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**A Study of Fiji Indian Migrants in New Zealand:
Their Migration and Settlement Management
and Experiences**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Management



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ABSTRACT

Fiji's two military coups in 1987 prompted an exodus of Fiji Indian migrants to New Zealand and presented challenges for the migrants themselves and for this country's policies and settlement programmes. A few studies have looked at New Zealand's Fiji Indian migrants. However, the challenge of this thesis was to embark on a study of a wider scope, investigating the core framework of the management of migration, entry, and settlement of this distinctive and highly skilled "Pacific" migrant group.

The research questions, developed from the literature, were based on four themes: migration policies and management of entry; background of migrants and their management of decisions to emigrate; management of settlement and migrants' experiences of settlement; and the adaptation and integration of migrants and their contributions to New Zealand.

Using a qualitative in-depth interview approach, the study explored the perceptions of fifty Fiji Indian migrants who had arrived and settled in a number of New Zealand locations between 1987 and early 2000. In addition to eliciting demographic information which identified the unique characteristics of this migrant group, the interviews allowed the participants to reflect on their decision to migrate, their encounters with New Zealand officials in both Fiji and New Zealand, their various experiences of culture shock and discrimination, and their path to settlement and integration. The interviewees also spoke about their contributions to New Zealand and offered suggestions for improving the management of migrant settlement drawn from the perspective of their own struggles.

There were a number of key findings from the research questions. Few participants were aware of migration policies and their negative experience of New Zealand immigration officials in Fiji indicated the government service was unable to respond and to manage the influx of requests. The interviews revealed the personal emotions and family strains involved in leaving one's country, finding new homes and jobs, and adjusting to a different place and culture. Participants also discussed discrimination and other barriers they met and their experience of government and non-government migrant support systems. The study provided interesting data on participants' decision to migrate, which can be applied

to a number of global instances where groups migrate following political and economic crisis. The 1987 coups were the catalyst, but the migration decision was based on a culmination of factors. These included growing physical fear, the loss of hope occasioned by the second coup, the loss of career prospects, and the pull factors of participants' familiarity with New Zealand and the potential it offered.

Crucially, the findings demonstrated that New Zealand government policies focus on the management of entry and not on settlement management. The migrant profile of the Fiji Indians in the years after the coup differed from the usual migrant characteristics. The participants (typical of the Fiji Indian migrants of the time) were married with families, skilled and professional, with a high standard of English, and relative familiarity with New Zealand systems. They therefore had high expectations. However, those who had not already secured a job found it difficult to obtain employment, for what often appeared to be reasons of prejudice. They also experienced lack of cultural sensitivity on the part of New Zealand business and organisational managers. The interviews revealed the lack of management planning, organisation and display of leadership from government bodies set up to assist and support the Fiji Indian migrants. Most help and support came from the church and community organisations that were not funded by government.

These findings are examined from the perspective of two relevant management theories. First, Maslow's hierarchical needs theory, which served as the foundation for Reichlova's (2007) theory of migration decision and Adler's (1977) theory of migrants' adjustment, provided a framework for understanding the reported experiences of my participants. Systems theory provided an insight into issues and processes and formed the basis for the model of immigration and settlement developed in the conclusion.

The study shows that New Zealand lagged behind other countries such as Australia and Canada in managing settlement of migrants. The consequent hardships resulted in mental depression for a number and for some a return to Fiji. The lack of planning and support on the part of the government not only slowed the successful settlement of migrants but left support provision to an ad hoc volunteer sector. On the plus side, the encounter with pleasant, efficient border control officials had a significant positive impact on a group of migrants who had been harassed in their own country and a resulting halo effect on how

they regarded their new home during the first crucial hours of entry. The study also highlights the contributions of skilled and professional migrants to New Zealand's economy and productivity, while the insensitivity of some employers and managers demonstrates the need for training on cultural diversity management as conducted in most migrant receiving countries.

Participants provided some recommendations for New Zealand government. This included examining the feasibility of an organisation specifically dedicated to migrant help and support. This would combine responsibilities currently scattered among a variety of organisations to provide all information and advice services, help migrants to find jobs, and to identify and support any training and development. A further suggestion was to establish and fund positions for special school teachers tasked with preventing bullying and racial harassment of migrant and other children,

The study is the first that examine in depth the diverse range of migration and settlement issues of this migrant population and the first that examines these migration processes from the perspective of management. It therefore provides a useful foundation for any future research of Fiji Indians in New Zealand and a perspective that may provide a model for investigations of other migrant or refugee populations.

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This thesis is the result of a journey that provided me with considerable knowledge of the issues and experiences of Fiji Indians who migrated from Fiji in the traumatic years following the 1987 coups. Had I not talked with some of them I would have missed out on many of the narratives related to me about their interesting experiences on arrival and during their settlement in New Zealand. I am indebted to those Fiji Indians who were participants in this study for their patience during long hours of in-depth interviews, despite their other commitments.

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I dedicate this thesis to the descendants of Fiji girmitiyas settled in New Zealand, to my children, Jacqueline, Geraldine, and Robert, and to my grandchildren. May they know their origin and from whence they came!

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Man is a mobile creature, capable of enquiring, susceptible to suggestion, and endowed with imagination and initiative. This explains why, having conceived the notion that his wants might be satisfied elsewhere, he may decide not merely on going there but also on the means by which his project can be achieved. (Beaujeau-Garnier, 1966, p. 171)

When people migrate, they not only move themselves physically, they also bring with them their socio-cultural heritage and their predefined identity; their religious philosophies and practices; their norms and values that govern them and their community; and their food habits and the language they speak (Jayaram, 2004). Migration does not necessarily completely cut migrants off from their countries of birth, rather it allows them to continue to maintain some contact, either physically or mentally, and often allows the migrants to harbour dreams of going back at some stage. This aspect of migration has important implications for the migrant in becoming connected with his/her own immigrant community and in maintaining relationships with other ethnic groups in the host country (Jayaram, 2004).

Migration is not to be seen as something which occurs spontaneously in a vacuum but a process that has causal, or 'push and pull' factors. It frequently takes place when people try to escape poverty, warfare, persecution, and civil disorder and is ultimately intended to achieve better opportunities for the migrant and family members (Jupp, 1999; Toro-Morn & Alicea, 2004).

Migration has been studied from many perspectives, and migration researchers have come from a variety of disciplines including sociology, anthropology, economics, labour studies, political science, law, and geography. This diversity has also been reflected in the multidisciplinary nature of the research outputs, the makeup of migration research institutes, graduate programmes, professional journals and publications. Yet the discipline of *management* has been relatively absent from these perspectives and interactions in relation to migration research. Migration is not only a phenomenon and an event, it is

fundamentally a *process*, and as such, is able to be described, characterised and assessed from the perspective of management science.

1.1 Fiji Indian Migration to New Zealand

This study is about Fiji Indians and their migration to New Zealand in the wake of the 1987 military coups. It emerges from my own experience as a self-defined 'political refugee' when my family and I chose to migrate from our home in Suva to start a new life as New Zealand citizens. Whilst we had enjoyed close association with New Zealand and New Zealanders at home in Fiji, and through education and travel experiences in New Zealand, we were nevertheless unprepared for some of the changes that resettlement required us to make if we were to adjust to life as New Zealanders.

This thesis therefore represents an attempt to better comprehend my own experiences, and those of my Fiji Indian compatriots. I examine the management of entry and settlement, migrant experiences and related issues.

Although the migration of Fiji Indians from Fiji had started in the 1960s, at the time Fiji was working towards independence from Great Britain, total emigration to New Zealand was small due to stringent immigration laws (Jones, 1976). The 1971 New Zealand census recorded 964 Fiji Indians in New Zealand; by 1981 the figure had increased to 1,617 (New Zealand Census, 1971 & 1981). For economic and political reasons in the 1960s and 1970s many Fiji Indians had also migrated to the United Kingdom, Canada, USA, and Australia, with a small number going to nearby Pacific Island nations like Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, and Tonga (Crocombe, 1981).

Since 1987 some 120,000 Fiji Indians have migrated to New Zealand and other countries such as Australia, Canada and United States. This is twice the number of their ancestors, the Girmityas, who in the late 19th century had migrated to work and settle in Fiji (Field, 2007). For Fiji Indians, the great impetus to migrate to New Zealand came after the political upheaval in Fiji in 1987. The bitter conditions created by the military coups and their effects compelled many Fiji Indians to leave the country. Within a year of the 1987 coups, 2,079 Fiji citizens entered New Zealand to stay (Bedford, 1989). Furthermore, between 1987 and 2000 over 16,000 Fiji Indians migrated to New Zealand, choosing it

over other common destinations (Narayan & Smyth, 2003). In her research on Indian women at work in New Zealand, Pio (2008) suggested that by 2006 around 50,950 Fiji Indians were living in New Zealand.

Leaving their permanent home country and settling in a new country was not an easy matter for most Fiji Indians. The settlement management, settlement experiences and settlement issues of these Fiji Indian migrants coming to New Zealand after the 1987 coups were varied. Indeed, Fiji Indians faced some particular challenges to their own identities as they were perceived by many as synonymous with a wider (non-Fijian) Indian community (Leckie, 2006; Shameem, 1992). The experiences and issues of these Fiji Indian migrants will be explored to gain an understanding of how the migration process was managed during that period at the national and community level, and how the process influenced the integration and assimilation of migrants into NZ society and their expectations of life in NZ.

To define my study, which seeks insight into these issues, my overarching research question is: *How did Fiji Indian migrants to New Zealand experience the management of migration and settlement between 14 May 1987 and the start of year 2000.*

I chose a qualitative approach that was designed to elicit rich data about the lived experiences of participants. Through in-depth interviews with 50 Fiji Indian migrants, I sought to answer a series of research questions (presented in detail in Chapter 6), grouped under four themes:

1. Migration Policies and Management of Entry
2. Background and Managing Decision to Emigrate
3. Management of Settlement and Migrants' Experiences
4. Adaptation, Contributions and Future

1.2 Interest and Importance of the Study

Although there have been research studies and books written on the experiences of Indians in New Zealand specifically covering the Gujarati and Punjabi Indians, no one has so far

embarked on the research topic of Fiji Indians in New Zealand, particularly from the point of view of the management of migration and settlement.

As a Fiji Indian I have a personal interest in the research. However, the study will also be of interest to others such as the Fiji Indian community in New Zealand, Immigration New Zealand, and the government and private sector organizations that manage immigrants, policy analysts and advisors in other government bodies that have connection with the welfare of all New Zealanders, and migration studies scholars. The study will enable readers to see how the Fiji Indian migrants coped in New Zealand, what their progress was, and their achievements, problems and constraints. It will also illuminate the problem of placing all ethnic Indians in a homogenous category under New Zealand census and population studies: Fiji Indians are truly the “Pacific Island” Indians and thus possibly require separate classification by the Government and other stakeholders charged with dealing with them. The study will also serve as an historical record for the present and future Fiji Indians in New Zealand.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is composed of nine chapters. Chapter Two is essentially contextual background and gives a brief general overview of the Fiji cultural and geographic milieu, and Fiji’s history, including that of the indenture system, and the role of Fiji Indians in education, economic and political fields. The chapter concludes with the events of the 1987 coups and their consequences.

Chapter Three examines the New Zealand context. It opens by looking briefly at the socio-political environment during the study period of 1987 to the beginning 2000. This chapter scrutinises and evaluates the immigration policies of the time through a historical overview. It explains and contextualises the policies and their modification by successive governments seeking to attract qualified and suitable migrants to meet New Zealand’s social and economic needs. I discuss the concepts of New Zealand multiculturalism and assimilation. Comparisons are drawn between New Zealand policies of migrant settlement with those of Australia, Canada and other countries.

Chapter Four introduces established interpretive frameworks relevant to the scholarship regarding migration and settlement; the systems theory and Maslow's needs theory. Chapter Four describes the development of these theories by Adler (1977) and Reichlova (2005), which respectively explain migration decision making and adjustment of migrants during settlement. These theories form the basis of my interpretation of my New Zealand data.

Chapter Five assesses more selected literature. It examines Indians and Fiji Indians in New Zealand, and Indian migrants in the Caribbean territories and the United States of America.

Chapter Six presents the research design. Here I identify and discuss the questions that guide the research, and then describe questionnaire formulation, pilot testing, sample selection, data collection and the procedure for data analysis. Chapter Seven presents the results of the study according to the headings formulated from appropriate themes and the research questions. The nine themes include awareness of the migration policies by the migrants; their management of entry into New Zealand; the culmination of factors that made the Fiji Indians to migrate; how they managed to select New Zealand; their settlement experiences; and their management by the authorities including their settlement problems. Chapter Eight follows the same format, but the results are now compared with relevant findings from previous research.

In Chapter Nine, the final chapter, I address the implications of the findings; identify the contribution of the research to the field of migration and settlement management knowledge and practice. The chapter ends with some recommendations for future research and suggestions for implementation.

CHAPTER 2: THE FIJI SETTING

This is my island in the sun
Where my people toiled since time begun.
I may sail on many a sea
Her shores will always be home to me.

Oh island in the sun
Built to me by my father's hand
All my days I will sing in praise
Of your forest waters
Your shining sand.
(H. Belafonte, 1950. 'Island in the Sun')

This contextual chapter focuses on the Fiji Islands and history of Indian migrant settlers in Fiji, the military coups in the dates and their impact on immigrant Indians. For the Fiji Indians, Fiji is their origin, their first home. India is where their ancestors had come from and where their ancestral roots lie. For the Fiji Indians in New Zealand, Fiji has been their motherland.

2.1 Fiji Today

Fiji today is considered one of the larger and relatively more developed small island economies in the Pacific. In world terms it is still a very small economy, categorized by the World Bank as a lower middle-income country (Gounder, 2001; Khan et al, 2005; Treadgold, 1992). It lies some 3,000 kilometres northeast of Sydney, Australia, 2,000 kilometres north of Auckland, New Zealand, and 5,000 kilometres southwest of Honolulu. Its closest neighbours are Tonga to the Southeast and Vanuatu to the southwest (Fiji Today, 2006).

It comprises a collection of nearly 330 islands, with two main islands: Viti Levu 10,429 square kilometres and Vanua Levu 5,556 square kilometres. The former accommodates the capital city Suva and the international airports Nadi and Nausori. Being the largest island, Viti Levu has three-quarters of the population, accommodates the capital Suva, the

country's political and economic institutions, and two international airports (Fiji Today, 2006).

English, the official language of Fiji, is widely spoken along with native Fijian and, amongst the Fiji Indian population, a variation of Hindi called Fiji Hindi (Pacific Economic Report, 1998).

Statistics gave Fiji's population as 837,271, made up of 57% Fijians, 38% Fiji Indians, and 5% of other ethnicities (Europeans, part-Europeans, Chinese and other Pacific peoples (Fiji Census Information, 2007). In 1986, however, the Fiji Indian population, at 49%, outnumbered Fijians (46%). Each year since then Fiji Indian numbers have decreased because of the high emigration rate and low birth rate among those left behind (Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics, 2006).

About 46% of the total population is urban and 54% rural. In 1986 urban dwellers were 39%, and over the next 10 years the urban population has grown 2.6% per year, with the rural population dwindling slightly (Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics, 2006).

Tourism is Fiji's largest source of foreign exchange, and sugar the traditional and largest export. But the sugar industry is declining and is in danger of dying out because land leases given to Fiji Indians have been taken away by the Fijian owners, and because of a lack of cash being injected into the sugar mills. Income from tourism industry also has been impacted by the coups. Fiji also exports fish, gold, timber, garments and other smaller varied products (Fiji Islands Information, 2005).

2.2 Historical Issues

The indigenous Fijians are a mix of Melanesians and Polynesians. Fijians with Melanesian physical and cultural characteristics are found more in the western and interior areas of the main island of Viti Levu, while in the eastern islands of Fiji, Fijians are Polynesian in character. The indigenous culture is tribal and patriarchal and ruled by chiefs (Norton, 1977; Oliver, 1961; Singh, 2001).

Abel Tasman (in 1643) and James Cook (in 1774) visited the islands and Captain William Bligh recorded them more systematically, after the mutiny on the *Bounty* in 1789 (Derrick, 2001), but it was not until the nineteenth century that Europeans settled more systematically in Fiji to trade in sandalwood and other commodities, and to cultivate cotton, copra, tobacco, and sugar. At this time Christian missionaries commenced proselytizing and cannibalism, which had been rife, started to vanish (Derrick, 2001; Singh, 2001).

Political rivalries existed among the Fijians and two large chiefdoms, each with separate administrations, became rulers with European support. Eventually, Cakobau wrested the title of Tui Viti or King of Fiji. With the support of European settlers, he espoused Christianity in 1854 and his government proclaimed that old practices and cannibalism should stop (Derrick, 2001; Fiji Today, 2006; Norton, 1977). Growing numbers of settlers and a large debt owed to the American Government compelled Cakobau to seek a treaty with Britain to safeguard the political and economic interests of Fijians. On October 10, 1874 a deed of cession was signed at Levuka between the Crown and the Fijian Chiefs and Fiji was made a Crown Colony of Britain (Derrick, 2001).

Britain's first colonial Governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, oversaw the introduction of Indians in Fiji. European planters pressured Governor Gordon for labour, having found workers from Fiji and other Pacific Islands did not meet their harsh demands. Gordon wanted to preserve the Fijian social structure and to protect them from exploitation from European planters. Fiji was also in poor economic shape and importing Indian indentured labourers had already proved to be a boon in some of the British colonies in Africa and the Caribbean.

2.3 Indian Labour

Governor Gordon viewed the introduction of Indian labour as a guarantee of economic and financial stability to Fiji (Gillion, 1973; Khan et al., 2005; National Farmers Union, 2004; Norton, 1977). The first batch of Indian indentured labourers arrived in 1879 under an agreement containing their conditions of employment. The term agreement became "gimit" among the indentured Indians and they themselves came to be known as "Gimitiyas" (Mayer, 1963; National Farmers Union, 2004). Between 1879 and 1919,

60,553 girmityas arrived in Fiji. Most came from the United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bengal, and the Madras Presidency of North East India and had agricultural backgrounds. The Fiji government had agents in India who oversaw the recruitment of the Indians. The agent appointed sub-agents in the districts, who had recruiters in the field. These recruiters often used deceitful means to lure people as legitimate recruits (Lal, 1988; National Farmers Union, 2004; Prasad, 2006).

The recruiters or “arkatis” were men and women of all castes. It was common for the arkatis to tell recruits that Fiji was the land of milk and honey with abundant opportunities, situated not far from Calcutta (Gillion, 1973; Lal, 1988; Prasad, 2006). Female arkatis usually enticed women who were ostracized from their families and were helpless. Female labourers being in short supply, recruiters were rewarded accordingly (Gillion, 1973). One report (National Farmers Union, 2004), describing girmityas on the *Leonidas*, said the ages of males ranged from 17 to 38 years and the females from 16 to 35 years and there were young children and infants as young as 6 weeks. However, most indentured Indians were young men, between the ages of 20 and 30.

While recruiters used dubious means the recruits were leaving a harsh environment in India, where much of the land was stricken with drought, government taxes were high, and employment was scarce (Gillion, 1973; National Farmers Union, 2004). Ali (1980) explains:

Migration was a conscious act, the “arkatis” inducement helped, but what was crucial was the impoverishment and uncertainty in India which made these men and women desire an opportunity to satisfy their basic needs and security. (p. 5)

2.4 The Journey, Arrival, and the Gimit

Their journey over still blue waters had led them to a wondrous land
The fertile soils and zesty green acres that covered the ground below
Was there true escape to freedom... but at what cost?
Their esteemed pride all but vanished into thin air completely lost!
(D. Mupnar, 2004, p. 162).

The journey to Fiji in a sailing ship like the *Leonidas* took almost 2½ months. Steamships took about 30 days, though voyages varied depending on time at the transit like Singapore, Borneo, and Sydney. On the ships the girmityas led a 6:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m regimented life undertaking allocated duties. Crucially, the Hindu Indians, regardless of caste, all mixed, ate, and slept together, caste conventions were not observed and everyone was treated as equal. Conditions were unhygienic; many got sick, and some died (National Farmers Union, 2004).

When the indentured labourers arrived in Fiji they were put under quarantine for at least 2 weeks and were then allocated to the plantation estates by the government. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company (C.S.R) took the most labourers, other estates took only a few (Gillion, 1973).

In the C.S.R.'s compounds, indentured labourers were housed in 'coolie lines' or barracks of 16 windowless, bare-floored partitions. Each small 'room' could accommodate three single men or a married couple with two children. An opening at the top covered with netted wire provided ventilation (Ali, 1980; Gillion, 1973). Cooking was done inside the room, although in later years a separate communal kitchen was constructed. The common latrines were some distance away (Ali, 1980; Mayer, 1963; Singh, 2001). Gillion (1973) stated that "the environment was crowded, dirty, and ugly" (p. 105).

A number of sources (e.g., Ali, 1980; Gillion, 1973; Singh, 2001) describe harsh conditions and cruelties in the plantations. The labourers were up well before dawn and life in the fields and mill was particularly gruelling. Overseers were tasked with getting the most from girmityas and they were also treated mercilessly by sirdars (foremen who were fellow Indians). Sexual harassment and extortion were frequent and there were many instances where girmityas assaulted and murdered several sirdars and overseers in retaliation (Ali, 1980; Naidu, 2004; Singh, 2001).

Gillion (1973) adds that the colonial law itself was racial and discriminatory or harsh against the Indian immigrants or labourers: "even the stipendiary magistrates held the view that Indians needed to be controlled with strict discipline with no show of sympathy" (p. 115). The breakdown of the Hindu caste system was obvious in the barracks as the

indentured labourers sat, ate and spent time in leisure together. Marriage between castes was also more likely because of the shortage of women in the plantations (Mayer, 1963; Mishra, 1979).

2.5 End of Indenture

At the end of their indenture contract, the Indian labourers were allowed either to settle in Fiji or to return to India by paying their own fares. If they served for an additional 5 years, the colonial government paid their return fares. From 1879 to 1916 ships made 87 voyages from India to Fiji bringing in a total of 60,553 indentured Indians. About 60% of this total decided to settle permanently in Fiji and not return to India. In 1920 the indenture system was abolished (National Farmers Union, 2004). The Fiji government encouraged married couples to settle permanently and gave them opportunities to acquire land, although earlier the government had no such intention (Singh, 2001).

Some freed Indians took up farming close to the estates, others settled around the sugar plantations and towns in Fiji. Still others looked for work as unskilled labourers, and within a few years Indians had set themselves up as hawkers, and small shopkeepers. Some grew vegetables for sale in Suva while others provided laundry services (National Farmers Union, 2004).

Apart from the former *girmitiyas*, there were other Indians in Fiji who began arriving in the early twentieth century to take up paid jobs or get into crafts, trade, and commerce. A few were recruited by the Fiji government especially to become clerks, policemen, and prison wardens in the public service. These recruits were mainly Punjabis, Muslim Pathans, and Bengalis. The main traders amongst the “free” Indians in Fiji were the Gujaratis who were jewellers, tailors, grocers, drapers, barbers, boot makers, and laundrymen (Ali, 1980; Singh, 2001).

The Indians did not settle in clusters or villages as they did in India, rather they settled separately and it was only when succeeding generation grew up that they grouped together more in rural areas (National Farmers Union, 2004.). According to Mayer (1963) the kind of Indian society that one saw in India never came to be in Fiji because the land tenure system prevented the village-like settlements emerging (Gillion, 1973; Mayer, 1963).

Almost all freed Indians were illiterate, but held a strong desire to educate their offspring as a path to security and prosperity through well-paid jobs in Fiji. Neither the government nor the sugar companies had any interest in educating the Indians; they were happy for them to remain 'coolie' labour. But in 1898 the Catholic and Methodist Churches opened their first Indian schools. In the same year, Badri Maharaj, a freed Indian who had acquired wealth, established an Indian school. By 1920 there were 19 schools for Indians in Fiji, strongly supported by parents who, if they were poor, borrowed money to educate their children (Ali, 1980; Kelly, 1958; Singh, 2001).

The Indian population of Fiji began to steadily increase from 1946 onwards and by 1996 more than half the population was of Indian ethnicity. The Indians farmed more leased Fijian land for cane farming, than did Europeans – 40% of the Indian workforce were cane farmers. Middle-class Indians dominated the secondary or manufacturing industry as well as the construction, commerce, transport and communication, administration and government sectors. Many were skilled and professionals (Norton, 1977). Fijian Indian children were passing New Zealand School Certificate Examinations and New Zealand University Entrance Examinations more than other races (Dept. of Education Annual Report, 1970).

With the Indian franchise in 1929, they became more active in the politics of Fiji. Their first representation in the Legislative Council in 1916 was nominated by the Governor. By 1965 they had 12 members in both the major Indian political party, the National Federation Party and the Fijian-dominated Party, the Alliance (Ali, 1981; Singh, 2001).

2.6 Fiji's Independence and Aftermath

In 1970 Fiji gained independence from Britain and became a dominion of the Commonwealth. A bi-cameral system was established, with an elected Lower House (House of Representatives) and a nominated Upper House or Senate. In the Lower House, the Indians and Fijians each had 22 seats, while the General Electors (Europeans, Chinese and other Pacific Islanders) had eight. The Senate had eight members nominated by the Council of Chiefs, seven appointed by the Prime Minister, six with the advice of the leader of Opposition, and one with the advice of the Council of Rotuma. The Senate could not

legislate bills, only review them, given that its composition was designed to safeguard Fijian interests in the balance of power (Buretini, 2004; Singh, 2001).

With independence the Indians were well established in the Fijian political system and they continued to strengthen their position in Fijian society (Buretini, 2004). According to Ali (1981, pp. 81–82):

In their march from indentured labourers to professionals and entrepreneurs, from the “coolie lines” to modern suburbs, Indians in Fiji today evidence both success and prosperity, even if not among all then certainly among many. Fiji has made their achievement possible.

2.7 Politics after Independence

Two years after independence Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara’s Fijian-dominated Alliance Party won the first elections and he became Fiji’s first elected Prime Minister. The Indian dominated National Federation Party led by a prominent Indian lawyer, Sadiq Koya, became the opposition in parliament (National Farmers Union, 2004; Singh, 2001). The Alliance Party lost the second general elections in 1977 and Ratu Mara conceded defeat to the National Federation Party; however, the NFP could not form a government due to internal squabbles. Ratu Mara was put back as interim Prime Minister by the Governor General until the fresh general elections which was to be held in 1982. These were the third elections in Fiji’s history and Ratu Mara won this election and became the prime minister again (Ali, 1980; Prasad, 2006).

At first Fiji prospered, but from around 1985 the state of the economy deteriorated. High inflation, high unemployment, and increased living costs exacerbated by a wage freeze led to discontentment. The Fiji labour unions formed the Fiji Labour Party, the first genuine multi-racial political party in Fiji, which had great support from urban Fijians and Indians. A Fijian commoner, Dr. Timoci Bavadra, president of the Fiji Public Services Association became its first leader (Field, Baba & Baba, 2005; Nandan, 2000).

The Fiji Labour Party joined with the National Federation Party to fight the 1987 general elections as the Labour-Federation Coalition (Singh, 2001). The Coalition defeated the

Alliance Party, whose leaders and Party stalwarts were shocked and surprised according to Singh (2001). A number of writers (Lal, 1988; National Farmers Union, 2004; Singh, 2001) say the outgoing Alliance members accepted the defeat with rancour and bitterness

The new Coalition Government immediately announced policies including: better land control system for the Fijians; a non-alignment stance with the USA; a new anti-corruption law and plans to investigate some former Alliance ministers (National Farmers Union, 2004; Singh, 2001). Social reforms such as free out-patient medical treatment, free buses for pensioners at off-peak times, and lowering taxes on basic food items were also introduced (Lal, 1988; Singh, 2001).

While the policies were popular, the hard-line Fijians of the Alliance Party supporters were planning to unseat the Government. Their catch-cry was that the Coalition was ‘the Government of Indians’; although, for the first time in the Fijian history the Coalition Cabinet had equal numbers of Fijians and Indians (Lal, 1988; Singh, 2001). Two large protest marches in Suva and Lautoka demanded ‘Fiji for Fijians’ and a change to the Constitution (Lal, 1988; Nandan, 2000; Prasad, 2006; Singh, 2001). Within a short time, opposition became violent, with assaults and arson aimed at Indians in Suva, fire-bombing of the office of the Attorney General, the blockading village roads, and arson at cane farms. Violence and assaults on Indians had never been seen before. Several Indians were killed, resulting in a state of national emergency (Lal, 1988).

2.8 The Putsch

Colour my country gold
Because it is burning
Burning like the sugar cane torched in the field
Burning out from the waste
Its people have turned it into.
(M. Bhim, 2004, p. 369).

The Fiji parliament was in session and an Alliance party member was speaking on the exemplary work the Alliance government had done for Fiji while in office. He was reaching his conclusion with Mao Tse Tung’s philosophy that, “political power comes out

of the barrel of a gun...” when ten masked soldiers with guns in hand stormed into the debating chamber. It was very near 10 o’clock in the morning of 14 May 1987. As the soldiers lined up to face the parliamentarians, Colonel Sitivini Rabuka who was sitting in the public gallery joined the soldiers. One of the soldiers called out: “This is a military takeover, ladies and gentlemen; we apologize for any inconvenience caused...” (National Farmers Union, 2004, p. 144; also Bain, 1989).

Government members, surprised and confused, began to protest, but Rabuka asked them to stay calm and told Prime Minister Bavadra to lead his team to the trucks waiting outside. When one Coalition member resisted, Rabuka pointed a loaded gun (M16) at his head and shouted, “Move!” Coalition members were then bundled into the trucks and taken to the Queen Elizabeth army barracks in Suva for detention (Field, Baba & Baba, 2005, pp. 40–41; Prasad, 2006, p. 212; Robertson & Tamanisau, 1988).

This was the first military coup in Fiji and the first ever in the South Pacific. “This was also an auspicious day in the history of Indians in Fiji for it marked the 108th anniversary of the arrival of Indians in Fiji” (Prasad, 2006, p. 212).

2.9 The Aftermath

O homeland sweet, how you decay
And fester with each passing day!
Stripped, ripped, robbed, torn.
You bleed, and still I do not mourn?
How can I mourn? I’ve lost the art.
To work, not weep – that is my part.
(R.C. Pillay, 1979. p. 162)

Ratu Mara was quick to deny knowledge of, or involvement in, the coup, although Rabuka later claimed that he had informed Mara of his intent to overthrow the Government and they had discussed issues relating to the overthrow while playing golf a week before the coup (Bain, 1989; Lal, 1988). Lal (1988, p. 79) believes that Ratu Mara “was the central figure in the whole affair, without whose support and blessing Rabuka would not have

dared act.” Rabuka rationalised the coup as the only way to protect the Fijian land and way of life (Field et al., 2005).

Rabuka next announced a 15-member administration from the Alliance Party and the Taukei Movement; Ratu Mara was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs. However, the Governor General, Ratu Penaia Ganilau, opposed the coup, condemned it, and went on to assume the executive authority of the country (Bain, 1989; Singh, 2001).

Four days after the coup the military released the Coalition parliamentarians and community leaders organized a prayer meeting at the Albert Park in Suva (National Farmers Union, 2004). A crowd of several thousand Indians, waiting for the meeting to start, were attacked by gangs of Fijians who assaulted them with fists, sticks, spades, forks, steel pipes, and rocks. It was revealed later that an Alliance member of parliament had organized the violence (National Farmers Union, 2004).

The gangs then rampaged through Suva, beating Indians vendors, assaulting elderly Indian women and stealing their jewellery. Singh (2001) says Fijian policemen stood nearby but provided no assistance (Singh, 2001). The rioters then moved to the shopping areas smashing windows, looting and burning shops belonging to Indian Gujaratis. Indians around the area were kicked and beaten (National Farmers Union, 2004; Singh, 2001). Bain (1989, p. 47) describes one scene he witnessed from the New Zealand High Commission Office near the Suva Police Station:

As the first rows of marchers came into full sight, they broke ranks on both sides, chased, caught and punched any Indian in sight. Then they threw them, human rag dolls to the ground and on the steps of the cathedral, and moved on, leaving a battlefield behind. Cars were overturned, and wrecked, rocks smashed through unprotected windows. Cries of the injured came up to us from the carnage below; and our tears flowed as we watched, helpless and unbelieving, the wrecking of human life outside.

The news prompted other Indians to barricade their homes and organise neighbourhood and vigilante groups for safety. Sporadic violence, however, continued to occur in parts of Suva and Nausori (Lal, 1988).

Governor General Ganilau pardoned Rabuka for his part in the coup and gave him full legal amnesty. People condemned the act (Singh, 2001). Lal (1988, p. 88) pointed out that the “world was beginning to realize that the Governor General was not the neutral party he had claimed himself to be; he appeared to be putting in place a process which would seek to realize the goals of the coup through legal means.”

2.10 A Deteriorating Situation

The plight of Fiji worsened. The country was under emergency rule. Indians were detained arbitrarily. Marriages and funerals required police permits. Many Indian homes were searched by the military. Indian householders received threatening calls. The military were found in all crucial installations and the army put up road blocks in all sugar cane-growing areas where Indians resided (Lal, 1988; Singh, 2001). The New Zealand High Commissioner’s car was stopped and the diplomat was searched, and the tyres of the British High Commission’s car were shot to force the Commissioner to stop for questioning (Bain, 1989; National Farmers Union, 2004).

While the army acted quickly to quell Indian opposition, there was some resistance in the early days of the coup: a failed attempt to hijack Air New Zealand jumbo jet, in order to demand the release of Dr. Bavadra; a dynamite explosion at a Nadi supermarket to compel it to close down; an unsuccessful attempt to blow up a gas pipe at Nadi; and the torching of the pine forests (considered the green gold of Fiji) between Sigatoka and Nadi. Some Indians attempted to shoot Fijians raiding their homes. Although this resulted in the army confiscating all licensed guns from Indians it did not stop a group of Indians importing a container load of illegal Soviet made arms. The culprits were caught, preventing a civil war (Harder, 1988; ; Lal, 1988; Singh, 2001).

Shops opened for just a few hours, schools closed early, public transport was not fully running, and Government offices were not functional (Lal, 1988, p. 106). Fiji’s foreign reserves plummeted to very low levels and the regime told the Indian farmers to begin

their cane harvest early. The farmers refused until the government met their demands. These comprised: removal of all army from the sugar cane areas; payment of all outstanding harvest payments and payment at the forecasted price of \$23.0 per tonne for the cane they would harvest. Rabuka's regime refused but the Governor General acceded to their claims, saving Fiji from near economic collapse (Lal, 1988, p. 106; National Farmers Union, 2004).

Indian business owners, nervous about their future, sent financial assets overseas and some business owners were keen to emigrate. Thirty businesspeople, each with an investment capital of \$US 310,000, applied for and were given permanent residence in New Zealand (Lal, 1988, p. 107). By the time Rabuka's regime had imposed strong restrictions on the amount of capital that could leave the country it was largely too late. At Nausori and Nadi airports the army security introduced stringent and harrowing checks to ensure outgoing Indian passengers were not smuggling funds.

New Zealand was more sympathetic to Dr. Bavadra's displaced Coalition Government than was Australia. New Zealand's Prime Minister David Lange condemned the coup and criticised Ratu Mara for supporting it. Lange communicated with the Queen and requested that Fiji's Governor General be advised to stand firm and resolute against the coup makers. At the time of the May coup, a New Zealand frigate was in Fiji waters leading to rumours it had come to drive the military back to the barracks and restore order to Fiji; however, the real reason was to evacuate New Zealanders should they be caught in any fracas resulting from the coup (Lange, 2005; National Farmers Union, 2004; Singh, 2001).

David Lange in his autobiography said he was so incensed with the Fiji military coups that he wanted to send the New Zealand Army to Fiji. His request, however, was rejected by the New Zealand Army Chief and other Government officials (Lange, 2005).

As events progressed, Governor General Ganilau observed that the army and the Taukei Movement had become uncontrollable in their harassment of Indians and Coalition supporters. He therefore instituted a plan to review the 1970 constitution to increase the political representation in parliament. He invited the Coalition members to participate, which they agreed to do with some reluctance. The Governor General explained that the

caretaker Government would not only be representative but “balanced” and command the necessary public confidence (Lal, 1988, p. 116; Singh, 2001). Ganilau held a series of meetings and negotiations at the Pacific Harbour Hotel in Deuba between Bavadra’s and Mara’s teams. In the Deuba Accord, both parties agreed to set up a Government of National Unity (Bain, 1989; National Farmers Union, 2004; Sharpham, 2000).

On the morning of Friday, September 25, 1987, at Government House, Suva, the Deuba Accord was signed by Dr. Bavadra’s Coalition team and Ratu Mara’s Alliance. On the next day, September 26, Colonial Rabuka struck again, executing a second coup. He said that the army had again taken full control of the government of Fiji to ensure that indigenous Fijians governed Fiji (Bain, 1989; Field et al., 2005; Singh, 2001).

2.11 The Second Coup and its Effects

The second coup shattered the plans of the caretaker government and Fiji went into further turmoil with the army becoming more involved in the brutalities against the Coalition supporters and Indians. The soldiers apprehended Bavadra at his house, fired two shots into the ceiling, took him away, and locked him in the Central Police Station. Judges, ministers of the Coalition, trade unionists, the Deputy Speaker of the House, police officers, lawyers, a university lecturer, newsmen, and the Governor General’s secretary, were all rounded up and either taken to Naboro maximum security prison, or placed under house arrest (Bain, 1989; Field et al., 2005; Singh, 2001).

A curfew was imposed and all overseas travel by Fiji citizens was banned. Media were prevented from communicating with the outside world and anyone criticising or opposing the coup was jailed. At midnight on October 10 – the anniversary of Fiji’s cession and independence – Rabuka abrogated the 1970 Constitution, declared Fiji a republic, sacked the Governor General, and formed his own Cabinet to govern Fiji. He later brought the Governor General back as President of Fiji. Rabuka went on to promulgate a series of decrees which further debased “basic human rights of freedom of speech and conscience and soldiers were given the power to shoot to kill while making a lawful arrest or preventing escape, to suppress a riot, or to prevent a criminal offence” (Lal, 1988, p. 119).

Kenneth Bain (1989), a former Deputy High Commissioner for Fiji in London, gives a graphic and disturbing account of the atrocities, tortures and rapes visited by the army on Indian men, women and children, in his book *Treason at 10*.

The Public Service (Amendment) Decree stipulated that half of all civil service positions should be allocated to Fijians and Rotumans, necessitating the transfer or enforced resignation or retirement of many senior Indian civil servants. The Public Service Commission could terminate the services of any officer on the grounds of public interest. There were several other decrees brought in to oppress Indians (Lal, 1988).

Compounding all this was an economic depression. The cost of living was escalating. Civil servants' salaries were cut by 25% at a time when the country's dollar was devalued by around 35%. The sugar cane harvest was poor, tourism declined, and Australian and New Zealand trade unions imposed a ban on Fiji trade. Foreign exchange reserves continued to dwindle and government projects were put on hold. Property values plummeted and many small businesses closed down. Productivity had fallen drastically because of the emigration of skilled workers and professionals. Investor confidence was lost and poverty leapt from 15% to 45% of the population (Lal, 1988; Naidu, 1989; Singh, 2001).

On December 5, 1987, Rabuka dismissed his Taukeist Government, and appointed Ganilau as the first president of the Republic of Fiji and Ratu Mara its Prime Minister. Exactly one year later, Dr. Bavadra died and on July 24, 1990 the president promulgated a new constitution giving indigenous Fijians supremacy. Rabuka resigned from the army and joined the interim government as deputy prime minister. In 1992 he became prime minister and when Ganilau died that year, Ratu Mara became the president (Lal & Pretes, 2001).

In 1996 a new constitution for Fiji was formulated that was fairer to both the major races. In 1999, general elections were held and Rabuka's party won only eight seats, costing him his premiership. He became a spent force. Mahendra Chaudhry was sworn in as Fiji's first Indian Prime Minister after President Mara persuaded the Fijian parties to support him (Lal & Pretes, 2001).

But Fiji was never the same for the Indians. They had lost too much in the 1987 coups (Singh, 2001), which had triggered the greatest emigration out of Fiji Islands ever (Field et al., 2005).

2.12 Afterword

It is of interest to note that through the 1987 coups Sitiveni Rabuka had created a coup culture in Fiji. On May 19, 2000, George Speight staged a civilian coup, and on December 5, 2006, Commander Voreqe Bainimarama effected a military coup to displace the elected government of Prime Minister Laisinia Qarase. The military government continues to rule Fiji today. Although elections were promised for 2009 they have now been postponed to 2014. The aftermath is yet to be known.

2.13 Conclusion

This chapter began by examining the geography and history of Fiji leading towards its cession to Britain and the decision of the Governor to introduce indentured Indians for the social and economic benefit of Fiji. The chapter then discussed the recruitment, arrival, living and working conditions of indentured Indians and their eventual freedom. The education, political and economic achievements of successive generations of Indians were then covered. The chapter then turned to the political development of Fiji and the part Fiji Indians had played in the move to independence in 1970. The success of the Indian political party in the 1977 elections, the election of the Indian dominated Coalition Party in 1987, the build up to the two coups and their impact on Indians, concluded this history.

Unlike subsequent coups that had more to do with a power struggle concerning Fijians, the coups described here were particularly directed against the Fiji Indian population and their perceived economic dominance in Fiji. They led to the mass exodus of Fiji Indians.

Fiji Indians left for Australia, New Zealand, the USA, and Canada, which between them received about 96% of all Fiji migrants. According to Norton (2004), between 1987 and 2004 around 100,000 Fiji Indians emigrated from Fiji, while Gani (2000) estimated that between 1987 and 1994, based on Fiji Indian migrants' preferences, 23,000 of them settled in New Zealand, 40,000 in Australia, 16,000 in Canada and 21,000 in the USA. Gani

(2000) also pointed out that in the late '70s and mid-'80s Fiji Indian migrants chose the United States and Canada as their most preferred countries, while Australia and New Zealand were their next choices. In this period, 35% of migrants selected the United States and 26% chose Canada. The preference changed markedly after the 1987 coups. From 1987 to 1990 New Zealand became the second most favoured country. Australia, which has closer economic links to Fiji than the other preferred countries, became the most favoured for Fiji Indians. New Zealand was preferred to Canada and the USA because of its closer proximity and economic links to Fiji (Gani, 2000). Up until April, 2005, 40,000 Fiji Indian migrants had arrived in New Zealand.

This study focuses on Fiji Indian migrants who came to settle in New Zealand after the two coups of Rabuka in 1987 but before the 2000 coup staged by George Speight.

The next chapter, Chapter 3, provides the New Zealand environment that the Fiji Indian migrants found on arrival. It highlights and discusses the immigration policies that managed the entry of new arrivals and examines the factors that supported the management of migrants in their settlement.

CHAPTER 3: THE NEW ZEALAND CONTEXT: SOCIETY, POLICIES AND SETTLEMENT MANAGEMENT

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I review the New Zealand socio-political environment in the years when the Fiji Indian migrants being studied arrived to settle in New Zealand. After briefly introducing the political environment I examine the immigration policies of New Zealand when they were changing to meet the country's economic and social needs by attracting suitable migrants. I then analyse the management of migrant settlement by the New Zealand government and other bodies.

The majority of the Fiji Indian migrants arrived in the late 1980s and the 1990s when New Zealand was undergoing major economic reforms that transformed a highly protected economy into one of the world's most open (Wilson, 2005). James (1997) called this "the policy revolution" or "economic liberalisation". Another contemporary label for the change was "Rogernomics", derived from economic philosophies and initiatives championed by Roger Douglas, the Minister of Finance in the 1984 Labour Government, and the main force behind the controversial changes (Love, 1991).

Commentators have examined the changes in considerable detail (e.g., Boston, Martin, Pallot & Walsh, 1991; Chapman, 2004; James, 1997; Jones, 2008; Love, 1991). The fourth Labour Government started major reforms in 1984 and in the two terms it remained in office continued with these until 1990, when the National Party came into government and developed the policies further.

James (1997) points out that when the Labour government took over in 1984 New Zealand's economy was in decline. The main export industries required subsidies to be profitable, resulting in deep-seated balance of payments deficits and rising overseas debts. This was exacerbated by high demand for government social services and transfer payments, making it difficult for the government to pay its debts. Additional government regulation was rejected as unworkable by the incoming Labour government, leading to the view that there was no option but to liberalise the economy (p. 14).

The merits and timing of these changes are still being debated. James (1997, p. 17) cites Allan Catt of Auckland University who called the reforms “a failed and extremely harmful experiment that should eventually be the subject of an official enquiry as to why warnings from informed opinion and an abundance of evidence that the experiment was not working were ignored”. The economy began to recover towards the end of 1991. Except for a small fluctuation in 1998, strong growth continued for the remainder of the decade. Confidence gradually came to the business sector and unemployment rates began to subside. After a long delay, the reforms appeared to be paying off for most of the New Zealand population (James, 1997; Jesson, 2002; Jones, 2008; Silverstone, Bollard & Baltimore, 1996; Singleton, 2010). By 2000, the population of New Zealand was approaching four million and the reforms were transforming New Zealand to a more competitive economy.

However, major social policy reforms were also introduced during this period, and the early 1990s are often regarded as the pinnacle of the ‘New Zealand experiment’. Major deregulatory changes in social welfare, health, and employment relations were introduced (Dannin, 1997; Easton, 1997; Harbridge, 1993; Kelsey, 1997).

The Employment Contracts Act of 1991 abolished the conciliation and arbitration system, curtailing award protection and union monopoly bargaining rights and elevating workplace and individualised forms of bargaining. The New Zealand labour market was in a state of flux throughout the 1990s: fluctuating unemployment levels, strong employment growth in some sectors, changing working hours and employment patterns, sharp declines in unionism and collective bargaining, and radical adjustments to pay systems and income patterns (Deeks & Rasmussen, 2002; McLaughlin 1998). In particular, low-paid employees faced substantial adverse effects from the radical reforms (Conway, 1999; McLaughlin, 1998, 2000). The Human Rights Act 1993 made possible a significant extension of individual rights in employment relations in New Zealand. The Act consolidated the legislation of the 1970s and 1980s and presented a wide range of categories on the grounds of which discrimination would be illegal. These included: gender, sexual orientation, marital status, pregnancy, family status, religion, ethnicity, employment status, disability, and age.

The Privacy Act 1993, prompted by concerns regarding personal information in an age of information and surveillance technology, addressed how personal information is collected, stored and accessed. “The basic philosophy underlying the Privacy Act is that of individual autonomy: the individual has a right to know what personal information is held about him or her by an organisation and for what purpose this information will be used” (Rasmussen & Lamm, 2002, p. 88).

The government also reformed immigration policy to bring about economic growth and social inclusion or richness of different ethnic cultures (Burke, 1986). Wilson (2005) wrote that at the turn of the twenty-first century New Zealand had far more ethnic diversity than it had in the first 150 years of settlement. Most New Zealanders (79%) were of European ethnicity, Māori, at around 14%, had increased by about a fifth since 1991, and the number of Asian people had increased rapidly to 6% of the population. Wilson argued that the country’s new Pacific Island and Asian citizens were proof that it was no longer culturally or economically, the offshore island of Europe.

According to Catley (2001, p. 58) “New Zealand made a dash for growth – both in economic and population terms – in the early part of 1990s”. During the 1980s and 1990s, he said, the natural rate of population rise declined in New Zealand, as in most European-derived and high-income populations. The Māori and Polynesian birth rate sustained the natural rate of population increase a little longer. But birth rates below long-term replacement levels had set in. Skilled New Zealanders were leaving. This prompted New Zealand to modify immigration policies to attract skilled and high quality migrants from other countries. This chapter now focuses on migration policies beginning with a short section on early policies then focussing on the 1980s and 1990s, the period of study.

3.2 Migration Policies up to the 1980s

As Birkland (2005) and Bridgman and Davis (2004) remind us, the world is shaped through public policies made by politicians in power, and managed, implemented, coordinated, controlled, and evaluated by public servants who act as agents. Policies affect people both inside nation states and those outside who transact any form of business or personal activity with a nation. Public policies comprise political decisions for

implementing programmes to achieve societal goals (Fenna, 1998) and to be viable require intense activity and coordination with other government decisions to ensure consistency (Stewart, 1999). The process can be protracted, as decision makers weigh up expert evidence, political and bureaucratic advice, and the competing interests of those affected by the policy proposal (Bridgeman & Davis, 2004). Policies are made in different portfolios of government such as education, health, environment, social welfare, transport, commerce and industry, immigration, and others (Scott, 1977).

Every policy is important as it impacts on the economic, social and environmental development of a nation and the policy on international immigration is no exception. New Zealand has its own array of immigration policies developed with the goal of bringing the greatest net benefits to the country. In this study the focus is on the immigration policies of the late 1980s and the 1990s. However, this discussion is preceded by a brief contextualising background of the history of migration and settlement.

New Zealand is a country of immigrants (Bedford et al., 2000; Hoadley, 2001; Winkelmann, 1999). The original immigrants were Polynesian explorers from the Society, Marquesas and Cook islands, generally believed to have landed and settled in New Zealand in the thirteenth century. From these early settlers evolved the unique people, cultures, and language known today as Māori (Winkelmann, 1999). The first European settlement started in the late 18th century and as systematic colonisation continued the European population increased, surpassing the Māori population by the mid-1850s. The migrants came mainly from Great Britain and Ireland, with smaller numbers from America, Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Germany, and Scandinavia (New Zealand Yearbook, 1995; Shroff, 1989; Winkelmann, 1999). The policy to encourage the British and the Irish to migrate to New Zealand was to offer them free passage and assisted migration. At this early stage, Shroff (1989) suggests, the principle of occupational selection, a consistent theme in New Zealand's immigration policy, was already being applied.

From the late 1800s New Zealand's policy restricted Asians and Southern Europeans from entering the country, as the colonial administration held the view that New Zealand society should consist principally of either British or Māori people, side by side. Miller (2006) argues that immigration policy was influenced by decisions made on race for all of the

nineteenth and much of the twentieth century. For example, at the start of the twentieth century the arrival of Chinese to work in the Otago goldfields triggered the policy and legal changes limiting Asian migration and preventing them from becoming citizens. Similar anti-Asian immigration policies were developed at the same time in Australia, Canada and the USA (Ip, 1995; Miller, 2006). However, while European migrants were favoured, the social, legal and demographic status of the Māori people was protected by the Treaty of Waitangi and by successive reform-minded governments (Miller, 2006).

Assisted migration was withdrawn after the Great Depression, by which time New Zealand's population had reached 1.5 million, and was not re-instated for some years. Immigration policies became less discriminatory after World War II because of the United Nations' international human rights policy (Winkelmann, 1999). Under this legislation New Zealand admitted about 5,000 refugees and displaced individuals from Continental Europe, including over 1,100 Hungarians, between 1956 and 1959 (Shroff, 1989, p. 196). In 1950, New Zealand experienced acute labour shortages and turned to Northern European countries when it became apparent Great Britain could not supply people to fill the vacancies (McKinnon, 1996). A bilateral immigration agreement was signed with the Netherlands resulting in an influx of Dutch migrants. These were supplemented in the late 1950s by a smaller number of migrants from Denmark, Germany, Switzerland and Austria (New Zealand Yearbook, 1986–87).

New Zealand's racially exclusionary immigration policies meant that by 1961 almost 99% of the population was either Māori or European. By the mid-1960s New Zealand's immigration policy needed some refinement because it needed cheap and unskilled labour (New Zealand Yearbook, 1986–87). Migrants from the South Pacific were therefore encouraged to migrate to meet the need for semi- or unskilled manufacturing labour. Pacific Island communities thus became established in a number of New Zealand cities.

During labour shortages, New Zealand viewed Pacific Island immigration as acceptable and economically beneficial. However, it continued to invite Europeans. Between 1970 and 1973 – a time of economic prosperity – a record 70,000 immigrants arrived. These were mainly from Britain, with smaller numbers from continental Europe and refugees from south-east Asia, Africa and Iran (Bedford et al., 2000; Miller, 2006).

According to Winkelmann (1999) the impact of the first oil price shock in 1973, combined with the heavy immigration flow and resulting pressure on housing, schools and other services, forced the government to act. It ceased granting British immigrants unrestricted access in April 1974, abolished general assisted schemes in 1975, and terminated the Dutch scheme in 1976. Winkelmann notes that one unintended outcome of these changes was that New Zealand's immigration policy was slowly moving towards greater diversification.

In 1977, the National government attempted to diversify the economy and trade affiliations by creating an Entrepreneur category in immigration policy to entice applicants with business skills and experience. Applicants who brought \$200,000 and capital to underwrite their enterprise in New Zealand were offered fast-tracked residency. This was aimed particularly at Chinese business persons and professionals from Taiwan, Hong Kong and South-East Asia. Hoadley (2001) and McMillan (2006) point out that this policy was successful in bringing in 553 applicants in the first two years of operation, and numbers peaked in 1998, when 1858 business migrants brought in \$723 million, equivalent to nearly 1% of the country's GDP. Later, this policy was further modified to attract more businesspeople (Trlin & Spoonley, 1986; Winkelmann, 2000).

3.3 The Immigration Policy Model 1980–1985

Immigration policies were adapted continually to meet government social and economic objectives. This section elaborates on the 1985 criteria, which were the culmination of a number of adjustments and preceded a wide-ranging policy review. The New Zealand Yearbook for 1985 described the overall objectives of the immigration policies as encouraging skilled people to come to New Zealand while at the same time protecting employment opportunities for New Zealanders; the policies also emphasised human considerations such as family reunification and providing resettlement opportunities for refugees. The description below focuses on areas relevant to this study: permanent entry, temporary entry, and permanent residence.

3.3.1 Permanent entry

Apart from specific conditions for permanent entry such as health, character, age and prearranged accommodation, the permanent entry provisions had three principal categories for the award of permits (Department of Labour, 1983; Trlin & Spoonley, 1986). The categories are explained below:

(a) Entry on occupational grounds

“Preference is given to people from traditional source countries who have qualifications and skills relevant to and recognised in New Zealand, and which have been determined to be in sufficient demand in New Zealand to warrant recruitment overseas” (Department of Labour, 1983, p. 225).

The Occupational Priority List (OPL) of accepted and priority skills, varied depending on current jobs and vacancies for particular skills in the employment market. Applicants with other skills might be considered for permanent entry where prospective employers could show the Immigration Authority they were unable to find a suitable New Zealander for the job. It was not enough merely to request a preference from traditional source countries (UK, Netherlands and other European countries) without considering skill factors. To prevent people from developing countries from losing skilled people, these applicants were not considered on occupational grounds unless their skills were needed in New Zealand and not needed in their own countries (Department of Labour, 1983; Trlin & Spoonley, 1986).

(b) Entry on family reunification grounds

Applicants for family reunification with New Zealand citizens or permanent residents needed to be: (a) spouses and dependent children; (b) parents with no children in their own country; (c) brothers, sisters and independent children if they were not married, had no children or other dependents, and were alone in their country of abode; and (d) other cases involving special circumstances such as “a high degree of financial or emotional dependence on the New Zealand citizen or permanent resident”(Department of Labour, 1983, p. 5). Those engaged to be married fell under a separate provision in the temporary entry category (Department of Labour, 1983; Trlin & Spoonley, 1986).

Trlin and Spoonley (1986) commented that while provisions for family reunification were relatively stringent, there was considerable scope for administrative discretion on cases involving “a high degree of financial or emotional dependence” (p. 5). Further, compared with the 1970 provisions, a significant element of discrimination had been removed. Kinship was no longer the basis for different restrictions on entry of some groups considered as more or less desirable in terms of their perceived capacity for assimilation. In 1985, all groups, except New Zealand citizens and those exempt from entry permit requirements, were on an equal footing. Consequently, family reunification prospects for British migrants became more restricted while those for Chinese and Indians became less so (Department of Labour, 1983; Trlin & Spoonley, 1986).

(c) Entry on humanitarian grounds

Humanitarian grounds applied to two different groups. First, those with a family connection to New Zealand not within the family reunification criteria could qualify on strong compassionate grounds if it could be shown their circumstances were far worse than others in their home community. The second group was refugees, who needed an approval of refugee status from the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) to qualify. Refugees were considered by the New Zealand government only following UNHCR requests and after consultation with New Zealand Refugee Resettlement bodies set up by the National Council of Churches. Each case was based on humanitarian circumstances and on judged ability to adapt to New Zealand society. Consideration was also taken of previous links with New Zealand and with friends or relatives in the country. Once refugees were established in the country, they could sponsor the entry of any relative under the family reunification policy. Refugee acceptance in New Zealand was dependent on the availability of resettlement resources and of sponsors who found jobs and accommodation and gave follow-up support.

(d) Entry on other grounds

Apart from the three provisions above, there were additional ways for people to qualify for permanent entry. For example, the Minister of Immigration could approve applications from those distinguished in the arts, sciences, public or cultural life overseas and those strongly involved in promoting or protecting New Zealand’s interests overseas. Business people of proven ability wanting to invest capital and start businesses in New Zealand

irrespective of their origin or age could be considered as long as they met the immigration criteria and brought in both business skill and capital considered advantageous to the country. New Zealand also had special quota arrangements with some countries (e.g., the Netherlands and Samoa).

3.3.2 *Temporary entry*

Three sets of provisions directly governed temporary entry to New Zealand. The first applied to managerial and other overseas staff members brought in on contract to take up specialist positions for which it was not possible to recruit from within New Zealand. Employers needed to guarantee necessary maintenance, accommodation and eventual repatriation with all accompanying dependents.

The second set of provisions covered workers operating under a scheme begun in the 1960s where farmers applied through the Department of Labour for temporary workers from Fiji and elsewhere. The workers were given 4-month permits with the option of 2-month extensions. They were required to return to Fiji for 12 months before reapplying.

The third set of provisions related to overseas students, making an important contribution to their home countries. The government gave preference first to students from the South Pacific, followed by those from South-East Asia, and then from other countries with which New Zealand had close political and trade ties. Students seeking entry to New Zealand were subject to normal immigration requirements, restrictions on employment, the types of courses undertaken and English Language ability requirements. A student permit was for 12 months, extended thereafter for each year of study.

3.3.3 *Permanent residence*

These policies also covered individuals who came to New Zealand as tourists, short-term workers, students or other visitors holding temporary permits who then wanted to stay on permanently. Applications from such people were considered in terms of normal entry provisions outlined above with an overall proviso that “only those cases which would have been approved had the application been made in the usual manner from outside New Zealand will be regarded favourably” (Department of Labour, 1983, p. 7).

People who overstayed their temporary permits made them invalid and were therefore illegal immigrants in New Zealand. The immigration authority recognised many remained in New Zealand for some years without attracting attention and that they had established strong family and other associations which would have been jeopardised if they were to leave the country. The Minister, at the time, directed that such people should be considered for permanent residence on humanitarian grounds.

Finally, under the family reunification grounds fiancés/fiancées, when they married in New Zealand while still holding temporary permit as visitors, could apply to have their status changed to that of a permanent resident. The 1985 policy made it explicit, however, that “there is no automatic right to permanent status simply by virtue of a marriage” (Department of Labour, 1985, p. 7). This was designed to discourage marriages of conveniences to gain permanent residency.

3.4 Immigration Policies, 1986 and 1987

In August 1986 the Labour Government undertook a comprehensive review of immigration policies. The Immigration Act 1987 brought a landmark change officially ending the traditional source country preference system favouring the United Kingdom and Ireland (Bedford et al., 1987; Burke, 1986; Trlin, 1997). According to Lidgard, Bedford, and Goodwin (1998), the policy, although belated, was in line with the less discriminatory policies of Canada, the United States and Australia.

The modified policies were designed to serve New Zealand’s domestic, regional and international interests and enrich the multicultural social fabric of society (Burke, 1986). The new policies focussed on immigrants with high human capital value and monetary assets, who were to be actively welcomed into New Zealand so long as they fostered economic growth. Multiculturalism as an ideal was officially endorsed. Burke (1986, p. 11) said selection was now “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.” Further, 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, p. 11).

One major aim was to attract skilled migrants under the Entry on Occupational Grounds, to be assessed on “personal qualities, skills, qualifications, potential contribution ... and capacity to settle well” (Burke, 1986, p. 16). The other aim was to counter the net migration losses of the previous 15 years (Farmer, 1986). During that time potential for economic growth through skilled immigration was limited by the Occupational Priority List, which restricted entry to those whose occupations matched existing vacancies and areas of skills shortage. As Burke (1986, p. 8) noted, “It was not a force for broader economic growth. An entry requirement then for entrepreneurs and business people was that they transfer at least NZ\$150,000 to New Zealand”.

All applicants and their families had been personally interviewed to elicit information on employment skills, work history, language ability, motivation for migration, knowledge about New Zealand and other issues. An English language requirement was also introduced based on two beliefs: that immigrants accepted the country as they found it and accepted its rules; and that they had the ability to communicate with the wider community (Burke, 1986).

The English language rule, it should be noted, only applied to applicants who fell within the occupational entry category, and was directed towards the principal applicant, spouse and children over 12. Although the avowed purpose of the interviews and language test was to ensure immigrants adjusted well and settled smoothly, there were criticisms. Bedford et al. (1987) argued that the interview could be covertly discriminatory, and the English language requirement was questionable, favouring immigrants from traditional sources. A similar concern was expressed regarding an English language competency requirement for family reunification.

The new policy removed the family size guideline and replaced it with an accommodation check. If family assets or income were judged inadequate to obtain secure housing, the applicant was required to promise not to claim any central or local government housing assistance and to show that arrangements for housing had already been made with the sponsor or employer.

The change also required the Labour Ministry to introduce a 6-monthly review of the OPL via “a vacancy number and duration formula” that identified specific shortages from labour force surveys (Burke, 1986, p. 14).

In the Entry Reunification Grounds, Burke (1986, p. 18) identified two significant changes regarding family reunification provisions. First was the “centre of gravity” principle, where parents of New Zealand residents would be considered for entry if more family members were here than in their home or any third country. Furthermore, if the number of children in the home country and New Zealand was evenly balanced, then parents could elect to join their family here. The second category provided for a New Zealand resident who could sponsor the entry of a brother, sister or adult child who had a worthwhile skill involving training and 2 years relevant work experience; a satisfactory permanent job offer; and who met other normal immigration criteria, including language requirements. The flexibility ruling made with respect to English Language skills for applicants seeking entry on occupational grounds applied also to applicants in the new family reunification category.

In the new policy there were no changes to the entry requirements on humanitarian grounds, although there was a significant change related to entrepreneurs in the Entry on Other Grounds. Entrepreneurs or business persons were not subject to restrictions of age or skills on the current OPL. Also, successful applicants would be free to select and invest in an enterprise of their own choice (Burke, 1986). There were no significant changes in the Entry of Non-Working Visitors and Tourists and the Entry of Temporary Workers and Working Visitors. However, the Fijian rural work scheme was suspended following the military coups of 1987. Some changes relating to the entry of Overseas Students were aimed at boosting numbers and increasing New Zealand’s foreign exchange.

In relation to this study, an important policy change related to provisions for settlement of immigrants. These included establishing the Ministry of Pacific Islands Affairs; promoting ethnic affairs organisations in the major centres (which became Ethnic Councils); and equal access to welfare provisions and adequate interpretations services. Beyond the newly formed Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs and the mooted ethnic affairs

organisations, however, Bedford et al. (1987) argued that little was required of, or provided in, the host community to ensure acceptance and equal access to resources.

In a subsequent review of immigration policies by the Working Party on Immigration, the Occupational Priority List (OPL) was deemed to be neither flexible nor effective as a tool for attracting human capital and stimulating economic growth (Wilson et al., 1991). Its retention also ran counter to the liberal economic ideology of the time and the country's excessive responses to globalisation (Kelsey, 1997). The approach was for an open, competitive economy, and an injection of more people to counter 'brain drain' and expand the workforce (Kasper, 1990; Poot et al., 1988). 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 suggested a more open selection process, based on ballot or 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, p. 71). However, McMillan (2006, p. 646) summed up the impact of these changes by concluding, "one of the most profound effects of immigration policy in New Zealand since 1987 has been the rapid ethnic and cultural diversification of New Zealand's population".

3.5 Immigration Policies, 1991–1999

The 1987 immigration policies introduced by Labour, continued until the National Government brought about further changes. In July, 1990, the Minister of Immigration introduced the Immigration Bill into Parliament, designed to streamline the immigration appeal system and strengthen compliance provisions. The Minister also announced changes to the Occupational and Business entry categories aimed at boosting the economy by allowing easier entry for people from non-traditional source countries.

The immigration Amendment Act 1991 replaced the occupational priority list with a points system similar to that used in Canada and Australia. Under this, skilled applicants could accumulate points for employability, age, and their ability to settle. Employability was measured in terms of investment and settlement funds and having a sponsor. The maximum age was 55 years, and all applicants were to meet health, character and English

language requirements for approval. Those with the required points would go into a pool for monthly selections if they did not reach the auto pass mark, a score giving them automatic approval. In the following years, as approved numbers ballooned, the auto pass mark rose from around 27 to 31 out of possible 40 points (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1995) and became the required minimum for granting approval for permanent residence.

The Business Investment Category (BIC) specified three different types of investment to gain approval for residence, ranging from a passive investment of NZ\$750,000 to an active investment of \$500,000 in a location outside Auckland or Wellington. Residency was contingent on: (a) the funds being a product of the applicant's own efforts; and (b) their investment in New Zealand for a 2-year minimum. A General Investment subcategory (GIC) within the General Category allowed business migrants who could meet the required points an alternative, preferable, route to residence. The GIC allowed those with money to gain up to three points for investment capital (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.

Another change was a new "general skills" category requiring a degree or certified trade or vocational qualifications. There were no changes to the rest of the policies. The 1991 policy changes appeared to have favoured people of early to middle class working age, who had suitable qualifications, work experience and business skills, the ability to be self-supportive (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1995).

The next major change of immigration policies, in October 1995, focused on "economic growth with social cohesion" (New Zealand Immigration Service/NZIS, 1995, p. 3) underpinned by four strategic objectives: increasing New Zealand's human capital; strengthening international linkages; encouraging enterprise and innovation; and maintaining social cohesion. A quota management system was introduced with nominal annual targets for each category, including about 15,500 General Skills approvals in a total annual target of 35,000 (Trlin, 1997). Numbers were more strictly controlled through weekly adjustment of GSC and BIC pass marks and an autofail mark (replacing the 1991–

1995 auto pass mark). Professional and trade qualifications received equal points weighting to broaden the occupational mix and increase numbers with trades and technical qualifications (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1995). In 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 investors. In the General Skills Category a new points system emphasised human capital, employability and settlement factors. English language criteria were tightened; principal applicants had to meet a minimum standard of English and non-principal applicants aged 16 or over had to pass an English test or pay a \$20,000 bond.

Between 1995 and 1997 policies did not change, but there were adjustments to powers of search for illegal immigrants, lowering English language requirements, setting a medium term target of 10,000 immigrants, and changing screening and removal procedures for migrants.

In 1998, however, some significant changes made New Zealand a more attractive destination for migrants, entrepreneurs and investors. The Minister of Immigration, Tuariki Delamere, (1998, p. 1) said this was to be achieved by “building on the relationships with people already associated with New Zealand and by simplifying processes to ensure that we don’t miss out on the people we want.”

The English language bond for non-principal residence applicants was abolished and replaced by pre-paid English language training in an approved course. Some new categories of entrepreneur/investor migrants were introduced, as were long-term visas for business people. There was increased flexibility in qualifications; all work experience was to be valued and awarded points, and those with New Zealand qualifications were exempted from the work experience requirement and earned a bonus point in recognition of their association with New Zealand (Delamere, 1998; NZIS, 1998).

Entrepreneurial or Business immigrants could immigrate under an Entrepreneur or Investor Category or a long-term Business Visa. Entrepreneurs needed to demonstrate

they had a viable, established business in New Zealand that benefited the country (NZIS, 1998, p. 9). Long-Term Visa applicants, however, had to have a specific business proposal, the background to carry their proposal through, and enough money to finance it. While no longer able to get points for academic qualifications, settlement funds, sponsorship or New Zealand business experience, Business Investor Category migrants were encouraged by the removal of the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) in favour of a small language tuition fee and by the introduction of more points for work experience. The age limit for substantial investors was raised to a maximum of 84, despite the Minister's claim that young investors were being targeted. The minimum investment fund was also raised to NZ\$1million. Bedford and Ho (1998) concluded that age and money were clearly the big point scorers in the new Investor Category.

Over the next 18 months there were a few small changes that streamlined existing policies. For example, the fail mark for General Skills migrants was lowered a point and points were allocated for short-term employment, although securing employment before arrival was still strongly emphasised. The right to the welfare benefits for migrants and allowances for students were withdrawn for those whose permanent residency was less than two years. Refugees, however, were exempt from this policy change. International students were allowed to work in New Zealand for 15 hours per week. The Government also upgraded service structures to cater for increases in skilled migrants, tourists and students from Asian countries.

From the end of 1999 to early 2000 (when this study period concluded) New Zealand immigration policies divided immigrants into three streams for residence as summarised by (Glass, 2004, pp.1–2):

Skilled/Business – Applicants are awarded points for their characteristics with anyone who reaches a minimum total point, (pass mark) given residence. Applicants receive most points if they among other things, are highly qualified, under 35, have a job offer in New Zealand relevant to their qualifications and several years of relevant work experience, and bring with them significant settlement funds.

Family Sponsored – This stream is for the family members of previous immigrants.

International/Humanitarian – This category is for refugees, and other international (e.g., Samoan quota) and humanitarian (e.g., domestic violence policy) residence application.

3.6 New Zealand's Points Policy – Some Pluses and Minuses

New Zealand immigration policies have a number of pluses. The emphasis on skilled migration is laudable. The selection process for skilled migrants is seen as transparent. Also, the selection process meets demand pressures allowing for more stability and predictability in the incoming of new migrants. Moreover, New Zealand is seen as an attractive country to migrants, many of whom are very highly skilled; there is evidence to indicate they are higher skilled than either our emigrants or domestic population (Glass, 2004). This is useful, since it is far easier to fine-tune an immigration policy when demand for residence is higher than supply.

There is, however, no guarantee that migrants selected generally on paper-based information will turn out as skilled and productive as expected. Another risk is that business migrants, with large investments in New Zealand and business interests in their home and other countries, may siphon out excessive foreign exchange. Migrants brought in on humanitarian grounds present a different range of problems. If they lack skills and qualifications they are likely to be in low-wage jobs easily affected by economic downturn and more likely to resort to public assistance. Migrants of this calibre also require greater investment in education and training. For all categories of migrants, those with strong and conservative culture and values are more likely to find integration or assimilation difficult (Glass, 2004; Hoadley, 2003; Lochhead, 2007).

New Zealand's selection policy, since 1991, has been based on the points system or the priority lists model. A number of other countries, including Australia, Canada, USA, Germany and other European nations, also adopted the system, which is seen as contributing to a more dynamic economy and increasing economic growth (Christensen et al., 2006; McMillan, 1998). Additionally, the model is judged beneficial as skilled migrants contribute more to GDP than they receive in wages. Further, the system encourages younger migrants who help counteract the aging population and maintain

developed countries' pension schemes. Above all, the points model can help prevent spiralling wages resulting from labour-market bottlenecks.

A drawback of this policy model, highlighted by Brochmann (1999), Green and Green(1999), and Ochel (2001), is that resulting immigration patterns can cause considerable distortions in income distribution, since domestic workers whose services are replaced by those of the immigrants will lose out.

The point system, however, has the following advantages from the perspective of host countries: the system works smoothly; the immigration mix can be controlled to meet short- and medium-term economic and integration-related requirements; selection accuracy is relatively high, even though it is limited by the need for measurable selection criteria; and the system is generally accepted by domestic populations (Glass, 2004; Ochel, 2001).

The disadvantages include: the high administrative costs and methodological problems in identifying labour shortages by occupation and industry (Bauer, 1998). Also, the time lag between obtaining the labour-market data and arrival of immigrants may lead to incorrect choices; moreover, most immigrants are young with long and changeable working lives ahead of them. The point system is also relatively inflexible and slow in reacting to unforeseen circumstances (Zimmermann, 2000). Inflexibility is caused by the time taken in establishing new selection criteria and the need to grant potential applicants sufficient planning time.

In the final analysis, as Ochel (2001) says, the points system has proved a workable proposition and is operating well in most countries, including New Zealand. It has remained in use until the time of writing.

3.7 Multiculturalism, Biculturalism and the Treaty of Waitangi

Concepts of multiculturalism and biculturalism began to mature and develop in the political and social context of New Zealand society in the 1990s and are relevant in the context of this study. Spoonley and Berg (1997) commented that the geo-political circumstances of the late twentieth century, and the increasing significance of the

economies of Asia, effected a fundamental re-orientation in New Zealand's economic and political policies. Politically, this was reflected in the willingness to encourage the migration of capital and people to New Zealand and the promotion of a limited and liberal form of multiculturalism within New Zealand as a strategy of incorporation.

The concept of multiculturalism in the 1990s centred on the explicit recognition of the cultural diversity of a given society. New terms emerged including nominal recognition of cultural diversity (soft multiculturalism) to the radical restructuring of major institutions and public policy (critical multiculturalism). Durie (2005) views that multiculturalism has two aspects in New Zealand. One aspect concerns the toleration of cultural difference. The other concerns the celebration of cultural difference. The latter overlaps with bicultural policy development and can lead to competition for government support but more often he thinks the two policies are mutually supportive. However, the law is concerned only with the first aspect, the toleration of cultural difference. In New Zealand, this is normally in the context of the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act and the Human Rights Act 1990.

Biculturalism in New Zealand, Durie suggests, can be defined by its objectives. One is to acknowledge and respect those things that are distinctly Māori owned and operated, like Māori language, custom and lands, Māori schools and Māori governance institutions. Another is to make state-operated facilities more culturally amenable to Māori, as with the recognition of Māori preferences and practices in schools, hospitals and prisons. A third is to foster Pakeha engagement with Māori culture as with the teaching of Māori language and culture among predominantly Pakeha students. A fourth is to provide especially for Māori in national institutions, like the Maori Parliamentary seats.

Other objectives are to promote the settlement of land claims and to combine elements of both cultures to forge a common national identity. These are laudatory objectives but the law is more fundamentally concerned with the rights of Māori as an indigenous people. Accordingly, of the bicultural objectives, the law is concerned mainly with the recognition of Māori governance institutions, land rights and custom law.

Opposition to multiculturalism also came from many Māori who were concerned that the government's recognition of immigrant groups would undermine prior bicultural commitments to Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi. Under the Treaty there is an assumption of a bifurcated model of identity, which is that of Pakeha and Māori, and there is no place for any non-European and any non-Māori New Zealanders.

Legislations and judicial interpretation from the mid-1980s has required policies to be interpreted and implemented subject to the principles of the Treaty, and bicultural social and political policies have been inferred from its text and history. Several accommodations have been made by the majority culture: the adoption of Teo Reo Māori use of Māori as an official language and the increasing use of Māori language and protocol for ceremonial occasions, funding for Māori broadcasting and the arts, and changes to the school curriculum. But the extent of cultural change required under biculturalism remains unclear. (Smits, 2006, p. 30)

Through multiculturalism Māori also saw their status being downgraded to a single group among many. Benton (1988) argues that this was taken to disadvantage Māori because:

.....it denies Māori people their equality as members of one among two (sets of) peoples, and it also tends to deny the divisions of Māoridom their separate status while exaggerating the status of other immigrant groups. In the end, Māori interests become peripheral, combined with other "special problem" areas. (p. 77)

The Waitangi Tribunal is fairly clear on this matter:

We do not accept that the Māori is just another one of a member of ethnic groups in our community. It must be remembered that of all minority groups the Māori alone is party to a solemn treaty made with the Crown. None of the other migrant groups who have come to live in this country in recent years can claim the rights that were given to the Māori people by the Treaty of Waitangi.

Because of the Treaty Māori New Zealanders stand on a special footing reinforcing, if reinforcement be needed, their historical position as the original

inhabitants, the tangata whenua of New Zealand..... (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p. 37; May, 2004, pp. 250–251)

New Zealand Government policy toward the Māori population in the 1990s was characterised by an emphasis on the settlement of historic grievances, largely concerning traditional property rights.

The issues raised by these concepts are important in the discussion of the management of cultural diversity, and as such are an important part of the context of Fijian Indian migrations to New Zealand during the 1990s.

3.8 Policy Evaluation

Public policy making does not finish with the passing of legislation and the implementation of approved policies, but with the questions whether the initiative achieved its objectives, what the effects were and whether any changes are needed (Hall, 2010).

The New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS) of the New Zealand Labour Department is the body that handles all immigration policies including their implementation. It is also responsible for carrying out the evaluation process. Unfortunately, there is no information on how the Immigration Service carries out its policy evaluation. From the information available, it appears that no formal evaluation is carried out. Hoadley (2001) says changes appear to be the result of public opinion, political criticism and presumably administrative and legal constraints. There is evidence, too, of emulating successful immigration policies of overseas countries. This process appears to be working for NZIS but public policy analysts call for a much more detailed and analytical process for the shaping of effective and robust policies (Hall, 2010). However, Hall also comments: “Because of the large size of many public policies, many evaluations may only focus on particular aspects only” (p.1).

3.9 Management of Migrant Settlement

The discussion now moves from policies that managed the entry of immigrants to the management of settlement of migrants once they are within New Zealand. This provides

information on what my research participants could expect in terms of assistance and support from government and non-government organisations when they arrived.

The process of settlement begins as soon as migrants enter the country as legal migrants. Settlement is involved and can be complex. In this context it is taken to mean initial acclimatisation and adaptation, when migrants make the basic adjustments to life in a new country. This includes finding somewhere to live, beginning to learn the local language, obtaining employment and learning to find their way around an unfamiliar society. In contrast, integration is a long-term, two-way process in which migrants achieve full participation in all aspects of the receiving country's life and in turn, the host country benefits from the full potential of migrants.

A goal of immigration policies in New Zealand is the “successful” settlement of immigrants. However, it seems there are no decisive empirical benchmarks against which successful settlement can be measured. This makes any verdict somewhat subjective. As Burnaby (1992, p. 23) notes:

We 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.

Studies of immigrant settlement in New Zealand and abroad (Beiser, 1999; Ho et al., 2000; Ip, 1996; Jansen, 1990) involving immigrants from a broad range of backgrounds confirm that some form of criteria is necessary to measure the successful settlement of migrants.

Receiving countries differ in the formulation of policies towards settlement of migrants. In the late 1960s, migrants to Canada, United States, Australia and New Zealand were expected by their respective governments to become assimilated into the dominant community (Fletcher, 1999). Since the 1970s, however, the assimilationist perspective has been widely criticised and the alternative approach of integration has been discussed and promoted by scholars and policy reformers (Barry, Kalin & Taylor, 1977). Integration “encourages a process of mutual adjustment and accommodation by both migrants and

society” (Ho et al., 2000, p. 11). Settling immigrants are required to understand and respect the values of their host society, while the host society is also expected to understand and acknowledge the cultural differences which new migrants introduce. Instead of expecting new immigrants to forsake their cultural heritage, Ho et al, (2000) say, the emphasis should be on finding ways to integrate differences within a pluralistic society.

Both Australia and Canada recently embraced official policies promoting cultural pluralism and equal participation of immigrants and people of ethnic minority (Fletcher, 1999). New Zealand’s 1986 *Immigration Policy Review* committed the government management to urge immigrants “to participate fully in New Zealand’s multicultural society while being able to maintain valued elements in their own heritage” (Burke, 1986, p. 11). This review also relinquished “the old notion of assimilation” and noted that “our society clearly now sees a positive value in diversity and the retention by ethnic minorities of their cultural heritage” (Burke, 1986, p.48).

New Zealand’s policy on settlement has caused concern, particularly from the providers of settlement assistance and migrants themselves. They criticise the government for not providing a formalised and explicit policy on settlement. Researchers and policy reformers confirm that, unlike Canada and Australia, New Zealand has had no migrant settlement policy since the termination of sponsored immigration from the United Kingdom and the Netherlands in the 1970s, other than for the arrival refugee quota (Bedford, Ho & Lidgard, 2001). Immigrant selection procedures are supposed to identify families who will settle without undue difficulty in New Zealand, using the human and financial capital they brought into the country (Bedford et al., 2001). Instead of a definite policy, the New Zealand government has a set of strategies in place to help migrants to settle. Before these are examined, though, there will be a brief review of settlement policies once provided for assisted migrants and current provisions for refugees.

3.9.1 *Early policy for assisted migrants and current refugee settlement policies*

In the early days of colonisation there was an assisted migration programme, as mentioned above. Migrants were received, housed, fed, provided orientation, and then transported to selected areas for settlement. Initially, government provided housing and in some

instances the newcomers shared with other migrants until they had their own homes on land normally bought from the government for £1 per acre. The major beneficiaries of the scheme were British and Dutch migrants with some from other parts of Europe. The assisted migration scheme continued for many years, apart from a halt during the Depression and World War II. In 1947, when the scheme was restarted by the Labour Government, the Labour Department was made responsible for administration. The Department's Immigration Advisory Council advised the government on the numbers of immigrants required for New Zealand, whether the scheme could be extended and other changes in policy (New Zealand Yearbook, 1988/89; Shroff, 1989).

From the early 1960s there were two assisted immigration schemes for British migrants: the assisted passage scheme and the subsidy scheme. Only 500 assisted passage migrants, possessing minimum skills in an approved occupation, were allowed each year. Employers sponsoring migrants had to provide jobs and arrange accommodation. In the 1960s the previous quota for the subsidy scheme was abolished and the scheme became need-based. Employers were required to pay one quarter of the air fare of migrants while the remainder was subsidised by the government and if the migrants came by sea the subsidy was \$200 per person. Migrants were no longer required to have specific skills. Employers were obliged to provide work and arrange suitable accommodation for a married migrant. In September 1970, the subsidy scheme was extended to skilled and semi-skilled workers from the United States and Western Europe. Both schemes were ended by the government in 1975.

Another area where settlers to the country are seen to be well managed or assisted and where migrant settlement policies are spelled out is in the refugee settlement programme. Refugees are admitted and settled by New Zealand government within the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. On arrival, refugees are accommodated at the Mangere Reception Centre in Auckland where they are provided with group orientation courses for up to 6 weeks. Refugees' costs are met by different government departments who provide: benefit payments to meet living expenses until the breadwinner starts working; medical and dental services; and orientation and familiarisation courses to educate refugees about daily living in New Zealand and the English language (New Zealand Yearbook, 1988/89; Shroff, 1989).

Once the orientation programme is completed, refugee settlers are moved to their final destinations where they are assisted by their sponsors and if possible by people from their own country of origin. There are resettlement committees at each district office of the Department of Labour to support refugee sponsors with employment and other problems. The committees also follow up each local group's progress. Once the refugee settlers are established they are permitted to sponsor the entry of relatives to New Zealand under the family reunification policy.

An important committee that also existed until policy changes of the late 1980s was the Interdepartmental Committee on Resettlement, monitored by the Department of Labour. The committee consulted other government agencies and non-government bodies and to review the facilities available to assist refugees and new migrants. The Committee then developed proposals for the kinds of assistance needed by the new settlers (New Zealand Yearbook, 1986/87, 1988/89).

3.9.2 *NZIS management structures and functions*

In New Zealand the immigration policy issues and related administration is vested in the Department of Labour whose primary role is to improve the performance of the labour market and, through this, strengthen the economy and increase the standard of living for New Zealanders. My main aim in this section is to show the different functions and services this body provides, including entry and management of new settlers.

The New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS) is one of five divisions of the Department of Labour. The NZIS workforce delivers immigration, settlement and employment-related customer services and information, as well as policy advice on these areas to government. Its main role is selecting and processing all applications for permanent or temporary entry to New Zealand. The Division has around 700 staff members in New Zealand and overseas. The offices include the Wellington National Office, responsible for policy development, disseminating information to the various NZIS branches, and advising the Minister and Government. The National Contact Centre discharges the frontline customer service function of the NZIS.

The Division's functions can be categorised into five large functional areas: Processing, Business, Refugees, Immigration Appeals, Border and Investigations, and Miscellaneous. Processing handles all applications for visa and permit. NZIS has 10 visa and permit branches in New Zealand and 14 overseas. In addition, contractors such as the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the British Foreign Office conduct some visa processing on behalf of NZIS. This arrangement ensures the NZIS has maximum representation in as many countries as possible. The Transitional Policy Processing Unit which only accepts and processes applications received under the Transitional Policies was not in existence in the 1990s but came into existence in 2000 to process applications under this policy. The function, however, was planned in the late 1990s. The Settlement Branch supports NZIS front line staff members in delivering settlement information to prospective migrants and those whose applications are approved.

The Business Migration Branch located in Wellington specialises in processing and promoting applications lodged under the business policies. The branch approves business visas and permits and looks into issues of investors and investments and matters of relocating businesses. The Business Migrant Liaison Unit within this branch refers business migrants to appropriate industry contacts and websites. The unit, however, does not provide any policy advice.

Refugee Services was set up to ensure New Zealand meets its obligations under the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. There are two branches – the Refugee Quota Branch and the Refugee Status Branch. The Quota Branch (New Zealand Immigration Service) accepts UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) mandated refugees. This work includes the selection, escort, accommodation and induction of refugees as elaborated already. The Refugee Status Branch is required to make decisions on all claims for refugee status made within New Zealand. Its role is to assist the government to meet its obligations under the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. Refugee Status officers determine whether refugee claimants meet the Convention criteria.

Immigration decisions made by the New Zealand Immigration Service are not final. Those who are refused entry can appeal to the appeal authority. There are two available

independent judicial appeal authorities, established in 1991 under the 1987 Immigration Act. The Residence Appeal Authority considers and decides appeals by unsuccessful applicants for New Zealand residence visa or residence permits. The Removal Review Authority determines appeals brought under section 47 of the Immigration Act against the requirement for a person unlawfully in New Zealand to leave the country. The Removal Review Authority consists of barristers or solicitors of the High Court who have held practising certificates for at least 5 years. Members are appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of the Minister of Immigration.

NZIS also has a compliance section, Border and Investigation. Its objectives are to facilitate the entry to New Zealand of travellers who meet entry requirements, while identifying and managing risks to New Zealand arising from those travellers who do not meet entry requirements (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1998). The key services are removal of persons in New Zealand unlawfully; fraud investigation; airport risk management; deportation of criminals; and interviews and revocation of residence and temporary permits where appropriate.

In addition to the functions explained above, the NZIS also manages such bodies dealing with immigration matters as: the Ministerial, Complaints and Court Group; the Business Information group; the Policy, Research and Development unit; and the Ministerial Advisory group.

Another important unit of the NZIS, which was clearly prescribed by an immigration policy of the late 1980s and early 1990s, was the Resettlement Unit. Its role was to assess the range of settlement services available to new settlers and to make recommendations to government agencies, the Interdepartmental Committee on Resettlement and other interested bodies. The unit focussed its attention on the information needs of migrants. It also aimed at fostering a better understanding of the difficulties faced by migrants and working visitors, encouraging them to recognise the value of the contribution that they would make once they had taken their place in the community (Department of Labour, 1999; New Zealand Immigration Service, 1998; New Zealand Yearbook, 1986/87).

3.9.3 NZIS activities

In the previous section I described the functions and responsibilities of the NZIS in helping new immigrants settle without unnecessary constraints (Connor, 1995). This section summarises some of the activities NZIS has undertaken to achieve its aims.

One successful initiative was the 1988 NZIS sponsored information booklet *A Guide for New Settlers* for new migrants. This was later extended as *Living in New Zealand: A Guide for Immigrants* (Connor, 1995). Migrants were expected to buy the book, which provided useful information on support and services (See **Appendix 1** for a summary of the guide's content). According to Fletcher (1999) the Settlement Information Programme had two strands. Information provided to migrants before they arrived helped them prepare for life in New Zealand. Information given after arrival included such aspects as how to access services and find employment. From 1997 to 1999 the NZIS spent \$890,000 on initiatives to assist immigrants through the Settlement Information Programme. For example, the newsletter, *Linkz: Making Your Way in New Zealand*, contained experiences and advice of immigrants on issues of employment, business education, housing and public services (Bedford, Ho, & Ligard, 2005). In addition the NZIS also produced a package for new settlers, *The Settlement Kit*, which provided information on "finding a home, working in New Zealand, the education system, government and judicial system, laws and the taxation system" (Bedford et al., 2005, p. 13). The NZIS also produced specific booklets aimed at teenagers and older migrants.

New Zealand did not organise English language education or training for adult non-English speaking migrants. This is because migrants under the General Skills category had to have a certain level of English proficiency (IELTS level 5). Also, Business Investor Category applicants were required to meet IELTS level 4 and if they did not, both principal and non-principal applicants might pre-purchase English language training instead. Pre-purchase charges ranged from \$1700 to \$6,650, depending on applicants' IELTS score. The pre-purchase contract was administered through Skill New Zealand and training was provided by a range of educational institutions and private training providers. It was up to the migrant whether they actually took up the training (Fletcher, 1999). Migrants (except refugees) entering New Zealand on humanitarian and family grounds were not provided with any form of training after arrival. However, in 1996 the New

Zealand Employment Service (NZES) introduced a programme for English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) for long-term unemployed tertiary-qualified migrants whose lack of English proficiency was considered a hurdle to employment. Between 1996 and 1998 some 504 participants attended these courses (Fletcher, 1999). The Migrant Levy was also used to fund aspects of English language training for migrants. Before 2000 the NZIS published *Ethnic Communities Directory* and the Local Authorities' *Local Government Migrant Services* which listed many of the ethnic and community groups, providing various services for new migrants (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2000).

3.9.4 The place of local government and NGOs in settlement management

In 2002 the Department of Labour started to show more interest in the settlement area and produced a programme called Settlement Support New Zealand. The Department does not directly provide the support services but funds some of the migrant and refugee support organisations around New Zealand that supply a diverse range of programmes designed to help migrants settle in local communities (Bedford et al., 2005).

The organisations financed by the Labour Department are: Auckland Chamber of Commerce, Auckland Regional Migrant Resource Centre (ARMS), Canterbury Employers' Chamber of Commerce, Chinese New Settler Service Trust, Christchurch Resettlement Support, Citizens Advice Bureau, Peeto Christchurch, Refugee Resettlement and Relationship Services. Built into most of the programmes of these bodies are education and training (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2007).

Also during the period of study there were many private bodies and groups voluntarily assisting and supporting migrant settlement. These bodies consist of community groups (social and religious), church groups, clubs and ethnic associations. Although these groups work with migrants in accordance with policies and regulations of the government, they use their own funds to function and in most cases receive no financial assistance. For instance, church groups provide an airport-reception service that involves meeting the new migrants at the airport when they first arrive in New Zealand, helping them find accommodation and doctors, and providing non-professional interpreting services at the initial stage of their settlement. The New Zealand Immigration Service (2000)

acknowledges that although this kind of service is not formally organised it is very useful to migrants.

More formally organised and supported are the Ethnic Councils and Migrant Resource Centres who work for migrants in the major towns and cities of New Zealand and operate in close liaison with central and local government. Ethnic Councils come under the umbrella of the New Zealand Federation of Ethnic Councils formed in 1989 as an incorporated non-government body. The councils survive on small amounts of funding from central government and local authorities along with grants from different external bodies. They are managed by volunteers working to promote and protect the interests of the ethnic groups that make up New Zealand's multicultural society (Buckland, 1997). Providing new immigrants and refugees with assistance or advice is an important function of ethnic councils. The work with various ethnic associations and services include information and advocacy, basic life skills training, including teaching ethnic language, English language and sports and religion to children. They provide interpreting and bilingual liaison services in addition to driver-licensing classes, legal information and health services. Some ethnic groups organise social functions and multi-cultural festivals, allowing them to showcase their cultures and interact with the local New Zealand community. Some groups also organise activities exclusively for their specific ethnic communities, helping them retain their own culture while adapting to the New Zealand environment (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2000).

Migrant Resource Centres, on the other hand, are funded by and operate under the wing of city councils. They link with government, local authority and the community, and work with a wide range of community organisations and agencies. Some of the services they provide include information, orientation programmes, English language support, employment, and citizenship advice. Migrant Resource Centres and Ethnic Councils work in close consultation.

Additionally, most local authorities also provide a service of sponsoring citizenship ceremonies, ethnic festivals (like Diwali), offering community centre activities, library services, and business advice. This is done in partnership with central government,

voluntary organisations, the business community, and education and training establishments (Watts & Trlin, 2002).

3.9.5 *Protecting migrants (and other citizens) from discrimination*

One of the aims of some Ethnic Councils is to protect ethnic groups or migrants from discrimination and racism and to work closely with the Human Rights Commission. The Commission was established by an Act of Parliament in 1977 to promote the advancement of human rights in New Zealand in accordance with the United Nations International Covenant on Human Rights. Its general functions are to promote, encourage and coordinate programmes and activities in the field of human rights, and its specific functions are to investigate alleged breaches of the wide-ranging provisions against discrimination on grounds of sex, marital status or religious or ethical beliefs as set out in part 2 of the Human Rights Act 1993. The Act also makes unlawful any discrimination on grounds of colour, race or ethnic or national origin in a number of areas not already covered by the Race Relations Act 1971 (New Zealand Yearbook, 1989; Kiwi Ora Guide, 2002).

One safeguard against discrimination in employment are the Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) principles that ensure fairness to employees in the workplace in such areas as recruitment, pay, and other rewards, career development, and work conditions. EEO practices are a powerful means to increase business efficiency, competitiveness and profitability (Love, 1988) and Equal Employment Opportunity principles are fully implemented in New Zealand public service organisations (Guide on Human Rights Act and EEO, 1997). The Human Rights Amendment Act 2001 established the role of a full-time EEO Commissioner with responsibility for providing advice and leadership on EEO activities, monitoring and evaluating EEO progress, and leading discussions about EEO issues, including pay equity. There is also an Equal Opportunities Tribunal constituted under the same Act (1977) as the Human Rights Commission, which adjudicates in civil proceedings brought by the commission alleging discriminatory practice under part 2 of the Act.

Another important body that works closely with the Human Right Commission is the Office of the Race Relations Conciliator. The Office affirms and promotes racial equality

in New Zealand and implements the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Discrimination is unlawful on the grounds of colour, race, or ethnic or national origins in (a) access by the public to places, vehicles and facilities; (b) provision of goods and services; (c) employment (including employment of independent contractors); and (d) land, housing, and other accommodation. It is also unlawful to publish or display any advertisement or notice that indicates an intention to commit a breach of any of these provisions (New Zealand Yearbook, 1989). The Act also makes it an offence to incite racial disharmony. A breach of any of the provisions may be the subject of an investigation by the Office of the Race Relations Conciliator. The Office disseminates educational material, implements educational programmes, and works to bring about cross-cultural understanding. It also conducts research on race relation issues and enquires into racial harassment. Race relations offices exist in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch (Kiwi Ora Guide, 2002).

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter discussed immigration policies and settlement management in New Zealand, concentrating particularly on the period in which many Fiji Indians arrived in the country.

In the context of this study most Fiji Indian migrants migrated to New Zealand under the immigration policies that existed from 1987 to 1999. Under the Immigration Act 1987, which followed the review, the migrants for New Zealand were selected under three significant categories: occupational skills and business streams where a priority list identified skills needed in New Zealand; priority was also accorded to entrepreneurs and business people. The potential business migrants were expected to transfer at least NZ\$150,000 to New Zealand, and the migrants' ability to speak English was assessed at interviews. This category of migration policy proved to be most popular and accounted for over half the migrants who arrived after 1987. The next two categories were family reunion and humanitarian consideration. Under the family reunion category up to one third of the subsequent migrants entered New Zealand; under the humanitarian consideration in most years about 10% of migrants settled in New Zealand. The humanitarian stream was for those migrants whose existing situations were causing them emotional or physical harm. In 1991 the Immigration Amendment Act replaced the occupational list with the points system. Under this requirement migrants were awarded

points for employability, age, educational qualifications and having some funds to help them settle in New Zealand. A modest level of English was also required. In 1995 there was a further adjustment to bring in the quota or target system to control the number of migrants coming in each year and to also tighten up the English language requirements. The immigration policies from this point onwards remained the same until another change in 2002 and 2003 that fell outside the purview of this study and is therefore not discussed. A noteworthy point is that the “points system” immigration policy adopted by New Zealand was similar to those used in Canada and Australia.

There are no specific settlement policies for migrants as such, settlement services for migrants in New Zealand are patchy, and New Zealand lags behind other similar countries. The immigration and settlement policies and the services provided by government and community organisations for informing migrants and helping their settlement process outlined in this chapter all helped shape the experiences of the participants in this study. Chapter 4 discusses migration theories and dwells basically on Systems and Maslow’s Theories, which are used to analyse and discuss the migration processes.

CHAPTER 4: MIGRATION AND MIGRATION THEORIES

4.1 Migration

The study of human migration has occupied researchers for centuries. In recent times, theories of migration have been developed from a variety of disciplinary perspectives. Most of these theories conceive migration as either causal, non-causal or of a uni-directional nature. Recent examples of the many theories that exist include Wood's Theory of Forced Migration (1994), The Causal Theory of Migration of Herberle (1938) and Bogue (1959), Lee's (1996) Origin and Destination and Intervening Factor Theory, and The Network Migration Theory (De Haas, 2008; Massey et al, 1993).

The Theory of Forced Migration looks at the causal issues such as war, political instability, ecological crisis, economic and religious decline and other catastrophic factors that displace people and create three types of migrants, the legal, the illegal and the refugees. In its nature it is a dual theory, meaning that it can be applied both in the internal and external migration context. The theory is generalised and fails to explain what the real factors of crises are that displace people. The model also appears static, although Wood (1994) explains his theory is just a starting point to envisage the dynamics of forced migrations. Causal Migration Theory, one of the earliest theories, first appearing in the *American Journal of Sociology*, is still popular today but has been refined and extended with specifics such as the list of push and pull factors (Bogue, 1959). Herberle's (1938) argument was that for each migration there were different push and pull factors rather than just one reason. In practice, however, one can say that migration is much more complex than the sum of push and pull factors.

To understand migration one needs to also consider different motives to make a decision to migrate and a list of reasons is not sufficient. Lee's (1996) Origin and Destination and Intervening Factor Theory is a modified push and pull model of migration, except that he classifies the push and pull factors as negative and positive and argues they are present in both the migrants' home country and the country of emigration. He postulates that a migrant's decision to emigrate is contingent on an assessment of all the push and pull variables in the face of different societal and group norms and biases. This decision to

migrate may change, he points out, in response to a number of intervening obstacles such as legal restrictions, family attachments, costs of migration and other constraints which may or may not be surmountable (Lee, 1996). Compared with the Herberle's original push and pull hypothesis, this model appears more applicable because of the additional features it contains; however, it fails to explain how a decision to migrate is arrived at.

The Network Theory is the more recent theory of migration and at times is labelled the Chain Migration Theory. Networks can be explained as sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination countries through bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin (De Haas, 2008; Massey et al, 1993). The established relationship at one particular destination will increase the likelihood of subsequent migration to that particular place (Appleyard, 1992). Network connections are a form of social capital regarded as a crucial migration resource that enables and inspires people to migrate. Although the theory has become popular in the past two decades it has been criticized for not offering sufficient insight into the mechanisms that eventually cause the weakening and crumbling of networks and the migration process. The logic seems to be that the migration goes on ad infinitum (Massey et al, 1993). Furthermore, although kinship networks are of great help in facilitating people to migrate they also tend to be exclusionary for those outside particular social or kinship groups, particularly in the context of restrictive immigration policies (De Haas, 2008). This can be seen as the downside of social capital.

Other theories of migration are those that solely focus on aspects or themes of migration that affect migrants in their settlement phase. Examples of these include Gordon's Theory of Assimilation (1964), the Constraint Economic Opportunity Theory of Bonaciah and Modell (1980), the Cultural Pluralism Theory (Waters & Crook, 1995) and the Prejudice Theory (Sargent, 1994). Although these theories help the analytical explanations of the particular settlement aspects of migrants, they are restricted in their focus and do not recognise that the aspects and processes of migration are interrelated.

4.2 Management Perspective

Migration has been studied from many perspectives, and migration researchers have come from a variety of disciplines including sociology, anthropology, economics, labour studies,

political science, law and geography. This diversity has also been reflected in the multidisciplinary nature of the research outputs, the makeup of migration research institutes, graduate programmes, professional journals and publications. Yet the discipline of *management* has been relatively absent from these perspectives and interactions in relation to migration research. Migration is not only a phenomenon and an event, it is also fundamentally a *process*, and as such, is able to be described, characterised and assessed from the perspective of management science.

The concept of a process has been widely used in a variety of contexts. A general definition includes:

Sequence of interdependent and linked procedures which, at every stage, consume one or more resources to convert inputs into outputs. These outputs then serve as inputs for the next stage until a known goal or end result is reached (Business Dictionary, 2010, emphasis added).

Process or processing typically describes the act of taking something through an established and usually routine set of procedures to convert it from one form to another, as a manufacturing or administrative procedure (Huse & Cummings,1985).

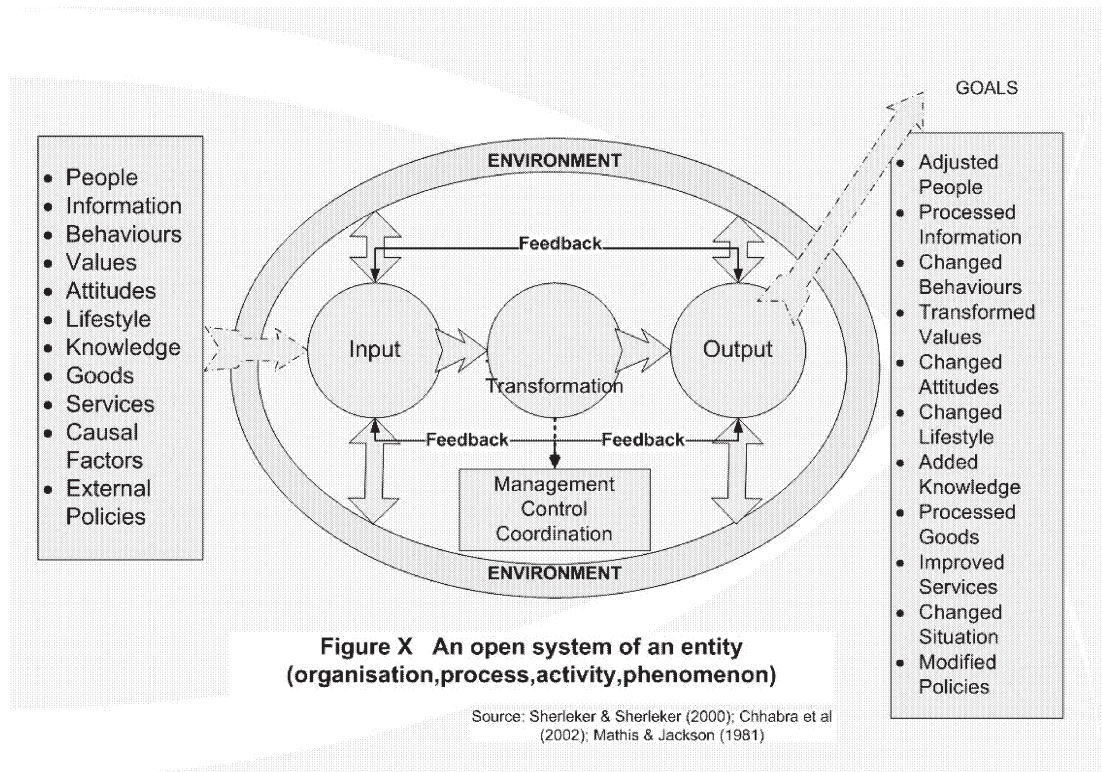
4.3 Systems Theory

To demonstrate connectives and interrelationships of migration process, I have chosen the Systems Theory, which not only serves as a conceptual framework for the study, but helps in the analysis and synthesis of the management of the migration process. The theory was first proposed under the name of General Systems Theory by the biologist Ludwig von Bertalanffy who introduced the concept of “the open system”. An open system recognises and interacts with its environment like a living organism and has parts or components that are interrelated and which interact with each other. Any disturbance imposed on any part will have a running effect on the others and the whole system (Kast & Rosenzweig, 1979; Porter, 1956; Walmsley, 1973; Walonick, 1993).

The system has basic features that assist in understanding its operation. The salient ones being that it is goal-oriented and the whole of the system is more than the sum of all its

parts. It is engaged in processing or transforming of input into outputs or outcomes. Inputs include people, information, materials, and actions. Outputs are services, products, reactions and results. A system has a feedback mechanism that can ascertain whether the outputs are what they should be. If not, a system should have the ability to adjust its inputs or processes to improve outputs.

Fig.4.1: An open system with its input, transformation and output components



A system operates in an environment with both internal and external components. Its internal environment is that part over which it has some control, that is, if some aspect of the internal environment is causing some difficulty for the system then that aspect can be changed. The external environment of the system is that part of it over which it has no control, but still affects the requirements of the system.

A system may also incorporate subsystem(s) which are usually composed of self-contained but interrelated systems. It is important to be able to recognise these subsystems, because understanding this independence is important to developing a complete system (Boulding, 1996; Sherlekar & Sherlekar, 2004; Walonick, 1993). There is also contained in the

system the concept of equifinality which suggests that similar results may be achieved with different initial conditions and in many different states.

An organizational development concept of *intervention* is used in the system paradigm when any change is to be introduced. Huse and Cummings (1985) simply explain it as any action of change on the part of the change agent. The change agent in the migration context could be the government or any agent that manages or controls migration and migrants. An intervention in a migration system could be a new policy or a policy change affecting migration issues. The advantage of being familiar with the features of the system explained helps in the analysis and understanding of the processes and activities that take place in a system (Singh & Chhabra, 1995).

The systems approach applied in the study of entities or phenomena may have positive advantages but it has not been spared from some criticisms (e.g., Huse & Cummings, 1985). The notion of system seems to “reify” the entity under study, that is, it treats it spuriously as a “thing” with needs, goals and intentions, and the power to act and react independent of the individuals and groups of which it is composed. As a consequence it can become difficult to account for hidden processes such as conflict situations within the entity.

Systems see survival first rather than goal achievement as the purpose for the entity being studied. A system is supposed to have boundaries, but boundaries are seen as permeable with any ripple of change, disturbance or reaction. Deep investigation into any system and the relationship between members of people will therefore uncover infinite complexity. Infinite complexity arises if there is a realization that there is no inherent end to a system. Some individuals cannot come to terms with this concept as they feel that they should “know all” and trust that their mind is capable of grasping all they need to know. It can also be questioned that the underlying assumption of the theory that change in one part will lead to another is always applicable once the phenomenon of resistance to change in a system is recognised. Also, because of the rippling effect that occurs in the system it becomes difficult to pinpoint what is cause and what is effect of any problem present in the system.

Those advocates who defend the theory advocate its merits, seeing the approach as presenting a complete view and a clear understanding of the “big picture” of the issues being studied. In the management field, managers, by use of their control and support management processes, have a clear view of the systems project and so tend to accomplish successful results. This is a universal approach because it fits all sciences or disciplines and has the capability to analyse and explain the issues as effectively as possible. If there are environmental influences, the theory recognizes those explicitly. It not only recognises and deals with the intermediary factors between the input and output components but also shows their relationship and examines them. One advantage that a system of this open kind has is that it does not suffer from entropy, which is the natural tendency for systems to run down. This is because open systems maintain themselves by importing energy from their external environments to try to offset entropic effects (this is called negative entropy). Only closed systems suffer from entropy. The systems theory has been already tested (Skyttner, 2006). Systems theory also provides a basis for analyzing different areas of disciplines including the movement of individuals into and out of the system; the interaction of individuals with their environment; the interaction of individuals with each other; and the general growth and stability problem of systems (Boulding, 1996).

The theory has a set of principles distilled over the course of the 20th century, spanning fields as diverse as the physical and social sciences, engineering and management. It has a specific set of tools and techniques that have been applied in order to understand a wide range of corporate, urban, regional, economic, political, ecological, sociological and even physiological systems.

In equating the systems approach to the topic of migration, it is important to discuss the study by Akin Mabogunje (1970) who applied systems theory to a study of internal migration in West Africa and was the first to have used systems theory to analyse the rural-urban migration process (De Haas, 2008). His definition of a system was simply “a complex of interacting elements, together with their attributes and relationship” (Walmsley, 1973, p.49). With the systems principles it was possible for Mabogunje to identify the interacting elements, their attributes, and their relationships.

To reveal the components of such a migration system, a summary of some of Mabogunje's arguments is given in the following paragraphs, and some of the more salient aspects of systems theory he used are highlighted.

The *environment* of such a migration system was seen as one where the rural people felt that they were no longer far from the cities or self-sufficient due to economic development. The villagers could see that the rural economy was merging with the national economy resulting in the change in wages and prices of commodities including the expectations and demands in their areas. The changes made the rural individuals see the opportunities that existed in the cities. The environment created therefore triggered the migration from the rural to the urban areas.

A migration system was seen as of comprising three fundamental *elements*. First was the potential migrant who was encouraged to leave the rural area by stimuli from the environment; second, there were different *control sub-systems* (institutions) both in the rural and urban areas, the function of which was to control the size of the migration flow within the system. The control system in the rural area comprised the nuclear and extended families and the local community who could by their actions determine the size of migration. The control system in the urban area was through employment and residential opportunities which determined assimilation with the urban community. The third element was the *adjustment mechanism* of different economic and social forces that played an important part in the *transformation* process of the migrants. The migration act brought in a sequence of adjustments both in the rural and urban areas.

Every system contained *energy* or a driving force and in the migration system this could be seen as a stimulus prompting the rural migrant to move. This involved not only recognition of such stimuli but also all different responses of rural people to the stimuli. Mabogunje (1970) argued that in Africa during his time, the stimulus to migrate was connected to the fusion of the rural economy into the national economy, to the existence of opportunities outside of the rural areas and to the social and economic expectations held by the rural people (1970, p. 14). In the systems world this was what was termed the *potential energy* and, on moving, the concept changes into *kinetic energy*. The actual

migration that took place raised the questions of the costs and constraints of the movement since these determined the ways and means of the rural and urban migration.

Once a rural person migrated to the city their part in the system did not finish because through *feedback* of information to their village they could modify the system's behaviour. If there was no feedback, eventually the distribution of migrants fed by a village would become proportional to the size of the city in question. This could be seen as the system having no order or organization, and could be said to be in a state of maximum *entropy* (or disorder). When the migrants kept in contact with their home in the village the *feedback of information* on urban life could be either negative or positive, causing a change in migration flow patterns. The presence of information in the system therefore tended to encourage either a decrease in the degree of *entropy* (or disorder) or an increase in negative *entropy* (Cohen, 1996, pp. 41–58).

Mabogunje (1970) pointed out that his model could also be used to study international migration. His study identifies the main components and their interrelatedness and points to the circular nature of effects. In addition, the system also emphasizes that it is important not only to identify why people migrate but also to understand all the implications and ramifications of the migration process (Cohen, 1996).

Portes and Borocz (1987) and Kritz et al. (1996) extended Mabogunje's work to the field of international migration. Fawcett (1989) and Gurack and Caces (1992) explained international migration systems as those that consist of countries (or places within different countries) that exchange relatively large numbers of migrants and are characterized by feedback mechanisms that connect the movement of people between particular countries, areas and even cities. This is also accompanied by flows of goods, capital, ideas and information (De Haas, 2008). Fawcett (1989) pointed out that the concept of "migration system" serves as a guide to research and had recently attained increased visibility. The surge of interest resulted partly from the availability of better data, particularly surveys, conducted in both, sending and receiving areas measuring multiple dimensions of migration systems (Fawcett & Arnold, 1987).

Improved communication among the various academic disciplines concerned with migration has played a role in theory building, since cross-disciplinary efforts often result in more comprehensive models that encompass both macro analytic and micro analytic perspectives. (Fawcett, 1989; Massey & Espana, 1987). Fawcett pointed out Kanaraglou et al. (1986) carried out a similar study to Mabogunje, but it was highly quantitative.

Mabogunje's (1970) migration systems theory identifies the prime components of the systems concepts, shows their interconnectedness, and also emphasises the system's circular nature and therefore the effects on the whole system. He shows that information and feedback concepts have an important part to play in the systems approach. He delineates the change process clearly to demonstrate that it is important in the general systems approach and shows that within the systems framework the sub-system concept has a crucial part to play in the control and support of migrants including their adjustment to the city life. The adjustment mechanism and the assimilation process equate well to show that assimilation is the corollary of the other. Rather than rejecting the push-pull hypothesis, he uses the idea within the systems approach to explain why people moved from the villages. Mabogunje appropriately utilises the systems language of entropy. His use and emphasis of environment and feedback show that he was using an open not a closed system to analyse his study. An important implication of looking at migration as an open system is to make use of the system's principle of equifinality, which Mabogunje appropriately applies to point out that the different consequences of migration may not come from the different causes but from the same causes.

Importantly, Mabogunje's model of systems migration can be applied and adapted to study different migration processes. In addition, the approach enables one to consider migration no longer as a linear, cause and effect movement but as a circular, interdependent, complex and self-modifying system. Its circular nature gives special prominence to the dynamic nature of internal migration and allows the process to remain as one of considerable interest over a long period of time. This model also serves as a normative model against which one can seek to explain the obvious deviations occurring in the migration process. For instance, if the movement of people from the rural to the urban areas is not generating the set of interconnected effects that the theory leads us to expect, we may ask why? We

may then investigate the various elements in the system to ascertain which of them is not functioning in the proper way.

In assessing Mabogunje's (1970) case study in relation to other characteristics of systems theory some absences can be noted. He does not mention interventions normally introduced to fix problems or constraints that occur within the system. He has also not mentioned the most fundamental aspects of the systems, the Input and the Output concepts and the principle of goal attainment, preferring instead to concentrate on analysing interacting elements. He does not mention the policies governing migration, which normally form an important aspect in the study of any migration process. He also does not discuss institutions and bodies that help migrants to settle and adjust. However, he utilised aspects of the theory most appropriate to the needs of his study and provided a model for others to emulate and adapt.

Systems theory, therefore, provides an appropriate theoretical framework for my own study of Fiji Indian migrants in New Zealand. Being multidisciplinary and tested, the systems framework can connect to my study of migration and clearly highlight those issues of multidisciplinary nature that my study contains, including the central focus of the management issues. The theory is appropriate because it looks at migration from different angles rather than from a uni-linear fixed approach such as the push-pull model. The systems approach can capture different facets of the migration phenomenon and has the necessary framework to analyse and synthesise the related issues. Moreover, systems theory is free from culture bias and therefore applicable to all nationalities. The study of Fiji Indian migration to New Zealand could therefore be approached through a systems perspective.

4.4 Migration Theories Based on Maslow's Hierarchical Needs

Reviews of the literature also revealed theories of migration based on Maslow's hierarchical needs that focus on specific themes or issues of migration. The two such theories selected for my purpose of analysis are Reichlova's theory of migration decisions and Adler's theory of immigrants' adjustment. Further, Maslow's hierarchical needs approach can also be depicted in terms of the systems concept, as demonstrated by such scholars as Gregory (2009), Schneider (2001), Heylighen (1992), and Allport (1960). This

merging will be discussed later in this section after the need hierarchy theory has been explained.

Maslow's theory of need hierarchy and motivation was developed for use in humanistic psychology and over the years has been applied to many human pursuits including marketing products, rehabilitating prison inmates to organisation and management of employees (McShane & Travaglione, 2008). It adopts a holistic approach by condensing the long list of human needs into a hierarchy of five basic categories in ascending order. These comprise physiological needs satisfied by such stimuli as food, sleep and other physical requirements; security or safety needs that call for a safe and protected environment free from physical and emotional harm; social needs that will be met by friendship, love and belongingness, including a desire for social acceptance; esteem needs focussed on enhancement and acceptance of self or simply need for self-respect, autonomy, achievement, status and recognition. The last category is self-actualisation needs, where an individual strives for full realisation of unique characteristics and potentials, the needs for growth, achieving one's potential and self-fulfilment. Central to the theory is the notion that each level in the needs hierarchy must be satisfied before the next level becomes activated and that once a need is satisfied the next level becomes prepotent. Once a need has been satisfied it is no longer a motivator. In addition, the theory assumes that everyone strives to achieve a state of homeostasis, physiological stability, and psychological consistency (Adler, 1977; Robbins et al., 2008; Samson & Daft, 2003).

Despite its popularity as an analytical tool, Maslow's theory is vulnerable to a number of criticisms. The theory assumes that all human beings are the same, ignoring individual differences and cultures and resulting different needs and priorities. Maslow (1970) admitted the people studied for his theory were prominent European Americans and no other ethnicity. Reid-Cunningham (2008) criticized the priority order by citing the conventional "starving artist" scenario in which the aesthetic neglects his/her physical needs to pursue the aesthetic or spiritual goals. There is also little evidence to suggest that individuals satisfy only one motivating need at a time unless the individual is confronted with a situation where his/her needs conflict with each other. It is also pointed out that self-actualising people are difficult to find because they do not really exist and that they

are nothing but a romantic idea based on hopeful wishes about human nature (Alderfer, 1969). The theory is criticised as difficult to test because the concepts used are hard to define and there is a high degree of overlap, for example between love and esteem, or physical and safety needs. Others argue that satisfaction of need is not a motivator for a significant proportion of human behaviour. While Maslow first stated that all humans have five needs in hierarchical order, he later contradicted this by explaining that self-actualising needs are possessed only by a small number of people; he also made a number of qualifications about the nature of self-actualised people (Maslow, 1970). In addition, the way in which the hierarchical needs in the theory is structured does not allow sufficient flexibility to account for the extremes of satisfaction and the deprivation as well as the normal experiences of the people in general. A number of detractors, dissatisfied with Maslow's theory, suggested there should be an all-encompassing model flexible enough to incorporate cultural factors while maintaining broad generalisability and applicability to the human condition. To some that seems a somewhat tall order.

However, despite its detractors, Maslow's paradigm has stood the test of time. Its simplicity is broadly appealing, it has a realistic appearance, and most people can identify with the human needs the theory envisages. A theory formulated in 1940s, and which continues to remain popular in the 21st century with psychologists, students, managers and academics, is no mean achievement for its originator. In a survey of the most widely used text books in North American universities in the last 25 years it was found that most contained and discussed Maslow's theory and that it continues to be used in educational practices (Dye, Mills & Saks, 2005; McShane, 2004; Robbins & Langton, 2003). Cullen (1997) adds that the hierarchy of needs is ubiquitous in management education and the theory is so pervasive that it has almost become invisible. When an academic (Korman, 1974) asked a group of students or practitioners to identify a theory of motivation, they were hard pressed to find an answer other than the hierarchy of needs. Korman (p. 248) attributes the popularity of the theory to the "times", the humanistic, self-actualisation thrust in psychology, and "almost intuitive common sense approach proffered by Maslow's triangle". Others attribute its popularity and wide acceptance to the fact that it "substantially reflects realities in the business management world" (McFarland, 1964, p. 524) or, as Rausch et al. (2002) explain, its apparent face-validity from the practitioner's perspective. Santosus (2003) points out that in his cursory review of the latest academic

and practitioner publications, Maslow's hierarchy was used to guide the implementation of CRM (Customer Relationship Management) systems or to explain why money is an insufficient motivating tool for IS (Information Systems) professionals. The theory is being used to support various managerial perspectives for change (Lucey et al, 2004) and to explain why industrial societies have ceased to use certain manufacturing and materials priority.

Further, Maslow's theory also appears valid for people of different ethnic groups who have been long exposed to Western cultures. In Asian countries, management and organisational behaviour textbooks written for Asian university students by Asian academics always contain coverage of Maslow's theory (Sherlekar et al., 2004). It is used both to interpret the potential results of shifting immigrant demographics and the subsequent impact on a nation's workforce culture (Nicholson-Lord, 2004) and to theoretically distinguish between cultural populations in psychological studies (Kuo & Chen, 2004). The theory, according to Berens and Von Riel (2004) is used as a heuristic for the comparison of the main streams of literature concerning corporate reputation and in marketing it is used to define customer needs (Ritson, 2004) or to segment individuals based on these needs (Pincus, 2004), as well as to explain the mechanics of motivation of chief executive officers, senior management and directors of firms (Senter, 2004). Maslow's theory acted as the base and went on to influence other theorists of motivation to come up with improved theories like McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y (1960) and Alderfer's ERG Theory (1969). Thus, hierarchical needs theory is seen to have a great utility value and has the potential to be around for many more years.

Reichlova (2005) has used Maslow's hierarchical needs as the basis of her theoretical model explaining migration decision making. Her model has two levels in which she first equates hierarchical needs that create circumstances leading to migration movements and then introduces the economic factor of wage level and sees how this factor, combined with the Maslow's motivational needs, affects migrants' decisions. She takes each of the five levels of needs to explain her assumptions along the following lines.

The situation arises when the people find that their physiological needs are not sufficiently met and that their only desire is to find a source where this can be fulfilled. This will

prompt them to move out to a destination or location where they can comfortably achieve their gratification.

If, however, the physiological needs of the people are well met but they find the location or country in which they reside is not safe but threatening or chaotic and the future not predictable then they will migrate to a place where they will find safety, order and predictability. But they will not move out if the new place does not guarantee satisfaction of their physiological needs.

Safety is an important factor in binding people to their native country. The environment of that country is familiar, they know the people with whom they always interact, and they have social status that can arise from their respectable employment or other activities in which they indulge. People find it easier to socialise with others because they speak the same language and are oriented to their customs and culture and also know their rights and norms of behaviour. Familiarity of factors in a country is important. If people considering migration find that the destination country is not familiar to them and if there is also a hostile environment there which undermines their requirement for safety and stability then the chances of these people migrating to that country are reduced.

If people find their safety and physiological needs are met but they miss their family and friends, they feel deprived of their social needs. Social needs are important to people as they at times encourage them to migrate, especially when family members have already migrated to a country that has safety and better jobs. The reunification of families is seen as an important stimulus for migration. Sometimes, however, the same force that prompts people to join their relatives and friends settled overseas can make them remain in their own country because they still have families, friends and neighbours present.

The fourth level of Maslow's motivational needs is esteem, reputation or acclaim, which also form possible motives for people's migration. People will migrate if they are seeking these qualities for themselves provided they can gain improved social status or achieve fame. Moving, however, will cause them to lose their already established position in the social network of their home country.

The final motive for migration may be the desire for self-actualisation or a tendency to make use of one's talents or achieve what one is capable of.

Reichlova (2005) points out that when migrants decide to leave their country they must consider the consequences that arise. They must be aware that migration will either disrupt their fulfilment of social and safety needs or will allow them to attain these. The movement to another country will disrupt safety and order in people's life more than the movement within their own country to a place that is culturally close. The disruption, however, might be less serious for migrants who have acquaintances in the new destination or who are quite familiar with the new environment. This may depend on the migrants' education, language proficiency and how much access they have to information about that country.

At the second level of her migration decision-making model, Reichlova (2005) only takes psychological, safety and social needs into account and relates them to the economic factor of wage levels that may exist between the migrants' original country and their intended country of migration.

Through her analysis of the changes in wage levels Reichlova (2005) arrives at the following findings. First that people emigrate from countries where wages are below the physiological threshold. Second if people like living in their home country more than the country where they plan to emigrate, and if the income in their own country is higher than the physiological minimum, then people will not migrate even if there are wage differentials between the two countries. Third if people like living near their own people who they know well and the income is higher than their physiological minimum in that country then immigration might not take place, despite the fact that there are wage differences between the original country of the people and their considered country for migration.

The implications of her conclusions are given firstly as, if countries provide satisfactory social security above the physiological threshold, people will consider this in their decision to migrate other than the economic factors. People are generally reluctant to move from their original country for economic reasons alone. Second, the migration that people

undertake will depend on how much value they place on social and safety needs. This will also depend on how much value they place on their culture and customs. If, however, wage differences exist between the two countries this might trigger migrations. Third, wage differentials will continue to exist even though there are no barriers to migration. The strategy to induce people to migrate is to make them reduce their preference for their native country. This can be done through “language education or support of international ties” (p. 22). Reichlova (2005) suggests that her theoretical model can be of further use in migration studies and can be further refined by other theorists.

Another theory that also uses Maslow’s need hierarchy to explain migration is Seymour Adler’s (1977) Adjustment of Immigrants Theory, which, although based on a small study, explains the stages in the adjustment of new migrants during their settlement and which was developed from the interpretation of longitudinal data that came out of a study on the changing needs of new immigrants in Israel. Adler (1977) interprets emigration as a process that disrupts the life of individuals and the movement from one place to another makes strong behavioural demands on immigrants that result in culture shock. In a new country the immigrants go through a personality crisis, endure stress and the breakdown of their ego. The great stress and frustration moves them to the lower levels of the need hierarchy. At this point, adjustment comes into play and acting as a recovery process it gradually takes the immigrants back up the hierarchy to the self-actualization level. As the migrants go up the Maslow’s hierarchy they tend to get rid of their insecurity, loneliness, self-confusion, and other negative feelings, which helps them emerge from the culture-shock syndrome. The migrants’ satisfaction with housing is equated with their security needs and their concern for it appears early but subsequently declines in importance. This also happens with social needs but not for their need for employment, which reflects on the migrants’ esteem needs.

Using the statistical techniques of correlation, Adler (1977) discovered that no matter what level of psychological development the migrants had attained in their country of origin, they were pushed by different factors to the bottom of the hierarchy. In the first 2 months of their settlement, migrants basically focus on their safety and physiological needs, which are to get a place in which to live. When these needs are satisfied, the migrants then develop a set of social needs, followed by esteem needs. The final stage of adjustment

comes when all the needs are satisfied and the migrants are functioning in the new country. Another important finding of this study is that migrants who have difficulty in overcoming early adjustment obstacles soon become uninterested in staying and leave. In Israel, this is a serious problem. Adler (1977) feels that his empirical study gives support to Maslow's theory and that Maslow's categories and the mechanism of need emergence are well reflected in his study. There are studies that made only partial use of Maslow's ideology but came up with some findings that lent support to Adler's adjustment of migrants theory in a new country. These studies are briefly discussed below.

Richardson (1957) studied immigrants from Britain, who went to settle in Australia. It was found that their first stage of adaptation was characterized by social isolation. The migrants found that conforming to social norms was not easy and it was only after several months that they could make inroads into social progress. Shuval's (1973) study included immigrants to Israel, who arrived in Israel the first year after the country's independence and lived in transit camps. The researcher found among her other findings that migrants' need for gaining employment or starting businesses to improve their situation was low immediately after coming but later increased. She found that the rate for indulgence was greater for those who were more educated and those who were Europeans. This finding suggested that those with better education and those who lived and acquired experience in a more advanced culture may expedite the adjustment process and "speed passage through" the hierarchy of Maslow's needs (p. 446).

Weinberg (1961), also studying Israel, linked the satisfaction of migrants with employment to general adjustment or integration. It was found that the significance of satisfaction in employment linked to adjustment or integration was lower for the first group of interviewees who were in the country for less than a year compared with a fellow group of subjects who were interviewed 4 years after immigration. The conclusion was that satisfaction arising from employment is not seen as the important factor in determining the adjustment process until several years after the migrants' arrival, at which point they had successfully overcome the lower order obstacles. Another relevant finding to add to Adler's (1977) study comes from Taft (1973), who studied Hungarian immigrants in Australia. At one stage in the adjustment process of the Hungarian migrants it became important for them to develop informal social relationships with Australians. After some

time it was found that these social relationships declined in importance, and cultural and professional opportunity was seen as more important to them. Adler (1977) also pointed out that, according to Eisenstadt (1970) of the Hebrew University in Israel, some personality factors may affect the adjustment process of new immigrants. These may be factors like the strength of immigrant's ego and their tolerance of frustration and ambiguity, which may intervene in determining the rate and degree of completeness in adjustment as they pass through the hierarchical order.

Because Reichlova's and Adler's theories both have Maslow's hierarchical needs as their prime base, both the theories have Maslow's merits and demerits, as discussed earlier. One important criticism is that Reichlova's theory, like that of Maslow's, is too Europeanized and may not apply to people of different cultures. However, Maslow's theory as explained above, does seem to apply to non-Europeans of different cultures who are westernized and exposed to European culture and who have no difficulty in accepting Western ideologies and modes of practice. While wages are a factor for Reichlova (2005), the theory could have been further advanced by including the economic issues of the availability and non-availability of employment in both the migrants' native country and the destination country. Cost of living in both the countries could also have been a significant factor for consideration for Reichlova (2005). Migrants are generally known to consider more than one factor in their decisions to migrate.

Despite this, Reichlova's (2005) theory continues to hold ground because the factors that are contained in it are ones with which people can identify, particularly the Maslow needs, which as discussed earlier, carry 'realism'. Wages that give people esteem and also get their physiological needs fulfilled are regarded as a vital part of their life and are rarely ignored. Importantly, Reichlova brings into her theory the existence of social networks that influence people in their decision to migrate. Reichlova used Maslow's motivational theory to reach a credible conclusion that suggests wages, social networks, and the feeling of stability provided by their native country may be the key catalysts affecting migration decisions.

Adler's (1977) theory of adjustment of migrants is also credible and relevant to migrants in their settlement period. His data could be questioned for reliability and validity as they

were all collected by external bodies (the Central Bureau of Statistics of the Israeli government and the Israel Institute for Applied Social Research). Adler's point that migrants' need requirement is at the physiological state when they arrive in a new country is acceptable but there could also be an exception where people migrate with enough resources in hand to satisfy their physiological wants. These people would therefore look forward to attaining security and social and the psychological needs on their arrival. Adler's argument that migrants do not make contact with members of the new society until they find adequate shelter for themselves is also contestable. It is fairly common for migrants to start making contact with the people of the new country right from the outset for assistance and different necessities. The situation in Israel perhaps could have been different because of the different environment and the culture of the participants on whom the study was done. Adler (1977) outlines various limitations of his study. For example, he points out that there is no direct evidence for the ideas being advanced in his study. The data obtained from the sources can be interpreted as only part evidence for the validity of the need hierarchy model in explaining the adjustment of immigrants. He explains that the evidence reviewed for the findings in the area of immigrant adjustment is merely suggestive and that the data he used are open to other interpretations and a more planned programme of research to test the notion is advocated. At a general level, he explained, the whole area of immigration adjustment could use more longitudinal research, which should go on for more than just the 2 years covered by his research.

However, the positive points of Adler's theory also need to be considered. The theory on adjustment of migrants based on Maslow's hierarchy of needs was the first of its kind and has provided understanding of what actually happens to migrants in terms of their priority needs when they first arrive in a new country. The study could be beneficial both to governments who manage migrants and also to other agencies who help migrants in their settlement. The study has revealed knowledge for migrant management and for further research in the area of absorption or integration. An important finding is that migrants who cannot cope with the culture shock tend to return to their home country, which is a common occurrence. This information could help the managers of migrants to study this area carefully and work out strategies to prevent such phenomena. The findings could also help governments and agencies in planning and preparing for the wants and requirements of immigrants before they arrive, so that they are looked after and assisted right from the

beginning. Adler's study has an edge over other studies in that he looked at more factors affecting absorption than others who were basically satisfied with examining only one or two factors.

Like the Systems Theory of Migration discussed earlier, Reichlova's and Adler's theories were also perceived as being helpful to me for this study, giving further insights and focus on the migration and migrants under study. Both the theories are thematic theories of migration since they postulate particular themes of migration, which in the first case relates to the decision making of migrants at both pre-migration and post-migration stages and in the second case relates to the adjustment of migrants in their settlement processes with the novel environment and the new society. Since both the theories have used the Maslowian base, Reichlova's theory will be seen to relate to the findings of the study to examine, analyse and also project implications of the migrant motives and needs as reflected in the hierarchical needs paradigm. The theory will also help examine the behaviour of migrants in relation to the additional inducement of the wage factor.

Adler's theory will aid examination and analysis of the different behavioural demands migration makes on immigrants and the consequences that follow. The model will compare what other studies found on migrant absorption (which Adler included in his theory) and show what other factors are to be considered in the settlement process of the immigrants. It will also look at the importance of employment and its place in the satisfaction of the hierarchical needs.

Both theories provide guidance to my investigative questions and help act as templates in the analysis of the findings of this study. One theory alone cannot explain the behaviours, attitudes, and actions of migrants; together the two theories explain the issues under study. An additional advantage is that both Reichlova's and Adler's theories can be conceptualised and seen in terms of systems or subsystems and can therefore interlock with the Systems Theory of Migration discussed earlier and provide a broader spectrum of the migration study.

CHAPTER 5: INDIAN AND FIJI INDIAN MIGRATIONS – PERSPECTIVES AND THEMES

5.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapters I described the situation in Fiji that contributed to Fiji Indian migration to New Zealand and then discussed the socio-political environment in New Zealand at the time when Fiji migrants commenced their arrival and settlement, highlighting the management and migration policies and issues. This chapter, the second part of the review, looks at the Indian and Fiji Indian migration themes and issues. The chapter begins with a discussion of the origins of Indian migration in the last 200 years, followed by the phases of Indian migration through to the period that triggered the new era in Indian migration.

The chapter then introduces the concept of Indian indentured migrants, examining the plight of Indian indentured labourers who went to the Caribbean territories to labour in the sugar cane fields. I have chosen the indentured Indian migrants in the Caribbean, most of whom later migrated to settle in countries like USA, Canada, UK and Netherlands because some of their experiences parallel those of the Fiji Indians who migrated to New Zealand.

For similar reasons, this chapter then discusses and analyses the cases of Indian immigrants in the United States and in New Zealand, and also Fiji Indians who migrated to New Zealand before and after the coups. It is to be noted that there was a dearth of literature available in the cases of both India Indians and Fiji Indians in New Zealand, as very few research studies have so far been undertaken in the two areas.

5.2 Origins of and Constraints to Migration

Historically, Indians from the subcontinent were reluctant migrants unless they had a compelling reason to leave their land (Crooke, 1897; Jayaram, 2004). This is also acknowledged by Mishra (1979) and Tiwari (1980) who go on to point out that although they were not keen migrants and some actually disapproved of migration, many Indians decided to migrate. A large percentage was traders, farmers, artisans or small business persons. Mishra (1977) and Lal (1983) suggest the main migratory constraint was the religious belief, specifically prevalent amongst Hindus, that traversing the *kalapani*

(blackwaters) and leaving their motherland would cause them to lose their caste hierarchy and bring curses and harm to their souls. The prime opposition to migration came particularly from the *Brahmins*, the Indian priestly class (Gosine, 1992).

Crooke (1897) provides the following explanation:

As a resident member of tribe, cast, or village, he [the Hindu] occupies a definite social position, of which emigration is likely to deprive him. When he leaves his home, he loses the sympathy and support of his clansmen and neighbours; he misses the village council, which regulates his domestic affairs; the services of the family priest, which he considers essential to his salvation. Every village has its own local shrine, where the deities, in the main destructive, have been propitiated and controlled by the constant service of their votaries. The emigrant....to a distant land finds extreme difficulty in selecting suitable husbands for his daughters. He must choose his son-in-law within a narrow circle, and if he allows his daughter to reach womanhood unwed, he commits a grievous sin. Should he die in exile, he will fail to win the heaven of the gods. (p. 323)

Carter and Torabully (2002), however, argue that Hindu Indian migrants feared the crossing of the kalapani because that would have meant confronting the “houglis” (monsters) and the end of their reincarnation cycle because of their severance from the regenerating waters of the holy Ganges. Additionally, migrants would experience the loss of family and social ties. They say this taboo accounts for the lack of interest in overseas commerce of many high caste Hindus, thus leaving the lucrative field open to Indian Muslims, Indian Christians and Indian Jews, who took the opportunity to settle in the spice enclaves such as Cochin and Calicut as early as the 9th century and before.

Tinker (1993) and Singh (2001) found that around the late 18th and early 19th centuries many Hindus, finding their livelihoods threatened, gave less recognition to religious taboos. They migrated to earn and repatriate money to their impoverished families. Carter and Torabully (2002) explained the two main strategies Indian migrants used to overcome the religious obstacle. First, they made arrangements with the family priests to propitiate their village deities through special prayers, and second, they carried water from the holy

Ganges in a phial to ensure the continuity of reincarnation beyond the kalapani. Most writers agree that the 19th century was the turning point of the major migratory movements of Indians from India for settlement abroad (for instance, Crocombe, 1981; Gosine, 1992; Jain, 1993; Jayaram, 2004; Lemon, 1980; McNeill, 1963; Safran, 1991; Subramani, 1979; Tinker, 1977).

5.3 Indian Migration in 19th Century Colonial Times

At the time of European colonisation in the 19th century Indian migratory movements showed a marked transformation (Lemon & Pollock, 1980; Tinker, 1993). This was the time when mercantile capitalism buoyed the European economy, and with improved communication and transportation the entrepreneurial elite accumulated sufficient wealth to invest in mines and plantations in Africa, Asia, the Pacific, and other countries. These commercial openings called for cheap, regulated labour. Demand further increased because of the eventual abolition of slavery by England, France, and Holland over the period 1833 to 1863. Jayaram (2004) and Lemon and Pollock (1980) reported that India and China were regarded as the best source for plantation labour, and it was at this time that large numbers of Indians migrated (Tinker, 1993), most later settling permanently in the countries where they had initially gone to toil (Lal, 1983). Tinker and Lemon and Pollock identified three categories of emigration labour. The first was indentured labour, which called for a contract for normally 5 years given to individuals, to go, for instance, to British colonies such as Fiji and the Caribbean islands. The second was “Kangani” or “Maistry” (both meaning supervisors in the Tamil language). This was contract free and had no fixed period of employment; these labourers were generally sent to Burma. The third group comprised “passage” or “Free” Indians who travelled of their own free will to countries where both other categories of labourers had gone to set up businesses. Gillion (1973) discussed “Free” Indians in some detail in his book on Fiji Indian migrants and described them as “Punjabi farmers or Gujarati craftsmen and traders as well as several religious teachers and missionaries and a lawyer” (p. 130). Mayer (1963) also found that the “Free” Indians comprised mostly craftsmen, traders, artisans, and religious teachers.

5.4 Indian Migration after the End of the British Raj

Much has been written on Indian migrations after 1947 when British rule in India ended (Chandan, 1986; Desai, 1964; Gosine, 1992; Israel, 1987; Jain, 1998; Jansen, 1988;

Jayaram, 2004; Kondapi, 1951; Sharma, 1989; Vertovec & Cohen, 1999). The migratory movements after 1947 were seen as a new era in the emigration of Indians and Jayaram (2004) and Sharma (1989) classified these movements into three categories. The first was the emigration of Anglo-Indians to England and Australia; the second was the emigration of professionals and semi-professionals to well-industrialised countries like the United States of America, England, and Canada; and the third was the exodus of skilled and unskilled labourers to West Asia.

The first group to leave independent India were Anglo-Indians, triggered by feelings of marginalisation. At first they went to England, but finding they were not racially and ethnically acceptable to the English, most migrated to Australia, which has become a second “homeland” for many of them (Jayaram, 2004, p. 22; Sharma, 1989). Tiwari (1980) reports that a small community of Anglo-Indians also settled in New Zealand.

Another group that left India soon after Independence, according to Jayaram (2004), consisted of large numbers of doctors, engineers, educators and scientists, including semi-professionals. This movement gained momentum after 1947, peaking in the late 1960s and 1970s, but then slowed down due to stringent immigration policies put in place by host countries. Sharma (1989) pointed out the brain drain was a massive loss to India but a gain to the receiving countries. He explained that India could not exercise any control on the emigrants as their decision to migrate was personal and voluntary. These emigrants in time formed a vibrant settlement in the host countries and enjoyed a better economic and social life than they had in India.

The third group of emigrants, the skilled and unskilled labourers, emigrated because of the oil boom in the gulf countries (Gracias, 2000, Nair 1994). Jayaram (2004) pointed out that despite the emigrants’ decision to migrate voluntarily for economic gain, they were disadvantaged in that they had to leave their families back in India as they were not permitted by the host countries to join them. The emigrants were also barred from purchasing any properties and to practising any religion except Islam. Jayaram also mentioned a more organised form of migration of India Indians to New Zealand from the early to the mid-20th century, although numbers were not as large as those to the United Kingdom, USA, and Canada. Jayaram’s work, however, was not detailed and paid little

attention to professionals and lower middle-class skilled migrants currently being attracted to UK, USA, and Canada including Australia and New Zealand.

5.5 Indentured Indian Migrants in the Caribbean

As mentioned earlier, many Indian migrants travelled to new countries as indentured labourers during the 19th century. The Indian indenture system started when slavery ended in 1833 and continued until 1920, during which time a total of over one million Indians were transported to various British and other European colonies to provide labour mainly for the sugar plantations (Tinker, 1974). Most Indian indentured labourers went to Mauritius, Caribbean islands and territories, Fiji Islands, East Africa, Seychelles, Malaysia, and Ceylon (Lal, 2004). The indenture system as applied to Fiji Indians has already been discussed in Chapter Two. Here I will outline a similar case in the Caribbean.

Vertovec (1995) reported that with the abolition of slavery, sugar production in the Caribbean dramatically decreased and the market value of West Indian estates went down. To solve the labour shortage, estate owners brought liberated Africans directly from the African continent or other Caribbean islands and also Chinese, Portuguese and Madeirans, but judged none of them suitable. As in Fiji, Vertovec (1995) reports that Caribbean planters preferred “a wholly controllable, extremely cheap workforce that was used to agricultural labour” (p. 57). Tinker (1974) explained that in the 1820s, sugar planters in Reunion and Mauritius achieved success in importing labourers from India and that on those grounds Caribbean planters requested the British Colonial Government in India for help, which was granted. In 1838, the first group of Indian labourers was despatched to the British colony of Guiana and, as Carter and Torabully (2002) explained, several other Caribbean colonies subsequently began importing Indian labour.

According to Thiara (1995) and Bhana (1984), the overall management of the export of indentured Indian labourers was in the hands of the Colonial British Indian Government in Calcutta, which laid down the policies, terms of contract for the labourers and the conditions for their despatch, allocation and employment, all sanctioned by the British Legislature in London. The management and recruiting process were given to a company, Gillanders & Asbuthnot in Calcutta, which also recruited and shipped labourers to Mauritius and other colonies. Vertovec (1995) pointed out that British Indian Government

regulation also required the intending emigrant and the emigration agent to appear before an officer designated by the Colonial British Government of India with a written statement of the terms and conditions of the contract. The length of service was 5 years, renewable for further 5-year term. The emigrant was to be returned at the end of service to the port of departure. The ship carrying the labourers was required to follow certain standards of living on board and carry a medical officer. Tinker, (1974) and Kondapi, (1951) explained that in-country management of the indentured labourers was the responsibility of the destination colony and of the planters who managed them directly. In the Caribbean, the government employed protectors of emigrants and magistrates who acted as watch-dogs to ensure planters conformed to regulations in terms of labourers' working and living conditions (Bhana, 1984). Mohabir (2006) argued, however, that because of their race these watch-dogs sided with the planters, rather than the indentured Indians.

The journey by sailing ship from India to the Caribbean took 3 to 4 months, reduced to 6 weeks once steam ships were introduced (Tinker, 1974). Mohabir (2006) said the indentured Indians frequently knew neither their destination nor the length of their journey, and many died on the trip. He estimated that the death rate of the Indians was as high as 17%. Cholera is seen by Vertovec (1995) as the biggest problem for the indentured passengers, hygiene on board was not up to standard, and the journey was hazardous, especially when sailing around the Cape of Good Hope. According to Shepherd (2006), "mortality on board ship was high including numerous suicides" (p. 60). Between 1838 and 1917 more than half a million Indians were transported to the Caribbean territories (Mangru, 1983).

5.5.1 Indentured labourers, their arrival and issues in the Caribbean

Niklas (2006) reported that most labourers were able-bodied men between 20 and 30 years old. There were also married couples with children as well as single women, and women made up about one-third of those recruited. According to Lal (1983) the vast majority of the adult male labourers and almost two-thirds of the women were single. Indians were recruited by licensed immigrant recruiters whose sub-agents hired men known as *arkatis* to scour the villages for willing migrants. *Arkatis* were paid £3 for a male recruit, and more for female recruits (Seecharan, 2006). Haraksingh (2006) reported that in 1845, three hundred *arkatis* covered 5,000 square miles and brought in 3,000 Indians. Practices were

not always good and Indians were tricked with enticing stories about their jobs and destinations (Johnson, 1999). Tinker (1974) reported that most recruited Indians were poor, agricultural workers coming from modern-day Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Smaller numbers came from the Madras Presidency, often to French Caribbean colonies. While some writers claim the labourers were from lower castes and under-privileged, Ebr-Vally (2001) argued that in fact there was a mix of the high and low castes. Hoefte (2006) said the Brahmins who went to the Caribbean were instrumental in helping preserve cultural traditions among the Hindu Indians there.

Thiara (1995) asserted that indentured migration en masse was a direct result of British penetration into the entire economic and social fabric of Indian society:

The introduction of landlordism, excessive revenue demands, commercialisation of agriculture, change in rent in kind to cash, decline of indigenous handicrafts, discriminatory taxation on Indian goods, and persistent famines and pestilence were among the many reasons for migration, which offered the only avenue of hope to many. (p. 63)

Thiara (1995) added that while all sections of Indian society were affected by these changes, the lower farming classes, who made up most of the recruits, were most severely affected. Recruits were not given any choice of destination; that was in the hands of the recruiters and the dispatching authority (Singh, 2001).

Niklas (2006) reported that when the Indian labourers arrived in the Caribbean (mainly in the territories of Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica and Surinam) their initial management was taken over by the in-country government, which attended to the clearance of arrival papers of the recruits and to the health and quarantine matters. The labourers were quarantined on an island where they underwent thorough medical examinations and were allowed to recuperate. Then they were transferred to a depot where they waited for transport to the plantations (Haraksingh, 2006). The planters met the transport costs from India to the Caribbean (Singh, 1987).

Jain (2004) explained that once labourers were transferred to the plantations or estates, the owners took over their management. Most owners had sugar cane plantations and some also owned sugar mills. Management centred on employment duties, work pay conditions, housing and living conditions, rations, leave, grievance procedures, punishment, and other significant issues of sustaining the livelihood of the Indian indentured labourers in the Caribbean stipulated by the Colonial Authority in India. Shepherd (2006) reported that managers ensured the labourers received rations and uniforms for working, although the latter was not often supplied and ration costs were deducted from wages.

Mohabir (2006) pointed out that labourers were lodged in lines of wooden barracks or *loogies*, which had been the living quarters of the original black slaves. Indentureship became a euphemism for the new slavery and the labourers were treated harshly. Their white masters had complete control over their lives, maintaining discipline by whips and sticks (Seecharan, 2006; Ryan, 1996). Haraksingh (2006) described the labour system. The primary task of forking and cutting cane was done by men organised into gangs under an overseer or field manager (often an Indian himself, called a *sirdar*). Women weeded, while young boys tended the cattle. The skilled were given work in the sugar mill. Heavy work such as trenching, digging and hill banking was allocated to African workers who were housed on the estates in separate quarters. The basic wage for the Indians was laid down by regulation at 25 cents for a 7-hour day, over a 45-hour week, but both the wage rate and the duration of the working week were subject to fluctuations. At harvest time some Indians were required to work 15 hours a day. Vertovec (1995) added that in the fields the bulk of the work was organised by the task, which was theoretically measured by what an able-bodied adult male could accomplish in 7 hours. However, there was no standard task and the flexibility which this gave rise to was exploited by planters. In times of falling sugar prices, the size of the task was simply lengthened. Most protests in the fields were related to disagreements over task work. There were also disputes about the nature of the indenture contract (Haraksingh, 2006; Niklas, 2006) but employers had the upper hand not only because they had close ties to the judicial authorities but also because they were able to get away with punitive actions, including floggings, arbitrary fines and withholding wages until improved performance was shown.

Further problems arose because most indentured labourers were illiterate and did not speak English (Hoefte, 2006). Bisnauth (2000) said the planters gave the new migrants insufficient time to adapt, and heavy work in the fields took its toll in illness and death. Most faced culture shock, and missed their homeland, their food, their relatives, and their familiar environment in India. There was no form of support or advice either from the management or any social agent (Laurence, 1994; Mangru, 1987). Christian missionaries understood little about the culture and the conditions facing the labourers and were therefore of little assistance. The stress for a number of indentured Indians was so great that some committed suicide (Ryan, 1996). Seecharan (2006) argued that the management was not too concerned and provided insufficient medical care for the sick migrants. He went on to say that the British consul threatened to suspend indentured emigration if immediate improvement of the migrants' welfare was not carried out.

Jayaram (1963) said that labourers worked 6 days a week with Sunday the only time for cleaning, washing and relaxing. Nath (1970) described their socialising and how they formed groups, sang hymns (*bhajans*) and played musical instruments, brought from India. Some cooked special Indian dishes, while others tended small vegetable garden plots and a few had cows and pigs. However, Seecharan (2006) noted that the Indian migrants did not socialise much with the Africans/Creoles of the Caribbean at this early stage because of the language constraints and because of the general distrust between the two groups. Hintzen (1989) argued that the racial divide commenced from this early stage.

Despite the different regional languages and dialects, the Indian labourers were able to converse with each other in the Bhojpuri dialect (Bisnaut, 2000). Later, the Bhojpuri dialect developed further, incorporating Creole and European words and becoming the typical Indian language of the Indians in the Caribbean (Haraksingh (2006). According to Moore (1977) and Shepherd (2006) the rigid caste system of India melted in the Caribbean and Indians happily interacted and socialised in the plantation environment. Moore thought this led to better integration among indentured Indians from different regions, denominations and religious affiliations, including Muslim Indians. However, integration with Africans of the Caribbean did not begin early and Saunders (1984) and Mangru (1983) said there was little or no integration with the Europeans in the plantations. European managers, focused on maintaining optimum labour in the fields, kept their social

distance from the Indians. Haraksingh (2006) noted that Europeans generally perceived Indian labourers as heathens, while the Africans regarded them as a kind of scab labour force. Magistrates and officials in the judicial system often displayed prejudice against the Indians (Hoefte, 2006) and their situation was made worse because they could not read or speak English (Gosine, 1995).

5.5.2 *Life post indenture – in the Caribbean*

Bisnauth (2000) said the life of indentured Indians started to change when their contracts began to expire. Contract length varied: Surinam, for example, had 5-year contracts, while Trinidad, Tobago, and British Guiana had 10-year contracts. According to Shepherd (2006) 553,316 indentured Indians came to the 11 Caribbean countries between 1838 and 1917 and, of this total, only about a third returned to India at the expiry of their contract. Carter (1996) and Laurence (1994) report that many who did return to India came back to the Caribbean to re-take the labouring jobs because they were rejected by their village community on the grounds that they were evil and polluted for having crossed the ocean (kalapani), and for disregarding the caste restrictions. Seecharan (2006) explained that in contrast, those who had decided to remain in the Caribbean did so mainly because work was virtually guaranteed and opportunities for gaining land were high, while in India prevailing conditions were dire and unpredictable.

Mangru (1987) pointed out that the plantation and estate management desperately needed labourers so they enticed seasoned ex-indentured labourers whose contracts had finished by offering them land or higher wages. By the end of the 19th century, the Caribbean governments of most territories accepted that the Indians had come to stay and therefore they went on to actively promote their settlement. They offered land especially to those who had fulfilled their contractual obligations and renounced their right to a free return passage to India (Haraksingh, 2006).

According to both Wood (1968) and Vertovec (1995), once the Indians acquired land most moved out of the plantations and established their own villages nearby. They produced sugar cane, rice, vegetables, meat, and fruit and some supplemented their income by part-time plantation work. Until the 1940s, most Indians remained in the agricultural sector and most did well economically (Beachey, 1957). At the same time though, Seecharan

(2006) said that many of the descendants of indentured labourers were moving up to the middle classes. Urbanisation had commenced and large numbers settled in major towns and cities. Education was an important part of this transformation as Campbell (1985) noted. Some estate owners in Guiana, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, started schools for Indian children and Christian missionaries also provided education through Christian schools. Initially, the gender gap between the male and female Indian children attending schools was large. After 1955, however, the gap narrowed and actually closed in the late 1960s (Seecharan, 2006). With the balance of the sex ratio, more local births and declining infant mortality, the Indian population had increased substantially. In the urban areas Indians took up a variety of occupations. Shepherd (2006) reported that at the top end, groups of businessmen had gone into commercial ventures. At the lowest level, Indians provided manual services as porters or scavengers. In the middle were clerks and retailers of milk and coal. Rapid strides were also made into professions, and between the beginning and the middle of the 20th century, Indians were dominant among the lawyers, doctors, engineers, educators, administrators and other professionals serving the Caribbean people in most territories.

Haraksingh (2006) explained that, before the 1970s, Indians maintained the traditional extended family system but after that, the nuclear family became the norm, particularly for those in urban areas. He said arranged marriages were on the wane in Guiana and Jamaica and many Indians married out of their caste and ethnic group. However, Haraksingh argued this was not widespread in other Caribbean territories and that Indians in rural areas adhered to the extended family system.

A number of Caribbean countries, concerned about integration and assimilation of Indians, adopted the policy of making education at government schools compulsory and also insisted that schools taught the national language of the territories (Haraksingh, 2006; Hoefte, 2006). Jayaram (2004) and Seecharan (2006) also reported on the gradual reduction in the use of Indian dialects and languages and their replacement by English; however, a few members of the older generation and keen younger people still continue to speak Hindi at home and some women still dress in ethnic attire (the sari or shalwar kameez/kurta) on occasions. The Hindu priests also wear dhoti and kurta when performing religious functions. Indian music, musical instruments and dance forms have

been preserved, though they have been influenced by the creolising tendencies of the new society. Bollywood and its music have also been influential. Further, Indian cuisine is still popular with Indians, and Caribbean towns usually have several Indian restaurants, though in fewer numbers than Chinese restaurants. Indian utensils and food processing appliances are still kept, though generally for decoration, in Indian kitchens (Haraksingh, 2006). In terms of religion, both Vertovec (1992) and Seecharan (2006) agree that the two main religions – Hindu and Muslim – remain important, although the number of religious celebrations and rites have declined. Hindus and Muslims had been resistant to the messages of Christian missionaries (Klass, 1961; Seecharan 2006).

Ryan (1996) and Shepherd (2006) studied the political side of the Caribbean and pointed out that middle class Indians generally made their first forays into main stream politics at the municipal level. Ryan (1996) said these aspiring politicians were often the product of missionary schools and in some cases had professional law training. He also stated that almost every Indian in the Caribbean was registered to vote, although Indian politicians were often more divided on certain communal issues than united. Towards the mid-20th century, more qualified lawyers, trade unionists, and other qualified professionals entered national or electoral politics and formed Indian-based parties (Seecharan, 2006). Basdeo (1986) said Indians continued to vote along ethnic lines for one of the Indian-based parties. The Afro-Caribbean political parties are also ethnically based and normally there is a strong tussle between the two in the general elections (Shepherd, 2006). Seecharan (2006) argued that political problems in the Caribbean today are compounded by racial bigotry. The coalitions of the two ethnically strong parties normally win elections. Overall, Shepherd concluded, however, that Indian politicians in the Caribbean have done well, being represented at all levels of government.

Vertovec (1992) and Haraksingh (2006) and Seecharan (2006), discussing the economic contribution of Indians, pointed out that Indian workers had revived the sugar industry in the Caribbean in the 19th century and again in the 1980s, and boosted rice production when there was a rice shortage in the world market. Haraksingh added that Indians dominate the commercial sector, causing some tensions with Afro-Caribbean entrepreneurs, and little has been done to correct the situation. As mentioned earlier, Caribbean Indians are strongly represented in the professions. In sports, particularly in Jamaica, Birbalsingh

(1988) and Shepherd (2006) commented that Indians have contributed much to the development of cricket and also horse-racing, where Indians own a number of stud farms. According to Shepherd (2006), the challenges facing the Indian community in the Caribbean are no different from the challenges facing other ethnic groups and are related to unemployment, crime, and rural and urban poverty.

5.5.3 *Life post indenture – leaving the Caribbean*

Recently there has been considerable emigration of Indians from the Caribbean. Jain (2004) argued that in some territories, Indians fear that if the Africans attain political power they will become subservient and unfairly treated. Africans have similar fears about the ascendancy of Indians in Guiana and violence has erupted between the two races (Seecharan, 2006). Hoefte (2006) noted that Afro-Caribbeans and those of Indian descent had different attitudes to their relative gains and losses at Independence and at that time, Samaroo (1985) noted, there was widespread interethnic violence in Trinidad, Guiana and Surinam. As a result, many Indians, mainly from Guiana and Surinam, emigrated to USA, Canada, and United Kingdom. Hintzen (1989) reported that 100,000 panic-stricken Surinamese, the majority of whom were Indians, migrated to The Netherlands as a result of the violence.

However, Jayaram (2004) has argued that emigration from the Caribbean is not something new but quite common in times of economic downturn and beckoning prospects abroad. Emigration from the Caribbean has created transnational communities and enabled remittances from the US and Canada, which have long formed an important source of funds for the Caribbean (Hoefte, 2006). Hoefte points out that it is normally the younger generation of Indians from rural areas, who emigrate overseas and that this group does not like the idea of seeing their parents continue as workers in the sugar industry; an attitude that is also shared by their siblings in the Caribbean. Peach (2002) said these migrants now form a significant community in the suburbs of Toronto and in some localities of New York, where they are seen as entrepreneurial.

The future of Indians in the Caribbean is hard to predict. Vertovec (1995) and Seecharan (2006) point out that in some territories the situation is secure but in others (for instance Guiana and Surinam) it is not. Seecharan holds the view that the Indians feel that security

lies in building a harmonious relationship with the Africans and working hand and hand with them for the benefit and stability. However, Hintzen (1989) argued that each group is suspicious of the other and Africans perceive the Indians to be in the political and economic ascendancy. While writers agree that both have to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards each other, so far this has not happened, and Seecharan, talking about Guiana, declared that, “the land of fantasy is sitting on a volcano” (2006, p. 296).

In the next section I will discuss the conditions that faced the Indians, both from the Caribbean and elsewhere when they arrived in the USA. In particular, I will focus on the government’s efforts to manage their arrival and settlement.

5.6 Indian Migration and Settlement in the United States

The United States is today home to one of the largest Indian populations in the world. Though the early history of Indians in America can be traced back to around 1900, the contemporary history of most of Indian communities goes back to 1965 when new immigration legislation was passed reflecting the migration policy of expunging the restrictions placed on Indian entry into the United States (Jansen, 1988; Shukla, 2003). From a community then numbering a few thousand, the Indian population grew to over 1.71 million in 2000 (Lal, 2006). Khandelwal (2002) argued that that most Indians migrate to the United States to seek better economic opportunities, while professionals additionally seek new knowledge, experience, and better job prospects.

While there had been a post-war increase in migration and settlement, Min (1994) and Lal (2006) pointed out that the real emergence of Indians in the US came about with the Immigration and Naturalisation Act of 1965. This introduced policies that required a set quota of 20,000 immigrants for each country in the Eastern Hemisphere, including the most immediate family members of US citizens. The policies also provided for visas of different preferential categories for migrants’ families. “This system of immigration, with some modifications, such as the abolishment of the hemispheric quotas is still largely in place” (Lal, 2006, p. 316). Pavri (1995) cited census data to show that most Indians arriving in the first 15 years after the passing of the 1965 Act were professionals. Most came in as students (often with families and dependents), and many pursued graduate degrees, found promising jobs, became permanent residents and then citizens. The US

Census (2000) reported that Indian immigrants who arrived and settled in the US had one of the highest educational qualifications of all ethnic groups in the US. Thomas Friedman (2005) in *The World is Flat* describes this as a 'brain drain' from India. Prasad (1999) argued that the migrants' first concern was economic and professional advancement but, as they settled down, their concern shifted to family reunification. Most arrivals in the late 20th century were professionals while others found work as taxi drivers, gas station owners or attendants, subway newsagents, construction and transportation workers, domestic workers and other kinds of service workers. By 2000, the Indian population had grown to 1.71 million, 16.4% of the Asian American population. At this stage Indians in the United States formed the third largest Asian American ethnic group after Chinese Americans and Filipino Americans (Gupta, 2005; Liu, 1996).

Prahalad (2006) claimed that Indians going onto business in US had brought their entrepreneurial spirit from the entrepreneurial "beehive" of India (p. 46). He argued that US government should do more to help these migrants obtain loans and capital. Koritala (2008), however, argued that Indians set up their own businesses largely because prejudice prevents them advancing in other jobs. According to Desai and Kanakia (2005), the Indian community looked set to achieve high levels of education, climb the occupational ranks, and increase their income and wealth. However, there are class differences within the Indian community, with earlier professional immigrants looking down on working class communities who were later, first generation immigrants (Verma, 2010).

According to Helweg and Helweg (1990), Indians in the US had great faith in the social associations they had formed throughout the country wherever they were settled in greater numbers. These associations organized special religious functions, festivals and cultural and religious celebrations. They were also responsible for teaching Hindi language and culture and organizing sports (Jensen, 1988). Lal (2006) said that professional associations (such as the Association of American Physicians from India (AAPI) and the Indian Chamber of Commerce) played a lobbying role in government policy-making activities.

It has been reported that second and third generation migrants lacked a strong affiliation to India and many were cool towards cultural and traditional requirements (Hundley, 1987;

Lessinger, 1995). Members of the older generation kept close contact with their relatives in India or Caribbean by phone, internet, and regular visits (Helweg & Helweg, 1990). Lessinger (1995) said that younger generations had little concern for caste, and most young Indian men chose their own wives, although some still opted for arranged marriages and even went to India to get their brides. Hidier (2002) argued that children of Indian migrants, sometimes derogatively termed “ABCD” for American Born Confused Desi, were stuck between traditional parents and upbringing at home and the more liberal, open community outside, and often felt neither Indian nor American.

5.6.1 Settlement management

Koritala (2008) indicated that when the majority of Indian migrants began to arrive after 1965, the US government gave little help in terms of support or assistance. If the need arose, support and help came from Christian or voluntary organisations and Indian community groups. However, the network of support from already settled family members and friends was quite strong.

According to Bach (1992), more organized and systematic migrant support started in the 1990s. He reports that the Federal government did not control settlement programmes, but financed State governments which managed and offered diverse services and settlement programmes throughout the nation. The US Citizenship and Immigration Services that currently manages all immigration matters for the US government has provided a *Settlement Guide* to help migrants. The guide contains information on getting a job, healthcare insurance, immigrant rights, getting a place to live, enrolling children in schools, learning English, and obtaining citizenship. To obtain jobs, immigrants are asked to first seek assistance from community organizations, employment agencies, library bulletin boards and so on, before seeking help from the State department. English language classes are provided either free or very cheaply by community organisations, public schools or community colleges. Immigrants have to pay for health care themselves unless they are 65 years of age when they qualify for partial financial assistance. Some low-income immigrants and their children are eligible for food stamp assistance subject to certain conditions. (Food stamps allow the bearer to obtain some food items free at grocery stores). Immigrants and their children who are survivors of domestic violence become eligible for federal benefits and services. For temporary assistance there is a

Federal programme that gives money to States to provide assistance and work opportunities. Disabled immigrants may get assistance for medical, food stamps and supplemental security income. The Federal government funds career centres for immigrants for training, career counselling, job listings, and other job-related services. Some of these centres also provide English classes and job skills training. There is free public school education for immigrants' children aged between 5 and 16. Longley (2010) pointed out that while there were no government grants to start or expand small businesses of immigrants, the government's Small Business Administration (SBA), with offices in every State, helped with planning, low-interest loans, training, and advocacy.

According to Bach (1992), however, the majority assistance to new arrivals was concentrated on supporting refugees rather than ordinary immigrants. Refugee settlement is managed through the 1980 Refugee Act and administered by the Office of Refugee Resettlement that organises programmes to make refugees self-sufficient economically. These services, which Bach argued were in fact needed by all new settlers, include employment training and placement, English language training and monetary assistance to those that require living expenses.

5.6.2 Challenges for the community

In the past, Indians faced hate crimes from the racist organisation Asian Exclusion League, which was particularly active in the 1930s and 1940s in California where numbers of Indian agricultural workers had settled. However, as Lal (2006) said, hate crimes are not all in the distant past, citing the New Jersey case where a gang of 'dot busters' mugged Indians or attacked their property in the late 1980s and early 1990s (the dot referred to the bindi worn traditionally by Hindu women on their forehead). Koritala (2008) argued that these attacks alienated the Indian population from the American mainstream. He pointed out that a large increase in racist crimes was also reported in 1999 by the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium. There was also a spate of similar attacks after September 11, 2001. Lal said the Indian body Hate Free Zone, formed to counteract these attacks, had received national attention for its conciliatory work.

Brass (1993) maintained discrimination was prevalent in some workplaces in the areas of recruitment and promotion for management positions and those without professions or

skills found employment very hard to come by. In the workplace, Dhillon (2006) and Koritala (2008) pointed out that some American managers were also not aware of cultural diversity and consequently not sensitive to the cultural observances of Hindus, Muslims and other ethnic employees. Wadhwa (2009) reported that, in recent years, many well-qualified Indian professionals and business operators were returning to India because better career opportunities now existed in their home country and he predicted a future brain-drain problem for the US.

An issue that has become of concern amongst Indians in the United States is domestic violence (Dasgupta, 2000). According to Pavri (1995), Indian women who were less proficient in English and those who could not obtain jobs because of their visa status are particularly vulnerable, and victim support groups, such as *Chaya*, have been formed to help victims of physical and emotional abuse in the home. Although many Indians achieve well in their new home, Raval (2002) said that a number struggle with language, have low-level occupations and find it difficult to make ends meet.

Koritala (2008) said although Indians liked living in the communities where other Indians had already settled, this was not always possible. Wealthier Indians tended to live in mainly white neighbourhoods, where occasionally some locals still kept their distance. Indians tended to integrate well with Americans but they retained a strong ethnic and cultural identity, a common trend in countries where multiculturalism had been promulgated. Raval (2002) found that those Indians of lower socio-economic backgrounds and those with poor English language skills found it hard to communicate and therefore hard to integrate. According to Terrazas (2008) in 2006 about one quarter of Indian immigrants had limited proficiency in English, although they and their children spoke good Hindi at home. According to the US Census Bureau (2001), as a result of assimilation, mixed marriages of those with European/White and Indian backgrounds were becoming more prevalent. The Bureau (2001) reported that marriage to Europeans was more common among Indian men than Indian women. It suggested Indians who integrated and assimilated easily with other races spoke English fluently, were educated migrants, came from a democratic country where English was the official language and appreciated and respected others' cultures. Choi and Thomas (2009) argued that integration and assimilation of Asian immigrants, including Indians, in the US was influenced by five

factors: the 'right' attitudes, social support, length of residence in the host country and the level of education and fluency in English.

5.6.3 Contributions and future of Indians in the US

Mukherjee (1994) and Haraksingh(2006) both praise the contributions of Indians to the United States, for instance, citing the examples of Nobel Prize winners, Khorana and Chandrashekhar. According to James (1992) and Verma (2000), Indians ran about a quarter of the American hospitality industry and, at the same time, were significant players in the world of computer software and technology. Other economic and social contributions, through various Indian organizations have been outlined above. Mukherjee (1994) found that most Indians were optimistic about their future. They wanted to see their contributions to the American economy continue and their children become Indian Americans, nurturing Indian culture, values and traditions while also appreciating American values and lifestyles through optimum integration. They wanted to see more support for multiculturalism (pluralism), and Indians become more visible and vocal in the workplace so their talents would be recognized and they could contribute more. Finally, Mukherjee advocated that Indians should take more interest in and participate more in American politics at all levels. A decade later, according to Lal (2006), Indians were playing an increasing role in politics. A number of American cities and towns had elected people of Indian descent as mayors, and a growing number had also become prominent at a national level and served in high positions in recent presidential administrations. He argued that Indians were seen to have great interest in politics and were generous in supporting those causes in which they believed.

5.7 Indian Immigrants in New Zealand

Compared with the USA, very few studies of Indians arriving and settling in New Zealand have been carried out. Before the mid-1960s, there was little written, whether from a sociological, anthropological, historical, or immigration management perspective, that focused on the Indian community as an ethnic group. This section summarises the scant knowledge of the initial arrival of Indians in New Zealand, and then covers the three major studies of Indians in New Zealand, by Leckie (1981), McLeod (1986) and Tiwari (1980). These studies are narrow in focus, but are a valuable addition to historical and cultural knowledge in the area. Finally the section discusses the findings of those who have

explored the reasons for Indian migration to New Zealand. This element of the review underlines the differences between the Indians from the subcontinent and Indian migrants from Fiji (particularly following the coups) who were largely motivated by political instability in their home country.

The lack of specific records before the late 18th century makes it impossible to confirm if there were Indians in New Zealand before that time. What was anecdotally known, though, was that an Indian (possibly Bengali) crew member or *lascar*, jumped ship around 1809 to 1810, married a local woman and settled in New Zealand (Cruise, 1957; Johnson & Molonghney, 2006; Leckie, 1981; Swarbrick, 2006). The first formally noted arrival of Indians in New Zealand was that of Punjabi Indians from the Hosiarpur and Jalandar districts in 1890. Some came direct from India and others via Australia seeking the better opportunities they had heard about from Lascars and Indian domestic servants of British officers who worked in New Zealand on special assignments (Bhullar, 1992; Taher, 1970; Tiwari, 1980).

Leckie's study (1981) looked specifically at the Gujarati Indians in New Zealand to 1945 and was the first comprehensive study of an Indian migrant group in New Zealand. She examined the origins of the Gujaratis, the reasons they emigrated, their settlement in New Zealand before 1920 and their occupations (mainly as greengrocers and bottle-collectors). She also discussed their adoption of Western ways, the discriminatory behaviour they faced from those who favoured the White New Zealand policy and their responses in forming Indian associations to safeguard their interest in the host country. McLeod (1986) published his findings in *Punjabis in New Zealand*. He was the first to use interviews to collect information from Indian migrants. His study, which provided a wide ranging historical record of Punjabi Indians in New Zealand, included the origins of Punjabi migrations to New Zealand, their employment, way of life, and the post-war developments that affected them. *The Indian Community in New Zealand* by Tiwari (1980) is another significant study. His book was primarily informed by a survey designed and distributed with the support of the Indian associations in New Zealand. This was supplemented through observations, examination of documents, and interviews with selected Gujarati Indians. The study aimed to introduce to New Zealanders the culture, and religious beliefs and practices of the Indian community at that time. Essentially, Tiwari (1980) looked at

the rationale for Indian migration, anti-Asian feelings amongst the Europeans, the need for Indian unity and Indian associations developed to safeguard Indian interests. Tiwari's work was seen by many Gujaratis as informative and a useful historical record of Indians in New Zealand and perhaps the only publication on the Gujaratis in New Zealand that provided comprehensive and clear accounts of their issues.

Leckie, McLeod and Tiwari all studied various aspects of the New Zealand Indian community from the Indian perspective. Smithyman (1971) and Rachagan (1972), however, took a mainstream' perspective. These were the first two detailed studies to examine and analyse the immigration policies and attitudes of New Zealanders towards Indians and Chinese.

McLeod (1986), Swarbrick (2006), Tiwari (1980), Leckie (1981), Gillion (1973), Mayer (1963) and Kessinger (1974) identified reasons for the Gujarati and Punjabi migration from India. The reasons included over population, unemployment, insufficient farming land, economic decline of the region and continuing drought. McLeod (1986) argued that Punjabi males were motivated mainly by earning money to send back to India for the family to buy land, build houses and finance marriages. Those three requirements, according to McLeod (1986) gave "izzat" or prestige or status to the Indians. Tiwari (1980) suggested that there was also a political reason for the Indian migration, but did not explain what this might be. Jayaram (2004), interested in developing a theory to explain migration, pointed out that the decision to migrate was an individual one and choosing a foreign country to settle into was determined by different "pull and push" factors. The major factors were the agents that paved the way for migration, the migration policies that operated in both the home and host countries and the migrant's funding resources to enable travel to the host country. Jayaram maintained that analysing these factors would help determine the extent to which the migration was voluntary or compulsory or 'necessary'. As will be seen below, similar themes arise in the migration of Fiji Indians to New Zealand, although the push factor of political instability was highly important.

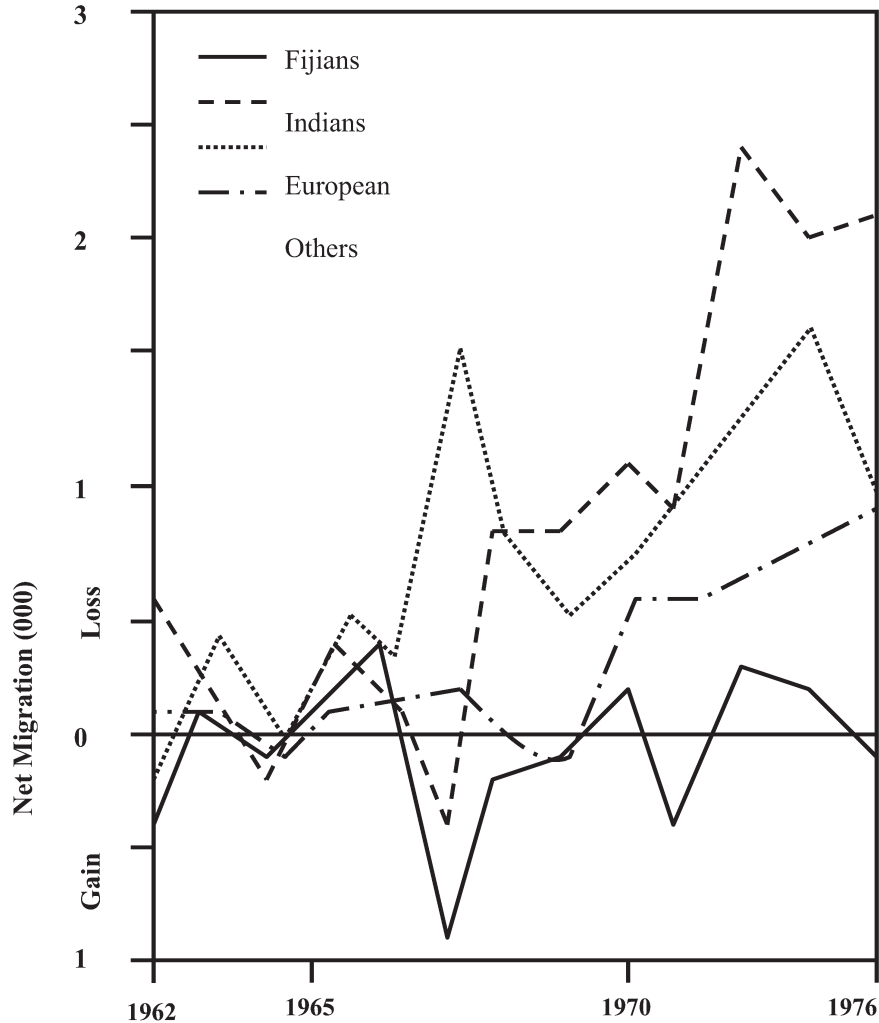
5.8 Fiji Indian Migration before 1987

The migration of Fiji Indians to New Zealand is one element of the migration of Indians from Fiji and this section covers what is known about migration patterns from Fiji,

particularly from the 1960s, in order to set the New Zealand case into perspective. Writers like Gani and Ward (1995), Jones (1976), Leckie (2006), Norton (2004), Narayan and Smyth (2003) gave accounts of migrations of Fiji Indians to the Pacific Rim countries before the major exodus following the 1987 coups. Jones (1976) studied the emigration of Fiji Indians from about 1962 to 1975. She found that the first migratory outflow of Fiji Indians was between 1962 and 1965, when the numbers were few. The second outflow was between 1966 and 1969, immediately before Fiji's independence in 1970. This was considered a take-off point because of the high rate of emigration during this time.

As Figure 5.1 indicates, there was little difference between the patterns of migration among different Fiji ethnicities from 1962 to 1966. The figure also indicates what Jones (1976) reported, that there was a large net migration loss of Europeans in 1967 but this was made up by a gain of Fijians and Fiji Indians. In September 1967, the Indian political party, the National Federation Party, walked out of the Legislative Council in protest against the Council's rejection of the motion for the plan to be developed to hold a Constitutional Conference in London. Jones pointed out, too, that 1967 was also the year when the Royal New Zealand Air Force permanently vacated the Laucala Bay base. In 1968, independence was sanctioned by the Great Council of Chiefs and in 1969 the Localisation Policy was invoked, requiring that locals (Fijians, Fiji Indians, and other Fiji citizens) take over the public service jobs from the expatriate Europeans. These events triggered increasing levels of emigration by Europeans and Fiji Indians as shown in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1: Net migration by ethnicity, 1962–1976



(Note: data not available for 1972. Source: Bureau of Statistics, Fiji, 1976)

Jones (1976) pointed out that although economic reasons played some part in these exoduses, the dominant reason was political. She argued that occasional outbursts by the Fijian politicians that Fiji Indians should return to India coupled with the impending independence of Fiji and its eventual attainment instilled insecurity into the Fiji Indians. Further, many Fiji Indians saw the departure of the British from Fiji as putting them in a vulnerable position.

Radio Tarana (2004) reported that the countries the Fiji Indians were migrating to around the time of Independence were the same countries they are migrating to today. These host

countries were Canada, USA, Australia, and New Zealand, with small numbers also going to the United Kingdom.

Jones (1976) also investigated the characteristics of the Fijian Indian migrants. The majority were young people, either young married couples, students, or the children of older migrants. Second, the migrants were predominantly urban dwellers who held urban values and aspirations. These migrants, Jones explained, were mostly from Suva and its suburban areas, and from the towns of Lautoka, Nadi, Ba, Tavua, and Vatukoula.

Norton (2004) confirmed that Fiji had been one of the main sources of migration to the Pacific Rim countries in the last 40 years and the outflow had increased considerably in the last 17 years. Like Jones (1976), he identified the push factor for Fiji Indian migrants as the feeling of uncertainty and insecurity in Fiji as the British administration was ending and political tension between the major races was increasing. However, he argued there was also a significant pull factor in the opportunities for employment and the perceived prosperity in the host countries.

While the majority of Fiji Indians were going to the Pacific Rim countries, a small but significant number migrated to other island nations in the Pacific. Crocombe (1981) called this group “Pacific Indians”. Reddy (1981) and Tahal (1981) both give accounts of the Fiji Indians who had migrated in very small numbers to settle in some of the main islands of Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia, namely Vanuatu, the Solomons, Papua New Guinea, Tonga, Kiribati, and Nauru. Crocombe (1981) pointed out that many of these Pacific Indians had gone to Melanesia, where they had married local women and settled and are business persons, tradesmen, teachers, or professionals; they have integrated and assimilated well.

5.9 Fiji Indians in New Zealand: Before the 1980s

Statistics New Zealand (1995) reported that very small numbers of Fiji Indians came to New Zealand to settle before 1980 due to stringent immigration policies. However, Fiji Indians had been living in New Zealand since 1936. According to Leckie (2006), there were fewer than 1000 Fiji born residents living in New Zealand in 1936, but her figures do not distinguish between Fiji Indians, Fiji indigenous people or other Fijian ethnicities. She

did, however, point out that of the 1,173 Fiji born residents in 1945 some might have included temporary residents and the children of well-to-do Fiji Indians who were acquiring education in New Zealand. Census results from Statistics New Zealand on the distribution of Indians by birthplace from 1921 to 1991 (as seen in Figure 5.2) add to the limited data available from Leckie.

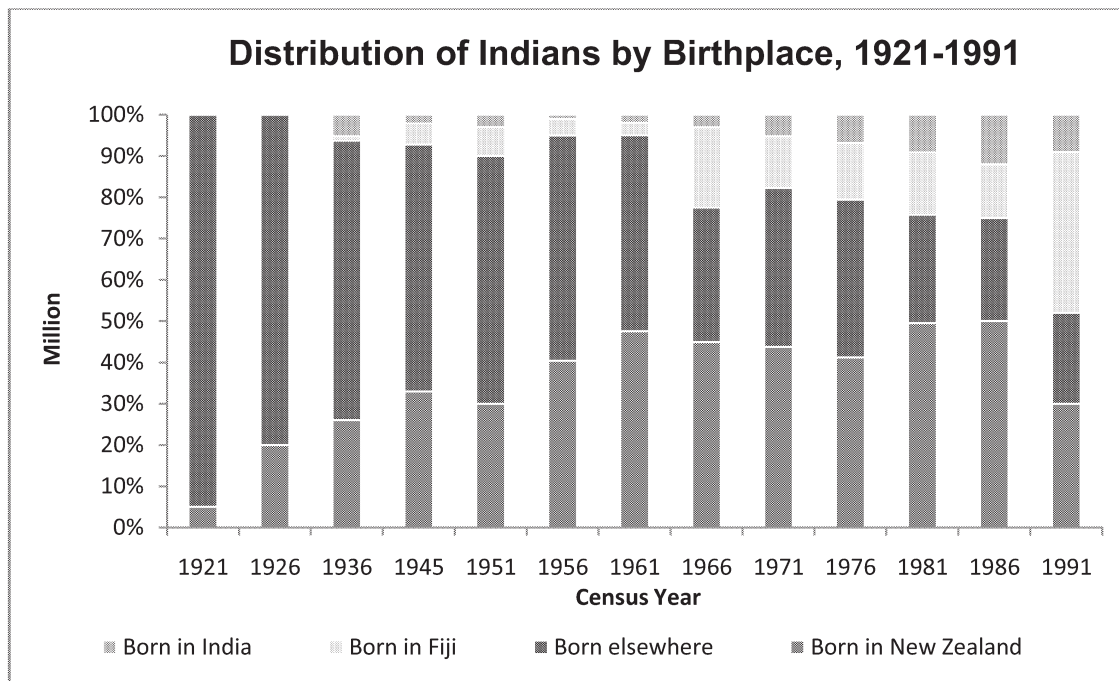


Figure 5.2: Distribution of Indians by birthplace 1921–1991. (Source: Statistics New Zealand, 1995)

This figure confirms the increase in Fiji Indian migration in the years before independence as mentioned by Jones (1976) but also shows a marked increase in proportion of Fiji born Indians in 1991. Narayan and Smyth (2003) pointed out that before 1987 only about 5,500 Fiji born people had migrated to New Zealand. While they were of the view that the majority were Fiji Indians, they did not provide any specific percentage. Mohanty (2002) stated that from 1978 to 1986 New Zealand accepted 7.7% of Fiji migrants, but the easing of immigration policies in 1986 and 1987 had seen New Zealand become a more preferable destination for the Fiji Indians. According to Field (2007) some 120,000 Fiji Indians had left Fiji since 1987, twice the number of their ancestors, the indentured labourers who had migrated to work and settle in Fiji.

Over the period October 1, 1987 and September 30, 1988 (almost a year after the 1987 coups) Bedford (1989) reported that 2,079 Fiji citizens entered New Zealand to settle. This figure is an estimate as neither Fiji nor New Zealand collected consistent statistics on Fiji Indian migrants. Shameem (1995) pointed out the New Zealand census returns of the time did not allow for a Fiji-Indian ethnic origin category. She estimated that 16,416 Fiji Indians were living in New Zealand between 1987 and 1994. Later estimates, based on the New Zealand census and Pio's (2008) research, suggest that by 2006, 50,946 Fiji Indians lived in New Zealand.

5.10 Fiji Indian Migration after 1987: Migration Decision, Preference & Occupational Categories

Gani (2000) found that in the case of the Fiji migrants of 1987, the military coups provided the overall reason to migrate. Keelan (1989); Naidu (1989); and Narayan and Smyth (2003) all agreed the coups were important forces in terms of the decision to migrate. Khan et al. (2005) and Reddy et al. (2002) suggested the migration decisions were based on different political, social and economic push and pull factors. The socio-economic push factors were the rise in violent crime, the inability to acquire lease land for farming, unemployment problems, and the difficulties of gaining scholarships because of racial discrimination. Political factors included insecurity of political rights, non-renewal of rentals, and confiscation of farm lands. For instance, Naidu's (1997) study found that some professionals, like Fiji Indian doctors, had emigrated because of poor working conditions and an insecure political and economic future. Narayan and Smyth (2003) concluded that political instability had a positive impact on migration, while the standard of living and differentials in real wages were statistically insignificant.

Khan et al. (2005) commented that the pull factors played an important part in getting individuals attracted to the country to which they intended to migrate and those factors included better opportunities for employment and education that would help achieve better social and economic living standards.

Gani (1998), however, argued that living standards and political instability were not important in determining the migration from Fiji to New Zealand. He noted that between 1977 and 1985, 35% of Fiji Indian migrants chose the United States, 26% chose Canada as

their most preferred countries, while Australia and New Zealand were their next choices. The preference, however, changed markedly after 1987 (see Table 5.1). Between 1987 and 1990 New Zealand became the second most favoured country. Australia, which has closer economic links to Fiji than any of the preferred countries, became the most favoured for Fiji Indians. Gani explained that Fiji Indians preferred New Zealand over Canada and the United States because they found it easier to migrate here after 1987, and also because of New Zealand's economic links with, and closer proximity to, Fiji. By 1991, however, Table 5.1 shows that New Zealand was overtaken by Canada as the country of first choice.

Table 5.1: Preference through distribution of emigration from Fiji by destination country, 1986–1994 (percent)

Year	Australia	New Zealand	United States	Canada	Others
1986	40.7	9.2	26.5	32.5	2.2
1987	47.6	19.0	22.7	7.6	3.1
1988	45.3	28.8	16.5	7.0	2.4
1989	41.4	31.0	15.5	10.0	2.1
1990	40.2	20.9	19.6	17.3	1.9
1991	44.0	18.1	18.4	17.0	2.4
1992	44.0	16.1	17.0	20.5	2.4
1993	38.7	16.4	19.0	22.8	3.1
1994	34.0	15.7	23.9	22.7	3.7

(Source: Bureau of Statistics, Fiji, 1996.)

Shameem (1992) provided other reasons for Fiji Indians selecting New Zealand. Fiji had a special connection with New Zealand starting from 1881 when the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR, Australia & Fiji) established a sugar refinery for Fiji sugar at Waitemata Harbour, Auckland. Shameem added that the other major connection was that Fiji had adopted much of the New Zealand school curriculum. This resulted in New Zealand teachers, principals, head teachers, and school inspectors working in Fiji. Fiji schools taught New Zealand history and geography and pupils sat the New Zealand School Certificate and University Entrance examinations.

As indicated above, Gani (2000) argued that the immigration policy the host country was a significant factor among the various push and pull reasons for migration. He maintained

immigration policies generally place emphasis on certain occupations or skills in the migrant intake categories. Those who meet criteria for qualifications, skills, work experience, age and employment prospects are likely to be granted permanent residence. Gani also pointed to the provision in New Zealand immigration policy allowing residence on the grounds of family reunification; many Fiji Indians, particularly those who did not qualify under the occupational group requirements (see ‘workers not classified’ in Table 5.2), gained residence through this provision.

Table 5.2: Fiji emigration by major occupational group, 1987–1994

	1987	1988	1989	1991	1992	1993	1994
Professional, technical and related workers	538	570	568	545	477	363	426
Administrative and Managerial workers	219	231	220	264	235	205	190
Clerical supervisors and related workers	575	559	591	518	374	355	348
Sales workers	137	124	131	161	156	122	114
Service workers	101	81	82	105	93	108	96
Agriculture, animal husbandry, forest workers and fishermen	86	94	118	119	94	99	107
Production workers, transport equipment, operators and labourers	403	492	577	641	544	506	483
Workers not classified	3,059	3,345	3,221	3,079	2,648	2,394	2,391

(Source: Bureau of Statistics, Fiji, 1996.). Note: (1990 data are not available.)

Gani (2000) also pointed out that despite the trend of the recipient countries of immigrants to revise their immigration policies from time to time to control the influx of immigrants, none of them made key policy changes to accommodate the Fiji people in the post-coup years. He said the Fiji migrants’ choice of the destination was also influenced by “employment prospects, wages, quality of life, networks of family and friends and geographical proximity” (p. 97), and that Fiji migrants between 1987 and 1994 were mainly professionals (especially teachers, architects and engineers) or production workers (usually trades people). Naidu (1989) said most of the professional and skilled immigrants came from the Fiji Public Service, leaving the country because of the military regime’s policy of allocating half the jobs to Fijians and Rotumans.

5.11 Fiji Indian Migration to New Zealand after 1987: Settlement, Experiences & Related Issues

In her writing on the post-coup exodus of Fiji Indian migrants to New Zealand, Shameem (1992) explained that for most of the immigrants their arrival in New Zealand gave them both a feeling of positiveness and familiarity; they were glad to have joined an egalitarian society and comfortable not to feel like strangers. This was because of familiarity through the education system (as noted above) and through having met and worked with New Zealanders in Fiji. Moreover, Shameem said the migrants knew New Zealand because of the country's political and economic interests in Fiji and also because their children had gone there for further education. However, she reported their sense of relief at having escaped the post-coup problems was tempered by home sickness, and because they missed family members and Fiji's warm weather and relaxed lifestyle. Some initially did not like their destination, finding it cold, closed-up and insular; it took many months to adjust. The first problem the immigrants faced, according to Shameem, was the lack of a network of support. Most found compensation, however, in equal employment opportunities, safety and security, easy access to the educational system for their children, and the prospect of earning higher salaries. Nonetheless, some were unable to adjust to the New Zealand environment and system, and returned to Fiji.

According to Bell (2005) over 50% of the Fiji Indians lived in Auckland, about 13% lived in Wellington, and the rest settled in other major towns and cities. Leckie (2006) reported that most preferred Auckland because of its warmer weather and agreed with Bell that it was also because they liked to be near to where most other Fiji Indians had settled.

The *Kiwi Ora New Life Manual* (2002) notes that Fiji Indians who arrived after the 1987 coups felt lonely and isolated and relied heavily on telephones to maintain contact with family and friends in Fiji. The migrants also felt the urge to talk to other Indians they might see in the street. According to the *Manual*, although the Fiji Indians' English language was good, they had problems understanding the New Zealand accent. The writers of the *Manual* emphasised that for Fiji Indians to integrate well they needed to educate New Zealanders about their religion and culture so that they could receive understanding and support.

According to Leckie (2006), Fiji Indians in New Zealand retained their Fiji Hindi, although in many households they spoke more English than Fiji Hindi and younger migrants, especially those born here, were losing Fiji Hindi to English language. While some Fiji Indians saw little value in retaining their language, others promoted it by sending their children for special tuition. Generally, the migrants also continued to maintain strong ties with their family and community in Fiji, many of whom became impoverished under the new regime, and were grateful for goods and money sent by the migrants (Lal, 2003).

Bell (2005) found that Fiji Indians generally continued to adhere closely to religious observances. Most were Hindus and worshipped in temples, Ramayan mandalis, and performed the “pooja” in shrines at home. Muslims had their own mosques; Punjabis had their gurudwaras; and Christians, mainly Methodists, Catholics, or Assembly of God members, had joined their respective churches. Bandyopadhyay (2006) said the post-1987 arrival of Fiji Indians resulted in a big upsurge in Hindu religious and cultural activities, leading to more temples being constructed at more centres.

Leckie (2006) writes that members of the younger generation are involved with soccer and boxing, with some becoming prominent in the New Zealand Boxing Federation. She argued that most Fiji Indians, having adopted the Kiwi lifestyle, felt that they were about 95% Kiwi despite the fact that they still held on to their culture and heritage. Before 1987 Indians in New Zealand found it hard to get Indian food, but the influx of Fiji Indians meant a wide range of Indian foods, vegetables, utensils, clothing, entertainment and other goods; even grog (yaqona or kava) was widely available in Indian shops (Bell, 2005). Bandyopadhyay (2006) pointed out that Fiji Indians established their own media, which is helping keep their language alive. Radio Tarana, based in Auckland, broadcasts 7 days a week, 24 hours a day in Hindi to cater for Indians in New Zealand. Additionally, the Indian-focussed newspaper *Newslink*, a fortnightly publication, provides relevant news and information from India, Fiji and around the world (Leckie, 2006). The first popular newspaper of Fiji Indian migrants in New Zealand was the *India-Fiji Express*, published in English, initially each month and later quarterly (Radio Tarana, 2004). Although Bell (2005) believed that Fiji Indians did not have a formal association in New Zealand, Leckie’s (2006) research reported that the Fiji Association, catering mainly for professional Fiji Indians who had settled before 1987, was established in 1977.

Research shows two major problems faced new Fiji Indian migrants: employment and the related problem of racial discrimination. Khan, Goddard and Toogood (2005) found numbers of Fiji Indians were unable to gain employment in New Zealand despite qualifications and experience. This reflected Shameem's (1992) finding that many switched to other jobs, while others had to retrain to get back into their professions. Leckie (2006) attributed the inability of Fiji Indians to find jobs suited to their qualifications and abilities to the large influx of Fiji Indians arriving in New Zealand after the 1987 coups and to the high unemployment level at the time. This, coupled with discrimination, made the employment situation even more difficult.

Lack of job opportunities compelled large numbers of Fiji Indians to open their own businesses (Leckie, 2006). A study by Prasad (1995) looked at these small businesses with the prime aim of identifying the background and characteristics of Fiji Indian business owners and the issues relative to their businesses. Although his study was small, his findings were varied and interesting. Most owners were from the 40–49 age group and were ex-civil servants from Fiji with managerial and senior managerial positions who had not operated businesses before. Those who were not civil servants were from the private sector or had owned businesses in Fiji. Most owners possessed a first degree from a recognised university or otherwise had completed their secondary education. In common with other researchers, Prasad found their main reason for emigrating was political instability in Fiji. In New Zealand the majority ran retail businesses, ranging from dairies, car part sales, service stations, motor mechanical shops, and computer technical services through to legal services, accounting, video hire, real estate, building construction, and a travel agency. Most of Prasad's respondents were interested in expanding their business into Fiji in the future, if the opportunities existed. These small Fiji Indian businesses have made a noticeable impact on commerce. Watts, White and Trlin (2004), in their study of the cultural contribution of immigrants in New Zealand, estimate that over 16% of their participants perceived that the cultural capital of migrants was most felt in the areas of commerce and industry.

Shameem (1992) investigated racial discrimination in relation to Fiji Indians, arguing that the prejudice held by New Zealanders affected the chances of Fiji Indians getting jobs.

Bandyopadhyay (2006) records instances of parental prejudice being passed onto children who call Fiji Indian children “niggers”, “curry munchers”, or “blacks”. Similar situations were reported by Fiji Indian secondary school teachers (Leckie, 2006). Generally, Leckie said, Fiji Indians have aimed to accept these labels as jests rather than insults. Sangeeta Lal’s (1998) study of Fiji Indians who arrived after the military coups also found considerable discrimination. She also discussed “white-centric” behaviour that took the form of social exclusion or social rejection, such as being excluded from public functions or ignored by sales assistants. Lal reported that as well as “white racism” there were also instances of “Māori racism”, where some Māori had told the Fiji Indians that they were not welcome in New Zealand and should return to their country.

5.12 Conclusion

This chapter builds on the theories of migration management in Chapter 4 by examining the literature on Indian and Fiji Indian migration as it relates to the research project. After covering the origins of migration from the Indian subcontinent the chapter briefly discusses the three forms of Indian migration during the colonisation with its high demand for cheap labour: indentured labourers, migration of contract-free Indians or “Kangani” and the migration of ‘Free’ Indians. It then looked at the perspectives and themes arising from two relevant migration movements. First was the recruitment and arrival of Indian indentured labourers in the Caribbean territories and included their experiences and issues surrounding settlement and adaptation. This demonstrated strong parallels with the experiences of indentured Indians in Fiji as discussed in Chapter 2. Second, the chapter explored the Indian migration to the United States of America, which has relevance to the arrival of Fiji Indians in New Zealand. Indian emigration to the US only gained momentum from 1965 onwards when the new immigration policy expunged long-standing restrictions; professionals and entrepreneurial migrants made a considerable contribution to the US economy; despite minimal government assistance and some discrimination most Indian migrants have settled well.

In a final section the chapter looked at the limited literature on Indian and Fiji Indian migrants to New Zealand. The first arrivals from India were Punjabis, followed by Gujarati Indians. The chapter briefly covered the rationale for their coming to New Zealand and some of their settlement issues as outlined by New Zealand researchers. The

chapter then discussed the Fiji Indian migration to New Zealand before 1987, which revealed that only a small population existed because of stringent immigration policies. The big influx of Fiji Indians into New Zealand was after 1987, occurring because of political instability in Fiji and the easing of the New Zealand immigration policies. The discussion focussed on the settlement experiences, challenges, and problems of the Fiji Indian migrant.

Chapter 6, describes the method for the 50 interviews with Fiji Indian migrants that constitute the research project. This upcoming chapter revisits the research questions and discusses qualitative interview methodology before addressing the positives and negatives of my position as a Fiji Indian interviewer. It then covers questionnaire design, the practical procedures of data collection, and data analysis.

CHAPTER 6: METHOD

6.1 Introduction

Following on from the background chapters, which provided context for the Fiji Indian migration to New Zealand, the literature review of Chapter 4 examined the process of migration and settlement management from the perspective of two major management theories. Research by Mabogunje (1970) and others shows that systems theory can provide explanatory power in the study of migration, while Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory serves as the foundation for Reichova's (2005) theory of migration decisions and Adler's (1977) theory of immigrants' adjustment, both of which are useful touchstones for the current study.

Chapter 5 then explored empirical findings on migration, concentrating on studies of the migration of Indians from the subcontinent, including their migration to and settlement experiences in New Zealand. This provided the perspective for the literature on the immigration of Fiji Indians to New Zealand.

There has been little investigation into the Fiji Indian migration to New Zealand following the military coups of 1987. However, the interaction of this distinctive, often highly skilled, migrant group with the immigration and settlement management processes of the time bears further investigation in the light of changing immigration policies and their social and economic impact. This chapter begins with the purpose and the research questions initially mentioned in Chapter 1. It next briefly addresses the theoretical foundation of the qualitative interview process used in the study, and reflects on my position as both researcher and Fiji Indian migrant. The chapter then details the question development process, sample selection, the interview process (including pilot testing, and ethical implications) and data analysis.

6.2 Purpose and Research Questions

As outlined in Chapter 1, the underlying research question guiding this research is:

How did Fiji Indian migrants to New Zealand experience the management of migration and settlement between 14 May, 1987 and the start of year 2000?

The purpose of the interviews with Fiji Indian migrants was therefore to answer a series of subsequent research questions, grouped under four distinct subheadings:

(A) Migration Policies and Management of Entry

- (1) *Were the Fiji Indian migrants aware of the New Zealand immigration policies at the time of their emigration from Fiji?*
- (2) *How was the entry of Fiji Indians managed?*

(B) Background and Managing Decision to Emigrate

- (3) *What was the background of Fiji Indian Migrants?*
- (4) *What was the impetus of Fiji Indians to decide to emigrate and choose New Zealand as their new home country?*

(C) Management of Settlement and Migrants' Experiences

- (5) *What were the settlement experiences of Fiji Indian migrants in New Zealand?*
- (6) *How did the New Zealand Immigration Authorities manage the settlement of Fiji Indian migrants?*

(D) Adaptation Contributions and Future

- (7) *How well have Fiji Indians integrated and assimilated with the New Zealanders?*
- (8) *What were the contributions of Fiji Indian migrants to New Zealand?*
- (9) *What did they perceive their future to be in the host country?*

6.3 Interview Methodology

The research approach adopted is a qualitative one as it provides a means to understand what the participants tell the researcher not only about their experiences but also about their perceptions, perspectives, and feelings (Collis & Hussey, 2009; Leedy & Omrod, 2001; Potter, 2002). A number of researchers (for instance, Cassell & Symon, 2004; Cresswell, 1994) have made known the assumptions associated with an orientation toward qualitative research. The significant ones include the flexibility of qualitative procedures compared with quantitative procedures and the inclination of the researchers of qualitative studies to accept their personal subjectivity in the interpretation of data, compared with researchers in quantitative studies, who prefer to take a more impersonal and supposedly objective stance. Chadwick, Bahr and Albrecht (1984, pp. 211–215) sum up the strengths of qualitative research. Those relevant to the purpose of this study are that qualitative research achieves a deeper understanding of the respondent's world, that it humanises the research process by raising the role of the researched and presents a more realistic view of

the world. However, in the same section they argued that the weaknesses of the qualitative approach include problems of subjectivity, the time-consuming nature of data collection, the problem of ethics when entering the personal sphere of participants and the problems of generalising findings. Kvale (1996), Chadwick et al. (1984) and others (e.g., Crotty, 1998) also point out there is no clear demarcation between qualitative and quantitative approaches; for instance, interviews may be used for both kinds of research or interview schedules and may contain both qualitative elements and those that may be presented and explored more quantitatively, such as the demographic information resulting from my own interviews.

According to Ghauri and Gronhaug (2002) interviews are often considered the best data collection method, while Hussey and Hussey (1997) explain that interviews are one of the most common methods of generating data and are associated with both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Researchers typify interviews as “more than just conversations” for they “involve a set of assumptions and understandings about situations which are not normally associated with casual conversations” (Cavana et al., 2001, p. 86; Denscombe, 2003). Cohen & Manion (1994, p. 307) described interviews as “initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information and focused by him/her on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction or explanation”. In my case the objective was to ensure that I elicited the relevant information on the Fiji Indian migrants’ settlement experiences and management, methodically described and explained to ensure authenticity and clear understanding.

Like all research strategies, interviews have their share of advantages and disadvantages. Interviews personalise the study to individual participants; they are flexible and allow opportunities for questions; and the response rate is higher than questionnaires and enables the researcher to exercise control over question order that cannot be carried out by a mail questionnaire or even by narrative methodology that may be used for the study of this nature (Rubinson & Neutons, 1987). Disadvantages of interviews mentioned by Rubinson and Neutons (1987) include: the cost in terms of money, travel and time; they are open to manipulation or are susceptible to interview bias; they may generate personality clashes or withdrawals; they can be viewed as inconvenient to the participant; and there may be difficulty summarising the findings.

Although focus groups are often used as a method for studies with similar participants and objectives to my own (Morgan, 1997), interviews were more practical for my project. The participants were too dispersed geographically and were reluctant to come to a set venue at one set time since most of them, as new migrants, were heavily engaged in personal commitments. They wanted flexibility in the meeting times for interviews. Further, the potential participants were diverse in terms of their age, experiences, education and knowledge the focus group setting may have been uncomfortable for them and not productive for me as researcher.

As indicated above, my interviews combined quantitative, closed-ended questions (a structured interview model) with open-ended questions for a qualitative response. According to Denscombe (2003, p. 166) “the structured interview asks a list of pre-established questions which the participants are invited to offer limited-option after responses.” These responses can be compared and then turned into quantitative statements (Ghauri & Gronhaug, 2002). Structured interviews, with closed-ended questions are normally used for demographic or background details of participants (Cavana et al., 2001; Collis & Hussey, 2009). The bulk of the interview, however, followed the semi-structured interview model. Semi-structured interviews are useful where much information about the topic is not known, and where in-depth information is sought (Collis & Hussey, 2009; Robson, 1997). Open-ended questions are prepared, but strict order might not be followed, allowing the interviewer to respond flexibly to the participant’s answers. The interviewer also gets the discussion going with certain specific questions which are normally also open-ended. Probes and prompts are used to explore the in-depth answers (Davis, 2000; Duane, 2000; Langley, 1987; Seaman, 1987).

6.3.1 *My position as Fiji Indian interviewer*

There are prevailing factors that affect the quality of data collected through interviews. For example, race and ethnicity have an effect on interview responses, and studies point out that the differences in race or ethnicity between the participants and the interviewer may bias the results (Bradburn & Sudman, 1979; Dohrenwend et al., 1968; Gubrium & Holstein 1999; Hyman, 1954). The gender of the interviewer can also affect the participant’s reaction or consent to give interviews in certain cultures (Barry, 1969;

Hyman, 1954). Other aspects such as social status and social distance can also bias results (Dohrenwend et al., 1968).

In my case, my male gender did have some negative effect in getting consent from some potential female participants for the arranged interviews. However, more significant is that as the researcher for this study I am also a Fiji Indian. I came as a migrant to New Zealand in 1987, very early after the two coups therefore escaping most of the brutal after effects. I am therefore of the same category as the participants and this insider status had both advantages and drawbacks. I had the potential for interviewer bias, which Collis and Hussey (2009) defined as opinion or prejudice on the part of the interviewer, displayed during the interview process and therefore affecting the outcome of the interview. My biases were likely to colour the types of questions I asked participants and the ways in which I interpreted answers. However, coming from the same cultural background as the participants made me aware of cultural nuances and subtleties that a non-Fiji Indian would not be able to detect. Further, because of my background knowledge, and because I came from the same community and understood sensitivities, I was more able to make participants comfortable. Of prime importance was that I spoke the same Fiji Hindi as participants, which allowed them to use their first language when they found difficulty in expressing themselves in English.

I had a further advantage in both making interviewees feel at ease and in locating them. As a community worker amongst the Indians in New Zealand, including Fiji Indians, I have rendered and continue to give assistance to many Fiji Indian migrants in their settlement process, particularly in Palmerston North and Wellington, and have organised many social events. For my services, the New Zealand government made me a Justice of the Peace and honoured me with the Queen's Service Medal. Because of this, I am known to many Indians and Fiji Indians and am considered a respectable and sympathetic member of the community. I believe this position encouraged participants to be open and truthful in their responses.

In concluding this section I point out that I am fully aware of the ethical factors of honesty and objectivity in research. In addition, in adhering to Massey University's ethical requirements (see section 6.7 below) I aimed both to recognise my biases and to be as

research questions grouped under the four headings as shown in section 6.2 of this chapter. The research questions informed my interview guides.

For the structured part of the interview I had formulated 57 close-ended questions that sought information on the background details of the Fiji Indian migrants (see **Appendix 2** for the structured interview guide A). For the semi-structured element of the interview, four interview guides – B, C, D, and E – were developed, all of which had open-ended questions (see **Appendices 3, 4, 5, & 6**). The information letter, consent form, request form, confidentiality agreement, and ethics approval are shown as **Appendices 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11** respectively.

Guide B (**Appendix 3**) had 13 questions, all pertaining to migration issues and asking such questions about the reasons for migration and for choosing New Zealand versus other countries. The Guide asked about the migrants' familiarity with New Zealand before their migration and their knowledge of migration policies under which they qualified.

Guide C contained questions that centred on the settlement management issues of the Fiji Indian migrants and asked 49 questions on such areas as the migrants' experiences of New Zealand when they first arrived, their interaction with the New Zealanders, their experiences of getting employment, their experiences of racial discrimination, and the organisations that existed to support and assist them in their settlement.

Guide D incorporated 10 questions, all based on integration and assimilation issues of Fiji Indian migrants. Some of the questions asked whether the migrants had established relationships with other Indians settled in New Zealand and whether they had integrated and assimilated with different races in New Zealand; other questions covered the factors they perceived that helped them integrate and assimilate well with others.

The last guide, E, focused on the contributions of Fiji Indian migrants and their perceptions of the future. It contained 31 questions. The questions mainly centred on whether the migrants were contributing to New Zealand through their employment, their businesses, or through other means. In addition, I asked whether the migrants saw some issues that they thought would affect them and their families in the future in New Zealand.

During the qualitative part of the interview, I asked additional questions of the respondents to probe deeper on the issues and also to clarify some of the responses. These questions were not written down but were asked as they came up, as is common with unstructured or semi-structured interviews. I ensured that every question in the schedule and guides was relevant and linked to the research questions of this study.

6.5 Sample Selection

Before contacting the respondents for conducting interviews I had ascertained criteria for the interviewees who were to furnish information for my research questions. The criteria were that they:

- had immigrated to New Zealand between the 1987 military coups and the start of year 2000.
- were born and bred in Fiji and were conversant with the life and situation in Fiji before 1987.
- had been employed in Fiji before they had migrated to New Zealand.
- had lived in New Zealand for over 10 years to understand the lifestyle and system of New Zealand.
- could converse in English or Fiji Hindi fluently enough to be able to give interviews clearly and comfortably.

The above criteria meant that my sample consisted mainly of people who were of a mature age and who had received good education. To reach potential participants I used a snowball sampling technique, where participants nominated others, until the quota was met. Snowballing is commonly used where it is important to include people with experience of the phenomena being studied and when random sampling is therefore inappropriate (Field & Morse, 1990; Wellington, 2000). A problem in qualitative research is predicting the required sample size. I followed the advice of Field and Morse (1990), who advocate that researchers should go on collecting data until they find that no new information emerges. By this means I selected a total of 50 Fiji Indian migrants as the participants for my study. They were selected from different towns and cities of New Zealand, where I travelled to carry out the interviews. Table 6.1 shows where participants came from”

Table 6.1: Number of participants from each location

No.	Cities/Towns	No. of Informants Selected
1	Auckland	24
2	Wellington	8
3	Hamilton	2
4	Christchurch	6
5	Palmerston North	6
6	Dannevirke	1
7	Dunedin	2
8	Invercargill	1
	Total	50

Most participants came from Auckland where over three-quarters of Fiji Indians in New Zealand reside. The majority of the rest were from Wellington, Christchurch, and Palmerston North. I went to some trouble to find the three participants in Dunedin and Invercargill because very few Fiji Indians have settled there.

A special point of note was that the 50 participants I had initially selected comprised an equal number of males and females. but when the potential female participants were contacted for the interview meetings only nine confirmed. The 16 who declined gave the following reasons: they could not come because of personal commitments; they could not give interviews to people they did not know; their husbands did not allow them to give interviews to strangers; they did not feel comfortable giving interviews to males or their culture did not allow them to give interviews to males whom they have not met before. I was able to persuade one of these respondents to take part. However, this was a major hurdle and for expediency I was forced to replace those women who felt unable to participate with male participants. In the end, therefore, I interviewed 40 male and 10 female participants. That female participants would not want to be interviewed by a male interviewer was disappointing but not unexpected as it is consistent with Indian culture as explained in section 6.3 above. In their studies Hyman (1954) and Barry (1969) intimated that in some cultures females would abstain from giving interviews to male interviewers.

6.6 Pilot Testing

Stangor (2001) explained that pilot testing involves trying out a questionnaire or an interview schedule on a small number of individuals to get an idea of how they react to it before the final version is prepared and asked in the main study. Sekaran (2000) pointed out that it is absolutely crucial to pilot your questions as you will want to test how long it takes to complete the questionnaire; check that all questions and instructions are clear and try to expose any items that will not generate usable data. She also emphasised that piloting develops your interviewing skills, so ideally participants in a pilot should be as similar as possible to those in the main study.

I pilot tested my interview questions with a small sample of four participants who were Fiji Indian migrants selected on the same criteria as my original sample population. I ensured the interviews were conducted in the same way as I would carry them in the main study. The trial showed up some weaknesses. For example, I had no idea that the total interview would take 3 or more hours. As a result I cut some questions out to bring the anticipated time to about 2 hours. I also decided during the actual interviews to subtly cut off any unnecessary or redundant explanations from participants. I also turned a double-barrelled question into two separate ones.

The questions on demographics and background were found to be poorly sequenced. They were regrouped to put all questions pertaining to Fiji in one group and those pertaining to New Zealand in another. The questions therefore were reorganised and appropriately grouped. Other questions were restructured to make them clearer and the terms assimilation and integration were given definitions in the new schedule.

6.7 Interview Procedure

According to the Ethics and Equity research requirements the approval to carry out interviews was obtained from the Manawatu Campus Massey University Human Ethics Committee. The process followed is designed to comply with the Committee's requirements of informed and voluntary consent, and general respect for people which involves "...recognition of the personal dignity, beliefs including cultural and religious beliefs), privacy and autonomy of individuals and the provisions of special protection of those persons with diminished competence" (*Section 9, Respect for Persons, MUHEC*

Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluation involving human participants).

In the information letter detailing the study, each participant was given an explicit undertaking that, “the interviewer will ensure that the identity of each participant will be protected by the use of the research convention of pseudonyms and maintenance of confidentiality.”

The interviews took place across a 6-month period, from January to July 2005. Together with the information letter, an individual consent form was sent to each participant who had agreed to give interviews, including those who replaced the female participants who had declined. The meeting date, time and venue were all arranged with the selected 50 participants. The interviews generally took place on the set dates but in some instances the dates had to be rearranged on participants’ request. The participants chose the venue where they wished to be interviewed. This was normally their homes but interviews also took place in business offices of colleagues or in the homes of friends.

All interviews were carried out in English but the participants were given the liberty to explain their experiences in Fiji Hindi if they felt that they could explain matters better in their own language. As a fluent Hindi speaker and writer this was a viable option for me. However, I found that only a few respondents made use of this choice.

If, in the course of the interviews, I saw that participants showed concerns and emotion through their body language such as raising their finger, or speaking with a high pitch or talking in a subdued manner, I took these as cues for me to pay special attention to them and then politely coaxed them to explain what their concerns and feelings were. Occasionally, I asked a probing question or a follow-up question to elucidate a response. However, this was not always called for. Most participants were generally articulate and happy to talk about their experiences and views.

The participants agreed to my tape-recording the interviews. I collected a total of 120 audio tapes, each 90 minutes long. Interviews lasted between 2 and 5 hours, depending upon how much each participant talked. This happened despite my trimming several

questions as a consequence of the pilot study. I was reluctant to cut off participants who gave greater detail. In fact, all the information was relevant and useable. I enjoyed listening to the longer interviews and felt that from my cultural perspective of courtesy, participants should be permitted to talk as long as they liked, provided they talked sense, and were relevant.

All recorded tapes were transcribed. I was assisted in this time-consuming exercise by a Fiji Indian school teacher and an academic colleague. I then despatched transcriptions to each participant to read and approve. This process took some time but eventually all transcriptions were returned – some unchanged and some with minor changes.

6.8 Data Analysis

The first stage of interview analysis was to analyse the quantitative data demographic data. With small numbers and simple descriptive statistics, this analysis was carried out by hand, resulting in the simple frequency tables seen in the next chapter.

In recognition of Field and Morse's (1990) point that data records can be voluminous, I followed the advice of Maylor and Blackmon (2005) and ensured my notes, and steps in each of the qualitative analytical stages were clear and complete. While there are many different ways of handling qualitative data it is important to follow an orderly sequence (Field & Morse, 1990). I outline below the process I used, which draws on practices described by Miles and Huberman (1994), Maylor and Blackmon (2005) and Hussey and Hussey (2003), among others.

The preliminary analysis of qualitative data from the semi-structured interviews commenced from the time when the interview questions were being formulated and continued when recorded interviews were being transcribed. At each phase different themes arose, and were recorded in my notebook with my reflective comments. This stage in Kolb's learning cycle model is termed the "concrete experience" (Maylor & Blackmon, 2005, p. 348). Some examples of the themes that surfaced in this phase were: government management and people support for new migrants; choice of settlement areas; lack of management over children; assistance in finding employment; and friendly and unfriendly neighbours. This approach to analysis is supported by Miles and Huberman (1994), who

regard preliminary analysis and reflexive notations as important to good qualitative research.

Next I became familiar with all the data, including all interview transcriptions and any special notes I had made during the interview process and on the transcriptions. I read all records many times to gain a thorough understanding. This phase also led me to re-order or summarise the data that started to show as emerging patterns of meanings. Some examples of this included: the Fiji coups acting as the catalyst for migration of Fiji Indians; the self-managing of selection of New Zealand as the country to emigrate to over others; racism and discrimination that came mainly from white youths; and the importance for the migrants to speak correct English in New Zealand. This re-ordering, summarising and prioritising phase acted as a data reduction stage. Once I had summaries on A3 sheets, I spent considerable time on what Maylor and Blackmon (2005, p. 348) call “abstract conceptualisation”, which involved extracting the main themes from the data. To facilitate this I utilised the content analysis method advocated by writers such as Robson (1997) and Berg (2004).

I gave each theme a number. For example, I used code 1 for details of the immigrants’ backgrounds; code 2 represented the many effects that were reported to have surfaced because of the military coups, and so on. I then transferred the coded themes (written in brief) under the appropriate categories. The next step was to closely look at the concepts or themes in the categories and rearrange any that were incorrectly categorised. At this stage some categories were combined and others omitted as having little relevance to the study. To ensure that any pertinent themes and categories were not left out and were accounted for I checked them against the summary sheets once again. I then put together the themes in the categories to ensure that they made sensible statements as findings.

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter described the qualitative interview process used to investigate the arrival and management of the settlement of Fiji Indian migrants in New Zealand. The approach provided rich qualitative data that were analysed through the thematic analysis technique, although a basic quantitative analysis was also used for analysing demographic data. The

interview approach gave a greater depth of understanding and insight into the lived experiences of these migrants, including their management and support services.

The pilot study, carried out with four extra participants external to the sample population, assisted in the revision of the interview procedures. To obtain relevant accounts from the participants they were selected in accordance with set criteria, and although the intention was to have an equal number of male and female participants, cultural constraints prevented this. The result was that there were more males than females in the sample population of 50.

The findings emerging from the analysis of data reflect and bear on the nine research questions for this study and they are reported, and explained in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER 7: RESULTS

“I still dream of that place where my forebears stayed and where I was raised; a life of cheer and a future so promising.”(Inf. /T5). Interview 25.4.06)

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the interviews carried out with the participants selected for this study. It is structured around the research questions and the results are discussed under appropriate headings, each of which is related to the specific research question put in sequence as laid down in Chapter 6.

The findings focus first on the policy application and the management of entry of the migrants as well as how they managed their migration decision making. The chapter then explores the different experiences of the migrants in the settlement phase, including their employment issues and the Immigration Authority’s stance in managing settlement. The third focus is the integration and assimilation experiences of the migrants, their contributions to New Zealand and their future perspective.

This chapter presents the results of the interviews carried out with the participants selected for this study and is structured around the research aims. The findings focus on the policy application and the management of entry of the migrants as well as how they managed their migration decision making. The findings dwell on the different experiences of the migrants in the settlement phase including their employment issues and the Immigration Authority’s stance in managing settlement. They then delineate the integration and assimilation experiences of the migrants, their contributions to New Zealand, and their future perspective.

7.2. Migration Policies and Management of Entry

7.2.1 *Were the Fiji Indian migrants aware of the New Zealand immigration policies?*

As discussed in Chapter 3, permanent residents could come to New Zealand under four main categories: skilled migrant, business investment, family and humanitarian. Although over 95% of my sample entered New Zealand under the skilled migrant category, very few

were aware of the policies governing the entry, generally because they were focussed on getting away. For instance:

I was not at all interested to know the policies in detail... My main interest was to fill out the application form, submit it to the Authority, obtain approval and migrate out of Fiji without wasting any time. This was because I was so disturbed with the existing situation in Fiji. I was very disappointed that I had lost my job. (Inf. /T9)

Knowing and understanding the New Zealand immigration policies well may have been important to some people but for me my prime need at that time was to take my family with me and leave. The heat generated by the coups was too great for me to bear. (Inf. /T16)

Only two participants thought knowledge of policies was important. For one, the reason was purely pragmatic, while the other also believed in taking personal responsibility:

For my own interest I had to know the policies thoroughly as I was not sure about the right policy criteria that would qualify me to get permanent residency. I was first thinking of gaining entry on occupational ground and then under the business investment category. (Inf. /T40)

I thought that it was just ethical to know and understand the immigration policies of New Zealand as that would make me clearly know and understand the requirements for emigrating to New Zealand and also with the knowledge in hand to perform better in the screening interview. (Inf. /T32)

My respondents reported that it took 3–6 months for the approval to come from the Immigration Authority in Wellington. The migrants said they immediately began organising things to leave Fiji, to sell their homes and assets or get a relative or friend to look after them for later sale:

I felt very good to get the approval from the Immigration Authority that I had got the permanent residency for New Zealand. I thought to myself; let me take the challenge to start a new life in a new country. (Inf. /T15)

A number of respondents also said they expected some sort of departing briefing, or, more importantly, an induction or orientation from the Immigration Authority to ease their arrival and settlement. Nothing of that sort, however, transpired.

Most of my informants found their experience with the New Zealand High Commission unsatisfactory. They reported that they had to wait for hours in the queue and were sometimes told to return in 2 weeks. A number complained that some immigration officials were unfriendly and condescending, although one interviewee was more understanding:

Perhaps the Immigration Officials at the New Zealand High commission in Suva were overworked and under pressure and consequently their bureaucratic and abnormal behaviour of bad public relations. I think it managed us badly. (Inf./ T32)

7.2.2 How was the Entry of Fiji Migrants Managed?

“We had to leave the former paradise that was shattered and broken by power-hungry politicians. We were welcomed by another called the ‘Land of the White Clouds’ or Aotearoa.” (Participant T/5. Interview 10.11.04)

The interviews revealed that 74% of the participants disembarked in Auckland, 20% in Wellington, and 6% in Christchurch. The climate was given as one of the main reasons for preferring the north of New Zealand.

All respondents reported that once they set foot on New Zealand soil, they felt very relieved, far from the dread of the military regime. Indeed their first New Zealand experience with both customs and quarantine officials was pleasant. On the plane they had worried they might have a harrowing time, especially because they had brought so many

Fiji-Indian foodstuffs with them, which they all took care to declare. Three comments sum up the experience:

They were all helpful, courteous and efficient in managing our entry into New Zealand. (Inf. /T39)

They were sympathetic and were very much aware of the horrible situation we were coming out of. Every official I came into contact with gave me the impression that they were totally on our side and trying to assist us. (Inf. /T7)

I thought that the quarantine officials did a wonderful job in managing their checking of food items brought from Fiji, considering the fact that there were so many migrants from Fiji in the flight in which I arrived. (Inf. /T16)

Once Fiji passports were stamped with the Residents' Visa and other formalities fulfilled, they said they left the airport feeling wanted and accepted by the host country. This is in direct contrast to their experiences at Nadi when they were leaving Fiji. Every migrant interviewed complained about the abominable treatment received from the army. They said armed army officers had taken over the airport and carried out checks of all the luggage of the Fiji Indian passengers who were to board the aircraft to New Zealand. They were impolite and authoritarian, checking every individual before allowing them to proceed to the airline checking counter. Inside the transit lounge, hand luggage was checked and in many instances migrants were pulled aside, taken into a room, and given a body search. Most felt that the stringent checks were designed to harass and humiliate departing Fiji Indians. However, the main motive was to ensure they were not taking out more money than permitted by the military regime. Any extra money was confiscated. If the sum was large, the outgoing passenger was detained and not allowed to board the plane. The final military check was conducted inside the aircraft just before departure. A team of soldiers checked to see that no Fiji Indian on their blacklist was leaving the country without clearance. Those on the blacklist were immediately taken off the aircraft. In many instances, the wrong people were identified and taken away. The migrants who went through these military checks thought that the whole process was daunting and instilled fear:

It was not until the plane was in the sky that I had a sigh of relief and felt relaxed. (Inf. /T29)

God, the army people were bullying only the helpless Fiji Indians. I am glad that I left such a racist country for a safer, fairer and a secure place. (Inf. /T1)

Some participants who arrived later said these rigorous military checks had been relaxed and were not as bad those exercised in the early years of the coups.

7.3 Background and Management of Migration Decision

7.3.1 *What was the background of Fiji Indian migrants?*

All 50 interviewees affirmed they became the “twice-migrant” race when they migrated to settle in New Zealand. They recognised that first their ancestors, either indentured or un-indentured, migrated from India to Fiji in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Then 125 years later, their descendants, the Fiji Indians of today, migrated from Fiji to New Zealand.

All 50 participants also said that their decision to migrate to New Zealand was influenced by the political crisis in Fiji in 1987. Three-quarters of them emigrated between 1987 and 1990, and the remainder between 1991 and 1999.

My respondents were young, married with, on average, three children of generally speaking school age. As explained in Chapter Six, the majority (80%) were men. Almost all (92%) of those interviewed were aged between 25 and 45, and all but two were married. Two-thirds of the participants brought their spouses and children to New Zealand at the outset. Those who came without their families did so in order that their children could finish the school year, that their wives could continue earning until they found a job, or because their wives stayed home in order to sell their house and other assets.

Those arriving in New Zealand had been asset rich in Fiji, with 88% of them owning a house and at least one car, while almost 40% owned a second house and 20% a farm. Additionally, almost 90% of them had other investments – bank accounts or shares. They all reported they had problems selling these assets and the following response was typical:

Selling my house and a piece of land was a real problem after the coups. People were just not interested in buying properties... There were Gujarati Indians and Fijians who were interested but were prepared to offer only the lowest of prices. I refused to sell.... Soon after that, I migrated to New Zealand. Some three years later my properties still hadn't been sold for what I wanted. The situation in Fiji kept on deteriorating and in frustration I agreed to sell the house and the land well below cost. (Inf. /T5)

The religious affiliation of my sample reflected that of the total Fiji Indian population, Hindus made up half of my sample, whilst Muslims made 22%, Christians 16%, and Sikhs 12%.

The average family was of three children, generally ranging from 1 to 10 years, with 60% of school age. The interviews also revealed that a few of the interviewees or their members of their extended families were widowed or divorced.

The number of extended family members who accompanied the participants – generally parent or siblings – were also relatively few in number. Apart from the accompaniment of wives and children with the principal immigrants to New Zealand there were also close relatives who accompanied them, but their numbers were small. Most left extended family members behind, although almost 88% of the participants had some relatives who had migrated to Australia and some who went to Canada, the USA and the UK. However, none of the participants or their relatives wanted to go to India. Responses from two of my sample sum up their attitude towards immigrating to India:

Being a Fiji Indian and having gone through some changes in my original culture in Fiji over the years, I would have been a misfit living in India to-day. (Inf. /T19)

Migrating to India would have had to be the last straw. I do not have any connection with India. I would only like to visit India and not reside there permanently. (Inf./T32)

Three-quarters of my sample came from the three major towns of Suva, Nadi, and Ba, while the remaining 18% came from the towns of Nausori (near Suva) and Lautoka (near Nadi). Almost a third of the sample had a University type qualification (diploma/degree), with 20% having achieved post-graduate qualifications. As Table 7.1 shows, my participants worked in both the private and public sector and were generally highly experienced.

Table 7.1: Migrants' previous work, years of service and reason for leaving (N=50)

Where they worked before migrating	Public sector 30 (60%)		Private sector 13 (26%)		Family business 7 (14%)		
Number of years in sector.	0–5 yrs 1 (2%)	6–10yrs 16 (32%)	11–15 yrs 14 (28%)	16–20yrs 7 (14%)	21–25yrs 4 (8%)	26–30yrs 7 (14%)	31+ yrs 1 (2%)
Did you resign or retire?	Resigned: 45 (90%)			Retired: 5 (10%)			

English is the lingua franca of Fiji and is taught from year one at schools. All the participants therefore came to New Zealand equipped with very good spoken and written English. They said that at work they felt as comfortable as they did in Fiji and not displaced or inferior language-wise. The migrants all spoke Fiji Hindi fluently. What is also noteworthy is that over half (56%) of the Fiji Indian participants could speak the Fijian language but were not able to write it.

Although, as stated above, no-one in my sample wished to immigrate to India, they did not forget their roots. They all gave long descriptions of the origin of their ancestors, and the early life of their grandparents and their parents in Fiji. Most (78%) derived their knowledge from the family and the rest from books, and other sources:

[My grandmother] used to narrate stories about her girit days and how tough life used to be for the labourers. They were subjected to cruel punishments and had to slave from morning until near dark. The allocated tasks had to be completed otherwise the task increased to twice the size and one would be abused and whipped... Sometimes the male labourers retaliated by attacking the overseers but

they were seized and beaten so badly that they came close to dying and never dared repeat their actions. (Inf. /T8)

He was a Bengali, young and poor when he was recruited to come to Fiji. He boarded the ship in Calcutta. He married my grandmother in Fiji after serving his indenture. During the indenture period my grandfather laboured in the cane fields by weeding 20 chains of grass each day, digging drains and helping in the ploughing of fields. (Inf. /T40)

We are from Navua where my grandfather served his indenture with the Vancouver Fiji Sugar Company. When he finished his bondage he leased some land and planted rice and other subsistence crops for his living. He sold his products on Saturdays in the open market in Navua town. (Inf. /T40)

7.3.2 *What was the impetus of Fiji Indians to decide to emigrate and choose New Zealand as their new home country?*

When one looks at the main reason why so many Fiji Indians emigrated from Fiji after the first military coup of May 14, 1987, the obvious answer is the coup itself. However, the in-depth interviews revealed that while the coup was the catalyst, other considerations played a part in their decision to emigrate. All but one of the respondents said the first coup was the underlying cause but not the main reason for their emigration, which was the culmination of other factors that built over the years. My participants perceived the second coup of September 26, 1987, 5 months after the first one, as the last straw in a deteriorating political situation:

When the governor general mediated and was getting the Deuba Accord signed I thought the situation would get normal but the second coup by the military made matters more complex. (Inf. /T15)

The second coup by Rabuka made me feel that politics in Fiji had been made a big joke by the Fijians. But when I looked at the other things that came with the coups to undermine the Indian race, I was shocked beyond belief. (Inf. /T2)

Both coups were accompanied by brutalities, and participants said the hostile acts and behaviour of the military and Fijians generally, created a chasm between the two races. The Indians felt they were the scapegoat and were saddened because they had become second-class citizens and the hated race in the country in which they were born and to which they and their ancestors had contributed much to growth and development. Three comments below give the tenor of interviewees' coup experiences:

A Fijian phoned me one morning at work and said, 'You were unkind to me and my colleagues and sent me to prison. We will burn your house at some stage soon, with you and your family in it. It will be soon, my friend'. (Inf. /T1)

My very good friend and a renowned academic at the local university was one day taken out of his lecture room by the army officers and taken to the military camp and locked up. He was abused, assaulted and tortured. He was accused of spreading false rumours and speaking against the military, which was untrue. He was released after some days in a pathetic state. (Inf. /T35)

One Saturday afternoon, three Fijians, two males and one female, came to my house ... my wife and I came out. Before I could say anything one of them looked at me and said, 'Hey, are you the owner of the house?' I said, 'Yes, I am.' 'Good', he said, 'you know that all you Indians will be sent back to India soon. When you go away I will take your house and that car parked in the garage.' (Inf. /T30)

New Zealand was the preferred country of migration for political geographical and economic reasons. It was, as explained in Chapter Five, a country Fijians were familiar with even if they had never visited it. In fact only 10 of my participants had not visited New Zealand before. Nearly half (42%) had made four or more visits, and 38% two to three visits. Most were for holidays, but some came here for education and training, others to find employment, and some were sponsored by farmers or even the government. This is one comment recalling an earlier visit to New Zealand:

I was from Navua (Fiji) and in 1965 I joined a group of people from there and came to the South Island to clear tussock in different areas out of Timaru, Oamaru

and Motueka... When our assignment was over, we had a good time looking around the South Island and later the North Island. I learned a lot about New Zealand then. (Inf. /T40)

Whether the participants came to New Zealand on holidays or to work, the point is that their visits to New Zealand acquainted them with the country. They said familiarity made them likely to choose New Zealand as their migration destination. Participants said they did not want to migrate to Australia, Canada and USA. The reasons given included cost of living, intolerance, climate and distance from Fiji.

7.4 Management of Settlement and Experiences

7.4.1 *What were the settlement experiences of Fiji Indian migrants?*

The participants pointed out that although they felt happy to be away from the turmoil of Fiji and to have arrived in a new land, they were at the same time sad about leaving their home country. They said their thoughts were quickly focussed on how they were going to manage their settlement in a new country through some planning, organising and taking the right steps. Many explained they felt that whatever they had psychologically achieved in Fiji was lost and that they would have to adjust again to build themselves. For example, satisfaction in reaching senior positions in their jobs was gone, as was the status or the social standing they had in Fiji. They mentioned that among their first concerns were buying a home, deciding on the location, and getting a job. They also needed to find food items similar to those they were used to eating in Fiji, to make friends in a new country, and to reconnect with relatives who had come to New Zealand before them. In addition, they wanted to obtain as much information as possible about New Zealand and about things that affected them and would help them to settle successfully.

On arrival in New Zealand, the participants had to find temporary accommodation until they bought their own homes or found a suitable rental house or flat. It was found that 40% of the migrants stayed with their relatives who had come to the country earlier and were either renting or had bought homes; 20% stayed in motels; 16% with their Fiji Indian friends; 8% of the migrants stayed with their Kiwi friends. The remaining migrants who did not have any acquaintances found short-term rentals with the help of real estate agents.

As a next step they started looking for houses to either buy or for long-term rental in a city and location that fulfilled certain criteria. Most mentioned that for them buying a home was considered important, as owning it gave them a sense of security. Auckland was attractive for a number of reasons. There were better opportunities for jobs and indeed for some, their jobs were already prearranged; the Auckland weather was relatively warm and there were more friends and relatives there. Because Auckland had a large Indian population there were more Indian shops and therefore familiar food items available and there were regular Indian events and festivals, which they enjoyed attending. Auckland had some very good multiracial schools and a number of migrants also said they preferred Auckland for its international airport, which allowed them direct access overseas, and they found Auckland easy to get around. Most of all, the Fiji Indian migrants said they preferred Auckland because it felt like a Pacific country and was an attractive city.

I like Auckland not only for its warm climate but also for its multicultural people. The Pacific peoples of Auckland give me a feeling that I am in Fiji. (Inf. /T23)

I like Auckland because it gives me a feeling that I am in a big place where one is well provided for with the necessary facilities and amenities. (Inf. /T41)

The participants in Auckland bought or rented homes, mostly in Mt Roskill, Mt Albert, Mangere, Otahuhu, Papatoetoe, Otara, and New Lynn. These areas were preferred as the houses were cheaper and bigger and resembled Fiji homes and also because there were Indian shops in these places. More affluent immigrants moved to suburbs such as Papuranga, Epsom, North Shore, Blockhouse Bay, Ponsonby, and Howick. A few went to Manukau.

In Wellington and the Lower Hutt, the immigrants settled mainly in Newtown, Kilbirnie, Lyall Bay, Wainuiomata, Taita, Trentham and Petone, with some in Porirua. Those who could afford homes in a better suburbs resided in Johnsonville, Tawa, Newlands, Brooklyn and Maungaraki. The few that went to Christchurch settled in Linwood, Riccarton, Papanui, Hornby, and Aranui. A few of the immigrants who started out in jobs in the smaller towns eventually moved to the larger cities.

7.4.1.1 Migrants and Employment

Almost half (48%) of those who arrived had jobs waiting for them. These migrants were mostly professional and skilled individuals such as doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, lecturers, and managers who had jobs already arranged. For 34% of them, the jobs were also similar to what they were doing in Fiji; 66% had different jobs in New Zealand. The migrants who had not got jobs on their arrival had to wait for a certain period of time before they were accepted into the workforce. Among these were business people who needed some time to start their businesses. The waiting period to get jobs varied: 10% obtained jobs within 3 months and 32% within 6 months to 1 year; 10% of the migrants had to wait for a longer period, such as 2–3 years. Two-thirds of the migrants had to undergo special training to fit into their new jobs. A small number attended polytechnic and university.

Those who had to seek jobs on coming to New Zealand had to go through a variety of experiences.

Getting a job was easy but I had to undergo a rigorous interview. I did not face any problem. My job matched my qualification. No one helped me to get a job. I had to undergo induction training and on-the-job training before I solely took over. My job is a permanent one and I find my working colleagues helpful and friendly. (Inf. /T19)

It was not that easy to get a job in New Zealand. I went for several interviews but was not successful. I then went to the employment agency and enrolled there so that they could find a job for me. I was offered a job with a bank... The job I was offered was that of an office manager. I had done that job in Fiji and it matched my qualification. (Inf. /T18)

Getting a job was the biggest nightmare. I was a well-qualified person in my field of teaching and had a wealth of work experience yet the Ministry of Education refused to recognize it. For this reason, I had to apply to retrain... When I applied to the Teacher's College in Palmerston North, the person I went to see...had been a lecturer at the same teacher's college where I had lectured in Fiji. Yet the reaction

I got from him was the worst. He virtually told me I would not be able to cope with the work... I was gutted. Anyway, I then applied for training at Wellington College. They said initially it would be a 2-year training, then within weeks reduced it to 1 year, then 6 months, and then to less than 6 months. I came out with flying colours and a glowing report. I had no trouble in getting a job where I was accepted among seventy-five applicants. It started off bad but ended well. (Inf. /T5)

I only got this job because they couldn't get anybody to fill the vacancy in this country town. They had a look at my qualifications and had no reservations about my ability but they subsequently doubted my ability to fit into the community. (Inf. /T39)

I applied for the job I am in now while still in Fiji. They called me over for an interview in Wellington. I had been a senior bank manager with an Australian bank in Fiji for 16 years. I had a postgraduate banking qualification from a New Zealand University. I was successful in the interview... I came and started the job without any problems. (Inf. /T33)

While other participants found jobs easily, they faced other challenges. A skilled motor mechanic found that in one job the manager was not sensitive to the cultural requirements of Muslim employees. He eventually set up his own business. Another, participant faced a similar problem:

I had to resign from the company because the manager was not giving me some time off for my prayers. Every Muslim needs to pray on Fridays around lunch time but my manager did not give respect to that. (Inf. /T18)

A further participant reported his manager would not allow him to attend a festival, even after offering to work extra hours:

My two Hindu work mates also told me that they were not allowed to have leave for their Hindu festivals of Diwali and Phagwa. The manager otherwise was a good person and managed us well. (Inf. /T43)

Another participant had a job waiting but found:

The Kiwi workers felt somewhat threatened with my arrival. They showed some unpleasantness towards me. It took some time for me to turn them around and then they became good friends. Today we have pleasant working relationships. (Inf. /T15)

7.4.1.2 What Immigrants Missed

When asked whether they missed Fiji in their settlement period, most participants said they did. The aspect most missed was Fiji's warm weather, followed by old friends left behind, relatives, the food and spices and the outdoor relaxed life. Some missed the leisure they used to enjoy in Fiji, the open space, the freedom, the sea breeze and the laidback social life. Others were nostalgic about warm Friday evenings enjoying cold Fiji beer at the Travel Lodge, the Suva Club or Merchants' Club. They also missed visiting friends and family in the weekend, enjoying Kava and later hot chicken curry Fiji style with cold beer. Some missed the Sunday sports, picnics on the nearby beach or one of the coastal islands like Nukulau; weekend sessions in the garage or under one of the shady mango or tamarind trees enjoying kava, gossiping and talking about every topic under the sun. Life in Fiji, according to the immigrants, was great, satisfying and enjoyable. One participant wrote a poem especially for this study about special memories of Fiji:

Memories Haunt Me

*It was once a buzzing place
My childhood amongst the greenery
The laughter of my friends
And the chirping of the birds.
These memories haunt me.*

*The games on the street
The pitter patter of rain
The aroma of baking bread
And the drums of the temple.*

These memories haunt me.

*We swam in the sea
We played hide and seek
We explored the deserted caves
My friends, family and I.
These memories haunt me.*

*The taste of sugar cane in my mouth
Feels as if it's still there
The taste of ripe mangoes
Feels as if it's still there.
These memories haunt me.*

*The laughter, the jokes ring in my ears
The family gatherings are still in my vision
The vibrant colours at Suva Market
Painted like kaleidoscope.
These memories haunt me.*

*Friends have gone, family has gone
Gone are the joyful days
Gone are the laughter and joy
From a place we called our own.
Memories are left
Memories haunt me.*

(Inf. /T5, 10.11.04)

7.4.1.3 Fiji Food in New Zealand

The importance of food in helping maintain some kind of continuity with their past life was stressed by my respondents. To their surprise they found they could get most of the ingredients they needed here in New Zealand:

When we didn't get Fiji vegetables we used New Zealand ones for our curries and they tasted as good as the Fiji ones. They are now a part of our normal diet. (Inf. /T15)

Most Fiji Indians who used to enjoy eating Fijian food in Fiji still enjoy them here in New Zealand because of the availability of such items as cassava, yams, taro, breadfruit, frozen fish, crabs, mussels and other commodities. Fiji beer is sold by some bottle shops in New Zealand and Fiji Indians used to that drink do not go without it anymore. (Inf. /T19)

Kava or Yaqona drinking is an event of cultural significance in the Polynesian culture which the Fiji Indians have embraced and are able to keep that event going. Despite being expensive, about 35 to 40 dollars per kilo, those immigrants who are accustomed to drinking it do not forget to add it to their shopping list each week. (Inf. /T23)

7.4.1.4 Likes and Dislikes

When they were interviewed most of the participants had already lived in New Zealand for an average of 15 years or more and recognised their opinions may have changed. They listed things that they liked in New Zealand. The life itself was interesting, not harassing, and with a high standard of living. They had made some good friends and liked socialising with them. The food and wine here was good; they enjoyed the indoor life with interesting TV programmes, DVD movies and informative radio programmes; the outdoor life meant picnicking, fishing, watching sports and tramping, as well as holidaying in different towns and cities. Participants pointed out they liked the space and scenic places of New Zealand. They also liked the good medical facilities, good social welfare and national super system and a generally sound economy. Most of all, the migrants pointed out, they liked that New Zealand was free of racial tension.

For their dislikes the Fiji Indians explained that they detested the cold, rainy and windy days of winter. They loathed poor public transport, bad, angry drivers, and traffic jams. They said that they hated the authoritative, impolite and overly smart people they sometimes confronted in certain situations. They also disliked the times when the prices of

basic food items as well as the cost of living increased. The migrants said they felt distressed and sad when they met prejudiced people and disliked it when any form of inter-ethnic conflict occurred in New Zealand.

On the whole, though, the immigrants continued to have a positive view of New Zealand:

If you live in a country for a while, then you tend to also learn about the flipside of its goodness. New Zealand, like any other country, projects some negativities which we all have to live with. (Inf. /T45)

Despite some of the negative features I have mentioned ...I must say that they are not that restraining to make my life miserable. We all learn to live with them and go on to survive. (Inf. /T42)

I think New Zealand has more positive and likeable things for me than negative ones. This is why I still prefer to live in New Zealand. (Inf. /T4)

7.4.1.5 Experiences with Children

Most participants explained that getting their children into state schools posed no difficulties, despite the fact that most were not born here and were used to the Fijian education and schooling system. With respect to the standard of education in New Zealand schools the opinions of my respondents were mixed. Some found the standards were not adequate, for instance:

My children are at the same high school where I teach. Amongst the papers they take up are mathematics and science... I could clearly see that the standard here appeared to be lower than what they had in Fiji. (Inf. /T8)

Others, however, were more positive. In particular they liked a school culture encouraging pupils to be independent thinkers and to challenge their teachers:

I can't compare Fiji and New Zealand schools in terms of their standards. I do know though that most Fiji students excel academically but in the final analysis

New Zealand students are better equipped since they are exposed to wider experiences. (Inf. /T3)

At the start, however, some children did experience bullying from other children, including some prejudiced remarks such as ‘paki’, ‘blackie’, ‘chocolate’ or ‘bloody Asian’. Those children who took roti and curry to school for lunch were harassed with remarks of ‘yuckie’ or ‘curry muncher’. As one interviewee said:

My children faced bullying, teasing, and racial comments from European, Maori and Pacific Islander children. (Inf. /T35)

Education has always been important to Fiji Indians. As Ali (1980) commented, education offered Indians a promise of future security and had become as important as land to Fijians. The parents in my sample explained that they were concerned about the education of their children in New Zealand just as they were in Fiji. If they found their children were weak in certain school subjects they helped their children themselves or sent them to private weekend tuition classes.

A satisfied parent said:

My son did very well at school including the extra-curricular activities. He plays rugby, cricket, and hockey and just finished his high school where he was in the top five of the class. At present he is at Otago University doing Medicine. I am pleased that he is doing so well in New Zealand. (Inf. /T2)

All my respondents reported some anxiety in terms of the time they were able to give to their children. They pointed out that back in Fiji they had the extended family where the grandparents provided the social support structure to the children. If the parents were away or busy, the grandparents were always there to look after the children and instil moral, social and cultural values. There were also relatives nearby where children could be safely left and be supervised with the appropriate cultural values and norms. Without this support they worried that their children watched excessive TV and neglected their studies, others landed in bad company, joined youth gangs, smoked weed and got into fights and trouble with the police:

It is not only the excess watching of TV that makes our children neglect their studies, it is also the play station, x-box and different computer games that occupy most of their valuable time. (Inf. /T7)

This neglect, according to a number of the parents, meant their children did not learn to speak Fiji Hindi or Shudh Hindi and had no knowledge of their religion or culture. They were heavily inclined towards Kiwi culture and at home they found it difficult to conform to Fiji Indian norms. These parents blamed themselves, saying that had they devoted time in teaching the language and culture to their children from their early ages, the consequence would have been very different. As one informant commented, “It was painstaking and it took a lot of time and hard work to get these children back into line again” (Inf. /T30).

Other parents were pleased with their children, feeling they had brought them up well. Right from the beginning their children were taught and communicated with in Fiji Hindi and required to witness and participate in religious events, instilling values of the Indian culture. “Being a New Zealander is important but our children have to also know who they are in terms of their cultural identity” (Inf. / T28):

Speak your own language right from the start with your children at home. This is important as language forms the base of our Fiji Indian culture. If we tell them stories in our language, show them Hindi movies, involve them in the religious events and ceremonies, then we are laying the foundation of our culture for them to pursue further. (Inf./T22)

7.4.1.6 New Zealanders who Impressed

Of the various groups of New Zealanders that live here, participants were asked to name the one that most impressed them. The most favoured group was the European Kiwis who they considered friendly, supportive, sympathetic and helpful and the most available group for information and advice. A number of participants said European friends they had met in their previous visits to New Zealand, were waiting for them at the airport:

We found our European friends, a husband and wife team, waiting for us at the Auckland airport. They had known us for some years and had also visited and stayed on several occasions with us in Fiji. They cordially received us and took us to their home in Northshore, where we stayed for three weeks before we moved out to a rented home. (Inf. /T20)

I knew a European family since my university days in Auckland... I wrote to them from Fiji explaining the bad situation we were in after the coups and our decision to migrate... They wrote back saying that they would be only too happy to help my family settle in New Zealand and that we could stay with them until we found our own accommodation. These Kiwi friends helped us throughout our settlement and they remain our good friends until today. (Inf. /T4)

Others said their new bosses had found time to receive them at the airports with chocolates and flowers:

I am a computer engineer consultant and with my wife and two young children we arrived at Wellington Airport... I noticed a well-dressed European person holding a sign with my name on it... He...introduced himself as the boss in the department where I would be working. I introduced my wife and children to him and he greeted them cheerfully and gave my wife a bouquet of flowers and a box of chocolates. After coffee he took us to a parked car, handed me the car keys, a road map and verbally gave me the direction to take to get to the motel. I found the whole thing very welcoming. (Inf. /T7)

As a school teacher, I was given a teaching job at a High School in Pahiatua. When we arrived at Palmerston North Airport we found my school principal and his wife waiting to meet us... The Principal...drove us straight to Pahiatua. As we travelled, we exchanged lots of information which helped me to learn about the school and the town of Pahiatua. When we arrived at our destination, he took us to his home and gave us dinner, after which he took us to our quarters... We found that all the basic necessities were available in the house for us to use. It is about 20

years since my arrival at this school. I liked the school so much that I still continue to teach there. (Inf. /T8)

Not all Europeans appeared welcoming; but the migrants explained that in every community or society one would find such negative elements and that there was no need for any overreaction or to be upset.

The Fiji Indians also recalled the warm welcome they received from Polynesians living in New Zealand. They found them friendly and cooperative particularly, as work colleagues. The migrants had already mingled happily with Samoans, Tongans and Rotumans in Fiji and found the New Zealand Polynesians similar in their sharing and caring attitude.

It might be expected that Fiji Indians who had earlier settled here would have been supportive, but that was not the case. Even those who had arrived after the 1987 coups were rarely helpful; perhaps, informants said, because they themselves were still struggling to settle in. Participants relied on relatives and close friends as generally those who had arrived before 1987 ignored or did not acknowledge the newcomers, certainly at first:

We felt that these established Fiji Indians felt threatened by us because we were well qualified, had good jobs, drove good cars and stayed in good homes. (Inf. /T27)

It was some years before this group of Fiji Indians mellowed and accepted us as one of them. (Inf. /T11)

To-day we are one big group of friends. We drink kava together, attend social and religious functions and celebrate our annual festivals together. (Inf. /T16)

When asked which political party helped them most in regard to their immigration and settlement, most migrants pointed out that it was the Labour Party, which was the Government at the time of the 1987 coups and which encouraged them to come and settle in New Zealand. When queried further about any particular political figure that stood out in the Labour Government, almost all the migrants agreed it was the then Prime Minister

David Lange. They believed he was the person responsible for giving a directive to help Fiji Indians to migrate to New Zealand.

7.4.1.7 Racial Prejudice

“Within every race there is always some prejudice against another race only because there is lack of understanding about the other.” (J.de Bres, Race Relations Conf. 2004, p. 9)

Participants reported instances of racial prejudice in New Zealand, although they went on to add these were not as grave as those experienced by their fellow Indians in countries like Australia, the USA, the United Kingdom and Canada. Compared with those countries, New Zealand was seen as moderate and people here seen as generally more tolerant. They also pointed out they had met prejudice against the Fiji Indians in Fiji. Most interviewees noticed and experienced more racism and discrimination in this country in the initial period of their settlement. Some, however, reported that they were never subjected to any form of racism but had heard about it from fellow countrymen. The migrants mentioned that their children were also subjected to prejudice at school, as reported earlier.

Those immigrants who had been in situations of racial harassment had stories to tell and the cases below paint a clearer picture of their experiences:

I was walking in the city trying to find where Whitcoulls was. I came near the bus stop where a group of European youths were standing and talking amongst themselves. They were a bunch of rough looking boys. Once they saw me, one of them yelled out, ‘Hey, you black nigger, what the hell are you doing here? Get out of this place fast or else you will be sorry.’ I felt embarrassed and angry and walked on. (Inf. /T35)

A white lady came into our shop one morning and bought two packets of cigarettes. I told her the total price and she got angry and banged the packets on the counter. She shouted, ‘You bloody curry munching Indian, you are ripping us off. This is too damned expensive. Go and do that in your own country.’ She left the cigarettes and rushed out. (Inf. /T35)

My wife and I had come out of a restaurant in Cuba Street, Wellington, one evening and were walking towards our parked car a little distance away when we were confronted by two skin heads... One of them started throwing punches at me and a fight ensued. My wife quickly used her mobile phone and dialled 111 for police. They arrived within a matter of minutes and soon had the situation under control. (Inf. /T5)

I once rang up the Telecom people to complain about my home phone that was not working. A lady answered and took my name and other details. When she finished I said that I would appreciate if I could speak to her supervisor or a person in charge. I said that I had rung up 3 days ago and nothing had happened. She shouted from the other end saying, 'You dumb Indian, you go back to India. We don't want you here. Do you understand? This is my country and not yours. If you want to complain, you complain to me.' (Inf. /T6)

Most participants, though, spoke highly of their New Zealand neighbours, particularly Europeans, whom they considered as great people always willing to help and keep an eye on their house, or occasionally mind their children. These neighbours socialized well, having barbeques together or even going picnicking. But not all neighbours were affable:

Our neighbour was English and we had just moved into the neighbourhood... My wife and I went to the neighbour's house to introduce ourselves three times and knocked on their door, but the door was never opened. Within a month, however, this neighbour had put up a sign for the sale of his house. The house was sold and he moved out. I think his racial behaviour was covert and he did not want a coloured neighbour beside him. (Inf. /T14)

I was subjected to racial remarks from my Kiwi neighbour. Her children called my children 'curry munchers,' and 'chocolates,' and when I complained she said that she agreed with her children and if I did not like it then it was too bad. I complained to my husband who is a New Zealand European. He said that if we

had any more trouble from her, we would move out. Six months later we did move out. (Inf. T/14)

The majority of my respondents regarded the New Zealand police as polite, efficient, and helpful, especially compared with the Fiji police, who a number of migrants labelled as authoritarian, discourteous, bullies, and, in several instances, corrupt. However, some migrants had unfortunate experiences with the New Zealand police as in the examples below:

I was travelling in my car to Wellington to attend an official function at Parliament House. I was driving leisurely at a normal speed when a police car came behind me, put on the siren and made me stop. The officer came to me and asked if the car was mine... He then opened my car door and came and sat beside me. He asked for my driving licence and credentials. I gave him my licence, my identification card and my business card. He looked at them, gave them back to me and said, 'Thank you,' and got out. He drove away. I genuinely thought that I was unnecessarily harassed and that he stopped me because he could not believe that a person of a different colour was driving such a new car. (Inf. /T1)

Because of my experience with a policeman, I cannot now trust any one of them. This officer stopped me and asked me if I had stolen the car I was driving. He checked my driving licence and my registration and then said, 'I have to book you because you did not stop at that stop sign.' I said, 'I know my road rules and I drive in this area every day to drop off and pick up my children from school over that end. I follow the rule to stop at the stop sign all the time. I think you are mistaken'... He went to his car and wrote a fine for \$150 and handed it over to me... While he was writing the ticket, I saw a car driven by a European shoot off through the stop sign. The police officer saw what had happened but did not take any notice. (Inf. /T14)

Racial discrimination was also found in certain organisations:

Back in Fiji, I was a senior bank officer and possessed 12 years' experience in almost all areas of banking but specialized in commercial loans. I possess a diploma in banking from a New Zealand university. I applied for over 40 vacancies in different banks and was not successful. I believe it was either my strong accent or my race. Frustrated, I went into a partnership with a friend and opened up a retail business. (Inf. /T18)

I was working in a New Zealand organization where there was an opening for a marketing manager. Before applying for the position, I went and discussed my chances of getting the job with my senior manager. He said plainly to me without mincing any words, 'You are an Indian, you haven't got a Kiwi accent and you would not sound right when talking business with the customers, either on the phone or out in the field. You would not be as good as a New Zealander born here to project the kind of image we want. I am sorry, mate.' I thought that was discrimination. (Inf. /T27)

Three years after I had started work with the Auckland branch of a freight company, my immediate boss retired and since I was next to him in rank, I applied for the vacant position. I was not successful. My assistant was promoted to the position. He was a European and had only 3 years of work experience in the freight business. I went to my chief manager and asked why I had missed out. He explained that the company's image would look better if it had a European in that position... Some 2 months later I resigned to open up my own business. (Inf. /T27)

Immigrants pointed out that they also found discrimination embedded in some stores, particularly shops selling expensive items to affluent customers:

I stood at the counter for a long time and European ladies coming after me were all attended to. The sales lady blatantly ignored me. She neither looked at me nor uttered a word to me. I got angry and went and saw the manager who was very obliging and apologized. He attended to me personally and said that he had received several complaints about that particular sales lady. (Inf. /T14)

Two participants said were denied access to an open house in Wellington. The real estate agent was under the impression that the immigrants could not afford the house in the elite area. Another immigrant went to buy a car immediately after he had finished jogging one Saturday morning:

I went to the Toyota showroom, inspected several cars and selected one. Then I went to the salesperson's office and waited for him to call me in. The salesperson, who was a European, saw me but ignored me. He perhaps thought that I was not in a position to buy a car because I looked a poor individual from the jogging attire I had on... I am a computer engineer and I could well afford to buy that car. Frustrated I went to the Nissan show room and bought a station wagon. On Monday afternoon when I got the car delivered to me, I drove straight to the Toyota show room and told the salesperson concerned that he had missed out on the sale because he displayed discriminating behaviour towards me the previous Saturday. He looked very surprised. (Inf. /T7)

7.4.2 *How did the New Zealand authorities manage the settlement of Fiji Indian migrants?*

This section covers the experiences of participants with religious organisations, non-governmental organisations, and governmental organisations soon after their arrival. The immigrants felt that this, the settlement process, was a crucial phase of their new beginning and that in this important stage they needed support and fulfilment of some of their key needs. Their needs, however, varied from a great deal to minimal:

I required no help to settle in as I knew New Zealand and its system well because I had studied here as well as come here with my family on vacation many a time. (Inf. /T1)

I stood on my feet from day one and needed no help to settle. Most of my knowledge came from observations and asking New Zealanders what I wanted to know. (Inf. /T50)

In several instances the Christian churches and other religious institutions helped the immigrants to settle here as best as possible:

When we arrived in Christchurch, we were welcomed by the Assemblies of God Church in Aranui as we belonged to that church in Navua. Members of this church, among them Europeans, Maori, and Samoans, generously helped us to settle in this city. (Inf. /T44)

It was the Methodist Church in Palmerston North of which I was a member that helped my family and me to settle in here. (Inf. /T6)

In Auckland, Satsung Ramayan Mandli helped me to settle in. It also gave me a temporary job as a music teacher until I got a proper job outside. (Inf. /T48)

Most participants also found that, despite their good intentions, bodies like Ethnic Councils were not effective in directly helping migrants to settle. They were seen as advisory bodies rather than service providers with regard to settlement. They also lacked resources to fully discharge their functions.

The interviewees also pointed out that the Migrant Resource Centres operated by City Councils were not as effective as expected and they also lacked resources to discharge their functions. An additional problem was that both the Ethnic Councils and the Migrant Resource Centres were not well known to the immigrants. My sample reported that in their view both organizations lack visibility as they do not advertise what they can do to help immigrants:

I did go and visit the Migrant Centre in my town for help in finding employment for myself. I did not get any result from this body. (Inf. /T31)

I think the Migrant Centre is not as effective as one expects it to be. It does little to help the immigrants settle. (Inf. /T13)

Because Migrant Centres do not have sufficient finance to effectively discharge their functions, they cannot fully help us immigrants. Also, the functions of these

bodies tend to overlap with those of the Ethnic Councils, which means a waste of useful resources. (Inf. /T9)

Ethnic Councils are not as accepted as they might be because they do little to help new immigrants. This body is seen by me as a complete waste of time and the government subsidy it is given is just a waste of public money. The government should carry out a review on ethnic councils and decide on their future. (Inf. /T7)

Almost all my respondents informed me that as far as they knew, it was not the city councils' role to provide support and assistance to new migrants. They said that at least in the first decade of their arrival in New Zealand councils did not render any help. The migrants said if the councils did have a role to help them in that period, then they had kept a very low profile of their responsibility or had failed to communicate about it. Migrants believed it was not until the late 1990s that local councils became active, organising international days, sponsoring ethnic festivals and providing information services. One respondent highlighted councils' limitations:

Some of my Kiwi friends told me that the City Councils in our towns and cities also rendered help to the new migrants in terms of orientation, giving advice, teaching English and helping to find employment. I did phone my council to find out the kinds of assistance they gave to new migrants, the lady that answered the phone said that she was not sure what all the assistance the council was involved in but she was definite that the council was very much involved in organising citizenship ceremonies. (Inf. /T34)

Most participants said they were most unhappy with the New Zealand Immigration Authority for not managing or helping them to settle well. They felt all the Authority had done was process their completed application forms, interview them, allow them to come to New Zealand, and then left them in limbo. There was no contact to find out how they were faring in their settlement. Therefore, they lacked important information and had no support finding employment, and it took them a long time to adjust to the New Zealand environment. In particular, participants felt they had no one to turn to help overcome the sense of alienation they felt in their settling period.

They found themselves dealing with depression, nostalgia about Fiji and even regretting they had come to a strange new country. Those that were most affected were emigrants from rural areas of Fiji with little experience of the white population and big cities. A few of them found the situation unbearable and just longed to return. Others, fighting to adjust to the new environment and new life pattern, suffered emotional disturbance, stress and frustration. They said they felt all they had gained in Fiji had been lost and they had regressed to their lowest level of achievement. To readjust, they explained, they had to combat loneliness, confusion and the feeling of emptiness or insecurity. It was a difficult battle:

I was happy that I had settled in a new country but at the same time I felt strange and hollow and desperately missed Fiji. (Inf. /T9)

I felt like a foreigner for a few years but now I feel settled. (Inf. /T32)

It was not only us, the parents, who were beset with the culture shock but our children as well. They withdrew from their studies and led a quiet and withdrawn life at home. We had to have our children counselled. (Inf. /T31)

I must point out that the adjustment to the new way of life was a difficult process for me. (Inf. /T.44)

Participants said more help was needed to make the settlement process easier, and it was the Government's job to provide it. They thought there should be specific settlement policies carried out by a proper government body. They believed no such policies were currently in existence.

About 40% of the participants who had come to New Zealand between 1987 and 1997 reported they had seen a settlement guide being sold in bookshops but that it was rather expensive. Some also said they had received a few newsletters from the Zealand Immigration Authority but this was just for a short time. The migrants reported they knew of no other public sector organisations to help them settle successfully. If these existed,

participants said they were given no information about them. None found the situation satisfactory:

A proper Government body should help settlers to overcome their initial struggles when they come to a new country. This body should inform them of what they need to know and where to go, whom to contact to find out important information and what to do to get important services. There are so many things we are ignorant of that hinder us from fitting into the mainstream of society. If there is a need for advice and counselling then this should never be overlooked. (Inf. /T16)

My family and I had to learn about the necessities of living in New Zealand on a self-learning and trial and error basis. I feel that the Government should help by having a proper body where we could all go for help. Otherwise for most of us the process of settlement can be frustrating and time wasting. (Inf. /T7)

7.5 Adaptation, Contributions and Future

7.5.1 *How Fiji Indian Migrants integrated and assimilated with the New Zealanders?*

When asked whether they perceived they were either integrated into, or assimilated with, the host society in New Zealand, all participants but one were of the belief that they were integrated rather than assimilated. The exception was an interviewee who believed they had assimilated because of having a European partner. Yet this person also reported that although they followed some of the European ways, they continued to hold Indian ways and culture. Full assimilation was therefore difficult.

When asked which of the two processes was more acceptable to them, almost all the respondents thought that integration was more acceptable as they were able to enjoy both sides of their world – retaining their Fiji Indian culture while enjoying and participating in Kiwi culture. As reported above, participants were concerned about losing aspects of Fiji Indian culture. However, integration with New Zealand Indians from India was not always simple:

Our Fiji Indian culture has somewhat deviated from that of India itself, but our Hindu religion is the same. There is neither barrier nor constraint in worshipping together with them at some of the religious functions where we get together occasionally. There are at times, however, some India Indians who keep their distance from us and show no amicability. When I come face to face with these individuals, I also keep my distance. (Inf. /T8)

As far as integration with other ethnic groups was concerned the experience varied. Integration was not always easy with those Chinese who could not communicate in English but there was no problem integrating with those who spoke clear English. My respondents also observed that most Chinese tended to stick somewhat more to their own community rather than mixing with other communities in New Zealand.

Fiji Indians got along very well with Samoans in New Zealand, both being linked by a common 'Pacific' identity. Participants said some words in the Samoan language were similar to Fijian words and some cultural practices were similar. Although communication between the two communities was in English, they reported the success of integration was high. Immigrants observed the younger generations of the two communities bonded well. In Auckland, a number of Fiji Indian men had married Samoan women. Most males, however, still maintained strong contact with their Fiji Indian community and observed their cultural requirements. A few respondents commented that there was still room for more integration between the two ethnic groups.

In New Zealand, there are small groups of indigenous Fijians in some of the bigger towns and cities of New Zealand. Most of them migrated after the 1987 coups, in the late 1990s. The relationship between these Fijians and Fiji Indians was seen as cordial. They two races have integrated very well, particularly when they know each other's language, culture and enjoy each other's food. The two communities come together quite frequently. They visit each other's homes, have parties, socialise and enjoy kava together. Between these two races integration is not new but something that had already happened in Fiji. Here in New Zealand, integration is only consolidated:

When we get together with our Fijian friends in New Zealand for parties, we feel that we are having the same old good times which we used to enjoy back home in Fiji. (Inf. /T.31)

It is good to have our Fijian friends here in New Zealand. Meeting, socialising and having kava with them make us feel that we are not far away from the Fijian environment which we were very much used to once. (Inf. /T50)

Commenting on their integration with New Zealand Europeans, participants furnished two sets of comments. One group had reservations about mixing with Europeans when they first arrived in New Zealand, as they feared they would not be accepted. But mixing and interacting with them was unavoidable. Those who felt this way had had little experience of meeting and socialising with Europeans in Fiji. As one interviewee said:

Our fear was that Europeans would not accept us into their fold because we were not their kind and we were also foreigners. But when we started to interact with them in the workplace, communicating clearly with them, respecting their views, expressing our own, and appreciating their Kiwi ways, we could see that they started to respect and accept us. This gave us confidence and we felt comfortable in our interaction with them. Today we feel part of them. (Inf. /T44)

The second grouping was made up of those who had socialised and worked with or under Europeans in Fiji and felt relaxed in their company. For them, interacting with New Zealand Europeans right from the outset was no problem:

One ought to realise that we had many expatriate New Zealand Europeans working with us back there. So we were comfortable with them from day one. Our integration started right from the beginning. (Inf. /T40)

To us they seem like one of us... Twice a year I hold a curry night at home and each time we invite different European friends to it. They enjoy the socialisation and mix well with my family and our Fiji Indian guests. They are also invited to

our religious and Diwali functions and they enjoy the Indian food we prepare. They like our company and we like theirs. (Inf. /T28)

Because I have integrated well into the New Zealand European culture, I feel confident and comfortable in their presence, no matter what the situation is. I have no reluctance at all in going to banks, schools, supermarkets, doctors, pharmacies, or any other organization or place where New Zealand Europeans are either in the front desk or are our first contact. (Info. /T23)

Those who saw themselves as integrated with New Zealand society were asked to mention factors that they thought had helped them to integrate. They mentioned their knowledge of the English language and ability to clearly communicate were the most important requirement. Second, was the appreciation and understanding of the culture of each community, be it Samoan or European, a friendly approach to the individual and showing respect to them. It was also important to understand the lifestyle of the other party and be willing to participate with them in their lifestyle. One had to be frank and assertive. The last element mentioned was the ability to adjust to, and tolerate each other. Participants suggested that these factors were not applicable to their children who were malleable enough to work out their own ways to integrate.

In talking of assimilation, participants said this could only begin if integration had already taken place and then migrants went on to marry into the host culture and in time abandon their culture and identity. But in many instances the migrants did not want to totally forsake their culture and identity.

The majority of my respondents were not sure whether assimilation was a desirable outcome, although they suggested that in a continuous process one would go through integration and then carry on to assimilation. They added that New Zealand was a country that did not require people to assimilate, so there was no question of compromising one's values and culture. As a lawyer among the participants said:

Integration can also involve the retaining of one's culture and values and also knowing and appreciating the culture of others. As Fiji Indians we tend to keep our

cultural practices at home. When we step out of our homes, we become New Zealanders but still retain our cultural values. In New Zealand all ethnic groups retain their culture, the Māori, the various Pacific Islanders, the Indians, the Chinese and all the rest. The government and the majority in the society of New Zealand support multiculturalism. (Inf. /T10)

The immigrants also pointed out that it was good to see that the New Zealand government and local government authorities started to favour and promote cultural diversity:

I think the events and festivals of cultural diversity are positive for all New Zealanders as they help them understand and respect each other. They make the country interesting and colourful and assist the races to be tolerant of each other. They help promote integration and assimilation of different cultures. (Inf. /T28)

Explaining the integration of their children, most pointed out that Fiji Indian children who immigrated with them to New Zealand and continued schooling here settled in smoothly and integrated better than their parents. They socialised positively with European children and children of other races right from primary to secondary schools and also to university. They had a better background knowledge of New Zealand and its people through their schoolings. When they joined the workforce they were seen to blend very well with the New Zealanders:

My children have to a large extent assimilated into the Kiwi society. They have grown up in New Zealand and have Kiwi partners. ...They do not see us as belonging to another ethnic group but as people. They have little Fiji identity but much New Zealand identity. They will perhaps at some stage take Fiji, once their home country, completely out of their minds. (Inf. /T19)

As for those Fiji Indian children who were born here, my respondents explained that at this stage, most of them were still at school. They were exposed to New Zealand and its environment right from their birth. Their formative years and socialisation all occurred here as youngsters. The major part of their time revolved around Kiwi children and Kiwi environment:

These children think Kiwi, like to be with Kiwi friends, have Kiwi accents and values and regard themselves as Kiwis. (Inf. /T15)

Another Fiji Indian mother commented:

My children prefer to be in the company of European children who are their close friends. They visit each other's homes regularly, have sleep overs in the weekends, and go to the movies together. They play sports and go and watch sports together. (Inf. /32)

According to participants, these children showed little or no interest in "Fiji Indianness." One interviewee predicted:

they would perhaps completely lose their Fiji identity and culture when they grow up and would assimilate more with the European New Zealanders than the present Fiji Indians in New Zealand. I think this lot will appear to have more mixed marriages. (Inf. /T46)

Given the above comment it is interesting to note that Fiji Indian immigrants who married New Zealand Europeans explained that they had integrated into the European culture but they had still retained many parts of their culture.

7.5.2 What were the contributions of Fiji Indian migrants to New Zealand?

Towards the end of the interview participants were asked what they saw as their contribution to society and to New Zealand as a whole. Most mentioned their contribution as resulting from their occupations, businesses and activities in the community. In terms of occupation, they said that as doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, computer specialists, managers, and so on, they contributed their skills, knowledge, and experience and thus increased the wealth of New Zealand. My informants listed 44 different occupations and they pointed out their skills and expertise were in short supply in New Zealand so they were actively sought and recruited by New Zealand organisations:

I worked for the Colonial War Memorial Hospital in Suva and was a heart specialist. After the coups, I applied to Auckland Hospital for a position. Within 2 weeks my job was confirmed and I was told to report for duty as soon as possible. (Inf. /T29)

I am an Air Traffic Controller; I had 16 years of service before I applied to New Zealand Airways Limited for a similar job. Without any hitch I was accepted by the host company with excellent pay and work conditions. So 8 months after Rabuka's coups, I was working in Christchurch as an Air Traffic Controller. (Inf. /T2)

I taught for 12 years at an Indian High School in Suva as a mathematics teacher. I applied for a job at Tararua High School where there was a position that had been vacant for about a year. I was given the job and asked to start within a few weeks, which I did. It is about 15 years since I took up this job and I am the Head of Department today. (Inf. /T8)

I have expertise in motor vehicle parts; I decided to emigrate after the coups and so applied for a job in a similar company that dealt with motor vehicle part sales and supplies. I got the job and within 2 years I became the chief supervisor in the Division. (Inf. /T29)

Today I am a lawyer and a barrister in Auckland, having worked in Fiji as a magistrate. I have an advantage over other barristers because apart from comfortably dealing with European New Zealanders, I can easily handle expatriate Indians, Fiji Indians, and Gujaratis as I am able to fluently speak their languages. (Inf. /T10)

The immigrants pointed out that those who arrived here and had jobs waiting for them started contributing to New Zealand immediately. They also said that from what they knew, very few Fiji Indians who waited to get jobs went on the dole, but instead lived on their own money brought from Fiji or survived with temporary or part-time jobs. Participants said Fiji Indians were averse to the idea of going on the dole. They believed

doing so lowered one's self-esteem and the community looked down on anyone who stayed on it for too long unless one was sick or physically incapacitated.

They also were proud to point out that their community had a low crime rate. The editor of *Newslink*, an ethnic newspaper in New Zealand, said:

By and large Fiji Indians settled abroad are law abiding citizens. One will find very few of them getting into trouble. The crime statistics are very low for them. (Inf. /T49)

One crime associated with the Indian community is domestic violence, which often is not reported. As an Indian community police officer commented, domestic violence among Fiji Indians was on the rise. He explained,

traditionally women from India or Fiji are the same in that they don't want their husbands to be put in prison and therefore don't fully cooperate with the police. Initially they'd want them to be punished but when it comes to a written statement for the police, they refuse to give it. (Inf. /T46)

My informants also pointed out that they were also involved in voluntary activities helping both Fiji Indians and the larger community. They mentioned that many Fiji Indian migrants had joined humanitarian service organizations such as the Lions Club, the Rotary Club, and different church help groups. Activities included such projects as donating funds, food, clothing, caring for the needs of the old and sick people, providing scholarships to the poor children and working closely with such bodies as the Red Cross, Cancer Society of New Zealand, Foundation of the Blind & Deaf Association, and other charitable organisations to provide individual and group funds. The respondents mentioned that Fiji Indians in New Zealand interested in charitable and voluntary work had given a lot of their spare time and leisure to such services.

The respondents also pointed out that it was rather unfortunate that Fiji Indians were not giving any services to the public as city councillors or parliamentarians as they were not yet ready to enter local and national politics although inroads had been made into politics.

Despite that, they were rendering services to the people through serving in ethnic committees for migrants and refugees, sports and coaching bodies, school board of trustees and different other boards and committees.

Regarding the contributions they made to their own Fiji Indian community, the participants described the contribution Hindu priests or pundits made in terms of leading ceremonies pertaining to births, deaths and marriages and performing special rites for Hindu religious events. These pundits were not full-time priests but had full-time employment elsewhere. Similar kinds of service were also seen within the Muslim and the Christian communities with the maulanas or imams and the church ministers satisfying the spiritual needs of their co-religionists.

Other groups were doing voluntary work in a number of different areas. One such group visited and assisted elderly Fiji Indians in rest homes. They checked on their welfare and organised different social and cultural events for them. Other groups focused on young children, instructing them on morals, discipline, and good citizenship and organising sports and summer camps for them.

Fiji Indian clubs were formed to contribute in different ways to the needy and to youths. They organise cultural, social, religious, educational and sporting events for the Indian people. The New Zealand government had recognised the services of the Fiji Indian community workers and a number were appointed Justices of the Peace.

The appointment of Judge Anand Satyanand to the Governor General position of New Zealand on August 23, 2006 was considered by my sample as evidence of the recognition of the contribution Fiji Indians made to New Zealand society. As one informant commented:

He is a Fiji Indian with indenture lineage and was born in Auckland. He is the first person of Indian descent to be placed in that prestigious position. (Inf. /T47)

7.5.2.2 Contribution in Business Management

I would now like to focus on the contribution these immigrants made to society through their businesses. Setting up a business was the way many were able to earn a living when other avenues were closed to them for reasons explained below. Although just a quarter of my sample were business owners, participants reported that a large proportion of their fellow countrymen had started small businesses located in areas of large Indian settlement in the major cities and towns. The interviewees came up with 66 different Fiji Indian businesses, including dairies, minimarkets, supermarkets, fashion ware, motor vehicle sales, painting and spraying, insurance, legal services, entertainment services, and financial services. According to my sample the immigrants went into business for three main reasons. First, they could not get jobs. Second, they found they could not progress in the organisations they worked in so they left; and third, they had been business persons in Fiji and wanted to continue this in New Zealand. Other motivating factors listed were: being your own boss, occupational security, independence, financial gain, better living standards, and community service. The business people said their contribution to society came in various forms. One was that by being in business they created wealth that was good for the society, creating jobs for those immigrants who had not been able to find jobs and for other New Zealanders. Thus, “I employ 23 people in my organization and as the boss I act as a mentor and trainer to all of my staff” (Inf. /T27). Or they said they provided skills, “As a business person I contribute by managing my organization, by sharing skills, and by working hard” (Inf. /T30).

As business people, they provided goods and services that catered for the needs of their own community and other New Zealanders. Additionally, they brought in capital investment and foreign exchange into the country: “I have four different businesses in Auckland and through them I provide competitive services, thereby providing more choices to the New Zealand society” (Inf. /T18).

Through their local purchases for goods and services they also helped to increase the business and income of host business organisations. To satisfy the demands of immigrant communities and others they imported selected goods from their home countries. An important contribution the migrant business owners explained was that they believed in the

principle of social responsibility and therefore indulged in charitable and humanitarian causes. As one put it:

Besides being a business person, I also give my time to the Ethnic Board of the Waitakere City Council. One of the aims we work on is to endeavour to create a more tolerable and knowledgeable society so that people of all races understand and appreciate each other and are not suspicious of who and what others are. We put colour in the society by organizing huge Indian fairs, functions, and Indian cultural celebrations like 'diwali' and 'holi' and get Kiwis to patronize, participate, and enjoy these. These enable them to understand our culture. This is one example of how I, a Fiji Indian, contribute to New Zealand. (Inf. /T28)

7.5.3 What did they perceive their future to be in the host country?

All my respondents were confident that new Indian immigrants from Fiji would settle easily as there was now a significant Indian presence in New Zealand. They were divided as to whether their children, either born in Fiji but grown up in New Zealand, or born in New Zealand, would be assimilated into the general New Zealand culture. Some argued:

I think my children will be more Kiwi than us in the future. They would assimilate but not to that extent that it would make them lose their Indian ways and values. I think they will continue having ties with their Fiji Indian family and relatives as long as they are in contact with them. This connection should keep alive their identity and some elements of their culture in the future. (Inf. /T32)

While others believed:

The makeup of our children will be different in the future. They will not respect their elders as we do. They will not be like their parents but have Kiwi values and will act like them since they were born here and grew up with them. (Inf. /T20)

With respect to the children born in New Zealand the views also varied. One respondent said:

My view is that Indian culture sustains itself. I have a daughter who was born here and she is still passionate about Indian things and culture. She participates in our Hindu prayers and religious events. I don't think her Indian habits and characteristics can be taken out of her in the future. (Inf. /T49)

Another was less optimistic:

My children who came with us from Fiji had Indian culture and values. But the generation that was born here are averse to Indian ways. They neither speak Fiji Hindi nor want to learn it. They feel comfortable with English and want to speak it all the time in their Kiwi accent. They have no liking for Indian food but for European. I can see it now that they would lose most of their Fiji Indianness in the future. (Inf. /T17)

Because education was highly valued, my sample foresaw a bright future for their children. There only concern was the belief that discrimination may increase in the future simply because of the increase of Indian numbers.

Their comments on the future of the family unit and their religious beliefs were fairly uniform. After 15 years in New Zealand some remnants of the extended family system still existed, although the nuclear family system was now dominant. In the future, the immigrants thought, the extended family system would completely die out in preference to the nuclear family because of the change of attitude of many Fiji Indians. With respect to their religion they pointed out that because there were numerous Fiji Indians in most towns and cities today they hold more religious events, prayer meetings, and cultural events to keep their customs, traditions, and values alive. In the future, participants anticipated, this would increase because of the growth in the population of Fiji Indians. The Hindus would find their Ramayan Mandalis or religious groups growing bigger in number. Fiji Indians would realise the need for more temples and more gurdwaras. The immigrants pointed out that the size of mosques and prayer sessions for the Muslims would also need to increase. Fiji Indian Christians might also need to have more Sunday church services.

Finally, they all agreed that as Fiji Indians are interested in politics they will soon see some of them pursuing political careers. As one commented:

There were a few Fiji Indian starters who tried to get into the New Zealand Parliament in the last elections, and the one previous to that, through their chosen political parties but they did not have sufficient support to be successful. (Inf. /T10)

7.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter revealed that knowledge of New Zealand migration policies was of less concern to participants than emigrating out of Fiji as soon as was practical. They were pleased to be in New Zealand and thought they were well dealt with well by the border control officials, which was a contrast to their experiences during their departure from Nadi Airport. The 50 Fiji Indians in the sample were young, mostly married, over 35 years old, and mostly professionals and skilled individuals. Their decision to migrate was based on a culmination of political factors including the consequences of the coups. New Zealand was chosen as the host country because of the perceived advantages it carried over the other Pacific rim-countries. The constraints the migrants faced were that some were without jobs, some faced culture shock, some experienced racial prejudice, and many found no settlement support and assistance from the New Zealand government. The migrants however, integrated well with the fellow New Zealanders. They believe they have contributed well to New Zealand and its society and hold both pessimistic and optimistic views about their future in New Zealand.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have described a unique set of socio-political circumstances that hinge on the 1987 Fiji coup. Interviews with the research participants, the results of which were presented in Chapter 7, have cast light on the personal experiences and insights of 50 Fiji Indian emigrants who took the decision to leave their homeland and start anew as citizens of their Pacific neighbour, New Zealand. As illustrated, the exodus from Fiji not only impacted on the demographic/ethnic mix of Fiji, but also on the social and ethnic fabric of New Zealand, and in particular its business community. Fiji lost to New Zealand a large number of business people, civil servants, and professionals: New Zealand gained a new group of immigrant business entrepreneurs, doctors and teachers, educated people many of whom saw self-employment as the only viable employment option. Chapter 7 reported on the perceptions of these immigrants of their migration and settlement experiences. These perceptions also reflect the impact on citizens of the policy responses made by the New Zealand government to accommodate the influx of these neighbours.

This chapter develops the discussion to draw links between the existing research and experiences reported in this study of Fiji Indian people who, in the wake of the first Fijian coup, set up business in New Zealand or followed their professions. The chapter is structured round the main research questions:

- (A) Migration Policies and Management of Entry
 - (1) Were the Fiji Indian migrants aware of the New Zealand immigration policies at the time of their emigration from Fiji?
 - (2) How was the entry of Fiji Indians managed?
- (B) Background and Managing Decision to Emigrate
 - (3) What was the background of Fiji Indian migrants?
 - (4) What was the impetus of Fiji Indians to decide to emigrate and choose New Zealand as their new home country?
- (C) Management of Settlement and Migrants' Experiences
 - (5) What were the settlement experiences of Fiji Indian migrants in New Zealand?
 - (6) How did the New Zealand Management Authorities manage the settlement of Fiji Indian Migrants?

(D) Adaptation, Contributions and Future

- (7) How well have Fiji Indians integrated and assimilated with the New Zealanders?
- (8) What were the contributions of Fiji Indian migrants to New Zealand?
- (9) What did they perceive their future to be in the host country?

The discussion proceeds in the sequential order of the research questions given under each heading.

8.2 Awareness of migration policies

At the beginning of the study period, running from 1987 and the early part of 2000, New Zealand was still operating on an occupational priority list immigration policy although it had shifted to a more multicultural model particularly focussed on immigrants with high human capital value and financial assets (Burke, 1986). By no longer favouring migrants from Britain and Europe the policy was in line with Australia, USA and Canada (Lidgard et al., 1998). As reported in Chapter 3 the policy shifted to a points system from 1991 where skilled applicants could accumulate points for employability, age and ability to settle, which encouraged greater numbers of potential migrants across the board (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1995). However, the socio-economic profile of my respondents meant that they were faced with virtually the same entry requirements during the whole study period (which in their case were relatively benign).

The findings revealed that a high percentage of the participants were allowed to enter New Zealand as skilled migrants. However, only a small number of them were acquainted with the policies that governed their migration to New Zealand. Generally, when people migrate they are well prepared with the requirements of migration, including full awareness of migration policies that govern their migration (Jayaram, 2004). This lack of knowledge of the policies may seem surprising, given that the bulk of the migrants were highly educated, mature and familiar with New Zealand. A possible explanation is that the effects of the coups were so pressing that they had only one focus in mind – to leave Fiji as swiftly as they could. Several participants confirmed in their interviews they were greatly disturbed by the condition of Fiji and just wanted to get out. Conversely, comments from the few participants who considered knowing and understanding the policies were

imperative indicated they were less concerned with the coups' impacts or were less pressed for time as their families were already in New Zealand.

Familiarity with host country migration policies has not been extensively researched and it has not been mentioned as an issue in the literature on recent Indian migration. The reader is left to conclude that the large numbers of professional and educated Indians who went to the United States from 1965 when the immigration policy was eased (see for instance Jansen, 1988; Shukla, 2003) had an understanding of the policies that determined their emigration. In a closer parallel to the situation of my participants, numbers of Indians in the Caribbean migrated to USA, Canada, United Kingdom, and The Netherlands after independence and interracial violence (Hintzen, 1989; Samaroo, 1985; Seecharan, 2006), but again nothing was mentioned about their knowledge of migration policy issues.

A major source of information for migrants is from officials of the host country, often working out of embassies or consulates in the migrants' home country (NZIS, 2007). My participants, however, were critical of the service offered by the New Zealand High Commission in Suva. Before the coups there was relatively little migration of Fijian citizens to New Zealand but there was a large influx following the coups (Field, 2007; Narayan & Smyth, 2003; Statistics New Zealand, 1995). The impression given by the participants is of harried and overworked staff at the High Commission. This indicates that New Zealand officials in management positions, while aware of the impact of the coups (as indicated by political statements condemning the actions of the military at the time), had failed to predict the outcome, and did not provide sufficient resources to support their staff in handling a surge in migration.

8.3 Managing Entry of Fiji Indian Migrants

The findings revealed that all participants were extremely pleased with the way the New Zealand border officials managed their entry into New Zealand. Both customs and quarantine officials attended to them in an efficient, sympathetic and helpful manner and the migrants cooperated to provide them with full information needed to make decisions, do any checking if necessary, and clear them as expeditiously as possible. Literature discussing the experiences of Indian migrants in various countries along with related migration and settlement policy does not make any reference to migrants' experiences of

entry to their destination countries. My participants reported they were very relieved to have gone through the formalities without difficulty. The whole experience was the antithesis of what had happened to them at Nadi Airport where the armed officers of Rabuka's regime managed the exit of migrating Fiji Indians, checking their luggage officiously, conducting body searches, and detaining those with more money than permitted. Migrants whose names were on the military blacklist were detained. While it may have been business as usual for New Zealand Customs, participants found the practices of the New Zealand border control highly welcome after their Nadi experiences. There is, however, a possibility that border officials were genuinely sympathetic and more helpful to the migrants because of publicity in New Zealand at the time of the coup. The Labour Government in power in New Zealand at the time of the 1987 Fiji military coups condemned the coups and supported Dr Bavadra's displaced government; Prime Minister David Lange was incensed by what had happened in Fiji (Lange, 2005; Singh, 2001). However, Gani (2000) pointed out that no recipient countries made policy changes to accommodate Fiji migrants in the post-coup years.

8.4 Background of Fiji Indian Migrants

Almost all the respondents I interviewed were aged between 25 and 45 and only three were not married. As such, they fitted the profile of migrants preferred under the amendment of the 1986 Immigration Act, which the Hon. Kerry Burke (1986), then Minister for Immigration, said was for young, skilled, and healthy immigrants who could contribute to economic growth.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, 60% of the Fiji Indian respondents had employment backgrounds in the public sector, while the rest were from private organisations including family businesses. This predominance of public servants leaving Fiji was largely because of Rabuka's policy to Fijianise the public sector and compel all senior public servants either to resign or to retire (Naidu, 1989). A Public Service (Amendment) Decree was put into effect, requiring 50% of all positions in the public service be given to Fijians and Rotumans with immediate effect. Most of those ousted Fiji Indian public servants migrated to New Zealand (Naidu, 1989). As Lal (1988) said, they were skilled, professional, experienced and well qualified. The result of this public servant exodus was a serious brain drain for Fiji that affected the quality of administrative and public services

of government ministries (Naidu, 1997). Gani (2000) reported that the two most important sectors, Health and Education, were about to collapse due to a heavy toll of resignations and emigration of doctors and teachers. Systems theory (Kast & Rosenzweig, 1972) explains that if heavy staff loss occurs, collapse of organisations is possible.

That the immigrants were young, skilled, professional, experienced, and well qualified was not a surprising finding. For example Khandelwel (2002) and Jayaram (2004) found that the Indians who immigrated to the United States in the late 1960s to 1970s were professionals and semi-professionals and had one of the highest educational qualifications of all ethnic groups in the United States. Similarly, the Fiji Indians who migrated to New Zealand and other countries before the 1987 coups (Jones, 1976) were either young married couples or students of the children of older migrants. According to Jones these migrants were principally from the towns and cities – urban people with urban values and aspirations. Jones (1976) did not mention whether the pre-coup Fiji Indian migrants were professionals or skilled individuals. Gani (2000), however, found that Fiji Indian migrants particularly between 1987 and 1994 were professionals and skilled people. Naidu (1989) also reported that most of the professional and skilled Fiji Indians came from the Fiji public service.

Not all the respondents wished to stay in New Zealand permanently. Several of my respondents had mentioned during the interviews that they were going to be in New Zealand for a few years and then planned to move to Australia to settle either for family reunification or job prospects. The respondents also reported instances of Fiji Indian migrants returning to Fiji because they could not adjust to New Zealand. This is not an unusual occurrence. According to Nair (1991) both in the colonial and the post-colonial phases of Indian migration, some emigrants returned home (India) for various reasons, which Nair called “reverse migration”.

What is clear is that migrating to India was not an attractive choice to my respondents. This reluctance to immigrate to India emanates from two reasons: The first was that the Fiji Indians had been away from India for about 130 years, which translates into a gap of about four generations. Indeed, as Voigt-Graf (2004) pointed out, the majority of Indians had long lost all personal contacts with India. Second, India had not demonstrated any

sympathy for their plight, nor invited them to settle in India after the coups (Singh, 2001). The respondents held the view that even if they had been invited, they as Fiji Indians had changed so much in terms of their lifestyle and their embracing of Pacific ways and values (Crocombe, 1981), including adopting Western ways, that they would have been unable to thrive in India with its holistic culture and many traditional customs, values and habits. Voigt-Graf (2004) commented that during their stay in Fiji the social, cultural and religious practices of Fiji Indians had undergone many changes. The respondents pointed out that although their basic culture is the same as those of India Indians, the culture practised wholly in India is not entirely the same as theirs. Besides, the respondents recognised that they possess different social characteristics than Indians from the subcontinent from where their ancestors had come. Additionally, as Singh (2001) also found, the Fiji Indians perceived the climate and health hazards as drawbacks to migration to India.

8.5 Impetus to Decide to Emigrate and Select New Zealand as their New Home Country

Early Indian migration to New Zealand was brought about because of over-population, unemployment, not enough land, and the economic decline of migrants' home regions in India, often resulting from continuing drought (Kessinger 1974; Leckie, 1981; McLeod 1986; Swarbrick 2006). Similarly, Indian migration elsewhere during the 19th and early 20th centuries was also driven by economic rather than political reasons (Jansen, 1988; Shukla, 2003; Thiara 1995).

Comparable reasons underlined the migration of Indians to Fiji, whether as indentured labourers or "free" Indians. Their aim was to obtain work and make money (Jayaram, 2004). As Gillion (1973) explained, it was the harsh environment of India at that time with drought, high government taxes, and the scarcity of employment which provided the impetus to move. Ali (1980) was broader in his explanation, pointing out that the "impoverishment and uncertainty in India" made these individuals take an "opportunity to satisfy their basic needs and security" (p. 5).

It was at the time of Fiji's independence that political factors emerged as reasons for Indian migration from Fiji (Jones, 1976). Jones mentioned such incidents as the Indian

political party walking out of the Legislative Council because of disagreement on constitutional issues during the London Conference for Independence; the localisation policy aimed at getting all European expatriates to leave Fiji and their jobs being taken over by the locals; and the occasional outbursts from Fijian politicians that Fiji Indians should be repatriated. Norton (2004) provided a similar analysis, citing the push factor of tension between Fiji Indians and indigenous Fijians that resulted in Fiji becoming one of the main sources of migration to Pacific Rim countries during the study period.

It is against this background that the large exodus of Fiji Indians from Fiji after the 1987 coups must be seen. The political situation gave the initial impetus for the decision to leave Fiji but, as both the literature discussed earlier and my study participants made clear, economic factors, professional challenges, educational opportunities and so on helped make the decision to leave Fiji easier.

The interviewees explained how they were affected personally. They felt rejected, insecure and traumatised in the country of their birth. There was no more freedom for them nor status or self-esteem. With their jobs and recognition gone, there was no sense of belonging and peace of mind; they were unsure as to whether they and their family could survive. They felt harassed and frustrated and could foresee that neither they nor their children had a stable future in Fiji. All the interviewees made it very clear that the continuous discrimination, mainly by Fijian politicians, against the Indians following Independence, the effects of the first coup, the staging of the second coup to reject the government of national unity agreed on through the Deuba Accord, combined with the ensuing psychological effects gave them the impetus to migrate.

Interestingly, the ethnic divide and tension, including the struggle for political dominance, was also observed in the Caribbean between Indians and Afro-Caribbeans, also resulting in large emigrations of Indians (Hintzen, 1989; Samaroo, 1985). Hoefte (2006) and Dew (1994) reported that in 1975 the political and socio-economic conditions had become so bad in Surinam that the military intervened. The 1980 coup resulted in the military ruling the territory for 7 years without bringing any improvement to the country before it went back to the barracks in 1987. That military takeover also triggered emigration of Indians to USA and Canada. With respect to migration to the USA, according to Khandelwal

(2002) and Lal (2004), the reasons were not only political or economic but also that migrants saw the United States as a country where they could obtain new knowledge, experience and better job prospects. Further, they recognised the USA had an immigration policy conducive to their entry.

Similarly, the choice of New Zealand as a preferred destination was made, as discussed earlier, for a variety of reasons. Norton (2004) mentioned the pull factor of employment opportunities and perceived prosperity of destination countries. In addition to the political situation, proximity, employment advantages, networks of support from family members already settled and, in a generic way, quality of life, were the factors mentioned by my participants. These factors are similar to those found in an earlier study conducted by Gani (2000). Gani's respondents also mentioned the flexible immigration policy of New Zealand as an attractive factor. In a study carried out by Shameem (1992) it is argued that familiarity with New Zealand in terms of business interests and educational systems resulted in the immigrants making New Zealand their destination. Familiarity with the country, the way of life and the educational system were also the factors identified by my respondents.

The decision of the respondents to migrate is in accordance with Reichlova's (2005) argument that uses Maslow's hierarchical needs model to explain migration decision making. She argued that if migrants find their physiological needs are not met and their desire is to find another country where these needs can be fulfilled then they will go to this destination. Also, if social needs are important to migrants then these too would encourage them to migrate, especially when some of their family members had already migrated to that host country that also offered safety and better jobs. Indeed, even if migrants' needs are higher, such as the need for esteem, then these will also form possible motives for migration (Reichlova, 2005).

8.6 Settlement Experiences of Fiji Indian Migrants

The settlement experiences of the Fiji Indian migrants after 15 years of stay in New Zealand were easily recalled by my respondents. As mentioned in Chapter 7, their first priority when arriving was to look for accommodation and secure employment. Unlike their ancestors who found on arrival in Fiji that they had to live in accommodation that

according to Gillion (1973) and Lal (1983) were primitive, unhealthy and claustrophobic huts with little privacy, my respondents' New Zealand experience was a pleasant one. They had a choice of properties to buy or rent. The experience of my generally well-educated and relatively affluent participants is also in direct contrast to that of earlier Indians who settled in New Zealand, as reported by Tiwari (1980) and Leckie (1981), and who were restricted to cheap rental properties.

With respect to choice of location, some of my respondents not only preferred to live where other Indians lived but also, as Bell (2005) found, near relatives and friends. Similar patterns are reported by Koritala (2008) who says that Indian migrants arriving in United States after 1965 preferred settling in the areas where other Indians had settled. This, however, does not seem universal as other authors report that more affluent Indians based their choice on such factors as access to essential services and neighbourhood safety (Leckie, 2006; Shameem, 1995). Koritala (2008) also reported that wealthier Indians in the United States tended to live in affluent white neighbourhoods. The absence of this in New Zealand, however, reflects the country's smaller size and social support systems, resulting in a general absence of racial and economic-based housing 'ghettos'.

With housing needs taken care of, the Fiji Indian migrants' next concern was employment. Here, participants' experiences varied. Almost half of the respondents, mostly professional and skilled individuals, had planned ahead and had applied for jobs in New Zealand. They reported no problem in getting positions as there was a shortage of such people in New Zealand and they started working as soon as they arrived. Those who arrived without the promise of a job experienced difficulties. These respondents reported delays of 3 months to 3 years to obtain suitable jobs. They were considered as either not having the New Zealand work experience, having too strong an accent, or having qualifications and skills that were outdated or below the required standard and needing further education and training. As mentioned in the results chapter, these participants believed that they were discriminated against. Leckie (2006) also found that Fiji Indian migrants could not obtain the jobs they preferred and gave two reasons: one was the large influx of Fiji Indians arriving in New Zealand after the 1987 coups and second was that discrimination existed against them. Leckie added that because of these two factors many Fiji Indians took up less-skilled employment or started their own business. Leckie's

findings are reflected in this study. Some 30 of my sample mentioned that they had to switch to other occupations, while others had to undergo retraining to get into jobs they preferred; some were compelled to open up their own business. Khan et al. (2005) in their study also found that Fiji Indians could not get jobs because of discrimination, despite the fact that they were qualified and had experience. Similarly, Shameem (1995) commented that the prejudice held by some New Zealanders affected the chances of Fiji Indians getting jobs. Brass (1993) found the same sort of situation existed in the United States where discrimination took place against the Indian migrants in workplaces in the areas of recruitment and promotion to management positions. The circumstances, he said, were worse for those without a profession or skills.

To compound the situation, at the time when the majority of the Fiji Indians arrived, in the late 1980s and the 1990s, New Zealand was undergoing major economic reforms that changed a highly protected economy into one of the world's most open (Wilson, 2005). It was a time of economic liberalisation (James, 1997) and Rogernomics (Love, 1991) started by a Labour Government in 1984 and continued in the 1990s under a National government (James, 1997). The high unemployment experienced during that time was particularly severe for those Fiji Indians who lacked skills. Similar findings are reported in studies carried out in the USA (Pavri, 1995; Prasad, 1999) and in the Caribbean (Seecharan, 2006). It is important to note, however, that these difficulties were not confined to Fiji Indians. All individuals irrespective of their ethnic background had difficulties in getting jobs if they did not have the appropriate skills.

The New Zealand government has no criteria for measuring the successful settlement of migrants (Burnette, 1998), even though measurement criteria are necessary (Beiser, 1999; Ho et al., 2000; Ip, 1996; Jansen, 1990) and presumably an important element in developing successful settlement policies. My findings suggest that a smooth transition to full employment could be achieved if the Government took a more active part in seeking suitable jobs for the new immigrants and, having identified skill shortages, offered training to the immigrants to acquire these skills. Chapter 3 outlines the relatively limited help available to migrants. As Bedford et al. (2005) noted, a formal settlement support programme was not developed until 2002, and even now the services are variable because funds are provided to diverse organisations around the country. Much support is provided

by Ethnic Councils and Migrant Resource Centres reliant on volunteers (Buckland, 1997) and local government is involved in a variety of ways that again vary from region to region. Watts and Trlin (2002) described services as patchy and noted that a proper centrally coordinated programme (similar to those offered in Canada and Australia) is needed to improve the service for migrants.

The results showed limited cultural awareness in the workplace. The respondents found their immediate supervisors were not aware (or interested) in their culture and this ignorance made the work situation difficult, resulting in a number of Fiji Indians resigning from their job and starting their own businesses. This lack of cultural awareness is not confined to New Zealand. Similar findings have also been mentioned by Dhillon (2006) and Koritala (2008), with respect to US managers.

Fiji Indians, as has been discussed previously, are very concerned about good education for their children and the importance of education to Fiji Indians was one of the attributes identified by Ali (1980), who went on to compare their love of education to the love Fijians have for their land. According to Singh (2001), the indentured ancestors perceived education as a commodity that would give their present and future generation security and prosperity through well-paid jobs. The message appeared to have been passed on to ongoing generations.

My respondents reported that their children performed well at school and went on to tertiary education. If they were weak in particular subjects, private tuition was sought. Two issues were identified. The first had to do with after school child care and the second their concern that their children were not becoming familiar with their culture.

Because parents were so busy in getting themselves organised, settled and orientated to new jobs, they did not give enough time to their children in terms of guidance and support, teaching the Hindi language and passing on the cultural and religious requirements. The absence of the extended family exasperated the problem. The consequence therefore was excessive time spent watching TV, getting into drugs, and other serious troubles, which not only affected their studies but affected their future prospects.

The loss of the extended family support has also been reported in earlier studies. Jayaram (2004) found that wherever the Indians have migrated they have lost the extended family system common to them and the younger generation preferred the nuclear family system due to economic reasons. Not only in Fiji but in the Caribbean the extended family system was common. Haraksingh (2006) explained that before 1970s Indians in the Caribbean maintained the traditional extended family system but after that, the nuclear family became the norm, particularly for those in the urban areas. With respect to New Zealand Leckie (1981) records the Indian settlers of New Zealand, specifically the Gujarati Indians, once had the extended family staying in their homes but the younger generation broke the tradition with the nuclear family system.

The respondents' second concern – that their children were losing the ability to speak Hindi or know something about their culture – also reflects earlier studies. Helweg and Helweg (1990) pointed out that the Indians settled in the United States led a busy life and consequently had little time to teach their mother tongue to their children so they relied heavily on their social associations (which also taught culture and religion). In New Zealand, according to Tiwari (1980), the Gujarati Indians also relied heavily on their associations to teach their mother tongue to their children. This, however, did not help the younger generation speak the language at home with their parents, as the new generation preferred English and continued in most instances to speak in English with their parents or grandparents. With regard to the Fiji Indians in New Zealand, Leckie (2006) said that some Fiji Indians did not see much value in keeping Fiji Hindi in New Zealand, while others found it useful and promoted it by sending their children for special tuition. Leckie (2006) also pointed out that younger Fiji Indians born here were losing Fiji Hindi to English, which was confirmed by Shameem (1995) who suggested that Fiji Indian parents needed to be proactive in this area to keep alive Fiji Hindi in New Zealand.

The respondents also reported their experience of racial prejudice at various levels of society. The Fiji Indian migrants experienced prejudicial behaviour in different places and with different people such as on the street from youths, in a shop from an assistant, in a car park from skin heads, on the phone from a receptionist, from next door neighbours, in the car from a traffic officer, in an interview from a recruiting officer, in the workplace from a manager, at an 'open home' from a real estate agent, and in a car sales showroom from a

sales person. There is a long history of racial prejudice in New Zealand and its presence was in the country right from the early days when making New Zealand British and keeping the country white were the goals of immigration policy. This White New Zealand policy is similar to Australia, which also had white policy that continued until the early 1970s. Migrants from Britain were actively recruited for migration to New Zealand, while people who were seen as different were kept out (Swarbrick, 2006; Tiwari, 1980). According to Leckie (1981) and Pearson (1990) racism was widespread in New Zealand against the Indians and Chinese in the late 1800s and after the finish of World War One when the number of arrivals began to rise. Pearson (1990) mentioned that between 1879 and 1920 over 20 different parliamentary bills were passed to fortify immigration policies to prevent Indians and Chinese from entering New Zealand. Up until 1957 all non-Europeans, including Indians and Chinese, were not allowed to become members of the Local Growers Association, they were not permitted in some places of entertainment (e.g., in the balcony seats of movie theatres), Europeans were not allowed to cut their hair, and they were refused entry in some public baths (Leckie, 1981). This kind of prejudicial stance was not confined to New Zealand. The policies of Australia, Canada, the UK, and United States of America were similar to those of New Zealand (Jayaram, 2004).

As mentioned earlier, some Fiji Indians had difficulties finding jobs and racial prejudice played a part in this. They also experienced discrimination once they had a job. This is also reflected in the findings by Brass (1993) who found that discrimination was blatant, especially in the areas of recruitment and promotion of workers. Racial prejudice is a very complex topic both in New Zealand and overseas (de Bres, 2004). It has been associated with the economic conditions of the country (e.g., Leckie, 1981; Shameem, 1992; and Swarbrick, 2006), or ignorance and therefore fear of other cultures (Bandyopadhyay, 2006).

The respondents' reaction to the prejudices was mixed. Most were very tolerant and regarded the anti-social behaviour as nothing less than a jest coming from people ignorant of others cultures. There were others, however, who did not take the matter that lightly and had some suggestions for consideration by the appropriate government authorities.

A number of suggestions emerged from the participants' interviews. The first was that since racial harassment was a form of bullying it should be addressed as such. The suggestion was that with respect to children a specific staff member should be appointed, possibly called the Safety and Security Teacher, whose main job should be to safeguard and prevent any child from being the victim of bullying. The teacher's additional responsibilities should include mediating conflicts between and among children, providing advice, and counselling them. The teacher should foster positive, cooperative and friendly relationships among children and look after their safety and security needs at schools. This staff member should consistently liaise with the parents and teachers of children about all problems within their portfolio.

The second suggestion had to do with society at large. Some respondents believed that the Race Relations Office and the Human Rights Commission as well as the legislation covering racism and discrimination were toothless tigers. What the immigrants suggested was that the two bodies should be strengthened in their ability to combat prejudicial behaviour and that the legislation should provide for stiffer penalties. They also suggested the present Human Rights Act, Race Relations Acts, Employment Relations Act, Equal Pay Act, and any other related acts and regulations should be revised or amended to reflect this. A further suggestion was that the Race Relations Office and the Human Rights Commission should be amalgamated and revamped into one fortified body called the Race Relations and Human Rights Office. This one body then would ensure better coordination of functions and utilisation of resources. The immigrants emphasised that the Race Relations and Human Rights Office should also educate parents and the public through booklets, pamphlets and TV advertisements and be more actively involved in such activities as festivals, food fairs and ethnic events in all the larger centres of the country. This would enable New Zealanders to appreciate, understand and become aware of each other's cultures and remove the misconceptions that exist in people's minds.

The immigrants also suggested that improvements should be made in the process of integrating immigrants into mainstream New Zealand society particularly, those immigrants who lacked the ability to speak proper English.

8.7 Management of Settlement of Fiji Indian Migrants

A number of Government and non-government bodies were involved in the process of ensuring the effective settlement of the immigrant respondents to New Zealand. It emerged that the most active and effective organisations were those associated with different churches. In earlier times, these kinds of bodies were also associated with efforts not only to help the migrants settle in the new society but also to gain converts to their particular denomination (e.g., Gillion, 1973; Haraksingh, 2006).

There is no evidence that conversion attempts occurred in New Zealand with the Fiji Indian migrants or initial Indian migrants who had settled in New Zealand earlier (Leckie, 1981, 2007). One of the important factors about the Christian bodies that assisted the Fiji Indian migrants in New Zealand was that in most cases they were not supported by the New Zealand government in the way of funds. They used their own funds and ensured that they worked with the migrants in accordance with the directives of the New Zealand government (NZIS, 2000). The Fiji Indian migrants rated the Christian support organisations highly for doing an excellent job of helping new migrants and in this category they also praised other non-Christian religious groups such as Ramayan Mandalis. The New Zealand Immigration Service (2000) sanctioned the services of these organisations.

By contrast, most of my respondents were very dissatisfied with the Ethnic Councils and the Migrant Resource Centres. These migrants had gone to the two organisations for help and got no meaningful results and concluded that both were not properly discharging their functions. They believed their functions overlapped, resulting in a waste of public funds. Respondents thought the Ethnic Councils appeared very advisory in focus, whereas the Migrant Resource Centres seemed more practical. Ethnic Councils are set up to provide new immigrants with assistance and advice, and to work with different ethnic associations to provide services (Buckland, 1997). The Migrant Resource Centres in New Zealand, on the other hand, provide a wide range of migrant services in liaison with community organisations and agencies but work in close consultation with the Ethnic Councils (Watts & Trlin, 2002). In comparison, Jupp (1999) reported the experiences of immigrants to Australia with similar organisations, the Migrant Resource Centres in different states of Australia, were positive. These centres are non-government, community-based

organisations funded by the state governments to provide settlement services for migrants and refugees. They facilitate successful integration of migrants into the local community, enable them to reach their full potential, and are highly patronised by new migrants (Jupp, 1999). It appears that while New Zealand copied the system from Australia services here apparently do not reach the same standard. Ethnic Councils do not appear to exist in Australia. The migrants were of the view that the Ethnic Councils should be abolished and the Migrant Resource Centres should be revamped to make them relevant and useful.

After 10 years in the country, most respondents had only a very vague idea of the role Local Councils played in helping immigrants to settle. If they were aware of what the councils were offering, the immigrants would have taken advantage of them. According to Watts and Trlin (2002), however, the councils offered such services as sponsoring citizenship ceremonies, organising ethnic festivals, offering community centre activities, and providing library services and business advice.

The central Government's involvement was through the New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS), the organisation responsible for bringing the migrants into New Zealand and then managing successful settlement. The NZIS was severely criticised by the immigrants. They wanted answers to specific questions and concerns that could not be found in the only available government information booklet, *A Guide for New Settlers for New Migrants*, later upgraded to *Living in New Zealand: A Guide for Immigrants* (Connor, 1995; see **Appendix One**). Additionally these booklets were not given to migrants, rather they were expected to buy them from bookshops at a price. Not a single Fiji Indian respondent reported that they had bought them.

Similar experiences were reported by Indians going to the US after 1965 and until the beginning of the 1990s. According to Koritala (2008) they were given little support or assistance from the US government. If the need arose these Indians either sought support from Christian or voluntary organisations and Indian community groups or, most of all, from already settled family members and friends.

Almost 10 years after the arrival of most Fiji Indian migrants, the NZIS performance improved. As explained in Chapter 3, between 1997 and 1999 NZIS spent \$890,000 on

initiatives to assist immigrants through the Settlement Information Programme. The programme's main feature was a newsletter (*Linkz: Making Your Way in New Zealand*) that contained advice on issues of employment, business education, housing and public services. There was also a package for new settlers (*The Settlement Kit*), which provided information on finding a house, working in New Zealand, the education system, government and judicial system, law and the taxation system. In addition, there were specific booklets aimed at teenagers and older migrants. The NZIS did not provide any English Language programme because Fiji Indian migrants who came under the occupational or general skills programme needed a certain level of English proficiency (Fletcher, 1999). The NZIS appeared to have overlooked those Fiji Indian migrants who entered New Zealand under the family reunion policy, many of whom were not proficient in English,

Similar improvements to immigration policy in the US began a little earlier (Bach 1992). The additional support was started in 1990 by the federal government but responsibility was decentralised, with all necessary funding going to State governments, which managed and offered diverse services and settlement programmes throughout the nation. As in New Zealand, the government agency, the US Citizenship and Immigration Services, provided a settlement guide to help migrants. Bach also reported that migrants received such benefits as special employment training and placement, English language training, and monetary assistance to those who required living expenses.

Unfortunately the Fiji Indian migrants under study arrived at a time when there was no extant settlement policy. As Bedford et al. (2001) pointed out, this caused concern and confusion among the organisations tasked with helping the settlement of immigrants. As discussed in Chapter 3, New Zealand, unlike Canada and Australia, had no migrant settlement policy, apart from the arrival refugee quota, since the termination of sponsored immigration from the United Kingdom and the Netherlands in the 1970s. The situation for new migrants was exacerbated, according to Bedford et al., because while immigrant selection procedures worked well to identify families who would settle without undue difficulty in New Zealand, if they were professionals and skilled migrants, there was no thought given to the dependents of those skilled professionals. The experience of my respondents reinforces Bedford et al's argument.

It should be noted, however, that New Zealand has an effective settlement policy for refugees, operating under the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees programme. The refugees are given orientation training, benefit payments to meet living expenses until they start work, medical and dental services, English language training and special familiarisation courses on daily living in New Zealand. They are also provided transportation to their settlement destination. There are resettlement committees at each district office of the Department of Labour helping the refugees find employment and sort out other problems. Bach (1992) noted a similar discrepancy in the United States, between the support offered migrants and the programmes for refugees.

One of the major problems my participants faced was the lack of support to help them adjust to the new environment, resulting in some even deciding to return to the potentially hostile environment of Fiji. This finding is reflected in the comments made in the *Kiwi Ora New Life Manual* (2002): Fiji Indians arriving after 1987 felt lonely and isolated and depended heavily on telephone contact with family and friends in Fiji.

The adjustment of migrants to their new environment during the settlement process is an important consideration (Adler, 1977). The situations and outcome explained in Adler's theory can be appropriately applied to Fiji Indians in this context. Their life was disturbed when they came from Fiji to New Zealand where they experienced lack of support. Their movement from one place to another made strong behavioural demands on them which included, at least for some of them, culture shock, stress, frustration and depression. These factors drove the migrants to the lower levels of Maslow's need hierarchy, as used in Adler's model. When this occurred, adjustment came into play and acted as a recovery process that eventually took the Fiji Indian migrants back to the self-actualisation stage. As the migrants went up the Maslow's hierarchy, they became more secure and their loneliness, self-confusion, and other negative feelings were reduced. Adler also pointed out those migrants who had difficulty in overcoming early adjustment soon became uninterested in staying and went back to their country.

The participants were very clear in their beliefs and suggestions of what needed to be done to help with settlement. Some suggested that a body, called the Department of

Immigrants' Welfare, similar to the Australian model, should be established in the three main cities of New Zealand, with branches elsewhere. The migrants explained that the Department should have three important functions. The first one, consisting of two phases, should aim to educate and orientate the immigrants about New Zealand. The first phase (Part I) should be a pre-induction course to be carried out at the immigrant's own country in liaison with the New Zealand Embassy operating there. This phase should prepare emigrants to handle the situation on arrival in NZ and help equip them sufficiently to cope with the process of settlement up to the point of the second induction course (Part II) which should then be hosted in New Zealand possibly a few months after arrival. Should there be a problem in conducting the first part of the course in the emigrants' own country then it should be run in the host country immediately after the arrival of the immigrants. Some of the topics to be included in the two courses are shown in **Appendix 12** and include such things as history, geography, culture, foods, living costs, medical services, road code, finance, employment, and basic law.

The second function of this department, participants suggested, should be to monitor the progress of immigrants' settlement continuously for up to 2 years and provide help, advice, guidance, and even counselling to obviate their difficulties and grievances. The third function, which aligns with suggestions by Watts and Trlin (2002), should entail the coordination of all other bodies outside the Government system that exist to support immigrants, so that they operate within the purview of and in consistency with the policies of the Department of Immigrants' Welfare.

8.8 Integration and Assimilation of Fiji Indian Migrants

In the early 1990s New Zealand followed the example of countries like Canada, Australia and the USA, and abandoned assimilation policies in favour of multiculturalism (Fletcher, 1999). According to Barry, Kalin and Taylor (1977) the assimilation perspective was widely criticised from the early 1970s, and the alternative approach of integration had been discussed and promoted by scholars and policy reformers. In 1986, the Immigration Policy Review committed the government to urge immigrants "to participate freely in New Zealand's multicultural society while being able to maintain valued elements in their own heritage" (Burke, 1986, p. 48).

Spoonley and Berg (1997) pointed out that the concept of multiculturalism really began to mature and develop in the political and social context of New Zealand society in the 1990s. The benefits of multiculturalism have been reported by a number of researchers (see for instance Burnaby, 1992, and Ho et al., 2000).

The change in policy directly benefited the Fiji Indians who are the subject of this research. Only a very small percentage of my respondents reported difficulties in achieving integration while settling. They also reported that, although they were accepted by all ethnic groups with which they came in touch, some were more welcoming than others. They argued that their success in integration was due to two main factors: their good knowledge of the English language and their communication skills. Other factors mentioned were their sensitivity towards different cultures and their ability to adjust and tolerate one another. These findings are in agreement with research carried out in the US.

Reporting on migrant Indians in the United States, the US Census Bureau (2001) pointed out that Indians who integrated and assimilated easily with other races spoke English fluently, were educated migrants, came from a democratic country where English was the official language, and appreciated and respected other cultures. Choi and Thomas (2009, p. 8) went further and argued that integration and assimilation of Asian immigrants, including Indians, in the US was influenced by five factors: the “right” attitudes; social support; length of residence in the host country; the level of education; and fluency of English. Interestingly, Indians of lower socio-economic backgrounds and those who had poor English language skills found it difficult to integrate in the US and Raval (2002) found there were many Indians in this category. According to Terrazas (2008) in 2006 almost one quarter of Indian migrants in the US possessed limited proficiency in the English language, although they and their children spoke good Hindi at home. My respondents, however, were generally of higher economic status and proficient in English. Respondents also reported that their children integrated extremely well. However, as was mentioned earlier, some feared they would lose touch with their Indian heritage, A similar finding was reported by the US Census Bureau (2000).

The processes of integration and assimilation can be seen as part of a socialisation process, which is the social need of an individual to make friends and achieve recognition. These

therefore become the third level hierarchical needs of Maslow and become equated with the hierarchical needs theory (Adler, 1977; Samson and Daft, 2003).

8.9 Contributions of the Fiji Indian Migrants

In this section I focus my discussion of the contribution the migrants made in occupational, community and business environments. Fiji Indian migrants were engaged in a wide range of occupations. Indeed, if they did not get employment in areas they were qualified in, they obtained other jobs. Bandyopadhyay (2006), referring to Indians in New Zealand, found that through their skilled and professional occupations they made a positive contribution to the New Zealand economy and were not a burden to the welfare state. The migrants reported that having any job was better than being on social security. This was because of the social control exercised by the Indian community who believed that 'being on the dole' lowered one's self-esteem. They pointed out that they would be looked down upon if they stayed on the benefits for long periods, unless they were ill or physically disabled.

Since New Zealand's immigration policy was "entry on occupational grounds" (Burke, 1986, p. 16) the majority of the Fiji Indians who came to New Zealand were professionals and skilled individuals. As mentioned earlier, however, this was not necessarily applicable to the dependents who came with them. Similar findings with respect to the contribution of Indian migrants have been reported elsewhere. For example, in the Caribbean, Vertovec (1992) and Seecharan (2006) found that Indians had revived the sugar industry in the 19th century and again in the 1980s and raised the rice production considerably when there was a world market rice shortage. Additionally, Birbalsingh (1988) and Shepherd (2006) pointed out that Indians were strongly represented in the professions and in sports, particularly in Jamaica, while Desai and Kanakia (2005) noted the high educational achievements and rapid advancement of recent Indian migrants in the USA.

With respect to the contribution the migrants made to New Zealand society, my respondents reported that their earlier association with organisations such as the Lions, Rotary Clubs and Ramayan Mandalis (the religious groups of the Hindus) in Fiji equipped them to carry on the association in their new country. Respondents explained that it was heartening to see in New Zealand that the efforts of Fiji Indians engaged in community

services were being recognised by the New Zealand government through honours and medals. There is a long tradition of Indian charitable work through associations such as the ones formed by the Gujaratis (Tiwari, 1980) but the Fiji Indians in New Zealand have not yet established such associations.

One area in New Zealand in which the respondents agreed they had not made much progress was politics. Participants explained that it was rather early for the Fiji Indians to enter into politics and get into parliament and the city councils, feeling that Fiji Indians in general were not entirely prepared for them. Nonetheless, a few of the Fiji Indians were making inroads and were serving as councillors or had been included in party lists as prospective members of parliament. Mukherjee (1994), talking of Indian migrants to the US, recommended that they play a greater part in politics. However, it was not until a decade later that Indians had really begun to make their mark in this area and were beginning to move from local to national political office (Lal, 2006).

The Fiji Indian migrants have made a significant contribution to business and its management. As was mentioned in the previous chapter almost a quarter of my sample were involved in some kind of business activity, from running a shop to importing and exporting both goods and services. Some were experienced business people. Those who had no experience received advice and coaching from others who were already running businesses. These mentors were not only Fiji Indians but also New Zealand Gujarati Indian friends. As the Indian community in New Zealand is small it is highly unlikely that they will dominate the commercial sector, as happened in Fiji or as reported by Haraksingh (2006) in the Caribbean, giving rise to racial tensions with the Fijian and Afro-Caribbean business people respectively. Peach (2002) found that Indians from the Caribbean who migrated to Canada and the US formed a vibrant business community in the suburbs of Toronto and in other localities and were seen as entrepreneurs. According to James (1992) and Verma (2000), Indians ran about a quarter of the American hospitality businesses and, at the same time, were important players in the world of computer software and technology. Prahaland (2006) discussed the entrepreneurial spirit of Indians coming to the US, but also said that many set up their own businesses because prejudice prevented advancement in other jobs; a comment that is reflected in my own findings.

The migrants to the US who went into business received some support, but from State rather than Federal organisations. Longley (2010) pointed out that while there were no US government grants to start businesses of migrants, the government's Small Business Administration (SBA), with branches in every State, assisted with planning, low interest loans, training and advice. This did not happen in New Zealand. Migrants here had to fund their own initiatives and, as was mentioned earlier, depended for advice from experienced compatriots. A study by Prasad (1995) of Fiji Indian businesses in Auckland reported similar findings to my own regarding the characteristics of migrants who moved to business for the first time. He found that the majority were new to business but had managerial experience and were well educated. Most of Prasad's respondents informed him that they were interested in expanding their businesses into Fiji in the future.

8.10 Perception of the Future of Fiji Indian Migrants

The respondents' view of the future was, on the whole, positive. They saw the future in terms of their ease of settlement, their children's development, the cohesiveness of the family unit, and the survival of their culture. These issues were discussed earlier in this chapter with respect to their immediate experiences, and their vision for the future was a continuation of this.

On the settlement side, the respondents felt confident that any new Fiji Indian migrants who might come to settle in New Zealand would settle with ease as there was now a large number of Indians present to ensure new migrants felt less like strangers. The respondents believed that children, whether born in Fiji and raised in New Zealand or born in New Zealand, would assimilate into the general culture of New Zealand. Mastapha (1981), speaking about Fiji Indian migrants settled in Australia and New Zealand, pointed out that in the future the children of this race would have a lot more to offer to their adopted countries, just as their forebears had done for Fiji.

The respondents believed that in the future the extended family system would completely disappear, giving way to the nuclear system. This was actually a common trend for Indians who had settled in many overseas countries (e.g., Hidier, 2002; Lessinger, 1995) and this happened more for economic reason than anything else. My respondents also expressed concern about a possible increase in discrimination in the future because of

growing numbers of Fiji Indians in New Zealand through population increase and more immigration. This they saw as inevitable and they hoped that the government of the future would bring in appropriate and better legislation to control future discrimination. Vertovec (1995) and Seecharan (2006), commenting on the future of Indians in the Caribbean, explained that in some territories the Indians felt secure but in others they did not. Seecharan (2006) implied that the future security for the Indians lay in building a harmonious relationship with the Africans and working hand in hand for the benefit and stability of society. Overall, though, my respondents reinforced the findings of Mukherjee (1994). Mukherjee had concluded that most Indian migrants to the US thought that they had a bright future and wanted to see their contributions to the American economy continue and their children to be Indian Americans, upholding Indian culture, values and traditions while also appreciating American values and lifestyles through integration. The Indians in the US wanted to see that multiculturalism or pluralism was given more support, and for Indians to become more visible and vocal in the workplace so that their talents would be recognised and they could contribute more.

My respondents firmly believed that in the future more and more Fiji Indians would become politicians. Already under the MMP system there is presently a Fiji Indian Labour party politician serving in parliament. It should be noted that he came to New Zealand before 1987.

Because there are substantial number of Fiji Indians in parts of New Zealand there are more religious and cultural events held to maintain the customs traditions and values. The migrants felt that this practice would increase considerably with the increase in population in the future as more Fiji Indian migrants came to New Zealand. As a result in New Zealand, as in other migrant host countries, there would be more diversity; more Ramayan Mandalis or Hindu religious groups, Hindu temples, gurdwaras, mosques for Muslims, and more Christian church services for Fiji Indians.

8.11 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the research findings in the light of existing studies on migration and settlement. In many instances, the experiences of my participants confirmed the findings of earlier studies in the New Zealand context. They also reflected the experiences

of Fiji Indians in the Caribbean (since independence) and of Indian and Fiji Indians who have migrated to the United States in recent years. The study, however, additionally covered areas little examined in the literature, such as migrants' knowledge of immigration policy, and perception of official conduct during their departure from Fiji and entry to New Zealand. It also specifically explored the participants' opinions of the variety of settlement support services available in New Zealand and finally sought their recommendations for improving the immigration and settlement process into New Zealand. The interviews, therefore, provide an insight into the ultimate impact of government policy and its management as well as some potential guidance for the future.

The final chapter explores the implications of the findings for both theory and practice. It provides a model of migration and settlement that draws together major management theories and offers a number of suggestions for policy and settlement management. The chapter also discusses the limitations of the research and ends with suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Introduction

This study's purpose was the investigation of the migration of Fiji Indians to New Zealand during the period after the first military coups of 1987 up to the beginning of 2000 when the civilian coup occurred. Adopting a systems perspective, as described by Mabogunje (1970) in his migration systems research, I identified (as Figure 9.1 shows) a number of issues such as conditions in the source country, immigrants' prior knowledge of New Zealand life and culture, and New Zealand's policies with respect to migration and settlement. Having established the inputs to the system I then devised questions that enabled me to focus on the transformation process. This covered such areas as the immigrants' experience and knowledge of the government policies, the help they received from government and non-government agencies, their experiences of finding a house, job and schools for their children. The outcomes of the transformation process (as identified through interviews with 50 Fiji Indian migrants) were presented in Chapter 7 and discussed in Chapter 8. Although it is too early to evaluate any feedback in terms of shifts in their identity as Fiji Indians, the participants were encouraged to speculate about the future identity of their children in New Zealand.

9.2 Key Findings

The key findings showed that the participants were not very familiar with the immigration policies at the time they migrated because most of their attention was focused on getting out of Fiji as quickly as possible. The Immigration Authority in Suva provided poor management both in handling their paperwork and in briefing them about New Zealand. The New Zealand border officials, however, efficiently managed them and facilitated their clearance without problems. This was in contrast to the harassment from the Fijian officials and army officers at Nadi Airport. Most migrants were young, married with children, and were professional, skilled individuals, frequently ex-public servants. Interestingly the military coups were not the main reason for their migration; they only acted as the catalyst. The reason was the culmination of other political and social factors (including in many cases the loss of jobs). This resulted in emotional and psychological pressures and the second coup was perhaps the last straw in the deteriorating situation. As

well as these 'push' factors a series of 'pull' factors, including the major one of familiarity, meant that New Zealand was chosen as the country of destination.

Once in New Zealand, those of my sample who had prearranged jobs started work immediately. Some, though, had difficulty in finding employment. Partly that was due to the difficult employment situation at the time but participants also reported instances of racial discrimination. Even when they were able to secure employment, some participants found that their managers were either ignorant of their culture or reluctant to promote them because they were not of the majority culture. Participants suggested government agencies should be more directly involved in securing jobs and any required employment training for the immigrants.

A large percentage of the migrant parents were concerned that during the struggle to settle successfully in their new country they had neglected their children. They worried their children had spent too much time watching television or gaming, while a few had turned to soft drugs or become involved in fights and ended up with police records. The participants also reported incidents where their children had been bullied, racially harassed, and discriminated against at schools. Parents suggested that to control the problem there should be a special staff member appointed at primary and secondary schools to safeguard students and prevent such activities. Participants also recommended firmer control of racism and discrimination through more stringent legislations and amalgamation of the Human Rights Commission and the Race Relations Office.

The findings also revealed that the New Zealand Immigration Authority had insufficient planning and organisation to cope with the influx of these migrants. Nor were there any settlement policies to manage and assist the Fiji Indian migrants to meet their settlement needs. Bodies like the local government authorities, Ethnic Councils and Migrant Resource Centres were seen as ineffective and not helpful. In contrast, non-governmental organisations such as church groups and the Indian religious organisations were very helpful. My respondents also reported cases of migrants who experienced depression, emotional disturbance and stress during their settlement period. The migrants suggested that we follow the examples of Australia in setting up a department focussed on immigrants' welfare to manage the settlement process of all migrants. This department

should also help find employment and support training and development needs of migrants, as suggested earlier.

Despite the drawbacks during settlement as noted above, Fiji Indian migrants believed they had integrated and assimilated with the Europeans and other races of New Zealand well and that their children did better than them in this respect. The participants preferred the concept of integration as it implied retaining their own culture while adapting to and adopting Kiwi culture. They saw assimilation as less common and something that would happen later, often as a result of intermarriage with New Zealanders of other ethnicities. There were a set of perceived factors that helped the migrants to integrate well, which included knowledge of English language, ability to communicate clearly, understanding the other person's culture, and being friendly and respectful.

The Fiji Indians in my sample believed they contributed significantly to New Zealand society in a variety of ways. The professional and skilled migrants contributed through their employment; others helped by means of donating funds, food, clothing and physical assistance through humanitarian organisations; religious leaders helped their community voluntarily; and others helped through ethnic committees, associations and voluntary groups. An important contribution in business management was made by the Fiji Indian migrants through new businesses they started, which provided various benefits, including employment and skills to society and the country.

The Fiji Indian migrants perceived their future in both pessimistic and optimistic ways. Some thought their children would lose their culture as they assimilated, while others thought otherwise. They agreed that the extended family system and the support it offered were likely to die out. However, they believed their children would ultimately receive more effective education. They also believed that as the years progressed more Fiji Indians would be involved in politics both at the local and national level.

9.3 Implications

9.3.1 *Migration policies*

The policy focus during the period covered by this study was on migrant **entry** as opposed to migrant **settlement**. The policies set criteria for entry, provided limited resources and

information in relation to those criteria, and provided the administration system for migrant's entry (point of contact).

As the findings of this study indicate, immigration criteria were inflexible in relation to the events that occurred in Fiji between 1987 and 1997. The system was bogged down with the number and circumstances of migrants from Fiji, limited information and resources were provided, the migrant profile (biased towards slightly older, often highly skilled migrants with families) was significantly different from normal circumstances, and there was limited planning and organisation in relation to post-migration support activities. In addition, there was an overall reliance on voluntary community organisations to support and provide resources for migrants (church groups, community groups) and settlement policies and support were minimal. The management functions of planning and organisation, in relation to implementation of the migration policies, were found to be deficient in these circumstances.

9.3.2 *Entry experiences*

The entry experiences of Fiji Indian migrant on arrival in New Zealand, in contrast to the pre-entry experiences, were handled efficiently and effectively by New Zealand immigration agency staff.

9.3.3 *Background of the migrants*

The background of the Fiji Indian migrants who migrated to New Zealand as a result of the political crisis of 1987 was, very generally speaking, similar. Most were married couples with children, were well-educated and qualified, and fluent in English, and a significant proportion had been previously employed in the Fiji public service. The significance of this is that unlike other immigrant groups, especially refugees, they were able to make an immediate and positive contribution to the social and economic life of New Zealand

9.3.4 *The impetus to decide to migrate*

The finding that the 1987 military coup was not the overriding factor in the decision to migrate for the majority of respondents of this study, was significant. The coup was seen as the catalyst for action, not the prime factor and the reason to migrate was a culmination

of other factors that influenced the decision making. This is significant, as the needs and expectations of the migrants were quite specific and demanding; this tended to put pressure on the limited and somewhat uncoordinated efforts of the migration authorities in New Zealand.

9.3.5 *Settlement experiences*

The key issue arising from the myriad of settlement experiences of the migrants was that of managing cultural diversity. While migrants recognised that more extreme discrimination occurred in other countries, they reported instances of discrimination and prejudice that they believed could and should be addressed. Migrants in employment had difficulties with the cultural sensitivity of managers and other staff in relation to their social and ethnic customs. In addition, migrants were concerned at the level of bullying and prejudice that their children experienced in the new environment. The migrant families had strong views and, as was mentioned earlier, made very specific recommendations, not only about how incidents of bullying and harassment could be managed in schools, but also how wider issues of racism and discrimination could be addressed in New Zealand society generally.

9.3.6 *The management of settlement by immigration authorities*

The migrants were disappointed with the way in which the New Zealand authorities managed the settlement process after their arrival. They found the New Zealand Immigration Authority and Local Government agencies of little help in assisting with settlement. They found Migrant Resource Centres and Ethnic Councils lacked resources to carry out their designated functions, and their roles appeared to overlap. As a consequence, participants found adjustment to new life in New Zealand more difficult than they believed it should have been. The most helpful and accommodating of all the community organisations were the Christian church groups and other religious bodies, which provided the most relevant and needed support for the migrants during the settlement process.

The migrants had specific suggestions and recommendations for the New Zealand authorities in relation to the management of settlement, which included the establishment of a designated government agency with sufficient resources to assist migrants; provision

of relevant and appropriate information and advice; and provision of orientation courses for migrants on arrival and follow up courses sometime after. The implications of these issues relate to the lack of policies, planning, leadership, organisation, and evaluation of the migration settlement process, by central and local government and community organisations with designated roles.

9.3.7 *Migrant integration and assimilation*

Most migrants believed that integration into New Zealand society was the most important issue for them and welcomed the government's policy shift away from assimilation to integration.

9.3.8 *Contribution of Fiji Indians and their perceived future in New Zealand*

Migrants perceived that through their occupations they made the most significant contribution to New Zealand society, followed by service to the community usually on a voluntary basis. The fact that a quarter of them started their own business meant that they actively helped in job creation.

9.4 Contribution

The contribution of this study to research knowledge involves the following: the research identifies the inadequacies of the migration policies and infrastructure of the time; it examines in detail, the reasons and factors that were critical in the Fiji Indian migrants' decisions to migrate; it describes their settlement experiences and how the migration process was managed; and it develops a functional model of migration management that is based on systems theory. The model shown in Figure 9.1 is an elaboration of the basic model discussed in Chapter 4, and is based on Mabogunje's (1970) systems approach case study.

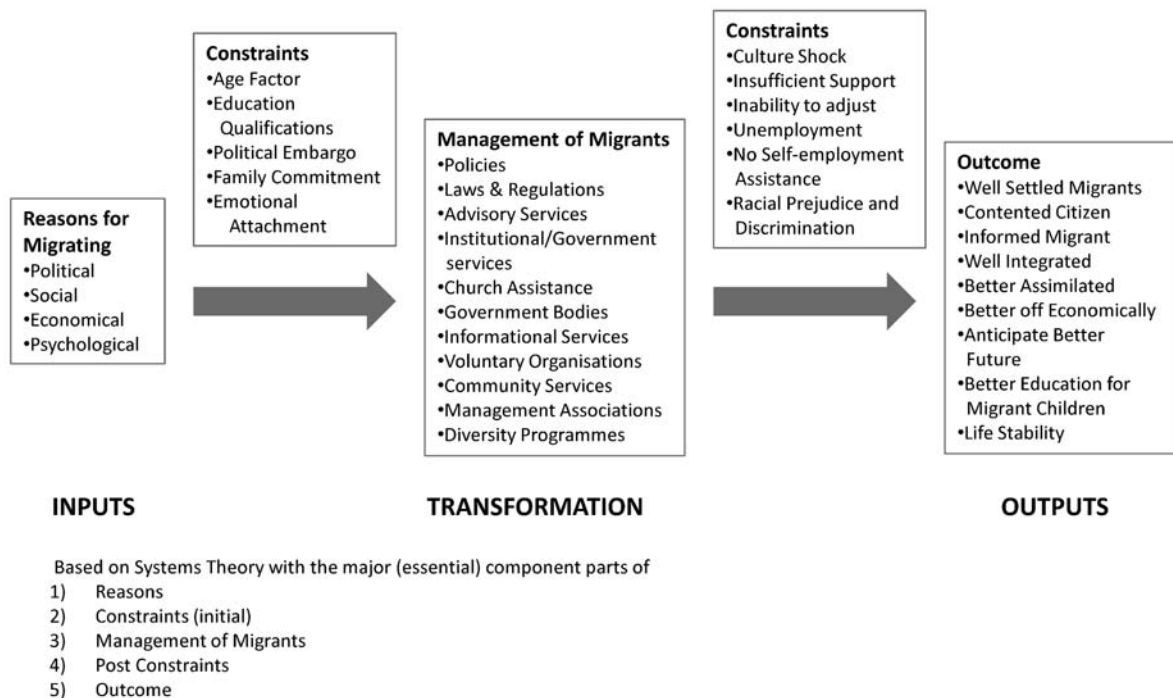


Figure 9.1: Management of migrants in New Zealand.

This approach has proved to be very useful, not only in identifying the inputs and outputs of the system but, more importantly, the intervening variables both at the input and output phases. Future researchers will be able use the model to develop their research design.

Additionally, Reichlova's (2005) use of Maslow's hierarchical needs as applied to migrants has been superimposed on the systems model and added to my understanding of migration decision making.

The research also shows that migration and settlement processes and migrant experiences can usefully be studied from management perspectives as it highlights key functions and activities, planning, leading, organisation, and control of migrants and migrations.

9.5 Limitations and Further Study

There are two main limitations to the study. The first has to do with my background as a Fiji Indian who migrated to New Zealand because of the political situation in Fiji. While this gave me ease of access to the participants and created a trust and rapport that enabled them to reflect deeply on their experiences, it also created the danger of subjectivity. I

aimed to be as objective as I could in terms of the questions I asked (derived from the literature and not just my own experiences) and in the analysis of my results (by drawing up frequency tables of thematic responses and before selecting quotes and drawing conclusions from the findings). However, a natural bias is bound to have crept in from my background and it is important that this is acknowledged here and at the beginning of the thesis. The second limitation has to do with the gender imbalance in my sample. Only 10 of my 50 participants were women. Unfortunately, because of my own gender and because of religious and social customs, I was not given the opportunity to interview more women.

As with all research projects this thesis has pointed to the need for further study. The first area where more research is needed is in integration and assimilation, where the Fiji Indians have come up with a model of factors they believe helped them in their integration process. The model advocates such factors as possession of English language, communicating well, having a friendly approach, respecting the other person's culture, and being tolerant. It would be interesting to investigate how migrants from other ethnic groups perceive both the concept of integration versus assimilation and what they believe to be the main factors that aid integration into the host culture.

A follow-up study of the same sample after a further 5-year period would provide a useful picture of the progress they have made, and this investigation would be particularly informative if it reported in some way on the children of these migrants.

In addition, similar research could be carried out involving Fiji Indians who came after the coup of May 2000, when a number of improvements had been made in terms of New Zealand policy and migration management. These findings could be compared with those of this study.

Finally, in a country where small business enterprises form a major engine of employment, a study focussing on the immigrants who started business ventures and what they see as factors that contribute to their success (or failure) could provide valuable information about entrepreneurship and business practice.

9.6 Concluding Comment

In conclusion, this study has been a long personal journey for me. Attempting to understand the migration, settlement management, and the experiences of the Fiji Indian migrants in New Zealand has been arduous and time consuming. At the same time, it has helped me reflect on and understand my own experiences from a deeper perspective. On one level I am pleased this research has allowed me to present the experiences of my participants (and to some extent my own experiences) to the wider world of scholarship. However, I accept that this is only the beginning, as much has still to be done by other researchers. For the present, though, I feel the findings and contributions of the study are useful, relevant and important not only to the present and future Fiji Indians of New Zealand but also to the stakeholders involved in the immigration and management fields, to academics, and to the government authorities that manage immigration and immigrants in New Zealand.

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APPENDIX 1

Summary of Information Covered in “Living in New Zealand – A Guide for Immigrants”

No.	Areas/Topics	Information/Details
1	Introduction	How to use the Guide? The Pakeha. The Maori. Maori/Pakeha Relations. The Treaty Today. What Does the Treaty Mean for Immigrants? Visiting a Marae. Immigrants. Experiences of Immigrants. Views About Immigrants
2	History (Chapter 1)	Pre-European Times. European Contact. The Treaty of Waitangi. New Zealand Land Wars. Decline of Maori Resources. European Settlement
3	Facts About New Zealand (Chapter 2)	Geography. Population. Climate. Weather. Time. Wildlife. Transport. Sports & Leisure
4	Everyday Life (Chapter 3)	Citizen Advice Bureau (CABs). Maps. Public Transport. Shopping. Public Holidays. New Zealand Post. Childcare. English Language Classes. Community Education. Sale and Use of Alcohol. Rubbish Collection. Pets. Moving into a House. Parties & Barbeques. BYO Weddings. Births. Funerals. Birthdays. Christmas,. Restaurants, Kiwi Savings
5	Entry to New Zealand (Chapter 4)	Visas & Permits. Temporary Visitors. Permanent Immigrants. Customs Department Rules. Agricultural Security. Restricted Goods. Citizenship
6	Housing (Chapter 5)	What are Houses Like? Renting or Letting. Newspapers. Buying a House. State Housing. Assistance
7	Employment (Chapter 6)	Where to Look For Work. New Zealand Employment Service. Employment Agencies. The Employment Contracts Act
8	Education (Chapter 7)	Early Childhood Education. Compulsory. Schooling. State Schools. Private Schools Integrated Schools. Primary Schools. Intermediate Schools. Choosing a School. Secondary Schooling. National Qualifications Framework. Tertiary Education. Universities Polytechnics. Colleges of Education. Private Learning Institutions. Student Allowances. Student Loans. Youth Traineeships
9	Health Services (Chapter 8)	Finding a Doctor (GP). When Someone is Sick Medicine Benefits. Medical Insurances. Maternity Care. Accident Compensation
10	Government (Chapter 9)	Central Government. Governor-General. Parliament (House of Representatives). Cabinet Electoral Reform (MMP). How MMP will Work. Maori Seats in Parliament. Who Can Vote? Election Day. Local Government
11	The Law and Legal Matters (Chapter 10)	Legal System. Lawyers & Legal Help. Getting Married. Marriage Breakdown. Births Death. Human Rights. Official Information. Privacy Act Ombudsman. Recreational Fishing Rules
12	Business in New Zealand (Chapter 11)	Primary Industries. Manufacturing. Services Sector. Economic Climate. Business Taxes. Regulatory Environment. Resource Management Financial Services. Investment. Labour Market. Occupational Health and Safety. Accident Compensation (ACC). Research and Development. Accounting Practices. Business Development Programme. Business Entry Category
13	Tax (Chapter 12)	Inland Revenue. Income Tax. Family Support. Child Support
14	Income Support (Chapter 13)	The Welfare State. Benefit Rules. Applying for a Benefit

15	Consumer Rights (Chapter 14)	Fair Trading Act. The Consumer Guarantees Act. Hire Purchase. Lay-by Sales. Door to Door Sellers Buying a Car. Quotes and Estimates
16	Police (Chapter 15)	Firearm Laws, Victims or Witnesses to a Crime, Family Violence, Traffic Safety, Breath Testing
17	Safety (Chapter 16)	Water, River and Sea Swimming, Sunburn, Cot Death, Poisoning, Lead-Based Paint, Insects, Burns Electrical Appliances, Natural Disasters, Civil Defence, Earthquakes, Storms and Cyclones, Floods, Volcanoes
18	Sources of Assistance and Advice (Chapter 17)	Accident Compensation, Advertising, Institute of New Zealand Inc., Agricultural Security, Auto Check, Bank Ombudsman, Benefits, Bond Processing Centres, Building Permits, Business Development Centres, Business Immigration, Career Service, Rapura, Child Support, Childcare Centres, Citizens Advice Bureaus (CABs), Citizenship, Community Services Card, Consumers' Institute, Correspondence School, Council Services, Counselling, Crime Prevention, Customs, Deed Poll, Dental Council of New Zealand, Disputes, Early Childhood Education Centres, Education, Ministry of. Emergencies Dial 111, Employment Contracts Act, English Language Classes, Ethnic and National Groups, Fair Trading Act, Family Support, Family Violence, First Aid Training, Housing New Zealand, Human Rights, Immigration, Inland Revenue Department, Institute of Personnel Management NZ Inc., Interpreters, Lawyers, Marriages, Marriage Guidance, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries (MAF), Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade, Needs Assessment, New Zealand Association of Optometrists, New Zealand Bankers Association, New Zealand Chambers of Commerce, New Zealand College of Clinical Psychologists, New Zealand College of Physiotherapy Inc., New Zealand Educational Institute, New Zealand Employers' Federation, New Zealand General Practitioners Association, New Zealand Institute of Architects, New Zealand Institute of Quantity Surveyors, New Zealand Institute of Valuers, New Zealand Institute of Professional Engineers, New Zealand Law Society, New Zealand Manufacturers Federation, New Zealand Master Builders Federation, New Zealand Medical Association, New Zealand Nurses Association, New Zealand Police Association, New Zealand Qualifications Authority, New Zealand Post Primary Teacher's Association, New Zealand Society of Accountants, New Zealand Society of Physiotherapists, New Zealand Stock Exchange, New Zealand Veterinary Association, Official Information, Ombudsman, Overseas Investment Commission, Pacific Island Language Groups, Citizenship, Parent Help, Passports, Playgroups, Plunket Help Line, Poisons and Hazardous Chemicals, Rape Crisis, Regional Health Authority (RHA), Regulatory Environment, Reserve Bank, Resource Management, Salvation Army, Securities Commission, Separations and Dissolutions, Smoke free Work Environments, Special Education Service, Tax, The Open Polytechnic of New Zealand, Trade Development Board, Traffic Safety, Victim Support Groups, Voter Enquiries, Voter Enrolment Forms, Youth Traineeship

Source: *Living in New Zealand – A Guide for Immigrants (Connor, 1995).*

APPENDIX 2

A Study of Fiji Indian Migrants in New Zealand: Their Migration and Settlement Management and Experiences.

Interview Guide Part A

(Closed-Ended Questions)

Demographic (Background) Details

Name of the Interviewee _____
Context Details _____
Interview Number _____
Date _____ Location _____
Time Started _____
Time Finished _____

Question One: Are you a Fijian Indian? (circle one) Yes/No

Question Two: Which city/ town/ area in Fiji do you come from?

Question Three: Are you (1) NZ citizen () (2) Permanent Resident () Please tick one

Question Four: How many years have you stayed in New Zealand since your migration?

Question Five: How did you travel from Fiji to New Zealand? By air () or by ship () Please tick one

Question Six: What is your age range? (Please tick whatever is appropriate).
Between 20 years – 30 years, between 31 years – 40 years
Between 41 years – 50 years, over 50 years.

Question Seven: Gender (circle one) Male/Female

Question Eight: What is your marital status? (circle one). Single/widowed,
Married/divorced, Never married, Other _____

Question Nine: How many children do you have ? (if applicable)_____

Question Ten: What is your highest educational qualification? (state certificate, diploma,
degree

Question Eleven: Did you acquire it in Fiji? (circle one) Yes/No

Question Twelve: a. If yes, did you acquire this in an overseas country? (circle one) Yes/No

b. Name the overseas country where you acquired this qualification

- Question Thirteen:** Which language do you speak clearly? (circle the ones applicable)
English, Hindi, Fijian, Other _____
- Question Fourteen:** Of the choices you made which language(s) can you write clearly?

- Question Fifteen:** Name the organisation in which you were last employed in Fiji?

- Question Sixteen:** How many years were you employed in this organisation?

- Question Seventeen:** What was your last position in this organisation?

- Question Eighteen:** Before coming to New Zealand did you retire or resign from this organisation?
(circle one) Retired, Resigned, Other _____
- Question Nineteen:** Which year did you migrate to New Zealand? _____
- Question Twenty:** Did the 1987 coups influence you to migrate to New Zealand?
Yes/No
- Question Twenty One:** Would you say that the 1987 coups were the overall cause for you to migrate to
New Zealand? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Twenty Two:** Did your spouse accompany you to NZ? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Twenty Three:** Did your children accompany you? (circle one) Yes/No If so, how
many? _____ What were their ages? _____
- Question Twenty Four:** Did you own a house when you lived in Fiji? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Twenty Five:** What other assets did you own in Fiji?

- Question Twenty Six:** When you migrated to New Zealand, who did you stay with initially?
(circle one) Friend (from Fiji), Friend (Kiwi), Relative, Motel, Hotel, Other

- Question Twenty Seven:** Which religious belief did you embrace? (circle) Islam (Muslim),
Hindu, Christianity, Sikh, Other _____
- Question Twenty Eight:** Did your *great* grandparents/grandparents come to Fiji under the Indenture
system or as free un-indentured migrants? (circle one) Indenture system, free
(un-indentured) migrants.
- Question Twenty Nine:** Have you got knowledge of the indenture system that existed in Fiji? (circle one)
Yes/No _____
- Question Thirty:** If yes, from which source did you learn about it? _____
- Question Thirty One:** Do you know of the difficult life experiences of the indentured labourers during
the
indenture period? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Thirty Two:** Which generation Fiji Indian are you? (circle one) First, Second, Third, Fourth,
Fifth

- Question Thirty Three:** Did any other relative (apart from your spouse and children) accompany you? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Thirty Four:** Who were they? (e.g., cousin, mother, father) _____
- Question Thirty Five:** Did any of your relatives still stay in Fiji? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Thirty Six:** Who were they? (e.g., cousin, mother, father) _____
- Question Thirty Seven:** Did they migrate to New Zealand later? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Thirty Eight:** Did any of your relative migrate to any other country(ies) besides New Zealand? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Thirty Nine:** Which country did they migrate to? _____
- Question Forty:** If you have relatives in Fiji do you maintain contact with them? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Forty One:** Before migrating to New Zealand how many times did you visit New Zealand? _____
- Question Forty Two:** When you arrived in New Zealand did you have a job waiting for you? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Forty Three:** Was the job the same as the one you had in Fiji? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Forty Four:** If there was no job waiting for you how long did you wait to get a job?
- Question Forty Five:** Was the job the same as the one you had in Fiji? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Forty Six:** Are you employed now? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Forty Seven:** Is your wife employed now? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Forty Eight:** Is her job the same as the one she held in Fiji? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Forty Nine:** Do you keep in touch with anyone in India? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Fifty:** If you do so, is the person your relative? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Fifty One:** Do you have any relatives in India? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Fifty Two:** How many times have you visited India in the past? _____
- Question Fifty Three:** If given a chance, would you migrate to India? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Fifty Four:** After living in New Zealand for some years, would you return to Fiji? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Fifty Five:** Do you intend to stay in New Zealand permanently? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Fifty Six:** After some years in New Zealand would you migrate to some other country? (circle one) Yes/No
- Question Fifty Seven:** As a new starter in New Zealand, do you feel happy to have made New Zealand your home? (circle one) Yes/No

APPENDIX 3

A Study of Fiji Indian Migrants in New Zealand: Their Migration and Settlement Management and Experiences

Interview Guide-Part B

REASONS FOR MIGRATING AND MIGRATION ISSUES

Name of the Interviewee _____

Context Details _____

Interview Number _____

Date _____ Location _____

Time Started _____

Time Finished _____

Question One: Explain in some detail as to why you emigrated from Fiji? Mention all the reasons you can think of.

Question Two: Explain why you chose New Zealand as the country to migrate

Question Three: Explain why you did not choose other countries to migrate to

Question Four: Explain why you did not migrate to India

Question Five: Explain if you were familiar with New Zealand before your migration there? Why?

Question Six: Explain if any of your friends or relatives were familiar with New Zealand before they migrated. If familiar, explain if this was to do with working in New Zealand or with holiday visitations

Question Seven: Explain if you think the New Zealand immigration Authority in Fiji (The New Zealand High Commission in Suva) managed the migration policies well in terms of making them clear to you, including the procedures involved in gaining entry into New Zealand.

Question Eight: Explain if you were aware of the immigration policies and understood the requirements/ contents before coming to New Zealand.

Question Nine: Tell me if you found the contents of the policies free from any confusion or ambiguity.

Question Ten: Did the New Zealand High Commission in Suva explain and answer the queries on policies or other issues you raised? Explain.

Question Eleven: Were they helpful to you in every way in facilitating your immigration papers including your residence visa without delay? Explain.

Question Twelve: Explain the particular immigration policy under which you qualified to gain entry into New Zealand.

Question Thirteen: Inform me if you have anything else to say about the immigration policies or its management or its management body.

APPENDIX 4

A Study of Fiji Indian Migrants in New Zealand: Their Migration and Settlement Management and Experiences

Interview Guide – Part C

EXPERIENCES OF MIGRANT SETTLERS AND SETTLEMENT ISSUES.

Name of the Interviewee _____

Context Details _____

Interview Number _____

Date _____ Location _____

Time Started _____

Time Finished _____

Question One: Narrate your very first experiences when you arrived in New Zealand.

Question Two: Explain your other experiences during your early settlement days in New Zealand.

When you arrived in New Zealand explain if you felt nostalgic about Fiji.

Question Three: Explain the place in New Zealand you wished to settle? Why?

What were your experiences of finding employment in New Zealand?

If you were employed, explain the problems you faced in the organisation or with your bosses.

Question Four: Tell me about your experiences of acquiring a house for yourself (and your family) during your settlement in New Zealand.

Question Five: In your interaction with the New Zealand people in your settlement here, tell me about your impression of them?

Question Six: Tell me about your experiences with the New Zealand Police if you had any.

Question Seven: Describe your experiences in getting a job in New Zealand?

Question Eight: Explain if you sought any financial support from any agency or body at the time you were without a job?

Question Nine: Explain if you missed anything in New Zealand which you got in Fiji.

Question Ten: Explain your experience of getting your child/children into a good school.

- Question Eleven:** Explain your experience with national and local government politics.
- Question Twelve:** Tell me how any particular organisation or group helped you to settle in New Zealand
- Question Thirteen:** Give me your opinion on whether the government of New Zealand should make relevant policies, spend funds and create relevant structures/bodies in major centres to help migrants like you to settle smoothly in New Zealand.
- Question Fourteen:** How do you or your community as a whole contribute to multiculturalism in New Zealand? Explain.
- Question Fifteen:** As part of multiculturalism or cultural diversity in New Zealand, explain if you were well and fairly managed by managers of organisations where you were employed.
- Question Sixteen:** Explain if the New Zealand managers had knowledge and skills to manage culturally diverse work force of which you were a part.
- Question Seventeen:** Did you think the New Zealand managers needed training and development in managing diverse workforce? Elaborate.
- Question Eighteen:** Tell me if you experienced any form of racism and discrimination by these managers.
- Question Nineteen:** Tell me if you were subject to any racial discrimination in New Zealand.
- Question Twenty:** Tell me if you think racism and discrimination is bad in New Zealand? If so why?

What should be done by New Zealand to safeguard migrants from racism and discrimination?
- Question Twenty One:** Describe some of the problems your children faced in their settlement in New Zealand, particularly at schools..
- Question Twenty Two:** Did they face racial discrimination and bullying at school?
- Question Twenty Three:** What control system should be brought in to safe guard immigrant children from Racism and bullying?
- Question Twenty Four:** What are the positive experiences/things your children are getting?
- Question Twenty Five:** Comment on some of the best things you are experiencing now in New Zealand, which you like and some of the worst things which you do not like.
- Question Twenty Six:** What do you do here in New Zealand to pass on your Indian/Fiji Indian culture to your children?
- Question Twenty Seven:** Tell me if you maintain your culture in New Zealand by indulging in Indian entertainment and media such as watching Indian stage shows, Indian movies and reading Indian newspapers and magazines.
- Question Twenty Eight:** Tell me about some of the different Fiji habits, values or ways that have influenced you the most and you have adopted and use here in New Zealand.
- Question Twenty Nine:** Apart from maintaining your own culture in New Zealand, which parts of the New Zealand culture and life style have you and your family adopted. Explain.

- Question Thirty:** While you were settling down in New Zealand explain if you missed your Fiji food or diet.
- Question Thirty One:** Explain if you were getting used to New Zealand food.
- Question Thirty Two:** Explain if you discovered/found in New Zealand any food/any vegetables/any dietary edibles that were similar to the ones found/grown in Fiji. Give some details
- Question Thirty Three:** Tell me about the problems you faced while settling in New Zealand.
- Question Thirty Four:** Tell me about some of the different Fijian habits or ways that have influenced you the most or you have adopted and use here?
- Question Thirty Five:** What do you do to pass on your Indian culture to your children?
- Question Thirty Six:** Tell me if you maintain your culture by indulging in Indian movies, Indian radio, and Indian newspapers etc. regularly?
- Question Thirty Seven:** Apart from maintaining your culture, which parts of the New Zealand culture and lifestyle have you and your family adopted? Please explain.
- Question Thirty Eight:** Explain if you were aware of the existence of any New Zealand Government's settlement policy for new migrants either before or after your arrival in New Zealand.
- Question Thirty Nine:** Tell me if you were given any induction/orientation training on settlement in New Zealand in Fiji by the New Zealand High Commission before you came to New Zealand
- Question Forty:** Did you receive any such training/orientation by the New Zealand Authority in New Zealand on your arrival? Explain.
- Question Forty One:** Were you aware of any form of body or organisation that existed in New Zealand to help migrants like you to settle successfully in New Zealand? Please explain.
- Question Forty Two:** If the body /organisation existed did you know its role and functions? Explain.
- Question Forty Three:** If the body/organisation existed did it contact you to inform you that they were there to assist migrants to settle? Explain.
- Question Forty Four:** Explain if there were any other bodies/organisations which you did not expect to help you settle came out and helped you .Elaborate.
- Question Forty Five:** Tell me if you were aware of the kinds of support services that these helping bodies/organisations provided to the settling migrants.
- Question Forty Six:** Explain if you received any kind of settlement programme from these or government bodies.
- Question Forty Seven:** If you were to rate these bodies which did not come out to assist you in your settlement period explain the kind of rating you would give on the scale of one to ten.
- Question Forty Eight:** What was your opinion of the Ethnic Councils and the Migrant Resource Centres in the way of their providing services to migrants like you? Explain.
- Question Forty Nine:** How would you rate them on a scale of one to ten.?

APPENDIX 5

A Study of Fiji Indian Migrants in New Zealand: Their Migration and Settlement Management and Experiences.

Interview Guide – Part D

INTEGRATION AND ASSIMILATION OF FIJI INDIAN MIGRANTS

Name of the Interviewee _____
Context Details _____
Interview Number _____
Date _____ Location _____
Time Started _____
Time Finished _____

(Clarify the meanings of Integration and Assimilation)

1. **Integration** – Where different cultural groups mix together, they live side by side, learn from each other but maintain their own distinct culture.
2. **Assimilation** – Takes place when one cultural group is absorbed into another cultural group with a corresponding loss of identity.

Question One: Tell me if you have integrated well or assimilated well with the original local India Indians (e.g. Punjabis and Gujaratis) who came and settled in New Zealand first.

Question Two: Explain your experiences of the relationship you have established with Pakeha New Zealanders since your settlement in New Zealand

Question Three: Tell me about your integration and assimilation with the other races of New Zealand.

Question Four: Tell me if you work in a place where more Pakeha New Zealanders work than ethnic groups.

Question Five: Please explain what Pakeha New Zealand habits and life style have you adopted.

Question Six: Tell me if you think your children have become almost full Kiwi New Zealanders particularly those who were born here.

Question Seven: Explain how you would see yourself in New Zealand in another five to ten years' time.

Question Eight: Tell me if you feel happy to have settled in New Zealand

Question Nine: Explain if you have difficulties and problems residing in New Zealand.

Question Ten: Tell me what you see to be the factors that helped you to integrate and assimilate with the New Zealand people better.

APPENDIX 6

A Study of Fiji Indian Migrants in New Zealand: Their Migration and Settlement Management and Experiences

Interview Guide – Part E

FIJI INDIAN MIGRANTS' CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEW ZEALAND AND THEIR FUTURE

Name of the Interviewee _____

Context Details _____

Interview Number _____

Date _____ Location _____

Time Started _____

Time Finished _____

- Question One:** Tell me what is involved in your present occupation in New Zealand.
- Question Two:** Explain how you are contributing to the well-being of your organisation and to New Zealand as a whole, through this occupation.
- Question Three:** Explain if you were without a job in New Zealand at any time?
- Question Four:** If you were on income support, explain for how long you were on this scheme.
- Question Five:** Explain whether your family members and relatives are employed in New Zealand.
- Question Six:** Explain whether all your friends and acquaintances are employed in New Zealand.
- Question Seven:** How many doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, lecturers, plumbers, builders, cabinet makers, motor mechanics, architects, draughtsmen, surveyors etc. from Fiji are working in New Zealand? (Answer if you know of some)
- Question Eight:** Explain if you are self-employed or you run a business.
- Question Nine:** Explain whether you are presently running a business in Fiji.
- Question Ten:** Give some reasons for your going into business in New Zealand.
- Question Eleven:** Describe the problems of running a business in New Zealand.
- Question Twelve:** Explain who and what you cater for in your business.
- Question Thirteen:** Describe if you receive/received any assistance from the government or any other body for running a business?

- Question Fourteen:** Describe the ways in which you are contributing through your business to New Zealand society.
- Question Fifteen:** Explain whether your family members/relatives/ acquaintances are also running businesses?
- Question Sixteen:** Explain whether you give voluntary or community service of any kind in New Zealand.
- Question Seventeen:** Explain if you contribute in any way to the Indian community, particularly Fiji Indians.
- Question Eighteen:** Explain if you are a Justice of Peace in New Zealand and you give your services to your community in your capacity as Justice of Peace.
- Question Nineteen:** Describe your contribution to the political system in New Zealand.
- Question Twenty:** Describe if you know of Fiji Indian religious service providers (Pundits, Priests etc.) in your community?
- Question Twenty One:** Explain if you think Indian newspapers, radios, TVs and movies contribute in some way to your community and to New Zealand society?
- In the contributions that Fiji Indians make to different bodies including New Zealand, explain if you see any problems you know the contributors faced/face.
- Question Twenty Two:** Explain about your knowledge and feelings of Fiji Indians who have got into trouble with New Zealand laws.
- Question Twenty Three:** Elaborate further if you have anything else to add about the contributions Fiji Indians are making to their community and to New Zealand society.
- Question Twenty Four:** Describe how you see your life in New Zealand and that of your family in the future compared to what it is today.
- Question Twenty Five:** What other issues do you see that might affect your life and that of your family in the Fiji Indian community in the future in New Zealand?
- Question Twenty Six:** Describe what problems and difficulties you, your family and other Fiji Indians might face in the future in New Zealand.
- Question Twenty Seven:** Explain what you see to be the situation of racism in New Zealand in the future. Relate your experiences .
- Question Twenty Eight:** Explain what you see to be the situation of discrimination in New Zealand in the future.
- Question Twenty Nine:** Explain if you have any other comments on what you see to be the future of Fiji Indians in New Zealand.
- Question Thirty:** Explain if you have anything else to add on Fiji Indians in New Zealand.
- Question Thirty One:** Tell me about anything else you feel that I should be informed about this area .

APPENDIX 7

Department of Management
Private Bag 11222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

Telephone: ++64 6 3505799 ext 2783
Fax: ++64 6 3505661
E-mail: R.L.Khan@massey.ac.nz

INFORMATION LETTER

Research Title:- A Study of Fiji Indian Migrants in New Zealand: Their Migration and Settlement
Management and Experiences.

Researcher: *Robert Khan*
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I am working towards completing a Doctoral Research project in the Department of Management at Massey University and would welcome your help in my research involving the Fiji Indian migrants that came and settled in New Zealand after the 1987 military coups. Although a small community of Fiji Indians were visible in New Zealand since 1936, a substantial number came here as migrants after 1987. Most of the migrants were skilled and professional individuals with valuable work experience.

So far no study has been done on them and my main aim is to research this Indo race from the Pacific and examine the issues relative to their settlement and the experiences they have faced over the last 10 years since they came to this country. In particular the study will focus on such factors as:

- The management of the migrants' entry into New Zealand (policies and procedures to help migration)
- The background of the migrants that came and their decision making to emigrate and choose New Zealand
- Their settlement experiences in New Zealand and the management of New Zealand Authorities of migrant settlement.
- Their assimilation and integration including preservation of their identity and culture;
- Their contributions to New Zealand and their perspective of the future here.

The study is qualitative but a small component of quantitative method will also be used. The number of participants selected for interviews will be 50 which is considered appropriate for all rounded information being sought. The sampling strategies are convenience and snowballing and the participants will be selected from the major cities of New Zealand namely Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Hamilton, and Palmerston North including some towns where Fiji Indians are known to have mostly settled and are being employed. The criteria for selection of participants will take into account the following:

- (1) They arrived in New Zealand after the 1987 military coups and before the 2000 George Speight coup;
- (2) They were born and bred in Fiji and conversant with the situation in Fiji;
- (3) They have been residents in New Zealand for over ten years and understand the lifestyle and system of New Zealand;
- (4) They have ability to express themselves clearly in English and to also converse in Fiji Hindi;
- (5) They were employed in Fiji before they migrated to New Zealand.

The participants who decide to participate in this study will be subjected to interviews of at least 2 hours and their responses tape recorded and thereafter transcribed. **I, as the interviewer will ensure that the identity of each participant will be protected by the use of the research convention of pseudonyms and maintenance of confidentiality.**

The data collected will be analysed to obtain themes, issues and categories leading to interpretations and conclusions. A summary of findings will be made available to the participants on request for which a prepared **Request Form** is accompanying this Information Sheet. **Please note that this research has been approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee and will observe all the conventions for the protection and privacy of human subjects cooperating in research endeavours.**

In agreeing to participate in the study the participants retain the right to:

- **Withdraw from the study at any time;**
- **Refuse to answer any particular question;**
- **Ask question about the study any time during the procedure;**
- **Ask for the tape recorder to be switched off at any time during the interview;**
- **Provide information on the understanding that the names of the interviewees will not be used unless they give permission to the researcher;**
- **Give on request a summary of the findings when the study is completed.**

In addition, the recorded tapes and transcripts of a particular participant will be made available to that participant on request at the end of the research study or if not required the materials will be destroyed. A **Request Form** is enclosed.

Also, the researcher is willing to refer any participant in the study to the appropriate professional assistance that he may be aware of in relation to matters arising in the course of the interviews.

Participants willing to take part in this study need to fill out the **Consent Form** and return in (stamped-addressed envelope provided) to the researcher. The form and envelope are enclosed.

Any queries, concerns or requests for more information concerning this study should be freely directed to the researcher or his supervisors

Please Note:

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, PN Protocol..... If you have any concerns about the conduct of this project, please contact Professor Sylvia V Rumball. Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: Palmerston North. Telephone: 06 3505249. E-mail: S.V.Rumball@massey.ac.nz

APPENDIX 8

Telephone: ++64 6 3505799 ext 2783
Fax: ++64 6 3505661
E-mail: R.L.Khan@massey.ac.nz

A study of Fiji Indian Migrants in New Zealand: Their Migration and Settlement Management and Experiences.

INDIVIDUAL CONSENT FORM

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF FIVE (5) YEARS

I have read the information sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions 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 decline to answer any particular question or to withdraw from the study at any time.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used without my permission. (The information will be used only for this research and publications arising from this research project.)

I agree/do not agree to the interviews 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 this study under the conditions set out in the information sheet.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Full Name (print): _____

APPENDIX 9

Telephone: ++64 6 3505799 ext 2783

Fax: ++64 6 3505661

E-mail: R.L.Khan@massey.ac.nz

A study of Fiji Indian Migrants in New Zealand: Their Migration and Settlement Management and Experiences

REQUEST FORM

I have read the information sheet and the explanation of the study.

I would welcome a summary copy of the research once it is completed and would appreciate a copy sent to me at the following address:

Cross out whichever does not apply.

Either:

Electronically e-mail address: _____

Or

Hardcopy

Name: _____ Phone No.: _____

Address: _____

Signed: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX 10

A study of Fiji Indian Migrants in New Zealand: Their Migration and Settlement Management and Experiences.

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

I _____ agree to keep confidential all information concerning the project: A study of Fiji Indian Migrants in New Zealand : Their Migration and Settlement Management and Experiences.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Full Name printed:

APPENDIX 11



Massey University

FILE

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT
TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR
ETHICS & EQUITY
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand
T 64 6 350 5373
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humanethics@massey.ac.nz
www.massey.ac.nz

14 April 2004

Robert Khan
Department of Management
College of Business
PN214

Dear Robert

Re: **Eiji Indian Migrants in New Zealand**

Thank you for the Low Risk Notification that was received on 2 April 2004.

You may proceed with your research without approval from a Campus Human Ethics Committee. You are reminded that this delegated authority for approval is based on trust that the Screening Questionnaire to Determine the Approval Procedure has been accurately filled out. The delegated authority is valid for three years. Please notify me if situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your initial ethical analysis.

Please ensure that the following statement is used on all public documents, and in particular on Information Sheets:

"This project has been reviewed, judged to be low risk, and approved (*note to applicant: include the process below that is most appropriate to practice within your Department, School or Institute*)
by the researcher
by the researcher and supervisor
by peer review (*if you followed that process*)
by other appropriate process (*outline the process appropriately*)
under delegated authority from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Ethics & Equity), telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz".

Please note that if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority, or a journal in which you wish to publish requires evidence of Committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to provide a full application to a Campus Human Ethics Committee.

Yours sincerely

Professor Sylvia V Rumball, Chair
Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Ethics & Equity)

cc Dr Romuald Rudzki
Department of Management, College of Business
PN214

Massey University Human Ethics Committee
Accredited by the Health Research Council

APPENDIX 12

Informational needs for induction course (Part I) for immigrants

No.	Needs
1	Customs, Immigration and Quarantine requirements
2	Brief History of New Zealand
3	Brief Geography of New Zealand
4	People and culture of New Zealand
5	Climate and Clothing to Wear
6	Kiwi Food and Drinks
7	Languages
8	Cost of Living
9	Housing and Rental
10	Transportation
11	Medical Services
12	Tackling culture shock

Informational needs for induction course (Part II) for immigrants

No.	Needs
1	Driving in New Zealand – Road Code
2	Employment Agencies and Contacts. How to write your CV
3	Purchasing a House
4	Banking and Finance
5	Purchasing assets (eg. House, car)
6	Guide to Employment and Employment rules
7	Getting your child to School
8	New Zealand words and phrases
9	Health System