asian communities

Report 2005

ENGAGING ASIAN COMMUNITIES IN NEW ZEALAND

A report prepared for the Asia New Zealand Foundation by

Terry McGrath, Andrew Butcher,
John Pickering and Hilary Smith

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

TERRY MCGRATH is National Co-ordinator of the International Student Ministries Inc and International Student Chaplain at Massey University. He has been involved in the pastoral care of international students for over 20 years. Qualified in Science, History, Development Studies and Teaching, he is the co-author of *Nga Tangata: Partnerships in the Pastoral Care of International Students* (Asia Pacific Migration Network, 2002) and more recently *Campus Community Linkages in Pastoral Care of International Students* (2004). Terry is also the recipient of a Massey Blue Award for services to international students, Vice-President of ISANA New Zealand, and secretary to ANZTCA (Tertiary Chaplains' Association).

DR JOHN PICKERING is a Director of ie Limited. John has been a member of the Code of Practice Guidelines Advisory Committee and chaired the levy-funded Tertiary Professional Development Advisory Committee. He is the immediate past President of ISANA New Zealand. John spent seven years managing international student support in a university. He is a trained scientist with qualitative and quantitative research experience and about 80 publications and conference presentations. He spent seven years living in continental Europe and is a Polish permanent resident.

DR HILARY SMITH has over 20 years of experience in language education. Overseas she has taught in Tonga, Papua New Guinea and the Lao PDR. In New Zealand her background is mainly in the tertiary education sector including Victoria University and International Pacific College. She chairs the national council of VSA (Te Tūao Tāwāhi Volunteer Service Abroad). Her Masters research with the Lao refugee community in Wellington involved policy around language provision for refugee communities, and her PhD was on language policy for migrant and international students in schools and teacher training. She has published in the areas of language and education policy.

DR ANDREW BUTCHER holds degrees in History, Criminology and Sociology from both Victoria and Massey Universities. His PhD was on the re-entry experiences of East Asian international tertiary students to their countries of origin. He has also researched participants' experiences of discrimination, and international students' pastoral care provisions by community groups. He has a number of publications on international students and participants' experiences. He has also been invited to present his research at the University of Oxford and a number of New Zealand international education and migration conferences.

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The trials and tribulations of Asians settling into and being discriminated against in New Zealand are well documented. This report does not seek to revisit this well trodden path.

INTRODUCTION

NEW ZEALAND'S ASIAN communities are nothing new. From the goldfields of Central Otago in the 1800s to the international students on Auckland's Queen Street in the third millennium, they are a marked element in New Zealand's history and a firm feature on New Zealand's social landscape.

This research on successfully engaging Asian communities in New Zealand, commissioned by the Asia New Zealand Foundation (Asia:NZ), looks at ways that engagement happens (or doesn't, as the case may be) between various Asian communities and various other communities in New Zealand.

The trials and tribulations of Asians settling into and being discriminated against in New Zealand are well documented. This report does not seek to revisit this well trodden path; rather, it seeks to take the further steps: moving from unsettled encounters to successful engagement. Amongst these further steps are identifying what works in assisting engagement and the factors that need to be taken into account when designing programmes.

Additionally, focus is drawn towards the roles of central and local government and their agencies in providing strategic guidance, co-ordination and cohesion amongst the diverse groups seeking to provide programmes and to assist engagement.

Following this general introduction, which covers methodology, limitations of the research and a broad overview of the policies affecting Asian migration to New Zealand, the report is divided into three sections. Section One examines New Zealand and international models of engaging Asian communities. Aimed specifically at those agencies with a role in relation to New Zealand's Asian communities, the information from this section is intended to inform practice.

Section Two focuses on the issue of engagement from a 'social cohesion' framework, using the words of the actual participants in the research. Contributing to the broader discussion surrounding the engagement of different communities, this section examines the specific elements of belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition and legitimacy.

Finally, Section Three provides a series of recommendations to contribute towards greater engagement. These recommendations flow from the findings of Sections One and Two.

METHODOLOGY

Individuals' testimonies are an important and vital part of understanding migration, and drawing on migrants' stories, in a variety of forms, is becoming a key methodology in migration studies. For this reason, the research sought the stories of migrants, and those that work with them, in the following places: Auckland, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Wellington and Christchurch.[1]

We drew information from focus groups and interviews, using facilitators and interviewers who were part of the ethnic communities they were leading to avoid cultural misunderstandings. In some cases, interviews and focus groups were conducted in the first language of the group and then translated into English. The focus group leaders drew the sample from their own contacts and from those within the ethnic communities.

Overall there were 17 general focus groups: five Chinese, three mixed (Singapore, Taiwan, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand-born Chinese, Sri Lanka, China), and one each of Korean, Japanese, Filipino, Indonesian, Indian, Lao, Sri Lankan, Malaysian and New Zealand-born non-Asians. In total there were 94 participants, 45 male and 49 female.

In addition, 10 general interviews took place with individuals along the same lines as the focus groups in relation to questions, partly to fill out any gaps and partly to check that focus group handling did not modify views. These included adding representatives of communities not represented in the focus groups including Thai, Nepalese and Cambodian. There were also 26 specific and 10 general interviews, all reported and used in the analysis.

These general focus groups, along with general interviews, differed from specific interviews held with key practitioners, advisers and other researchers, who could offer a specialised view on this research. These specialised participants were drawn from the contacts of the researchers, suggestions provided by Asia:NZ and suggestions provided by interviewees.

While this research primarily focuses on the experiences of migrants in Asian communities, it also considers the experiences of refugees. These experiences are unique. Migrants should be understood as agents in their own right, albeit with constrained options not of their own making. Refugees, on the other hand, have their option to leave or to stay in the host country denied by coercion. Indeed, many refugees have little choice as to their country of destination in the first instance.

1 Please note that detail around the wider context of settlement is available from the literature review (available at *www.asianz.org.nz/research/research-asianz.php*) associated with this report. In addition, a detailed methodology is available on request from Asia:NZ.

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The research involves 'engagers'; that is, those who are involved in their own community and across other communities; it also involves those who took the time to participate. There were others not involved for a variety of reasons. Some of these people perhaps do not engage much at all with the communities around them. However, in drawing upon people who are consciously active in cross-cultural engagement, this research has their depth of thought and breadth of experience.

It could be argued that the participants in the research are also well educated. That may be reflected in their twin ability to give time and to articulate their experiences. However, the threshold for entry to New Zealand for most participants includes an educational element, particularly for skilled migrants, for whom educational qualifications are an essential requirement of entry, typically at tertiary level. Therefore, our sample is naturally biased toward educated participants.

Nor does the research consider the elderly or the young. The vast majority of research participants are aged between 30 and 50 years old. It is likely that the elderly and the young have particular and unique engagement and settlement experiences which will require further, perhaps specialised, research. We are able to infer the experiences of children, and to a lesser extent the elderly, through the views of research participants. However, there are significant differences at times between the experiences and settlement of children and their parents.

While our focus groups were largely with recent migrants,[2] where issues of engagement and settlement are arguably more common, we also interviewed several long-standing, well adjusted Asian migrants. These interviews provided another perspective on material gathered from the focus groups.

We had originally planned to use migrant resource centre contacts in Auckland. However, these contacts told us they had "focus group fatigue", they were "sick and tired of research" and "focus-grouped to death". Each piece of research undertaken on migrants was drawing on the same group of people. In response, we broadened our search for research participants and in this way benefited from fresh perspectives on a well researched area.

It was also beyond the nature and scope of the research to fully, fairly and specifically evaluate, background and commend the efforts in engaging Asian communities made by local councils, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community groups. The focus has been to identify what works well to assist engagement and to better inform such efforts. Key principles and policies were identified across a range of programmes. Most programmes were either specialised for a particular need or had both successful and unsuccessful elements.

There was a variety of excellent programmes in different areas that used successful policies and practices. A full evaluative survey of the many and varied efforts in this area could be an area for further research.

[2] Although one member of a focus group was a New Zealand-born Asian.

Since 1996, immigration in New Zealand has become politicised.

OVERVIEW: IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

This section provides a broad overview of the policies affecting Asian migration to New Zealand. Asian peoples first arrived in New Zealand shortly after the first wave of European colonists, in the 1860s, to dig gold. In 1881, they were only just over 1 percent of the population and were both temporary and male.[3] While these were largely Chinese immigrants, Indian immigrants arrived at the turn of the century.

Twenty years after the arrival of the first Asian immigrants to New Zealand, the New Zealand government enacted the first of a series of restrictive immigration laws. Overall, the discriminatory Parliamentary Acts from 1881 to 1920 saw a decline in the Chinese population to its lowest level of 2,147 in 1916.[4] Ultimately, Chinese were not granted citizenship until 1951.[5] New Zealand was the last of the immigrant-receiving countries to abolish racially biased immigration policies and legislation. These policies are the forerunners to the attitudes toward and experience of Asian migrants to New Zealand today.

Since 1986 the Asian peoples migrating to New Zealand have been the first wave of migration dominated by people non-kin to the domestic population, since the arrival of Pakeha in the 1850s and Pacific peoples in the 1950s. Between 1991 and 1995, the net migration rate of Asian peoples to New Zealand virtually doubled, predominantly from East Asia and, by 1995, Asian peoples accounted for 60 percent of those approved for residence.[6]

Since 1996, immigration in New Zealand has become politicised. In 1993 an article called 'Inv-Asian' was published, which marked the first stage of a moral panic about Asian immigration.[7] This panic subsequently led to the politicisation of immigration in the 1996 General Election and again in the 2002 General Election, thereby consolidating anti-immigrant/immigration politics as a factor, and sometimes feature, in New Zealand politics. In turn, immigration was associated with Asians, who were thus perceived to be a problem. Differences amongst Asian communities were masked and immigration policy received significant coverage in the media.

In response, a number of changes were made to immigration policy, particularly around the English language requirements for entry to New Zealand. Changes to the Immigration Act from 1 July 2003 included focusing on skilled immigrants and a greater concern with settlement outcomes. Migrants now need to demonstrate their ability to settle here, and those with a skilled, relevant job offer will be fast tracked for residence approval. Under these changes, prospective migrants can register expressions of interest, but only those who are invited to apply for residence (having fulfilled the relevant criteria) will be able to lodge a formal application.

3 R.A. Palat (1996), 'Curries, Chopsticks and Kiwis: Asian Migration to Aotearoa/New Zealand' in Paul Spoonley, David Pearson and Cluny Macpherson (eds.), *Nga Patai: Racism and Ethnic Relations in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, Dunmore Press: Palmerston North, pp.35-44.

4 Manying Ip (1996), *Dragons on the Long White Cloud: The Making of Chinese New Zealanders,* Tandem Press: North Shore.

5 Paul Spoonley (1997), *'Migration and the Reconstruction of Citizenship in Late Twentieth Century Aotearoa'* in Stephen Castles and Paul Spoonley, *Migration and Citizenship*, Asia Pacific Migration Research Network: Albany.

6 Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley (1999), *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand*, Oxford University Press: Auckland.

7 For more extensive discussion on the Inv-Asian articles (by Pat Booth and Yvonne Martin) published in Auckland community newspapers in 1993, see Paul Spoonley and Andrew Trlin (2004), *Immigration, Immigrants and the Media: Making Sense of Multicultural New Zealand,* occasional paper No.9, New Settlers programme, Palmerston North: Massey University.

Changes in immigration policy have affected the inflow of permanent long-term arrivals from Asia.

8 New Zealand Immigration Service (2003), *Migrants in New Zealand: An Analysis of 2001 Census Data*, Immigration Research Programme, New Zealand Immigration Service, Department of Labour.

9 Statistics New Zealand (April 2005), 'External Migration', *www.stats.govt.nz/products-and-services/info-releases/external-migration-info-releases.htm* (accessed 19 July 2005).

10 Derived from the '2001 Census of Population and Dwellings', *www.stats.govt.nz/census/default.htm* (accessed 19 July 2005). Also see 2001 Census Snapshot 15 (Asian People) – Media Release (2002), *www2.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/pasfull/pasfull.nsf/web/Media+Release+2001+Census+Snapshot+15+Asian+People* (accessed 19 July 2005).

11 Statistics New Zealand (2003), 'Demographic Trends 2003' *www.stats.govt.nz/NR/rdonlyres/E405D05A-7CB8-47AF-9B96-8D63D489FEF2/0/DemTrends2003Table5.xls* (accessed 19 July 2005).

12 Statistics New Zealand (2005), 'External Migration', *www2.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/pasfull/pasfull.nsf/4c2567ef00247c6acc2570060081a40a/$FILE/alltabls.xls* (accessed 19 July 2005).

Table 1: Asian proportion of the population of New Zealand cities, 2001 Census [10]

City	Asian proportion of population of city (%)
North Shore	12
Waitakere	9.8
Auckland	17.3
Manukau	13.6
Hamilton	6.6
Napier	2.3
Palmerston North	5.7
Porirua	3.4
Upper Hutt	3.2
Lower Hutt	6.4
Wellington	10.1
Nelson	2.0
Christchurch	5.4
Dunedin	3.8

DEMOGRAPHY OF THE ASIAN POPULATION IN NEW ZEALAND TODAY

Migrants from over 140 countries gain New Zealand residence every year. Currently, and in recent years, the most dominant source countries for application and approvals are Great Britain, the People's Republic of China and India. Other significant source countries include South Africa, Samoa and Fiji.[8]

Changes in immigration policy have affected the inflow of permanent long-term arrivals from Asia, which, according to Statistics New Zealand, is down 28.2 percent for the year ending April 2005, compared with the previous year.[9] Interestingly, there was also an 18 percent increase in permanent and long-term departures of Asian peoples from New Zealand.

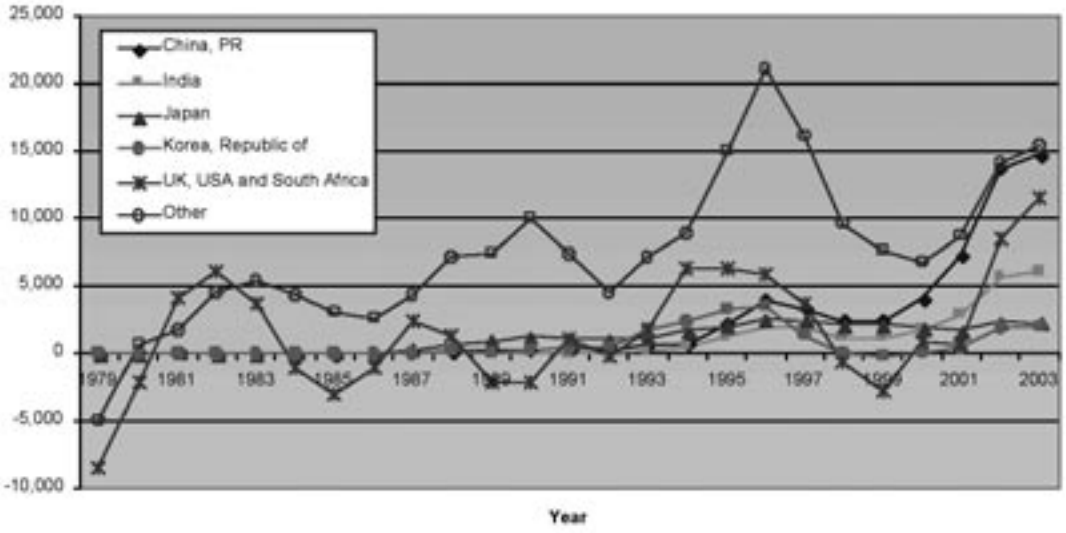
By way of context for the Asian populations in New Zealand, the Asian proportion of the population of New Zealand cities, drawn from the 2001 Census, is shown in Table 1 (left).

Figure 2 (overleaf) shows net permanent and long- term migration 1979-2003. Note the fluctuations in immigration from 'other', the sharp rise in immigration from China from the late 1990s, as well as the lesser increases from India and the Republic of Korea.[11] However, between 2003 and 2005, there has been a drop of long-term and permanent arrivals from Asia, from 2,817 to 1,555. In the same period, all other regions except 'other' show increases in migration.[12]

The Asian share of the total population will increase to 13 percent in 2021 from 7 percent in 2001.

[13] Statistics New Zealand (2003), 'National Asian Population Projections 2001 (base) – 2021', *www2.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/pasfull/pasfull.nsf/7cf46ae26dcb6800cc256a62000a2248/c2567ef00247c6acc256d430000c39c?OpenDocument* (accessed 19 July 2005).

Figure 2: Net permanent and long-term migration 1979-2003 (permanent arrivals – permanent departures)



According to Statistics New Zealand, the Asian population is projected to reach 604,000 by the year 2021, more than double the estimated resident population of 272,000 at 30 June 2001. The Asian share of the total population will increase to 13 percent in 2021 from 7 percent in 2001. Half of New Zealand's Asian population will be older than 36 years by 2021, compared with a median age of 29 years in 2001, while the Asian population aged 65 years and over will number 55,000 in 2021, compared with 11,000 in 2001.[13]

The next section of the report turns to examine New Zealand and international models of engaging Asian communities.

The integration and engagement of migrant communities are concerns of other countries as well.

SECTION ONE

THE *SERIOUSLY ASIA* report[14] provided a number of useful perspectives on engagement including: the importance of relationships, the importance of ensuring migrants are able to use their skills and that engagement is a two-way process requiring understanding by all New Zealanders. This research supports those perspectives.

To examine what constitutes a successful engagement of Asian communities, we first consider international experiences. Drawing from other countries, some of which are farther along the track of engaging migrant populations, allows us to borrow themes and principles for application in New Zealand. This is followed by considering successful engagement in New Zealand, where we identify what programmes must have to be considered both effective and successful.

EXAMPLES OF ENGAGING ASIAN COMMUNITIES

International examples

The integration and engagement of migrant communities are concerns of other countries as well. Here, we draw on successful experiences in Australia and the United Kingdom (UK), recognising that while New Zealand may not be able to adopt these programmes wholesale, there are general themes that can be transferred.

AUSTRALIA

Fairfield City Council

Between 1975 and 1995, the western Sydney suburb of Cabramatta underwent a major transformation, most notably the adoption of an 'Oriental' theme in the landscape. It initially started with signage above shops, prompted by the influx of Indochinese peoples into the area. Local organisations within Cabramatta were keen to develop this Asian theme in the landscape. Some organisations were formed for this purpose.

For example, the Cabramatta Pailau Beautification Association was established in 1986-7 by the New South Wales (NSW) Indo-China Chinese Association and consisted of about five different community groups. It was established after the Fairfield City Council approached the NSW Indo-China Chinese Association for ideas and themes for a plaza about to be established in Cabramatta's commercial and retail centre.

The Pailau Association was interested in developing the landscape as a form of expression of the culture and refugee history of many of the residents of the area, rather than just the tourism and development interest of the Council. This led to the building of culturally significant statues, landscaping and monuments, and a joint involvement in the annual Chinese New Year festivals. The city is promoted as the place "where East meets West" and web-listings advertise it as "A Day Trip to Asia".[15]

While the development of Fairfield City in this way was not without controversy or difficulty (at times, and because of different agendas, the various organisations involved did not work well together), it nevertheless serves as a good example of what can potentially happen in collaborative work between local government and ethnic councils.[16]

[14] Asia New Zealand Foundation (2003), 'Seriously Asia Forum Final Report', *www.asianz.org.nz/research/sa-outcomes.php* (accessed 19 July 2005).

[15] For further information see *www.fairfieldcity.nsw.gov.au*, which boasts it is "known as one of the most diverse cities in Australia".

[16] See page 18 of this report for further discussions around consultation and collaboration in delivering services and programmes.

Asian taxi-drivers who are qualified brain surgeons are something of a New Zealand cultural cliché. This perception suggests a level of latent talent amongst Asian participants.

The Queensland state government

In partnership, 16 councils and the Local Government Association of Queensland have developed programmes to strengthen capacity in multicultural communities; improving community relations, working towards equal access to services through structural change and moving towards 'deep' multiculturalism.

The strategy of these programmes delivered at a local government level is to assist migrants to engage more in the local expression of the Queensland community and to bring about structural change within the community to facilitate that.

Part of the delivery of the programmes is to go below the surface and produce an in-depth expression of a multicultural community. Intercultural competencies amongst people involved in service delivery and local government are addressed and show promising results in regard to the attitudes, understanding and involvements in a multicultural community.[17]

LATENT TALENTS – A UK RESPONSE

Asian taxi-drivers who are qualified brain surgeons are something of a New Zealand cultural cliché. This perception suggests a level of latent talent amongst Asian participants. As one of our interviewees commented:

> *Mainstream [New Zealand] doesn't see what opportunities there are to use the Asian community in linkages, trade, etc.*

Under-employed Asian peoples is a finding in previous research, although it was not such a strong finding in our research. However, participants noted that they spent much of their initial time in New Zealand seeking employment, many to the extent that they did not have time for any language learning. We also noted that programmes and organisations, such as Kiwi Ora, hold up to 20,000 resumés of Asian participants on file, largely not accessed (it would seem) by employment consultancy firms.

In this area, a programme in London provides an excellent example of responding to the challenge of engaging Asian communities and the latent talent therein. Professor Ram Gidoomal was involved, along with others, in setting up a business to meet a niche need observed within the UK relating to engagement. This business offers training packages and consultancy to business, government departments, local government and community groups that wish to work amongst or with South Asians resident either in the UK or in South Asia.

It is significant as it assists businesses and government to utilise the resource of talent within the UK's South Asian community. The training packages are varied and can be tailored to suit client requirements, but contain a core of awareness, building bridges, communicating across cultures and development of capacity within an organisation and its people for engagement with South Asians.[18]

Other themes are apparent in other overseas programmes, including those of the UK, European Union (EU) and Canada that directly meet and determine needs from within the communities themselves. One key repeated theme, defined well in an EU report, was that of focusing language training programmes more particularly to assist engagement, especially providing social and workplace language programmes as distinct from academic programmes. This enhances the communication and connection between mainstream and migrant cultures.[19]

17 Information on this work and what is being learned is available at: *www.lgaq.asn.au/lgaq/general/development/EconomicDevelopment/MigrantSettlement/MigrantSettlementHome.html* (accessed 19 July 2005).

18 For further information visit *www.southasian.org.uk* (accessed 19 July 2005).

19 The Ministerial Integration Conference (2004), *Turning Principles into Actions*, Groningen, available at *www.compas.ox.ac.uk/publications/Integration%20report%20summary.shtml* (accessed 19 July 2005).

Equally successful and visible programmes in New Zealand are rarer.

[20] For further information download 'D4: Supporting the Community' from *www.educationnz.org.nz/levy/2003-2004/reports-pdcross-sector.html* (accessed 19 July 2005).

THE NEW ZEALAND EXPERIENCE

Partnership and specialist approaches to meet needs tended to be apparent in most programmes touted as successful overseas. Equally successful and visible programmes in New Zealand are rarer. Focus group participants in this research spoke positively about the Kiwi Ora programme, believing it met their needs and was comprehensive. Its own records show a high completion rate. Some of the specific interviewees, however, spoke more cautiously about Kiwi Ora. This illustrates well the different perceptions and experiences of the 'purchasers' of programmes and practitioners and others, who at one level are more removed from directly engaging with the programmes, but at another level are arguably more objective as to the effectiveness of programmes and policy.

While New Zealand programmes may be rarer, they are emerging. In 2004 the Export Education Levy funded a programme, '4Winds: Connecting with International Students in New Zealand', which develops training material to support agencies and businesses in better understanding and communicating with international students.[20] There are also programmes run by city councils as well as a multitude of local, community and religious groups that assist participants.

Through this research there were particular characteristics of programmes that were noted rather than one programme above any others. A number of diverse programmes were mentioned in which participants had been involved or had heard about. This does not mean that the programmes they did not mention are any less or more worthy than those they did mention. We identify some of the programmes participants mentioned below.

District Health Boards

The *'I-Care' health information line* is one of a variety of services through which Waitemata District Health Board seeks to meet Asian health needs. I-Care is currently in three languages (serving 70 percent of the Asian community). It:

- Provides information on where to go for health-care (e.g. where to find a local doctor, Asian counselling service, support workers, mental health consultancies);
- Provides support for crisis situations and helps people make contact with the crisis team at a hospital, police etc (a three-way line is used);
- Provides information on health initiatives such as influenza vaccinations, as part of a community awareness campaign; and
- Is located in the hospital so that volunteers who are assisting the I-Care health line call centre can be despatched to any ward or emergency. If necessary, they act as a 'bridge' until an official interpreter can arrive or they may just help the patient in choosing a meal.

This programme targets a specific need identified, amongst others, as part of a community-wide consultation that included the migrant communities, the medical staff and the front-line reception staff of the hospital. It has been designed to fit in with other services including the specially trained medical interpreters.

Migrant resource centres

Migrant resource centres have employment programmes, assisted by Department of Labour funding. For example, the *Mt Roskill Migrant Resource Centre* is impressive in the targeting of specific issues and addressing needs by using appropriate people to provide interface meetings, training seminars and help with CVs etc.

Migrant resource centres can also be a 'one-stop shop' for migrants. For example, the *Hamilton Multicultural Services Trust (HMST)* has been identified by local government departments as the key agent for monitoring and supporting developments with local migrants, and is housed in Council-owned buildings. The Trust currently umbrellas several services:

- The Waikato Migrant Resource Centre, which is financially supported by Trust Waikato and other funders. It houses the ESOL (English for Speakers of other Languages) Home Tutor Scheme, Refugee and Migrant Service, the Interpreting Service, Work and Income's local migrant placement programme and a local high school migrant employment programme;
- The Interpreting Service which is a local response to local needs. The trust advises on languages of need for the 27 week course. The current course has 12 students, with five languages. Refugee languages are targeted, as they are in greatest demand by agencies; and
- A bicultural health worker, in contract with the local Primary Health Organisation.

Ethnic councils

Ethnic councils are used as consultation and advisory points, especially for local government, NGOs and community group initiatives. Ethnic councils can bring culturally sensitive perspectives into programme and policy development.

The Manawatu Ethnic Council established and manages the Palmerston North migrant resource centre, now called the *Ethnic Centre*, which has an Employment Facilitation Programme. It is funded by the New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS), with a part-time co-ordinator supported by Ethnic Centre staff.

The employment programme is not only for Asian peoples but is heavily used by them because they face high barriers. It brings employers, the police, army, and manufacturing companies together for workshops with a strong education component about how they might benefit from diversity in the workplace and how to deal with challenges. The migrants have regular one-to-one contact, with a focus on self-help, and are helped to find employment by direct matching with employers. Approximately 30 to 40 people have been placed in employment annually in the four years that the programme has been going.

Local government

The *Palmerston North City Council* has worked steadily on a variety of ways to enhance engagement of its migrant community in the wider city.

It has supported and encouraged the Ethnic Council of Manawatu, with which it consults and partners in a variety of programmes. Two initiatives funded by Council grants are outstanding.

The *Festival of Cultures* was started around 10 years ago and has grown to a celebration of arts and culture for the city. It is a partnership of the Council, Ethnic Council and arts community and is funded by the city and its business community. It aims to bring all cultures together and is inclusive of recent migrants, cultures of early settlers and tangata whenua. Held in March in

Work placement programmes that enable migrants to gain New Zealand work experience and enable employers to meet and see migrants working are particularly valuable.

the square in the centre of the city, the Festival contributes greatly to interaction amongst the citizens of Palmerston North and endorsement of the multicultural city.

Mayoral Database – early in 2005 a database of nationalities living in the city was created. This was to allow for easy access to the many cultures within the city and to enable an ease in tapping into the skills and abilities the diverse variety of people bring to the city. Currently 80 nationalities are represented within the Database and a further 28 countries have been identified for inclusion.

Another local government initiative is Kiwi Life, a *Manukau City Council*-funded programme offering six workshops over a week and recurring on a monthly cycle covering such things as driving education, resumé preparation, buying a house, health, investing and banking.

The programme is free and focused on assisting new settlers in Manukau City to begin to engage in the community. It is highly regarded and feedback from amongst Asian new settlers indicates its popularity and usefulness. As a short, discreet programme it provides a lot for the limited resource required to put it on.

Work placement programmes that enable migrants to gain New Zealand work experience and enable employers to meet and see migrants working are particularly valuable. One example was initiated by the *Hamilton City Council* and is operating through Fraser High School in Hamilton. The programme consists of two 10-week terms. The first comprises 12 unit standards that teach about employment practices and skills such as CV writing. The second term consists of work placements. A Work and Income officer liaises with employers to find work places.

Religious organisations

Community gathering points have a useful purpose. For example, the importance of the temple to the Lao frames a sense of belonging within New Zealand, like the marae offers a sense of place for Maori.

The *Sathya Sai Service Organisation of New Zealand* is a national, multicultural, multi-religious organisation, based on the teachings of Sai Baba, an Indian spiritual leader. Its activities include devotional singing, study/discussion groups, seminars and retreats. Members are expected to take part in community service outside the organisation, and in Wellington, for example, it provides a free medical clinic, sandwiches to schools, meals-on-wheels, visits to the local rest home, values classes for teens/youth and free Saturday computer classes at the community house. As a linked incorporated society, the Institute of Sathya Sai Education provides materials for parents, teachers and students, including the Sathya Sai Educare material for teachers, and the Sathya Sai Whangai Programme (nurturing and supporting schools in values education.) The Institute operates a pre-school in Rongomai, Otara.

New Zealand Family Keepers is a not-for-profit Chinese Christian charitable organisation that provides family education and services through counselling, seminars, retreats, publications and mass media. The organisation offers a telephone counselling service called Keepers Support Line 09 5260077, dedicated to assisting Chinese people with cultural adaptation, relationships, family issues and Christian faith. A radio programme broadcast on AM 990 on Thursday evenings 6.15-7pm on family education aims at enhancing family relationships.

Community initiatives

Examples of community initiatives include the *Chinese New Settlers Trust* and the *Chinese Conservation Education Trust*, both of which deliver services in culturally sensitive ways, but also enter mainstream New Zealand through their services and programmes.

The Chinese Conservation Education Trust is an engagement initiative coming from within a sector of the Chinese community. It seeks to identify with and enter a mainstream area of major interest to a sector of the wider community. The Trust seeks to educate the Chinese community on conservation issues, to engage the community with the conservation movement in New Zealand and to have the Chinese community engage in conservation projects.

CARE Waitakere Trust is a community service providing counselling, budgeting and midwifery services, family and relationship programmes and community support in West Auckland. The Trust has worked hard to ensure its services are culturally sensitive and relate well to the wider community it serves, which includes many peoples of Asian origins. Consultation with the local ethnic community has assisted CARE Waitakere to be more engaged with all sectors of the community.

The *Waioho New Settlers Manu Whenua* programme involves a marae visit with teaching on the Treaty, local iwi history, Maori protocol and some te reo. It is an example of a programme that helps new settlers, and Asian new settlers in particular, to come to know more about New Zealand and the Treaty, and creates a greater confidence for engagement with Maori and respect for the role of Maori and for the land in which we live.

KFM 106.9 fm provides radio programmes with relevance to youth that engage Asian youth and help them to give voice to the issues encountered by and amongst Asian youth living in Auckland. A partnership with Youthline helped in initiating programmes.

Libraries

Libraries were frequently mentioned as places from which knowledge and information are obtainable and used greatly by new migrants. For example, the Palmerston North City Council library is a collaborative venture between ethnic councils and the city council, and provides programmes relevant to the community.

There are some key elements to ensuring success. These elements are drawn from the participants' own experiences and perceptions.

SUCCESSFUL ENGAGEMENT AND PROGRAMMES

'Successful engagement' means different things to different people. For migrants, it may mean making new friends or accessing new services; it could also mean getting a relevant and appropriate job, or feeling well settled. All of these are valid responses as there is no one overall solution or package when it comes to the successful engagement of Asian communities. These communities are varied and their needs may be different from the needs of the individuals in these communities. However, there are some key elements to ensuring success. These elements are drawn from the participants' own experiences and perceptions.

Starting engagement

For engagement to be truly successful it needs to begin and be well advanced within the first 12 months of arrival. The danger is that by 12 months those migrants and refugees who have not managed to gain employment, or have gained only a partial command of the English language, or have not made friends with those from the broader New Zealand community, will have entered into patterns of interaction that diminish engagement.

They may only be communicating with members of their own community, here or abroad; they may be depressed; they may be avoiding institutions (e.g. a doctor) that they have not understood; they may have become resigned to not gaining employment appropriate to their qualifications and experience; and they may have stopped developing their English language because outside the classroom they have only superficial conversations in English. All these attitudes and patterns of interaction make successful engagement all the more difficult.

Engagement with the broader New Zealand community must begin even before a migrant arrives. Ideally this involves connecting with a New Zealand citizen who can mentor them through the process of leaving home and entering New Zealand. Some migrants are able to do this through friends or family members already settled in New Zealand, and refugees are able to link up with a sponsor. However, many migrants are entering the unknown, having only had contact with NZIS officers.

Expectations

In addition, some of the barriers that migrants meet – such as employment – are partly the result of unrealistic expectations. It is important that in advertising to potential participants and in the information supplied (e.g. through the NZIS website) the barriers to successful engagement are honestly acknowledged and support is given on how to overcome these.

Communication

This support includes the provision of information in the language of the migrant as to the various services that are available and why they may need to access them. The latter is important as structures for getting assistance vary greatly across the world. It may not be immediately obvious to the migrant that, for example, NZIS does not assist in settlement or that Family Planning is not so much about families as sexual health.

Longer term, participants feel that to belong and participate in the country they need to have learnt about the 'New Zealand way'.

The first 24 hours

The first 24 hours in a new country are of vital importance to a new migrant or long-term visitor. Of major importance is how friendly and helpful people are. The people they are likely to encounter in that first day are an NZIS officer, Customs Service and Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry officials, a taxi-driver, a motel owner, a supermarket checkout operator and perhaps a real-estate agent.

For the migrant to engage successfully at this stage, the New Zealanders they encounter must be able, through training, and willing to enter into a cross-cultural situation whereby they act as ambassadors for their country and cities. With international students, for example, education providers have acknowledged this by ensuring new students are met on arrival and escorted to their accommodation by people with the skills to interact with them. Similarly, there is a need for a service to welcome new arrivals and ensure that they are settled into accommodation and have taken the first major step in successfully learning to belong in New Zealand.

The depth and amount of information and support a migrant will need when they first arrive vary considerably. However, it appears that many migrants do not access information that they need to know partly because they "do not know that they need to know it", as one interviewee put it. While a comprehensive 'welcome pack' of information for new migrants handed to them on arrival would be useful, it could also be daunting and insufficient.

Orientation

All migrants need to attend an orientation programme shortly after their arrival. This programme should ensure their safety and help them to recognise what further support they will need and where to get it (e.g. in the form of a language course, or employment hunting skills). It should also give them the opportunity to interact with the broader community in a comfortable environment.

The 'New Zealand way'

Longer term, participants feel that to belong and participate in the country they need to have learnt about the 'New Zealand way'. Programmes should be available which provide a comprehensive introduction to New Zealand, including CV writing, the political system and the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi. These must be made easily accessible to all new arrivals. It is important that at the same time as a migrant is trying to learn to 'ride the bike' the New Zealand way, their own culture is affirmed by New Zealanders and is recognised as different, athough not better or worse.

The focus groups and interviews identified a number of key elements of programmes and events that helped participants and refugees to engage sucessfully. Generally, respondents identified particular attributes of programmes rather than specific programmes, recognising that different programmes meet different needs. These elements of successful programmes are detailed in the following pages.

There appears to be 'focus group fatigue' amongst some groups, which is leading to a gradual withdrawal from rather than more engagement.

Programmes must respond to a recognised need

For migrants to want to participate in a programme, they themselves must recognise a need to attend a particular programme. For example, a newly arrived migrant is unlikely to respond to a workshop on 'how to vote' when their immediate need is 'how to earn a living'. Or a local church wishing to do something for migrants may offer 'Kiwi cuisine' cooking lessons because it has the cooks who can run the course and because it perceives it as a need, yet the local migrant community may be more interested in being helped to obtain some of the hard-to-get ingredients for its own cuisine.

It is possible that one of the reasons for the slow uptake of pre-paid English language lessons is because it is expected that migrants will take them up when they first arrive. However, the migrants themselves may perceive different needs.

Programmes must target

This research identified various groups that are not being served by more general programmes, especially those people who need specialised language for particular jobs, those who need work placement in specialised areas and some elderly whose lives are centred on caring for grandchildren. Also, it needs to be recognised that not all programmes are suitable for all 'Asians', given the diverse range of backgrounds.

Programmes must consult [21]

It is very important to ensure that communities key needs are targeted. There appears to be 'focus group fatigue' amongst some groups, which is leading to a gradual withdrawal from rather than more engagement. This can be avoided by making sure results of research – or any other form of work requiring consultation – are fed back to those consulted, and by making sure that those consulted are aware of the practical steps being taken as a result of the initial consultation. In other words, it is important not merely to consult at the beginning of the project, but to continue that consultation throughout.

Consultation should take place not only with community leaders, but also with community members, especially if they are the ones most likely to benefit from a proposed programme. The nature of some communities is that the community leader is in the position because of respect they are given, not necessarily because of their ability or tendency to consult with others in the community, or to feed back information that they may receive to the community.

A way of summarising this is to consider consultation as a whole–community exercise that is co-ordinated (note – not driven) by a particular agency. The migrant community is as much an owner of the consultation as is the local government body or agency that has sought the consultation. Waitemata Health and Manukau City have demonstrated this through establishing multi-ethnic reference groups. Ideally, any such group not only provides input into developing programmes, but also gives permission for them to be developed.

[21] For further discussion and research around partnerships between state/local agencies and communities in the delivery of services, visit *www.arts.auckland.ac.nz/lpg/*. Its 'Simple English' guide to partnerships is particularly useful in identifying key processes in building and maintaining partnerships.

There appears to be a continued need to educate New Zealanders on understanding and working with those of different cultures.

Programmes must deliver in a culturally sensitive manner

While this may seem obvious, there appears to be a continued need to educate New Zealanders on understanding and working with those of different cultures. Simple things such as scheduling events not to clash with religious festivals of target communities, providing appropriate food, ensuring the (often male) head of the house is aware of programmes targeted at other members of the household and avoiding colloquial language ('bring a plate') need to become 'automatic' considerations for all agencies and community groups looking to run programmes, just as taking into account things Maori has become automatic. Where particular communities are being targeted it is probably important to ask for guidance from a member of the community as to what is and is not culturally important.

Programmes must demonstrate legitimacy

The support of a mayor, member of parliament or other local or central government representative adds legitimacy to a programme and demonstrates that those at whom the programme is targeted are considered worthy to become New Zealanders.

At the launch of a programme it is important to have the whole local community involved. Not only does this promote engagement, it also demonstrates to the migrant community that it is a legitimate part of the local community and country.

Programmes must have trusted leadership

The most successful programmes appear to be those that have both an individual co-ordinator and an agency behind that individual that is fully committed to assisting participants. The co-ordinator must be given the time and resources to build the all-important networks in the community even before formal consultations can begin. This is very important, as without trust in the 'face' of any programme the migrant community is unlikely to engage.

There are some communities, particularly migrants from mainland China and refugees from countries with oppressive regimes, which do not automatically trust government or local government agencies. This barrier of mistrust can best, perhaps only, be broken down through personal engagement and the earning of trust by not only those employed to liaise with communities or develop programmes, but also the political figures at local and central government levels.

A socially cohesive society is interactive. Therefore, in the context of migration research, it involves both the host and the migrant populations.

SECTION TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK[22]

An inclusive and cohesive society is one which accommodates new migrants and recognises the contributions that migrants make while reinforcing public confidence amongst migrants and host communities alike that New Zealand is a diverse, tolerant, creative and supportive place in which to live.

The challenges associated with culturally diverse immigration flows and migrants' successful integration into society have been recognised in a number of countries, most notably other settler societies such as Canada, Australia and the United States (USA), but also, more recently, immigrant-receiving nations in the EU.

This section of the report uses as its framework Canadian work on socially cohesive societies.[23] As a settler society with many of the similar issues faced in New Zealand, Canada is a good context from which to borrow ideas. In fact, this framework has recently been developed for New Zealand and has featured in research undertaken for the Ministry of Social Development.[24] The framework's approach is broad enough to encompass the varied experiences and engagements of Asian communities. Moreover, it offers a unique perspective to this kind of research.

'Social cohesion' is a term particular to academic and policy environments, but its applicability and importance here are in its parts, namely belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition and legitimacy. The negative side of these positive attributes includes such things as isolation, exclusion, non-involvement, rejection and non-legitimacy. A socially cohesive society is interactive. Therefore, in the context of migration research, it involves both the host and the migrant populations. A table detailing this framework is provided in Appendix 1.

Conceptually, the five identified outcomes are divided in the framework into two categories:

- Elements of socially cohesive behaviour; and
- Elements that comprise conditions for a socially cohesive society.

[22] We acknowledge the work of Paul Spoonley, Robin Peace, Andrew Butcher and Damien O'Neill, from whom this framework is heavily borrowed.

[23] Jane Jenson (1998), *Mapping Social Cohesion: The State of Canadian Research*, CPRN Study F03, Ottawa.

[24] Robin Peace, Paul Spoonley, Andrew Butcher and Damien O'Neill (2005), *Immigration and Social Cohesion: Developing an Indicator Framework for Measuring the Impact of Settlement Policies in New Zealand*, Centre for Social Research and Evaluation, Ministry of Social Development, Working Paper 01/05; and Paul Spoonley, Robin Peace, Andrew Butcher and Damian O'Neill (2005), 'Social Cohesion: A Policy and Indicator Framework for Assessing Immigrant and Host Outcomes', *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand,* 24, pp.85-110.

While the policy implications of this research are important, retelling the stories and experiences of the participants serves to remind us that, without them, there would be no story at all.

ELEMENTS OF SOCIALLY COHESIVE BEHAVIOUR: BELONGING AND PARTICIPATION

- A sense of **belonging** derives from being part of the wider community, trusting in other people, and having a common respect for the rule of law and for civil and human rights – New Zealand is home to many peoples, and is shaped by the bicultural foundation of the Treaty of Waitangi.
- **Participation** includes involvement in economic and social (cultural, religious, leisure) activities, in the workplace, family and community settings, in groups and organisations, and in political and civic life (such as voting, or standing for election to a school board of trustees).

CONDITIONS FOR A SOCIALLY COHESIVE SOCIETY: INCLUSION, RECOGNITION AND LEGITIMACY

- **Inclusion** involves equity of opportunities and of outcomes, with regard to labour market participation, income, access to education and training, social benefits, health services and housing.
- **Recognition** involves all groups, including the host country, valuing diversity and respecting differences, protection from discrimination and harassment, and a sense of safety.
- **Legitimacy** includes confidence in public institutions that act to protect rights and interests, the mediation of conflicts, and institutional responsiveness.

We can turn now to examining the findings of the research as they relate to the five-point analysis. While filtered through the writing and analysis process, these findings are presented as the participants told them. They have not been embellished or unduly edited. While the policy implications of this research are important, retelling the stories and experiences of the participants serves to remind us that, without them, there would be no story at all.

[25] Spoonley et al, 'Social Cohesion' (2005); Papillon, M. (2002), *Immigration, Diversity and Social Inclusion in Canada's Cities*, Discussion Paper F/27, Family Network, Canadian Policy Research Networks Inc.

BELONGING

The barriers faced by immigrants or new settlers include discrimination, indifference, lack of recognition of foreign credentials and qualifications, racial or ethnic discrimination, prejudices in the work environment, lack of access to affordable housing and lack of suitable language training, all of which "contribute to the social exclusion of more vulnerable newcomers.[25]"

There are different ways in which new settlers come to feel part of a community after arrival. There is the subjective dimension of feeling part of a community or society, which relates to the acceptance of identity and individuality. There is also a functional dimension of incorporation; here, the labour market and other public activities are often central. Migrants' well-being depends on the contribution of both of these aspects of incorporation.

In policy terms, formal recognition of migrant skills and qualifications not only ensures better employment outcomes and work-related integration for migrants, but also increases migrant perception of the legitimacy of the social institutions in the host country. Confidence in institutional arrangements in the host country in turn contributes to greater participation and inclusion.

According to the participants in this research, crucial aspects of whether a migrant perceives that they 'belong' include whether they feel part of a neighbourhood, participate in social activities, have friends and have access to the telephone and the internet.

NEIGHBOURHOOD

Participants generally thought that being able to feel part of a neighbourhood was very important, yet mixing with neighbours was generally rare. Participants offered reasons why this might be: the neighbours were too busy, which meant that when people had spare time they spent it with family; 'New Zealanders' were superficially polite, but did not have deeper conversations with them; their neighbours had no interest in them at all; and there was a culture of 'minding one's own business'.

These findings echo other research. However, participants perceived that there were factors that aided mixing with their neighbours. These factors included having children playing together, having fellow Christians – or co-religious members – as their neighbours and having elderly neighbours, who generally had more time.

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

The vast majority of the participants are involved in religious groups, which is where much of their social activity takes place. However, they are also involved in sports clubs and educational activities (through learning institutions.) Those from smaller communities are more likely to participate in social activities or make friends with those outside their immediate communities. A quote from an interviewee serves to illustrate well the usefulness of social groups in engaging participants:

> *When you open yourself up to wider and variety of communities, then you have more and different opportunities. They have different occupations and can give you different opportunities.*

Friendship outside the community was also considered to be important, however was uncommon.

FRIENDS

'Friendship' was considered to be of high importance. Friendship outside the community was also considered to be important, however was uncommon. However, there was variation in this: Filipinos are more likely to have friendships outside their community than Chinese. Participants gained friends through three means (in approximate order): churches/religious groups; work and learning institutions; and neighbours.

The participants identified barriers to making friends with New Zealanders. The lack of fluent English was a barrier, although this wasn't universal across all Asian participants. There was also a cultural gap, which participants felt they couldn't bridge or cross. This New Zealand 'culture' was variously described as "beer drinking", cliques based on "the old school tie" and the conservative "politeness" of Kiwis. One focus group member expresses it well:

> *Now I don't really mix with my neighbours so often… it's kind of hard for us to reach out.*

TELEPHONE AND INTERNET ACCESS

Telephone and internet access are important for participants because they provide a means not only to communicate amongst themselves, but more significantly to communicate with their families and friends back in their countries of origin. All the participants had telephones and many had cell phones; the vast majority had access to the internet. Internet and telephone were considered affordable, but not cheap.

VOLUNTEER/UNPAID WORK OUTSIDE HOME

A significant number of participants in this research are involved in a wide range of voluntary or unpaid work. Voluntary work not only connects participants to those outside their work (and possibly migrant) communities, it also gives them a sense of purpose. Over half of the participants we spoke to were volunteers for a variety of organisations, including religious programmes, the Red Cross, Citizens Advice Bureau, hospitals, schools, the police, Neighbourhood Watch, World Vision, art galleries, ethnic community associations, community centres and science research.

Participants found that education was a significant and positive way to participate in society.

[26] Note that this research considered participants in education, rather than 'international students' – who, aside from being classified differently at the point of entry, also have different experiences, backgrounds and reasons for coming to New Zealand.

PARTICIPATION

Belonging to a community is related to participating in a community. However, belonging and participation occur on two different levels. For example, you can belong to one community (Malay) and yet participate in another (Indian) because of a marriage partner. Participation implies larger involvement in society. The significant elements of participation include education, voting, employment and housing. Each of these, to varying degrees, has been well canvassed in the literature about migrants' experiences and integration. Here, we identify the most salient points.

EDUCATION

Almost all the participants had participated in some form of education in New Zealand. For many this was ESOL. Several had done free courses, such as computing and dancing. Others used particular programmes to help them, such as Kiwi Ora. One migrant mentioned learning Maori helped understanding. Several participants were taking tertiary training. Almost universally, the purpose of education was to get a job.

Generally the experiences of education were positive. Of course, there were exceptions: some felt that the learning they received wasn't as helpful as they would have liked; others thought the fees were too high (Singaporeans), or too low (Japanese). However, these were exceptions to the rule. Participants found that education was a significant and positive way to participate in society.[26]

VOTING

Of all the areas of participation covered here, voting has seen the least coverage in the literature. This is despite the fact that participants thought that voting is very important. Participants also considered it important that members of their communities get elected to represent their views, although this was not a position universally held. In local body elections, which traditionally have a lower voter turnout than national elections across the country, voting by these participants covered the full spread, from those who never voted to those who always voted. The main reason for not voting was not knowing enough to make a wise choice.

EMPLOYMENT

In contrast to voting, employment of migrants remains a heavily researched area. For participants, finding some employment was not difficult and this was particularly so if it was physical work (e.g. cleaning, fruit-picking). According to the participants, this was because employers know Asians are "hard working".

However, while finding some employment was easy, finding employment appropriate to qualifications was difficult. Participants identified four main barriers to gaining appropriate employment: lack of New Zealand experience (and, relatedly, New Zealand employers' insistence on it); lack of New Zealand qualifications (note the comment earlier about the reasons for education); lack of English, particularly for specialised occupations such as nursing; and age.

However, there were also bridges to employment. References and referrals from people in New Zealand and past employers, professional development in New Zealand and New Zealand qualifications all aided participants' chances of finding appropriate employment.

Only a few participants mentioned discrimination on the basis of their name/ethnicity (flats that were available mysteriously becoming unavailable; signs saying 'No Chinese').

Gaining appropriate employment does more than provide a wage or something to do; for participants, fulfilment was found in jobs relating to their specialisation. Conversely, participants found working in a job which did not, in their opinion, use their full skills and qualifications unsatisfying and unsettling. A quote best illustrates the feelings of participants here:

> *I work because a man must provide for his family, but my job… It is not my choosing but… it is better than no job.*

Participants felt that the New Zealand government had failed them in this regard. Quite a large number of participants said they were self-employed or thinking of it. They wanted more assistance to help those with start-up businesses. Different participants had used different consultancy companies, with varying degrees of satisfaction and success.

Some identified work placement programmes, such as at Fraser High School in Hamilton; others wanted programmes that assisted them in either finding employment or setting up their own employment. Consistently, participants found employers' requirements for 'New Zealand work experience' a hindrance in entering the labour market.

Career advancement may have been slowed, but not stifled or prevented for the majority of participants. Refugees seem the ones least able to advance in their careers, which tend to be low-skilled and unrelated to their original training and background. English-educated participants seem the ones best able to advance, although some also have gone to less-skilled jobs or have had difficulties in career advancement. However, programmes for newly arrived migrants that seek to assist participants to gain jobs seem to help; similarly, qualification and skill-related selection for migration seems to ensure many get appropriate jobs.

There are, however, complexities in entering and progressing in the labour market. Once in the labour market, quick progression may not be forthcoming. This slower progression may be out of choice (wanting to have a slower pace of life), consequence (they enter at the lower end of the labour market but the higher end in terms of positions for Asians), or circumstance (they are older and closer to retirement).

HOUSING

Most participants were satisfied with their housing (some said it was much better than in their home country). This is a contrast to the experiences of many refugees in New Zealand and other research has illustrated a difference between migrant populations.[27] Only a few participants mentioned discrimination on the basis of their name/ethnicity (flats that were available mysteriously becoming unavailable; signs saying 'No Chinese'). The only difficulty expressed by participants – and not unique to them – was that it was expensive to own a house.

[27] Andrew Butcher, Paul Spoonley and Andrew Trlin (in press), *Settling and Being Accepted: The Experiences of Discrimination and Social Exclusion Against Migrants and Refugees in New Zealand*, New Settlers Programme: Massey University.

There was large dissatisfaction amongst participants with health services.

INCLUSION

All these elements of social cohesion are inter-related. Belonging stems from participation and participation creates inclusion. Inclusion in a society is more than feeling one belongs, it also relies on being well-informed about accessing services, health care and integration programmes.

ACCESSING SERVICES

For participants, accessing services was generally very easy as it was often by phone or the internet. There was some initial difficulty in knowing where to go, but participants found people generally helpful in pointing out the right direction (although if English was poor it was difficult to ask). Dissatisfaction occurred where specialised goods (e.g. Buddhist or vegetarian restaurants and food) were unavailable, of poor quality, or expensive.

HEALTH SERVICES

There was large dissatisfaction amongst participants with health services. They found the health system confusing. Some argued that visiting general practitioners (GPs) was a "waste of time" because GPs were too general and expensive, particularly if return visits were required. Even with medical insurance, some found it difficult to see a specialist. Others bemoaned the long waiting times in emergency waiting rooms and to get surgery, the lack of surgical facilities, the high costs of medical care, and difficulty in accessing after-hours care. In one case, a migrant flew back to his country of origin (Taiwan) to get immediate medical treatment. By contrast, participants thought that Accident Compensation Corporation and maternity services were excellent.

Whether these are issues unique to participants is a debatable point. However, as one interviewee commented, when something goes wrong for migrants, there is an additional possibility to attribute blame to them that is not present amongst English-speaking populations, namely that they can't speak the language and they don't understand.

INTEGRATION PROGRAMMES

Many participants mentioned only ESOL programmes when talking about integration programmes, although they found these programmes to be useful. Most had not attended a specific integration programme, either because they'd never been invited or because nothing was available. Several mentioned the usefulness of the Kiwi Ora programme; others mentioned church-led programmes (such as 'Connect with Kiwis') which they considered positive. However, there was a call for more training and government support for ESOL provision.

The vast majority of participants in this research had experienced some form of racism.

RECOGNITION

To participate in a society is one thing; to be recognised is quite another. Recognition is more than just visibility; it is also about 'being noticed' and 'being taken notice of'. Recognition can be negative, through racism and discrimination, or positive, through first language use.

RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION

The vast majority of participants in this research had experienced some form of racism. Most common was verbal abuse and 'the finger' – often by teenagers or children. Overt racism experienced included: damage to cars identifiable as 'Asian'; having bottles or stones thrown at them; and being laughed at because of poor pronunciation.

There was also subtle racism. This included in employment: a perception that employers gave jobs and promotions to Kiwis instead of Asians (all other things being equal, even if the Asian person was a better worker); workmates pretending not to understand; workmates patronising Asians; and management positions being reserved for Kiwis. Elsewhere, racism was manifest as Asians were being deliberately misunderstood in cafés or supermarkets "in order to humiliate me"; being snubbed by Kiwi mothers in schools when greeting their children; and being avoided in public places, like swimming pools.

There were differences in perceived racism between migrant groups. The Sri Lankans and Indians mentioned that they perceived there was discrimination, but that they had not experienced overt racism (as above). Overt racism seemed more likely for Chinese.

The media were considered to be at fault by reporting only negative things about Asians and not positive.

FIRST LANGUAGE USE

The retention and use of first language are seen to be important in maintaining ties with participants' communities and countries of origin. Most participants use their first language at home and occasionally in religious meetings or community gatherings outside the home. It is considered extremely important for children to hear and learn the language. This preserves cultural roots and gives the ability to communicate with relatives back home. There were differences in opinions about whether the government had any responsibility for supporting first languages. Some communities are large enough to be able to run language lessons on a Saturday for the children.

> *Every Saturday they have a class. Our kids went initially, up to about 15 or 16. [Then they] couldn't see the point, but I regret it now. My daughter watches Tamil movies with subtitles – we are losing our culture.*

[28] We have included the Treaty of Waitangi in our questions and analysis for two reasons: one, amongst settler societies it is unique to have a treaty with the indigenous population; and two, the strong social and political coverage in New Zealand is part of the setting with which Asian communities are engaging.

[29] The government introduced a National Settlement Strategy in 2004.

LEGITIMACY

To be recognised precedes legitimacy. In this, participants are not only visible, they are accepted; they are not only heard, they are understood; they are not peripheral, they are central. Here legitimacy is considered four ways: safety, immigration services, the Treaty of Waitangi[28] and service providers. These may seem like strange colleagues, but they each present a different view of legitimacy, in terms of perceptions, experiences or historical connections.

SAFETY

Compared with some of their home countries, many participants felt safe in New Zealand. Certainly they didn't feel a terrorism threat. However, there were some places where they didn't feel safe (particularly at night), namely: Auckland central city, Remuera, Epsom, Howick, North Shore and Christchurch central city. This was largely because of drunken young people.

Many participants expressed unease with what they perceive to be a lack of behavioural "morals" in New Zealand. They felt, however, that if they expressed the need for stronger morals they would be accused of discrimination.

IMMIGRATION SERVICES

A number of participants believed that the government should take responsibility for providing more accurate information to participants before they come, namely noting racism, the difficulty in finding employment commensurate with qualifications, the need for New Zealand work experience and information about "Kiwi customs". However, some participants also said they had a responsibility to find out information.

Participants also felt that the government should take responsibility for the settlement of migrants.[29] The refugee group was very complimentary of the programme at Mangere and the sponsors. Suggestions to improve settlement included: setting up a Chinatown so others can experience Chinese food and atmosphere; giving migrants specific support to start up businesses; and various strategies to help participants find jobs and accommodation.

It is noteworthy that some of these suggestions already happen; their mention here may reflect their lack of coverage, knowledge or use by participants.

TREATY OF WAITANGI

Participants' perceptions of the Treaty of Waitangi, and their place in it, were interesting. A couple of comments illustrate the range of perceptions:

> *Well the Treaty doesn't seem to help, to me, it creates more racism, because, firstly they (Maori and European) hate each other, and then they hate you coming into it.*
>
> *This Treaty and the fact that New Zealand is a bicultural country may be slightly beneficial for participants, or for New Zealanders to accept multiculture.*

About half of the participants saw the Treaty as having no relevance. For example, a member of the refugee focus group said it was between Maori and Pakeha – "so [had] no effect on us". Negative responses included suggestions that positive discrimination toward Maori negatively discriminates against participants and that participants get "caught in the crossfire and treated like scapegoats". Other groups (Japanese and Filipino) noted that the Treaty was positive, as it indicated that New Zealand is more open to multiculturalism.

It was also noted that it is important that those outside Asian communities learn about Asian views, particularly through schools.

SERVICE PROVIDERS

Here, participants identified a range of useful service providers. These included churches, temples and ethnic councils. As a corollary to noting their usefulness, however, participants also noted that more discussion, more funding and more value should be present in these providers. Asia:NZ was seen as valuable and a good place for feedback. It was also noted that it is important that those outside Asian communities learn about Asian views, particularly through schools.

SECTION THREE
RECOMMENDATIONS: POLICY, PRACTICE, PROGRAMMES, PEOPLE

LANGUAGE-RELATED RECOMMENDATIONS

These recommendations have different purposes, which are divided into three sections: skills for members of the host communities, facilitation of services for host–Asian community liaison and skills for the members of Asian communities.

Many of these programmes and services would be the same for other migrant groups, but the language barriers for Asian speakers are greater than for some others:

- Greater differences between English and Asian languages compared with European languages (and Māori with Pacific languages), for example in grammar and pronunciation;
- Greater familiarity with European languages in the New Zealand adult population, although this is changing as Asian languages gain popularity in schools;
- Lower status among English speakers of Asian languages compared with European languages (for example, attitudes towards French accents compared with Chinese accents) means less willingness to overcome communication barriers; and
- Different scripts used for Asian languages, compared with Pacific languages for example, may be an additional barrier, including translation costs.

The following table of recommendations includes examples of existing programmes. They are aimed at migrant Asian communities, although some also include a focus on non-Asian groups or non-migrant groups such as tourists and international students. It is important to note that the examples are indicative only and not intended to be exhaustive, and in nearly every case there is potential for development of similar programmes or services according to the principles mentioned in Section One.

Typology of recommended language programmes and services

	PURPOSE & TYPE OF PROGRAMME	FOCUS OF PROGRAMME	TARGET GROUPS FOR PROGRAMME	EXISTING INDICATIVE PROGRAMME EXAMPLES
A	**Host community language skills**			
1	**Communication with second language (L2) speakers**	Central government services	Front-line staff	'Language Line' training – Internal Affairs
		Local government services	Front-line staff	Wellington City Council
		Health services	Managers, front-line staff	Waitemata Health staff training
		Education provision	School boards, staff	Ministry of Education's Migrant Education Co-ordinators
		Social services	Social workers	Chinese New Settlers Services Trust – Auckland
		Police services	Front-line police	New Zealand Police – Auckland City District
		Business services	Business people	Experius Ltd's 'Talk Business' seminars – Auckland
		Employment services	Employers, employment agencies	EEO Trust's 'People Power' case studies; Ethnic Centre of Manawatu's Employment Facilitation Programme
2	**Asian language learning**	Skills in general population (future)	School students	Curriculum statements in Japanese, Mandarin, Korean
		Skills in general population (current)	Host community members	Night school language classes
		Skills for work, trade, media, etc	University students	Asian languages departments in 7 out of 8 universities
B	**Host-Asian community liaison**			
1	**Interpreting services**	Central government services	Clients	'Language Line' – Internal Affairs
		Local government services	Local residents	Wellington City Council
		Health services	Patients	Waitemata Asian Translation & Interpreting Service (WATIS) – Waitemata Health
		Community services	Businesses, local residents	Hamilton Multicultural Services Trust Interpreting Service
2	**Translation services**	Central government services	Public and private clients	Internal Affairs Translation Service
		Private services	Public and private clients	New Zealand Translation Centre Ltd – Wellington; Seikou Japanese Translation Services Ltd – Christchurch

Typology of recommended language programmes and services continued

	PURPOSE & TYPE OF PROGRAMME	FOCUS OF PROGRAMME	TARGET GROUPS FOR PROGRAMME	EXISTING INDICATIVE PROGRAMME EXAMPLES
3	**Call centres**	Central government services	Clients	Work and Income Multilingual Contact Centre
		Health services	Patients	Waitemata Asian Translation & Interpreting Service Call Centre – Waitemata Health
		Community services	Local migrants	Auckland Regional Migrant Services Trust's Multilingual Information Service
		Business services	Customers	Westpac's 'Migrant Business' team
4	**Bilingual and multilingual print materials**	Central government services	New settlers	Ministry of Education's 'Families Learning Together' booklets
		Local government services	New residents	Hamilton City Council; Manukau City Council
		Print media	Host and migrant community members	'Trolley' bilingual English-Chinese magazine – Palmerston North
		Community services	Community members	Chinese New Settlers Services Trust
5	**Bilingual and multilingual websites**	Central government services	Community members (and visitors)	New Zealand Police
6	**Bilingual and multilingual audio-visual media**	Entertainment, cultural maintenance	Community members	Subtitled videos and DVD
C	**Asian community language skills**			
1	**English language learning**	General English	Adult migrants	ESOL home tutors
		English for refugee settlement	Incoming refugees	Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre
		English for school education	Children learning English at school	School ESOL; Migrant Education Co-ordinators
		English in the workplace	In-service training	Alto Plastics – Auckland
		English for employment	Pre-employment training	Pre-purchase ESOL – NZIS
		English for tertiary study	Foundation courses	Public and private providers
		Specialist English	Prospective nurses, doctors, engineers, etc	Waikato Language Institute; Practical Education Institute (PEI)
		Targeted English	Elderly, mothers at home, etc	ESOL Home Tutors' Driver Licences classes

Asian peoples need to be actively involved in policy development and processes.

Typology of recommended language programmes and services concluded

	PURPOSE & TYPE OF PROGRAMME	FOCUS OF PROGRAMME	TARGET GROUPS FOR PROGRAMME	EXISTING INDICATIVE PROGRAMME EXAMPLES
2	**First/Heritage language (L1) maintenance**	Children's bilingual development	Bilingual school children	Bilingual Tutor Programme, Sunnybrae Normal Primary School – Auckland
		Children's L1 (and cultural) maintenance	Children of migrant communities	Community language 'Saturday schools'
		Community ethno-linguistic maintenance	Community members	Sri Lankan Cultural Circle – Wellington; Wat Lao Sibounheung (Lao temple) activities – Porirua
3	**L1 media**	L1 print media	Community members	City library collections
		L1 audio-visual media	Community members	Access Radio stations
		L1 websites	Community members	Viva Korea on-line newspaper – Christchurch

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

These general recommendations fall into two broad areas: policy and programmes. Bracketed beside the recommendations are the organisations we suggest are best placed to implement them.

Policy

- **The formulation of a multicultural policy (central government)**

Asian participants do not identify as Pakeha or Maori, therefore they feel outside the discussions on the future developments of the country. Asian peoples need to be actively involved in policy development and processes. This should also include continued and expanded support for the development an of Asian-New Zealand community identity, through cultural/national festivals and first language maintenance.

- **Supporting community identity (local and central government)**

The work of agencies, in increasing the visibility of Asian communities needs to be supported; for example, this could be achieved by building awareness of Asia and its culture through integrating and including Asian aspects in the education curriculum.

- **Expand and develop free interpreting services (central government; district health boards)**

This would include Language Line to encompass health and social service providers e.g. GPs and hospitals. This should be alongside training and Asian support personnel in hospitals and amongst other health professionals. Other interpretation and translation services should also be extended.

Programmes

- **Orientation for all new arrivals, both migrants and refugees (local and central government)**

The model for this is a number of voluntary programmes and the Mangere refugee centre programme. Probably about a week-long course, components to include: 'how to access' health services, local government services, English language (increasing the uptake of pre-paid ESOL), schooling, accessing religious and ethnic groups and getting a job.

- **Develop and extend work placement programmes (central and local government, employment organisations, trade unions)**

This programme would seek to overcome barriers of lack of New Zealand work experience and 'fear' of employing migrants. This could also include skills for getting a job, mentoring new migrants and employer-migrant matching programmes. This overcomes the lack of networks, lack of knowledge and barrier of employers. It also uses the latent talent amongst migrants.

- **Professional development for community leaders (local government, regional government and ethnic organisations)**

This helps legitimise groups and enables leaders to represent their needs and to motivate those in the mainstream to get things done. Would include: media training, the democratic system, how groups can influence change, how to access funding.

- **Extension of, and continued support for, high-quality English language programmes (central government)**

This would include programmes like the ESOL Home Tutor Scheme that have the added dimension of assisting with engagement. Tutors to be trained in recognition of needs outside language and provided with the necessary information and skills to be able to refer a migrant to other resources/agencies. This should also include targeted English language programmes for specific sub-population groups, such as the elderly and occupation groups such as engineers.

We should not encourage low levels of language assistance but recognise two things: the value of volunteer helpers from the community for language experience and friendship; and the focusing of skilled and well resourced teachers of English to target social and work place English development. We recognise that English language programmes serve a dual role of meeting the language and social needs of participants.

- **Cross-cultural training for all government and local body agencies (local government)**

Belonging begins with feeling welcome through high levels of communication and understanding. Training should be targeted at all levels especially policy makers and front-line staff.

- **Personalised settlement strategy (central and local government)**

This settlement strategy would be developed by the new migrant in conjunction with a trained mentor. By the end of the process, the migrant and their family will have developed a settlement strategy that will give: realistic goals for employment, language learning, social adjustment and education; and guidance on accessing appropriate services and programmes.

- **Overall co-ordination of programmes (central government)**

The recommendations suggested require national co-ordination and standard setting, although orientation programmes and the selection and training of mentors could occur at local levels. Clearly, some discussion needs to take place as to which agency should have responsibility.

These perceptions challenge New Zealand on its response toward these participants and refugees and the concessions or adaptations it is prepared to make for these new New Zealanders.

CONCLUSION

ONE OF OUR migrant interviewees commented that:

> *Barriers (to engagement) are New Zealand's problem not the ethnic communities' as they need to be seen as part of the New Zealand community and thus barriers to engagement are the whole community's responsibility.*

Much of our discussion has centred upon participants' responses to the host society; that is, we have considered the issues from the experiences of participants, rather than those of various host communities. However, migration affects receiving societies in profound ways as well. It raises questions of collective self-identification: 'who are we?' and 'who belongs?'.

Indeed, the process is one of mutual self-adaptation: as migrants adapt to their host society, so the host society adapts to them. However, this is not equal or symmetrical: immigrants become members (in one form or another) of the receiving society, but the population of the receiving society does not acquire membership of the immigrants' societies of origin.

Engaging Asian communities is also the responsibility of the host culture and the communities that are part of it. Therefore, understanding Asian peoples, their culture, variation and language is an important part of engaging their communities. This should be true for policy makers as much as for the 'average' New Zealander, in the workplace, the school, the church and on the street.

This research has considered what 'engagement' is and how it is successful. It has identified programmes, principles and policies that 'make it work'. The research has identified migrants' experiences within a framework of belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition and legitimacy. In hearing participants' stories, we have heard where points and processes of engagement are working successfully and, more importantly perhaps, where there is much more work to be done. Experiences internationally serve as useful exemplars of engaging with diverse communities as do foundational principles of successful programmes in New Zealand.

These principles include that programmes must respond to a recognised need, they must target, consult and deliver in a culturally sensitive manner, and they must demonstrate legitimacy and have trusted leadership. However, programmes should also be supported by sound policies that support multiculturalism, encourage the awareness of Asian languages and cultures, build and develop community skills, provide high-quality training and resources, and work across agencies. Above all, however, these programmes should also consider the diversity of the people they affect and the communities of which they are a part.

It is worth considering what the experiences and perceptions of Asian communities in this research tell us about New Zealand and New Zealanders and in what ways they provoke various political, social and economic responses. There are implications for government agencies, local bodies, community organisations and ethnic councils. Above all, however, these perceptions challenge New Zealand on its response toward these migrants and refugees and the concessions or adaptations it is prepared to make for these new New Zealanders.

APPENDIX 1: INDICATOR FRAMEWORK TABLE FOR MEASURING THE IMPACT OF SETTLEMENT POLICIES ON SOCIAL COHESION[30]

[30] Source: Spoonley et al, 'Social Cohesion' (2005a).

HIGH-LEVEL OUTCOME

New Zealand becomes an increasingly socially cohesive society with a climate of collaboration because all groups have a sense of belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition and legitimacy.

INTERMEDIATE OUTCOMES

Individuals and groups exhibit elements of socially cohesive behaviour: belonging and participation. Conditions for a socially cohesive society are demonstrated through: inclusion, recognition and legitimacy.

MIGRANT/REFUGEE COMMUNITY		HOST COMMUNITIES	
Elements of socially cohesive behaviour			
Belonging	sense of belonging	**Belonging**	sense of belonging
	frequency intimate/family friend contact/networks		frequency of contact in intimate networks
	social involvement index		social involvement index
	membership of groups		membership of groups
	telephone and internet access		telephone and internet access
	unpaid work outside the home		unpaid work outside the home
Participation	participation in tertiary and adult education	**Participation**	participation in tertiary and adult education
	participation in pre-school education		participation in pre-school education
	participation in arts and cultural activities		participation in arts and cultural activities
	involvement in sports teams and leisure		involvement in sports teams and leisure
	percentage of immigrants voting		percentage of individuals voting
Conditions for a socially cohesive society			
Inclusion	market income per person	**Inclusion**	market income per person
	paid employment rate		paid employment rate
	labour market participation rates		unemployment rates
	English literacy rates		welfare receipt
	unemployment rates		occupational distribution
	qualification recognition		home ownership
	welfare receipt		number of support programmes
	occupational distribution		
	home ownership		

Indicator framework for measuring the impact of settlement policies on social cohesion

MIGRANT/REFUGEE COMMUNITY		HOST COMMUNITIES	
Conditions for a socially cohesive society			
Recognition	racism and discrimination	**Recognition**	racism and discrimination
	representation in local/national government		resourcing for media
	own language media		
	own language use		
Legitimacy	confidence in key societal institutions	**Legitimacy**	surveys on racism and discrimination
	perceptions of safety		confidence in key societal institutions
	service delivery to refugee and migrant groups		credential and qualification verification
	health levels and access to health services		position in relation to New Zealand's bicultural commitments
	appropriate representation in the mass media		
Broad-based demographic knowledge about migrant and refugee communities			
	number of overseas immigrants		occupation
	number of returning immigrants		labour force participation
	migration status (business, family reunification, refugee, returning resident)		industries worked in
	length of time in New Zealand		personal income
	first time or return		population distribution
	previous knowledge of country		location in New Zealand on arrival
	existing links to family or friends		mobility within New Zealand over the first 5 years
	education level		home ownership
	qualifications		household size
	health status		household composition
	languages spoken		telecommunications
			vehicle ownership
			religious beliefs