If 'yes') Did you get some information on job prospects in NZ?

Yes  1

No  2 (go to B14)

Don't know  3 (go to B14)

B11. Where did you get most of this information about job prospects from?

Specify up to 2 main sources: (a).....

(b).....

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B12. How helpful or unhelpful did you find the information received on job prospects in NZ?

- Very helpful  <sub>1</sub> (go to B14)
- Helpful  <sub>2</sub> (go to B14)
- Neither helpful nor unhelpful  <sub>3</sub> (go to B13)
- Unhelpful  <sub>4</sub> (go to B13)
- Very unhelpful  <sub>5</sub> (go to B13)
- Don't know / unsure  <sub>6</sub> (go to B14)

<sub>30</sub>

\*B13. (If the information received was 'neither helpful nor unhelpful', or 'unhelpful' / 'very unhelpful') Please explain why.

.....  
.....

B14. Before applying to take up permanent residence in New Zealand, did you feel you needed information about the recognition of qualifications in New Zealand for yourself and / or your spouse / partner? (This information was for the recognition of, not the NZQA assessment of your qualifications.)

- Yes, self  <sub>1</sub>
- Yes, spouse / partner  <sub>2</sub>
- Yes, self and spouse / partner  <sub>3</sub>
- No  <sub>4</sub> (go to B19)
- Not sure / Don't know  <sub>5</sub> (go to B19)

B15. (If 'yes') Did you get some information about the recognition of qualifications in NZ?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub>
- No  <sub>2</sub> (go to B19)
- Don't know  <sub>3</sub> (go to B19)

B16. (If 'yes') Where did you get most of this information about the recognition of qualifications from?

Specify up to 2 main sources:

- (a).....
- (b) .....

<sub>35</sub>

B17. How helpful or unhelpful did you find the information received on the recognition of qualifications in New Zealand?

- Very helpful  <sub>1</sub> (go to B19)
- Helpful  <sub>2</sub> (go to B19)
- Neither helpful nor unhelpful  <sub>3</sub> (go to B18)
- Unhelpful  <sub>4</sub> (go to B18)
- Very unhelpful  <sub>5</sub> (go to B18)
- Don't know / unsure  <sub>6</sub> (go to B19)

\*B18. (If the information received was 'neither helpful nor unhelpful', or 'unhelpful' / 'very unhelpful')

Please explain why.....

.....

<sub>37</sub>

B19. Before taking up residence in New Zealand, did you feel you needed information about:

- (a) housing in NZ Yes <sub>1</sub> No <sub>2</sub> Don't know <sub>3</sub>
- (b) health care in NZ Yes <sub>1</sub> No <sub>2</sub> Don't know <sub>3</sub>
- (c) the culture / customs of NZers Yes <sub>1</sub> No <sub>2</sub> Don't know <sub>3</sub>
- (d) anything else Yes <sub>1</sub> No <sub>2</sub> Don't know <sub>3</sub>  
 (specify).....  
 ..... (if any 'yes', (if all 'no' or "don't know"  
 go to B20) go to B21)

<sub>38</sub>

<sub>40</sub>

B20. (If 'yes' to any items in B19) Did you get the information you felt you needed?

- Yes, all <sub>1</sub>
- Yes, some <sub>2</sub>
- No <sub>3</sub>
- Don't know / not sure <sub>4</sub>

\*B21. Could you please tell me how you paid for your move to New Zealand?

- Not applicable / already resident in NZ <sub>1</sub>
- Probes: personal funds <sub>2</sub>
- family money <sub>3</sub>
- loan from other than family <sub>4</sub>
- New Zealand employer assisted <sub>5</sub>
- sold assets (specify)..... <sub>6</sub>
- other (specify) .....
- .....

Now I'd like to ask you about using an immigration consultant.

B22. Did you use an immigration consultant to help you with your application for residence in New Zealand?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to B27)

B23. (If 'yes') Apart from the application for residence, did the immigration consultant provide you with any other assistance before you took up permanent residence?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to B25)
- Don't know / not sure <sub>3</sub> (go to B25)

<sub>45</sub>

\*B24. (If 'yes') What other help was provided by the immigration consultant?

- Probes: finding housing <sub>1</sub>
- arranging schooling for child(ren) <sub>2</sub>
- finding a job <sub>3</sub>
- introduction to business contact(s) <sub>4</sub>
- other (specify) .....

<sub>46</sub>

B25. Did this immigration consultant provide you with any help **after** you took up permanent residence in New Zealand?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to B27)

\_47

\*B26. (If 'yes') What help was provided?

- Probes: *finding housing* \_1
- arranging schooling for child(ren)* \_2
- finding a job* \_3
- introduction to business contact(s)* \_4

*other (specify)* .....

\*B27. Looking back, what advice would you give **on the immigration process** to a friend who was applying to come here or take up permanent residence?

- Probes: *using a consultant* \_1
- information needed* \_2
- sources of information* \_3
- other (specify)* ..... \_4
- ..... \_5
- ..... \_6

\*B28. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about the immigration process?

.....

.....

.....

\_50



**SECTION C: HOUSING**

<sub>5</sub>

*I would now like to ask you a few questions about housing, about your accommodation, the place where you are living.*

C1. How long have you been at this / your present address?  
(Record completed months; if less than 1, record 01)

Months: .....

C2. Is this the only accommodation you have had since arriving in New Zealand?

Yes  <sub>1</sub> (go to C6)  
No  <sub>2</sub>

C3. (If 'no') What type(s) of accommodation have you previously had in New Zealand?  
(Tick all that apply.)

- Motel  <sub>1</sub>
- Hotel  <sub>2</sub>
- Hostel  <sub>3</sub>
- Temporary rental  <sub>4</sub>
- Stayed with friend(s)  <sub>5</sub>
- Stayed with relation(s)  <sub>6</sub>
- Other (specify) .....

<sub>10</sub>

C4. Did you experience any difficulties finding or living in that previous accommodation?

Yes  <sub>1</sub>  
No  <sub>2</sub> (go to C6)

C5. (If 'yes') What difficulties did you experience? Please specify.

- Probes: language  <sub>1</sub>
- attitudes of New Zealanders  <sub>2</sub>
- behaviour of New Zealanders  <sub>3</sub>
- sources of information  <sub>4</sub>
- finances  <sub>5</sub>
- other (specify) .....
- .....

<sub>12</sub>

C6. Which one of the following categories best describes the type of accommodation in which you are **now** living?

- Separate house / flat <sub>1</sub>
- Semi-detached house, etc.
  - 1 storey <sub>2</sub>
  - 2 or more storeys <sub>3</sub>
- Flat or apartment
  - in a 1 or 2 storey block <sub>4</sub>
  - in a 3 or more storey block <sub>5</sub>
  - attached to or part of a house <sub>6</sub>
- House or flat attached to a shop / office / etc <sub>7</sub>
- Other (specify) .....

<sub>13</sub>

C7. Which one of the following categories **best** describes how you found this accommodation?

- Migration consultant <sub>1</sub>
- Real estate agent <sub>2</sub>
- Friend(s) / relative(s) <sub>3</sub>
- Newspaper / magazine (English language) <sub>4</sub>
- Newspaper / magazine (other language) <sub>5</sub>
- Did not find – accommodation arranged for me <sub>6</sub>
- Other (specify) .....

C8. Which one of the following categories best describes the ownership, rental or other arrangement you have for the accommodation in which you are **now** living?

- Own the accommodation (**no** mortgage or debt) <sub>1</sub> }
- Own the accommodation (**with** mortgage or loan to repay) <sub>2</sub> } (go to C9)
- Rent the accommodation
  - privately <sub>3</sub> }
  - from employer <sub>4</sub> } (go to C11)
  - from government / local authority (Council) <sub>5</sub> }
- Live with parents / relations
  - pay board / rent <sub>6</sub> }
  - pay no board / rent <sub>7</sub> } (go to C11)
- Other (specify) .....  (go to C11)

<sub>15</sub>

C9. Did you have any problems in buying this dwelling?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to C13)

<sub>16</sub>

\*C10. (If 'yes') What problems did you have?

- Probes: sources of information \_1
- attitudes of New Zealanders \_2
- behaviour of New Zealanders \_3
- dealing with agents \_4
- finances \_5
- legal problems \_6
- language \_7
- other (specify) .....
- .....

\_17

C11. (a) Were you responsible for finding this place to rent?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to C13)

(b) If yes, did you have any trouble getting it to rent?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to C13)

\*C12. (If 'yes') What trouble(s) did you have? Please specify.

- Probes: sources of information \_1
- attitudes of New Zealanders \_2
- behaviour of New Zealanders \_3
- dealing with agents \_4
- finances \_5
- legal problems \_6
- language \_7
- other (specify) .....
- .....

\_20

C13. Do you share the accommodation you are now living in with anyone other than your spouse / partner and child(ren)?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to C15)

C14 (If 'yes') Please explain who you are sharing this accommodation with.

.....  
.....

C15. Just to be clear, could you please tell me the total number of people living here and how many are members of your immediate family (that is, yourself, your spouse / partner and your child(ren))?

- Respondent + spouse/partner +child(ren) = (number).....
- Others in accommodation = (number).....
- Total in accommodation = (number).....

\_24

**How does your present housing situation compare with your housing situation before you came to New Zealand?**

C16. Did you share the accommodation you last lived in (before you came to New Zealand) with anyone other than your spouse / partner and child(ren)?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to C18)

<sub>25</sub>

C17. (If 'yes') Please explain who you shared the accommodation with.

.....

.....

C18. Just to be clear about the accommodation situation **before** you came to New Zealand, could you please tell me the total number of people who lived there and how many of these were members of your immediate family (that is, yourself, your spouse / partner and your child[ren])?

- Respondent + spouse / partner + children = (number) .....
- Others in accommodation = (number) .....
- Total in accommodation = (number) .....

C19. Are you satisfied with the accommodation that you are **now** living in?

- Yes <sub>1</sub> (go to C21)
- No <sub>2</sub>
- Not sure / don't know <sub>3</sub>

\*C20 (If 'no' or 'not sure') Could you please explain why you feel this way?

.....

.....

<sub>30</sub>

C21. Compared with your accommodation just before you migrated to New Zealand, would you say that your present accommodation (physical structure, environment) is:

- Better <sub>1</sub>
- About the same <sub>2</sub> (go to C24)
- Not as good <sub>3</sub> (go to C23)
- Not sure / don't know <sub>4</sub> (go to C23)

\*C22. (If 'better') Could you please explain why you think it is better?

- Probes: *building materials* <sub>1</sub>
- structure* <sub>2</sub>
- size* <sub>3</sub>
- cost* <sub>4</sub>
- amenities* <sub>5</sub>
- neighbourhood* <sub>6</sub>

<sub>32</sub>

*other (specify)* .....

..... (go to C24)

\*C23. (If 'not as good' or 'not sure') Could you please explain why it is 'not as good' or why you are 'not sure'?

- Probes: *building materials* <sub>1</sub>
- structure* <sub>2</sub>
- size* <sub>3</sub>
- cost* <sub>4</sub>
- amenities* <sub>5</sub>
- neighbourhood* <sub>6</sub>
- other (specify)* .....
- .....

<sub>33</sub>

\*C24. What do you (and your spouse / partner and child[ren]) see as the GOOD (positive) things about the area in which you are now living?

- Probes: *facilities* <sub>1</sub>
- proximity to work* <sub>2</sub>
- local schools* <sub>3</sub>
- type of neighbours* <sub>4</sub>
- attitudes of neighbours* <sub>5</sub>
- behaviour of neighbours* <sub>6</sub>
- friends in area* <sub>7</sub>
- other (specify)* .....
- .....

\*C25. What do you (and your spouse / partner and child[ren]) see as the BAD (negative) things about the area in which you are now living?

- Probes: *facilities* <sub>1</sub>
- proximity to work* <sub>2</sub>
- local schools* <sub>3</sub>
- type of neighbours* <sub>4</sub>
- attitudes of neighbours* <sub>5</sub>
- behaviour of neighbours* <sub>6</sub>
- friends in area* <sub>7</sub>
- other (specify)* .....
- .....

<sub>35</sub>

C26. Do you intend to change your type of accommodation or move to another address in the next 12 months?

- Yes – change type of accommodation <sub>1</sub>
- Yes – move to another address <sub>2</sub>
- No <sub>3</sub> (go to C28)
- Not sure / don't know <sub>4</sub> (go to C28)

\*C27. (If 'yes') Could you please explain exactly why you intend to move?

.....  
.....

<sub>38</sub>

\*C28. Is there anything else you would like to say about your present accommodation or neighbourhood?

*(Probes: including the criteria on the basis of which you selected your present place of residence - school zones, feng shui, etc - if necessary & not covered in C24)*

.....

.....

.....



<sub>5</sub>

**SECTION D: LANGUAGES**

*Now I would like to ask you some questions about language.*

**General / Pre-departure**

D1. What language(s) / dialect(s) do you speak and write?

<i>(tick skills)</i>	Speak	Write	<i>(code as 3 if both)</i>
01. English as first language / mother tongue & main home language	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	(go to D25)
02. English as a second /other language	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	
03. Putong hua / Mandarin Chinese	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <sub>11</sub>
04. Guangdong hua	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	
05. Shanghai hua	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	
Other Chinese (specify) .....	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	
11. Hindi	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
12. Gujarati	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	
13. Punjabi	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	
14. Bengali	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	
15. Urdu	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	
16. Tamil	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	
17. Malayalam	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	
18. Telugu	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	
Other Indian (specify) .....	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	
21. Afrikaans	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <sub>17</sub>
Other African (specify) .....	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	
Any others (specify) .....	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <sub>20</sub>
.....	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

D2. What language or dialect do you (a) speak best? .....

(b) write best? .....

<sub>25</sub>

D3. Before arriving in New Zealand, what was (were) the main language(s) / dialect(s) spoken in your home?

.....

D4. Did you sit an English language test before coming to New Zealand?

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub> (go to D6)

<sub>30</sub>

D5. (If 'yes') What was the test and what was your score?

(a) IELTS

Total score: Band.....

31

(Listening.....Speaking..... Reading..... Writing..... ) (go to D7)

(b) TOEFL

score: ..... (go to D7)

(c) Other (specify) .....

score: ..... (go to D7)

D6. If you did not sit an English test to come to NZ, what was / were your other English qualification(s)?  
(Tick all reported.)

an English language degree  1

studied in English medium at secondary school  2

studied in English medium at university  3

lived / worked / studied in an English-speaking country  4

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(specify where and how long).....

Other (specify) .....

None (explain) .....  6

D7. How often did you use English before coming to New Zealand:

	Every day	Most days	Sometimes (weekly)	Rarely (1-3 x mth)	Never	Not applicable
(a) at work?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
(b) to study?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
(c) at home?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	
(d) socially?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	

D8. Before coming to New Zealand, had you planned to study English further in New Zealand?

Yes (definitely)  1

No  2

Undecided / Not sure  3

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\*D9. Please explain why.

- Probes: (if 'yes') to get a job <sub>1</sub>
- to do more study / training <sub>2</sub>
- to learn English for everyday activities <sub>3</sub>
- for family / social reasons

- (if 'no') English already good enough <sub>4</sub>
- would not need English for work <sub>5</sub>

- (if 'undecided') not sure whether my English was adequate <sub>6</sub>
- not sure what available <sub>7</sub>

other (specify) .....

.....

\*D10. How do you feel about the language requirements of New Zealand's immigration policy?

.....

.....

.....

D11 Before you arrived in New Zealand, how useful did you think your **first language /languages other than English** would be for communication in New Zealand:

	Very useful	Quite useful	Occasionally useful	A little useful	No use at all
(a) for everyday activities?	1-----	2-----	3-----	4-----	5
(b) at work?	1-----	2-----	3-----	4-----	5
(c) for career advancement?	1-----	2-----	3-----	4-----	5

**Post-arrival experiences**

D12. Since your arrival in New Zealand, have your thoughts about the usefulness of your first language/ languages other than English changed?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to D14)

D13. (If 'yes') Could you please explain in what way and why your thoughts have changed?

(a) in what way: .....

(b) why: .....

.....

D14. Since your arrival in New Zealand, has your assessment of any aspect of your own English language ability changed?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to D16)



D15. (If 'yes') Could you please explain in what way and why your assessment has changed?

(a) in what way: .....

(b) why: .....

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D16. Have you enrolled in an English language course since arriving in NZ?

Yes 1  
No 2 (go to D19)

D17. (If 'yes') Are you still taking this course?

Yes 1  
No 2 (go to D20)

D18. (If 'yes') How long do you think you will continue studying English like this?

Months: ..... }  
Don't know / not sure }(go to D21)

55

D19. (If 'no' to D16) Do you intend to enrol in a course?

Yes 1 }  
No 2 }(all go to D20)  
Don't know 3 }

\*D20. If you have not taken a course yet or have given up this course, what are the main reasons for this?

Not applicable / do not need to learn  (go to D23)

- Probes: 1. English now adequate / do not need to continue
- 2. lack of information about courses
- 3. cost
- 4. problems with child care
- 5. lack transport
- 6. location / distance
- 7. times not suitable
- 8. too busy working
- 9. finding / keeping job more important
- 10. looking after family more important
- 11. long waiting list
- (only if given up) 12. course did not meet my needs
- 13. course was boring
- 14. did not like the way the course was taught
- 15. other (specify) .....

• Identify up to 2 most important: (a) .....

(b) .....

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D21. Which of the following best describe the way you are learning / will learn English in New Zealand?  
 (Tick all answers. Identify up to 2 most important.)

- Not applicable / do not need to learn  (go to D23)
- 1. At university
- 2. At polytechnic
- 3. Through English classes at school
- 4. At a private language school
- 5. At community-organised classes (eg church, association)
- 6. Through Correspondence School
- 7. From a tutor at home
- 8. Course(s) at work
- 9. Self-taught from books / tapes
- 10. From parents / family
- 11. From friends of same ethnic group
- 12. From Kiwi friends
- 13. From colleagues at work
- 14. From television/radio
- 15. Other (specify) .....

- Up to 2 most important: (a) .....
- (b) .....

<sub>62</sub>

<sub>66</sub>

D22. What difficulties / problems have you experienced learning English in this way?

.....  
 .....  
 .....

D23. In New Zealand, which language(s) do you speak in the following situations?  
 (LOTE = Language[s] Other Than English; E = English)

	LOTE only	Mostly LOTE	LOTE / E equally	Mostly E	E only	N/A
At home - with spouse / partner	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
- with children	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
- with other residents	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
Talking with friends from home country	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
Talking with other friends	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
At work/study with others from home country	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
At work/study with other work mates/students	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6

<sub>70</sub>  
  
  
  
  
 <sub>75</sub>

D24. How often do you use the following languages:

Every day    Most days    Sometimes (weekly)    Rarely (1-3x mth)    Never

(a) to read newspapers / magazines?

- Mother tongue/languages other than English    1.....2.....3.....4.....5

76

- English    1.....2.....3.....4.....5

(b) to write personal letters (including emails)?

- Mother tongue/languages other than English    1.....2.....3.....4.....5

- English    1.....2.....3.....4.....5

(c) to watch TV / videos?

- Mother tongue/languages other than English    1.....2.....3.....4.....5

80

- English    1.....2.....3.....4.....5

(If unaccompanied PA, go to D28)

D25. (If accompanied by spouse / partner) Has your spouse / partner experienced any English language problems in New Zealand?

Yes     1

No     2    (go to D27)

Not applicable (mother tongue/main language)     3    (go to D28)

D26. (If 'yes') What problems has he / she experienced?

.....

.....

.....

D27. Is he / she currently enrolled in or planning to enrol in any English language course?

Yes, enrolled     1

Yes, planning to enrol     2

No     3

Don't know / not sure     4

85

\*D28. What do you think are the main difficulties associated with using English in New Zealand?

Probes: carrying out everyday activities     1

using English for occupation     2

using English to study     3

needing an interpreter     4

using non-professional interpreters (specify)     5

own accent     6

NZ accent     7

speed of NZ English     8

NZ colloquialisms     9

other (specify) .....   

None   

86

\*D29. What do you think about New Zealanders' attitudes towards you when you communicate in English?

.....  
.....  
.....

87

\*D30. Is there anything else you (or other family members) would like to tell me about language use, provisions and requirements in New Zealand?

- Probes (if required):
- first language use and maintenance*  1
  - attitudes of NZers towards first language use*  2
  - provision of interpreters*  3
  - English language support in schools for child(ren)*  4

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

SECTION E: QUALIFICATIONS AND EMPLOYMENT

<sub>5</sub>

Now I would like to ask you some questions about qualifications and employment.

E 1. Which highest formal qualification have you completed?

- 12 years schooling  <sub>1</sub>
- Diploma/Certificate at least 1 year but less than 2 years full-time  <sub>2</sub>
- Diploma/Certificate 2-3 years full-time  <sub>3</sub>
- Trade Certificate or Advanced Trade certificate  <sub>4</sub>
- Bachelors degree (non-science)  <sub>5</sub>
- Bachelors degree (science/technical/engineering)  <sub>6</sub>
- Post-graduate degree or diploma  <sub>7</sub>

E 2. What was your main area of study or training for this qualification?

Please specify .....

E 3. In which country did you obtain this qualification?

- People's Republic of China  <sub>1</sub>
- India  <sub>2</sub>
- South Africa  <sub>3</sub>
- Other (please specify) .....

E 4. In order to practise your profession/trade in New Zealand have you sought to have your qualifications recognised by a professional body or agency (other than NZQA):

(a) before immigration?

- Yes, and recognition achieved  <sub>1</sub> (go to E5)
- Yes, but recognition not achieved  <sub>2</sub> (go to [b])
- No  <sub>3</sub> (go to [b])

(b) since arrival in New Zealand?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub> (go to E5)
- No  <sub>2</sub> (go to E10)

<sub>10</sub>

E 5. Which agency did / is doing this assessment?

.....

E 6. How many weeks did it take for the assessment to be completed / has the assessment been underway?

Number of weeks: .....

<sub>13</sub>

E 7. Has the recognition of your qualifications been completed?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to E11)
- Not sure <sub>3</sub> (go to E11)

<sub>14</sub>

E 8. Was your assessment for recognition of your qualifications completely successful?

- Yes <sub>1</sub> (go to E11)
- No <sub>2</sub>

<sub>15</sub>

E 9. (If 'no') Please explain why. ....(go to E11)

E 10. If you have not sought to have your qualifications recognised, what are the main reasons for this?  
(Tick all that apply.)

- don't need recognition to get a job <sub>1</sub>
- qualifications accepted by employer <sub>2</sub>
- planning to change career <sub>3</sub>
- not intending to work <sub>4</sub>
- language difficulties <sub>5</sub>
- want to learn English first <sub>6</sub>
- intend to / haven't yet <sub>7</sub>
- no time / haven't bothered <sub>8</sub>
- didn't know recognition required <sub>9</sub>
- no reason, it's not important <sub>10</sub>
- other (please specify)..... <sub>11</sub>

• (If more than 2) Of these, which are the two main reasons.?

(a) .....

(b) .....

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

<sub>20</sub>

Now I would like to ask you some questions about further study/training in New Zealand.

E 11. Apart from English language courses, are you currently studying in New Zealand?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to E15)

E 12. (If 'yes') Where are you studying?

- Secondary School <sub>1</sub>
- Polytechnic <sub>2</sub>
- University <sub>3</sub>
- Other institution (please specify).....

E 13. What qualification are you studying for?

(a) type: .....

(b) main subject or field: .....

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

<sub>25</sub>

E 14. Is this study in a field related to your previous qualification?

- Yes <sub>1</sub> (go to E16)
- No <sub>2</sub>

<sub>26</sub>

E 15. Do you intend to do any further study or training in New Zealand?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub>

*Now I would like to ask you some questions about employment.*

E 16. Did you have a job just before preparing to come to New Zealand?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub>
- Other (please specify).....

E 17. What are you currently doing in New Zealand?

- (a) Are you:
- employed full-time? <sub>1</sub>
  - employed part-time not looking for work? <sub>2</sub>
  - employed part-time looking for work? <sub>3</sub>
  - unemployed not looking for work? <sub>4</sub>
  - unemployed looking for work? <sub>5</sub>

(b) Which one of these categories best describes your current situation?

- wage or salary earner <sub>1</sub>
- working in family business <sub>2</sub>
- conducting own business (working alone) <sub>3</sub>
- conducting own business (and employing others) <sub>4</sub>
- conducting own business (with the help of family members) <sub>5</sub>
- other employed (please specify) ..... <sub>6</sub>
- student <sub>7</sub> }
- home duties <sub>8</sub> } (go to E34)
- retired <sub>9</sub> }
- other (please specify)..... <sub>10</sub> }

<sub>31</sub>

E 18. (If employed full-time or part-time) What is your main job?

(a) Please specify.....

(b) What are the two main tasks you perform in this job?

(please specify) (i) .....

(ii) .....

(c) Is this job the same as the last job you had before coming to New Zealand?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub>
- Not applicable (not employed before coming to NZ) <sub>3</sub>

<sub>34</sub>



E 19. Do you currently have more than one job?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to E21)

<sub>35</sub>

E 20. (If 'yes') What is / are your other job(s)?

Please specify ..... (go to E23)

E 21. Are you currently looking for a second job in addition to your main job?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to E23)

<sub>40</sub>

E 22. (If 'yes') Please explain why.

- more money <sub>1</sub>
- looking for a better job <sub>2</sub>
- more NZ work experience <sub>3</sub>
- other (please specify).....

E 23. How many hours each week do you usually work in all your jobs?

Hours: .....

E 24. How long have you been working in your main job in New Zealand?

Months: .....

<sub>45</sub>

E 25. How did you find out about/get your main job?  
(Tick all that apply.)

- 1. friends (same ethnic group) <sub>1</sub>
- 2. Kiwi friends <sub>2</sub>
- 3. family <sub>3</sub>
- 4. English newspaper <sub>4</sub>
- 5. ethnic newspaper <sub>5</sub>
- 6. NZ Employment Service <sub>6</sub>
- 7. private employment agency <sub>7</sub>
- 8. immigration consultant <sub>8</sub>
- 9. arranged before arrival <sub>9</sub>
- 10. arranged after arrival <sub>10</sub>
- 11. other (please specify)..... <sub>11</sub>

• and of these which were the two most important?

(a).....

(b).....

<sub>49</sub>

E 26. Are you using your qualification(s) in your main job?

- Yes <sub>1</sub> (go to E28)
- No <sub>2</sub>

<sub>50</sub>

E 27. (If 'no') What are the main reasons for this?  
(Tick all that apply.)

- cannot apply qualification(s) to job because of insufficient English <sub>1</sub>
- cannot apply qualification(s) because of lack of New Zealand experience <sub>2</sub>
- qualification(s) not relevant to the job <sub>3</sub>
- qualification(s) not recognised <sub>4</sub>

other (please specify) .....

● ( If more than 2) What are the two main reasons? .....

E 28. How do you feel about your main job?

- love it - best job I ever had <sub>1</sub>
- like it - it's a really good job <sub>2</sub>
- job is ok <sub>3</sub>
- don't really care, it's just a job <sub>4</sub>
- dislike it - it's not a good job <sub>5</sub>
- dislike it - it's an awful job <sub>6</sub>
- hate it - worst job I ever had <sub>7</sub>

\*E 29. Please explain the reasons for your response?

- Probes: attitudes of fellow workers <sub>1</sub>
- behaviour of fellow workers <sub>2</sub>
- attitudes of employer <sub>3</sub>
- behaviour of employer <sub>4</sub>
- nature of work environment <sub>5</sub>
- work ethic <sub>6</sub>
- status <sub>7</sub>
- income <sub>8</sub>
- use of qualifications <sub>9</sub>

other (please specify) .....

E 30. What language(s) do you need in your main job?

- English only <sub>1</sub>
- English and other language(s) (please specify) ..... <sub>2</sub>
- other language(s) only (please specify) ..... <sub>3</sub>

<sub>55</sub>

E 31. Do you intend to change your main job as soon as possible?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to E34)
- Don't know <sub>3</sub> (go to E34)

E 32. Which of the following reasons best describe why you intend to change your main job?  
(Tick all that apply.)

- 1. to work in a job in which I can use my qualification(s)
- 2. to work in the same occupation as in my former home country
- 3. not happy with present job
- 4. want more money
- 5. want better or different hours
- 6. want better promotion/career opportunities
- 7. want more job satisfaction
- 8. want better job security
- 9. want to work closer to home
- 10. want different/more suitable/ more varied work
- 11. want better working conditions
- 12. just want a change
- 13. the job is finishing
- 14. other (please specify).....

• Of the above, the two main reasons in order of importance are:

(a) the most important .....

(b) the second most important .....

60

E 33. What kind of job do you want to change to?

.....

Now I would like to ask you some questions about not working (unemployment).

E 34. Since taking up residency in New Zealand (under the General Skills Category) has there been a time when you have been unemployed and looking for work?

- Yes  1
- No  2 (go to E39)

E 35. During this period of unemployment, did you receive/have you received any assistance with finding a job?

- Yes  1
- No  2

\*E 36. What do you think were/are the main problems you had / are having in trying to find a job?

- Probes:
- English language difficulties
  - recognition of qualification(s)
  - lack of New Zealand qualifications
  - insufficient training
  - insufficient New Zealand experience
  - weren't enough jobs available
  - attitudes of employers (please specify) .....
  - behaviour of employers (please specify) .....
  - other (please specify).....

65

\*E 37. Why do you believe that these were problems?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

66

E 38. Overall, since arriving in New Zealand, how many weeks have you been **unemployed and looking for work?**

Number of weeks: .....

*Now I would like to ask you some questions about doing voluntary work in New Zealand.*

E 39. Have you been engaged in voluntary unpaid work since you arrived in New Zealand?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub> (go to E41)

E 40. (If 'yes') What voluntary work have you done?

..... (go to E42)

70

E 41. (If 'no') Have you considered voluntary work?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub> (go to E43)

E 42. (If 'yes') What are your (2 main) reasons for considering / being involved with voluntary work?

.....  
.....

*Now I would like to ask you whether your employment / unemployment experiences in New Zealand have affected your well-being.*

E 43. Have you recently been able to concentrate on whatever you're doing?

Better than usual    Same as usual    Less than usual    Much less than usual

E 44. Have you recently lost much sleep through worry?

Not at all    No more than usual    Rather more than usual    Much more than usual

75

E 45. Have you recently felt that you are playing a useful part in things?

More so than usual	Same as usual	Less so than usual	Much less than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------	---------------	--------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

E 46. Have you recently felt capable of making decisions about things?

More so than usual	Same as usual	Less so than usual	Much less than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------	---------------	--------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

E 47. Have you recently felt constantly under strain?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
------------	--------------------	------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

E 48. Have you recently felt that you couldn't overcome your difficulties?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
------------	--------------------	------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

E 49. Have you recently been able to enjoy your normal day-to-day activities?

More so than usual	Same as usual	Less so than usual	Much less than usual	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>80</sub>
--------------------	---------------	--------------------	----------------------	--

E 50. Have you recently been able to face up to your problems?

More so than usual	Same as usual	Less so than usual	Much less than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------	---------------	--------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

E 51. Have you recently been feeling unhappy or depressed?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
------------	--------------------	------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

E 52. Have you recently been losing confidence in yourself?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
------------	--------------------	------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

E 53. Have you recently been thinking of yourself as a worthless person?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
------------	--------------------	------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

E 54. Have you recently been feeling reasonably happy, all things considered?

More so than usual	About same as usual	Less so than usual	Much less than usual	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>85</sub>
--------------------	---------------------	--------------------	----------------------	--

*(If unaccompanied by spouse/partner go to E62.)*

*Now I would like to ask you or your spouse/partner about his/her qualifications, employment and/or unemployment experiences in New Zealand.*

E 55. Which highest formal qualification has he/she completed?

- 12 years schooling  <sub>1</sub>
- Diploma/Certificate at least 1 year but less than 2 years full-time  <sub>2</sub>
- Diploma/Certificate 2-3 years full-time  <sub>3</sub>
- Trade Certificate or Advanced Trade certificate  <sub>4</sub>
- Bachelors degree (non-science)  <sub>5</sub>
- Bachelors degree (science/technical/engineering)  <sub>6</sub>
- Post-graduate degree or diploma  <sub>7</sub>

E 56. What is he/she currently doing in New Zealand? Is he/she:

(a) employed?

- not applicable  <sub>0</sub> (go to b)
- wage or salary earner  <sub>1</sub> }
- working in family business  <sub>2</sub> }
- conducting own business (working alone)  <sub>3</sub> }
- conducting own business (and employing others)  <sub>4</sub> } (go to E57)
- conducting own business (with the help of family members)  <sub>5</sub> }
- other employed (please specify) .....  <sub>6</sub> }

(b) not employed?

- not applicable  <sub>0</sub>
- unemployed not looking for work  <sub>1</sub> }
- unemployed looking for work  <sub>2</sub> }
- student  <sub>3</sub> }
- home duties  <sub>4</sub> } (go to E60)
- retired  <sub>5</sub> }
- other (please specify).....  <sub>6</sub> }

E 57. What is his/her main job?

(a) Please specify.....

  <sub>90</sub>

(b) What are the two main tasks he/she performs in this job?

(please specify) (i) .....

(ii) .....

(c) Is this job the same as the last job he/she had before coming to New Zealand?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub>
- No  <sub>2</sub>
- Not applicable (not employed before coming to NZ)  <sub>3</sub>

E 58. Is he/she using his/her qualification(s) in his/her main job?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub>
- No  <sub>2</sub>

E 59. Since taking up residency in New Zealand (under the General Skills Category) has there been a time when he/she has been unemployed and looking for work?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

E 60. Has he/she been engaged in voluntary unpaid work since arriving in New Zealand?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub> (go to E62)

E 61. (If 'yes') What voluntary work has he/she done?

.....

95

\*E 62. Before coming to New Zealand, what expectations did you (and your spouse/partner, if applicable) have about working in New Zealand?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

\*E 63. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your employment or unemployment experiences?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

SECTION F: SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

<sub>5</sub>

Now I would like to ask you some questions about social participation, about your involvement in social activities before and since coming to New Zealand.

F1. Before you came to live in New Zealand, how much contact did you have with people from different countries?

- A lot  <sub>1</sub>
- Some  <sub>2</sub>
- Little  <sub>3</sub>
- None  <sub>4</sub>

F2. Before migrating to New Zealand, did you regularly visit the homes of:

- (a) relatives (other than those residing with you)? Yes  <sub>1</sub> No  <sub>2</sub> NA  <sub>3</sub>
- (b) friends? Yes  <sub>1</sub> No  <sub>2</sub>
- (c) associates from work? Yes  <sub>1</sub> No  <sub>2</sub> NA  <sub>3</sub>

F3. Before migrating to New Zealand, did you regularly have visits to your home from:

- (a) relatives (other than those residing with you)? Yes  <sub>1</sub> No  <sub>2</sub> NA  <sub>3</sub>
- (b) friends? Yes  <sub>1</sub> No  <sub>2</sub>
- (c) associates from work? Yes  <sub>1</sub> No  <sub>2</sub> NA  <sub>3</sub>

<sub>10</sub>

F4. Before migrating to New Zealand, did you have any other regular social contact (eg in restaurants, place of worship) with:

- (a) relatives (other than those residing with you)? Yes  <sub>1</sub> No  <sub>2</sub> NA  <sub>3</sub>
- (b) friends? Yes  <sub>1</sub> No  <sub>2</sub>
- (c) associates from work? Yes  <sub>1</sub> No  <sub>2</sub> NA  <sub>3</sub>

<sub>15</sub>

F5. Before you came to New Zealand, did you belong to any clubs or other social organisations?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub>
- No  <sub>2</sub> (go to F9)

F6. Please specify the (main) club(s) / social organisation(s) you belonged to.

- (a) .....
- (b) .....
- (c) .....



F7. How active were you as a member in your club(s) / social organisation(s)?

	very active	active	sometimes participated	not active
Club / organisation (a)....	1-----2-----3-----4			
Club / organisation (b).....	1-----2-----3-----4			
Club / organisation (c).....	1-----2-----3-----4			


\*F8. What were your main reasons for belonging to clubs / social organisations before you came to New Zealand?

Probes: *maintaining social status*

*career/social advancement*

*recreation*

*religious reasons*

*to meet new/different people*

*other (specify) .....*

.....

20

F9. Before you came to New Zealand, did you intend to join any clubs / social organisations here (in New Zealand)?

Yes  1

No  2 } (go to F13 if with family, F17 if not)

Not sure / had not thought about it  3 }

\*F10. (If 'yes') What clubs / social organisations did you think you would join?

Probes: *sports*

*hobbies*

*cultural*

*ethnic specific*

*religious*

*other (specify) .....*

.....

\*F11. Why did you think you would join such clubs / social organisations?

Probes: *to maintain social status*

*career / social advancement*

*recreation*

*religious reasons*

*a chance to meet new / different people*

*other (specify) .....*

.....

F12. Did you think that becoming a member of clubs / social organisations in New Zealand would be difficult?

Yes  1

No  2 } (go to F17 if unaccompanied principal applicant,

Not sure  3 } to F15 if accompanied by child[ren] only)

F13. (If applicable) Did your spouse / partner belong to any clubs /social organisations in your home country?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 } (go to F15 if child[ren], F17 if not)
- Don't know / not sure \_3 }

\_25

F14. (If 'yes') Please describe the type(s) of clubs / organisations your spouse / partner belonged to.

(Tick all answers given.)

- Sports \_1
- Hobbies \_2
- Own cultural \_3
- Religious \_4

Other (specify) .....   
(go to F17 if no child[ren])

F15. (If applicable) Did your child(ren) belong to any clubs /social organisations in your home country?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 } (go to F17)
- Don't know / not sure \_3 }

F16. (If 'yes') Please describe the type(s) of clubs / organisations your child(ren) belonged to.

(Tick all answers given.)

- Sports \_1
- Hobbies \_2
- Own cultural \_3
- Religious \_4

\_30

Other (specify) .....

**Since arrival in New Zealand:**

F17. Since your arrival in New Zealand, have you joined any club(s) / social organisation(s)?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to F22)

F18. (If 'yes') Please name the club(s) / social organisation(s) you have joined and give the date you joined.

- (a) ..... (date).....
- (b)..... (date).....
- (c)..... (date).....

F19. Did you experience any difficulties joining this / any of these club(s) / social organisation(s)?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to F21)

**\*F20.** (If 'yes') What were the difficulties that you experienced? Please explain.

- Probes: contacts / information
  - language
  - entry criteria
  - too busy
  - attitudes of members
  - behaviour of members
  - different cultural values / beliefs
  - transport / location
  - meeting times
  - other (specify) .....
- (go to F23 if with spouse / partner, to F28 if with child[ren] only, to F34 if unaccompanied PA)

**\*F21.** If no difficulties were experienced, what made it easy for you to join this / these club(s) / social organisation(s)?

- Probes: readily available information
  - personal contacts with members
  - contacted by club / organisation
  - same language
  - same sort of club as at home
  - other (specify) .....
  - .....
- (go to F23 if with spouse / partner, to F28 if with child[ren] only, to F34 if unaccompanied PA)

**F22.** (If 'no' to joining clubs / social organisations since arriving in New Zealand) Could you please explain why you have not joined?  
(Tick one or more.)

- Just arrived (other responsibilities, no time) \_1
- Looking for information / contacts \_2
- Cost \_3
- Language (need better English) \_4
- Entry criteria (citizenship, nomination, etc) \_5
- Not interested \_6
- Other (specify).....

● (If more than 2) Of these, which 2 are the most important reasons?

(a).....

(b).....

(go to F28 if no spouse/partner but child[ren], to F34 if unaccompanied PA)

 35  


**F23.** Since your arrival in New Zealand, has your spouse / partner joined any club(s) / social organisation(s)?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to F27)

F24. (If 'yes') Please name the club(s) / social organisation(s) your spouse / partner has joined and give the date(s) he / she joined.

- (a) ..... (date) .....
- (b)..... (date) .....
- (c)..... (date) .....

F25. Did he / she experience any difficulties joining this / any of these club(s) / social organisation(s)?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to F28 if child[ren], F34 if no child[ren])

\*F26. (If 'yes') What were the difficulties that he / she experienced? Please explain.

- Probes: contacts / information \_1
- language \_2
- entry criteria \_3
- too busy \_4
- attitudes of members \_5
- behaviour of members \_6
- different cultural values / beliefs \_7
- transport / location \_8
- meeting times \_9
- other (specify) .....

(go to F28 if child[ren], F34 if no child[ren])

F27. (If 'no' to joining clubs / social organisations since arriving in New Zealand) Could you please explain why your spouse / partner has not joined? (Tick one or more.)

- Just arrived (other responsibilities, no time) \_1
- Looking for information / contacts \_2
- Cost \_3
- Language (need better English) \_4
- Entry criteria (citizenship, nomination, etc) \_5
- Not interested \_6
- Other (specify).....

• (If more than 2) Identify the 2 main reasons: (a) .....

(b) .....

(If no child[ren], go to F34.)

F28. (If applicable) Since arriving in New Zealand has your child / have your children joined any club(s) / social organisation(s):

- (a) at school? Yes \_1
- No \_2
- Not applicable \_3
- (b) outside of school? Yes \_1
- No \_2
- Not applicable \_3

('Yes' for [a] or [b], go to F29; 'No' for both, go to F 32; 'NA' for both go to F33)

F29. (If 'yes') Please describe the type(s) of club(s) / social organisation(s) he / she has (they have) joined.

(Tick one or more.)

- Sports <sub>1</sub>
- Hobbies <sub>2</sub>
- Own cultural <sub>3</sub>
- Religious <sub>4</sub>
- Other (specify) .....

45

F30. Has your child / have your children experienced any difficulties joining?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> } (go to F 33)
- Don't know / not sure <sub>3</sub> }

\*F31. What sort of difficulties did he / she / they have?

- Probes: contacts / information <sub>1</sub>
- language <sub>2</sub>
- entry criteria <sub>3</sub>
- too busy <sub>4</sub>
- attitudes of members <sub>5</sub>
- behaviour of members <sub>6</sub>
- different cultural values / beliefs <sub>7</sub>
- transport / location <sub>8</sub>
- meeting times <sub>9</sub>
- other (specify) .....
- .....  (go to F33)

\*F32. (If child(ren) has / have not joined any clubs / social organisations) Please explain why he / she has (they have) not joined.

.....  
.....

F 33. Since arriving in New Zealand, have you had the opportunity to attend any functions that your child(ren) has / have been involved in?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub>
- Not applicable <sub>3</sub>

F34. Since arriving in New Zealand, do you feel that you have had the opportunity (chance) to make new friends (outside of work)?

- Yes, and have made new friend(s) <sub>1</sub>
- Yes, but have not yet made new friend(s) <sub>2</sub> (go to F37)
- No, just arrived <sub>3</sub> (go to F39 if with family, F43 if not)
- No - other reason(s)
- (Please specify) .....

50

..... (go to F39 if with family, F43 if not)

F35. (If 'yes') Have you had the opportunity:

- (a) to meet socially with these new friends?      Yes <sub>1</sub>  
    No <sub>2</sub>
- (b) to visit the homes of these new friends?      Yes <sub>1</sub>  
    No <sub>2</sub>
- (c) to receive visits from these new friends?      Yes <sub>1</sub>  
    No <sub>2</sub>

F36. How many of these new friends are of the same ethnic group as yourself?

- 1.....2.....3.....4.....5  
 All      Most      About half      Few      None

F37. Have you experienced any difficulties in developing friendships with Kiwi New Zealanders (ie those who were born here or have lived here for a long time) outside of work?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>  
 No <sub>2</sub>      (*go to F39 if with family, F43 if not*)

<sub>55</sub>

\*F38. (If 'yes') Could you explain what sort of difficulties you have experienced.

- Probes: just arrived in NZ* <sub>1</sub>
- language* <sub>2</sub>
- other cultural differences* <sub>3</sub>
- attitudes of New Zealanders* <sub>4</sub>
- behaviour of New Zealanders* <sub>5</sub>
- have not met anyone yet* <sub>6</sub>
- new to neighbourhood* <sub>7</sub>
- other (specify) .....*

*(If unaccompanied PA, go to F43.)*

F39. Since arriving in New Zealand, does your spouse / partner feel that he / she has had the opportunity (chance) to make new friends?

- Yes, and has made new friend(s) <sub>1</sub>
- Yes, but has not yet made new friend(s) <sub>2</sub>      (*go to F41*)
- No, just arrived <sub>3</sub>      (*go to F43*)
- No - other reason(s)  
*(Please specify) .....*

*(go to F43)*

F40. How many of these new friends are of the same ethnic group as your spouse / partner?

- 1.....2.....3.....4.....5  
 All      Most      About half      Few      None

F41 Has he / she experienced any difficulties in developing friendships with Kiwi New Zealanders (ie those who were born here or have lived here for a long time)?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>  
 No <sub>2</sub>      (*go to F43*)

\*F42. (If 'yes') Could you explain what sort of difficulties he / she has experienced?

- Probes: just arrived in NZ <sub>1</sub>
- not in work yet <sub>2</sub>
- language <sub>3</sub>
- other cultural differences <sub>4</sub>
- attitudes of New Zealanders <sub>5</sub>
- behaviour of New Zealanders <sub>6</sub>
- have not met anyone yet <sub>7</sub>
- new to neighbourhood <sub>8</sub>
- other (specify) .....
- .....

<sub>60</sub>

F43. Since arriving in New Zealand, have you had the opportunity to develop personal relationships with work associates?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No (have just started work) <sub>2</sub> (go to F47)
- Not applicable (not working) <sub>3</sub> (go to F49)

F44. On the following scale, how would you rate your relationship with the new work associates you feel closest to?

- 1 ..... 2 ..... 3 ..... 4 ..... 5
- Formal work    less formal    friend    good    very good  
 contact only    work contact       friend    friend

F45. Have you had the opportunity:

(a) to meet socially with these new associates from work?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub>

(b) to visit the homes of these new associates from work?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub>

(c) to receive visits to your home from these new associates from work?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub>

<sub>65</sub>

(all 'no', go to F47)

F46. (If 'yes' to [a], [b] or [c]) How many of these new work associates are of the same ethnic group as yourself?

- 1 ..... 2 ..... 3 ..... 4 ..... 5
- All            Most            About half            Few            None

F47. Have you experienced any difficulties in developing relationships with work associates who are Kiwi New Zealanders?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to F49)

\*F48. (If 'yes') Could you explain what sort of difficulties you have experienced in developing these relationships?

- Probes: *short time in NZ* <sub>1</sub>
- language* <sub>2</sub>
- other cultural differences* <sub>3</sub>
- attitudes of New Zealanders* <sub>4</sub>
- behaviour of New Zealanders* <sub>5</sub>
- other (specify)* .....

.....

\*F49. (a) If you had complete freedom of choice in forming social relationships, would you prefer to interact with members of your own ethnic group or with others?

- Probes: *origins own group*
- identity of others*
- closeness of relationship: acquaintance - marriage*
- other (specify)*

(b) Could you please explain why?

- Probes: *underlying experiences*
- welcomed/not welcomed by others*
- other (specify)*

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\*F50. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about becoming involved in social activities in New Zealand ?

.....  
.....  
.....



SECTION G: GENERAL HEALTH

<sub>5</sub>

Finally, I would like to ask you some questions about your health since coming to New Zealand.

G1 Since taking up permanent residency in New Zealand have you or a member of your family been ill?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub>
- No  <sub>2 (go to G3)</sub>

(If 'yes') State identity of person(s) (eg spouse/partner, child) and illness(es).

.....

.....

.....

.....

\*G2 How did you treat that (those) episode(s) of illness?

- Probes: general practitioner*
- hospital outpatients*
- hospital admission*
- Chinese medicine*
- acupuncture*
- Ayurvedic medicine*
- alternative/complementary techniques*
- home remedies and self treatment*
- nothing (got better by itself)*
- other (specify)*

G3 In general, would you say your health is:

- Excellent  <sub>1</sub>
- Very good  <sub>2</sub>
- Good  <sub>3</sub>
- Fair  <sub>4</sub>
- Poor  <sub>5</sub>

<sub>9</sub>

10

G4 Compared to one year ago, how would you rate your health in general now ?

- Much better now than one year ago  1
- Somewhat better now than one year ago  2
- About the same as one year ago  3
- Somewhat worse now than one year ago  4
- Much worse now than one year ago  5

G5 The following questions are about activities you might do during a typical day. Does **your health now limit you** in these activities? If so, how much?

Circle the appropriate number for each statement:

		Yes, limited a lot	Yes, limited a little	No, not limited at all
a	<b>Vigorous activities</b> , such as running, lifting heavy objects, participating in strenuous sports	1	2	3
b	<b>Moderate activities</b> , such as moving a table, pushing a vacuum cleaner, bowling, or playing golf	1	2	3
c	<b>Lifting or carrying</b> groceries ( <i>supermarket shopping</i> )	1	2	3
d	Climbing <b>several</b> flights of stairs	1	2	3
e	Climbing <b>one</b> flight of stairs	1	2	3
f	Bending, kneeling or stooping	1	2	3
g	Walking <b>more than one kilometre</b>	1	2	3
h	Walking <b>half a kilometre</b>	1	2	3
i	Walking <b>100 metres</b>	1	2	3
j	Bathing or dressing yourself	1	2	3




 15




 20

G6 During the **past 4 weeks**, have you had any of the following problems with your work or other regular daily activities as a result of your physical health?

a Cut down on (*reduced*) the amount of time you spent on work or other activities

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

b Accomplished (*achieved*) less than you would like

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

c Were limited in the kind of work or other activities (*for example, could not lift heavy objects*)

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

d Had difficulty performing the work or other activities (*for example, it took extra effort*)

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

G7 During the **past 4 weeks**, have you had any of the following problems with your work or other regular daily activities as a result of any emotional problems (such as feeling depressed or anxious, *sad or worried*)?

a Cut down on the amount of time you spent on work or other activities

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

b Accomplished (*achieved*) less than you would like

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

c Don't do work or other activities as carefully as usual

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

G8 During the **past 4 weeks**, to what extent has your physical health *and/or* emotional problems interfered with your **normal social activities** with family, friends, neighbours, or *other* groups?

 28

- Not at all  1
- Slightly  2
- Moderately  3
- Quite a bit  4
- Extremely  5

G9 How much **bodily pain** have you had during the **past 4 weeks**?

- No bodily pain  1
- Very mild  2
- Mild  3
- Moderate  4
- Severe  5
- Very severe  6

G10 During the **past 4 weeks**, how much did **pain** interfere with your **normal work** (including both work outside the home and housework)?

 30

- Not at all  1
- A little bit  2
- Moderately  3
- Quite a bit  4
- Extremely  5

G11 These questions are about how you feel and how things have been with you **during the past 4 weeks**. For each question, please *circle* the number that comes closest to the way you have been feeling.

	How much of the time during the <b>past 4 weeks</b> :	All of the time	Most of the time	A good bit of the time	Some of the time	A little of the time	None of the time	
a	Did you feel full of life ( <i>vitality and happiness</i> )?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
b	Have you been a very nervous person?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
c	Have you felt so down in the dumps ( <i>unhappy</i> ) that nothing could cheer you up?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
d	Have you felt calm and peaceful?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
e	Did you have a lot of energy?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
f	Have you felt down ( <i>low</i> )?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
g	Did you feel worn out ( <i>exhausted</i> )?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
h	Have you been a happy person?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
i	Did you feel tired?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>

G12 During the **past 4 weeks**, how much of the time has your **physical health and/or emotional problems** interfered with your social activities (like visiting with friends, relatives, etc.)?

- All of the time  1
- Most of the time  2
- Some of the time  3
- A little of the time  4
- None of the time  5

G13 How **TRUE** or **FALSE** is **each** of the following statements for you ? Circle the appropriate number for each statement:

		Definitely true	Mostly true	Don't know	Mostly false	Definitely false	
a	I seem to get sick more easily ( <i>easier</i> ) than other people	1	2	3	4	5	<input type="checkbox"/>
b	I am as healthy as anybody I know	1	2	3	4	5	<input type="checkbox"/>
c	I expect my health to get worse	1	2	3	4	5	<input type="checkbox"/>
d	My health is excellent	1	2	3	4	5	<input type="checkbox"/>

(If unaccompanied PA, go to G25.)

*If accompanied by spouse/partner, he/she should personally answer G14 - G24. If spouse/partner is not present, go to G25.*

G14 In general, would you say your health is:

- Excellent <sub>1</sub>
- Very good <sub>2</sub>
- Good <sub>3</sub>
- Fair <sub>4</sub>
- Poor <sub>5</sub>

<sub>45</sub>

G15 Compared to one year ago, how would you rate your health in general now ?

- Much better now than one year ago <sub>1</sub>
- Somewhat better now than one year ago <sub>2</sub>
- About the same as one year ago <sub>3</sub>
- Somewhat worse now than one year ago <sub>4</sub>
- Much worse now than one year ago <sub>5</sub>

G16 The following questions are about activities you might do during a typical day. Does your health now limit you in these activities? If so, how much?

Circle the appropriate number for each statement		Yes, limited at lot	Yes limited a little	No, not limited at all
a	<b>Vigorous activities</b> , such as running, lifting heavy objects, participating in strenuous sports	1	2	3
b	<b>Moderate activities</b> , such as moving a table, pushing a vacuum cleaner, bowling, or playing golf	1	2	3
c	<b>Lifting or carrying</b> groceries ( <i>supermarket shopping</i> )	1	2	3
d	Climbing <b>several</b> flights of stairs	1	2	3
e	Climbing <b>one</b> flight of stairs	1	2	3
f	Bending, kneeling or stooping	1	2	3
g	Walking <b>more than one kilometre</b>	1	2	3
h	Walking <b>half a kilometre</b>	1	2	3
i	Walking <b>100 metres</b>	1	2	3
j	Bathing or dressing yourself	1	2	3



<sub>50</sub>




<sub>55</sub>

G17 During the **past 4 weeks**, have you had any of the following problems with your work or other regular daily activities as a result of your physical health?

a Cut down on (*reduced*) the amount of time you spent on work or other activities

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

b Accomplished (*achieved*) less than you would like

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

c Were limited in the kind of work or other activities (*for example could not lift heavy objects*)

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

d Had **difficulty** performing the work or other activities (for example, it took extra effort)

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

G18 During the **past 4 weeks**, have you had any of the following problems with your work or other regular daily activities as a result of any emotional problems (such as feeling depressed or anxious, *sad or worried*)?

a Cut down on the amount of time you spent on work or other activities

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

b Accomplished (*achieved*) less than you would like

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

c Don't do work or other activities as **carefully** as usual

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

G19 During the **past 4 weeks**, to what extent has your physical health *and/or* emotional problems interfered with your **normal social activities** with family, friends, neighbours, or *other* groups?

Not at all <sub>1</sub>

Slightly <sub>2</sub>

Moderately <sub>3</sub>

Quite a bit <sub>4</sub>

Extremely <sub>5</sub>

G20 How much **bodily pain** have you had during the **past 4 weeks**?

<sub>65</sub>

No bodily pain <sub>1</sub>

Very mild <sub>2</sub>

Mild <sub>3</sub>

Moderate <sub>4</sub>

Severe <sub>5</sub>

Very severe <sub>6</sub>

G21 During the **past 4 weeks**, how much did **pain** interfere with your **normal work** (including both work outside the home and housework)?

Not at all <sub>1</sub>

A little bit <sub>2</sub>

Moderately <sub>3</sub>

Quite a bit <sub>4</sub>

Extremely <sub>5</sub>



G22 These questions are about how you feel and how things have been with you **during the past 4 weeks**. For each question, please *circle* the number that comes closest to the way you have been feeling.

	How much of the time during the past 4 weeks:	All of the time	Most of the time	A good bit of the time	Some of the time	A little of the time	None of the time	
a	Did you feel full of life ( <i>vitality &amp; happiness</i> )?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
b	Have you been a very nervous person?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
c	Have you felt so down in the dumps ( <i>unhappy</i> ) that nothing could cheer you up?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
d	Have you felt calm and peaceful?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
e	Did you have a lot of energy?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
f	Have you felt down ( <i>low</i> )?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
g	Did you feel worn out ( <i>exhausted</i> )?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
h	Have you been a happy person?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
i	Did you feel tired?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>

G23 During the **past 4 weeks**, how much of the time has your **physical health and/or emotional problems** interfered with your social activities (like visiting with friends, relatives, etc.)?

- All of the time  <sub>1</sub>
- Most of the time  <sub>2</sub>
- Some of the time  <sub>3</sub>
- A little of the time  <sub>4</sub>
- None of the time  <sub>5</sub>

G24 How **TRUE** or **FALSE** is each of the following statements for you? Circle the appropriate number for each statement:

		Definitely true	Mostly true	Don't know	Mostly false	Definitely false	
a	I seem to get sick more easily ( <i>easier</i> ) than other people	1	2	3	4	5	<input type="checkbox"/>
b	I am as healthy as anybody I know	1	2	3	4	5	<input type="checkbox"/>
c	I expect my health to get worse	1	2	3	4	5	<input type="checkbox"/>
d	My health is excellent	1	2	3	4	5	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>8</sub>

**Finally, a question about health services**

**\*G25** Tell me about your experiences in obtaining health care in New Zealand?

81

N/A, not needed

*Probes: interpreter*

*cost*

*information*

*location/transport*

*not available*

*other (specify)*

**\*G26** Is there anything else you (and your family, if applicable) would like to say about your health and getting health care in NZ?

82

.....

.....

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.....

**Social Policy Research Centre  
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**SECTION A: SUMMARY OF IMMEDIATE FAMILY HOUSEHOLD DATA**     *(not to be coded)*

No.	Person	Sex <i>M/ F</i>	Date of birth	Country of birth	Marital status <i>-Married -Separated -Divorced -Never M..</i>	Relationship to Principal Applicant	Immigration Category: <i>- In PA's application -later GSC -Family, etc</i>	In NZ 1 <sup>st</sup> round interview  <i>Yes/No</i>
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								



## SECTION A: PERSONAL DATA

     <sub>5</sub>

*First I would like to ask you some general questions about yourself and your family, and to get information on any persons who have joined your immediate family household in New Zealand since the time of the first interview.*

A1. Could you please check the 'Summary of Immediate Family Household Data' sheet to make sure the information is correct for **those who are already recorded there?**

Done, and correct  <sub>1</sub>  
 Done, and amended  <sub>2</sub>

A2. In addition to the people already included in the 'Summary of Household Data' sheet on the previous page, are there any **other members of your immediate family** now living in your household with you in New Zealand?

Yes  <sub>1</sub>  
 No  <sub>2</sub> (*go to Section B*)

A3(a). How many are there who are now living with you as part of your immediate family but who do not appear on the summary sheet?

Number: .....

A3(b). Of this number, **how many were part of your original application** for Permanent Residence?

Number: .....

  <sub>11</sub>

*(If any persons have joined the immediate household, go to A4. Otherwise, go to Section B.)*

**Members of immediate family, in addition to the people already included in the 'Summary of Household Data' sheet, who are now living in your household with you:**  
**OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER 1.**

A4. Name: (family).....(given).....

A5. Gender: Male <sub>1</sub> Female <sub>2</sub>

<sub>12</sub>

A6. Date of birth: .....

A7. Place of birth: (country)..... (city / province / district).....

A8(a). Marital status (current): Married <sub>1</sub> Separated <sub>2</sub> Divorced <sub>3</sub> Never married <sub>4</sub>

A8(b). Relationship to PA: .....

A9(a). What is his / her immigration status?

Part of PA's application for Permanent Residence <sub>1</sub>  
 Other (please specify) ..... <sub>2</sub>

<sub>19</sub>

A9(b). When did he / she arrive in New Zealand? .....

A9(c). When was his / her current immigration visa granted (if different from above)? .....

A10. Does he / she speak any language(s) / dialect(s) other than English?

Yes  (please specify) .....

No  (go to A14 if applicable, otherwise to Section B)

A11. What is his / her level of spoken English?

Native speaker / Fluent..... Very good .... Good / OK ..... Limited ..... Poor N/A (too young)  
 1 2 3 4 5 6

A12. How often did he / she use English language before coming to New Zealand?

Every Most Sometimes Rarely Never Not  
 day days (weekly) (1-3 x mth) applicable

(a) at work/ for study 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 6

(b) at home? 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 6

<sub>30</sub>

A13. (If over 15 years of age) What English language requirements were met for immigration?  
 (Tick all that apply.)

(a) English test:

Not required for entry <sub>1</sub> (go to A14 if applicable, otherwise to Section B)  
 Sat <sub>2</sub> (Type: ..... Score: ..... )  
 Required but did not sit <sub>3</sub>

(b) \$20,000 Language bond: Yes <sub>1</sub> (go to A14 if applicable, otherwise to Section B)  
 No <sub>2</sub>

(c) Pre-payment of ESOL tuition: Yes <sub>1</sub> Amount: .....  
 No <sub>2</sub>

<sub>33</sub>

(go to A14 if applicable, otherwise to Section B)

**Members of immediate family, in addition to the people already included in the 'Summary of Household Data' sheet, who are now living in your household with you:  
OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER 2.**

A14. Name: (family).....(given).....

A15. Gender: Male \_1 Female \_2

\_34

A16. Date of birth: .....

A17. Place of birth: (country)..... (city / province / district).....

A18(a). Marital status (current): Married \_1 Separated \_2 Divorced \_3 Never married \_4

A18(b). Relationship to PA: .....

\_40

A19(a). What is his / her immigration status?

Part of PA's application for Permanent Residence \_1  
Other (please specify) ..... \_2

A19(b). When did he / she arrive in New Zealand? .....

A19(c). When was his / her current immigration visa granted (if different from above)? .....

\_45

A20. Does he / she speak any language(s) / dialect(s) other than English?

Yes  (please specify) .....

No  (go to A24 if applicable, otherwise to Section B)

A21. What is his / her level of spoken English?

Native speaker / Fluent.....Very good ....Good / OK .....Limited .....Poor N/A (too young)  
1 2 3 4 5 6

\_50

A22. How often did he / she use English language before coming to New Zealand?

Every day Most days (weekly) Sometimes (1-3 x mth) Rarely Never Not applicable  
(a) at work/ for study 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 6  
(b) at home? 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 6

A23. (If over 15 years of age) What English language requirements were met for immigration?  
(Tick all that apply.)

(a) English test:

Not required for entry \_1 (go to A24 if applicable, otherwise to Section B)  
Sat \_2 (Type: ..... Score: ..... )  
Required but did not sit \_3

(b) \$20,000 Language bond: Yes \_1 (go to A24 if applicable, otherwise to Section B)  
No \_2

(c) Pre-payment of ESOL tuition: Yes \_1 Amount: .....  
No \_2

\_55

(go to A24 if applicable, otherwise to Section B)



**Members of immediate family, in addition to the people already included in the 'Summary of Household Data' sheet, who are now living in your household with you:  
OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER 3.**

A24. Name: (family).....(given).....

A25. Gender: Male \_1 Female \_2

\_56

A26. Date of birth: .....

A27. Place of birth: (country)..... (city / province / district).....

\_60

A28(a). Marital status (current): Married \_1 Separated \_2 Divorced \_3 Never married \_4

A28(b). Relationship to PA: .....

A29(a). What is his / her immigration status?

Part of PA's application for Permanent Residence \_1  
Other (please specify) ..... \_2

A29(b). When did he / she arrive in New Zealand? .....

\_65

A29(c). When was his / her current immigration visa granted (if different from above)? .....

A30. Does he / she speak any language(s) / dialect(s) other than English?

Yes  (please specify) .....

No  (go to A34 if applicable, otherwise to Section B)

\_71

A31. What is his / her level of spoken English?

Native speaker / Fluent ..... Very good .... Good / OK ..... Limited ..... Poor N/A (too young)  
1 2 3 4 5 6

A32. How often did he / she use English language before coming to New Zealand?

	Every day	Most days	Sometimes (weekly)	Rarely (1-3 x mth)	Never	Not applicable
(a) at work/ for study	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
(b) at home?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6

A33. (If over 15 years of age) What English language requirements were met for immigration?  
(Tick all that apply.)

(a) English test:

Not required for entry \_1 (go to A34 if applicable, otherwise to Section B)  
Sat \_2 (Type: ..... Score: .....)  
Required but did not sit \_3

\_75

(b) \$20,000 Language bond: Yes \_1 (go to A34 if applicable, otherwise to Section B)  
No \_2

(c) Pre-payment of ESOL tuition: Yes \_1 Amount: .....  
No \_2

(go to A34 if applicable, otherwise to Section B)

**Members of immediate family, in addition to the people already included in the 'Summary of Household Data' sheet, who are now living in your household with you:**

**OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER 4.**

A34. Name: (family).....(given).....

A35. Gender: Male <sub>1</sub> Female <sub>2</sub>

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A36. Date of birth: .....

A37. Place of birth: (country)..... (city / province / district).....

A38(a). Marital status (current): Married <sub>1</sub> Separated <sub>2</sub> Divorced <sub>3</sub> Never married <sub>4</sub>

A38(b). Relationship to PA: .....

A39(a). What is his / her immigration status?

Part of PA's application for Permanent Residence <sub>1</sub>  
Other (please specify) ..... <sub>2</sub>

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A39(b). When did he / she arrive in New Zealand? .....

A39(c). When was his / her current immigration visa granted (if different from above)? .....

A40. Does he / she speak any language(s) / dialect(s) other than English?

Yes  (please specify) .....

91

No  (go to A44 if applicable, otherwise to Section B)

A41. What is his / her level of spoken English?

Native speaker / Fluent.....Very good ....Good / OK .....Limited .....Poor N/A (too young)  
1 2 3 4 5 6

A42. How often did he / she use English language before coming to New Zealand?

Every Most Sometimes Rarely Never Not  
day days (weekly) (1-3 x mth) applicable

(a) at work/ for study 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 6

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(b) at home? 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 6

A43. (If over 15 years of age) What English language requirements were met for immigration?  
(Tick all that apply.)

(a) English test:

Not required for entry <sub>1</sub> (go to A44 if applicable, otherwise to Section B)  
Sat <sub>2</sub> (Type: ..... Score: ..... )  
Required but did not sit <sub>3</sub>

(b) \$20,000 Language bond: Yes <sub>1</sub> (go to A44 if applicable, otherwise to Section B)  
No <sub>2</sub>

(c) Pre-payment of ESOL tuition: Yes <sub>1</sub> Amount: .....  
No <sub>2</sub>

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(go to A44 if applicable, otherwise to Section B)

**Members of immediate family, in addition to the people already included in the 'Summary of Household Data' sheet, who are now living in your household with you:**

**OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER 5.**

A44. Name: (family).....(given).....

A45. Gender: Male <sub>1</sub> Female <sub>2</sub>

A46. Date of birth: .....

A47. Place of birth: (country)..... (city / province / district).....

A48(a). Marital status (current): Married <sub>1</sub> Separated <sub>2</sub> Divorced <sub>3</sub> Never married <sub>4</sub>

A48(b). Relationship to PA: .....

A49(a). What is his / her immigration status?

Part of PA's application for Permanent Residence <sub>1</sub>  
Other (please specify) ..... <sub>2</sub>

A49(b). When did he / she arrive in New Zealand? .....

A49(c). When was his / her current immigration visa granted (if different from above)? .....

A50. Does he / she speak any language(s) / dialect(s) other than English?

Yes  (please specify) .....

No  (go to Section B)

A51. What is his / her level of spoken English?

Native speaker / Fluent..... Very good .... Good / OK ..... Limited ..... Poor N/A (too young)  
1 2 3 4 5 6

A52. How often did he / she use English language before coming to New Zealand?

	Every day	Most days	Sometimes (weekly)	Rarely (1-3 x mth)	Never	Not applicable
(a) at work/ for study	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
(b) at home?	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6

A53. (If over 15 years of age) What English language requirements were met for immigration?

(Tick all that apply.)

(a) English test:

Not required for entry <sub>1</sub> (go to Section B)  
Sat <sub>2</sub> (Type: ..... Score: .....)  
Required but did not sit <sub>3</sub>

(b) \$20,000 Language bond: Yes <sub>1</sub> (go to Section B)  
No <sub>2</sub>

(c) Pre-payment of ESOL tuition: Yes <sub>1</sub> Amount: .....  
No <sub>2</sub>

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B4(a). During the last 12 months, have you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) **assisted or encouraged** any **friend(s)** to immigrate to New Zealand?

- Yes - assisted / encouraged own friend(s)  <sub>1</sub>
- Yes - assisted / encouraged spouse / partner's friend(s)  <sub>2</sub>
- Yes - assisted / encouraged own and s / p's friend(s)  <sub>3</sub>
- No  <sub>4</sub>

 <sub>35</sub>

B4(b). Do you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) **intend to assist or encourage** any (other / more) **friend(s)** to immigrate to New Zealand?

- Yes - assist / encourage own friend(s)  <sub>1</sub> }
- Yes - assist / encourage s / p's friend(s)  <sub>2</sub> } (go to B5)
- Yes - assist / encourage own and s / p's friend(s)  <sub>3</sub> }
- No  <sub>4</sub> (go to B4[c])
- Don't know / Not sure  <sub>5</sub> (go to B5)

B4(c). (If 'no') Could you please explain why you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) **do not intend to assist or encourage** any (other / more) friend(s) to immigrate to New Zealand?  
(If more than two, mark the two main reasons.)

.....  
.....

\*B5. On the basis of your own experience, what advice would you **now** give on the immigration process to a relative or friend who had already decided to apply for permanent residence in New Zealand?

- Probes: use a consultant
- information needed
- sources of information
- other (specify).....

B6(a). Since our last interview have you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) travelled overseas, including visits to your former home country?

- Yes - self only  <sub>1</sub>
- Yes - spouse / partner only  <sub>2</sub>
- Yes - self and spouse / partner  <sub>3</sub>
- No  <sub>4</sub> (go to B7[a])

B6(b). (If 'yes') Which country / countries did you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) travel to?

- (i) .....
- (ii) .....
- (iii) .....
- (iv) .....

 <sub>43</sub>

(If former home country [India, PRC, South Africa] is not included in list, go to B7[a].)

B6(c). (If visited former home country) Could you please indicate the reason(s) for your (and / or your spouse / partner's, if applicable) visit to your former home country?

(Tick all that apply.)

- Holiday <sub>1</sub>
- To check on / manage business interests <sub>2</sub>
- To complete sale / disposal of property or business <sub>3</sub>
- To establish business / work contacts <sub>4</sub>
- To see if employment possible <sub>5</sub>
- To visit sick relative / attend funeral <sub>6</sub>
- To visit family or friends <sub>7</sub>
- Other (please specify) ..... <sub>8</sub>

• (If more than one) Of these, which are the two main reasons (in order of priority)?

(i) .....

(ii) .....

<sub>44</sub>

B7(a). Do you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) intend to visit your former home country during the next 12 months?

- Yes - self <sub>1</sub>
- Yes - spouse / partner <sub>2</sub>
- Yes - self and spouse / partner <sub>3</sub>
- No <sub>4</sub> (go to B8[a])
- Don't know / Not sure <sub>5</sub> (go to B8[a])

B7(b). (If 'yes') Could you please indicate the main reason(s) why you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) intend to visit your former home country?

(If more than two, mark the two main reasons.)

.....  
.....

B8(a). Do you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) maintain regular contact (ie once per month on average) with relatives and / or friends in your former home country?

- Yes - self <sub>1</sub>
- Yes - spouse / partner <sub>2</sub>
- Yes - self and spouse / partner <sub>3</sub>
- No <sub>4</sub> (go to B8[c])

B8(b). (If 'yes') Please indicate which method(s) you use to maintain contact.

(Tick all that apply.)

- Audio-tapes <sub>1</sub>
- E-mail <sub>2</sub>
- Telephone <sub>3</sub>
- Letters <sub>4</sub>
- Postcards <sub>5</sub>
- Video recordings <sub>6</sub>
- Other (please specify) ..... <sub>7</sub>

<sub>50</sub><sub>56</sub>

B8(c). Have any of your relatives (and / or those of your spouse / partner, if applicable) **visited** you since you took up permanent residence in New Zealand?

- Yes - own relative(s)  1
- Yes - spouse / partner's relative(s)  2
- Yes - own and spouse / partner's relative(s)  3
- No  4

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B9(a). Do you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) try to help any relative(s) overseas by sending them money or other goods?

- Yes - money  1
- Yes - other goods  2
- Yes - money and other goods  3
- No  4 (go to B10[a])

B9(b). (If 'yes') How often do you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) send money or other goods?

number of times per year

1 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 or more

B10(a). Since our last interview, have **any members of your family** (who came to New Zealand as **part of your immigration application**) left New Zealand **permanently** (ie will be out of New Zealand for 12 months or more)?

- Yes  1
- No  2 (go to B 11 [a])
- Not applicable (unaccompanied PA)  3 (go to B 11 [a])

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B10(b). (If 'yes') For each family member who has left permanently could you please indicate: his / her relationship to you, where he / she has gone, and the main reason for his / her departure?

Name	Relationship to you	Destination	Main Reason for Departure
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....

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B11(a). Do you (or any other member(s) of your family who came to New Zealand as part of your immigration application) **intend** to leave New Zealand permanently during the next 12 months?

- Yes  1
- No  2 (go to B 12)
- Don't know/ Not sure  3 (go to B 12)

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B11(b). (If 'yes') For each family member who intends to leave permanently during the next 12 months could you please indicate: his / her relationship to you, where he / she intends to go, and the main reason for his / her intended departure?

Name	Relationship to you	Intended Destination	Main Reason for Intended Departure
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	79
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	91

B11(c). (If PA is intending to leave permanently within the next 12 months) Could you please indicate your intended date of departure?

.....

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	93
--------------------------	--------------------------	----

\*B12. Is there anything else that you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) would like to say about the topics we have covered in this section?

.....

.....

.....



**SECTION C: HOUSING**

<sub>5</sub>

*I would now like to ask you a few questions about housing, about your accommodation, the place where you are living.*

C1(a). How many times have you moved (changed your address) since your last interview for this study?

- Have not moved / changed address <sub>1</sub>
- Once <sub>2</sub> }
- Twice <sub>3</sub> } (*go to C2*)
- Three or more times <sub>4</sub> }

C1(b). (*If 'have not moved'*) Has the rental or ownership situation for the accommodation you now live in changed since your last interview?

- Yes <sub>1</sub> (*go to C6*)
- No <sub>2</sub> (*go to C11*)

C2. How long have you been at this / your present address?  
(*Record completed months; if less than 1, record 01.*)

Months: .....

C3. What reason(s) did you have for moving to this / your present address?  
(*Tick all that apply.*)

- 1. Wanted own home / independence
- 2. Moved to a better location / closer to amenities
- 3. Wanted more space
- 4. Wanted more permanent housing
- 5. Wanted more privacy
- 6. Moved closer to place of work
- 7. Moved closer to place of education
- 8. Moved closer to family / friends
- 9. Moved in with family / friends
- 10. Cheaper / more affordable accommodation
- 11. Other (*please specify*) .....

..... (*If only one reason given, go to C4.*)

• and, of these, which were the two most important (in order of priority)?

(a).....

(b) .....

C4. Which one of the following categories best describes how you found this accommodation?

- Migration consultant <sub>1</sub>
- Real estate agent <sub>2</sub>
- Friend(s) / relative(s) <sub>3</sub>
- Newspaper / magazine (English language) <sub>4</sub>
- Newspaper / magazine (other language) <sub>5</sub>
- Did not find – accommodation arranged for me <sub>6</sub>
- Other (*please specify*) .....

<sub>14</sub>

C5. Which one of the following categories best describes the type of accommodation in which you are **now** living?

- Separate house / flat <sub>1</sub>
- Semi-detached house, etc.
  - 1 storey <sub>2</sub>
  - 2 or more storeys <sub>3</sub>
- Flat or apartment
  - in a 1 or 2 storey block <sub>4</sub>
  - in a 3 or more storey block <sub>5</sub>
  - attached to or part of a house <sub>6</sub>
- House or flat attached to a shop / office / etc <sub>7</sub>
- Other (*please specify*) .....

<sub>15</sub>

C6. Which one of the following categories best describes the ownership, rental or other arrangement you have for the accommodation in which you are **now** living?

- Own the accommodation (**no** mortgage or debt) <sub>1</sub> (*go to C7*)
- Own the accommodation (**with** mortgage or loan to repay) <sub>2</sub> (*go to C7*)
- Rent the accommodation
  - privately on own / with partner, child(ren) only <sub>3</sub> }
  - privately with parents / other relations <sub>4</sub> }
  - privately with friends / acquaintances <sub>5</sub> }
  - from employer on own / with partner, child(ren) only <sub>6</sub> }
  - from employer with parents / other relations <sub>7</sub> }
  - from employer with friends / acquaintances <sub>8</sub> } (*go to C9*)
  - from government / local authority (Council) on own / with partner, child(ren) only <sub>9</sub> }
  - from government / local authority (Council) with parents / other relations <sub>10</sub> }
  - from government / local authority (Council) with friends / acquaintances <sub>11</sub> }
- Pay board
  - live with parents / other relations <sub>12</sub> (*go to C12*)
  - live with friends / acquaintances <sub>13</sub> (*go to C12*)
- Pay **no** board
  - live with parents / other relations <sub>14</sub> (*go to C12*)
  - live with friends / acquaintances <sub>15</sub> (*go to C12*)
- Other (*please specify*) .....  (*go to C11*)

C7. Could you please tell me the approximate value of this dwelling?

- Up to \$99,999 <sub>1</sub>
- \$100,000 - \$149,999 <sub>2</sub>
- \$150,000 - \$199,999 <sub>3</sub>
- \$200,000 - \$249,999 <sub>4</sub>
- \$250,000 - \$299,999 <sub>5</sub>
- \$300,000 - \$349,999 <sub>6</sub>
- \$350,000 - \$399,999 <sub>7</sub>
- \$400,000 plus <sub>8</sub>
- Not sure / Don't know <sub>9</sub>
- Do not wish to say <sub>10</sub>

<sub>19</sub>

C8(a). Did you have any problem(s) buying this dwelling?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to C11)

\_20

\* C8(b). (If 'yes') What problem(s) did you have?

- Probes: sources of information
- attitudes of New Zealanders
- behaviour of New Zealanders
- dealing with agents
- finances
- legal problems
- language
- other (specify) .....
- .....
- (all go to C11)

C9. Were you responsible for finding this place to rent?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to C11)

C10(a). (If 'yes') Did you have any problem(s) getting it to rent?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to C11)

\*C10(b). (If 'yes') What problem(s) did you have? Please specify.

- Probes: sources of information
- attitudes of New Zealanders
- behaviour of New Zealanders
- dealing with agents
- finances
- legal problems
- language
- other (specify) .....
- .....

C11. Do you share the accommodation you are now living in with anyone (other than your spouse / partner and child[ren], if applicable)?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to C13)

C12. Could you please explain who you are sharing this accommodation with?

.....

.....

\_24

C13. Just to be clear, could you please tell me the total number of people living here and how many are members of your immediate family (that is, yourself, plus your spouse / partner and child[ren], if applicable)?

Respondent + spouse / partner + child(ren) = (number).....  
Others in accommodation = (number).....  
Total in accommodation = (number).....

26

(Check C1[a]. If respondent has not moved / changed address since the last interview, go to C22[a].)

Now I would like to ask you how your present housing situation compares with your last housing situation.

C14. Before moving to your present address, did you share the accommodation you **last** lived in with anyone (other than your spouse / partner and child[ren], if applicable)?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub> (go to C16)

C15. (If 'yes') Please explain who you shared the accommodation with.

.....  
.....

C16. Just to be clear about your **last** accommodation situation, could you please tell me the total number of people who lived there and how many of these were members of your immediate family (that is, yourself, plus your spouse / partner and child[ren], if applicable)?

Respondent + spouse / partner + child(ren) = (number) .....  
Others in accommodation = (number) .....  
Total in accommodation = (number) .....

C17(a). Are you satisfied with the accommodation that you are **now** living in?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>  
Not sure / Don't know <sub>3</sub>

\*C17(b). Could you please explain why you feel this way?

.....  
.....

C18. Overall, of what standard do you consider your **present** accommodation to be?

Excellent      Very good      Good      Moderate      Poor  
1 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5

32

\*C19. What do you (and your spouse / partner and child[ren], if applicable) see as the GOOD (positive) things about **the area** in which you are now living compared with **the area** in which you lived at the time of the last interview?

- Probes: facilities
- proximity to work
- local schools
- type of neighbours
- attitudes of neighbours
- behaviour of neighbours
- friends in area
- other (specify) .....

\*C20. What do you (and your spouse / partner and child[ren], if applicable) see as the BAD (negative) things about **the area** in which you are now living compared with **the area** in which you lived at the time of the last interview?

- Probes: facilities
- proximity to work
- local schools
- type of neighbours
- attitudes of neighbours
- behaviour of neighbours
- friends in area
- other (specify) .....

C21. Overall, how do you feel about **the area** in which you presently live compared to **the area** in which you lived at the time of the last interview?

Much better      Better      Much the same      Worse      Much worse

1 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5

(all go to C24)

33

(For those who have not moved since the last interview.)

C22(a). Are you satisfied with the accommodation that you are now living in?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub>
- Not sure / Don't know <sub>3</sub>

\*C22(b). Could you please explain why you feel this way?

.....

.....

C23(a). Have your feelings about **the area** in which you are living changed since the last interview?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to C24)
- Not sure / Don't know <sub>3</sub>

\*C23(b). (If 'yes' or 'not sure / don't know') Please explain.

.....

.....

(For all respondents.)

C24. Do you **intend** to change your type of accommodation or move to another address in the next 12 months?

- Yes – move to another address and change type of accommodation <sub>1</sub>
- Yes – move to another address but **not** change type of accommodation <sub>2</sub>
- No <sub>3</sub> (go to C26)
- Not sure / Don't know <sub>4</sub> (go to C26)

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\*C25. (If 'yes') Could you please explain exactly **why** you intend to move?

.....

.....

\*C26. Is there anything else you (and / or your family members, if applicable) would like to say about your present accommodation or the area in which you live?

*(Probes: including the criteria on the basis of which your present place of residence was selected - school zones, others of same ethnic group, feng shui, etc - if necessary.)*

.....

.....

.....

**SECTION D: LANGUAGES**

5

Now I would like to ask you some questions about language.

D1. What is the status of your English language?

- First (ie mother tongue) and **only** language used
- First (mother tongue) and main language, but other(s) also used
- Second language learned (ie not mother tongue), but main language used
- Second language learned and not the main language used
- Second language learned and **only** language used

- 1 (go to D19)
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 (go to D19)

D2. What language or dialect do you now (a) speak best? .....

(b) write best? .....

10

D3. What is (are) the main language(s) / dialect(s) now spoken in your home?  
(List in order of priority.)

.....  
.....  
.....

D4. How often have you used English and other language(s) during the past month?  
(Please specify other language[s] in each case.)

	Every day	Most days	Sometimes (weekly)	Rarely (1-3 x mth)	Never	Not applicable	
(a) at work?							
- English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
- Other (.....)	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) to study?							
- English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
- Other (.....)	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/> 20
(c) at home?							
- English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
- Other (.....)	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
(d) socially?							
- English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
- Other (.....)	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/> 24

D5. In New Zealand, which language(s) do you **now** speak in the following situations?  
 (LOTE = Language[s] Other Than English; E = English)

	LOTE only	Mostly LOTE	LOTE / E equally	Mostly E	E only	N/A
At home - with spouse / partner	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
- with child(ren)	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
- with other resident(s)	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
Talking with friends from home country	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
Talking with other friends	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
At work with others from home country	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
At work with other workmates	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
At study with others from home country	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
At study with other students	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6

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D6. How often do you **now** use your mother tongue / languages other than English and / or English for the following:

	Every day	Most days	Sometimes (weekly)	Rarely (1-3x mth)	Never
(a) to read newspapers / magazines?					
- Mother tongue / languages other than English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....
- English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....
(b) to write personal letters (including emails)?					
- Mother tongue / languages other than English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....
- English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....
(c) to watch TV / videos?					
- Mother tongue / languages other than English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....
- English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....

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D7. How useful have you found your **first language / language(s) other than English** for communication in New Zealand:

	Very useful	Quite useful	Occasionally useful	A little useful	No use at all	N/A
(a) for everyday activities?	1-----	2-----	3-----	4-----	5	6
(b) at work?	1-----	2-----	3-----	4-----	5	6
(c) for career advancement?	1-----	2-----	3-----	4-----	5	6

40

D8. Is your employer aware of your fluency in a language / languages other than English?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub>
- Not sure / Don't know <sub>3</sub>
- Not applicable, not working <sub>4</sub> (go to D9[c])

D9(a). Do you think that your language skills in a language / languages other than English could be more effectively used for work purposes?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub>
- Not sure / Don't know <sub>3</sub>

\*D9(b). Please explain your response. ....  
.....

\*D9(c). Do you have any other comments on the usefulness of your language(s) other than English?  
.....  
.....

D10(a). Have you ever been called upon to translate or interpret for someone else in New Zealand?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to D11[a])

45

\*D10(b). (If 'yes') Please describe the situation(s). ....  
.....  
.....

D11(a). Has anyone ever translated or interpreted for you in New Zealand?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to instruction at bottom of page)

\*D11(b). (If 'yes') Please describe the situation(s). ....  
.....

(Check question D1 and if option 2 ['English is first .. and main language.. used ..'] is ticked, go to D19.)

Now I would like to ask you some questions about English language learning / issues in society.

D12(a). Have you studied in an ESOL (English for speakers of other languages) course since our last interview?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to D16[a])
- No, but intend to <sub>3</sub> (go to D16[a])
- Not applicable (English is good enough already) <sub>3</sub> (go to D19)

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D12(b). (If 'yes') Are you still taking this course?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub>

\*D13. Why are / were you studying English?

- Probes: to get a job
- to do more study / training
- to learn English for everyday activities
- for family / social reasons
- for ESOL qualification
- other (specify) .....

\*D14. Could you please describe this course?

- Probes (ask all of the following): sort of course
- where
- cost/course fees
- length (weeks)/frequency
- usefulness

D15. On a scale of 1 (extremely useful) to 5 (no use), how would you rate this course?

Extremely useful ----- No use

1-----2-----3-----4-----5

D16(a). Have you received any English language qualification since coming to New Zealand? (eg IELTS, an ESOL certificate)

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to D17[a])

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D16(b). (If 'yes') What was the qualification (and what was your score / grade, if applicable)?

- (i) IELTS General <sub>1</sub> (Total:..... L:.... S:..... R:..... W:..... )
  - (ii) IELTS Academic <sub>2</sub> (Total:..... L:.... S:..... R:..... W:..... )
  - (iii) Other (please specify) .....
- (Score/Grade: .....)

(If the qualification was part of a course already described in D14 above, go to D17[a].)

D16(c). What institution did you gain this qualification from?

.....

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D16(d). Why did you take this qualification?

.....

D17(a). Compared to a year ago, how would you rate your English language ability today?

	Much better	better	same	worse	much worse
Spoken:	1-----2-----3-----4-----5				
Written	1-----2-----3-----4-----5				

(If 'same' for both, go to D18[a].)

\*D17(b). (If not the 'same') Why do you think your English language level has changed (ie got better or worse)?

.....

.....

D18(a). Apart from studying in an ESOL (English for speakers of other languages) course at an institution, have you sought to improve your English language ability in any other way since our last interview?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> (go to D19)
Not applicable (English good enough already)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> (go to D19)

D18(b). By what means and / or from what source(s) have you sought to improve your English language ability? (Tick all that apply.)

Course(s) other than ESOL at university	<input type="checkbox"/>
Course(s) other than ESOL at polytechnic	<input type="checkbox"/>
Classes other than ESOL at school	<input type="checkbox"/>
At community-organised classes (eg church, association)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Course(s) other than ESOL through Correspondence School	<input type="checkbox"/>
From a tutor at home	<input type="checkbox"/>
Course(s) other than ESOL at work	<input type="checkbox"/>
Self-taught from books / tapes	<input type="checkbox"/>
From parents / family	<input type="checkbox"/>
From friends of same ethnic group	<input type="checkbox"/>
From Kiwi friends	<input type="checkbox"/>
From colleagues at work	<input type="checkbox"/>
From television / radio	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (specify) .....	<input type="checkbox"/>

• (If more than one) Identify up to 2 most important (in order of priority).

(a) .....

(b) .....

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**\*D19.** Do you now experience any difficulties associated with using English in New Zealand?  
(Please give examples.)

- Probes: *own accent*
- NZ accent*
- speed of NZ English*
- NZ colloquialisms*
- own colloquialisms*
- carrying out everyday activities*
- using English for occupation*
- using English to study*
- needing an interpreter*
- using non-professional interpreters (specify)*
- other (specify) .....*
- None*

**\*D20.** Since our last interview, have you noticed anything about other New Zealanders' attitudes towards you when you communicate in English?

.....

.....

.....

*(Check D1. If English is only language used [options 1 & 5] and accompanied PA, go to D22; if English is only language used [options 1 & 5] and unaccompanied PA go to D48 .)*

**\*D21.** What are other New Zealanders' attitudes towards you now when you communicate in your first language / languages other than English?

- Probes: *in private*
- in public*
- to other adults*
- to children*
- other issues*

*(If unaccompanied PA, go to D48. )*

**If accompanied by spouse / partner:**

*(If spouse / partner is present, please ask him / her to answer the questions.  
Modified wording [in square brackets] will apply.)*

D22(a). Is spouse / partner answering for himself / herself?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub>

D22(b). What is the status of your spouse / partner's [your] English language?

- First (ie mother tongue) and only one used <sub>1</sub> *(go to D26)*
- First (mother tongue) and main language, but other(s) also used <sub>2</sub>
- Second language (ie not mother tongue), but main language used <sub>3</sub>
- Second language and not the main language used <sub>4</sub>
- Second language learned and only language used <sub>5</sub> *(go to D26)*

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<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	66
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

D23. What language or dialect does he / she [do you] now (a) speak best? .....

(b) write best? .....

D24(a). Was he / she [Were you] required to pay a language bond to gain Permanent Residence in New Zealand?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to D25)

D24(b). (If 'yes') Has he / she [Have you] met the IELTS 5 requirement since this bond was paid?

- Yes, before coming to New Zealand \_1
- Yes, since coming to New Zealand \_2
- No \_3 (go to D24[d])
- Not yet (please explain in D24[d]) \_4 (go to 24[d])

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D24(c). (If 'yes') Was some or all of the language bond refunded?

- Yes, total amount \_1
- Partial refund (\$14,000) \_2
- No \_3
- Not yet (please explain in D24[d]) \_4

\*D24(d) Have (either of) you got any comments you would like to make on the English language bond?

.....

.....

D25(a). Has he / she [Have you] studied in any English language course since the last interview?

- Yes, and now completed course \_1
- Yes, but did not complete course \_2
- Yes, one completed and now enrolled in another course \_3
- Yes, but did not complete. Now enrolled in another course \_4
- Yes, is currently enrolled in a course \_5
- No \_6 (go to D26)

\*D25(b) (If 'yes') Could you please describe this course / these courses?

- Probes (ask all): sort(s) of course(s)
- where
- cost / course fees
- length (weeks) / frequency
- usefulness

D25(c). On a scale of 1 (extremely useful) to 5 (no use), how would you rate the current / most recent course?

Extremely useful No use

1-----2-----3-----4-----5

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**\*D26.** Does he / she [**Do you**] now experience any difficulties associated with using English in New Zealand? (Please give examples.)

- Probes: own accent*
- NZ accent*
- speed of NZ English*
- NZ colloquialisms*
- own colloquialisms*
- carrying out everyday activities*
- using English for occupation*
- using English to study*
- needing an interpreter*
- using non-professional interpreters (specify)*
- other (specify) .....*

***If no children, go to D48. If child(ren) go to D27 on following page.***

If child(ren) in the household, please answer the following questions for each child. (older / oldest child first)

Child 1 (older / oldest or only child):

D27. How old is this child? .....

75

D28. How good do you think this child's English is now?

Native speaker / Fluent... Very good ... Good / OK ..... Limited ..... Poor Not applicable (too young) 6

D29. Which language(s) does this child use in the following circumstances? (LOTE = Language[s] Other Than English; E = English)

Table with 6 columns: LOTE only, Mostly LOTE, LOTE / E equally, Mostly E, E only, N/A. Rows include 'At home - with you', 'At school', and 'Other places outside home'.

80

D30(a). Has this child experienced any problems associated with using English at school or preschool?

- Yes 1
No 2 (go to D31)
Not sure / Don't know 3 (go to D30(c))
Not applicable (too young / too old) 4 (go to D32 if another child, to D47[a] if not)

D30(b). (If 'yes') Could you please explain what problems he / she has experienced?

.....
.....

D30(c). Has he / she received any special English language assistance at school?

- Yes 1
No 2 (go to D32 if another child, to D47[a] if not)
Not sure / Don't know 3 }

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\*D30(d). (If 'yes') Please explain what sort of assistance has been given.

.....
(go to D32 if another child, to D47[a] if not)

\*D31. (If 'no' problems have occurred) Please explain why you think no problems have occurred.

.....
(go to D47[a] if no other child[ren])

**Child 2 (next oldest):**

D32. How old is this child? .....

<sub>85</sub>

D33. How good do you think this child's English is now?

Native speaker / Fluent...Very good ...Good / OK .....Limited .....Poor Not applicable (too young)  
1.....2.....3.....4.....5 6

D34. Which language(s) does this child use in the following circumstances?  
(LOTE = Language[s] Other Than English; E = English)

	LOTE only	Mostly LOTE	LOTE / E equally	Mostly E	E only	N/A
At home - with you	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
- with siblings	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
- with other children	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
At school	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
Other places outside home	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6

<sub>90</sub>

D35(a). Has this child experienced any problems associated with using English at school or preschool?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub>
- No  <sub>2</sub> (go to D36)
- Not sure / Don't know  <sub>3</sub> (go to D35[c])
- Not applicable (too young / too old)  <sub>4</sub> (go to D37 if another child, to D47[a] if not)

D35(b). (If 'yes') Could you please explain what problems he / she has experienced?

.....  
.....

D35(c). Has he / she received any special English language assistance at school?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub>
- No  <sub>2</sub> (go to D37 if another child, to D47[a] if not)
- Not sure / Don't know  <sub>3</sub> }

<sub>93</sub>

\*D35(d). (If 'yes') Please explain what sort of assistance has been given.

.....  
.....  
(go to D37 if another child, to D47[a] if not)

\*D36. (If 'no' problems have occurred) Please explain why you think no problems have occurred.

.....  
.....  
(go to D47[a] if no other child[ren])



Child 3 (next oldest):

D37. How old is this child? .....

<sub>95</sub>

D38. How good do you think this child's English is now?

Native speaker / Fluent...Very good ...Good / OK .....Limited .....Poor Not applicable (too young)
1.....2.....3.....4.....5 6

D39. Which language(s) does this child use in the following circumstances? (LOTE = Language[s] Other Than English; E = English)

Table with columns: LOTE only, Mostly LOTE, LOTE / E equally, Mostly E, E only, N/A. Rows: At home - with you, - with siblings, - with other children, At school, Other places outside home.

<sub>100</sub>

D40(a). Has this child experienced any problems associated with using English at school or preschool?

- Yes 1
No 2 (go to D41)
Not sure / Don't know 3 (go to D40[c])
Not applicable (too young / too old) 4 (go to D42 if another child, to D47[a] if not)

D40(b). (If 'yes') Could you please explain what problems he / she has experienced?

.....
.....

D40(c). Has he / she received any special English language assistance at school?

- Yes 1
No 2 } (go to D42 if another child, to D47[a] if not)
Not sure / Don't know 3 }

<sub>103</sub>

\*D40(d). (If 'yes') Please explain what sort of special English language assistance has been given.

.....
.....
(go to D42 if another child, to D47[a] if not)

\*D41. (If 'no' problems have occurred) Please explain why you think no problems have occurred.

.....
.....
(go to D47[a] if no other child[ren])

**Child 4:**

D42. How old is this child? .....

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D43. How good do you think this child's English is now?

Native speaker / Fluent...Very good ...Good / OK .....Limited .....Poor N/A  
 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 (too young) 6

D44. Which language(s) does this child use in the following circumstances?  
 (LOTE = Language[s] Other Than English; E = English)

	LOTE only	Mostly LOTE	LOTE / E equally	Mostly E	E only	N/A
At home - with you	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
- with siblings	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
- with other children	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
At school	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
Other places outside home	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6

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D45(a). Has this child experienced any problems associated with using English at school or preschool?

- Yes  1
- No  2 (go to D46)
- Not sure / Don't know  3 (go to D45[c])
- Not applicable (too young / too old)  4 (go to D47[a])

**\*D45(b).** (If 'yes') Could you please explain what problems he / she has experienced?

.....  
 .....

D45(c). Has he / she received any special language assistance at school?

- Yes  1
- No  2 (go to D47[a])
- Not sure / Don't know  3 }

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**\*D45(d).** (If 'yes') Please explain what sort of assistance has been given.

.....  
 .....  
 (go to D47[a])

**\*D46.** (If 'no' problems have occurred) Please explain why you think no problems have occurred.

.....  
 .....

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about maintaining your child(ren)'s language(s) other than English.

D47(a). Do you see your child(ren)'s maintenance of first language / languages other than English as a problem or issue?

- Yes, for some but not all <sub>1</sub>
- Yes, for all / only child <sub>2</sub> (go to D47[c])
- No <sub>3</sub> (go to D47[c])
- Not applicable (English is only language) <sub>4</sub> (go to D48)

\*D47(b). (If 'yes, for some but not all') Could you please explain.

Probes: for whom (eg age, sex, position in family)  
why a problem (eg attitudes, peer pressure, level on arrival / now, self- identity; provisions)  
child(ren)'s/parents' attitudes towards the language

.....  
.....

D47(c). Have any provisions been made either at home or at school or elsewhere to extend or maintain his / her / their first language / language other than English?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub>

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\*D47(d). Could you please elaborate / explain your response?

- Probes: why (not) a problem
- what provisions made
- spoken and /or literacy
- where/frequency
- when
- cost
- advantages/disadvantages of bilingualism
- other issues

To complete this section, I would like to ask you two general questions about language issues.

\*D48. Looking back, how do you feel about the language requirements and provisions of New Zealand's immigration policy?

- Probes (if required): the level required for PA, for spouse/partner
- the level required for different Categories
- the bond (introduced Oct. 1995)
- pre-paid ESOL provision (introduced Oct. 1998)

.....  
.....  
.....

**\*D49.** Is there anything else you (or other family members) would like to say about language use, post-arrival provisions and requirements in New Zealand?

- Probes (if required):*
- first language use and maintenance*
  - attitudes of NZers towards first language use*
  - provision of interpreters*
  - English language support*
  - post-arrival provisions*

.....

.....

SECTION E: QUALIFICATIONS AND EMPLOYMENT

<sub>5</sub>

Now I would like to ask you some questions about qualifications and employment.

E1(a). In order to practise your profession/trade in New Zealand have you sought to have your qualification(s) recognised by a professional body or agency (other than NZQA) since our last interview?

- Yes, and recognition achieved  <sub>1</sub> (go to E2)
- Yes, but recognition not yet achieved  <sub>2</sub>
- Yes, but did not achieve recognition  <sub>3</sub>
- No  <sub>4</sub> (go to E4)

E1(b). Please explain the reason(s) for this.

.....

E2. Which agency did / is doing this assessment?  
(Tick all that apply.)

- Architects' Education and Registration Board  <sub>1</sub>
- Medical Council of New Zealand  <sub>2</sub>
- New Zealand Engineers' Registration Board / IPENZ  <sub>3</sub>
- New Zealand Society of Accountants  <sub>4</sub>
- Nursing Council of New Zealand  <sub>5</sub>
- Teachers' Registration Board  <sub>6</sub>
- Other (please specify) .....  <sub>7</sub>

<sub>10</sub>

\*E3. Could you please describe what the registration process has involved?

- Probes: documentation
  - further study
  - examinations
  - probationary employment
  - work place assessment/inspection
  - other
- (go to E5)

E4. If you have not sought to have your qualifications recognised, what are the main reasons for this?  
(Tick all that apply.)

- don't need recognition to get a job  <sub>1</sub>
- qualifications accepted by employer  <sub>2</sub>
- planning to change career  <sub>3</sub>
- not intending to work  <sub>4</sub>
- language difficulties  <sub>5</sub>
- want to learn English first  <sub>6</sub>
- intend to / haven't yet  <sub>7</sub>
- no time / haven't bothered  <sub>8</sub>
- didn't know recognition required  <sub>9</sub>
- no reason, it's not important  <sub>10</sub>
- need to complete studies /studying in order to qualify for recognition  <sub>11</sub>
- other (please specify).....  <sub>12</sub>

• (If more than one) Of these, which are the two main reasons (in order of priority)? (a) .....  
(b) .....

<sub>14</sub>

Now I would like to ask you some questions about further study / training in New Zealand.

E5. Apart from English language courses, have you studied in New Zealand since our last interview?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to E19)

16

E6. (If 'yes') Have you **completed** any course or qualification(s) (apart from ESOL qualifications) in New Zealand?

- Yes <sub>1</sub> (go to E8)
- No <sub>2</sub>

E7(a). (If 'no') Why have you not completed any course or qualification yet?

- Currently (still) studying <sub>1</sub> (go to E14)
- Did not complete course <sub>2</sub>

\*E7(b). (If 'did not complete') Could you please explain why you did not complete?

- Probes: course structure / content
- value/appropriateness of course
- teaching style/teacher(s)
- cost
- other priorities
- transport/logistics of attending
- other factors

E8. (If 'yes') Where did you study for this course or qualification?

- Secondary School <sub>1</sub>
- Polytechnic <sub>2</sub>
- University <sub>3</sub>
- Other institution (please specify).....

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E9. What qualification(s) were you studying towards?

(Tick all that apply.)

- School level qualification <sub>1</sub>
- Diploma / Certificate at least 1 year but less than 2 years full-time <sub>2</sub>
- Diploma / Certificate 2-3 years full-time <sub>3</sub>
- Trade Certificate or Advanced Trade Certificate <sub>4</sub>
- Bachelors degree (non-science) <sub>5</sub>
- Bachelors degree (science / technical / engineering) <sub>6</sub>
- Post-graduate degree or diploma <sub>7</sub>
- Other (please specify) .....

E10. What was your main area of study or training for this qualification / these qualifications?

Please specify subject(s) / field(s) .....

.....

E11. Was this study in a field related to your previous qualification(s)?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub>

25

\*E 12. What were your reasons for studying for this qualification?

.....  
.....  
.....

E13. Are you **currently** doing any further (other) study for a qualification (**other than ESOL**)?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (*go to E19*)

\_26

E14. Where are you **currently** studying?

- Secondary School \_1
- Polytechnic \_2
- University \_3
- Other institution (*please specify*).....

E15. What qualification(s) are you studying for?  
(*Tick all that apply.*)

- School level qualification \_1
- Diploma / Certificate at least 1 year but less than 2 years full-time \_2
- Diploma / Certificate 2-3 years full-time \_3
- Trade Certificate or Advanced Trade Certificate \_4
- Bachelors degree (non-science) \_5
- Bachelors degree (science / technical / engineering) \_6
- Post-graduate degree or diploma \_7
- Other (*please specify*) .....

\_30

E16. What is your main area of study or training for this qualification / these qualifications?

(*please specify subject[s] / field[s]*) .....

E17. Is this study in a field related to your previous qualification(s)?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2

\*E18. Why are you studying for this qualification?

.....  
.....  
.....

E19. Do you **intend** to do any more / further study or training in New Zealand?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2

\_34

*Now I would like to ask you some questions about employment.*

E20(a). Since our last interview have you been employed in any full-time or part-time job(s)?

- Yes, and currently employed <sub>1</sub>
- Yes, but **not** currently employed <sub>2</sub>
- No <sub>3</sub> (go to E20[c])

<sub>35</sub>

E20(b). Other than current job(s), what paid job(s) have you held **in the past** since coming to New Zealand?

<i>Job</i>	<i>Full-time / part-time</i>	<i>Required use of qual's</i>
(i) .....	.....	Lot---little---not at all
(ii).....	.....	Lot---little---not at all
(iii).....	.....	Lot---little---not at all
(iv).....	.....	Lot---little---not at all
Not applicable, still in same job(s) <input type="checkbox"/>		

<sub>40</sub>

E20(c). What are you **currently** doing in New Zealand? Are you:

- employed full-time? <sub>1</sub>
- employed part-time, not looking for work? <sub>2</sub>
- employed part-time, looking for work? <sub>3</sub>
- unemployed, not looking for work? <sub>4</sub>
- unemployed, looking for full-time work? <sub>5</sub>
- unemployed, looking for part-time work? <sub>6</sub>

E20(d). Which **one** of these categories best describes your **current** situation?

- wage or salary earner <sub>1</sub>
- working in family business (unpaid) <sub>2</sub>
- conducting own business (working alone) <sub>3</sub> } (go to E21[b])
- conducting own business (and employing others) <sub>4</sub>
- conducting own business (with the unpaid help of family members) <sub>5</sub>
- other employed (*please specify*) ..... <sub>6</sub>
- student <sub>7</sub> } (go to E21[a])
- home duties <sub>8</sub> } (go to E21[a])
- retired <sub>9</sub> } (go to E21[a])
- unemployed, looking for work <sub>10</sub>
- unemployed, not looking for work <sub>11</sub> } (go to E34)
- other (*please specify*).....  }

E21(a). (If 'student', 'home duties' or 'retired') Are you currently in **any** paid employment at all?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to E34)

<sub>44</sub>

E21(b). (If employed full-time or part-time) What is your main job?

(*please specify*) .....

<sub>46</sub>



E21(c). What are the two main tasks you perform in this job?

(please specify) (i) .....

(ii) .....

E21(d). Just to check, is this the first paid main job you have held since coming to New Zealand?

Yes \_1

No \_2 (Check E20[a] and [b] have been completed correctly.)

\_47

E21(e). Is this job the same as the last job you had before coming to New Zealand?

Yes \_1

No \_2

Not applicable (not employed before coming to NZ) \_3

E22. How did you find out about / get your current (main) job?

(Tick all that apply.)

- 1. friends (same ethnic group) \_1
- 2. Kiwi friends \_2
- 3. family \_3
- 4. English newspaper \_4
- 5. ethnic newspaper \_5
- 6. NZ Employment Service \_6
- 7. private employment agency \_7
- 8. immigration consultant \_8
- 9. arranged before arrival \_9
- 10. arranged after arrival \_10
- 11. other (please specify)..... \_11

• (If more than one) Of these, which were the two most important (in order of priority)?

(a).....

(b) .....

\_50

E23(a). Do you **currently** have more than one job?

Yes \_1

No \_2 (go to E24[a])

E23(b). (If 'yes') What is / are your other job(s)?

(please specify) .....

.....

\_55

E23(c). Please explain why you have these other jobs.  
(Tick all that apply.)

- more money <sub>1</sub>
- possible access to better job <sub>2</sub>
- more New Zealand work experience <sub>3</sub>
- to use qualifications <sub>4</sub>
- other (please specify) .....

• (If more than one) Of these, which were the two most important (in order of priority)?

(a).....

(b) .....

58

E24(a). Are you currently looking for another job in addition to your main job?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to E25)

E24(b). (If 'yes') Please explain why you are looking for another job.  
(Tick all that apply.)

- more money <sub>1</sub>
- looking for a better job <sub>2</sub>
- more NZ work experience <sub>3</sub>
- to use qualifications <sub>4</sub>
- other (please specify).....
- .....

• (If more than one) What are the two main reasons (in order of priority)?

(a) .....

(b) .....

E25. How many hours each week do you usually work in all your jobs?

Hours: .....

64

E26. How long have you been working in your main job in New Zealand?

Months: .....

E27(a). Are you using your qualification(s) in your main job?

- Yes <sub>1</sub> (go to E28)
- No <sub>2</sub>

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E27(b). (If 'no') What are the main reasons for this?

(Tick all that apply.)

- cannot apply qualification(s) to job because of insufficient English  <sub>1</sub>
- cannot apply qualification(s) because of lack of New Zealand experience  <sub>2</sub>
- qualification(s) not relevant to the job  <sub>3</sub>
- qualification(s) not recognised  <sub>4</sub>
- other (please specify) .....

• (If more than one) What are the two main reasons (in order of priority)?

(a) .....

(b) .....

E28. How do you feel about your main job?

- love it - best job I ever had  <sub>1</sub>
- like it - it's a really good job  <sub>2</sub>
- job is ok  <sub>3</sub>
- don't really care, it's just a job  <sub>4</sub>
- dislike it - it's not a good job  <sub>5</sub>
- dislike it - it's an awful job  <sub>6</sub>
- hate it - worst job I ever had  <sub>7</sub>

\*E29. Please explain the reason(s) for your response.

- Probes:
- attitudes of fellow workers
  - behaviour of fellow workers
  - attitudes of employer
  - behaviour of employer
  - nature of work environment
  - work ethic
  - status
  - income
  - use of qualifications
  - other (please specify) .....
  - .....

E30. What language(s) do you need in your main job?

- English only  <sub>1</sub>
- English and other language(s) (please specify) .....  <sub>2</sub>
- language(s) other than English only (please specify) .....  <sub>3</sub>

E31. Do you intend to change your main job within the next 12 months?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub>
- No  <sub>2</sub> (go to E34)
- Not sure / Don't know  <sub>3</sub> (go to E34)

<sub>68</sub>

<sub>72</sub>

E32. Which of the following reasons best describe why you **intend** to change your **main** job?  
(Tick all that apply.)

- 1. to work in a job in which I can use my qualification(s)
- 2. to work in the same occupation as in my former home country
- 3. not happy with present job
- 4. want more money
- 5. want better or different hours
- 6. want better promotion / career opportunities
- 7. want more job satisfaction
- 8. want better job security
- 9. want to work closer to home
- 10. want different / more suitable / more varied work
- 11. want better working conditions
- 12. just want a change
- 13. the job is finishing
- 14. other (please specify).....

• (If more than one) What are the two main reasons (in order of priority)?

(a) .....

(b) .....

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E 33. What kind of job do you intend / wish to change to?

.....

Now I would like to ask you some questions about not working (unemployment).

E34. Just to check, has there been a time since our last interview when you have been **unemployed and looking for work**?

Yes  1

No  2 (go to E39)

E35(a). (If 'yes') During this period of unemployment, did you receive or have you received any **assistance with looking for a job**?

Yes  1

No  2 (go to E36(a))

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\*E35(b). Who and / or where did you get this assistance from?

.....

\*E35(c). What help did you receive?

.....

.....

\*E36(a). What do you think were or are the **main** problems you had or are having in trying to find a job?

- Probes:
- English language difficulties
  - recognition of qualification(s)
  - lack of New Zealand qualifications
  - insufficient training
  - insufficient New Zealand experience
  - weren't enough jobs available
  - attitudes of employers (please specify)
  - behaviour of employers (please specify)
  - other (please specify).....

\*E36(b). Why do you believe that these were or are problems?

.....

.....

\*E37. Could you please tell me how you (and your family, if applicable) coped while you were or have been unemployed and looking for work?

.....

.....

.....

E38. Overall, since the last interview, approximately how many weeks were you or have you been **unemployed and looking for work**?

Number of weeks: .....

82

*Now I would like to ask you some questions about doing voluntary work in New Zealand.*

E39. Have you been engaged in voluntary unpaid work since our last interview?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub>
- No  <sub>2</sub> (go to E41)

E40. (If 'yes') What voluntary unpaid work have you done?

..... (go to E42)

E41. (If 'no') Have you considered voluntary unpaid work?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub>
- No  <sub>2</sub> (go to E43)

E42. What are your (2 main) reasons for considering or being involved with voluntary work?

.....

.....

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Now I would like to ask you whether your employment / unemployment experiences in New Zealand have affected your well-being.

E43. Have you recently been able to concentrate on whatever you're doing?

Better than usual	Same as usual	Less than usual	Much less than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
-------------------	---------------	-----------------	----------------------	--------------------------

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E44. Have you recently lost much sleep through worry?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
------------	--------------------	------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

E45. Have you recently felt that you are playing a useful part in things?

More so than usual	Same as usual	Less so than usual	Much less than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------	---------------	--------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

E46. Have you recently felt capable of making decisions about things?

More so than usual	Same as usual	Less so than usual	Much less than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------	---------------	--------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

E47. Have you recently felt constantly under strain?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
------------	--------------------	------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

E48. Have you recently felt that you couldn't overcome your difficulties?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
------------	--------------------	------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

E49. Have you recently been able to enjoy your normal day-to-day activities?

More so than usual	Same as usual	Less so than usual	Much less than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------	---------------	--------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

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E50. Have you recently been able to face up to your problems?

More so than usual	Same as usual	Less so than usual	Much less than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------	---------------	--------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

E51. Have you recently been feeling unhappy or depressed?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
------------	--------------------	------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

E52. Have you recently been losing confidence in yourself?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
------------	--------------------	------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

E53. Have you recently been thinking of yourself as a worthless person?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
------------	--------------------	------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

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E54. Have you recently been feeling reasonably happy, all things considered?

More so than usual	About same as usual	Less so than usual	Much less than usual
-----------------------	------------------------	-----------------------	-------------------------

<sub>99</sub>

*(If unaccompanied by spouse / partner, go to E76.)*

*Now I would like to ask you or your spouse / partner about his / her qualifications, employment and / or unemployment experiences in New Zealand.*

*(If spouse / partner is present, could he / she please answer himself / herself. Amended wording [in square brackets] will apply.)*

E55. Is spouse / partner answering for himself / herself?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>
No	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>

E56(a). Apart from ESOL (English as a second language) courses, has he / she [**have you**] studied in New Zealand since our last interview?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>
No	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub> (go to E69)

E56(b). (If 'yes') Has he / she [**Have you**] completed any course(s) of study and / or qualification(s) (apart from ESOL) in New Zealand?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub> (go to E58)
No	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>

E57(a). (If 'no') Why has he / she [**have you**] not completed the course(s) / qualification(s) yet?

Currently (still) studying	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub> (go to E64)
Did not complete course(s) / qualification(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>

  <sub>106</sub>

\*E 57b. (If 'did not complete course[s] / qualification[s]') Could you please explain why he / she [**you**] did not complete?

<i>Probes: course structure / content</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>value/appropriateness of course</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>teaching style/teacher(s)</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>cost</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>other priorities</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>transport/logistics of attending</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>other factors (please specify)</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>

E58. Where did he / she [you] study for the course(s) / qualification(s)? (Tick all that apply.)

- Secondary School \_1
- Polytechnic \_2
- University \_3
- Other institution (please specify).....

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E59. What qualification(s) was he / she [were you] studying towards?  
(Tick all that apply.)

- School level qualification \_1
- Diploma / Certificate at least 1 year but less than 2 years full-time \_2
- Diploma / Certificate 2-3 years full-time \_3
- Trade Certificate or Advanced Trade Certificate \_4
- Bachelors degree (non-science) \_5
- Bachelors degree (science / technical / engineering) \_6
- Post-graduate degree or diploma \_7
- Other (please specify) .....

E60. What was his / her [your] main area of study or training for this qualification / these qualifications?

(Please specify subject[s] / field[s]) .....

.....

E61. Was this study in a field related to his / her [your] previous qualification?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2

\*E 62. Why did he / she [you] study in this course / for this qualification?

.....

.....

E63. Is he / she [Are you] currently doing (further) study?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to E69)

E64. Where is he / she [are you] studying?

- Secondary School \_1
- Polytechnic \_2
- University \_3
- Other institution (please specify).....

116

E65. What qualification(s) is he / she [are you] studying for?

- School level qualification
- Diploma / Certificate at least 1 year but less than 2 years full-time \_2
- Diploma / Certificate 2-3 years full-time \_3
- Trade Certificate or Advanced Trade Certificate \_4
- Bachelors degree (non-science) \_5
- Bachelors degree (science / technical / engineering) \_6
- Post-graduate degree or diploma \_7
- Other (please specify) .....

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E66. What is his / her [your] main area of study or training for this / these qualification(s)?

(Please specify subject[s] / field[s].) .....

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E67. Is this study in a field related to his / her [your] previous qualification(s)?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

\*E68. Why is he / she [are you] studying for this / these qualification(s)?

.....

E69. Does he / she [Do you] intend to do any (further) study or training in New Zealand?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

Now I would like to ask some questions about his / her [your] employment.

E70(a). Since our last interview has he / she [have you] been employed in any full-time or part-time paid job(s)?

Yes, and currently employed <sub>1</sub>  
Yes, but not currently employed <sub>2</sub>  
No <sub>3</sub> (go to E70[c])

E70(b). Other than any current job(s), what paid job(s) has he / she [have you] held in the past since coming to New Zealand?

Not applicable, still in same job(s) <sub>1</sub>

Job	Full-time / part-time	Required use of qual's
(i) .....	.....	Lot---little---not at all
(ii).....	.....	Lot---little---not at all
(iii).....	.....	Lot---little---not at all
(iv).....	.....	Lot---little---not at all

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E70(c). What is he / she [are you] currently doing in New Zealand? Is he / she [Are you]:

employed full-time? <sub>1</sub>  
employed part-time, not looking for work? <sub>2</sub>  
employed part-time, looking for work? <sub>3</sub>  
unemployed, not looking for work? <sub>4</sub>  
unemployed, looking for full-time work? <sub>5</sub>  
unemployed, looking for part-time work? <sub>6</sub>

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E70(d). Which one of these categories best describes his / her [your] current situation?

- wage or salary earner  <sub>1</sub> }
- working in family business  <sub>2</sub> }
- conducting own business (working alone)  <sub>3</sub> }
- conducting own business (and employing others)  <sub>4</sub> } (go to E71[b])
- conducting own business (with the unpaid help of family members)  <sub>5</sub> }
- other employed (please specify) .....  <sub>6</sub> }
- student  <sub>7</sub> (go to E71[a])
- home duties  <sub>8</sub> (go to E71[a])
- retired  <sub>9</sub> (go to E71[a])
- unemployed, looking for work  <sub>10</sub> (go to E74)
- unemployed, not looking for work  <sub>11</sub> (go to E73)
- other (please specify).....  (go to E73)

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E71(a). (If 'student', 'home duties' or 'retired') Is he / she [Are you] currently in any paid employment at all?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub>
- No  <sub>2</sub> (go to E73)

E71(b). (If employed full-time or part-time) What is his / her [your] main job?

(please specify).....

E71(c). What are the two main tasks he / she [you] perform[s] in this job?

(please specify) (i) .....

(ii) .....

E71(d). Is this job the same as the last job he / she [you] had before coming to New Zealand?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub>
- No  <sub>2</sub>
- Not applicable (not employed before coming to NZ)  <sub>3</sub>

E72. Is he / she [Are you] using his / her [your] qualification(s) in his / her [your] main job?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub>
- No  <sub>2</sub>

E73. Since our last interview has there been a time when he / she has [you have] been unemployed and looking for work?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub>
- No  <sub>2</sub>

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E74. Has he / she [Have you] been engaged in voluntary unpaid work since our last interview?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub>
- No  <sub>2</sub> (go to E76)

E75. (If 'yes') What voluntary unpaid work has he / she [have you] done?

.....

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**To complete this section could I please ask you two general questions concerning employment in New Zealand?**

**\*E76.** How do your work experiences in New Zealand compare with the expectations you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) had about working in New Zealand when you migrated?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**E77(a).** Do you think that immigration policy should be changed to ensure that those approved for entry have occupations that are in demand in the labour force?

Yes                    <sub>1</sub>  
No                      <sub>2</sub>

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**\*E77(b).** Could you please explain your response?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**\*E78.** Is there anything else you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) would like to tell me about your employment or unemployment experiences?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

*probes: post arrival employment assistance  
(placements, bridging courses, mentoring etc)*



F5. Did you experience any difficulties joining the new club(s) / social organisation(s) (ie those joined since our last interview)?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to F7)
- Not applicable (none joined since last interview) \_3 (go to F8)

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\*F6. (If 'yes') What were the difficulties that you experienced? Please explain.

- Probes: contacts / information
  - language
  - entry criteria
  - too busy
  - attitudes of members
  - behaviour of members
  - different cultural values / beliefs
  - transport / location
  - meeting times
  - other (specify) .....
- (go to F9 if with spouse / partner, to F17 if with child[ren] only, to F23[a] if unaccompanied PA)

\*F7. (If no difficulties were experienced) What made it easy for you to join this / these club(s) / social organisation(s)?

- Probes: readily available information
- personal contacts with members
- contacted by club / organisation
- same language
- same sort of club as at home
- other (specify) .....
- .....

(go to F9 if with spouse / partner, to F17 if with child[ren] only, to F23[a] if unaccompanied PA)

F8. (If not currently a member of or have not joined any clubs / social organisations since our last interview) Could you please explain why you have not joined?

(Tick all that apply.)

- Other responsibilities, no time \_1
- Looking for information / contacts \_2
- Cost \_3
- Language (need better English) \_4
- Entry criteria (citizenship, nomination, etc) \_5
- Not interested \_6
- Other priorities \_7
- Other (specify) .....

• (If more than one) Of these, which 2 are the most important (in order of priority)?

(a).....

(b) .....

(If no spouse / partner but child[ren], go to F17; if unaccompanied PA, go to F23[a] .)

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Now I would like to ask you or your spouse / partner about his / her involvement in clubs and other social organisations. (If he / she is present, could he / she please answer the questions. Amended wording [in square brackets] will apply.)

F9. Is spouse / partner answering for himself / herself?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub>
- No, not in New Zealand <sub>3</sub>

22

F10. Could you please name the club(s) / social organisation(s) in New Zealand he / she [you] currently belong[s] to / participate[s] in (beginning with the one he / she has [you have] belonged to the longest if more than one) and indicate which - if any - he / she has [you have] joined (formally or informally) since our last interview?

	<i>Club / organisation</i>	<i>joined since last interview</i>
(a)	.....	yes / no
(b)	.....	yes / no
(c)	.....	yes / no
(d)	.....	yes / no
(e)	.....	yes / no

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Not applicable (not a member of or participating in any club / social organisation)

F11. Just to be clear, could you please tell me how many clubs and social organisations in New Zealand he / she [you] currently belong[s] to / participate[s] in, and how many of these he / she has [you have] joined since our last interview?

- Total number of clubs in NZ belonged to / participated in .....
- Number joined / participated in **before** last interview .....
- Number joined / participated in **since** last interview .....

(If zero in all categories, go to F16.)

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F12. How active is he / she [are you] in the clubs / social organisations he / she [you] currently belong[s] to / participate[s] in?

	very active (office holder)	active (regular participant)	low level activity (sometimes attend)
<i>Club / organisation a</i>	1-----	2-----	3-----
<i>Club / organisation b</i>	1-----	2-----	3-----
<i>Club / organisation c</i>	1-----	2-----	3-----
<i>Club / organisation d</i>	1-----	2-----	3-----
<i>Club / organisation e</i>	1-----	2-----	3-----

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\*F13. What are his / her [your] reasons for belonging to or participating in this / these club(s) / social organisation(s)?

.....  
.....

F14. Did he / she [you] experience any difficulties joining the new club(s) / social organisation(s) (ie those joined since our last interview)?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to F17 if child[ren], to F23[a] if no child[ren])
- Not applicable (none joined since last interview) <sub>3</sub> (go to F16)

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\*F15. (If 'yes') What were the difficulties that he / she [you] experienced? Please explain.

- Probes: contacts / information
  - language
  - entry criteria
  - too busy
  - attitudes of members
  - behaviour of members
  - different cultural values / beliefs
  - transport / location
  - meeting times
  - other (specify) .....
  - .....
- (go to F17 if child[ren], to F23[a] if no child[ren])

F16. (If not currently a member of or have not joined any clubs / social organisations since our last interview) Could you please explain why your spouse / partner has [you have] not joined? (Tick all that apply.)

- Other responsibilities, no time <sub>1</sub>
- Looking for information / contacts <sub>2</sub>
- Cost <sub>3</sub>
- Language (need better English) <sub>4</sub>
- Entry criteria (citizenship, nomination, etc) <sub>5</sub>
- Not interested <sub>6</sub>
- Other priorities <sub>7</sub>
- Other (please specify) .....

- (If more than one) Identify the 2 main reasons (in order of priority):
- (a) .....
- (b) .....

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(If no child[ren], go to F23[a].)





F22. Since our last interview, have you had the opportunity to attend functions that your child(ren) has / have been involved in?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

<sub>47</sub>

*Now I would like to ask you (the PA) a few questions about the opportunities you may have had to make friends, and the difficulties you may have experienced.*

E23(a). Do you have a network of friends **outside of work** (including **former** work associates, ie those you no longer work with)?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub> (go to F24)

E23(b). How many of these friends are of the same ethnic group as yourself?

1.....2.....3.....4.....5  
All Most About half Few None

\*F24. Could you please tell me which people you identify as members of your own ethnic group?

*Probes (only if required): criteria for identification*   
*culture / language / religion*   
*birthplace / geographical*   
*'race'*   
*other*

F25(a). **Since our last interview**, do you feel that you have had the opportunity (chance) to make **new** friends **outside of work**?

Yes, and **have** made new friend(s) <sub>1</sub>  
Yes, but **have not yet** made new friend(s) <sub>2</sub> }  
No, other responsibilities / no time <sub>3</sub> } (go to F26)  
No - other reason(s) <sub>4</sub> }  
(please specify) .....

<sub>50</sub>

F25(b). (*If 'yes, and have made new friends'*) Have you had the opportunity:

(i) to meet socially with these **new** friends? Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

(ii) to visit the homes of these **new** friends? Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

(iii) to receive visits from these **new** friends? Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

F25(c). How many of these **new** friends are of the same ethnic group as yourself?

1.....2.....3.....4.....5  
All Most About half Few None

<sub>54</sub>

F26. Since our last interview, have you experienced any difficulties in developing friendships outside of work with Kiwi New Zealanders (ie those who were born here or have lived here for a long time)?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to F28[a] if with spouse / partner, to F33 if not)

\_55

\*F27. (If 'yes') Could you explain what sort of difficulties you have experienced.

- Probes: other responsibilities/no time
- language
- other cultural differences
- attitudes of New Zealanders
- behaviour of New Zealanders
- new to neighbourhood
- other (specify) .....

Now I would like to ask you (PA) a few questions about your relationships with work associates.

F28(a). Have you had the opportunity to further develop personal relationships with work associates you had at the time of our last interview?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2
- No, have changed jobs \_3
- Not applicable, not working at time of last interview \_4

F28(b). Have you had the opportunity to develop personal relationships with new work associates (ie those you have met since our last interview)?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2
- No, no new work associates \_3
- No, just started in job \_4
- Not applicable, not working \_5 (go to F34 if with spouse / partner, to F45 if child[ren] only, or F49 if unaccompanied PA)

F29. With reference to all your work associates (old and new), how would you rate your relationship with those you feel closest to on the following scale?

- 1 ..... 2 ..... 3 ..... 4 ..... 5
- Formal work    less formal    friend    good    very good  
contact only    work contact    friend    friend    friend

F30. Have you had the opportunity:

(a) to meet socially with your associates from work?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2

(b) to visit the homes of your associates from work?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2

(c) to receive visits to your home from your associates from work?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2

\_61

F31. How many of all of your work associates (old and new) are of the same ethnic group as yourself?

1.....2.....3.....4.....5  
 All Most About half Few None

62

F32. Since our last interview, have you experienced any difficulties in developing relationships with work associates who are Kiwi New Zealanders?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
 No <sub>2</sub> (go to F34 if with spouse / partner,  
 to F45 if with child[ren], to F49 if unaccompanied PA))

\*F33. (If 'yes') Could you please explain what sort of difficulties you have experienced?

Probes: short time in employment   
 language   
 other cultural differences   
 attitudes of New Zealanders   
 behaviour of New Zealanders   
 other (specify) .....

(If unaccompanied PA, go to F49. If with child[ren] only, go to F45.)

I would also like to ask you a few questions about the opportunities your spouse / partner may have had to make friends, and the difficulties he / she may have experienced.  
 (If he / she is present, could he / she please answer the questions. Amended wording [in square brackets] will apply.)

F34. Is spouse / partner answering for himself / herself?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
 No <sub>2</sub>  
 No, not in New Zealand <sub>3</sub>

F35. Since our last interview, does your spouse / partner [do you] feel that he / she has [you have] had the opportunity (chance) to make new friends outside of work?

Yes, and has made new friend(s) <sub>1</sub>  
 Yes, but has not yet made new friend(s) <sub>2</sub> } (go to F37)  
 No, other responsibilities, no time <sub>3</sub> }  
 No - other reason(s) <sub>4</sub> }  
 (please specify) .....

F36. How many of these new friends outside of work are of the same ethnic group as your spouse / partner [yourself]?

1.....2.....3.....4.....5  
 All Most About half Few None

F37. Since our last interview, has he / she [have you] experienced any difficulties in developing friendships outside of work with Kiwi New Zealanders (ie those who were born here or have lived here for a long time)?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
 No <sub>2</sub> (go to F39[a])

67

\*F38. (If 'yes') Could you please explain what sort of difficulties he / she has [you have] experienced?

- Probes: other responsibilities / no time
- language
- other cultural differences
- attitudes of New Zealanders
- behaviour of New Zealanders
- new to neighbourhood
- other (specify) .....

**Now I would like to ask a few questions about your spouse / partner's [your] relationships with work associates.**

F39(a). Has he / she [Have you] had the opportunity to further develop personal relationships with work associates he / she [you] had at the time of our last interview?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2
- No, have changed jobs \_3
- Not applicable, not working at time of last interview \_4

\_68

F39(b). Has he / she [Have you] had the opportunity to develop relationships with new work associates (ie those he / she has [you have] met since our last interview)?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2
- No, no new work associates \_3
- No, just started in job \_4
- Not applicable, not working \_5 (go to F45 if child[ren], to F49 if not)

F40. With reference to all his / her [your] work associates (old and new), how would he / she [you] rate his / her [your] relationship with the work associates he / she [you] feel[s] closest to on the following scale?

- 1.....2.....3.....4.....5
- |              |              |        |        |           |
|--------------|--------------|--------|--------|-----------|
| Formal work  | less formal  | friend | good   | very good |
| contact only | work contact |        | friend | friend    |

F41. Has he / she [Have you] had the opportunity:

(a) to meet socially with his / her [your] associates from work?

- Yes
- No \_2

(b) to visit the homes of his / her [your] associates from work?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2

(c) to receive visits to your home from his / her [your] associates from work?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2

F42. How many of his / her [your] work associates are of the same ethnic group as himself / herself [yourself]?

- 1.....2.....3.....4.....5
- |     |      |            |     |      |
|-----|------|------------|-----|------|
| All | Most | About half | Few | None |
|-----|------|------------|-----|------|

\_74

F43. Since our last interview, has he / she [have you] experienced any difficulties in developing relationships with work associates who are Kiwi New Zealanders?

Yes \_1  
No \_2 (go to F45 if child[ren], to F49 if not)

\_75

\*F44. (If 'yes') Could you please explain what sort of difficulties he / she has [you have] experienced?

Probes: short time in employment   
language   
other cultural differences   
attitudes of New Zealanders   
behaviour of New Zealanders   
other (specify) .....

(If no child[ren], go to F49.)

Now I would like to ask you (PA, and spouse / partner, if applicable) a few questions about your child(ren)'s friends in New Zealand.

F45. Has / have your child(ren) developed a network of friends in New Zealand?

Yes \_1  
No \_2 (go to F47)

F46. Overall, how many of these friends are of the same ethnic group as himself / herself / themselves?

(a) Child 1 (oldest/older/only child):

1.....2.....3.....4.....5  
All Most About half Few None

(b) Child 2 (next oldest):

1.....2.....3.....4.....5  
All Most About half Few None

(c) Child 3 (next oldest):

1.....2.....3.....4.....5  
All Most About half Few None

(d) Child 4 :

1.....2.....3.....4.....5  
All Most About half Few None

\_80

F47. Since our last interview, has he / she (have any of them) experienced any difficulties in developing relationships with children who are Kiwi New Zealanders (ie those who were born here or have lived here for a long time)?

Yes, all   
Yes, some of them \_2  
No \_3 (go to F48[b])

\*F48(a). (If 'yes') Could you please explain what sort of difficulties he / she has (they have) experienced?

- Probes: short time at school
- language
- other cultural differences
- attitudes of New Zealanders
- behaviour of New Zealanders
- other (specify) .....

(If 'yes, all' in F47, go to F49. Otherwise, go to F48[b].)

\*F48(b). (For those who have experienced no difficulties) Can you explain why he / she / they appear to have experienced no difficulties?

.....

.....

.....

\*F49. Is there anything else that you (or other members of your family, if applicable) would like to tell me about becoming involved in social activities in New Zealand ?

- Probes: presence of children a help or hindrance
- presence of relatives a help or hindrance
- presence of home country friends a help or hindrance
- ethnic concentration a help or hindrance

.....

.....

**SECTION G: GENERAL HEALTH**

						5
--	--	--	--	--	--	---

Finally, I would like to ask you (PA) some questions about your health since our interview in 1998.

G1 Have you (or a member of your family, if applicable) been ill since the previous interview?

Yes

 1

No

 2 (go to G3)

(If 'yes'), State identity of person(s) (eg spouse/partner, child) and illness(es)

.....

.....

.....

G2 How did you treat that (those) episode(s) of illness?

Probes: general practitioner

 1

private emergency services (A & E)

 2

hospital outpatients

 3

hospital admission

 4

Chinese medicine

 5

acupuncture

 6

Ayurvedic medicine

 7

alternative/complementary techniques

 8

home remedies and self treatment

 9

nothing (got better by itself)

 10

other (specify)

 11

G3 In general, would you say your health is:

 10

Excellent

 1

Very good

 2

Good

 3

Fair

 4

Poor

 5

G4 Compared to one year ago, how would you rate your health in general now ?

 11

- Much better now than one year ago  1
- Somewhat better now than one year ago  2
- About the same as one year ago  3
- Somewhat worse now than one year ago  4
- Much worse now than one year ago  5

G5 The following questions are about activities you might do during a typical day. Does **your health now limit you** in these activities? If so, how much?

Circle the appropriate number for each statement:

Yes, limited a lot      Yes, limited a little      No, not limited at all

- |   | Yes, limited a lot | Yes, limited a little | No, not limited at all |
|---|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| a <b>Vigorous activities</b> , such as running, lifting heavy objects, participating in strenuous sports .....  | 1                  | 2                     | 3                      |
| b <b>Moderate activities</b> , such as moving a table, pushing a vacuum cleaner, bowling, or playing golf ..... | 1                  | 2                     | 3                      |
| c <b>Lifting or carrying groceries</b> ( <i>supermarket shopping</i> )  | 1                  | 2                     | 3                      |
| d Climbing <b>several</b> flights of stairs .....   | 1                  | 2                     | 3                      |
| e Climbing <b>one</b> flight of stairs .....  | 1                  | 2                     | 3                      |
| f Bending, kneeling or stooping .....   | 1                  | 2                     | 3                      |
| g Walking <b>more than one kilometre</b> .....  | 1                  | 2                     | 3                      |
| h Walking <b>half a kilometre</b> .....   | 1                  | 2                     | 3                      |
| i Walking <b>100 metres</b> .....   | 1                  | 2                     | 3                      |
| j Bathing or dressing yourself .....  | 1                  | 2                     | 3                      |




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G6 During the **past 4 weeks**, have you had any of the following problems with your work or other regular daily activities **as a result of your physical health**?

a Cut down on (*reduced*) the **amount of time** you spent on work or other activities

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

 22

b **Accomplished** (*achieved*) less than you would like

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

c Were limited in the **kind** of work or other activities (*for example could not lift heavy objects*)

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

d Had **difficulty** performing the work or other activities (for example, it took extra effort)

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

G7 During the **past 4 weeks**, have you had any of the following problems with your work or other regular daily activities **as a result of any emotional problems** (such as feeling depressed or anxious, *sad or worried*)?

a Cut down on the **amount of time** you spent on work or other activities

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

b **Accomplished** (*achieved*) less than you would like

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

c Don't do work or other activities as **carefully** as usual

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

 28

G8 During the **past 4 weeks**, to what extent has your physical health *and* / or emotional problems interfered with your **normal social activities** with family, friends, neighbours, or *other* groups?

 29

Not at all  1

Slightly  2

Moderately  3

Quite a bit  4

Extremely  5

G9 How much **bodily pain** have you had during the **past 4 weeks**?

No bodily pain  1

Very mild  2

Mild  3

Moderate  4

Severe  5

Very severe  6

G10 During the **past 4 weeks**, how much did **pain** interfere with your **normal work** (including both work outside the home and housework)?

 31

Not at all  1

A little bit  2

Moderately  3

Quite a bit  4

Extremely  5

G11 These questions are about how you feel and how things have been with you **during the past 4 weeks**. For each question, please *circle* the number that comes closest to the way you have been feeling.

How much of the time during the <b>past 4 weeks</b> :	All of the time	Most of the time	A good bit of the time	Some of the time	A little of the time	None of the time
a Did you feel full of life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
b Have you been a very nervous person?	1	2	3	4	5	6
c Have you felt so down in the dumps ( <i>unhappy</i> ) that nothing could cheer you up?	1	2	3	4	5	6
d Have you felt calm and peaceful?	1	2	3	4	5	6
e Did you have a lot of energy?	1	2	3	4	5	6
f Have you felt down ( <i>low</i> )?	1	2	3	4	5	6
g Did you feel worn out?	1	2	3	4	5	6
h Have you been a happy person?	1	2	3	4	5	6
i Did you feel tired?	1	2	3	4	5	6

33

G12 During the **past 4 weeks**, how much of the time has your **physical health and / or emotional problems** interfered with your social activities (like visiting with friends, relatives, etc.)?

- All of the time  1
- Most of the time  2
- Some of the time  3
- A little of the time  4
- None of the time  5

41

G13 How **TRUE** or **FALSE** is **each** of the following statements for you ?  
Circle the appropriate number for each statement:

	Definitely true	Mostly true	Don't know	Mostly false	Definitely false
a I seem to get sick easier (more easily) than other people	1	2	3	4	5
b I am as healthy as anybody I know	1	2	3	4	5
c I expect my health to get worse	1	2	3	4	5
d My health is excellent	1	2	3	4	5

45

(If unaccompanied PA, go to G25.)

If accompanied by spouse / partner, he / she should personally answer G14 - G24. If spouse / partner is not present, go to G25.

G14 In general, would you say your health is:

- Excellent  1
- Very good  2
- Good  3
- Fair  4
- Poor  5

 46

G15 Compared to one year ago, how would you rate your health in general now ?

- Much better now than one year ago  1
- Somewhat better now than one year ago  2
- About the same as one year ago  3
- Somewhat worse now than one year ago  4
- Much worse now than one year ago  5

G16 The following questions are about activities you might do during a typical day. Does your health now limit you in these activities? If so, how much?

Circle the appropriate number for each statement:	Yes, limited a lot	Yes, limited a little	No, not limited at all
a <b>Vigorous activities</b> , such as running, lifting heavy objects, participating in strenuous sports .....	1	2	3
b <b>Moderate activities</b> , such as moving a table, pushing a vacuum cleaner, bowling, or playing golf .....	1	2	3
c <b>Lifting or carrying groceries</b> ( <i>supermarket shopping</i> ) .....	1	2	3
d Climbing <b>several</b> flights of stairs .....	1	2	3
e Climbing <b>one</b> flight of stairs .....	1	2	3
f Bending, kneeling or stooping .....	1	2	3
g Walking <b>more than one kilometre</b> .....	1	2	3
h Walking <b>half a kilometre</b> .....	1	2	3
i Walking <b>100 metres</b> .....	1	2	3
j Bathing or dressing yourself .....	1	2	3




G17 During the **past 4 weeks**, have you had any of the following problems with your work or other regular daily activities as a **result of your physical health**?

a Cut down on (*reduced*) the **amount of time** you spent on work or other activities

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

58

b **Accomplished** (*achieved*) less than you would like

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

c Were limited in the **kind** of work or other activities (*for example could not lift heavy objects*)

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

d Had **difficulty** performing the work or other activities (for example, it took extra effort)

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

G18 During the **past 4 weeks**, have you had any of the following problems with your work or other regular daily activities as a **result of any emotional problems** (such as feeling depressed or anxious, *sad or worried*)?

a Cut down on the **amount of time** you spent on work or other activities

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

b **Accomplished** (*achieved*) less than you would like

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

c Don't do work or other activities as **carefully** as usual

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

64

G19 During the **past 4 weeks**, to what extent has your physical health *and* / or emotional problems interfered with your **normal social activities** with family, friends, neighbours, or *other* groups?

 65

- Not at all  1
- Slightly  2
- Moderately  3
- Quite a bit  4
- Extremely  5

G20 How much **bodily pain** have you had during the **past 4 weeks**?

- No bodily pain  1
- Very mild  2
- Mild  3
- Moderate  4
- Severe  5
- Very severe  6

G21 During the **past 4 weeks**, how much did **pain** interfere with your **normal work** (including both work outside the home and housework)?

 67

- Not at all  1
- A little bit  2
- Moderately  3
- Quite a bit  4
- Extremely  5

G22 These questions are about how you feel and how things have been with you **during the past 4 weeks**. For each question, please *circle* the number that comes closest to the way you have been feeling.

How much of the time during the <b>past 4 weeks</b> :	All of the time	Most of the time	A good bit of the time	Some of the time	A little of the time	None of the time	
a Did you feel full of life?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
b Have you been a very nervous person?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/> 69
c Have you felt so down in the dumps ( <i>unhappy</i> ) that nothing could cheer you up?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
d Have you felt calm and peaceful?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
e Did you have a lot of energy?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
f Have you felt down ( <i>low</i> )?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
g Did you feel worn out?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
h Have you been a happy person?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
I Did you feel tired?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>

G23 During the **past 4 weeks**, how much of the time has your **physical health and or emotional problems** interfered with your social activities (like visiting with friends, relatives, etc.)?

- All of the time  1
- Most of the time  2
- Some of the time  3
- A little of the time  4
- None of the time  5

G24 How **TRUE** or **FALSE** is **each** of the following statements for you? Circle the appropriate number for each statement:

	Definitely true	Mostly true	Don't know	Mostly false	Definitely false	
a I seem to get sick more easier (easily than other people	1	2	3	4	5	<input type="checkbox"/>
b I am as healthy as anybody I know	1	2	3	4	5	<input type="checkbox"/>
c I expect my health to get worse	1	2	3	4	5	<input type="checkbox"/>
d My health is excellent	1	2	3	4	5	<input type="checkbox"/> 81

*I would now like to ask you some questions about health services*

G25(a) Are you (and your family, if applicable) currently registered (enrolled) with a general practitioner?

Yes  1 (go to G26)

No  2

82

\*G25(b)(If 'no') Could you please explain why you are not registered?

.....  
.....  
.....

\*G26 Could you please tell me about your experiences in obtaining health care in New Zealand?

N/A, not needed

Probes: interpreter

cost

information

location/transport

not available (western and non-western)

other (specify)

\*G27 Is there anything else you (and your family, if applicable) would like to say about your health and getting health care in NZ?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....



And finally, I would like to ask you (and your spouse / partner, if applicable) some general questions on the settlement process as a whole.

G28(a) During the last 12 months do you think that you (and / or other members of your immediate family, if applicable) have experienced what some people call culture shock?

Yes  1

No  2 (go to G29[a])

83

\*G28(b) (If 'yes') Could you please describe the culture shock experienced and how it has affected the well-being of yourself and / or other members of your family, if applicable)?

- Probes: rules and guidelines for behaviour*
- common behavioural practices*
- expectations with regard to relationships*
- expectations with regards to child rearing*
- food and eating practices*
- driving and public transport*
- entertainment*
- expressions of nationalism and ethnic identity*

G29(a). During the last 12 months have you (and / or other members of your immediate family, if applicable) experienced feelings of homesickness?

Yes  1

No  2 (go to G30)

\*G29(b) (If 'yes') Please indicate who has experienced these feelings of homesickness and then explain (i) how they have coped with these feelings and (ii) how, if at all, these feelings have affected the person's settlement in New Zealand.

.....

.....

.....

.....

\*G30 Looking back over the issues that we have covered in the interview as a whole, is there anything more you would like to say about your experiences of settlement in New Zealand?

.....

.....

.....

.....

## SECTION H: KEEPING IN TOUCH / TRACKING

*Finally, could I please ask you some questions about keeping in touch with you?*

H1. Did you receive the information we sent out to all participants during the past year:

(a) a season's greetings card around Christmas / New Year?

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

(b) a summary of data from the last round of interviews?

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub>

H2. Do you have a copy of:

(a) my business / name card?

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub> (give one, if available)

(b) a change of address card to send to us if you should move?

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub> (give one, if available)

H3(a). Do you have an email address?

Yes <sub>1</sub>

No <sub>2</sub> (go to H4)

H3(b). Could you please give me this email address? .....

H4. Just in case you move and we lose contact with you, would it be possible to tell me the name of a close friend or relative (preferably someone who does not live with you and who is unlikely to move from his / her present address) who is likely to know where you will be living at the time of the next interview (ie one year from now)?

Yes <sub>1</sub> (go to H5)

No <sub>2</sub> (go to end )

H5. (If 'yes') Could you please provide the contact person's name and address here?

Name: .....

Address: .....

.....

.....

email: ..... Ph: .....

Relationship to you: .....

**Thank you very much for taking part in our research and answering this questionnaire. Your contribution is appreciated very much.**





Social Policy Research Centre  
School of Social Policy and Social Work  
Massey University

**NEW SETTLERS PROGRAMME**  
Encounters, Responses, Policies

**THIRD ROUND QUESTIONNAIRE**  
2000

## SECTION A: SUMMARY OF IMMEDIATE FAMILY HOUSEHOLD DATA (not to be coded)

No.	Person	Sex M/ F	Date of birth	Country of birth	Marital status -Married -Separated -Divorced -Never m./ child.	Relationship to Principal Applicant	Immigration Category: - In PA's application - later GSC - Family, etc	In NZ 2 <sup>nd</sup> round interview  Yes/No
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								



SECTION A: PERSONAL DATA

*First I would like to ask you some general questions about yourself and your family, and to get information on any persons who have joined your immediate family household in New Zealand since the time of the first interview.*

A1. Could you please check the 'Summary of Immediate Family Household Data' sheet to make sure the information is correct for **those who are already recorded there**?

- Done, and correct <sub>1</sub>
- Done, and amended <sub>2</sub>

A2. In addition to the people already included in the 'Summary of Household Data' sheet on the previous page, are there any **other members of your immediate family** now living in your household with you in New Zealand?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to Section B)

A3.(a) How many are there who are now living with you as part of your immediate family but who do not appear on the summary sheet?

Number: .....

A3.(b) Of this number, how many were part of your original application for Permanent Residence?

Number: .....

<sub>11</sub>

*(If any persons have joined the immediate household, go to A4. Otherwise, go to Section B.)*



**Members of immediate family, in addition to the people already included in the 'Summary of Household Data' sheet, who are now living in your household with you:  
OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER 1.**

A4. Name: (*family*)..... (*given*).....

A5. Gender: Male <sub>1</sub> Female <sub>2</sub> <sub>12</sub>

A6. Date of birth: .....

A7. Place of birth: (*country*)..... (*city / province / district*) .....

A8.(a) Marital status (current): Married <sub>1</sub> Separated <sub>2</sub> Divorced <sub>3</sub> Never married <sub>4</sub>

A8.(b) Relationship to PA: .....

A9.(a) What is his / her immigration status?  
Part of PA's application for Permanent Residence <sub>1</sub>   
Other (*please specify*) ..... <sub>2</sub>

A9.(b) When did he / she arrive in New Zealand? .....

A10. Does he / she speak any language(s) / dialect(s) other than English?  
Yes  (*please specify*) .....   
No  (*go to A14 if applicable, otherwise to Section B*)

A11. What is his / her level of spoken English?  
Native speaker / Fluent.....Very good.....Good/OK.....Limited.....Poor.....N/A (too young) |   
1 2 3 4 5 6

A12. How often did he / she use English language before coming to New Zealand?  
Every day Most days Sometimes (weekly) Rarely (1-3 x mth) Never Not applicable  
(i) at work/ for study 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 6   
(ii) at home 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 6

A13. (*If over 15 years of age*) What English language requirements were met for immigration?  
(*Tick all that apply.*)  
(i) English test:  
Not required for entry <sub>1</sub> (*go to A14 if applicable, otherwise to Section B*)   
Sat <sub>2</sub> (Type: ..... Score: ..... )   
Required but did not sit <sub>3</sub>   
(ii) Pre-payment of ESOL tuition: Yes <sub>1</sub> Amount: .....   
No <sub>2</sub>   
(*go to A14 if applicable, otherwise to Section B*) 33

**Members of immediate family, in addition to the people already included in the 'Summary Household Data' sheet, who are now living in your household with you:  
OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER 2.**

A14. Name: (*family*)..... (*given*) .....

A15. Gender: Male <sub>1</sub> Female <sub>2</sub> <sub>34</sub>

A16. Date of birth: .....

A17. Place of birth: (*country*)..... (*city / province / district*) .....

A18.(a) Marital status (current): Married <sub>1</sub> Separated <sub>2</sub> Divorced <sub>3</sub> Never married <sub>4</sub>

A18.(b) Relationship to PA: .....

A19.(a) What is his / her immigration status?  
Part of PA's application for Permanent Residence <sub>1</sub>  
Other (*please specify*) ..... <sub>2</sub>

A19.(b) When did he / she arrive in New Zealand? .....

A20. Does he / she speak any language(s) / dialect(s) other than English?  
Yes  (*please specify*) .....  
No  (*go to A24 if applicable, otherwise to Section B*)

A21. What is his / her level of spoken English?  
Native speaker / Fluent.....Very good.....Good/OK.....Limited.....Poor.....N/A (too young)  
1 2 3 4 5 6

A22. How often did he / she use English language before coming to New Zealand?

	Every day	Most days	Sometimes (weekly)	Rarely (1-3 x mth)	Never	Not applicable
(i) at work/ for study	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6
(ii) at home	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6

A23. (*If over 15 years of age*) What English language requirements were met for immigration?  
(*Tick all that apply.*)

(i) English test:  
Not required for entry <sub>1</sub> (*go to A24 if applicable, otherwise to Section B*)  
Sat <sub>2</sub> (Type: ..... Score: .....)  
Required but did not sit <sub>3</sub>

(ii) Pre-payment of ESOL tuition: Yes <sub>1</sub> Amount: .....  
No <sub>2</sub> (*go to A24 if applicable, otherwise to Section B*)

**Members of immediate family, in addition to the people already included in the 'Summary of Household Data' sheet, who are now living in your household with you:  
OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER 3.**

A24. Name: (*family*)..... (*given*).....

A25. Gender: Male <sub>1</sub> Female <sub>2</sub>

A26. Date of birth: .....

A27. Place of birth: (*country*)..... (*city / province / district*) .....

A28.(a) Marital status (current): Married <sub>1</sub> Separated <sub>2</sub> Divorced <sub>3</sub> Never married <sub>4</sub>

A28.(b) Relationship to PA: .....

A29.(a) What is his / her immigration status?  
Part of PA's application for Permanent Residence <sub>1</sub>  
Other (*please specify*) ..... <sub>2</sub>

A29.(b) When did he / she arrive in New Zealand? .....

A30. Does he / she speak any language(s) / dialect(s) other than English?

Yes  (*please specify*) .....  
No  (*go to Section B*)

A31. What is his / her level of spoken English?  
Native speaker / Fluent..... Very good..... Good/OK..... Limited..... Poor..... N/A (too young)  
1 2 3 4 5 6

A32. How often did he / she use English language before coming to New Zealand?

	Every day	Most days	Sometimes (weekly)	Rarely (1-3 x mth)	Never	Not applicable
(i) at work/ for study	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
(ii) at home	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6

A33. (*If over 15 years of age*) What English language requirements were met for immigration?  
(*Tick all that apply.*)

(i) English test:  
Not required for entry <sub>1</sub> (*go to Section B*)  
Sat <sub>2</sub> (Type: ..... Score: .....)  
Required but did not sit <sub>3</sub>

(ii) Pre-payment of ESOL tuition: Yes <sub>1</sub> Amount: .....  
No <sub>2</sub>

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SECTION B: RELATIVES, FRIENDS, VISITS AND MIGRATION

<sub>5</sub>

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about the immigration of relatives and friends, your visits overseas and future migration plans.

B1.(a) During the last 12 months have you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) assisted any relative(s) to immigrate to New Zealand (ie acted as sponsor, arranged employment, provided accommodation or other material assistance)?

- Yes - own relative(s) only  <sub>1</sub>
- Yes - spouse / partner's relative(s) only  <sub>2</sub>
- Yes - own and spouse / partner's relative(s)  <sub>3</sub>
- No  <sub>4 (go to B2[a])</sub>

B1.(b) (If 'yes') Which relative(s) have you assisted, from which city / country, under which immigration category?

Relative(s) and dependants	Total No.	From	Imm. category
(i) .....	( )	.....	.....
(ii) .....	( )	.....	.....
(iii).....	( )	.....	.....

B2.(a) During the last 12 months, have you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) encouraged any (other) relative(s) to immigrate to New Zealand (ie promoted NZ as a destination)?

- Yes - own relative(s) only  <sub>1</sub>
- Yes - spouse / partner's relative(s) only  <sub>2</sub>
- Yes - own and spouse / partner's relative(s)  <sub>3</sub>
- No  <sub>4 (go to B3[a])</sub>

B2.(b) (If 'yes') Which relative(s) have you encouraged, where from, under which category?

Relative(s) and dependants	Total No.	From	Imm. category
(i) .....	( )	.....	.....
(ii) .....	( )	.....	.....
(iii).....	( )	.....	.....

B3.(a) Do you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) intend to assist or encourage any (other / more) relative(s) to immigrate to New Zealand?

- Yes – assist / encourage own relative(s)  <sub>1 }</sub>
- Yes – assist / encourage spouse / partner's relative(s)  <sub>2 } (go to B4[a])</sub>
- Yes – assist / encourage own and s / p's relative(s)  <sub>3 }</sub>
- No  <sub>4 (go to B3[b])</sub>
- Don't know / Not sure  <sub>5 (go to B4[a])</sub>

B3.(b) (If 'no') Could you please explain why you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) do not intend to assist and / or encourage any (other / more) relative(s) to immigrate to NZ?

(If more than two, mark the two main reasons.)

.....

<sub>34</sub>

B4.(a) During the last 12 months, have you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) **assisted or encouraged** any friend(s) to immigrate to New Zealand?

- Yes – assisted / encouraged own friend(s)  1
- Yes – assisted / encouraged spouse / partner’s friend(s)  2
- Yes – assisted / encouraged own and s / p’s friend(s)  3
- No  4

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B4.(b) Do you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) **intend to assist or encourage** any (other / more) friend(s) to immigrate to New Zealand?

- Yes – assist / encourage own friend(s)  1
- Yes – assist / encourage spouse / partner’s friend(s)  2
- Yes – assist / encourage own and s / p’s friend(s)  3
- No  4
- Don’t know / Not sure  5

B5.(a) Is any member of your immediate family currently living overseas or elsewhere in New Zealand?

*(tick all that apply)*

- Yes, overseas  1
- Yes, elsewhere in New Zealand  2
- Yes, overseas and elsewhere in New Zealand  3
- No  4 (go to B6[a])

B5.(b) (If ‘yes’) Please specify.

Relationship to you	Place	Reason
(i) .....	.....	.....
(ii) .....	.....	.....
(iii) .....	.....	.....
(iv) .....	.....	.....

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B6.(a) Apart from those currently living overseas, have you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) travelled overseas, including visits to your former home country since our last interview?

- Yes - self only  1
- Yes - spouse / partner only  2
- Yes - self and spouse / partner  3
- No  4 (go to B7[a])

B6.(b) (If ‘yes’) Which country / countries did you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) travel to?

- (i) .....
- (ii) .....
- (iii) .....
- (iv) .....

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*(If former home country [India, PRC, South Africa] is not included in list, go to B7[a].)*

B6.(c) (If visited former home country) Could you please indicate the reason(s) for your (and / or your spouse / partner's, if applicable) visit to your former home country (Tick all that apply.)

- Holiday  1
- To check on / manage business interests  2
- To complete sale / disposal of property or business  3
- To establish business / work contacts  4
- To see if employment possible  5
- To visit sick relative / attend funeral  6
- To visit family or friends  7
- Other (please specify) .....  8

•(If more than one) Of these, which are the two main reasons (in order of priority)?

- (i) .....
- (ii) .....

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B7.(a) Do you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) intend to visit your former home country during the next 12 months?

- Yes - self  1
- Yes - spouse / partner only  2
- Yes - self and spouse / partner  3
- No  4 (go to B8[a])
- Don't know / Not sure  4 (go to B8[a])

B7.(b) (If 'yes') Could you please indicate the main reason(s) why you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) intend to visit your former home country? (Tick all that apply.)

- Holiday  1
- To check on / manage business interests  2
- To complete sale / disposal of property or business  3
- To establish business / work contacts  4
- To see if employment possible  5
- To visit sick relative / attend funeral  6
- To visit family or friends  7
- Other (please specify) .....  8

•(If more than one) Of these, which are the two main reasons (in order of priority)?

- (i) .....
- (ii) .....

B8.(a) Do you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) maintain regular contact (ie once per month on average) with relatives and / or friends in your former home country?

- Yes - self  1
- Yes - spouse / partner only  2
- Yes - self and spouse / partner  3
- No  4 (go to B8[c])

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B8.(b) (If 'yes') Please indicate which method(s) you use to maintain contact.  
(Tick all that apply.)

- Audio-tapes  1
- E-mail  2
- Telephone  3
- Letters  4
- Postcards  5
- Video recordings  6
- Other (please specify) .....  7

<input type="checkbox"/>	61
<input type="checkbox"/>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	

B8.(c) Have any of your relatives (and / or those of your spouse / partner, if applicable) visited you since you took up permanent residence in New Zealand?

- Yes - own relative(s) only  1
- Yes - spouse / partner's relative(s) only  2
- Yes - own and spouse / partner's relative(s)  3
- No  4

<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------

B9. Do you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) try to help any relative(s) overseas by sending them money or other goods?

- Yes - money  1
- Yes - other goods  2
- Yes - money and other goods  3
- No  4

<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------

B10.(a) Do you (or any other member(s) of your family who came to New Zealand as part of your immigration application) intend to leave New Zealand permanently during the next 12 months?

- Yes  1
- No  2 (go to B11)
- Don't know / Not sure  3 (go to B11)

<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------

B10.(b) (If 'yes') For each family member who intends to leave permanently during the next 12 months could you please indicate: his / her relationship to you, where he / she intends to go, and the main reason for his / her intended departure?

Name	Relationship to you	Intended Destination	Main Reason for Intended Departure
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B10.(c) (If PA is intending to leave permanently within the next 12 months) Could you please indicate your intended date of departure?

.....

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	87
--------------------------	--------------------------	----

**SECTION C: HOUSING**

<sub>5</sub>

*I would now like to ask you a few questions about housing, about your accommodation, the place where you are living.*

C1.(a) How many times have you moved (changed your address) since your last interview for this study?

- Have not moved / changed address  <sub>1</sub>
- Once  <sub>2</sub> }
- Twice  <sub>3</sub> } (go to C2)
- Three or more times  <sub>4</sub> }

C1.(b) (If 'have not moved') Has the rental or ownership situation for the accommodation you now live in changed since your last interview?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub> (go to C6)
- No  <sub>2</sub> (go to C11)

C2. How long have you been at this / your present address?  
(Record completed months; if less than 1, record 01.)

Months: .....

C3. What reason(s) did you have for moving to this / your present address?  
(Tick all that apply.)

- 1. Wanted own home / independence
- 2. Moved to a better location / closer to amenities
- 3. Wanted more space
- 4. Wanted more permanent housing
- 5. Wanted more privacy
- 6. Moved closer to place of work
- 7. Moved closer to place of education
- 8. Moved closer to family / friends
- 9. Moved in with family / friends
- 10. Cheaper / more affordable accommodation
- 11. Bought own home
- 12. Other (please specify) .....

.....(If only one reason given, go to C4.)

• and, of these, which were the two most important (in order of priority)?

(a) .....

(b) .....

C4. Which one of the following categories best describes how you found this accommodation?

- Real estate agent  <sub>2</sub>
- Friend(s) / relative(s)  <sub>3</sub>
- Newspaper / magazine (English language)  <sub>4</sub>
- Newspaper / magazine (other language)  <sub>5</sub>
- Other (please specify) .....

<sub>14</sub>



B11.(a) (Just to be sure) Could you please tell us if you have **actively discouraged** any relative(s) or friend(s) from immigrating to New Zealand?

- Yes, relative(s) only  1
- Yes, friend(s) only  2
- Yes, relative(s) and friend(s)  3
- No  4

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**\*B11.(b)** (*If 'yes'*) Could you explain why? .....  
.....  
.....

**\*B12.** Is there anything else that you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) would like to say about the topics we have covered in this section?

.....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....

C5. Which one of the following categories best describes the type of accommodation in which you are **now** living?

- Separate house / flat  1
- Semi-detached house, etc.
  - 1 storey  2
  - 2 or more storeys  3
- Flat or apartment
  - in a 1 or 2 storey block  4
  - in a 3 or more storey block  5
  - attached to or part of a house  6
- House or flat attached to a shop / office / etc  7
- Other (please specify) .....

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C6. Which one of the following categories best describes the ownership, rental or other arrangement you have for the accommodation in which you are **now** living?

- Own the accommodation (no mortgage or debt)  1 (go to C7)
- Own the accommodation (with mortgage or loan to repay)  2 (go to C7)
- Rent the accommodation
  - privately on own / with partner, child(ren) only  3 }
  - privately with parents / other relations  4 }
  - privately with friends / acquaintances  5 }
  - from employer on own / with partner, child(ren) only  6 }
  - from employer with parents / other relations  7 }
  - from employer with friends / acquaintances  8 } (go to C9)
  - from government / local authority (Council) on own / with partner, child(ren) only  9 }
  - from government / local authority (Council) with parents / other relations  10 }
  - from government / local authority (Council) with friends / acquaintances  11 }
- Pay board
  - live with parents / other relations  12 (go to C12)
  - live with friends / acquaintances  13 (go to C12)
- Pay no board
  - live with parents / other relations  14 (go to C12)
  - live with friends / acquaintances  15 (go to C12)
- Other (please specify) .....  (go to C11)

C7. Could you please tell me the approximate value of this dwelling?

- Up to \$99,999  1
- \$100,000 - \$149,999  2
- \$150,000 - \$199,999  3
- \$200,000 - \$249,999  4
- \$250,000 - \$299,999  5
- \$300,000 - \$349,999  6
- \$350,000 - \$399,999  7
- \$400,000 plus  8
- Not sure / Don't know  9
- Do not wish to say  10

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C8.(a) Did you have any problem(s) buying this dwelling?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub> (go to C11)

<sub>20</sub>

\*C8.(b) (If 'yes') What problem(s) did you have?

Probes:

*sources of information*   
*attitudes of New Zealanders*   
*behaviour of New Zealanders*   
*dealing with agents*   
*finances*   
*legal problems*   
*language*   
*other (specify)* .....   
.....   
(all go to C11)

C9. Were you responsible for finding this place to rent?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub> (go to C11)

C10.(a) (If 'yes') Did you have any problem(s) getting it to rent?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub> (go to C11)

\*C10.(b) (If 'yes') What problem(s) did you have? Please specify.

Probes:

*sources of information*   
*attitudes of New Zealanders*   
*behaviour of New Zealanders*   
*dealing with agents*   
*finances*   
*legal problems*   
*language*   
*other (specify)* .....   
.....

C11. Do you share the accommodation you are now living in with anyone (other than your spouse / partner and child[ren], if applicable)?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub> (go to C13)

C12. Could you please explain who you are sharing this accommodation with?

.....  
.....

<sub>24</sub>

C13. Just to be clear, could you please tell me the total number of people living here and how many are members of your immediate family (that is, yourself, plus your spouse / partner and child[ren], if applicable)?

Respondent + spouse / partner + child(ren) = (number).....  
 Others in accommodation = (number).....  
 Total in accommodation = (number).....

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(Check C1[a]. If respondent has not moved / changed address since the last interview, go to C17[a].)

Now I would like to ask you how your present housing situation compares with your last housing situation.

C14.(a) Are you satisfied with the accommodation that you are now living in?

Yes  1  
 No  2  
 Not sure / Don't know  3

\*C14.(b) Could you please explain why you feel this way?

.....  
 .....

C15. Overall, of what standard do you consider your **present** accommodation to be?

Excellent      Very good      Good      Moderate      Poor  
 1 ..... 2 ..... 3 ..... 4 ..... 5

C16. Overall, how do you feel about the area in which you presently live compared to the area in which you lived at the time of the last interview?

Much better      Better      Much the same      Worse      Much worse  
 1 ..... 2 ..... 3 ..... 4 ..... 5  
 (all go to C19)

(For those who have not moved since the last interview.)

C17.(a) Are you satisfied with the accommodation that you are now living in?

Yes  1  
 No  2  
 Not sure / Don't know  3

\*C17.(b) Could you please explain why you feel this way?

.....  
 .....

C18. Overall, how do you now feel about the area in which you presently live?

Excellent      Very good      Good      Not very good      Bad/Poor  
 1 ..... 2 ..... 3 ..... 4 ..... 5

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(For all respondents.)

C19. Do you **intend** to change your type of accommodation or move to another address in the next 12 months?

- Yes – move to another address and change type of accommodation  <sub>1</sub>
- Yes – move to another address but **not** change type of accommodation  <sub>2</sub>
- No  <sub>3</sub> (go to C21)
- Not sure / Don't know  <sub>4</sub> (go to C21)

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\*C20. (If 'yes') Could you please explain exactly **why** you intend to move?

.....  
.....

\*C21. Is there anything else you (and / or your family members, if applicable) would like to say about your present accommodation or the area in which you live?

*(Probes: including the criteria on the basis of which your present place of residence was selected - school zones, others of same ethnic group, feng shui, etc – if necessary.)*

.....  
.....  
.....

SECTION D: LANGUAGES

<sub>5</sub>

Now I would like to ask you some questions about language.

- D1. What is the status of your English language?
- First (ie mother tongue) and **only** language used <sub>1</sub> (go to D16)
  - First (mother tongue) and main language, but other(s) also used <sub>2</sub>
  - Second language learned (ie not mother tongue), but main language used <sub>3</sub>
  - Second language learned and not the main language used <sub>4</sub>
  - Second language learned and **only** language used <sub>5</sub> (go to D16)

- D2. What language or dialect do you now a) speak best? .....
- b) write best? .....

- D3. What is (are) the main language(s) / dialect(s) now spoken in your home?  
(List in order of priority.)
- .....
- .....
- .....

- D4. How often have you used English and other language(s) during the past month?  
(Please specify other language[s] in each case)

	Every day	Most days	Sometimes (weekly)	Rarely (1-3 x mth)	Never	Not applicable	
(i) at work?							
- English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
- Other (.....)	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
(ii) to study?							
- English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
- Other (.....)	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
(iii) at home?							
- English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
- Other (.....)	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
(iv) socially?							
- English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
- Other (.....)	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....	6	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>24</sub>

D5. In New Zealand, which language(s) do you **now** speak in the following situations?  
(LOTE = Language[s] Other Than English; E = English)

	LOTE only	Mostly LOTE	LOTE/E equally	Mostly E	E only	N/A
At home - with spouse / partner	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
- with child(ren)	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
- with other resident(s)	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
Talking with friends from home country	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
Talking with other friends	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
At work with others from home country	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
At work with other work mates	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
At study with others from home country	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
At study with other students	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6

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D6. How often do you **now** use your mother tongue / languages other than English and / or English for the following:

	Every day	Most days	Sometimes (weekly)	Rarely (1-3 x mth)	Never
(i) to read newspapers / magazines?					
- Mother tongue/languages other than English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5
- English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5
(ii) to write personal letters (including emails)?					
- Mother tongue/languages other than English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5
- English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5
(iii) to watch TV / videos?					
- Mother tongue/languages other than English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5
- English	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5

\*D7. Do you have any comments on the usefulness of your language(s) other than English?

- Probes: *work/career advancement*
- everyday activities*
- self-identity*
- culture maintenance (self/selves, child[ren])*

D8.(a) Have you ever been called upon to translate or interpret for someone else in New Zealand since the last interview?

Yes  1  
 No  2 (go to D9[a])

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\*D8.(b) (If 'yes') Please describe the situation(s) .....  
.....  
.....

D9.(a) Has anyone ever translated or interpreted for you in New Zealand since the last interview?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to instruction after D9[b])

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\*D9.(b) (If 'yes') Please describe the situation(s) .....  
.....  
.....

(Check question D1 and if option 2 ['English is first ... and main language ... used'] is ticked, go to D16.)

Now I would like to ask you some questions about English language learning / issues in society.

D10. Have you studied in an ESOL (English for speakers of other languages) course since our last interview?

- Yes (completed / stopped) <sub>1</sub>
- Yes (still studying) <sub>5</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to D14[a])
- No, but intend to <sub>3</sub> (go to D14[a])
- Not applicable (English is good enough already) <sub>4</sub> (go to D14[a])

\*D11. Why are/were you studying English?

- Probes: to get a job
- to do more study / training
- to learn English for everyday activities
- for family / social reasons
- for ESOL qualification
- other (specify) .....

\*D12. Could you please describe this course?

- Probes: (ask all of the following):
- sort of course
- where
- cost / course fees
- length (weeks) / frequency
- qualification(s) received
- usefulness

D13. On a scale of 1 (extremely useful) to 5 (no use), how would you rate this course?

Extremely useful No use  
1 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5

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D14.(a) Compared to a year ago, how would you rate your English language ability today?

Much better      better      same      worse      much worse  
 Spoken: 1-----2-----3-----4-----5

Written: 1-----2-----3-----4-----5

(If 'same' for both, go to D15[a])

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\*D14.(b) (If not the 'same') How do you think your English language level has changed?  
 (ie got better or worse?)

Probes:

- more confidence
- use of colloquialisms/NZ accent
- use at work
- use for study
- knowledge of culture
- other (specify) .....

D15.(a) Apart from studying in an ESOL course at an institution have you made **any conscious (planned) effort** to improve your English language ability in any other way since our last interview?

- Yes  1
- No  2 (go to D16)
- Not applicable (English is good enough already)  3 (go to D16)

D15.(b) By what means and/or from what source(s) have you sought to improve your English language ability? (Tick all that apply.)

- From an ESOL tutor at home  7
- Self-taught from books / tapes  9
- From parents / family  10
- From friends of same ethnic group  11
- From Kiwi friends  12
- From colleagues at work  13
- From television/radio  14
- Studying in course(s) other than ESOL (in institution, at work, etc)  16
- Other (specify) .....  15

• (If more than one) Identify up to 2 most important (in order of priority):

(a) .....

(b) .....

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

50

**\*D16.** Do you now experience any difficulties associated with using English in New Zealand?  
(Please give examples.)

- Probes:*
- own accent
  - NZ accent
  - speed of NZ English
  - NZ colloquialisms
  - own colloquialisms
  - carrying out everyday activities
  - using English for occupation
  - using English to study
  - attitudes of other English speakers
  - other (specify) .....
  - None

(If unaccompanied PA, go to D38. If accompanied by child[ren] only, go to D21.)

D17.(a) Is spouse / partner answering for himself / herself?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

<sub>51</sub>

D17.(b) What is the status of your spouse / partner's [your] English language?

- First (ie mother tongue) and **only** language used <sub>1</sub> (go to D20)
- First (mother tongue) and main language, but other(s) also used <sub>2</sub>
- Second language learned (ie not mother tongue), but main language used <sub>3</sub>
- Second language learned and not the main language used <sub>4</sub>
- Second language learned and **only** language used <sub>5</sub> (go to D20)

D18. What language or dialect does he / she [do you] now

- (a) speak best? .....
- (b) write best? .....

D19.(a) Has he / she [Have you] studied in any English language course since the last interview?

- Yes, and now completed course <sub>1</sub>
- Yes, but did not complete course <sub>2</sub>
- Yes, one completed and now enrolled in another course <sub>3</sub>
- Yes, but did not complete. Now enrolled in another course <sub>4</sub>
- Yes, currently enrolled in a course <sub>5</sub>
- No <sub>6</sub> (go to D20)

<sub>57</sub>

**\*D19.(b)** (If 'yes') Please describe this course / these courses?

- Probes: (ask all)*
- sort(s) of course(s)
  - where
  - cost/course fees
  - length (weeks) / frequency
  - usefulness

D19.(c) On a scale of 1 (extremely useful) to 5 (no use), how would you rate the current / most recent course?

Extremely useful

No use

1 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5

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**\*D20.** Does he / she [**Do you**] now experience any difficulties associated with using English in New Zealand? (Please give examples.)

*Probes:*

*own accent*

*NZ accent*

*speed of NZ English*

*NZ colloquialisms*

*own colloquialisms*

*carrying out everyday activities*

*using English for occupation*

*using English to study*

*attitudes of other English speakers*

*other (specify) .....*

*(If no children, go to D38. If child[ren] go to D21 on following page.)*

*If child(ren) in the household, please answer the following questions for each child (older/oldest child first).*

**Child 1: (older /oldest or only child):**

D21. How old is this child? .....  60

D22. How good do you think this child's English is now?  
 Native speaker / Fluent.....Very good.....Good/OK.....Limited.....Poor.....N/A (too young)  
 1 2 3 4 5 6

D23. Which language(s) does this child now use in the following circumstances?  
 (LOTE = Language[s] Other Than English; E = English)

	LOTE only	Mostly LOTE	LOTE/E equally	Mostly E	E only	N/A
At home - with you	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
- with siblings	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
- with any other children	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
At school	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
Other places outside home	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6

D24.(a) Has this child experienced any problems associated with using English at school or preschool since the last interview?

Yes  1

No  2 (go to D25 if another child, to D37 if not)

Not sure / Don't know  3 (go to D24(c))

Not applicable (too young / too old)  4 (go to D25 if another child, to D37 if not)

D24.(b) (If 'yes') Could you please explain what problems he / she has experienced?

.....

.....

D24.(c) Has he / she received any special English language assistance at school since the last interview?

Yes  1

No  2 (go to D25 if another child, to D37 if not)

Not sure / Don't know  3 (go to D25 if another child, to D37 if not)

\*D24.(d) (If 'yes') Please explain what sort of assistance has been given.

.....

.....

(go to D25 if another child, to D37 if not)

Child 2: (next oldest):

D25. How old is this child? .....

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D26. How good do you think this child's English is now?

Native speaker / Fluent.....Very good.....Good/OK.....Limited.....Poor.....N/A (too young)  
1 2 3 4 5 6

D27. Which language(s) does this child now use in the following circumstances?  
(LOTE = Language[s] Other Than English; E = English)

	LOTE only	Mostly LOTE	LOTE/E equally	Mostly E	E only	N/A
At home - with you	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
- with siblings	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
- with any other children	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
At school	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
Other places outside home	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6

D28.(a) Has this child experienced any problems associated with using English at school or preschool since the last interview?

- Yes 1
- No 2 (go to D29 if another child, to D37 if not)
- Not sure / Don't know 3 (go to D28[c])
- Not applicable (too young / too old) 4 (go to D29 if another child, to D37 if not)

D28.(b) (If 'yes') Could you please explain what problems he / she has experienced?

.....  
.....

D28.(c) Has he / she received any special English language assistance at school since the last interview?

- Yes 1
- No 2 (go to D29 if another child, to D37 if not)
- Not sure / Don't know 3 (go to D29 if another child, to D37 if not)

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\*D28.(d) (If 'yes') Please explain what sort of assistance has been given.

.....  
.....

(go to D29 if another child, to D37 if not)

**Child 3: (next oldest):**

D29. How old is this child? .....

80

D30. How good do you think this child's English is now?

Native speaker / Fluent..... Very good..... Good/OK..... Limited..... Poor..... N/A (too young)  
 1                      2                      3                      4                      5                      6

D31. Which language(s) does this child now use in the following circumstances?  
 (LOTE = Language[s] Other Than English; E = English)

	LOTE only	Mostly LOTE	LOTE/E equally	Mostly E	E only	N/A
At home - with you	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
- with siblings	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
- with any other children	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
At school	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
Other places outside home	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6

D32.(a) Has this child experienced any problems associated with using English at school or preschool since the last interview?

- Yes  1
- No  2 (go to D33 if another child, to D37 if not)
- Not sure / Don't know  3 (go to D32(c))
- Not applicable (too young / too old)  4 (go to D33 if another child, to D37 if not)

D32.(b) (If 'yes') Could you please explain what problems he / she has experienced?

.....  
 .....

D32.(c) Has he / she received any special English language assistance at school since the last interview?

- Yes  1
- No  2 (go to D33 if another child, to D37 if not)
- Not sure / Don't know  3 (go to D33 if another child, to D37 if not)

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\*D32.(d) (If 'yes') Please explain what sort of assistance has been given.

.....  
 .....

(go to D33 if another child, to D37 if not)

Child 4:

D33. How old is this child? .....

90

D34. How good do you think this child's English is now?

Native speaker / Fluent... Very good..... Good/OK..... Limited..... Poor..... N/A (too young)  
1 2 3 4 5 6

D35. Which language(s) does this child now use in the following circumstances?  
(LOTE = Language[s] Other Than English; E = English)

	LOTE only	Mostly LOTE	LOTE/E equally	Mostly E	E only	N/A
At home - with you	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
- with siblings	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
- with any other children	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
At school	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6
Other places outside home	1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5	6

D36.(a) Has this child experienced any problems associated with using English at school or preschool since the last interview?

- Yes  1
- No  2 (go to D37)
- Not sure / Don't know  3 (go to D36[c])
- Not applicable (too young / too old)  4 (go to D37)

D36.(b) (If 'yes') Could you please explain what problems he / she has experienced?

.....  
.....

D36.(c) Has he / she received any special English language assistance at school since the last interview?

- Yes  1
- No  2 (go to D37)
- Not sure / Don't know  3 (go to D37)

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\*D36.(d) (If 'yes') Please explain what sort of assistance has been given.

.....  
.....

(go to D37[a])

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about maintaining your child(ren)'s language(s) other than English.

D37.(a) Do you see your child(ren)'s maintenance of first language / languages other than English as a problem or issue?

- Yes, for some but not all  1
- Yes, for all / only child  2
- No  3 (go to D37(c))
- Not applicable (English is only language)  4 (go to D38)

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\*D37.(b) (If 'yes') Could you please explain.

Probes:

why a problem / issue (eg attitudes, peer pressure, level on arrival / now, self-identity; provisions) child(ren)'s/parents' attitudes towards the language

.....  
.....

D37.(c) Have any provisions been made either at home or at school or elsewhere to extend or maintain his / her / their first language / language(s) other than English?

- Yes  1
- No  2

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\*D37.(d) Could you please elaborate / explain your response?

Probes:

(If 'no') Why not?  
(If 'yes') What?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

\*D38. Is there anything else you (or other family members) would like to say about language use, post-arrival provisions and requirements in New Zealand?

.....  
.....



SECTION E: QUALIFICATIONS AND EMPLOYMENT

<sub>5</sub>

Now I would like to ask you some questions about qualifications and employment.

E1. Have you had your professional/trade qualification(s) recognised by a NZ professional/trades body or agency (other than NZQA)?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub>
- No  <sub>2</sub> (go to E3)

E2. (If 'yes') Which professional body or trade agency was this with? (Tick all that apply.)

- Architects' Education and Registration Board  <sub>1</sub>
  - Medical Council of New Zealand  <sub>2</sub>
  - New Zealand Engineers' Registration Board / IPENZ  <sub>3</sub>
  - New Zealand Society of Accountants  <sub>4</sub>
  - Nursing Council of New Zealand  <sub>5</sub>
  - Teachers' Registration Board  <sub>6</sub>
  - Other (please specify) .....
- (go to E4)

E3. (If 'no') Which one of the following best explains the reason for this?

- Still in the process  <sub>1</sub>
- No professional body/agency  <sub>2</sub>
- Not necessary/not required to work  <sub>3</sub>
- Changing or have changed occupation  <sub>4</sub>
- Other (please specify) .....  <sub>5</sub>

E4. Are you currently a member of a professional or trade organisation/institute:

(i) In New Zealand?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub> Specify: .....
- No  <sub>2</sub>

(ii) Overseas?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub> Specify: .....
- No  <sub>2</sub>

Now I would like to ask you some questions about further study / training in New Zealand.

E5. Apart from English language courses, have you studied in New Zealand since our last interview?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub>
- No  <sub>2</sub> (go to E19)

E6. (If 'yes') Have you completed any course or qualification(s) (apart from ESOL qualifications) in New Zealand since the last interview?

- Yes  <sub>1</sub> (go to E8)
- No  <sub>2</sub>

<sub>13</sub>

E7.(a). (If 'no') Why have you not completed any course or qualification yet?

Currently (still) studying <sub>1</sub> (go to E14)  
Did not complete course <sub>2</sub>

<sub>15</sub>

\*E7.(b). (If 'did not complete') Could you please explain why you did not complete?

Probes:

course structure / content   
value/appropriateness of course   
teaching style/teacher(s)   
cost   
other priorities   
transport/logistics of attending   
other factors

E8. (If 'yes') Where did you study for this course or qualification?

Secondary School  <sub>1</sub>  
Polytechnic  <sub>2</sub>  
University  <sub>3</sub>  
Other institution (please specify) .....

E9. What qualification(s) were you studying towards?  
(Tick all that apply.)

School level qualification  <sub>1</sub>  
Diploma / Certificate at least 1 year but less than 2 years full-time  <sub>2</sub>  
Diploma / Certificate 2-3 years full-time  <sub>3</sub>  
Trade Certificate or Advanced Trade Certificate  <sub>4</sub>  
Bachelors degree (non-science)  <sub>5</sub>  
Bachelors degree (science / technical / engineering)  <sub>6</sub>  
Post-graduate degree or diploma  <sub>7</sub>  
Other (please specify) .....

E10. What was your main area of study or training for this qualification / these qualifications?

Please specify subject(s) / field(s) .....  
.....

E11. Was this study in a field related to qualification(s) you gained before coming to New Zealand?

Yes  <sub>1</sub>  
No  <sub>2</sub>

\*E 12. What were your reasons for studying for this qualification?

.....  
.....  
.....

E13. Are you currently doing any further (other) study for a qualification (other than ESOL)?

Yes  <sub>1</sub>  
No  <sub>2</sub> (go to E19)

<sub>21</sub>

E14. Where are you **currently** studying?

- Secondary School  1
- Polytechnic  2
- University  3
- Other institution (*please specify*) .....

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E15. What qualification(s) are you studying for?  
(*Tick all that apply.*)

- School level qualification  1
- Diploma / Certificate at least 1 year but less than 2 years full-time  2
- Diploma / Certificate 2-3 years full-time  3
- Trade Certificate or Advanced Trade Certificate  4
- Bachelors degree (non-science)  5
- Bachelors degree (science / technical / engineering)  6
- Post-graduate degree or diploma  7
- Other (*please specify*) .....

E16. What is your main area of study or training for this qualification / these qualifications?

(*please specify subject[s] / field[s]*) .....  
.....

E17. Is this study in a field related to qualification(s) you gained before coming to New Zealand?

- Yes  1
- No  2

\*E18. Why are you studying for this qualification?

.....  
.....  
.....

E19. Do you **intend** to do any more / further study or training in New Zealand?

- Yes  1 (*Specify*) .....
- No  2
- Maybe / Don't know  3 (*Specify*) .....

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*Now I would like to ask you some questions about employment.*

E20.(a) Since our last interview have you been employed in any full-time or part-time job(s)?

- Yes, and currently employed  1
- Yes, but **not** currently employed  2
- No  3 (go to E20[c])

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E20.(b) **Other than current job(s)**, what paid job(s) have you held in New Zealand since the last interview (i.e. no longer hold)?

Not applicable, still in same job(s)

<i>Job</i>	<i>Full-time / part-time</i>	<i>Required use of qual's</i>
(i) .....	.....	Lot---little---not at all
(ii).....	.....	Lot---little---not at all
(iii).....	.....	Lot---little---not at all
(iv).....	.....	Lot---little---not at all

E20.(c) What are you **currently** doing in New Zealand? Are you:

- employed full-time?  1
- employed part-time, not looking for work?  2
- employed part-time, looking for work?  3
- unemployed, not looking for work?  4
- unemployed, looking for full-time work?  5
- unemployed, looking for part-time work?  6
- not working in NZ, working overseas?  7

E20.(d) Which **one** of these categories best describes your **current** situation?

- wage or salary earner  1 }
- working in family business (unpaid)  2 }
- conducting own business (working alone)  3 } (go to E21[b])
- conducting own business (and employing others)  4 }
- conducting own business (with the unpaid help of family members)  5 }
- working on commission  13 } (go to E21[b])
- other employed (*please specify*) .....  6 }
- student  7 } (go to E21[a])
- home duties  8 } (go to E21[a])
- retired  9 } (go to E21[a])
- unemployed, looking for work  10 }
- unemployed, not looking for work  11 } (go to E34)
- other (*please specify*) .....  12 }

E21.(a) (If 'student', 'home duties' or 'retired') Are you currently in **any** paid employment at all?

- Yes  1
- No  2 (go to E34)

E21.(b) (If employed full-time or part-time) What is your **main** job?

(*please specify*) .....

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(If only working outside of NZ, go to E34.)

E21.(c) What are the two main tasks you perform in this job?

(please specify) (i) .....  
(ii) .....

E21.(d) Just to check, is this the first paid main job you have held since coming to New Zealand?

Yes 1  
No 2 (Check E20[a] and [b] have been completed correctly.)

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E21.(e) Is this job the same as the last job you had before coming to New Zealand?

Yes 1  
No 2  
Not applicable (not employed before coming to NZ) 3 (go to E22)

E21.(f) What was your main job before coming to New Zealand?

(please specify) .....

E22. If changed since the last interview, how did you find out about / get your current (main) job?  
(Tick all that apply.)

- Not applicable (job not changed)** 12
- 1. friends (same ethnic group) 1
- 2. Kiwi friends 2
- 3. family 3
- 4. English newspaper 4
- 5. ethnic newspaper 5
- 6. NZ Employment Service 6
- 7. private employment agency 7
- 8. immigration consultant 8
- 9. arranged before arrival 9
- 10. arranged after arrival 10
- 11. other (please specify)..... 11

• (If more than one) Of these, which were the two most important (in order of priority)?

(i) .....  
(ii) .....

E23.(a) Do you currently have more than one job?

Yes 1  
No 2 (go to E24[a])

E23.(b) (If 'yes') What is / are your other job(s)?

(please specify) .....  
.....

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E24.(a) Are you currently looking for another job **in addition** to your main job?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to E25)

<sub>54</sub>

E24.(b) (If 'yes') Please explain why you are looking for another job.  
(Tick all that apply.)

- more money <sub>1</sub>
- looking for a better job <sub>2</sub>
- more NZ work experience <sub>3</sub>
- to use qualifications <sub>4</sub>
- other (please specify) .....
- .....

• (If more than one) What are the two main reasons (in order of priority)?

- (i) .....
- (ii) .....

E25. How many hours each week do you usually work in **all** your jobs?

Hours: .....

E26. How long have you been working in your **main** job in New Zealand?

Months: .....

E27.(a) If you obtained your **main** job since the last interview, are you using your qualification(s) in this job?

- Yes <sub>1</sub> (go to E28)
- No <sub>2</sub>
- Not applicable (same job as at time of last interview) <sub>3</sub> (go to E28)

E27.(b) (If 'no') What are the main reasons for this?  
(Tick all that apply.)

- cannot apply qualification(s) to job because of insufficient English <sub>1</sub>
- cannot apply qualification(s) because of lack of New Zealand experience <sub>2</sub>
- qualification(s) not relevant to the job <sub>3</sub>
- qualification(s) not recognised <sub>4</sub>
- other (please specify) .....
- .....

• (If more than one) What are the two main reasons (in order of priority)?

- (i) .....
- (ii) .....

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E28. How do you (now) feel about your main job?

- love it - best job I ever had  1
- like it - it's a really good job  2
- job is ok  3
- don't really care, it's just a job  4
- dislike it - it's not a good job  5
- dislike it - it's an awful job  6
- hate it - worst job I ever had  7

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\*E29. Please explain the reason(s) for your response.

- Probes:*
- attitudes of fellow workers*
  - behaviour of fellow workers*
  - attitudes of employer*
  - behaviour of employer*
  - nature of work environment*
  - work ethic*
  - status*
  - income*
  - use of qualifications*
  - other (please specify) .....*
  - .....*

E30. What language(s) do you need in your main job?

- English only  1
- English and other language(s) (please specify) .....  2
- language(s) other than English only (please specify) .....  3

E31. Do you intend to change your main job within the next 12 months?

- Yes  1
- Yes (currently working overseas)  4
- No  2 (go to E34)
- Not sure / Don't know  3 (go to E34)

E32. Which of the following reasons best describe why you intend to change your main job? (Tick all that apply.)

- 1. to work in a job in which I can use my qualification(s)
- 2. to work in the same occupation as in my former home country
- 3. not happy with present job
- 4. want more money
- 5. want better or different hours
- 6. want better promotion / career opportunities
- 7. want more job satisfaction
- 8. want better job security
- 9. want to work closer to home
- 10. want different / more suitable / more varied work
- 11. want better working conditions
- 12. just want a change
- 13. the job is finishing
- 14. other (please specify) .....

• (If more than one) What are the two main reasons (in order of priority)?

- (i) .....
- (ii) .....

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E33. What kind of job do you intend / wish to change to?

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.....

Now I would like to ask you some questions about not working (unemployment).

E34. Just to check, has there been a time since our last interview when you have been unemployed and looking for work?

Yes  1  
No  2 (go to E39)

E35.(a) (If 'yes') During this period of unemployment, have you sought or received any assistance with looking for a job?

Yes  1  
No  2 (go to E36)

\*E35.(b) Who and / or where from?

.....

\*E35.(c) What help did you receive / are you receiving?

.....  
.....

\*E36. What do you think were or are the main problems you had or are having in trying to find a job?

- Probes:
- English language difficulties
  - recognition of qualification(s)
  - lack of New Zealand qualifications
  - insufficient training
  - insufficient New Zealand experience
  - weren't enough jobs available
  - attitudes of employers (please specify) .....
  - behaviour of employers (please specify) .....
  - other (please specify) .....

\*E37. Why do you believe that these were or are problems?

.....  
.....

E38. Overall, since the last interview, approximately how many weeks were you or have you been unemployed and looking for work?

Number of weeks: .....

Now I would like to ask you some questions about doing voluntary work in New Zealand.

E39. Have you been engaged in voluntary unpaid work in New Zealand since our last interview?

Yes  1  
No  2 (go to E41)

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E40. (If 'yes') What voluntary unpaid work have you done?  
 ..... (go to E42)

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E41. (If 'no') Have you considered voluntary unpaid work in New Zealand?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
 No <sub>2</sub> (go to E43)

E42. What are your (2 main) reasons for considering or being involved with voluntary work?  
 .....  
 .....


Now I would like to ask you whether your employment / unemployment experiences since our last interview have affected your well-being.

E43. Have you recently been able to concentrate on whatever you're doing?

Better than usual      Same as usual      Less than usual      Much less than usual

E44. Have you recently lost much sleep through worry?

Not at all      No more than usual      Rather more than usual      Much more than usual

E45. Have you recently felt that you are playing a useful part in things?

More so than usual      Same as usual      Less so than usual      Much less than usual

E46. Have you recently felt capable of making decisions about things?

More so than usual      Same as usual      Less so than usual      Much less than usual

E47. Have you recently felt constantly under strain?

Not at all      No more than usual      Rather more than usual      Much more than usual

E48. Have you recently felt that you couldn't overcome your difficulties?

Not at all      No more than usual      Rather more than usual      Much more than usual

E49. Have you recently been able to enjoy your normal day-to-day activities?

More so than usual      Same as usual      Less so than usual      Much less than usual

E50. Have you recently been able to face up to your problems?

More so than usual      Same as usual      Less so than usual      Much less than usual

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E51. Have you recently been feeling unhappy or depressed?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual	<input type="checkbox"/> 90
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E52. Have you recently been losing confidence in yourself?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
------------	--------------------	------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

E53. Have you recently been thinking of yourself as a worthless person?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
------------	--------------------	------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

E54. Have you recently been feeling reasonably happy, all things considered?

More so than usual	About same as usual	Less so than usual	Much less than usual	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------	---------------------	--------------------	----------------------	--------------------------

*(If unaccompanied by spouse / partner, go to E76.)*

*Now I would like to ask you or your spouse / partner about his / her qualifications, employment and / or unemployment experiences in New Zealand.*

*(If spouse / partner is present, could he / she please answer himself / herself. Amended wording [in square brackets] will apply.)*

E55. Is spouse / partner answering for himself / herself?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	

E56.(a) Apart from ESOL (English as a second language) courses, has he / she [**have you**] studied in New Zealand since our last interview?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2 (go to E69)	

E56.(b) (If 'yes') Has he / she [**Have you**] completed any course(s) of study and / or qualification(s) (apart from ESOL) in New Zealand since the last interview?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 (go to E58)	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	

E57.(a) (If 'no') Why has he / she [**have you**] not completed the course(s) / qualification(s) yet?

Currently (still) studying	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 (go to E64)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Did not complete course(s) / qualification(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	

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\*E57.(b) (If 'did not complete course[s] / qualification[s]') Could you please explain why he / she [you] did not complete?

- Probes: course structure / content
- value/appropriateness of course
- teaching style/teacher(s)
- cost
- other priorities
- transport/logistics of attending
- other factors (please specify)

E58. Where did he / she [you] study for the course(s) / qualification(s)? (Tick all that apply.)

- Secondary School \_1 \_100
- Polytechnic \_2
- University \_3
- Other institution (please specify).....

E59. What qualification(s) was he / she [were you] studying towards? (Tick all that apply.)

- School level qualification \_1
- Diploma / Certificate at least 1 year but less than 2 years full-time \_2
- Diploma / Certificate 2-3 years full-time \_3
- Trade Certificate or Advanced Trade Certificate \_4
- Bachelors degree (non-science) \_5
- Bachelors degree (science / technical / engineering) \_6
- Post-graduate degree or diploma \_7
- Other (please specify) .....

E60. What was his / her [your] main area of study or training for this qualification / these qualifications?

(Please specify subject[s] / field[s]) .....

E61. Was this study in a field related to his / her [your] previous qualification?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2

\*E62. Why did he / she [you] study in this course / for this qualification?

.....  
.....

E63. Is he / she [Are you] currently doing (further) study?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to E69)

E64. Where is he / she [are you] studying?

- Secondary School \_1 \_108
- Polytechnic \_2
- University \_3
- Other institution (please specify).....

E65. What qualification(s) is he / she [are you] studying for?

- School level qualification  1
- Diploma / Certificate at least 1 year but less than 2 years full-time  2
- Diploma / Certificate 2-3 years full-time  3
- Trade Certificate or Advanced Trade Certificate  4
- Bachelors degree (non-science)  5
- Bachelors degree (science / technical / engineering)  6
- Post-graduate degree or diploma  7
- Other (please specify) .....

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E66. What is his / her [your] main area of study or training for this / these qualification(s)?

(Please specify subject[s] / field[s]) .....  
 .....

E67. Is this study in a field related to his / her [your] previous qualification(s)?

- Yes  1
- No  2

\*E68. Why is he / she [are you] studying for this / these qualification(s)?

.....

E69. Does he / she [Do you] intend to do any (further) study or training in New Zealand?

- Yes  1 (specify) .....
- No  2
- Maybe / Don't know  3 (specify) .....

*Now I would like to ask some questions about his / her [your] employment.*

E70.(a) Since our last interview has he / she [have you] been employed in any full-time or part-time paid job(s) in New Zealand?

- Yes, and currently employed  1
- Yes, but not currently employed  2
- No  3 (go to E70[c])
- No, working overseas  4

E70.(b) Other than any current job(s), what paid job(s) has he / she [have you] held since our last interview?

Not applicable, still in same job(s)

Job	Full-time / part-time	Required use of qual's
(i) .....	.....	Lot---little---not at all
(ii).....	.....	Lot---little---not at all
(iii).....	.....	Lot---little---not at all
(iv).....	.....	Lot---little---not at all

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E70.(c) What is he / she [are you] currently doing in New Zealand? Is he / she [Are you]:

- employed full-time?  1
- employed part-time, not looking for work?  2
- employed part-time, looking for work?  3
- unemployed, not looking for work?  4
- unemployed, looking for full-time work?  5
- unemployed, looking for part-time work?  6
- not working in NZ, working overseas  7 (go to E71[b])

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E70.(d) Which one of these categories best describes his / her [your] current situation?

- wage or salary earner  1 }
- working in family business  2 }
- conducting own business (working alone)  3 }
- conducting own business (and employing others)  4 } (go to E71[b])
- conducting own business (with the unpaid help of family members)  5 }
- working on commission  3 }
- other employed (please specify) .....  6 }
- student  7 (go to E71[a])
- home duties  8 (go to E71[a])
- retired  9 (go to E71[a])
- unemployed, looking for work  10 (go to E74)
- unemployed, not looking for work  11 (go to E73)
- other (please specify).....  2 (go to E73)

E71.(a) (If 'student', 'home duties' or 'retired') Is he / she [Are you] currently in any paid employment at all?

- Yes  1
- No  2 (go to E73)

E71.(b) (If employed full-time or part-time) What is his / her [your] main job?  
(please specify).....

(If only working overseas, go to E73.)

E71.(c) What are the two main tasks he / she [you] perform[s] in this job?

- (please specify) (i) .....
- (ii) .....

E71.(d) Is this job the same as the last job he / she [you] had before coming to New Zealand?

- Yes  1
- No  2
- Not applicable (not employed before coming to NZ)  3

E72. Is he / she [Are you] using his / her [your] qualification(s) in his / her [your] main job?

- Yes  1
- No  2

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E73. Since our last interview has there been a time when he / she has [you have] been **unemployed and looking for work** in New Zealand?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

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E74. Has he / she [**Have you**] been engaged in **voluntary unpaid** work in New Zealand since our last interview?

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub> (go to E76)

E75. (If 'yes') What **voluntary unpaid** work has he / she [**have you**] done in New Zealand?

.....

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*To complete this section could I please ask you a general question concerning employment in New Zealand?*

\*E76. Is there anything else you (and / or your spouse / partner, if applicable) would like to tell me about your employment or unemployment experiences?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

*Probes: post arrival employment assistance  
(placements, bridging courses, mentoring etc)*



**SECTION F: SOCIAL PARTICIPATION**

5

*Now I would like to ask you some questions about social activities since our last interview.*

F1. Could you please name the club(s) / social organisation(s) in New Zealand you **currently** belong to / participate in (beginning with the one you have belonged to the longest if more than one)?

<i>Club / organisation</i>	<i>joined since last interview</i>
(i) .....	yes / no
(ii) .....	yes / no
(iii) .....	yes / no
(iv) .....	yes / no
(v) .....	yes / no

Not applicable (not a member of / participating in **any** club / social organisation)

F2. Just to be clear, could you please tell me how many clubs and social organisations in New Zealand you **currently** belong to / participate in, and how many of these you have joined since our last interview?

Total number of clubs in NZ **currently** belonged to / participated in .....

Number joined / participated in **before** last interview .....

Number joined / participated in **since** last interview .....

*(If zero in all above categories, go to F7[a])*

F3. How active are you in the clubs / social organisations you **currently** belong to / participate in?

	very active (office holder)	active (regular participant)	low level activity (sometimes attend)
<i>Club / organisation i</i>	1 .....	2 .....	3
<i>Club / organisation ii</i>	1 .....	2 .....	3
<i>Club / organisation iii</i>	1 .....	2 .....	3
<i>Club / organisation iv</i>	1 .....	2 .....	3
<i>Club / organisation v</i>	1 .....	2 .....	3

\*F4. What are your reasons for belonging to or participating in this / these club(s) / social organisation(s)?

.....  
.....

F5. Did you experience any difficulties joining the new club(s) / social organisation(s) (ie **those** joined since our last interview)?

Yes  1

No  2 (go to F7[a])

Not applicable (none joined since last interview)  3 (go to F7[a])

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\*F6. (If 'yes') What were the difficulties that you experienced? Please explain.

- Probes:
- contacts / information
  - language
  - entry criteria
  - too busy
  - attitudes of members
  - behaviour of members
  - different cultural values / beliefs
  - transport / location
  - meeting times
  - other (specify) .....

F7.(a) Are there any (other) social groups that you do not belong to but sometimes go to / participate in?

- Yes \_1  
 No \_2 (go to F8[a])

\_20

\*F7.(b) (If 'yes') Please specify .....

- Probes:
- what group(s) / organisation(s)
  - where
  - how often
  - why attend / participate
  - how introduced
  - intend to continue

F8.(a) Are there any clubs / social organisations that you do not currently belong to but plan to join in the future?

- Yes \_1  
 No \_2  
 Not sure / Don't know \_3

\_21

\*F8.(b) Please elaborate:

.....  
 .....  
 .....

(go to F17 if with child[ren] only,  
to F23[a] if unaccompanied PA)



*Now I would like to ask you or your spouse / partner about his / her involvement in clubs and other social organisations. (If he / she is present, could he / she please answer the questions. Amended wording [in square brackets] will apply.)*

F9. Is spouse / partner answering for himself / herself?

- Yes  1
- No  2
- No, not in New Zealand  3

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F10. Could you please name the club(s) / social organisation(s) in New Zealand he / she [you] currently belong[s] to / participate[s] in (beginning with the one he / she has [you have] belonged to the longest if more than one)?

<i>Club / organisation</i>	<i>joined since last interview</i>
(i) .....	yes / no
(ii) .....	yes / no
(iii) .....	yes / no
(iv) .....	yes / no
(v) .....	yes / no

Not applicable (not a member of / participating in any club / social organisation)

F11. Just to be clear, could you please tell me how many clubs and social organisations in New Zealand he / she [you] currently belong[s] to / participate[s] in, and how many of these he / she has [you have] joined since our last interview?

Total number of clubs in NZ currently belonged to / participated in .....

Number joined / participated in before last interview .....

Number joined / participated in since last interview .....

*(If zero in all above categories, go to F15[a])*

F12. How active is he / she [are you] in the clubs / social organisations he / she [you] currently belong[s] to / participate[s] in?

	very active (office holder)	active (regular participant)	low level activity (sometimes attend)
<i>Club / organisation i</i>	1 .....	2 .....	3 .....
<i>Club / organisation ii</i>	1 .....	2 .....	3 .....
<i>Club / organisation iii</i>	1 .....	2 .....	3 .....
<i>Club / organisation iv</i>	1 .....	2 .....	3 .....
<i>Club / organisation v</i>	1 .....	2 .....	3 .....

F13. Did he / she [you] experience any difficulties joining the new club(s) / social organisation(s) (ie those joined since our last interview)?

- Yes  1
- No  2 (go to F15[a])
- Not applicable (none joined since last interview)  3 (go to F15[a])

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\*F14. (If 'yes') What were the difficulties that he / she [you] experienced? Please explain.

- Probes:
- contacts / information
  - language
  - entry criteria
  - too busy
  - attitudes of members
  - behaviour of members
  - different cultural values / beliefs
  - transport / location
  - meeting times
  - other (specify) .....

F15.(a) Are there any (other) social groups that he / she does not [you do not] belong to but sometimes goes to [go to] / participates [participate] in?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to F16[a])

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\*F15.(b) (If 'yes') Please specify .....

- Probes:
- what group(s) / organisation(s)
  - where
  - how often
  - why attend / participate
  - how introduced
  - intend to continue

F16.(a) Are there any clubs / social organisations that he / she does not [you do not] currently belong to but plans [plan] to join in the future?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2
- Not sure / Don't know \_3

\*F16.(b) Please elaborate:

.....

.....

.....

(go to F23[a] if no child[ren])

F17. (If applicable) Since our last interview has your child / have your children joined any club(s) / social organisation(s) in New Zealand:

- (i) at school? Yes \_1
- No \_2
- Not sure / Don't know \_3
- Not applicable \_4
- (too young / too old)

- (ii) outside of school? Yes \_1
- No \_2
- Not sure / Don't know \_3
- Not applicable \_4
- (too young / too old)

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(If 'yes' for both or either [i] or [ii], go to F18.

Otherwise, if 'no' for both or either, go to F21. Otherwise, go to F23[a].)

F18. (If 'yes') Please describe the type(s) of club(s) / social organisation(s) he / she has (they have) joined since the last interview.  
 (Tick all that apply.)

- Sports / recreation  1
- Hobbies  2
- Own cultural  3
- Religious  4
- Other (specify) .....

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F19. Has your child / have your children experienced any difficulties joining?

- Yes  1
- No  2 } (go to F22)
- Not sure / Don't know  3 }

\*F20. What sort of difficulties did he / she / they have?

- Probes:
- contacts / information
  - language
  - entry criteria
  - too busy
  - attitudes of members
  - behaviour of members
  - different cultural values / beliefs
  - transport / location
  - meeting times
  - other (specify) .....
  - .....
- (all go to F22)

\*F21. (If child[ren] has / have not joined clubs / social organisations in and / or outside of school since the last interview)

Please explain why he / she has (they have) not joined.

.....  
 .....

F22. Since our last interview, have you had the opportunity to attend functions that your child(ren) has / have been involved in?

- Yes (school / preschool)  1
- Yes (other)  3
- Yes (school / preschool + other)  4
- No  2

Now I would like to ask you (the PA) a few questions about the opportunities you may have had to make friends, and the difficulties you may have experienced.

F23.(a) Do you have a network of friends outside of work?

- Yes  1
- No  2 (go to F24)

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F23.(b) How many of these friends are of the same ethnic group as yourself?

- 1  
All
- 2  
Most
- 3  
About half
- 4  
Few
- 5  
None

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\*F24. Could you please tell me which people you identify as members of your own ethnic group?

Probes (only if required):

- criteria for identification
- culture / language / religion
- birthplace / geographical
- 'race'
- other

F25.(a) Since our last interview, do you feel that you have had the opportunity (chance) to make new friends outside of work?

- Yes, and **have** made new friend(s)  1
- Yes, but **have not yet** made new friend(s)  2 }
- No, other responsibilities / no time  3 } (go to F26)
- No, other reason(s)  4 }
- (please specify) .....

F25.(b) (If 'yes, and have made new friends') Have you had the opportunity:

- (i) to meet socially with these **new** friends? Yes  1  
No  2
- (ii) to visit the homes of these **new** friends? Yes  1  
No  2
- (iii) to receive visits from these **new** friends? Yes  1  
No  2

F25.(c) How many of these **new** friends are of the same ethnic group as yourself?

- 1  
All
- 2  
Most
- 3  
About half
- 4  
Few
- 5  
None

F26. Since our last interview, have you experienced any difficulties in developing friendships outside of work?

- Yes  1
- No  2 (go to F28[a])

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\*F27. (If 'yes') Could you explain these difficulties?

Probes:

- who with
- language
- other cultural differences
- attitudes of others
- behaviour of others
- new to neighbourhood
- other (specify) .....

*Now I would like to ask you (PA) a few questions about your relationships with work associates.*

F28.(a) Have you had the opportunity to further develop personal relationships with **work associates** you had at the time of our last interview?

- Yes  1
- No  2
- No, have changed jobs  3
- Not applicable, not working at time of last interview  4
- Not applicable, not working in NZ  5

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F28.(b) Have you had the opportunity to develop personal relationships with **new work associates** (ie those you have met **since our last interview**)?

- Yes  1
- No  2
- No, no new work associates  3
- No, just started in job  4
- Not applicable, not working  5 } (go to F34 if with spouse / partner to F45 if
- Not applicable, not working in NZ  6 } child[ren] only, or F49 if unaccompanied PA)

F29. With reference to all your **work associates** (old and new), how would you rate your relationship with those you feel closest to on the following scale?

- |                          |                          |        |             |                  |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------|-------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| 1                        | 2                        | 3      | 4           | 5                | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Formal work contact only | less formal work contact | friend | good friend | very good friend |                          |

F30. Have you had the opportunity:

(i) to meet socially with your associates from work?

- Yes  1
- No  2

(ii) to visit the homes of your associates from work?

- Yes  1
- No  2

(iii) to receive visits to your home from your associates from work?

- Yes  1
- No  2

F31. How many of all of your work associates (old and new) are of the same ethnic group as yourself?

- |     |      |            |     |      |                          |
|-----|------|------------|-----|------|--------------------------|
| 1   | 2    | 3          | 4   | 5    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| All | Most | About half | Few | None |                          |

F32. Since our last interview, have you experienced any difficulties in developing relationships with **work associates**?

- Yes  1
- No  2

(go to F34 if with spouse / partner, to F45 if with child[ren] only, to F49 if unaccompanied PA)

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\*F33. (If 'yes') Could you please explain what these difficulties were?

Probes:

- who with
- short time in employment
- language
- other cultural differences
- attitudes of others
- behaviour of others
- other (specify) .....

(If unaccompanied PA, go to F49. If with child[ren] only, go to F45.)

I would also like to ask you a few questions about the opportunities your spouse / partner may have had to make friends, and the difficulties he / she may have experienced. (If he / she is present, could he / she please answer the questions. Amended wording [in square brackets] will apply.)

F34. Is spouse / partner answering for himself / herself?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2
- No, not in New Zealand \_3

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F35.(a) Does he/she [Do you] have a network of friends outside of work?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2

F35.(b) Since our last interview, does your spouse / partner [do you] feel that he / she has [you have] had the opportunity (chance) to make new friends outside of work?

- Yes, and has made new friend(s) \_1
- Yes, but has not yet made new friend(s) \_2 } (go to F36[b])
- No, other responsibilities, no time \_3 }
- No, other reason(s) \_4 }
- (please specify) .....

F36.(a) How many of these new friends outside of work are of the same ethnic group as your spouse / partner [yourself]?

- 1 All
- 2 Most
- 3 About half
- 4 Few
- 5 None

\*F36.(b) Who does he / she [do you] identify as members of his / her [your] own ethnic group?

.....

F37. Since our last interview, has he / she [have you] experienced any difficulties in developing friendships outside of work?

- Yes \_1
- No \_2 (go to F39[a])

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\*F38. (If 'yes') Could you please explain what sort of difficulties he / she has [you have] experienced?

Probes:

- other responsibilities / no time
- language
- other cultural differences
- attitudes of others
- behaviour of others
- new to neighbourhood
- other (specify) .....

Now I would like to ask a few questions about your spouse / partner's [your] relationships with work associates.

F39.(a) Has he / she [Have you] had the opportunity to further develop personal relationships with work associates he / she [you] had at the time of our last interview?

- Yes  1
- No  2
- No, have changed jobs  3
- Not applicable, not working at time of last interview  4
- Not applicable, not working in NZ at time of last interview  5

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F39.(b) Has he / she [Have you] had the opportunity to develop relationships with new work associates (ie those he / she has [you have] met since our last interview)?

- Yes  1
- No  2
- No, no new work associates  3
- No, just started in job  4
- Not applicable, not working  5 } (go to F45 if child[ren], to F49 not)
- Not applicable, not working in NZ  6 }

F40. With reference to all his / her [your] work associates (old and new), how would he / she [you] rate his / her [your] relationship with the work associates he / she [you] feel[s] closest to on the following scale?

- |                             |                             |        |                |                     |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------|----------------|---------------------|
| 1                           | 2                           | 3      | 4              | 5                   |
| Formal work<br>contact only | less formal<br>work contact | friend | good<br>friend | very good<br>friend |

F41. Has he / she [Have you] had the opportunity:

(i) to meet socially with his / her [your] associates from work?

- Yes  1
- No  2

(ii) to visit the homes of his / her [your] associates from work?

- Yes  1
- No  2

(iii) to receive visits to your home from his / her [your] associates from work?

- Yes  1
- No  2

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F42. How many of his / her [your] work associates are of the same ethnic group as himself / herself [yourself]?

- |     |      |            |     |      |
|-----|------|------------|-----|------|
| 1   | 2    | 3          | 4   | 5    |
| All | Most | About half | Few | None |

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F43. Since our last interview, has he / she [have you] experienced any difficulties in developing relationships with work associates?

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1  |
| No  | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (go to F45 if child[ren], to F49 if not) |

\*F44. (If 'yes') Could you please explain what sort of difficulties he / she has [you have] experienced?

Probes:

- |                            |                          |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| who with                   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| short time in employment   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| language                   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| other cultural differences | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| attitudes of others        | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| behaviour of others        | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| other (specify) .....      |                          |

(If no child[ren], go to F49.)

Now I would like to ask you (PA, and spouse / partner, if applicable) a few questions about your child(ren)'s friends in New Zealand.

F45. Has / have your child(ren) developed a network of friends in New Zealand?

- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1             |
| No  | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (go to F47) |

F46. Overall, how many of these friends are of the same ethnic group as himself / herself / themselves?

(i) Child 1 (oldest/older/only child):

- |     |      |            |     |      |
|-----|------|------------|-----|------|
| 1   | 2    | 3          | 4   | 5    |
| All | Most | About half | Few | None |

(ii) Child 2 (next oldest):

- |     |      |            |     |      |
|-----|------|------------|-----|------|
| 1   | 2    | 3          | 4   | 5    |
| All | Most | About half | Few | None |

(iii) Child 3 (next oldest):

- |     |      |            |     |      |
|-----|------|------------|-----|------|
| 1   | 2    | 3          | 4   | 5    |
| All | Most | About half | Few | None |

(iv) Child 4 :

- |     |      |            |     |      |
|-----|------|------------|-----|------|
| 1   | 2    | 3          | 4   | 5    |
| All | Most | About half | Few | None |

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F47. Since our last interview, has he / she (have any of them) experienced any difficulties in developing relationships with other children?

- Yes, all <sub>1</sub>
- Yes, some of them <sub>2</sub>
- No <sub>3</sub> (go to F49)

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\*F48. (If 'yes') Could you please explain what sort of difficulties he / she has (they have) experienced?

Probes:

- who with
- short time at school
- language
- other cultural differences
- attitudes of others
- behaviour of others
- other (specify) .....

\*F49. Is there anything else that you (or other members of your family, if applicable) would like to tell me about becoming involved in social activities in New Zealand?

Probes:

- presence of children a help or hindrance
- presence of relatives a help or hindrance
- presence of home country friends a help or hindrance
- ethnic concentration a help or hindrance

F50.(a) Have you taken out or thought about taking out New Zealand citizenship?

- Yes, taken out <sub>1</sub> (go to F50[d])
- Yes, thought about <sub>2</sub>
- No <sub>3</sub> (go to Section G)

F50.(b) (If 'yes, thought about' it) Have you made a decision about taking out New Zealand citizenship?

- Yes <sub>1</sub>
- No <sub>2</sub> (go to F50[d])

F50.(c) (If 'yes') What have you decided to do?

- Take out citizenship <sub>1</sub>
- Not take out citizenship <sub>2</sub>
- Defer decision <sub>3</sub>

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\*F50.(d) Could you please give your reason(s) for this?

.....  
.....

SECTION G: GENERAL HEALTH

<sub>5</sub>

Finally, I would like to ask you (PA) some questions about your health since our last interview.

G1. Have you (or a member of your family, if applicable) been ill since the previous interview?

- Yes
- No  <sub>1</sub>
- <sub>2</sub> (goto G3)

(If 'yes'), State identify of person(s) (eg spouse / partner, child) and illness(es)

.....

.....

.....

G2. How did you treat that (those) episode(s) of illness?

Probes:

- general practitioner  <sub>1</sub>
- private emergency services (A&E)  <sub>2</sub>
- hospital outpatients  <sub>3</sub>
- hospital admission  <sub>4</sub>
- Chinese medicine  <sub>5</sub>
- acupuncture  <sub>6</sub>
- Ayurvedic medicine  <sub>7</sub>
- alternative/complementary techniques  <sub>8</sub>
- home remedies and self treatment  <sub>9</sub>
- nothing (got better by itself)  <sub>10</sub>
- other (specify)  <sub>11</sub>

G3. In general, would you say your health is:

- Excellent  <sub>1</sub>
- Very good  <sub>2</sub>
- Good  <sub>2</sub>
- Fair  <sub>4</sub>
- Poor  <sub>5</sub>

G4. Compared to one year ago, how would you rate your health in general now?

- Much better now than one year ago  <sub>1</sub>
- Somewhat better now than one year ago  <sub>2</sub>
- About the same as one year ago  <sub>3</sub>
- Somewhat worse now than one year ago  <sub>4</sub>
- Much worse now than one year ago  <sub>5</sub>

<sub>11</sub>

G5. The following questions are about activities you might do during a typical day. Does your **health now limit you** in these activities? If so, how much?

Circle the appropriate number for each statement:

	Yes, limited a lot	Yes, limited a little	No, not limited at all	
a <b>Vigorous activities</b> , such as running, lifting heavy objects, participating in strenuous sports .....	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>12</sub>
b <b>Moderate activities</b> , such as moving a table, pushing a vacuum cleaner, bowling, or playing golf.....	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>
c <b>Lifting or carrying groceries</b> ( <i>supermarket shopping</i> ) .....	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>
d Climbing <b>several</b> flights of stairs ....	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>
e Climbing <b>one</b> flight of stairs .....	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>
f Bending, kneeling or stooping .....	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>
g Walking <b>more than one kilometre</b> ...	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>
h Walking <b>half a kilometre</b> .....	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>
i Walking <b>100 metres</b> .....	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>
j Bathing or dressing yourself .....	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>

G6. During the **past 4 weeks**, have you had any of the following problems with your work or other regular daily activities as a **result of your physical health**?

- a Cut down on (*reduced*) the **amount of time** you spent on work or other activities
- Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>
- b **Accomplished** (*achieved*) less than you would like
- Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>
- c Were limited in the **kind** of work or other activities (*for example could not lift heavy objects*)
- Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>
- d Had **difficulty** performing the work or other activities (for example, it took extra effort)
- Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

<sub>25</sub>

G7. During the **past 4 weeks**, have you had any of the following problems with your work or other regular daily activities **as a result of any emotional problems** (such as feeling depressed or anxious, *sad or worried*)?

a Cut down on the **amount of time** you spent on work or other activities

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

<sub>26</sub>

b **Accomplished** (*achieved*) less than you would like

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

c Don't do work or other activities as **carefully** as usual

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

G8. During the **past 4 weeks**, to what extent has your physical health *and* / or emotional problems interfered with your **normal social activities** with family, friends, neighbours, or *other* groups?

Not at all <sub>1</sub>  
Slightly <sub>2</sub>  
Moderately <sub>3</sub>  
Quite a bit <sub>4</sub>  
Extremely <sub>5</sub>

G9. How much **bodily pain** have you had during the **past 4 weeks**?

No bodily pain <sub>1</sub>  
Very mild <sub>2</sub>  
Mild <sub>3</sub>  
Moderate <sub>4</sub>  
Severe <sub>5</sub>  
Very severe <sub>6</sub>

G10. During the **past 4 weeks**, how much did **pain** interfere with your **normal work** (including both work outside the home and housework)?

Not at all <sub>1</sub>  
A little bit <sub>2</sub>  
Moderately <sub>3</sub>  
Quite a bit <sub>4</sub>  
Extremely <sub>5</sub>

<sub>31</sub>

- G11. These questions are about how you feel and how things have been with you **during the past 4 weeks**. For each question, please *circle* the number that comes closest to the way you have been feeling.

How much of the time during the <b>past 4 weeks</b> :	All of the time	Most of the time	A good bit of the time	Some of the time	A little of the time	None of the time	
a Did you feel full of life?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>32</sub>
b Have you been a very nervous person?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
c Have you felt so down in the dumps ( <i>unhappy</i> ) that nothing could cheer you up?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
d Have you felt calm and peaceful?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
e Did you have a lot of energy?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
f Have you felt down ( <i>low</i> )?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
g Did you feel worn out?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
h Have you been a happy person?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
i Did you feel tired?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>

- G12. During the **past 4 weeks**, how much of the time has your **physical health and / or emotional problems** interfered with your social activities (like visiting with friends, relatives, etc.)?

All of the time	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>1</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Most of the time	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>2</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Some of the time	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>3</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A little of the time	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>4</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/>
None of the time	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>5</sub>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- G13. How **TRUE** or **FALSE** is **each** of the following statements for you ?  
Circle the appropriate number for each statement:

	Definitely true	Mostly true	Don't know	Mostly false	Definitely false	
a I seem to get sick easier (more easily) than other people	1	2	3	4	5	<input type="checkbox"/>
b I am as healthy as anybody I know	1	2	3	4	5	<input type="checkbox"/>
c I expect my health to get worse	1	2	3	4	5	<input type="checkbox"/>
d My health is excellent (If unaccompanied PA, go to G25.)	1	2	3	4	5	<input type="checkbox"/> <sub>45</sub>

If accompanied by spouse / partner, he / she should personally answer G14 - G24.  
If spouse / partner is not present, go to G25.

G14. In general, would you say your health is:

- Excellent  1
- Very good  2
- Good  3
- Fair  4
- Poor  5

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G15. Compared to one year ago, how would you rate your health in general now ?

- Much better now than one year ago  1
- Somewhat better now than one year ago  2
- About the same as one year ago  3
- Somewhat worse now than one year ago  4
- Much worse now than one year ago  5

G16. The following questions are about activities you might do during a typical day. Does **your health now limit you** in these activities? If so, how much?

Circle the appropriate number for each statement:

	Yes, limited a lot	Yes, limited a little	No, not limited at all	
a <b>Vigorous activities</b> , such as running, lifting heavy objects, participating in strenuous sports .....	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>
b <b>Moderate activities</b> , such as moving a table, pushing a vacuum cleaner, bowling, or playing golf.....	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>
c <b>Lifting or carrying groceries</b> ( <i>supermarket shopping</i> ) .....	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>
d Climbing <b>several</b> flights of stairs ....	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>
e Climbing <b>one</b> flight of stairs .....	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>
f Bending, kneeling or stooping .....	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>
g Walking <b>more than one kilometre</b> ...	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>
h Walking <b>half a kilometre</b> .....	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>
i Walking <b>100 metres</b> .....	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>
j Bathing or dressing yourself .....	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 57

G17. During the **past 4 weeks**, have you had any of the following problems with your work or other regular daily activities as a **result of your physical health**?

a Cut down on (*reduced*) the **amount of time** you spent on work or other activities

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

<sub>58</sub>

b **Accomplished** (*achieved*) less than you would like

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

c Were limited in the **kind** of work or other activities (*for example could not lift heavy objects*)

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

d Had **difficulty** performing the work or other activities (for example, it took extra effort)

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

G18. During the **past 4 weeks**, have you had any of the following problems with your work or other regular daily activities as a **result of any emotional problems** (such as feeling depressed or anxious, *sad or worried*)?

a Cut down on the **amount of time** you spent on work or other activities

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

b **Accomplished** (*achieved*) less than you would like

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

c Don't do work or other activities as **carefully** as usual

Yes <sub>1</sub>  
No <sub>2</sub>

G19. During the **past 4 weeks**, to what extent has your physical health *and / or* emotional problems interfered with your **normal social activities** with family, friends, neighbours, or *other* groups?

Not at all <sub>1</sub>  
Slightly <sub>2</sub>  
Moderately <sub>3</sub>  
Quite a bit <sub>4</sub>  
Extremely <sub>5</sub>

<sub>65</sub>

G20. How much **bodily pain** have you had during the **past 4 weeks**?

- No bodily pain  1  
 Very mild  2  
 Mild  3  
 Moderate  4  
 Severe  5  
 Very severe  6

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G21. During the **past 4 weeks**, how much did **pain** interfere with your **normal work** (including both work outside the home and housework)?

- Not at all  1  
 A little bit  2  
 Moderately  3  
 Quite a bit  4  
 Extremely  5

G22. These questions are about how you feel and how things have been with you **during the past 4 weeks**. For each question, please *circle* the number that comes closest to the way you have been feeling.

How much of the time during the <b>past 4 weeks</b> :	All of the time	Most of the time	A good bit of the time	Some of the time	A little of the time	None of the time	
a Did you feel full of life?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
b Have you been a very nervous person?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
c Have you felt so down in the dumps ( <i>unhappy</i> ) that nothing could cheer you up?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
d Have you felt calm and peaceful?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
e Did you have a lot of energy?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
f Have you felt down ( <i>low</i> )?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
g Did you feel worn out?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
h Have you been a happy person?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
i Did you feel tired?	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input type="checkbox"/> 76



G23. During the **past 4 weeks**, how much of the time has your **physical health and / or emotional problems** interfered with your social activities (like visiting with friends, relatives, etc.)?

- All of the time  1
- Most of the time  2
- Some of the time  3
- A little of the time  4
- None of the time  5

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G24. How **TRUE** or **FALSE** is **each** of the following statements for you ?  
Circle the appropriate number for each statement:

	Definitely true	Mostly true	Don't know	Mostly false	Definitely false
a I seem to get sick easier (more easily) than other people	1	2	3	4	5
b I am as healthy as anybody I know	1	2	3	4	5
c I expect my health to get worse	1	2	3	4	5
d My health is excellent	1	2	3	4	5



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*I would now like to ask you some questions about health services.*

**\*G25.** Could you please tell me about your experiences in obtaining health care in New Zealand since the last interview?

N/A, not needed

*Probes:*

- interpreter*
- cost*
- information*
- location/transport*
- not available (western and non-western)*
- other (specify)*

**\*G26.** Is there anything else you (and your family, if applicable) would like to say about your health and getting health care in NZ?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

*And finally, I would like to ask you (and your spouse / partner, if applicable) some general questions on the settlement process as a whole.*

G27.(a) **During the last 12 months** have you (and / or other members of your immediate family, if applicable) experienced anything in New Zealand that you have found to be particularly annoying or frustrating?

- Yes, self  1
- Yes, self and others  2
- Yes, others only  3
- No  4 (go to G28[a])

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**\*G27.(b)** (If 'yes') Please explain .....  
.....  
.....  
.....

G28.(a) **During the last 12 months** have you (and / or other members of your immediate family, if applicable) experienced feelings of homesickness?

- Yes, self  1
- Yes, self and others  2
- Yes, others only  3
- No  4 (go to G29)

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**\*G28.(b)** (If 'yes') Please indicate (i) how you and / or others have coped with these feelings and (ii) how, if at all, these feelings have affected settlement in New Zealand.  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**\*G29.** Looking back over the issues that we have covered in the interview as a whole, is there anything more you would like to say about your experiences of settlement in New Zealand?  
.....  
.....  
.....

## SECTION H: KEEPING IN TOUCH / TRACKING

*Finally, could I please ask you some questions about keeping in touch with you?*

H1. Did you receive the information we sent out to all participants during the past year:

(i) a season's greetings card around Christmas / New Year?

Yes  1  
No  2

(ii) a summary of data from the last round of interviews?

Yes  1  
No  2

H2. Do you still have a copy of:

(i) my business / name card?

Yes  1  
No  2 (*give one, if available*)

(ii) a change of address card to send to us if you should move?

Yes  1  
No  2 (*give one, if available*)

H3.(a) Do you have an email address?

Yes, unchanged  1  
Yes, but changed since last interview  2  
No  3 (*go to H4*)

H3.(b) Could you please give me / confirm this email address? .....

H4. Just in case you move and we lose contact with you, would it be possible to tell me the name of a close friend or relative (preferably someone who does not live with you and who is unlikely to move from his / her present address) who is likely to know where you will be living at the time of the next interview (ie one year from now)?

Yes  1 (*go to H5*)  
No  2 (*go to end*)

H5. (*If 'yes'*) Could you please provide the contact person's name and address here?

Name: .....

Address: .....

.....

.....

email: ..... Ph: .....

Relationship to you: .....

**Thank you very much for taking part in our research and answering this questionnaire. Your contribution is appreciated very much.**





Free Post Authority Number 0579  
New Settlers Programme  
C/- Anne Henderson  
Department of Social Policy and Social Work  
Massey University  
Private Bag 11 222  
PALMERSTON NORTH



### The Researchers

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# INFORMATION about



## New Settlers Programme



Encounters

Responses

Policies



Appendix 6 Longitudinal survey information brochure



## The Research Programme

In the past ten years the number and variety of immigrants to New Zealand have changed. New Zealand has not been well prepared to assist new settlers in adjusting to New Zealand society. In order to assist in the development of improved support it is important to understand from the point of view of immigrants themselves what the needs are and what immigrants experience in their early years of adjusting to life in New Zealand.

We are conducting longitudinal research on the resettlement of General Skills Category migrants arriving between November 1997 and March 1998. Our research programme, 'The New Settlers Programme', will examine aspects of immigrant resettlement and adjustment in New Zealand. This includes:

- employment experiences
- accommodation
- involvement in the community
- health
- English language use
- cultural maintenance
- and coping with the challenges encountered in New Zealand society.

As migrant resettlement experiences change over time, we will seek to collect information from immigrants involved in the study once a year, beginning in March-May 1998 and concluding in March-May 2002. This research programme is funded by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology with a grant from the Public Good Science Fund, and supported by the Ethnic Affairs Council, NZIS and community ethnic associations.

## Your Participation

We are asking for your input and assistance in this programme so that the specific resettlement issues faced by skilled migrants recently arrived in New Zealand can be more clearly understood.

We invite you to assist us by being available for a tape recorded interview once a year (for up to three hours) to share with us your experiences and perceptions of immigrant issues and possible options for future policy developments. The first round of interviews will be conducted between March and May 1998.

The interview will be confidential. The information gathered will be summarised so individual responses will not be identified and names of participants will not be used in any report. All other rights of participants will also be safeguarded i.e. you have the right:

- to decline to participate
- to refuse to answer any particular questions
- to ask for the tape recorder to be turned off at specific points during the interview, e.g. to clarify points 'off the record'
- to withdraw from the research programme at any time
- to ask any questions about the programme at any time
- to be given access to a summary of the findings of the programme when it is concluded

The recorded tapes and transcripts for a particular family/participant will be available to that family/participant on request at the conclusion of the research programme or, if not wanted, will be destroyed.

In relation to matters arising in the course of the interviews, the research team is willing to refer participants who request help to the appropriate professional assistance that we as researchers may be aware of.

We look forward to hearing from you. If you are willing to participate in this research programme, please fill out and return the enclosed form (no postage is required) or telephone, fax or e-mail one of us. (See contact details on the back of this brochure.)

Please feel free to contact us for more information about the research programme, especially if there are any matters about which you are unsure or concerned.

## The New Settlers Programme Participation Reply



Yes

I am willing to participate in the programme

Name: .....

Address in New Zealand: .....

Phone Number in New Zealand: .....



新移民注意

(8月1日)

— 您是否在1997年11月1日以前在地区新西兰或被给予居留权?

— 您是否来自中华人民共和国?

— 您是否是通过技术移民制度(打分制)而获得新西兰居留权的?

— 您现在是否居住在奥克兰或威灵顿或Hutt Valley?

# New Settlers Programme

新移民计划

遭遇和经历

责任

政策

- 如果您符合上述所有的条件, 我们的调查能帮助您了解意义。
- 如果您有朋友符合上述所有的条件, 我们的调查将惠及他们的孩子。
- 如果您对技术移民以及他们的家庭成员移民新西兰的困难有任何疑问, 请与我们联系。请与我们联系是由梅西大学 Andrew Trlin 教授, Regina Pernice 博士, Nicola North 博士和 Anne Henderson 负责。
- 如果您想和我们取得联系, 我们的调查将为您解答有关上述问题的情况。



MASSEY UNIVERSITY

联系电话: 06 350 5221 (工作时间有人回答电话, 其它时间录音电话, 请留意); Auckland: 443 9700 Ext<sup>n</sup> 5221

电话: 06 350 5681.

Email: A.M. Henderson @ massey.ac.nz.

# ATTENTION NEW SETTLERS

- Have you arrived in New Zealand or been granted approval as a permanent resident since November 1, 1997? (or August 1, 1997?)
- Are you from the People's Republic of China?
- Did you immigrate under the General Skills Category (points system)?
- Do you currently live in Auckland or Wellington/Hutt Valley?

If YES to all these questions, we would like to hear from you

If you have friends who would answer YES to all these questions, we would like to hear from them.

A research project about what it is like for skilled immigrants and their families settling in New Zealand is now underway. This project is being conducted by a team of Massey University researchers. (Professor Andrew Trlin, Dr Regina Pernice, Dr Nicola North and Anne Henderson)

We can explain more about the project to you if you contact us.

Requesting information does not commit you to participating.

Please send us the tear off slip from the official brochure, or telephone Anne Henderson:

Tel: 06 350 5221 / Auckland: 443 9700  
 A/H answerphone 06 350 5221 / (09) 443 9700  
 or send your contact details to: Ext<sup>n</sup> 5221  
 Fax: 06 350 5681  
 email: AM.Henderson@massey.ac.nz



and we'll get back to you. - Anne [中文]

New Settlers Programme: Encounters, Responses, Policies

CONSENT FORM

I have read the Information Sheet and have had details of the research explained to me. My questions about the New Settlers Programme have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand I have the right to withdraw from the programme at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree to provide information to the researchers on the understanding that my name will not be used without my permission.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I agree to participate in the New Settlers Programme under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed.....  
Name.....  
Date.....

研究同意書

我已經唸過通知單也了解這研究的細情。我對新移民成案的問題都得到滿意的回答。我也知道假如我有其他的問題，我可以在任何時候發問。

我了解我有權利不參加這研究，同時我也有權利不回答一些問題。

我同意給我的意見和知識，假如研究人員不發表我的姓名沒有我私人的允許。

我同意/不同意我的訪問可以被錄音。

我同時了解我有權利要求研究人員在任何時候停止錄音。

我同意參加這新移民成案研究假如以上的條件都是正確。

簽名 \_\_\_\_\_  
姓名 \_\_\_\_\_



## Opportunity details

### Physical, Mathematical and Engineering Science Professionals

<b>Opp ID</b>	5077075	<b>Office</b>	Henderson
<b>Type of Opp</b>	Temporary Paid Employment	<b>Location of Opportunity</b>	Auckland
<b>Name</b>	Dial-a-Driver	<b>Created</b>	23 Apr 1999
<b>Description</b>	Driving clients' vehicles. Hours can vary according to agreement with employer. Refer only after 11:00 am. MUST HAVE OWN VEHICLE -C/P Lic. preferred but not a criteria		
<b>Start</b>	23 Apr 1999	<b>Hours</b>	26
<b>Attendance</b>	Afternoons and nights - both full time and part time positions		
<b>Remuneration</b>	\$9.00 P/HR		
<b>Comments</b>	SEE SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS - BASIC DETAILS SCREEN Hours can vary greatly according to agreement with employer. Refer only after 11:00 am		
<b>Requirements</b>	People person - capable of handling inebriated/incapacitated people. Reliable, mature person, good presentation, EXCELLENT COMMAND OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE, Auckland area knowledge, clean Class C licence.		
<b>Skills</b>			

## Opportunity details

### Physical, Mathematical and Engineering Science Professionals

<b>Opp ID</b>	5080765	<b>Office</b>	K Road
<b>Type of Opp</b>	Permanent Paid Employment	<b>Location of Opportunity</b>	Auckland
<b>Name</b>	Trainee Serviceman-Mt Eden-Auckland	<b>Created</b>	14 May 1999
<b>Description</b>	Home based printer/fax/photocopier repair business requires a trainee serviceman. No experience necessary as full training will be provided-must be a quick learner and committed to study hard.		
<b>Start</b>	20 May 1999	<b>Hours</b>	40
<b>Attendance</b>	business hours		
<b>Remuneration</b>	\$8.00-review after 2 months		
<b>Comments</b>	Would suit a young person say 17-19 years or an immigrant with reasonable english. Will be required to study towards Registered Electrical Service Technician Certificate. This is a hands on job, working with motors and will initially be of a junior/apprentice type nature. Short-listed applicants will be required to complete a 1/2 day practical application with the employer to check aptitude and them possibly a two day trial. S U I T S O M E O N E W I T H S C H O O L C E R T O R E Q U I V A L E N T		
<b>Requirements</b>	Must be honest (no convictions) and willing to study -Suitable applicants will need to complete a 1/2 day practical test with the employer - M U S T H A V E S C H O O L C E R T O R E Q U I V A L E N T		
<b>Skills</b>	good with hands/electronics/technology. capable of learning Electrical Service Tech..		

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