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Northeast Asian Migration: Recent Change in New Zealand's International Migration System

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Abstract

This thesis examines the development of international migration from countries in Northeast Asia to New Zealand between 1986 and 1996 in the context of the restructuring of global capitalism. A part of the Fourth Labour Government's economic restructuring programme was a change in New Zealand's immigration policy. In 1986 New Zealand followed the example of the other three traditional countries of settlement, Canada, the United States and Australia, in trying to use immigration policy to attract skilled and wealthy immigrants to the country. Using world-systems analysis to illustrate the linkage between movements of people and periodic cycles of crisis and development, this thesis sources data from arrivals and departures records; census data from 1991 and 1996; and survey data from interviews. Statistical analysis is confined to the nationals of four Northeast Asian countries: the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Korea. Survey data draws on insights provided by 42 interviews with participants from Hong Kong, Taiwan and Korea. The findings show that a new international migration sub-system had developed in New Zealand by the end of the 1980s aligning the country with Asia and the countries of the Pacific rim more than with its historical sources of migrants in Europe. Population flows from Northeast Asia grew rapidly after the introduction of a points system in 1991. By 1995 a non-traditional source of immigrants, Taiwan, contributed the largest number of new settlers to New Zealand.

Nationality rather than country of last or next permanent residence was used to define the population flows. The research revealed significant inaccuracies using the latter classification for net migration. The nature of population flows to New Zealand differed between source countries. Labour force participation rates varied with self-employment higher for the Chinese and Korean immigrants than for New Zealand's population as a whole. Census and survey data confirmed a considerable number of skilled immigrants were under- and unemployed. The analysis emphasised the need for caution when generalising about the impact of net migration gains and their impact on New Zealand's population structure and labour force. These results suggest New Zealand needs flexible immigration policy more attuned to the needs of citizens who are part of a transnational circulatory migration process. Stronger government commitment to funding is necessary for informed policy development. As 1998 begins Northeast Asian migration to New Zealand is either at the end of a short-lived "age" or at the beginning of a new "era". Regardless of short-term fluctuations New Zealand's migration system is firmly embedded in cycles of global capitalism.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The acceleration of international migration in recent decades is one aspect of global change that is of great consequence (Castles, 1997b). International migration is a key component of global change and it has immediate effects on social relations and culture, national and international politics and the capitalist economic system. Globalisation, a process which is associated with the latest phase of capitalist development, is characterised by the increased marginalisation of some people and areas. As McGrew (1992, 76) has pointed out:

Some regions of the globe are more deeply implicated in global processes than others, and some are more deeply integrated into the global order than others. Within nation-states, some communities (e.g. financial ones) are tightly enmeshed in global networks, whilst others (e.g. the urban homeless) are totally excluded (although not entirely unaffected) by them. And, even within the same street, some households are more deeply embedded in global processes than others.

Notwithstanding the strength of globalisation, the state remains one of the most powerful forces in international migration systems. State policies are critical in determining the types and patterns of migration systems and the complex interrelationships within them. Structural and technological changes have created a growing demand for workers in the tertiary sector, particularly in sales and services occupations. But without state investment in education there would not have been sufficient educated and skilled workers for these industries. State ideologies and their associated policies have played a central role in creating the human capital that has developed the technologies which are expanding and restructuring the global economy.

Most receiving countries have become more selective in their immigration policies and actively seek the skilled overseas-born workers. These policies are increasing the bipolar division of labour in the migration flows. On the one hand there is the wealthy, highly mobile group of professionals and entrepreneurs, often in financial services, while on the other hand there is a

group of poorly paid workers who staff the basic services required by the professional group. In many countries a proportion of this latter group is without legal status as migrants (Sassen, 1991). As much of the labour migration of the past was of the unskilled from the periphery to the core it is not surprising to find that theories that have been developed to analyse this movement are not very helpful in understanding the new conditions and the movement of the highly-educated, middle-class professionals and entrepreneurs.

The new immigration flow from Asia to the settler societies on the Asia-Pacific rim is primarily urban-orientated and concentrated towards a few large cities - the global cities (Skeldon, 1997c). In the past few decades Vancouver, Los Angeles, Sydney and Auckland have been the centres in the settler societies that have attracted substantial numbers of immigrants from Asian countries. The size of the population of the Asian countries means this region 'is of critical significance in any discussion of global international migration' (Hugo, 1996, 25). As Skeldon (1992b, 19) asserts, Asian 'international movements have increased in volume to the extent that they are likely to be one of the major forces for change both within and outside the region well into the twenty-first century.'

The immigration policy changes in New Zealand that brought about the arrival of large numbers of immigrants from Northeast Asia¹ followed a change in 1984 to a government containing activists intent on changing the country's strong interventionist economy into a "free market" one. It was this government which was to officially recognise that the "colonial" linkages of the past needed to be supplemented by stronger regional linkages with countries in Asia. Fortuitously the region to which New Zealand belonged geographically was shared by countries experiencing rapid economic expansion.

This thesis examines the development of international migration from countries in Northeast Asia to New Zealand in the 1980s and 1990s. The substantive work for the thesis began early in 1994 when, after nearly ten years of substantial change in New Zealand, it seemed that a long-promised economic boom had arrived (Roger, 1995). Notwithstanding the pain this

¹ Glossary - Countries

restructuring had caused for many segments of New Zealand society, the mood in 1994 was quite positive. As Kelsey (1997, 7) notes:

The 1994 report on New Zealand by Moody's Investors Services observed that the reorientation of New Zealand economic policy after 1984 represented one of the most ambitious and comprehensive structural reforms undertaken by any OECD country.

In 1994 the *New Zealand Herald* reported soaring business confidence in Auckland city. Auckland was experiencing a rather belated economic recovery after the share market crash in 1987, but jobs were 'coming back to the industrial edge . . . [and] the last six months of 1994 [saw] a totally unequalled residential property boom in Auckland' (Roger, 1995, 42 and 45).

By 1994 New Zealand was more firmly linked to the Asian region by trade, investment and flows of people than at any other time in the past. New Zealand was following Australia in ensuring its international migration system was 'increasingly becoming part of an Asia-Pacific "system" whereby a greater proportion of both short- and longer-term movements . . . are linked to other Asia-Pacific countries' (Hugo, 1996, 24).

A first attempt, in 1986, at developing proactive immigration policy to attract the skilled and wealthy from Northeast Asia to New Zealand was not as successful as desired. Further immigration policy changes in 1991, however, facilitated the entry of immigrants from this region. During the 1990s international migration to New Zealand produced some of the highest net gains for the country on record this century (Bedford, 1996). The turnaround in net migration flows since the late 1980s was described as 'astounding' (*National Business Review*, 8 March, 1996). An overall net outflow of almost 18,500 people in the 1989 March year² had been replaced by net inflows in excess of 25,000 in 1995 and 1996. It was not surprising to find an increasingly heated public debate on immigration in the 1996 election year as it has been widely recognised that immigration is an intensely emotional issue.

By early 1998, when the final draft to the thesis was being completed, the situation with regard to economic growth in New Zealand and the countries of Northeast Asia, was vastly different from that in 1994. The "Asian financial crisis", which commenced with a collapse in the value of currencies in

² Glossary - March years

Thailand, Malaysia, Korea and Indonesia late in 1997, had impacted heavily on flows of goods, people and capital between countries of Asia and their trading partners on the Pacific rim³. The New Zealand economy was no longer “booming”; immigration had fallen substantially, and a very inappropriately named “Asian invasion” was over.

This thesis was written during a period of substantial change in New Zealand’s international migration system. It was also written during a period when there was a revival in academic interest in the “world-systems” approach to analysing social and economic transformations at both regional and global scales. Literature suggested that world-systems analysis offered considerable scope for linking the contemporary explosion in population movements to periodic cycles of crisis and development in the global capitalist economy (Massey *et al.*, 1993 and 1994; Miller and Denmark, 1993).

Using a world-systems approach, the Asian “economic miracle” has been explained in terms of the emergence of a new “core” to global capitalist development (Palat, 1996; Skeldon, 1997c). It is argued in this thesis that the accompanying re-orientation of economic and geopolitical interests in New Zealand during the 1980s and 1990s can be explained using a similar theoretical framework.

New Zealand is a very small “player” on the international migration scene. Indeed, the fact that this country remains one of the “traditional countries of immigration” on the Pacific rim is often forgotten or ignored in the comparative studies of contemporary migration in the region. Yet, despite the small size of flows in and out of New Zealand compared with flows to and from Australia, Canada or the United States, international migration in recent years has made a higher per-capita contribution to New Zealand’s population than it has to population change in the other three countries (Smith, 1997).

Not only has New Zealand been heavily impacted by immigration during the 1990s but the country’s “experiment” with state-led economic restructuring since 1984 has been more radical and comprehensive than similar exercises in other advanced capitalist economies. Indeed, New Zealand is an international “test case” of neo-liberal economic philosophies and considerable interest is

³ Glossary - Pacific rim

shown in the major indicators of change in fiscal, production and labour market conditions.

The combination of economic restructuring, and significant changes in immigration policy and subsequently New Zealand's international migration system, make a study of globalisation and migration in this part of the world very timely. The approach taken is similar to that taken by Ong, Bonacich and Cheng (1994) in their study of *The New Asian Immigration in Los Angeles and Global Restructuring*. The emphasis is on the importance of placing immigration in the context of the restructuring of global capitalism, particularly in the Pacific rim area. World-systems analysis is explored for this study as it is a framework that explains global interconnections and the interface between global, regional and national developments. Thus the aim of this thesis is to make a contribution to the understanding of a distinctive era of Northeast Asian migration to New Zealand. It uses concepts and ideas derived from world-systems analysis to assist in the interpretation of recent transformations in economies and societies in the Asia-Pacific region at the dawn of a 'Pacific Century' (Palat, 1993).

BACKGROUND

New Zealand, as a country of immigration, is bound by three ties to its source countries. The first two ties, "colonial" and "proximate", have already been explored (Lidgard, 1992). The third tie is "economic" and since 1984 New Zealand has been involved in an "experiment" that captured the imagination of economists and policy makers in many parts of the world.

In the late 1970s, it became clear that New Zealand was in desperate need of economic stimulation and new markets (Spoonley and Bedford, 1996). However it was not until the election of the fourth Labour Government in 1984 that the required restructuring of state involvement in the economy began. Belatedly it was recognised that a reorientation of trade and investment flows from Europe to Asia was necessary if New Zealand was to develop new markets (Le Heron and Pawson, 1996).

The radical process of economic reform in New Zealand, applied by a Labour government from 1984-1990, and then continued by a National Government, became known as 'The New Zealand Experiment' (Kelsey, 1997, 1). This

structural adjustment exercise involved the application of 'pure neo-liberal economic theory' to a real-life community by a democratically elected government using the basic formula of structural adjustment programmes implemented by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in the poorer countries of the world (Kelsey, 1997, 1-2). Although the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) conceded that the first six years of the programme produced little gain they considered it was not the fault of the structural adjustment model being used. So the national government elected in 1990 continued with the same neo-liberal economic policies as those introduced by its predecessor (Kelsey, 1997, 6).

The other development in New Zealand at this time was a move away from an immigration policy which had focussed on a narrow range of traditional source countries, originally Britain and Ireland. Although immigration from the micro-states of the South Pacific increased from the 1960s the Pacific Island immigrants were not attracted to New Zealand because of immigration policy but came in response to informal networks and job opportunities. The new migration flows of the mid 1980s were viewed as 'an integral part' of the economic experiment (Farmer, 1996, 55). The migrants that responded to the change in policy were highly skilled or capital rich, experienced in business practice and development. These immigrants were sought for their potential contribution to the New Zealand economy and for the linkages they could provide to the booming economies of Asia (Palat, 1996a). The belief and hope was that these new settlers would help establish the economic and political linkages that would ensure that New Zealand developed the necessary new markets for its products in countries which were seen as future sources of finance, commodities and migrants.

International migration is a process that is strongly influenced by economic and political transformations accompanying the on-going development of the capitalist system. To explain the population flows that are moving in and out of New Zealand, it is essential to understand the economic and geopolitical environment in which these flows are situated. As Appelbaum and Henderson (1995, 2) note: 'The globalisation of capital has drawn the world into its vortex with far reaching impacts'.

There are undoubtedly many different types of economic, geopolitical and ethnic linkages within which the process of international migration is embedded. The particular processes binding the sending countries (countries

of emigration) to the receiving countries (countries of immigration) vary temporally and spatially. As Gould and Findlay (1994, 284) point out:

Broader knowledge and deeper understanding of international migration flows, and of how the decisions of governments and individual migrants can affect the patterns, causes and impacts of movement will significantly contribute to insights into the prospects for a new world order.

One of the distinctive features of the 1990s identified by Sassen (1995) is the growing importance of transnational economic linkages where states play a sharply reduced role. Flows of capital, goods, services and information are being increasingly globalised. In contrast, national borders are still being controlled for immigration. Within a free-market world economy the perpetuation of barriers to free population movement can be viewed as an anomaly. As Bhagwati (1984, 680) has observed, ‘there is practically universal agreement, among modern states, that free *flows of human beings*, no matter how efficacious for world efficiency, should not be permitted’ (emphasis in the original). Hence, state involvement is still very much a part of immigration as it is the policies of receiving countries which determine whether or not many people can enter and settle. In contrast, the role of governments in the sending countries is often passive.

Ong *et al.*, (1994) summarise the current situation well when they note:

Much international migration theory has focused on the movement of unskilled labour from poor, underdeveloped countries to the core countries of Europe and North America. Some of the new Asian immigration reflects these old patterns. But the new professional-managerial stratum does not. Old theories are not very helpful in understanding the new conditions, and we must devise more adequate explanations.

There is an extensive literature on the “Asian tiger economies”⁴, and the substantial transformations in the global capitalist economy which have accompanied “structural adjustment” programmes in many parts of the world. There have also been several recent studies of migration from countries in Northeast, Southeast and South Asia to New Zealand (Bedford and Lidgard, 1996; Cremer and Ramasamy, 1996; Friesen and Ip, 1997). However, there has been no comprehensive analysis of the contribution which migration, especially from Northeast Asia, is making to the transformation of New

⁴ Glossary - Asian tigers

Zealand's population, society and economy. This thesis provides such an analysis, informed by the literature on globalisation, with particular reference to the demographic impacts of migration from Northeast Asia on population growth, age structure, ethnic composition, occupation distribution and labour force participation.

Between 1 April 1986 to 31 March 1990 New Zealand experienced a net outflow of 16,700 people. These figures reflect a combination of relatively small numbers of new immigrants arriving and large numbers of New Zealand citizens leaving for an absence of at least 12 months. The situation changed in the year ended 31 March 1991 when the net gain for a single year was over 14,500. Over the next five years of the 1990s there were continued net gains. Between 1 April 1991 and 31 March 1996 there was an average net gain of over 15,000 immigrants per year. The data for the year ended 31 March 1997 show a net gain of just under 38,000 in a single year. The situation changed from one where migration was producing an overall loss of people in most years since 1976 to a position where migrants were augmenting the population by around one percent per annum in 1996.

Since the mid 1980s successive New Zealand governments have endeavoured to link the progressive "liberalisation" of the local economy to the spectacular economic growth in countries on the Asia Pacific rim. This attempt to make New Zealand "part of Asia" has produced several outcomes. One of the intended outcomes - an increase in the flows of migrants with skills and capital from these countries to New Zealand - is examined in this thesis.

Objectives of the research

The central aim of the thesis is to examine the development of international migration from countries in Northeast Asia to New Zealand in the context of the restructuring of global capitalism, particularly in the Pacific rim region.

To achieve this aim the thesis addresses four inter-related sets of questions dealing with policies, questions one and two, patterns, question three and outcomes question four.

1) Why was there a major change in New Zealand's immigration policy in 1986? How was this change in policy linked to the process of economic restructuring in New Zealand, and the wider debates about "globalisation" on

an international scale? How is this change linked to developments of immigration policy in the other countries of immigration? These questions are addressed substantively in Chapters Two and Three.

2) How did the immigration policy changes in 1986, and the introduction of a “points system” in 1991, impact on the structure of the system of international migration flows to New Zealand, particularly from Northeast Asia? This question is addressed mainly in Chapter Four.

3) How has international migration contributed to the changing age and gender compositions of a highly unstable small national population? What have been the contributions of international migration from countries in Northeast Asia to population change in New Zealand since 1986? How have the age structures of the major groups within the Northeast Asian migration flows changed through the 1990s? What were the sizes and compositions of the immigrant populations from Northeast Asia at the time of the 1996 Census of Population and Dwellings? These questions are addressed in Chapter Five.

4) Which occupation groups and industrial sectors in the New Zealand labour force have been most affected by immigration from Northeast Asia? How difficult have migrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea found it to get satisfactory work in New Zealand? How have their experiences with the New Zealand labour market influenced their attitudes towards settlement in New Zealand? These questions are addressed in Chapter Six.

METHODOLOGICAL AND CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

Several types of information are used to address these four sets of questions. These include records of: approvals for permanent residence maintained by the New Zealand Immigration Service, the arrival and departure information processed by Statistics New Zealand, data collected in the 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population and Dwellings, and qualitative and quantitative information collected in special purpose surveys in Auckland and Hamilton. In addition, an extensive literature on migration to New Zealand, as well as international migration to and from other parts of the world, has contributed extensively to the analysis and interpretation of the particular themes developed in this thesis.

Approvals data

A source of data that has not been used extensively in this thesis is the record of approvals for permanent residence. The main reason for making limited use of these data is that they are not a record of the people who have actually arrived in this country. There is always a lag period between approval for residence being granted and actual arrival. Sometimes a considerable amount of time elapses before the permission to become a permanent resident is followed by a decision to migrate and sometimes the approval to enter is not taken up. There has been considerable confusion in New Zealand's migration debates over the different meanings of approval and net migration data. This is touched on in several places in the thesis. The focus for this study is on the actual net gains of population produced by international migration, not on the number of approvals granted for residence.

Arrivals and departures data

Assessment of the contribution that international migration makes to population change is difficult despite the fact that New Zealand is considered to have some of the best demographic data in the world (Bedford, 1987; Pool and Bedford, 1996; Pool and Bedford, 1997). Although the availability of better data is unlikely to remove the emotional issues from national debates about immigration 'there can be little disagreement with the notion that good-quality, reliable immigration data, objectively and competently analysed, are likely to enlighten debates about policy' (United Nations, 1985, 31).

The main source of official information on migration to and from New Zealand is the departure and arrival cards that are filled in by migrants⁵ as they arrive and before they leave. All people entering and leaving the country record their nationality on their arrival and departure cards. This information, together with the stated "country of last permanent residence" on arrival and "country of next permanent residence" on departure were the variables that were used to create the data sets used in this thesis. These data were drawn from the annual tabulations of arrivals and departures by nationality, five year age group, and sex, obtained from the Customer Services Division of Statistics New Zealand. This is the source of all tables and figures, unless otherwise stated. It was not possible to use the birthplace variable as in the revision of

⁵ Glossary - Migrants

the New Zealand passenger cards in 1987, coinciding with the introduction of the new Immigration Act, the internationally recommended question on birthplace was removed. This is a problem of major significance for researchers and has been commented on at length by Bedford (1987). Since April 1921 the method of gathering external migration data in New Zealand has been from statements made by each person entering or leaving the country (Carmichael *et al.*, 1993). To take account of the large numbers of international passengers who move for 12 months or more but not permanently international migrants have been divided into permanent and long-term in the New Zealand statistics since 1970 (Farmer, 1986, 22). Permanent and Long-term (PLT) net migration figures refer to the balance of arrivals and departures who have been away from New Zealand (New Zealanders) or moving to New Zealand (new resident) for 12 months or more.

It must be noted that there is a sampling error associated with any estimates of net migration which include short-term flows. The total international migration figures are derived from a sample of cards (Statistics New Zealand, 1996). The sampling error problem is minimised when reasonably large aggregations of nationalities and age groups are used. This error is not an issue for the permanent and long-term migrant data (people leaving for 12 months or more) as all the passenger cards for permanent and long-term migrants have been processed since 1 July 1979 (Farmer, 1986, 23).

Migrants are differentiated from short-term travellers on the basis of staying or stating an intention to stay in New Zealand, or away from New Zealand, for 12 months or more. This identification of international migrants is based on the self declared intention of the passenger. In this thesis all references to annual flows and net gains or losses are for years ended 31 March. March years are frequently used in the analysis of migration trends in New Zealand, mainly because of the seasonal nature of flows into and out of the country.

Problems associated with the arrivals and departures data

The major problems confronting migration analysis working with New Zealand's arrival/departure data are:

- a) the reliability of estimates of net migration when only PLT data are used (the preferred data for public reporting on "migration" as distinct from "movement", including tourism to New Zealand);

- b) the extent of “category jumping”, or shifts in migration status between PLT and short-term as a result of changes in residence decisions by migrants;
- c) the most appropriate place of reference for sources and destinations of migrants (nationality or country of last/next residence). Birthplace has not been an option since this question was removed from arrival/departure cards in 1987 (Bedford, 1987).

Permanent and long-term (PLT) data

There is an intuitive preference for using the arrival and departure cards for people entering and leaving New Zealand for 12 months or more, the “permanent and long-term” migrants (PLT), as the source for data for research on international *migration* as distinct from all movements in and out of the country. There are two reasons for this preference: first, all cards completed by PLT arrivals and departures are coded (there are no sampling error problems here); and second, the movement of these people seems to equate more directly with what we call “migration” or changes in places of residence. However, it is important to appreciate that, in the New Zealand case, the PLT data refer to “intentions” for residence, not actual behaviour. Many people who arrive in the country intending to stay for 12 months or more, leave within the year, while many New Zealanders who go overseas for 12 months or more come back sooner than expected. While PLT data are useful sources of information on characteristics of prospective immigrants and emigrants, they are not reliable indicators of net migration gains and losses because of “category jumping”.

Category jumping

A common problem in migration data sets in many parts of the world is “category jumping” - when self-declared PLT migrants end up being short-term migrants, in fact, because they leave (or return) sooner than expected. Because a person’s “category” of migration is determined on arrival or departure, on the basis of information given on the card, it is not possible to “adjust” the data for category jumping. The only way to take account of the distortions this process causes to estimates of net migration, is to include both PLT and short-term arrivals and departures in the calculations of net migration. This is the procedure that has been followed in this thesis.

Sources and destinations of migrants

There are several ways of defining migrant sources and destinations using arrival and departure data. One of the most common reference points used in the international literature is birthplace. However, this has not been possible in the New Zealand case since the relevant question was deleted from arrival and departure cards in 1987.

The two main reference points in New Zealand's data are country of last or next permanent residence (CL/NPR) and nationality. For reasons which will be explained in greater detail in Chapter Four, nationality has been used as the primary reference point for people entering and leaving New Zealand in this thesis. Thus New Zealanders are New Zealand citizens (not "residents"), Koreans are Korean nationals, Chinese are either "citizens" of the People's Republic of China or Taiwan, or Hong Kong or whichever passport they are travelling on. In the case of the recent net migration gains to New Zealand's population from Northeast Asia, the "nationality" reference point creates fewer distortions than the CL/NPR.

There are a number of other methodological and conceptual problems associated with the use of New Zealand's arrival and departure data, and these have been reviewed at length by Carmichael (1993). The main ones affecting the information used in this thesis relate to the issues of category jumping and the definition of sources and destinations which are outlined above.

Census data

One of the most important and valuable sources of data on the overseas-born and their descendants is the Census of Population and Dwellings (hereafter termed the Census), a five-yearly stock-take of the people of New Zealand and their housing. This is the primary source of information on the size, composition, distribution, economic activities and state of well-being of the population. The data used in this thesis have been sourced from the twenty-eighth New Zealand Census held on the 4 March 1991 and the twenty-ninth Census held on 5 March 1996.

Information from the census has two features that make it a valuable tool in the study of immigrants and immigration. First, the full enumeration on which detailed data were collected permits statistically precise comparisons of the different country-of-origin groups with respect to a number of social and economic characteristics including place of residence (Q2, 1996), period of

entry (Q9, 1996), language ability (Q12, 1996), household composition (Q16-23, 1996), educational qualifications (Q31-34, 1996), income (Q35-36, 1996), labour force status (Q42, 1996) and occupation (Q43, 1996). Second, the historical continuity of the census provides relative consistency of census information over time. This permits valuable historical comparisons of the status of overseas-born people in New Zealand.

However, there are a number of limitations for migration researchers using census data for the longitudinal study of immigration. Because the census serves many functions the amount of data on migration collected is limited. In the past it has been marked by inconsistencies in both the wording of questions or the questions asked. For example, there is a problem for migration researchers using the 1991 Census because the “duration of residence” question was omitted.

The main groups examined in this study are the ethnic descent Chinese (The People’s Republic, Taiwanese and Hong Kong Chinese) and Koreans aged 20 to 49 years currently resident in New Zealand and whose place of usual residence in 1991 was overseas. These people are termed the “recent” immigrants. Differences between these groups are analysed by age (five year age group), sex, birthplace and selected labour force/employment characteristics.

Problems associated with the census data

There is often a problem with underenumeration in a census. Immediately after the 1996 Census a post enumeration survey (PES) was conducted. This showed that 1.2 percent of the population (43,000) were not counted on census night (Statistics New Zealand, 25 June, 1997). This was the first time that a PES survey had been undertaken in New Zealand and the result compared favourably with censuses in other countries (Australia had an undercount of 1.6 percent in its 1996 census). The main groups affected by under enumeration were Maori (the indigenous population of New Zealand) and Pacific Islanders (Statistics New Zealand, 25 June, 1997).

The incidence of “not stated” cases for birthplace, ethnicity and the socio-economic variables relating to qualifications, work and employment status, occupation and industry, is much higher in the 1996 Census than it was in the 1991 Census. One important reason for this is the decision by Statistics New Zealand to reduce the amount of imputation of data on incomplete census

schedules. Where no response to a particular question was given in the 1996 Census a “not specified” code was used. Statistics New Zealand (1997, 6) has pointed out that the majority (72 percent) of the “not specified” cases refer to people who failed to complete any questions in a questionnaire that had been delivered to them. The incidence of these “dummy” forms is much higher in 1996 than it was in 1991.

Survey data

The fourth type of data used in this thesis comes from interviews conducted by the author. Through a series of interviews with 42 immigrants in Auckland and Hamilton data were collected on the experiences which Korean and Chinese from Northeast Asia were having in New Zealand. The primary focus of the interviews was on experiences in the labour market.

As this research methodology involved an intrusion into the lives of people who were already in a vulnerable position as newcomers to the country ethical issues were of particular concern. The main ethical issues associated with the interviews were informed consent, confidentiality, potential harm to participants, and the use of the information. It was vital to anticipate the likely ethical concerns of the qualitative inquiry before the interview process began. As Patton (1990, 356) has pointed out:

Because qualitative methods are highly personal and interpersonal, because naturalistic inquiry takes the researcher into the real world where people live and work, and because in-depth interviewing opens up what is inside people - qualitative inquiry may be more intrusive and involve greater reactivity than surveys, tests, and other qualitative approaches.

The ways in which these issues were addressed are described in Chapter 6. Approval for the research and interview programme was obtained from the University of Waikato Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) through presentation of a research proposal.

A central issue within post-modern debates has been the relationship between the “self” and “other”. These interviews, however, were not attempting to examine other cultural practices *per se*. Rather the focus of the interview schedule was to establish the experiences and feelings that some of the new

settlers from Northeast Asia to New Zealand were expressing particularly in relation to the barriers they had faced gaining employment in this country.

In addition to the interview material gathered for this study the 42 interviews were part of a much larger survey set that has been discussed elsewhere (Ho, Lidgard, Bedford and Spoonley, 1997; Ho and Lidgard, 1998). Furthermore, as detailed in Chapter Six, the results of three supplementary surveys are incorporated into the analysis.

Concluding comment on methodological and conceptual issues

From the summary of the major data sources used in this thesis it will be clear that “migration” and “migrants” can be defined in quite different ways depending on the source of information. Considerable confusion often surrounds public debate about international migration because of a lack of understanding of the various data sources and definitions.

To avoid creating unnecessary confusion for the reader of this thesis, only some general conceptual issues are discussed in this introductory chapter. More detailed discussion of problems associated with using arrival/departure data, census data and interview data in the analysis of migration to and from New Zealand in recent years is provided in the chapters where these data feature most prominently.

THESIS STRUCTURE

This thesis examines the development of international migration from countries in Northeast Asia to New Zealand in the context of the restructuring of global capitalism, particularly in the Asia-Pacific rim region. The economic linkages fostered by the liberalisation of both economic and immigration policies have produced noticeable changes in the immigrant flows to New Zealand since 1986. In the mid 1990s New Zealand was more firmly linked to the Asian region by trade, investment and labour flows than was the case in the mid 1980s. However, the particular processes through which New Zealand is bound to its sending countries, by globalisation, continue to vary. Political intervention in both New Zealand and its source countries will continue to impact cycles of crisis and development in the global capitalist economy and systems of international population movement.

Migration analysts have always faced a complex challenge as they consider the relationships between mobility and a world order that is in a constant state of flux. This challenge has intensified in recent years as the pace of changes, in both the global economy and international migration, accelerated. The evolution of new alliances and trading blocs emphasises the increasing importance of the inclusion of local and regional levels of analysis. While sub-systems of trade and hence population movement are constantly evolving and reshaping, these changes are taking place under the overarching umbrella of a global system of economic exchange with a current 'degree of organisational flexibility that is without precedent' (Appelbaum and Henderson, 1995, 3).

Capitalist development has been characterised by spasmodic growth. The "long booms" and "recessions" associated with the capitalist system appear less controllable as investors and workers move from one speculative opportunity to the next within a system that relies increasingly on "free market" operation. The freeing up of international population movement as an effect of the globalisation of the capitalist system has had important implications for the Asia-Pacific region.

The study of migration, particularly in the Asia-Pacific area, needs to be situated in the context of the restructuring of global capitalism. The framework identified as the most useful for the appraisal of population change to New Zealand is based on "world-systems" analysis. The advantage of situating studies of international migration to New Zealand within the world-systems analytical framework is that world-systems recognises that social changes within states are shaped by social, economic and political structures that are larger than individual states. The strength of world-systems analysis lies in its ability to combine detail with the broad picture.

The context for the research is presented in three chapters. This chapter has introduced the thesis topic and the core research questions, specified the approaches to be adopted to address these questions, outlined some general methodological and conceptual themes of relevance for the thesis as a whole, and presents below a comprehensive outline of the thesis structure.

Chapter Two begins with an overview of contemporary international migration theories. From this appraisal the ideas that are of most relevance to this thesis are noted. It is argued that international migration to and from New

Zealand since 1986 can best be informed by globalisation literature. A general discussion of globalisation and the restructuring of the global capitalist system is followed by a more specific discussion of the New Zealand and Northeast Asian economies. The third section shows how globalisation and world-systems analysis link together and how these concepts can be used to study international migration. It is argued that international migration is a process strongly influenced by the economic and political transformations accompanying the on-going development of the capitalist system. Finally, the relevance of this conceptual approach for the analysis of New Zealand's current international migration flows is assessed.

In Chapter Three the selected experiences of the four countries that have been regarded as the traditional countries of Anglo-European settlement; Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States of America, are compared. The development of a new "migration regime" in the countries of immigration is the theme for this comparative study. There has been an important change in patterns of international migration to these countries of immigration since the late 1960s. This change has been associated with amendments to immigration policies and regulations as part of a wider set of strategies adopted by governments to cope with globalisation. The policy changes have seen the emergence of significant migrant flows to the four countries from countries in the Asia-Pacific region.

The global economic changes associated with this regime that are of concern for this thesis include: the demand for skilled and unskilled labour to promote the development of domestic industrial infrastructures, the development of multinational production systems, the progressive decline in costs of international travel, the promotion of the tourism industry and the encouragement of international visitor flows, and the increasing wealth of the Asian "middle class" as the Newly Industrialising Countries (NICs) experience significant economic growth and the strengthening of the Asia-Pacific link with the establishment of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC).

Chapter Four surveys the population flows that have been entering and leaving New Zealand since the beginning of the 1980s. It is useful to start the analysis in 1981 as at this time there was much debate about the economy, economic and immigration policy. It was a transition period from the "think-big" projects of 1981 to 1983 to the beginning of the restructuring in 1984. First, a

more detailed discussion of some of the methodological issues mentioned in this chapter that need to be confronted before the analysis of current international migration trends can be made, is presented. An essential element of New Zealand's new "international economy" has been immigration. Some broad dimensions of the transformations in both the volumes of population movement to and from New Zealand, as well as the net migration gains and losses which resulted from this movement, are introduced with reference to three five year periods between 1 April 1981 and 31 March 1996.

The final part of the chapter deals with changes in the Asian migration flows between 1986 and 1996. Some links are made between migration flows and changes in New Zealand's economic and immigration policy, and the emergence of a new sub-region within New Zealand's international migration system. The significant shift in the centre of gravity within this system is summarised with reference to economic change. Finally, characteristics of arrivals from four Northeast Asian countries - China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea - are examined.

The contribution which international migration from Northeast Asia has made to the transformation of New Zealand's unstable, small population is analysed in Chapter Five. A brief overview of some of the methodological and conceptual problems associated with data sets that are used here to analyse net migration gains and losses is presented in the first part of the chapter. Then two dimensions of this population contribution are explored. The first is the age and gender composition of the total net gains and losses to New Zealand through all categories of migration. The second dimension is the age and gender composition of the permanent and long-term arrivals in New Zealand - the "immigrants".

The analysis of both of these dimensions (net gains and losses and PLT arrivals) focuses on migration from countries in Northeast Asia during two five year periods between 1 April 1986 and 31 March 1996. This analysis also establishes the relative significance of the various age groups of male and female net migration from Northeast Asia for New Zealand's population. The chapter concludes with a brief assessment of the situation relating to immigration and population change as this has been documented in the 1996 Census. These census data began to become available for analysis as this thesis was being completed. Only a preliminary analysis of the census data on international migration is therefore presented.

Chapter Six looks more closely at characteristics of Northeast Asian migration to New Zealand. It begins with the methodological issues of particular relevance for this analysis. In particular, the practical and ethical issues involved in designing and conducting a cross-cultural series of interviews will be addressed. The 1996 census data are analysed to provide the context on the occupation, employment and settlement of Northeast Asian settlers in general. The characteristics and experiences of the 42 interviewees can then be linked to the general population from Northeast Asia. The 42 interviewed were a fragment of the 70,000 new settlers who have arrived from Northeast Asia between 1 April 1986 and 31 March 1996. Interviews were conducted in both Auckland and Hamilton with people whose country of origin was Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea. These interviews provide valuable insights into the problems new settlers faced gaining employment and settling in New Zealand.

The concluding chapter, Chapter Seven, contains three sections. The first contains a summary of the findings with reference to the questions posed in the introduction and shows how the flows of immigrants to New Zealand during this period have made a distinctive contribution to the development of the country. The impact of immigration from Northeast Asia on the population structure of New Zealand is summarised and some reflections on the contribution made by this new phase of international migration is assessed.

The second section examines the usefulness of the world-systems framework of analysis for the study of immigration to New Zealand from Northeast Asia. Nationality does not mean a clear affiliation to a particular place. We are part of an age when “global citizens” are being created. These global or “transnational” citizens, as they take advantage of economic opportunities in the rapidly globalising economy, move relatively easily between nation-states. The Northeast Asian immigrants are enthusiastic participants in this process.

The third section of the concluding chapter summarises the developments in New Zealand since 1996 including the New Zealand Population Conference⁶ held in November 1997. As this Conference was designed to provide government with insights into population change which could inform further policy the ideas presented are pertinent to this thesis. There is consideration and speculation of the role government policy could play in assisting the

⁶ Glossary - Population Conference

settlement and adaptation process of the new settlers from Northeast Asia in the government's avowed intention to foster social cohesion and celebrate cultural diversity.

Discussion now turns to an overview of contemporary international migration theories. This is needed to assess the ideas that are the most pertinent for a discussion of international migration to New Zealand in the latter part of the twentieth century. The concepts of globalisation and world-systems analysis are explored as it is argued that the process of international migration is closely linked to the continually evolving global capitalist system.

CHAPTER TWO

International migration and globalisation.

In their book *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Castles and Miller (1993, 4) suggest that migration is likely to be one of the most important factors in global change in the next twenty years. Never before have so many people in so many countries left their homes for lengthy or short-term stays abroad. Never before have so many different types of migrants challenged the development of international and national policy measures to regulate the flows of people. Never before have so many women and children been on the move, either voluntarily or involuntarily, across international borders. As noted by Miller and Denmark (1993,1) '[f]or those whose task it has been to keep abreast of international migration developments and to understand them, the last few years have been challenging indeed and there is no respite in sight'.

Population movement has always shown strong links with the cycles of global capitalist crisis and change. The swings associated with the capitalist system appear uncontrollable as investors and workers move from one speculative opportunity to the next more advantageous one within a "free market" operation. The evolution of new sub-systems of trade and population movement has accelerated, especially in the Asia-Pacific region. Establishing the relationships between mobility and a world order in a constant state of flux creates a complex challenge for migration specialists.

This chapter begins with an overview of contemporary international migration theories, and establishes the ideas that are most relevant for this thesis. The second section defines globalisation and outlines the contemporary restructuring of the global capitalist system, before discussing the economies of New Zealand and the countries of Northeast Asia and how restructuring has forged closer links between their economies. The third section ties together globalisation and world-systems analysis and examines how these theories can be utilised to analyse international migration - in particular immigration from Northeast Asia to New Zealand.

OVERVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION THEORIES

International mobility has re-emerged as a considerable force throughout the world since the Second World War. Few countries of the world have an indigenous population larger than the aggregated population of those who were born in other countries. However these migrants are not gathered together in one place but are scattered throughout the globe forming a 'transitional archipelago . . . whose ranks are constantly replenished' (Zolberg, 1983, 15).

Without doubt, the diverse movements of migrants are shaped by changing world conditions. Kingsley Davis (1974, 65), in an overview of human migrations, expressed the essential features of international migration with the aphorism: 'Whether migration is controlled by those who send, by those who go, or by those who receive, it mirrors the world as it is at the time'. Any explanation of international migration in the late twentieth century must take into account social interactions within a global economy.

The source countries of the traditional countries of immigration have shown a decisive swing towards Asia, while the countries of Europe, for centuries emigrant-sending societies, have been transformed into immigrant-receiving societies. Diverse, multi-ethnic societies are now found scattered widely across the globe. As Massey *et al.* (1993, 431) point out, 'the emergence of international migration as a basic structural feature of nearly all industrialised countries testifies to the strength and coherence of the underlying forces'. However, to date, there appears to be a weak theoretical base for analysing these forces.

John Salt (1989, 431), in his 'Comparative Overview of International Trends and Types, 1950-80', identified the problem that faces researchers of international migration as 'the chameleon-like nature of our subject of interest'. Salt identifies a broad succession of trends since the Second World War. First a period of postwar permanent migration was followed by a period when temporary labour migration became the norm. Family reunion followed and then in the 1980s attention was increasingly focussed on flows of refugees and the 'transient migrations of the highly skilled' (Salt, 1989, 431).

The two dominant perspectives used in the study of contemporary international migration since the 1960s have been the equilibrium approach

and the historical-structural approach (Oncu, 1990). These two major conceptual frameworks specify the migration phenomenon in different ways. In general the behaviourist tradition, underlying the equilibrium approach, emphasises individual decision making whereas the historical-structural school emphasises macro-processes and structures which shape the movements of individuals.

Although the unit of analysis is different in the two approaches, both delineate the subject - migrant or migration - in terms of the physical *movement* of people through geographical space. As this movement is merely a reflection of social and economic changes it is impossible for migration to be analysed as an isolated phenomenon (Castles and Miller, 1993). Similar views were expressed by Appleyard (1991) in his address to the International Organisation for Migration on the occasion of its 40th anniversary. Appleyard (1991, 11) noted that ‘although international migration has been an integral part of human history and achievement, its alleged capacity to dislocate and change economic and social systems within a short period has only recently become an issue of major international concern’.

Social scientists have not undertaken the study of migration from a shared paradigm but from ‘a variety of competing theoretical viewpoints fragmented across disciplines, regions and ideologies’ (Massey *et al.* 1994, 700). Following the example of Massey and his colleagues, (see also van de Kaa, 1996) a distinction is made in this overview between theories of international migration that account for the commencement of migration streams and those which focus on the continuation of transnational flows. Subsequently, a theoretical direction is outlined that will enable international migration flows to New Zealand to be examined within a comprehensive framework.

The commencement of international migration flows

The attempt to explain why international migration flows begin has generated a variety of theories. Although they are all seeking to explain the same phenomenon each uses a different approach and different level of analysis. Neoclassical economics focuses on decisions made at the individual level while the “new economics of migration” view migration as a decision made at the household level. Segmented labour theory and world systems theory generally focus instead on macro-level rather than micro-level decisions. The structural requirements of modern industrial economies are linked to the

international flows of labour in the segmented (often termed dual) labour market theory. World systems theory views the flow of people across international borders to be part of the process of economic globalisation. As pointed out by Massey *et al.* (1993, 433) the various models have arisen from attempts to decompose ‘an enormously complex subject into analytically manageable parts’.

Neoclassical economics

Neoclassical theorists depict the capitalist economic system as a free market with the flows of capital and commodities being mirrored by the flow of workers. Massey *et al.* (1994, 701-711), provide a useful overview of studies conducted using this analytical framework.

Neoclassical macro economic theory seeks to explain the mirrored flows of labour and capital in terms of considerable differences in countries’ labour and capital capacities. In countries where the supply of labour relative to capital is large the wage level will be low. The reverse is true for countries with high capital reserves relative to levels of labour. In these countries wages are high. The differential in wages is expected to stimulate a flow of workers from the low wage country to the high wage country while capital, including human capital, will flow to the low wage country. This process is expected to continue until a stage of equilibrium is reached (Massey *et al.*, 1994, 701).

Neoclassical micro economic theory views international migration as a simple sum of individual cost-benefit decisions undertaken to maximise expected income through international movement (Massey *et al.*, 1993, 434). The reality is that the free choice of movement for labour under capitalism has in many cases been anything but an individual choice. Capitalism has made use of both free and “unfree” labour throughout all its phases of development (Cohen, 1987). Workers have frequently been “unfree” either because their labour has had to be obtained by coercion, or because they have been denied some of the rights enjoyed by other workers. As Castles and Miller (1993, 45) point out; ‘ Even where migration is voluntary and unregulated (such as . . . Commonwealth migration to Britain from 1945 to 1962) institutional and informal discrimination may limit the real freedom and equality of the workers concerned’.

The individual reasons for migration are not solely economic. De Jong and Fawcett (1981) identified seven motivational categories for migration. In addition to economic intentions the following are important: status (education and occupation), comfort (better housing, more consumer durables), excitement (new experiences and pleasures), autonomy (personal freedom), affiliation (marriage) and morality (spiritual and religious freedom).

Whatever the reason for migration the 'micro level of analysis does not see geographical mobility as an end in itself; it is regarded as a means to an end' (van de Kaa, 1996, 2). Some literature has criticised neoclassical theories as simplistic, incapable of explaining actual movements or predicting movements in the future (Sassen, 1988; Boyd, 1989).

The new economics of migration

The new economics of migration focuses on the family or household unit making the migratory decisions rather than the individual. Evidence suggests that poor households use international migration in a deliberate way to diversify their labour investment portfolios (Stark, 1991). This approach shifts the focus of migration theory from individual independence to mutual interdependence. That is migration is viewed as a "calculated strategy" and 'not as an act of desperation or boundless optimism' (Stark, 1991, 26). To provide the group with some degree of protection against the many risks of loss of income from a single source, members of these groups are encouraged, and often assisted, by the household to migrate. The aptly named 'transnational corporation of kin' described by numerous authors examining migration in the Pacific Islands can be explained, in part, by this approach (Bertram and Watters, 1985; Brown and Connell 1995; Hayes, 1991).

The new economic model, based on risk diversification, acknowledges that international movement is possible even when there is no international difference in wages or employment rates (Massey *et al.* 1994). It places migration within a broader community context and, as Stark (1991) suggests, it is through international migration that households attempt to overcome their sense of relative deprivation and minimise risks. In the segmented (dual) labour market and world-systems theories the individual decision makers or households are relegated to a minor place. The central theme for these theories is the expansion and transformation of capitalism which is seen to generate migration streams in a relentless manner.

Segmented labour market theory

Segmented labour market theory sees immigration as demand-driven. The demand for migrant labour is built into the economic structure of advanced industrial societies (Piore, 1979). The debate on labour market segmentation started in the 1970s when studies in the United States suggested there was a dual structure of primary and secondary labour markets in advanced capitalist societies (Doeringer and Piore, 1971). Inherent tendencies in modern capitalism lead to a bifurcated labour market within which, under special conditions, “immigrant enclaves” develop (Portes and Bach, 1985).

The occupational hierarchy that develops in a country with an advanced economy means that the raising of wages for unattractive tasks is not the cheapest option. Attracting migrants to perform jobs with low pay and unpleasant working conditions is seen to be a cheaper option. By creating barriers to the mobility of unauthorised migrants immigration policies generally reinforce labour market segmentation.

A simple dualistic interpretation of the labour market structures has become increasingly problematic during the 1970s and 1980s. Christopherson (1989, 1995, in Wrigley and Lowe 1995, 15) has shown that the dualistic primary/secondary conception has ‘proved increasingly inadequate to capture the emerging subtleties of a multiply segmented retail workforce.’ It is not clear that labour market segmentation explains all or even most of the demand for immigrants. Massey *et al.* (1994, 721) argue that: ‘While segmented labour market theory complements the neoclassical and new economic models of migration, it clearly does not supplant them.’

Another important dimension to labour market models of migration is the movement of highly qualified migrants in the growing professional service industries. Highly skilled personnel, who move temporarily within specialised international labour markets, have been identified as “professional transients” by Appleyard (1989, 32) following Richmond’s (1968), “transient migrants”, or “capital assisted migration” by Stahl (1991). Lever-Tracy (1989, 448) describes these transfers of population as ‘occurring within an internationally mobile component of the urban working class [facilitated by networks that] straddle international boundaries’.

These migrants have the potential to be of considerable economic and cultural importance. Skeldon (1992, 42-3) notes that over one million Japanese went

abroad in 1988 for a ‘short stay for business’. The links established by these personnel are an important component in the globalisation of services and the “internationalisation” of countries. Salt (1992, 493) also notes that the movements of the highly skilled are a major element in international labour migration, and their numbers are continuing to rise. An important dimension of trans-Tasman migration is international career circulation as noted by Carmichael (1993).

World systems theory

World-systems analysis links the origins of international migration to the structure of the world market that has developed and expanded since the sixteenth century. The world is regarded as ‘a single entity, the *capitalist world-economy*’ in world-systems analysis (Johnston *et al.*, 1994, 678). Using the work of Wallerstein (1974, 1980, 1989) as a basis, world systems theorists argue that international migration has expanded rapidly as a result of globalisation of the market economy (Portes and Walton, 1981; Sassen, 1988). When expanding global markets penetrate the peripheral regions they act as the catalyst for international migration. This is particularly likely to happen between former colonial powers and their possessions.

Within the modern world system a relatively small number of global cities direct and co-ordinate the ever increasing expansion of the market economy (Castells, 1989; Sassen, 1991). Capital-intensive processes are allocated to high-wage areas while labour-intensive operations are located in low-wage countries. This globalisation of production exerts a downward pressure on conditions and wages for low and unskilled workers while at the same time creating new and increased opportunities for highly-skilled workers.

Wallerstein’s theories have been critically reviewed by many researchers and some of these criticisms are briefly discussed later in the chapter. A criticism which is of considerable interest to migration analysts was made by Zolberg (1989, 255) when he identified Wallerstein’s ‘systematic neglect of political structures and processes’ as a key problem with world-systems theory. Wallerstein in rebuttal stated that he views arguments such as Zolberg’s have been made largely because they miss the point of the world-systems perspective. World-systems provides an all encompassing framework that does not make divisions between various disciplines of social inquiry.

A large number of scholars have recently been re-examining the origins of world-system transformations in the search for signs of regularities or patterns in the transformations (Chase-Dunn and Hall, 1994, 258). Chase-Dunn (1981) agrees that capitalism and the interstate system are interdependent and reinforcing features of the world-system with each being dependent on the other for its continued existence. 'The world-system perspective seeks to analyse long-run/large-scale social change by combining the study of society-level processes with the study of intersocietal and transsocietal relations' (Chase-Dunn, 1989, 1). The hope is that an understanding of the origin of the modern world system may hold some clues for the study of future transformations in this period of dramatic social change.

Although world-systems analysis can be an abstract and analytical approach it recognises that social changes within states are shaped by social structures that are larger than individual states. In the present global economic climate this recognition makes the world-systems approach a very useful concept within which to situate current studies of international migration.

The continuation of international migration flows

Undoubtedly certain factors do not play an important role in the commencement of flows but exert a significant influence on the continuity of the migration process.

Network theory

Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin (Massey *et al.*, 1993, 448 and 1994, 728). There are also economic ties where the principal wage earner may continue working in the country of origin while the remainder of the family unit establish themselves in a new country. The existence of these ties is hypothesised to increase the likelihood of emigration by lowering the costs, raising the benefits, and mitigating the risks of international movement (Boyd, 1989; Fawcett, 1989; Gurak and Caces, 1992).

The social nature of international labour migration is emphasised by Portes and Borocz (1989). They argue that labour migration creates channels for the entry and settlement of individuals who are not immediate participants in the labour process but who may subsequently enter the labour market. Once a

critical threshold of numbers of migrants in a destination has been reached the social structure will sustain the migration process indefinitely in a self-reliant fashion as long as immigration policies continue to permit entry on family and humanitarian grounds.

From this perspective, although labour flows are driven by economic imperatives, the phenomenon of international labour migration is primarily social in nature and so the networks constructed by the movement and contact of people across space are at the centre of the microstructures which sustain migration over time. Portes and Borocz (1989) argue that it is the presence of people in such networks which helps explain the differential tendencies to move and the enduring character of migrant flows, rather than individualistic calculations of gain. Migration becomes a 'vehicle for social integration and economic mobility' (Portes and Borocz, 1989, 614)

The study of personal networks in migration reveals the importance of social relations in migratory behaviour. It provides insights into the composition, direction and persistence of migration flows. Personal networks, or ties between people, represent only one of many kinds of networks, such as political or economic ties between sending and receiving nations (Boyd, 1989, 655). Boyd (1989, 642) suggests that:

Studying networks, particularly those linked to family and households, permits understanding migration as a social product - not as the sole result of individual decisions made by individual actors, not as the sole result of economic or political parameters, but rather as an outcome of all these factors in interaction.

The formation of migratory networks is facilitated by political and economic linkages and geographical proximity (Portes and Walton, 1981). In addition, colonial ties, with continuing official, institutional, and language similarities, preserve international linkages that shape migration flows (Lidgard, 1992).

Networks connect across space, linking populations in origin and receiving countries and ensuring 'that movements are not necessarily limited in time, unidirectional or permanent' (Boyd, 1989, 641). Migration flows often become self-sustaining, reflecting the establishment of networks of information, assistance and obligations which develop between migrants in the host society and friends and relatives in the sending area. This is particularly important for "family reunification" flows which now dominate in

Australia (from Asia), in parts of Europe (from North Africa) and in New Zealand (from the Pacific Islands). Gurak and Caces (1992, 151) note that networks 'are simple structures with the potential to evolve into more complex mechanisms as migration systems evolve'. Hence, networks link various countries together into 'coherent migration system[s]' (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992, 7).

Institutional theory

This theory sees the process of international migration strengthened through the development of institutions and organisations of various kinds. These organisations arise to satisfy a demand created by the migration process. The most significant of these are those that try to profit from the provision of services to potential migrants. Hugo (1994, 5) argued that the development of the so called "immigration industry" is an important, but overlooked, element in the global expansion of international immigration.

This industry involves a diverse group of people who do such tasks as arranging papers, visas, and transport. Hugo (1994) stresses the importance of these groups as gatekeepers in global migration processes. He feels that these organisations play a crucial role in encouraging and facilitating both legal and illegal immigration. The process will also be sustained by voluntary organisations which are motivated to work out of a concern for the welfare of migrants rather than for profit.

Another set of institutional forces are the regional economic unions and associations such as the European Union (EU), Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)⁷. This "institutional" context is very important in shaping migration flows. Such unions permit greater freedom of international migration within their common borders. Some go further than others in this regard - for example in the EU there is free movement across borders but not in APEC (or ASEAN) or between Mexico and the United States under NAFTA. In Australasia Closer Economic Relations (CER) and trans-Tasman migration allow for the privileged position of New Zealand citizens in Australia and a reciprocal arrangement for Australians in New Zealand.

⁷ Glossary - NAFTA

Cumulative causation

Cumulative causation refers to the tendency for international migration to perpetuate itself over time. One trip leads to another and over time the duration of trips grows and foreign experience accumulates (Piore, 1979). Institutions can be effective in initially drawing people into extensive migration fields and linking communities to the wider world. However movement to certain destinations can itself become institutionalised as a group norm in communities.

Global systems always have embedded within them individual decisions. But individuals do not move within a social vacuum. Individuals move within a highly segmented society which channels mobility in particular directions. Subtle family pressures within the context of the household economies, like the Pacific Islanders' 'transnational corporations of kin', (Marcus, 1981) can also be powerful incentives to move that conceal any attempt to identify the reasons for an individual's decision to migrate.

It is a well documented fact that once an individual has migrated he or she is very likely to do so again. Stahl (1993b, 12) identifies the "beaten path" effect as the strongest factor in determining international migration paths. He makes the point that 'current policy regarding the source and numbers of immigrants will largely determine the source and numbers of future immigrants'.

Migration systems theory

Migration systems theory is based on the observation that over time the migratory relations between countries and regions of the world become relatively fixed and stable (Zlotnik, 1992). These systems are characterised by enduring economic, political, or social relations and this is what gives them their stability. Geographical proximity of countries is not necessary as the flows reflect political and economic relationships rather than physical ones. 'Epicentres' (Borrie, 1994) develop and attract a steady flow of migrants over an extended period of time. This means that multipolar systems are possible and nations may belong to a large scale migration system.

Systems are not something that have always been there. Most international migration systems are creations of, and in turn formative elements of, the modern world-system. A system has enduring structures that define it as a system while at the same time it has an evolving structure. That is a 'system

has a history and it is what it is at any given moment not only because of its enduring structure but because of its particular (indeed unique) historical trajectory' (Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1996, 8).

It is thus in systems theory that a linkage can be found between theories accounting for the commencement of international migration flows and the theories considering the continuation of migration flows. An integrative systems approach appears to provide a suitable framework of analysis for this study as although the theoretical perspectives surveyed in this section are not contradictory they each only capture an element of a complex reality. As Massey *et al.* (1993, 463) point out, 'they nonetheless carry very different implications for policy formulation'. Depending on which theory is supported, social scientists might make widely divergent recommendations to politicians. Considering the scale and size of contemporary migration flows, decisions by policy makers about international migration are of significant importance for a country's links with the rest of the world.

Although globalisation is viewed by many people as a phenomenon of the late twentieth century which is destroying national sovereignty and replacing it with multi-national corporations, the world-systems approach incorporates many of the ideas of globalisation. As McGee (1997, 29) points out, 'it is well understood that globalisation, in its economic manifestation, involving the increasing integration of national economies into a global system of production, consumption and trade, is not a recent phenomenon as world systems theorists have convincingly argued.' However, the post Second World War period has seen the most massive expansion of the world economy 'in the whole of the 500 year existence of the modern world-system' (Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1996, 1).

World-systems analysis shows how the economic linkages that developed over a long time frame incorporate social factors. International flows of population are not just of unskilled labour. Developed economies attract and exchange highly skilled labour and the pluralistic systems that result appear to be gaining in momentum. The forces that shape migration flows are extremely complex and the consequences are both unpredictable and of great importance to relationships between states. In the present political and economic phase of the late twentieth century international migration is a global issue.

The following section begins with a discussion of both “globalisation” and “restructuring”, two key concepts in understanding the world system of capitalist development. It then focuses on the link between the economic process of restructuring and the concept of globalisation to show the connection between international migration and the recurrent cycles of the global capitalist system.

GLOBALISATION AND RESTRUCTURING

The world economy and the process of its industrialisation underwent an extensive change after the Second World War. An increasingly complex production system developed and the centre of capital accumulation, which was located in the United States of America from 1945, spread out to Germany and Japan by the end of the 1960s and the early 1970s (Tabak, 1996, 87). In conjunction there were transformations in the structure of the world economy’s production systems together with an expansion and integration of the labour processes associated with this new post-industrialism.

Globalisation

As Kelsey (1997, 12) argues, ‘globalisation theory is today’s growth industry for sociology, cultural studies, some branches of international relations and political economy, and recently even law’. However she goes on to suggest that ‘a great deal of that theorising . . . seems quite disconnected from “globalisation” as it is experienced by billions of people in their social and political lives’. It is generally accepted without question that the effect of this process is world-wide. The impact of the process reaches all aspects of national and personal life:

- through language, communication and entertainment; in the social and political environment; in the technologies which we adopt; and clearly in economic matters, through investment and financial markets, trade and the operation of multi-national agencies (New Zealand National Commission for UNESCO, 1997, 1).

Although globalisation appears to have gathered increased momentum in the 1990s it is not a new process. As Abu-Lughod (1989) has shown, a *world* market economy was already in place in the thirteenth century long before ‘capitalism-as-world-system rose above the layer of the market economy’

(Arrighi, 1994, 10). In the 1990s what we are seeing, according to English historian Paul Kennedy (1993), is a world in which new knowledge-based industries and value-added products are superseding commodity production. The international money markets, thanks to computer technology, now never close. The enormous expansion of the capitalist world-economy has been associated with ‘an ever-increasing concentration of capitalist power in the world system at large’ (Arrighi, 1994, 13).

The “golden age” of the post-war long boom during the 1950s and 1960s began to give way in the 1970s to a time of economic turmoil which has persisted throughout much of the 1980s and 1990s (Fagan and Webber, 1994, 1). As a result of sharply rising oil prices in 1973 the complex, interconnected system of the world economy received a severe jolt. However, this “oil crisis” was only one of the economic events that signalled the end of the “post-war boom”. A critical one in many countries was a fiscal crisis of the state generated by rising levels of indebtedness. During the 1980s there has been a period of “restructuring” which has transformed networks of international trade and the system of economic exchanges at a “global scale”.

What has emerged is an ‘interconnected and interdependent *global* (rather than merely international) economy . . . [with] *increasing internationalisation of production and trade*’ (Dicken, 1986, 3, emphasis in the original⁸). These changes have redefined the role of the state and labour-capital relationships. Economic activities and decisions transcend national boundaries and become interlinked within a wider global economy. As Callister (1991,3) noted in the New Zealand context, ‘individuals, companies and governments are increasingly being linked into production, trading and financial networks outside of the particular country’ in which they are located.

The economic changes encapsulated in the term “globalisation” pose a profound challenge to governments. The more interdependent the global economy becomes, the less national and regional governments can act upon the basic mechanisms that condition the daily lives of their citizens. Probert (1993, 23) has used Castells (1989) words to elaborate on this: ‘The traditional structures of social and political control over development, work and distribution, have been subverted by the placeless logic of an internationalised economy enacted by means of information flows’.

⁸ Unless otherwise indicated any emphasis in a quote is that of the original authors.

It is important to note that the process of globalisation is a political as well as an economic process. The world's dominant economic powers have exerted a major influence on global integration through policies of deregulation and reregulation associated with structural adjustment programmes. However, we can no longer assume that states, which have been in existence for a long time, will remain indefinitely. The political world of the 1990s is different from the one that has been in existence for much of the past half century. The collapse of the Soviet Union has shown that existing political arrangements can rapidly change.

At the same time as it changed the balance of global power the demise of state socialism unlocked nationalism in Eastern Europe. This shows that although events take place at an apparently global level the 'motivation for these changes is primarily domestic' (O'Brien, 1992, 19). It is the way in which the state interacts with capital and labour that determines 'both the ways in which national economies are linked to global accumulation *and* the changing spatial divisions of labour within the countries' (Fagan and Le Heron 1994, 282).

In other words, a nation state internationalises by adapting domestic social and economic conditions to the requirements of the global economy. During the process there is a partial transfer of sovereignty to international associations. However, as already noted in the introduction, nation-states still erect barriers to the free flow of people. As Zolberg (1989, 405) points out, 'It is precisely the control which states exercise over borders that defines international migration as a distinctive social process.'

There is a view that globalisation fosters and, in turn, is fostered by international migration (Lim, 1997, 3). It is evident from available data that there is a complementary relationship between freer trade regimes and migration flows with patterns of trade appearing to correspond with patterns of migration (Richards, 1994, 159 in Lim, 1997, 4). The other major force of globalisation, "enabling technologies", not only creates an awareness of opportunities in other countries but it also provides the means to move and take advantage of them. The building of these bridges appears to maintain the flows of migrants between particular countries (Boyd, 1989; Lim, 1997; Massey, 1988).

The particular features that are associated with the “globalisation” of the world economy appear to be a world-wide liberalisation of trade, investment and capital flows, rapid technological developments, greater economic integration and interdependence among countries accompanied by a shift toward ‘more open and market-orientated economic policies and a new international division of labour’ (Lim, 1997, 1). To maintain a competitive edge in this environment enterprises utilise as many cost-cutting strategies as possible. The way in which workers are now used is much more flexible and this has been facilitated by governments deregulating the labour markets and cutting back on social protection measures.

There is widespread acceptance that globalisation is a ‘powerful force reshaping the geography of world economic activities . . . [and] deepening and changing links throughout the global economy’ (Le Heron, 1996, 22). However, this is not because all and everything is going global but because every local or regional settlement is exposed to global dynamics (Nederveen Pieterse, 1997, 379). As Davey (1997, 28) has suggested, ‘Globalisation is ongoing, it has a certain inevitability and cannot be ignored’.

Globalisation and the economy

By the 1950s the transnational corporations (TNCs) were powerful economic entities and had expanded from ‘core’ industrialised countries into ‘peripheral’ economies. These TNCs, together with national governments and enabling technologies, were the three major forces identified by Dicken (1986) as involved in global industrial change. In 1993 Dicken (1993, 32) saw the major causes of the changing organisation of the global economy as:

the rearticulation and reorganisation of the production chain which is resulting from the complex interplay between the *internationalisation of capital* (primarily the behaviour of *transnational corporations*) and the actions of national governments, set within the volatile context of pervasive *technological change*’.

The introduction of commercial jet aircraft and the development of much larger ocean-going vessels had a significant impact on the expansion of the TNCs. As Dicken (1992, 105) noted, ‘It is no coincidence that the take-off of TNC growth and the (more literal) take-off of commercial jets both occurred

during the 1950s'. These changes in transport technology, together with the extremely rapid growth of satellite technology linking computer technologies with information transmission technologies over vast distances were of particular importance for the global operation of the TNCs (Dicken, 1992, 106). At the same time there was an unequal trading exchange system with

an increasing proportion of exports of agricultural and mineral commodities from the periphery [coming] from plantations and mines owned by the TNCs from the core. . . . Capital accumulation in the core [came] through repatriation of profits from TNCs with branch offices in the periphery and through interest payments on money borrowed by peripheral governments and firms (Fagan and Webber, 1994, 31).

The '*internationalisation of capital* . . . [meaning] the export of capitalist relations of production, not just of money' has been identified by Thrift (1989, 20) as the process at the heart of the world-economic order since the 1970s. Thrift recognises the greater integration of the world-economy as the most important economic event currently taking place that is having critical economic, social and cultural effects on many countries. However, as Fagan and Webber (1994, 34) point out, 'internationalisation of capital has played a continuously changing role in relation to the boom and bust cycles of the industrialised capitalist economies'.

During the 1980s East Asian capital was out-competing both US and Western European capital through the formation of a new kind of transnational business organisation combining the 'advantages of vertical integration with the flexibility of informal business networks' (Arrighi, 1996, 25). However, as Arrighi (1996, 25-26) goes on to point out, whichever 'fraction of capital won, the outcome of each round of the competitive struggle was a further increase in the volume and density of the web of exchanges that linked people and territory across political jurisdictions both regionally and globally.'

The economic difficulties which New Zealand, along with most other advanced capitalist countries, experienced through the late 1970s and 1980s were due, in large part, to the fiscal crisis of the state. As Britton *et al.* (1992, 8) point out:

each phase of capitalist expansion and development has been preceded by a restructuring crisis . . . Successful resolution of capitalist crises has been associated with new regulatory orders which set the conditions for the elaboration of economic forces, though success has rarely been the product of institutional change in isolation.

The 'Fordist' mass production industrial system, which had driven growth and capital accumulation during much of the twentieth century was collapsing (Linge and Walmsley, 1995, 3). In the 1980s many countries undertook restructuring or 'reform programmes aimed at increasing competition in product markets, strengthening the responsiveness of factor markets and securing increased efficiency in the public sector' (Soltwedel, 1993, 58). This restructuring has seen the demise of the Fordist regime of accumulation and the rise of a new regime of accumulation generally termed flexible accumulation (Johnston, Gregory and Smith, 1994, 202).

This period of economic restructuring has also coincided 'with increased *globalisation* of economic activity' (Fagan and Webber, 1994, 3). The important feature of "restructuring" identified by Fagan and Webber (1994, 39) has been the continued organisational and technological change within countries. Such restructuring has been experienced virtually everywhere in the industrialised world since the late 1970s and at all geographical scales from global to local (Clark *et al.*, 1992, 43 in Fagan and Webber, 1994, 6).

The advent of micro-chip technology enabled the decentralisation of production as the capacity for localised data analysis developed. Immediate information is now a highly valued commodity allowing decisions to be actioned instantly (Harvey, 1989). This ability is essential for profitable decision making in a competitive environment. With these enabling technologies the internationalisation and flexibility of production increased dramatically.

In advanced economic systems it is the capacity to create new knowledge and apply it rapidly via telecommunications and information processing that is of greater significance than the location of natural resources and cheap abundant labour. The structure of the world "information economy" has created what Castells (1989) terms 'the space of flows' and has defined a new international division of labour (Carnoy *et al.* 1993). Nation-states still play a crucial role in shaping economic and social policies as national policies influence what transnationals can and cannot do within particular countries. However, as Carnoy and others argue, the increasing domination of the world economy by information and communications technology changes the conditions and possibilities for national policies.

Increased freedom of movement of capital and goods can be expected to lead to more businesses establishing themselves across frontiers leading to more company-linked labour migration. As Werner (1993, 85) has observed there will be greater spatial and occupational mobility of staff within international business organisations, particularly of more specialised employees. This increased internationalisation of firms will mean a corresponding increase in the temporary movement of transnational employees, particularly the highly skilled. The globalisation of sections of the work force is potentially beneficial for both sending and receiving countries although, as Johnston (1991) noted exactly where workers move to and from will have a great influence on both countries and companies. However, in any particular population flow the extent to which movement is directly controlled by institutions - for example transfer by companies - is going to be difficult to determine accurately as it may not be recorded statistically.

These changes have brought about rapidly changing patterns of industrial development and have challenged the ideas of 'core' and 'periphery' and the theories of dependency. The inadequacy of dependency theory and the international division of labour (characterised by the production of raw materials in the less-developed or peripheral countries and manufactured goods being produced by the developed or core countries) was demonstrated when this new system of flexible production emerged. The associated new international division of labour (NIDL) is the product of complex interrelationships between and within nation-states and transnational corporations (Dicken, 1986, 5).

The NIDL theory attempted to link stagnation of manufacturing in the "core" economies with rapid growth of manufacturing for export in newly-industrialising countries (Fagan and Webber, 1994, 4). This meant that manufacturing facilities were relocated to the most appropriate location from the TNC's point of view. These were often the low-cost labour zones of the Newly Industrialising Countries (NICs). The NICs then acted as 'export platforms' exporting back most of the new products to the core markets (Fagan and Webber, 1994, 37).

While there is debate about whether more jobs are being destroyed than created by these processes there seems to be agreement that the nature of jobs is changing and becoming increasingly "female friendly" and "high-skilled" (Lim, 1997, 14). This applies as much in New Zealand as elsewhere. As

Clark and Williams (1995, 66) have noted in New Zealand 'new forms of employment are to be found in knowledge-based, female-orientated or unisex occupations'. These changes are contributing to the feminisation of migration streams.

Technological changes are increasing the demand for workers with higher levels of education and skills and the market for these workers is global rather than local. Companies are prepared to pay highly for the best employees from any country and governments are usually willing to accept the highly educated and skilled as immigrants. In fact Australasian and North American governments have implemented proactive immigration programmes to attract well-educated, highly skilled immigrants. This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three.

In summary, governments, companies and individuals are being increasingly linked into networks of trade and production that are not constrained by national boundaries. Technology has been largely responsible for the creation of this economic and political transformation. The significance of distance between places is continually shrinking through innovations in transport which 'annihilate space through time' (Harvey, 1989, 241). Geographical distance has been virtually eliminated as a barrier to the free flow of information and services. People, as well as products, now flow more easily and cheaply across national boundaries.

In the 1990s the demands of the global economy have meant that national boundaries are becoming increasingly irrelevant for many economic transfers. Few governments are prepared to initiate or perpetuate policies which ignore the requirements of global markets. States, and the private sector in many countries, have become increasingly indebted to foreign financial institutions through borrowing for development. As this has occurred pressure has been exerted to reduce the controls which governments, as distinct from the market, have had on the international circulation of capital, commodities and labour. For as Dicken (1986, vii) has pointed out, 'employment is the thread' that binds together the various parts of an increasingly complex and interconnected world economy.

Although there is growing economic interdependence countries are not all moving along the same economic growth path (Emmerij, 1993). While the economies of some countries, in particular those in Northeast and Southeast

Asia, grew dramatically until 1996/97 others, particularly in Africa, have tended to stagnate, reflecting their continued lack of effective integration into the world economy. In fact the situation in Africa, described as “involuntary delinking from the world economy” (Lim, 1997, 6), prompts both the highly skilled and the unemployed to look for employment elsewhere creating a situation where workers are exported rather than goods. On the other hand, the growing unemployment in industrialised countries has been attributed to increased trade with cheap-labour countries prompting some states to adopt legislation to protect both trade and immigration.

As Kelsey (1997, 18) notes ‘globalisation can also embed the changes made by the state,’ making it more difficult for future governments to reverse previous economic policy decisions. The reason Kelsey is pessimistic about the ability of future governments to reverse economic changes is that change becomes locked in by institutions such as the General Agreement on Tarrifs and Trade (GATT) and by arrangements such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) multilateral agreement on investment. How New Zealand is linked into the contemporary global economy is discussed in the next section.

Globalisation and the New Zealand economy

New Zealand, Australia and Canada were commonly represented as outposts of the core economies or ‘semi-peripheral paradoxes’ (Fagan and Webber, 1994, 3). These ‘settler capitalist’ economies (Denoon, 1983) exported raw materials to the core in exchange for manufactured goods. They experienced rapid urbanisation and an industrial boom after 1950, yet shared the trade profile, technological dependence, and high levels of foreign control common to the world’s peripheral economies (Fagan and Webber, 1994, 4).

By the late 1970s the New Zealand economy faced major problems. The government of the early 1980s, led by an increasingly unpopular Prime Minister, pursued interventionist rather than more liberal economic policies. In December 1981 John Gould, Professor of Economic History at Victoria University of Wellington, felt that the New Zealand economy seemed to be at something of an economic crossroads, ‘not quite sure which way to go to get out of the morass of zero growth, high inflation and unemployment in which we got bogged down in the late 1970s’ (Gould, 1982, 9).

With the gradual integration in the 1970s of the United Kingdom into the European Community and the associated 'exclusion' of former colonial preferences, the nature of both New Zealand's and Australia's relations with their former colonial ruler have changed. Ties with the "motherland" became even more tenuous as New Zealanders attempted to come to terms with the reality of their location on the rim of the Pacific Ocean. The increasing difficulties of access to the European Community market for New Zealand's primary products has led to greater involvement in the Australian and later the Asian markets (Cleary and Bedford, 1993). Migration from Asia was eventually to be encouraged in the belief and hope that the new settlers would help establish the economic and political linkages to ensure New Zealand developed the necessary new markets for its products (Bedford and Lidgard, 1996a).

The 1970s and 1980s were decades of considerable economic and social turmoil in New Zealand. The effects of two oil shocks, coupled with relatively poor returns for New Zealand's highly protected primary and secondary industries, contributed to a sharp increase in levels of indebtedness. Between 1980 and 1984 New Zealand's economy became one of the most isolated and protected economies in the world. By owning and managing trade assets, the State directed much of the country's economic activity and provided health, education and welfare services.

In 1981 the New Zealand government's response to both the second oil crisis and the stagnant domestic economy, was to encourage large-scale, capital intensive development, especially of domestic energy resources. This short-lived era of state-led energy resource development, known as the "think big" projects, contributed to a spiralling external debt and high levels of inflation. The debt contributed to a growing crisis of confidence in the direction of economic policy and 'the state lost favour in the eyes of many New Zealanders' (Britton *et al.* 1992, 8). Inflation was high, the value of the dollar was kept at an artificially high level, and both wages and prices were frozen in 1983 in a last-ditch attempt to impose restraint on the growth of the money supply.

Restructuring the economy

By 1983 international pressure was intensifying for New Zealand to follow the trend toward substantial structural readjustment of its economy. The occasion for this comprehensive restructuring came with the election of a Labour Government in July 1984. This government was elected with an avowed policy of liberalising the economy and "opening up" New Zealand, and New Zealanders, to international market forces. The regulatory and interventionist role of the state, that had been so much a part of the long boom, began to be dismantled. Both the role of the state in the economy, as well as the place of regulations in the operation of the market (including the "market" for migrants) shifted towards flexibility and integration. As Moran (1996, 386) commented in New Zealand 'economics seems to have replaced politics as the driving force in international relations'. Immigration policy was substantially reviewed in 1986, and the new Immigration Act (1987), discussed in the next chapter, reflected this new ideology of liberalisation and deregulation.

Since the reforms begun by the fourth Labour Government in 1984 however, thousands of jobs have disappeared in New Zealand. As Easton (1997, 26) notes, the liberalisation of the New Zealand economy was intimately linked to 'commercialisation' where 'all government activity had to be made as commercial as possible'. The initial effect on the labour force was a sharp rise in unemployment as subsidised industries collapsed or made workers redundant in the restructuring process. Job losses were most severe in the manufacturing industries. The ethnic minorities that had been drawn into the expanding secondary sector during the post war boom were amongst the worst hit by restructuring. Unemployment peaked amongst Maori at 27 percent in 1992 and amongst the Pacific Islanders (including those born in New Zealand) at over 30 percent in 1991 (Ongley, 1996, 23).

The structural changes, however, created a growing demand for workers in the tertiary sector, particularly in sales and services. Thus restructuring involved the 'expulsion of earlier migrants from production and a simultaneous growth in demand for new immigrants with different skills from different regions' (Ongley, 1996, 24). Many jobs are now dependent on decisions made by companies based outside New Zealand. Research has not yet revealed the extent to which overseas companies are staffed by international employees.

The New Zealand economy has always been characterised by extensive overseas linkages in addition to its high export dependency. The shift to

Pacific-Asian regionalism, however, was begun well before the Fourth Labour government made a clean break from the protectionist framework of past public policy in recognition of the fact that the economic integration of countries is brought about by exchanges of products and people in both directions. New Zealand's first Ambassador to China was appointed by the Third Labour government in 1973 (Harland, 1992). This 'establishment of diplomatic relations led to a rapid growth in New Zealand's exports to China [showing that] action in the political field could open up new trading opportunities' (Harland, 1992, 46). However, although New Zealand had developed strong export markets in Northeast Asia before 1984 its markets elsewhere in Asia were patchy (Cleary and Bedford, 1993, 22). But as Beal (1995, 59) points out:

Now, the economic relationship with Asia is so important, and growing so strongly, that whatever happens within bilateral NZ-Britain relations is relatively unimportant. New Zealand's economy is increasingly dependent on Asia because of Asian growth rather than Britain's turning to other partners.

Beal (1995) goes on to show that while New Zealand's trade with Britain has not diminished (indeed it has continued to grow), the volume of trade with Asia surpassed trade levels with the United Kingdom in 1973. It is the huge growth in this trade with Asia that is now so significant for New Zealand (Beal, 1995, 60). This is why, as already mentioned, the plunge in the Asian financial markets is of considerable concern to all major productive and service sectors in New Zealand. Market processes are now responsible for the intense web of economic ties that bind the Asia Pacific region with the government playing a facilitating role (Garnaut and Drysdale, 1994). In 1995 for New Zealand 'six out of the ten top markets [were] located in the Asian region . . . accounting for almost 35 percent of exports' (Clark and Williams, 1995, 23).

Le Heron (1996, 23) has suggested that it is clear, with hindsight 'that neither government nor its advisers had any clear picture of the global economy or New Zealand's manner of integration into the wider world'. The main emphasis seems to have been to "change the rules" without fully appreciating the significance of the new game plan for the players involved. The now 'infamous . . . New Zealand experiment' (Kelsey, 1997, 1) shows that the policy makers of the time 'failed to grasp the basic changes in economic

mentality . . . [necessary for] wider and greater interactions in the global economy' (Le Heron, 1996, 23).

Le Heron (1996, 25) shows that in the early 1990s in New Zealand most trade was intercorporate and handled by TNCs. In addition he points out that:

New Zealand's links into global restructuring have led to very different kinds and patterns of economic interaction. . . . political energies have shifted from attempting to maintain access to EU markets to getting the best deals possible out of broader accords, such as CER, GATT and APEC (Le Heron, 1996, 54).

Conradson and Pawson (1997, 1385) have drawn attention to the fact that the architects of the New Zealand programme of economic restructuring gave little thought to the 'impact of policy on places'. This thesis contends that the architects, in addition to giving little thought to the impact of policy on places, also gave little thought to the impact of policies on people and gave virtually no thought to the impact of policy on immigrants from Asia.

The social consequences of structural adjustment in New Zealand have been well documented (Kelsey, 1995 and 1997; Easton, 1996) but to date little has been written on the experiences of the immigrants who arrived in New Zealand under immigration policy linked to the process of economic restructuring. While Le Heron and Pawson (1996) have chosen to focus on industries, companies and workers affected by the restructuring process to 'reveal New Zealand's participation in globalisation' the focus of this thesis is on the movement of people from Northeast Asia to New Zealand in the context of global restructuring.

The next section examines how industries that started as an exploitation of the less developed countries of Asia, by the TNCs and the advanced economies, has been transformed into economic competition from some of these emerging economies. The economic development of Asia is of particular relevance as the three countries, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Korea (together with Singapore), are all generally seen to be the first generation of Asia's newly industrialising countries (NICs) which, in the 1960s began to follow Japan's example of manufacturing for export (Hamilton, 1983).

Globalisation and the Asian Tigers

The contemporary economic expansion in East Asia, beginning with Japan, then in the East Asian NICs and now apparently also in coastal China, may spell the beginnings of a return [to a world system] in which parts of Asia again play a leading role in the future as they did in the not so distant past (Gills and Frank, 1994, 6-7 in Arrighi, 1994, 2).

Some of the more dramatic of the far-reaching economic changes which have brought about 'new global geographies of economic growth and stagnation . . . involved countries around the Asia-Pacific Rim' (Fagan and Webber, 1994, 3; see also Watters and McGee, 1997). Since the mid 1970s a group of middle-income NICs have risen. These developing economies in Asia, identified by both the World Bank and the OECD, have become global competitors by concentrating on industrial production for export (Ong, Bonacich and Cheng, 1994, 9).

What Arrighi (1994, 336) finds most impressive about the economic expansion of the Four Tigers is 'the extent to which they have become active participants and major beneficiaries of the [global] financial expansion' since 1970. Now the emerging economies are the operational headquarters for many new TNCs. This means they are able to competitively challenge the TNCs and the advanced economies rather than being the victims of exploitation.

A combination of factors has been responsible for this dramatic advance in the economies of Asia to a point where they are economic challengers in comparison to other Third World countries in Latin America which have failed to industrialise competitively. The factors identified by Ong, Bonacich and Cheng (1994, 10) were:

the expanding world economy; a special relationship with the United States, which was seeking alliances in the Pacific region against the Soviet Union and China; a weak civil society with no powerful groups to challenge the state; and a population that has long held values of thrift and hard work . [These factors] converged to allow a strong, authoritarian state to emerge to guide economic development.

It seems that the critical factor was the evolution of a "strong state", especially state investment in companies and utilities. As already mentioned, Dicken

(1986) identified national governments as one of the three major forces in global industrial change and Wallerstein (1997) recently reiterated his feeling that 'capitalism needs the States to make profits'. The importance of state involvement is also made by Robison and Goodman, (1996, 4) who note that 'if it is possible to identify a common theme in the Asian transition it is that the state has generally played a central role'.

It needs to be noted that "the state" in the East Asian context has special 'peculiarities . . . when compared with the ideal type of nation-state' (Arrighi, 1996, 7). The first is the "quasi-state" (a term coined by Jackson, 1990) to denote states that have been 'granted juridical statehood . . . but lack the capabilities needed to carry out the governmental functions associated historically with statehood' (Arrighi, 1996, 8). To an extent the "Four Tigers" are all quasi-states.

Taiwan and South Korea are both to a large extent, dependent on US military protection for their survival. Their initial economic success has been based on the special relationship the countries have enjoyed with the United States (Ong, Bonacich, and Cheng, 1994). During the 1950s and 1960s the United States provided large amounts of foreign aid to help stabilise the economies of these countries and thus guaranteed the survival of their authoritarian governments. This US aid, provided to ensure that the populations were committed to an anti-Communist ideology, made it possible for Taiwan and South Korea to develop as autonomous States (Gereffi and Wyman, 1990 in Ong, Bonacich and Cheng, 1994). However, neither Taiwan nor South Korea is a nation-state in the full sense as 'South Korea live[s] in constant hope or fear of being reunited with its northern half, and Taiwan in constant hope or fear of becoming the master or the servant of Mainland China' (Arrighi, 1996, 8).

Hong Kong and Singapore, the other two Asian NICs, were originally city-states not nation-states, which found a niche in the expanding world economy of the 1960s. Both had the political and social stability necessary to attract foreign investment and Hong Kong became the financial and service capital of the region as a result of its well developed colonial infrastructure and the colonial government's relationship with the banking industry (Ong, Bonacich and Cheng, 1994).

One of the main features of post-modernity has been the waning of power exercised by nation-states. Kennedy (1993, 131), for example, argues:

The key autonomous actor in political and international affairs for the past few centuries appears not just to be losing its control and integrity, but to be the *wrong sort* of unit to handle the newer circumstances. For some problems [the nation state] is too large to operate effectively; for others it is too small. In consequence there are pressures for the “relocation of authority” both upward and downward, creating structures that might respond better to today’s and tomorrow’s forces of change.

If this is the case, East Asia seems to be perfectly endowed with a ‘variety of territorial and non-territorial organisations that are either something less, or something more, or something different from nation-states’ (Arrighi, 1996, 16). In addition, the “overseas Chinese” or the “Chinese capitalist diaspora” has been documented as the emerging ‘leading agency of the process of capital accumulation in East Asia’ (Po-Keung Hui, 1995 in Arrighi, 1996, 10).

The significance of these Chinese diaspora business networks is that they are not defined by the places that they originate from or occupy (Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, as well as Mainland China and the most important commercial centres of Southeast Asian countries also including much of North America, Europe and Australasia). As Arrighi (1996, 10) states, the networks are defined by ‘the space-of-flows (the commercial and financial transactions) that connect the places where individual members or sub-groups of the diaspora conduct their business’. These business networks ‘are an interstitial formation that thrives on the limits and contradictions of very large territorial organisations’ (Arrighi, 1996, 11).

Therefore it is not surprising to find that there has been a dramatic emergence in Northeast and Southeast Asia of a ‘new middle class and a new bourgeoisie’ (Robison and Goodman, 1996, 1). Robison and Goodman (1996, 1-2) note that one of the reasons that the new rich of Asia are looked at with such hope and expectation by the West is that they are the new tourists and ‘constitute the new markets for Western products . . . who can revitalise the world economy . . . recapturing the capitalist frontier and its lost values’.

Hence the economic turmoil that engulfed Asian economies in the latter part of 1997 was immediately felt world-wide. Overnight the ‘great Asian economic powerhouses [became] basket-case economies. . . . [a]s the IMF put

together its largest financial stability package for Indonesia, Korea and Thailand' (Lee, Y.H., 1998, D1). The Asian currency crisis was felt immediately by the tourism industry and in New Zealand the sudden fall-off in visitor traffic caused Air New Zealand to suspend services to South Korea in December 1997 (Lee, Y.H., 1997, D1; Scherer, K., 1998, A1). As the possibility that the Asian economic woes would become a world crisis were being discussed, it was also recognised that Asian countries were being forced to restructure their economies in the late 1990s along similar lines to those followed by some Western countries, including New Zealand, during the 1980s (Oram, 1997, A15).

Migration of "human capital"

Modern Hong Kong and Taiwan are the products of migration. There has been a constant movement of people in and out of Hong Kong since its foundation as a British colony in 1841. Movement out of the territory is a part of Hong Kong's history (Skeldon, 1995). However Skeldon (1995, 54) goes on to make the point that the 'more recent pattern of emigration from Hong Kong has been quite different; it is essentially urban-based and involves some of the territory's most highly skilled and educated people'.

As part of the development process the new middle class in these Asian countries promoted higher education as they recognised that educated talent was a necessary element of the developmental process. These economies have invested heavily in "human capital" and continue to do so as part of their growth strategies. The result is that Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea now contain a highly educated stratum of trained technicians and professionals. These people have expanded the pool of skilled international labour which is an essential ingredient of the flexible accumulation process. As Liu and Cheng, 1994, 81) point out:

Common technical knowledge, shared professional values and attitudes, and participation in international personal networks enabled well-educated persons to use their training beyond the confines of any single national economy.

However, this movement of well-educated or entrepreneurial Asians is a proactive rather than a reactive movement and owes as much to the changes in immigration law in all the settler countries, discussed in Chapter Three, as it does to the emergence of an educated, wealthy middle-class in Asia. This is an elite group of people who may choose if they wish to have their home base

in one country, work or do business in another and educate their children in a third country if this appears to be the best option for the family. These choices have led to the development of the phenomena known as the ‘astronaut’⁹ and ‘parachute kid’¹⁰ syndromes identified in contemporary migration flows (Skeldon, 1994d).

The migration of highly educated Asians to North America and Australasia has been considered by Ong, Cheng and Evans (1992), Skeldon (1994a), Ho and Farmer (1994) and Ho and Lidgard (1997). In their paper Ong, Cheng and Evans emphasise that in order to understand the complex movements of the “professional transients” the effects of existing policies need to be considered. Without doubt, changes in immigration law in all the settler countries gave preference to trained people and encouraged this migration of the highly skilled. This creation of a pool of well educated and experienced professional people, who have the capacity to move frequently, has contributed to the internationalisation of the world system. These people have become an important element in the immigration to New Zealand from Asia and as Cohen (1995, 516) has noted ‘researchers looking at skilled transient migration . . . note a rising and ever significant role for this type of movement’. Salt (1993, 15), for example, says ‘it is difficult to see anything but a general increase in the migration of high level skills as all modern economies engage in brain exchanges’.

GLOBALISATION, WORLD-SYSTEMS ANALYSIS AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Although the process of globalisation has accelerated integration of the world economy, it must not be overlooked that a global system of economic exchange is not a new concept. Many geographers in the 1980s followed Taylor (1981,1982) and were inspired by Wallerstein’s account (1979, 1984) of the genesis of the modern world system (Meyer, Gregory, Turner and McDowell, 1992, 258). Wallerstein argued that although the world capitalist system we know today originated in Europe (Wallerstein 1984, 164) it was predicated upon ceaseless expansion and by the end of the nineteenth century included ‘virtually the whole inhabited earth’ (Wallerstein, 1984, 165).

⁹ Glossary - Astronaut

¹⁰ Glossary - Parachute

World-systems analysis and globalisation

World-systems analysis is defined as ‘a materialist approach to social change . . . [which regards the world] as a single entity, the *capitalist world-economy*’ (Johnston *et al.*, 1994, 677- 78). Giddens (1981, 196) has stated that ‘It has now become clear, that since its inception, capitalism initiated the creation of a world system quite distinct from other inter-societal systems that existed in previous phases of “world time”’.

As mentioned earlier, Wallerstein formulated his argument about the modern world system based on capitalism as the central mode of production in the early 1970s (Wallerstein 1974, 1979, 1984) and since then it has evoked much critical response. What is considered original about Wallerstein’s argument is that he visualises the modern world system as a single system; Wallerstein (1984, 165) maintains that, ‘there is only *one* social system and therefore only *one* mode of production extant - the capitalist world-economy’. Because it maintains certain characteristics through all its phases it is a single entity, and Wallerstein attempts to show its origins, its operations and what he considers to be the beginnings of its demise.

Some scholars working with dependency theory to analyse how local societal features have been produced and sustained, notably Andre Gunder Frank and Samir Amin, also began to use a theory of global capitalism. Wallerstein, Frank and Amin developed the classical world-system perspective, although it is the Wallerstein version that is most often discussed in the literature. Johnston *et al.*, (1994, 677) refer to the product as a ‘study of society combining economic, political and social aspects with history in an holistic historical social science’.

There are three fundamental structural features that constitute the capitalist world economy. These are one world market, a multi-state system in which no one state dominates completely, and a three-tier structure of processes throughout the system resulting in a ‘tripartite hierarchical division of the world into core, semi-periphery and periphery’ (Taylor, 1993, 193). The middle grouping (semi-periphery) overcomes the spatial polarisation between the extremes (core and periphery) and plays a key role in the dynamics of the world-economy. Wallerstein recognises that core and periphery are in a continual state of change and it is in the semi-periphery that restructuring occurs. New Zealand and Australia have been part of this semi-periphery

since the establishment of settler societies in the early nineteenth century; Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea have become part of the semi-periphery since the 1960s.

The process of accumulating capital on a world scale has always been uneven and has continually 'reproduced and deepened . . . the core-periphery zonal organisation of world production' (Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1996, 4). This unevenness has also been a fundamental element in the continuing formation of the world labour force. The structuring of the world labour force in the modern world-system under globalisation, 'will be coming full circle' according to Wallerstein (1996, 233). As more individuals seek occupational mobility by means of migration the disruption to political states will increase with some flattening of wage disparities. This will lead to a lessening of the core-periphery gap as a geographical phenomenon, and an increase in the gap as a 'class phenomenon in all countries' (Wallerstein, 1996, 233-234).

The original concern of world-systems analysis was the development of a theory that would enable analysts to 'locate recent political events within a long-term and a medium-term perspective' (Taylor, 1989, 349). The world-system perspective challenges the assumption that national societies constitute independent units whose development can be understood without taking into account the systematic ways in which societies are linked to one another in the context of a larger network of material exchanges. Wallerstein contends that the division between political and economic analysis simply has no place in world-system theory, as the world-economy and the interstate system are interrelated aspects of a single, unitary system.

The framework that has shaped and restricted the seemingly "free" world market has been the interstate system (Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1996). However, as Hopkins and Wallerstein (1996, 6) point out, as a means of ensuring internal order state governments 'have sought to strengthen control of their borders defining who and what may pass in either direction'. To analyse international migration in the latter period of the twentieth century, a period of dramatic economic and social change, world-systems theory seems to offer a useful holistic approach.

However, as noted earlier, world-system theory has generated much debate since its formulation. The following brief discussion is a summary of the themes that have been some of the most contentious.

Critiques of world-systems analysis

Recurrent debate has waged over the relative importance and the degree of interdependence of the defining characteristics of the world system (Skocpol, 1977, 1985; Zolberg, 1981b). Other problems raised by reviewers include the 'eurocentrism' (Abu-Lughod, 1989) of the analysis, its 'econocentrism' (Sadler, 1989), the scale of analysis proposed (Agnew, 1982; Taylor, 1989), the omission of culture (Featherstone, 1990), plus a 'systematic neglect of political structures and processes' (Zolberg, 1989, 255).

The neglect of political structures and processes, the weakness identified by Zolberg, is the one of most concern for the analysis of international migration. Zolberg (1981b, 10) argues that by 'viewing political processes as epiphenomenal in relation to economic causation' Wallerstein minimises the importance of one major feature of the system - the role of government policy. National exit and entry policies make a direct contribution to global patterns of international migration. As will be shown later, the change in New Zealand's immigration policy in the mid 1980s, has been a critical factor in the evolution of the new migration regime in this country.

Wallerstein has said that much of this criticism, 'largely misses the point of the world-systems perspective' (Wallerstein, 1983, 299). He goes on to argue that the distinction regularly made by most social scientists between the economic, the political and the socio-cultural is futile. He questions whether any of these three could be independent activities and argues that the three arenas are not just closely interlinked but, within a given world system, human activity 'moves indiscriminately and imperceptibly in and among all three arenas' (Wallerstein, 1990, 292).

The misunderstanding of Wallerstein's proposed scale of analysis has been answered well by Taylor (1989, 351) who states that "'scale of analysis" is as indivisible as economics and politics. The choice to analyse on any scale is heuristic not theoretical'. Local forces still retain their importance when situated in a world-economy. It simply means they are contextualised as part of a larger system.

The development of world-systems analysis has produced a macro-analytical framework within which linkages between the core and periphery of a global system can be interpreted. As the emphasis is upon change on a world scale

this can lead to a tendency to generalise too broadly in some cases. The weakness of a macro-analytical perspective is that in the ‘totalising language of a world system’ (Walton, 1985, 5) the complexity and diversity of reality is often overlooked. However, as Wallerstein (1988) points out, just because world-systems analysis takes into account a world economy it does not mean that it is placing less importance on local forces. What it attempts to show is that local features are part of a larger unfolding system (Taylor, 1989). These are important concepts for geographers who often wish to analyse phenomena at a regional scale.

Two events of recent years have revolutionised world-systems studies. These are the gradual rise of East Asia to an epicentre of world-scale processes of capital accumulation and the sudden demise of the USSR as one of the two main centres of world power (Arrighi, 1996, 1). As Andre Gunder Frank (1994, 259) has phrased it, we have seen ‘the recent demise of the “socialist system” and the increasing wealth of many Asian countries provide a new perspective on the origins and development of a world economic system that spanned the globe’.

International migration, world-systems analysis and globalisation

World-systems analysis argues that most international migration since the 16th century has been generated by the progressive globalisation of the market economy (Portes and Walton 1981, and Sassen 1988). A precondition for the initiation of many international labour flows under capitalism has been change, brought about in the periphery of the global capitalist economy, by various forms of external penetration. Over the past two decades attempts have been made ‘to link labour flows to the historical-structural processes of the world economy’ (Oncu, 1990, 176). These linkages have been attempted during a time when the historical-structural processes of the world economy have been undergoing a significant phase of restructuring. The “globalisation” of the economy has continued to initiate flows of labour but the structural changes associated with the process have had a significant impact on the flows of immigrants and the ‘process of immigrant absorption’ (Richmond, 1992, 1200).

Wallerstein’s “world economy” or “European economy” came into existence in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century (Wallerstein, 1974). He argues that unlike prior “world economies” of China, Persia and Rome, which were

based on empires, the European style world economy was based on trade and was therefore 'different and new'. However, as pointed out by Cohen (1995, 2), world-system theorists generally under emphasised the fact that flowing along the trade arteries, in conjunction with commodities were merchants, seamen, settlers and slaves. 'European mercantilism initiated the hitherto largest process of forced migration' (Cohen, 1995, 2).

A period of indentured labour, from China, India and Japan to the plantations of the European powers, followed the collapse of slavery. Indentureship or 'unfree migrant labour' was still in operation until the 1940s in the Dutch East Indies and some authors stress the importance of this labour component in the global evolution of capitalism (Cohen, 1987; Miles, 1987; Potts, 1991). Associated with this European economic expansion was the voluntary flow of settlers from Europe to the colonies and America. This form of migration coincided with the period of European expansion and began to end as the anti-colonial nationalist movements began to rise.

Following in the wake of European industrial expansion workers were drawn from stagnant economic regions of northern, southern and eastern Europe and flowed into the United States in 'the great Atlantic migration to North America from Europe' (Cohen, 1995, 77). This great influx of workers provided 'the essential human grist to the American mill just when the country was on the verge of becoming a "great power"' (Cohen, 1995, 79).

After the Second World War there was a pent-up flow of migrants both voluntary and involuntary. The aftermath of war was a golden era for those who wished to migrate in search of work as economies in the USA and the victorious Allied states boomed. Europe turned from being a major source of migrants to a major destination zone. This era, in addition to enormous growth in the global economy, was also a time of dramatic change. Since the 1950s, as countries became more closely bound together by the operation of TNCs, financial and trade links, the global economy has become more integrated as it grew 'six times bigger than it was' (Fagan and Le Heron, 1994, 25)

By the mid 1970s the international migrant labour boom in Europe started to wane as the major players in the global economy began to emerge in the Asia-Pacific region. The transition from industrialism to post-industrialism has been accompanied by the declining importance of the primary and secondary

industrial sectors of industry and the growth of the tertiary sector. As Fagan and Webber (1994, 26) noted, with the onset of economic restructuring the proportion of the workforce in manufacturing declined and global financial markets boomed. These new tertiary sector occupations, as already mentioned, are in the service sector, many in the technologically advanced fields associated with the computerisation of information transfer in occupations such as banking and finance.

These industrial changes have occurred at the same time as Japan and the NICs became a powerful centre in the global economy. The changes have had different impacts on particular groups of people. There has been a substantial increase in female labour force participation including the 'flexible hiring and firing practices and the use of workers' (Lim, 1997, 1). The structural changes have also been accompanied by 'deliberate attempts [by settler countries] to recruit well-qualified immigrants and a "business class" of entrepreneurs with capital to invest' (Richmond, 1992, 1201). In other words as Inglis and Wu (1992, 193) point out 'the migration stream involves both human and financial resources flowing from the Asian nations to Australia', Canada, the United States and New Zealand (Inglis and Wu, 1992, 193).

Many countries are now both senders and receivers of migrants. Skilled migrants can choose to work in many countries whilst maintaining a "home base" in their countries of origin. This growth of international labour circulation is a part of the "globalisation" process. Highly skilled personnel who move temporarily within specialised international labour markets, have been identified as "professional transients" by Appleyard (1989, 32) or "capital assisted migration (CAM)" by Stahl (1991, 163). Lever-Tracy (1989, 448) describes these transfers of population as 'occurring within an internationally mobile component of the urban working class [facilitated by networks that] straddle international boundaries'.

The 'professional transients' make up a significant part of international migration flows in the 1990s and are 'now a major feature of global migration systems' (Findlay, 1995, 521). But this 'skilled transient' phenomenon is largely an invisible one 'because it poses no threat in terms of perceived social and economic burdens for the sender and host societies' (Findlay, 1995, 515).

This international immigration market among the highly skilled is a feature of the development of a global economy 'characterised by the internationalisation of companies and of human resources' (Borjas, 1990; Salt, 1992, 1086). There are two trends in the migration of the highly skilled pointed out by Salt (1992, 1086-1087). The first is the growing relationship between migration and business travel. Salt and Ford, (1992) think there are grounds for 'migration, secondment, short-term assignments and business visits [to be] increasingly substitutable' (Salt, 1992, 1087). A strategy adopted by the highly skilled and business managers, particularly from Northeast Asia, is the "astronaut" family (Skeldon, 1994d). Work is located in a country other than the one in which the family is living and family relationships are maintained by frequent long-distance flights.

The second trend identified by Salt (1992, 1087) 'is the relationship between migration by the highly skilled and the changing organisation of production in modern economies'. Salt feels that the increased specialisation required by changing technologies has led to segmentation in the labour market and an hierarchical system of function and control. The mobility of these workers should continue to rise as companies develop.

However, these temporary movements have the potential to produce greater impacts on the economic and labour market policies of the receiving countries than permanent movements. Salt (1993, 15) notes that 'it is difficult to see anything but a general increase in the migration of high level skills as all modern economies engage in brain exchanges'. However, to date, these movements appear to be rarely integrated with permanent immigration policy (Inglis, 1993, 104). In fact, as Findlay (1995, 521) points out, the full significance of skilled transient flows, and the 'power of individual migrants to position themselves advantageously within the evolving world economy' is not yet fully appreciated. The growing significance of this temporary population circulation in the global economy is attracting increasing attention from researchers (Findlay, 1995, 516).

Over the past several decades there has been the increased development of transnationalism which is 'part of a long-term process of global capitalist penetration' (Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Blanc-Szanton, 1994, 12). In this process of transnationalism migrants deliberately obtain and maintain options for economic and social activity in both their country of origin and their host country - that is they have lives stretched across national borders.

Amongst other changes an English proficiency prerequisite was re-introduced (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1995). This language requirement has effectively moved New Zealand back onto the exclusion path which existed before the 1986 immigration policy review.

The following section shows how, since the restructuring of the New Zealand economy, the country has acquired a new regional focus both economically and socially. The chapter concludes with a comment on why an integrative systems approach to analysis is considered to be the most appropriate framework for this study.

Globalisation and international migration flows to New Zealand

The New Zealand Government in 1984 was so heavily in debt to overseas countries that it was facing the prospect of intervention by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). By 1998 'the Government has repaid all its net foreign currency debt and is running fiscal surpluses' (Kerr, 1998, A9). To understand the process of globalisation and how it effects New Zealand it is necessary to study the links between trade in goods, services and capital, in conjunction with the movement of people. As Callister notes (1991, 2), 'Migration policy . . . needs to take account of changes in goods, services and investment markets'.

Cohen (1995, 3) has argued that, 'As the twenty-first century approaches, migration flows are becoming more global in scope and more complex and diverse in character'. However, in terms of the movement of people the so-called global era has seen states seeking to 'strengthen control of their borders defining who and what may pass in either direction' (Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1996, 4). In terms of the movement of people 'today's global era is markedly less free and integrated' (Kerr, 1998, A9) than in the era of British imperialism when capital, trade and people flowed freely across national boundaries within particular colonial empires.

New Zealand has a history of migration and the population has been shaped and reshaped by successive waves of immigration. In the 1950s the wave contained people from the Netherlands and the United Kingdom; in the 1960s and 1970s it was the United Kingdom and the Pacific Islands; in the 1980s it was the Pacific Islands and Asia; in the first half of the 1990s migration from

Asia superseded in volume and importance migrations from Europe (Bedford and Lidgard, 1996).

The New Zealand Government has continued to be ambivalent about the benefits of immigration. Although the immigration policy of the 1986 to 1996 decade has been designed to attract the skilled and wealthy to forge closer trade links with the rest of the world the policy has continued to be operated on a short-term rather than a long-term basis creating instability in population gains. Unquestionably in the 1990s the state has control over the entry and settlement of immigrants.

Also in the 1990s, there has been a substantial increase in short-term population movement, into and out of the country as New Zealand's economy turned about from being highly protected towards being one of the most open market economies in the world. In conjunction with the internationalisation of New Zealand's economy there has been an opening up of the country to a wider range of potential sources of immigrants as the 'New Zealand politicians, who had resisted Asian migration for generations, were forced into accepting the new geo-political realities' (Cohen, 1995, 3).

In this thesis both the historical-structural and the behaviourist approaches outlined by Oncu (1990) are used to study recent international migration. The global flows of capital and population are macro-processes and structures that are viewed from the historical-structural perspective. The transformation of economies in Asia and New Zealand, and in Australia, the United States and Canada, are tied to the changes in immigration policy that are an integral part of changing economic and social systems. There is also a behavioural element to this thesis which is developed in Chapter Six. The networks that have developed linking migrants in New Zealand to their kin in Asia owe as much to social factors as to economic factors.

The division between the dominant two perspectives used in the study of international migration is much less obvious in the literature in the 1990s than it was in the 1970s and 1980s when analysis was in either one or other of the dominant traditions. Although the two perspectives each highlight significant aspects of migration they tend to over-emphasise them. The historical-structural perspective should not ignore the fact that individuals make decisions to migrate and that the local contexts of such decisions can vary markedly from place to place. The behaviourist perspective should not

overlook the fact that there are processes and structures that both enable and constrain the choices of individuals. These processes often originate in historical and global factors.

To adopt only one of the two approaches would be to over-simplify a complex reality. As I have argued elsewhere (Lidgard, 1992), an approach that explores how the two levels of analysis are integrated is what is needed. In this thesis the analysis proceeds from an understanding of how historical, global and local enabling and constraining structures have impinged on individual decision making with particular reference to migration to New Zealand from countries in Northeast Asia. Such an approach is in essence a “systems” analysis. The systems approach permits a more holistic view of international migration. Not only are the processes associated with movement interpreted, but the powerful forces holding the system together are also of equal interest in the analysis. Therefore both macro and micro scales of analysis are used in this thesis.

The following chapter situates international migration to and from the traditional countries of immigration in the context of the globalisation and world-systems ideas introduced in this chapter. It will be shown that the migration systems that have evolved in all four countries are closely tied to the economic and political transformations that accompany capitalist development. The changes that have occurred are associated with amendments to immigration policies and regulations and the emergence of significant immigrant flows from countries in the Pacific Basin.

CHAPTER THREE

International migration in the traditional countries of immigration: a comparative perspective

The migration systems that have evolved in four areas regarded as the traditional countries of Anglo-European settlement, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States of America, are closely tied to the economic and political transformations that accompany capitalist development. The 'turbulent forces' (Dicken, 1986, 1) that have shaken the world economy since the early 1970s have been accompanied by significant changes in immigration policy. This chapter provides an international context for a more specific examination of the New Zealand experience of international migration since 1981, the substance of Chapter Four.

There have been various comparative studies of the 'nations of immigrants' through the years. Freeman and Jupp (1992) compared Australia and the United States and they have produced a useful bibliography of comparative and theoretical references (Freeman and Jupp, 1992, 238-240). Ongley and Pearson (1995), pointed out that several comparative analyses have been published dealing with Australian and Canadian immigration (Atchison, 1984, 1988; Hawkins, 1989; Richmond, 1991; Richmond and Rao, 1976). Ongley and Pearson (1995) included New Zealand in their comparative analysis to emphasise the parallels in development between the three former Dominions, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. They argued that the difference that had set New Zealand apart was simply one of scale. Their argument is that smaller size and lower immigration intakes should not prevent meaningful comparable analyses of 'causes, patterns and consequences of immigration' (Ongley and Pearson, 1995, 766).

Relatively few works compare the four traditional countries of immigration. Price (1974) developed his comparison from the perspective of race and international relations and traced the building of 'The Great White Walls'. Inglis (1993) showed how the major immigrant receiving countries in North America and Australasia had all made substantial alterations to their immigration policies to remove these "Great White Walls" in an attempt to

attract highly skilled permanent migrants perceived as being able to contribute to national development. Brawley (1995), and Iredale (1996a), have also made comparative studies of the four countries - the first from an historian's viewpoint; the second comparing each country's approach to the recognition of overseas qualifications.

As settler colonies of Europe, the four countries developed as a result of links to European capitalism in a context which world-systems analysts term 'semi-peripheral' status. By the late 1880s Chinese were virtually excluded from settling in all of the countries and there was often severe discrimination against Chinese residents who had already settled (Price, 1974, 127). The expansion of Europe overseas through the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, and the increasing hostility toward the settlement of the Chinese "sojourner" in the new outposts of Europe, is one of several similarities in experiences of the four countries discussed in the first part of this chapter.

The second feature examined in the international migration systems of the four countries is the continuing domination of policy favouring migrants from Europe until the mid twentieth century. What Price (1974, 24) has termed the 'Great White Walls of the Pacific' continued to be solid, high and guarded; shutting out migrants from Asia.

The third section focuses on the impact of the Second World War on the geopolitical realities for the four countries, and the beginnings of the "long economic boom" in the late 1940s. The massive demand for labour in this period, as mentioned in Chapter Two, saw increasing population flows not only from Europe but also to Europe as both skilled and unskilled labour was sourced from the periphery.

The fourth section in this chapter shows how capitalism underwent even more dramatic change in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The traditional countries of immigration all began to show signs of an emerging capitalist crisis as the balance of power shifted from capital to labour in the 1960s (Ong, Bonacich and Cheng, 1994). This led to the movement of capital to developing countries where the workers were more easily controlled and willing to work for lower wages. At the same time there were challenges to existing restrictive immigration policies as the United Nations articulated a strong anti-racism ideology. These changes brought about a strengthening of the Asia-Pacific link.

The economic development of Asia at this time is also of particular relevance. Accompanying restructuring of the world economy from the 1970s was the rise of the Asian NICs and the abandonment of racially discriminatory policies in the traditional countries of immigration. Since then there has been a massive growth in Asian migration across the Pacific (Figure 3.1). In the late twentieth century Asian peoples began large scale movements to the “semi-periphery”.

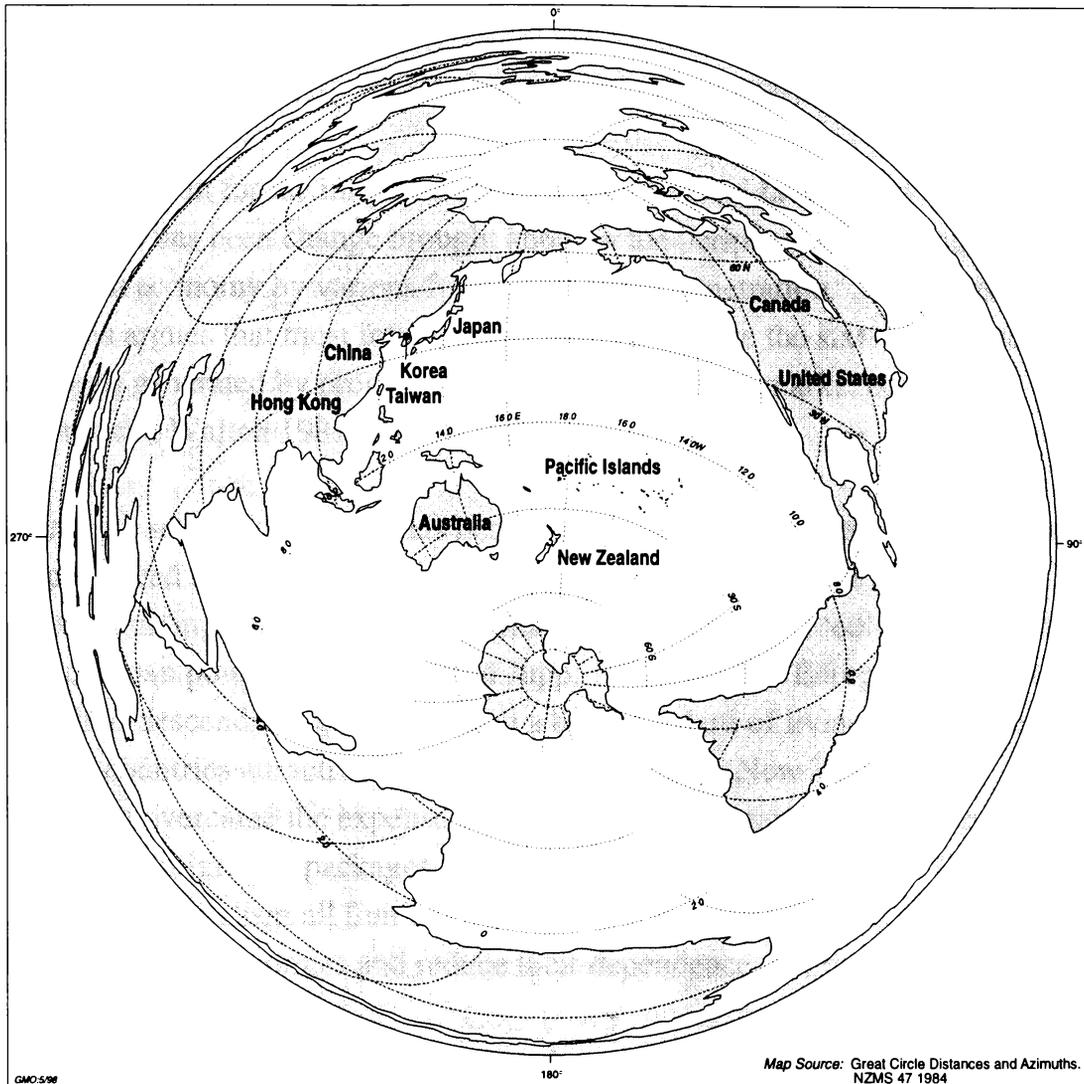


Figure 3.1 Pacific rim countries of settlement and Asian countries of study

The fifth section shows how New Zealand, the laggard in the reorientation of its immigration policy, finally caught up with the other three countries in the mid 1980s. In the 1990s, all four “white settler countries” on the Pacific Rim, have immigration policies that are ostensibly non-discriminatory. New migration systems had been established. The colonial and economic connections, of the mid nineteenth to mid twentieth century systems, had been replaced by proximate and economic linkages.

FORMATION OF THE “SEMI-PERIPHERY” (TO THE 1870s)

A precondition for the initiation of many international labour flows under capitalism has been change brought about in the periphery of the global capitalist economy by various forms of external penetration. World-systems analysis argues that most international migration since the sixteenth century has been generated by progressive globalisation of the market economy (Portes and Walton 1981; Sassen 1988).

There are several clear parallels between the four settler countries. All were incorporated into the world system by commercial agriculture and mining after beginning their histories of capitalist development as ‘colonial outposts of European powers’ (Freeman and Jupp, 1992, 9). The European migrants and their descendants quickly gained a high standard of living making the “new” countries attractive destinations for settlers. (New Zealand and Australia overcame the expense of travelling long distances by offering assisted immigration packages.) Since their incorporation into the European system of capitalism all four countries have attempted to restructure and broaden their economies and reduce their dependence on primary industries.

A distinctive ideological feature, shared by the “countries of settlement” ‘in contrast to other countries’ (Inglis, 1993, 83), was the active recruitment of immigrants to settle permanently and become citizens of their new country. This ‘ideology of migrant settlement [was] reflected in entry and settlement policies’ (Stahl, *et al.*, 1993, 83). As the major source of immigrants for the four countries was historically Europe, a legacy of political and cultural ties was generated that has endured for several centuries.

Nineteenth century expansion of Europe

The patterns of nineteenth century European settlement that penetrated the periphery were all established by the colonisation of temperate or semi-temperate regions. These areas all received large waves of emigrants from Europe as British imperialism underwent a crisis in the mid nineteenth century (Willcox, 1969a; Bedggood, 1980, 19-22). Between 1840 and 1925 a 'human flood took nearly 50 million Europeans abroad . . . seven out of ten emigrant Europeans went to the United States and Canada' (Grey, 1994, 9). At the same time the other 'dominion capitalist' societies of Australia and New Zealand (together with Argentina and Uruguay) were formed (Ehrensaft and Armstrong, 1978, 352; Borrie, 1994). These colonies grew within the world system created by West European capitalist imperialism dominated at that time by Britain (Wallerstein, 1989, 122).

After 1840 the human flow was complemented by the export of 'capital and technology in search of profits' (Grey, 1994, 9). The interconnections of the new societies, combined with the great growth in markets and wealth of nineteenth century Europe, also played a vital role in the development of these new societies. Although the 'white settler dominions' quickly became self-governing, the ownership and control of economic resources was dominated by foreign capital (Bedggood, 1980, 18). Undoubtedly the dominions were developed to serve the interests of international capital. However, in these colonies this investment of foreign capital 'allowed them to develop as highly efficient primary producers in the international division of labour' (Bedggood, 1980, 18).

The independent industrialisation of the four countries was blocked by a process of incorporation into the international economy that saw their development become 'extraverted specialisation in the production of primary raw material for the "mother country"' (Armstrong, 1978, 300). These exported primary products were, however, 'produced by technologies, capital-labour ratios, and wage levels typical of advanced capitalism' (Ehrensaft and Armstrong, 1978, 352). For these settler capitalist economies industrialisation was 'based principally upon the first processing stages of primary production or upon import-substitution . . . sheltered behind tariffs . . . [and] largely confined within national boundaries' (Ehrensaft and Armstrong, 1978, 352). This concentration on the production of raw materials rather than

manufacturing was a feature of colonial governments who ‘were anxious not to compete with home industries’ (Seagrave, 1996, 154).

The modern world-system is based on ‘patterns of uneven development which are *summarised* in the concepts of core, semiperiphery and periphery’ (Taylor and Thrift, 1981, 211). The white settler countries belong neither to the core nor the periphery but are ‘a *necessary* feature (for both economic and political reasons) of a basically triadic world-scale division of labour’ (Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1977, 117, cited in Taylor and Thrift, 1981, 194). The “dominion capitalist” countries occupied a position somewhere between the world centres and peripheries (Armstrong, 1978, 298) and were identified by Taylor and Thrift (1981, 196) as ‘a distinctive sub-set of semi-peripheral countries’.

In the nineteenth century these countries of recent settlement were incorporated into the British-dominated international economy of the time as ‘specialist producers of temperate foodstuffs in the international division of labour required by a British economy going through the second industrial revolution’ (Armstrong, 1978, 299). Thus the economies of these countries developed with an initial distortion produced by dominance by the United Kingdom as a trading partner and a focus on resource extraction (Clement, 1978, 322). A focus on resource extraction in the semi-periphery led not only to European but also to Asian migration in this era.

Migration of Asians to the goldfields

In the mid nineteenth century Chinese as well as European gold seekers were roaming the world in search of quick wealth (Ng, 1993 cited in Ip, 1995, 163). At this time there was a ‘huge Chinese emigration . . . with more than two million people leaving the homeland in search of better luck overseas’ (Fairbank, 1978, in Ip, 1995, 163).

Few restrictions on immigration were imposed by the settler societies for most of the nineteenth century and much has been written about the contrast between the circulation of the Chinese “sojourner” and the migration of the “settler” European. However, as Skeldon (1995b, 532) notes, ‘the critical difference between Chinese and European nineteenth-century migration was that the Chinese were moving into a country governed by institutions established by the Europeans’. Many of the Europeans who moved at this time intended, and did, return (Chan, 1990).

The ‘first large numbers of Chinese were *invited* into New Zealand . . . by the Otago Provincial Government’ (McKinnon, 1996, 22) in 1866 (Ip, 1995, 161). They were recruited to work on the goldfields to assist in the resource extraction. It was believed that their ‘particularly thorough methods’ of mining (McKinnon, 1996, 23) would be able to reverse the trend of falling yields of gold. However, as Ip (1995, 169) notes, ‘Since the Chinese were given abandoned claims, and since the gold was largely depleted . . . the situation of the Chinese miners was a very grim one’.

It must be remembered that at the time that great waves of gold-diggers from China began pouring into first California, then Eastern Australia, followed by New Zealand and finally British Columbia, European colonisation and nation-building in these Pacific Rim areas was taking place. The white colonists in the “young” countries became fearful they might become overwhelmed by immigrants from “inferior” societies (Price, 1974, 23). ‘To the white diggers and to a growing section of public opinion in these pioneering communities in North America and Australasia, the Chinese were not only alien, they were often seen as evil and dangerous as well’ (Hawkins, 1989, 10). These feelings of fear and hostility, and ‘Yellow Peril panic’ (Seagrave, 1996, 153) led to restrictions on entry and discriminatory procedures against the Chinese in all four of the Pacific Rim countries of settlement in the 1880s.

THE PERSISTENCE OF THE “ATLANTIC” LINKS, 1870-1945

Before the Second World War the ethnic composition of the four white receiving countries was predominantly European. Price (1974, 16) estimated that over four-fifths of the new settlers were of north-west European origin with half of these of British stock (Table 3.1). From the beginning of European settlement of the “new” nations this high proportion of the population from Britain meant that English was the language that dominated in both everyday and official business. The immigrants who went to America during the founding period were more diverse than those going to Australasia (Freeman and Jupp, 1992, 10). However, there was a large north-western European element dominated by those of British stock on the Pacific coast of North America.

Table 3.1: Origin of the white population in North America and Australasia in the late nineteenth century

Percentage estimates				
Ethnicity	United States	Canada	Australia	New Zealand
English		41.5	53.0	50.0
Scottish		22.5	13.0	22.5
Irish		18.5	23.0	21.0
Welsh		2.5	1.5	2.0
Total British	60.0	85.0	90.5	95.5
German	20.0	5.0	5.2	
Scandinavian	5.0	1.0	1.9	
Other NW Europe	5.0	9.0	2.4	4.5
Others (Spanish/American)	10.0			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Price, 1974, 16-17

As Borrie (1994, 151) notes: 'Australia and New Zealand were the last major land masses to be colonised by British and Northern European settlers'. The Australian nation was viewed as a white outpost of British culture (Castles, 1992b, 54). In New Zealand British stock was even stronger at an estimated 95.5 percent in the late nineteenth century (Table 3.1). Although still small countries in terms of their populations at the turn of the century, Australia and New Zealand had established capitalist economies based on the export of primary products with 'assured markets in the "Mother Country" that were to remain basically unchanged for the next sixty years' (Borrie, 1994, 151).

The British and European domination of the world system continued in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Grey (1994, 38) notes: 'Between 1881 and 1936, 41.4 million European emigrants were divided between the United States (60 percent), Argentina (25 percent), Brazil (10 percent), Canada (9 percent), and Australia (5 percent). New Zealand received less than one percent of the flow.'

The movement of large numbers of people, in response to overcrowding and limited land, was made possible for many to the South Pacific by the introduction of free or subsidised passages. The United States did not have to provide this inducement as it was generally easier and less expensive to reach.

Immigration policy cementing trade ties

The developed world underwent a series of economic depressions in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Grey, 1994, 223). This meant that the settler colonies received diminishing returns for the export of their raw materials. However, Britain still maintained large reserves of investment capital and a population with expanding needs for food. Grey (1994, 224) has argued that: ‘An immense sum was being invested abroad by Britain in the latter half of the nineteenth century . . . [d]espite depressed conditions’.

During these economically depressed years advances in new technologies, particularly transportation and its organisation, stimulated the world-wide development of more reliable, frequent and inexpensive shipping services (Grey, 1994, 224). New Zealand was linked up with the international telegraphic network in this quarter-century and by ‘1876 information telegraphed from abroad could be redirected to most larger towns’ (Grey, 1994, 226). This technology meant that there was a rapid transfer of news to and from Europe to even the most distant of the new settler colonies and was a time when connections in the Pacific widened.

As European populations continued to increase these new transport and communication technologies were important factors in the great migrations of European peoples in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Emigration was encouraged to the new countries overseas via what has been termed the ‘Atlantic pipeline’ (Grey, 1994, 227). This was a period of organised, government-assisted immigration linked to British overseas investment in public works and development schemes (New Zealand Yearbook, 1990, 34).

In these years there was also tremendous technological development in other processes. The perfection of mechanical refrigeration was the innovation that had most impact on the successful shipping of food from the countries of the semi-periphery to Europe. The ‘specialist suppliers of foodstuffs for the industrial centre’ were now firmly tied to the dominance of capital from the core (Armstrong, 1978, 300). As Sutch (1972, 50) pointed out, ‘The shipping

and processing investment of Britain and the heavy emphasis which New Zealand and its successive governments placed on farming . . . meant that there was little development in manufacturing’.

Throughout the period from 1875 until the Second World War, roughly 80 percent of New Zealand’s exports were sold to the United Kingdom and at least half its imports came from that country (New Zealand Yearbook, 1990, 39). During this time geographical remoteness from the United Kingdom was offset by economic dependence. New Zealand remained ‘Britain’s outlying farm’ and British investors provided most of the overseas capital borrowed by the government or private companies (New Zealand Yearbook, 1990, 41). However, as Pearson (1990, 71) points out, ‘economic stability was often under threat in a small, distant society experiencing the uneasiness that comes from what Wallerstein has called a semi-peripheral status in the world system’.

Armstrong (1978, 302) concludes by arguing that by the 1970s:

societies such as those of the dominion capitalist group have demonstrably reached an *impasse* within the world-system. Economically and culturally dependent, heavily indebted despite three decades of massive capital accumulation and growth, suffering from inflation, unemployment and the distortions of combined and uneven development, and with their traditional economic structures in crisis, they no longer have the option of an autocentric, independent industrial capitalist development open to them. As Canadian and Australian political economists, and a few New Zealand writers have argued . . . a total change is required.

At the same time the white settler countries all operated immigration policies that cemented these colonial ties. By the late nineteenth century there was a demand for racist, exclusionist, immigration policies.

The “White Walls” shutting out Asians

The roots of White immigration policies in these Euro-settler countries were established in xenophobia in the mid-nineteenth century and did not begin to be abandoned until the mid twentieth century. As the countries began to establish clearer cultural identities and came to regard themselves as nations, the new settlers began to demand restrictive legislation ‘controlling immigration on ethnic criteria’ (Roy, 1970, 16). The special characteristic of

the “new” nations was based on “race” which meant that if the emerging character of the nation was to be sustained, “races” rather than individual people needed to be excluded (Brawley, 1995, 3). The dominant underlying factor leading to these exclusion policies was the ‘working-class fear of cheap labour’ (Roy, 1970, 16). Brawley (1995, 3) observes that:

At this time Chinese migration, which had been spurred by mineral booms in all four societies, led to an influx of a race whose characteristics appeared incompatible with, and inferior to, the national character. Such migration, therefore, was a threat which had to be prevented.

This exclusion - inclusion dialectic raised not only feelings of racial inequality but also much wider issues which had political, economic and social repercussions. All the settler countries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had either explicit or implicit discriminatory immigration policies and Chinese residents were often severely discriminated against (Price, 1974, 127). The exclusion process began in earnest in the United States in 1880. In 1881, New Zealand began to close its doors, Canada’s restrictions date from 1885. Australia had virtually a uniform and almost prohibitive law against Chinese immigration in most colonies from 1888-89 (Price, 1974, 197). However, it was not until the establishment of the new Commonwealth Government in 1901 that the official Restriction Act was passed excluding non-Europeans from Australia (Appendix A).

In addition to economic, political and strategic fears, Price (1974, 23) notes, ‘there was also prevalent a strong dislike and a deep antipathy to racial intermixture and interbreeding’. These feelings were later extended to all other “non-Europeans”, and by the early 1920s in Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand there was severe discrimination against and restrictions on new immigrants who were not from Europe.

However, not all countries were as explicit in their discriminatory legislation as Australia where “White Australia” was a ‘*public* policy in the plainest sense of the term’ (Hawkins, 1989, 8). In Canada, Hawkins (1989) notes that both the origins as well as the lengthy, continuing White Canada policy were ‘often clothed in discreet silence’ (Hawkins, 1989, 8). In New Zealand, although racial discrimination was an integral part of immigration policy, in 1920 when the policy was revised (Appendix A) the legislation was

hinged around a new and ingenious principle that met all the objections of a Britain increasingly sensitive to the demands of militant Indian nationalism, and a world where opinion was rapidly moving in the direction of condemning overt displays of racial prejudice (Roy, 1970, 19).

The formulation of the “White” policies in the settler countries coincided with the period of nation-building already mentioned, when ‘notions of *self* equated with the exclusion of the *other*’ (Brawley, 1995, 3). Although all the settler countries had White immigration policy beginning with the exclusion of the Chinese in the 1880s there were some notable differences in detail.

The restrictions on the entry of Chinese were more severe in the United States than in Canada (Price, 1974, 139). In 1880 the United States Congress began an incremental process of excluding Asians, a step that became complete and permanent in 1904 (Freeman and Jupp, 1992, 8). The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act (Appendix A) remained in effect until 1943, two years after China became a wartime ally of the United States. The act almost entirely terminated immigration from China soon after its passage. It was not until the late 1960s that Chinese immigration regained the levels it had reached before the Exclusion Act was implemented. (Arnold *et al*, 1987, 110).

Immigration to Australia has rarely been free of government control and intervention. As Price (1982, 48) observes:

Australia pursued two quite different migration lines simultaneously. One involved encouraging and assisting immigrants, especially Britons . . . The other involved refusing permanent entry to “unsuitable” persons, and warning overseas governments, particularly nearby Asian powers, not to interfere on behalf of their citizens temporarily resident in Australia as tourists or traders.

The White Australia policy remained in force for 72 years with both political and public support.

New Zealand was intended to be a ‘great centre of Anglo-Saxon civilisation in the South-west Pacific’ (Price, 1974, 201) in contrast to the United States, which until 1920, accepted white immigrants from anywhere in the world. Attitudes, as well as policy in New Zealand were British. In 1899, the government introduced the Immigration Restriction Act which restricted the entry of foreigners, primarily non-Europeans (McKinnon, 1996, 16).

McKinnon (1996, 12) noted the marked contrast between the experiences of the British (the kin) and the non-British (the foreigner or alien) immigrant when he observed:

Britons could enter the country as they wished, the foreigner had to be . . . permitted. The same act of sovereignty which gave all Britons rights of abode in the new colony also defined the status of all others, being the subjects of other sovereigns, as aliens.

Asian immigration to New Zealand was restricted for all but Indian migrants (coloured citizens of the British Empire), and a poll-tax system, similar to Canada's, operated for the Chinese (Brawley, 1995, 63). The restrictions were severe with both a head tax and a vessel weight to Chinese passenger ratio requirement imposed (McKinnon, 1996, 26).

These exclusionist policies, as already mentioned, remained in operation until the mid twentieth century. It was not until the period of rebuilding, after the Second World War, that discriminatory immigration policies began to be scrutinised and placed under increasing pressure to reform.

STRENGTHENING OF THE ASIA-PACIFIC LINKS - 1945 ONWARDS

The Second World War began a spectacular transformation of global politics and economics and an amazing change in technologies. Social and cultural changes accompanied these developments. Societies, that prewar had been inward-looking and insecure, gradually became more socially conscious and concerned with international issues (Hawkins, 1989, 30). It was recognised that immigration would play a key role in post-war reconstruction, particularly in Canada and Australia (Atchison, 1984, 9).

This was also a period when transport became more rapid, frequent and affordable. The number of ships and then aircraft greatly increased the opportunity for people to move. What also increased were the problems associated with administering racially discriminatory immigration policies. In the early postwar period the emerging international community increasingly opposed the restriction of immigration on racial grounds. In both North America and Australasia governments finally began to accept that their

discriminatory immigration policies were affecting their foreign relations (Brawley, 1993, 17).

At the same time this was the period when the centre of capital accumulation had undisputedly moved from Britain to the United States. This shift had begun by the end of the First World War when 'the United States had bought back at bargain prices some of the massive investments which had built up the infrastructure of its domestic economy in the nineteenth century' (Arrighi, 1994, 271). The impact of the Second World War replicated on an even wider scale the impact of the First World War. By 1945 the United States had 'attained unprecedented and unparalleled heights' becoming rich and powerful during a time of systemic chaos in the world economy. Its rise to power occurred in much the same way as 'Venice in the fifteenth century, the United Provinces in the seventeenth century, and the United Kingdom in the eighteenth century' (Arrighi, 1994, 276).

Impact of the Second World War on the geopolitics of the Pacific rim

The major lesson for the Australians and the New Zealanders in the Second World War was that their security depended more upon the power of the United States than their former colonial ruler. Both countries emerged from the Second World War with a profound sense of their vulnerability. Japan's military might had come very close to the Australian continent and it was realised that the British security system for the Pacific could no longer be relied upon for protection. They turned to the United States as a new protector which led in 1951 to the signing of the ANZUS pact, a mutual defence agreement between Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America. This action was a clear indication that Australia and New Zealand realised that an alliance of Pacific powers offered them the most realistic protection for the future.

This process brought about a re-orientation of the countries' economic linkages in addition to their strategic and political ones (Castles, 1992b, 54). In August 1945 Australia's first Minister of Immigration announced a large-scale post-war immigration programme which was designed to strengthen national security and economic development by increasing population growth through immigration by one per cent per annum (Hawkins, 1989, 32). This remained the official goal until the early 1970s. Although it was proposed

that the source countries of new immigrants should be diversified it was also felt that the majority of immigrants should continue to come from Britain.

There was a marked contrast between Canadian and Australian post-war immigration policies. While they both adopted the “populate or perish” slogan their reasons for doing so were different (Hawkins, 1989, 32-38). Australia felt the need to achieve fast population growth through immigration for security purposes, while Canada felt comfortably protected by its common border with the United States (Hawkins, 1989, 36). Canada’s reason for wishing to increase the country’s population by immigration was economic. The Canadian government planned to improve the Canadian standard of living by enlarging the country’s domestic market and reducing its dependence on the export of primary products.

In New Zealand, the Dominion Population Committee, appointed in December 1945, ‘recommended a carefully planned immigration policy to fill the labour shortages in secondary and tertiary industries that could not be filled in the short term by the local population’ (Farmer, 1985, 64). It was recognised that the preferred British migrants were increasingly difficult to recruit as New Zealand had to compete with aggressive Australian and Canadian immigration programmes (Brawley, 1993, 21).

In a bid to compete with the other settler countries the assisted/free passage immigration scheme from the United Kingdom was reintroduced in 1947 aimed at attracting working-age industrial and agricultural labour. In 1950, the free immigration scheme was extended and provision was made to negotiate agreements to accept some non-British men and women (Appendix A).

An agreement on assistance was also negotiated with the government of the Netherlands. Emigration was considered to be an essential strategy for the post-war surplus of agricultural and industrial labour in the Netherlands (Farmer, 1985, 64). This scheme reached its high point in the 1952/53 year when the percentage of assisted migrants from the Netherlands (54 percent) was higher than for those arriving with assistance from the United Kingdom (33 percent) (Farmer, 1985, 73).

The long boom - 1945-1973

The world market that emerged from the ashes of the Second World War was no longer based on the foundations that had been constructed by Britain in the nineteenth century (Palat, 1996a). Following the Second World War ‘the phenomenal growth that occurred in the postwar boom depended . . . on a series of compromises and repositionings on the part of the major actors in the capitalist development process’ (Harvey, 1989, 132). Harvey (1989, 133) goes on to suggest that the power basis for the postwar boom was the balance achieved ‘between organised labour, large corporate capital and the nation state’. The state’s role was to provide policies that would support relatively stable business conditions to ensure the growth of both production and consumption to secure relatively full employment.

The long, postwar boom of Fordist production, (the socio-economic system that links mass production with mass consumption) was, as pointed out by Harvey (1989, 136), very much an international affair and depended upon a massive expansion of world trade and international investment. This internationalisation of Fordism created not only global mass markets but also absorbed ‘the mass of the world’s population, outside the communist world, into the global dynamics of a new kind of capitalism’ (Harvey, 1989, 137). Under the hegemony of the United States it was the durable relationship established between ‘big business, big labour and big government [that] enabled Fordism to provide the basis for the long postwar boom . . . throughout much of the capitalist world’ (Knox and Agnew, 1994, 340).

As a result of the economic strategy to concentrate investment and expansion of production in the existing highly developed countries, ‘large numbers of migrant workers were drawn from less-developed countries or from the European periphery into the fast-expanding industrial areas of North America and Australa[sia]’ (Castles and Miller, 1993, 65). Castles and Miller (1993, 66) identify three main types of migration in this period between 1945 and the early 1970s. The first was the migration of workers from the European periphery to Western Europe through ‘guestworker systems’. The second, the migration of ‘colonial workers’ to former colonial powers. The third was the permanent migration to North America and Australasia, at first from Europe and later from Asia and Latin America. (New Zealand was a small player compared to the major receiving countries and the composition of the flows remained more British.)

A common feature of migratory movements in this period was economic motivations both on the part of the governments and policy makers and most often the migrants themselves, apart from those who were moving as refugees. While there is debate on how important the availability of large supplies of labour was for the economies of the receiving countries in the postwar expansion of industry, there is a strong correlation between the high net immigration countries and the countries that had the highest economic growth rates. Thus, as Castles and Miller (1993, 76) note, 'the argument that immigration was economically beneficial in this period is convincing'.

The increased diversity of the areas of origin and the growing cultural differences between the receiving populations and the migrants is a further shared feature for the three major receiving countries during this 1945-1973 period. New Zealand differed somewhat in this regard. Since the mid 1950s, when the majority of permanent immigrants to all the traditional settler countries came from Europe, there has been a dramatic change in the source countries and composition of the immigrant flows. 'Increasing proportions came from Asia, Africa and Latin America . . . [a] trend that was to become even more marked in the following period' (Castles and Miller, 1993, 76). For New Zealand the increasing flows in this period came from the Island countries of the Pacific.

A third feature of relevance is the comparative situation of colonial workers and guestworkers. Colonial workers were normally citizens with the attendant civil and political rights to become permanent settlers. On the other hand guest and other foreign workers were non-citizens who arrived with the official expectation that they would be temporary workers for a few years before returning to their countries of origin. Family reunion became a major source of new immigrants from both groups and led to the increasing development of ethnic enclaves.

Migration in the mid-twentieth century clearly underwent a qualitative change. As Hawkins (1972, 9) observed, "'for ever and ever migration" is now only one among several alternatives'. The 'mobility and lack of specific national commitment among modern immigrants' (Hawkins, 1972, 8) was the characteristic that impressed an eminent migration researcher, Anthony Richmond, in the 1960s. In 1968 Richmond coined the term 'transilient' to describe this internationally mobile labour force many of whom had no

intention of settling permanently in any country. The concept that Richmond developed in his subsequent studies foresaw a new relationship between immigrants and the host society in the post-war period. Richmond predicted that immigrants would be highly qualified, combine high rates of geographical movement with career mobility and lack permanency in any one country or locality.

Although the four settler countries retained similar immigration policies and expectations, in their concentration on attracting permanent settlers rather than guest workers and in their retention of restrictive immigration legislation, the detail of their experiences differ. The following sections discuss briefly some of the separate experiences of immigration in the four traditional countries of settlement between 1945 and the 1970s.

Canada

Since 'Confederation the National Policy of Canada [has] focused on immigration as part of overall economic development, particularly of the Western Provinces' (Inglis, Birch and Sherington, 1994, 12). This policy continued for much of the postwar period when economic development linked to population growth was emphasised by the Canadian Government. 'Labour . . . needs provided a rationale for the renewed programme' (Atchison, 1984, 10), and 'at first only Europeans were admitted' (Castles and Miller, 1993, 74). Although immigration was not the most important factor overall in population growth it contributed to the 'doubling of Canada's population between World War II and the 1970s' (Hawkins, 1989, 35).

The Department of Manpower and Immigration was created in 1966 to focus explicitly on how immigrant workers could strengthen the Canadian labour force, perceived to be 'lagging in skills by comparison with other industrial nations' (Griego, 1994, 123). The development of the points system was a response to these concerns. This system 'opened the door for non-European migrants . . . [and] the main source countries in the 1970s were Jamaica, India, Portugal, the Philippines, Greece, Italy and Trinidad' (Breton *et al.*, 1990, 14-16, cited in Castles and Miller, 1993, 74). Immigrants were viewed as permanent settlers and consequently family entry was encouraged.

United States

In 1965, 'driven by its desire to be seen as the egalitarian champion of the "free world" and by a Kennedy-inspired sense of a single world, the United

States changed the basic scheme of immigration law' (Hing, 1993, 79). Racial and national discrimination were eliminated from immigration law with the abolition of the national origins system (Appendix A). This 'opened the way for significant new immigration of persons quite different from those who had come in earlier periods' (Freeman and Jupp, 1992, 9). The amendments were not intended or expected to lead to large-scale non-European immigration (Borjas, 1990, 29-33, cited in Castles and Miller, 1993, 73). In passing these reforms, the policy makers failed to analyse accurately, 'how the political, economic, and social dynamics in Asian countries would influence immigration . . . Asian immigration after 1965 [taking] the United States by surprise' (Hing, 1993, 79).

Also at this time temporary migrant workers, mainly men from Mexico and the Caribbean, were recruited particularly for the agriculture industry. As public opinion was generally critical of the scheme, government policies tended to vary and recruitment of temporary labour was at other times 'formally prohibited, but tacitly tolerated, leading to the presence of a large number of illegal workers' (Castles and Miller, 1993, 73). The role of these temporary contract workers, both legal and illegal, has been likened by Castles and Miller (1993) to that of the seasonal workers of Europe.

The United States was also in the international market of brains at this time with policy stating explicitly that immigration could be one of America's greatest national resources if well administered, drawing immigrants of high intelligence and ability from abroad (Hawkins, 1972, 12). It was this development that helped to create the "brain drain" phenomenon which produced international concern and a great deal of literature in the 1960s and 70s (Glaser, 1978; Rao, 1979).

Freeman and Jupp (1992, 18) suggest that the United States' immigration policy options were limited by extensive commitments and responsibilities associated with their position as leader of the Western Alliance. They further suggest that the history of American immigration policy, since the Second World War, is filled with instances when foreign policy and global leadership questions intruded into immigration decisions. This has led the government to make choices that may not have been optimal from a purely national perspective. One example is the laxity with which successive governments have viewed the porosity of the country's border with Mexico. This is seen as both an attempt to bring about regional stability and an effort to satisfy labour

market demands at home. The role of the state in immigration matters in the United States has been far less extensive and decisive than it has in Australia and Canada (Freeman and Jupp, 1992, 19).

Australia

As noted already, after 1945 a programme of large-scale immigration was initiated in Australia. In 1949, Australia adopted its own citizenship but British subjects continued to be more favourably received than other aliens until 1973 (Freeman and Jupp, 1992, 5). It soon became obvious that the target of '70,000 migrants per year [with] a ratio of ten British migrants to every "foreigner" [would not be met as] it proved impossible to attract enough British migrants' (Castles and Miller, 1993, 74). To overcome the shortfall European Displaced Persons were recruited and the concept of 'acceptable European races' was gradually widened. Castles and Miller (1993, 74) note that, 'By the 1950s, the largest sources of migrants were Italy, Greece and Malta. Non-Europeans were not admitted at all'. The effective exclusion of non-Europeans lasted until 1966 (Appendix A).

During the long boom economic growth in Australia was sustained both by high levels of immigration and 'by large-scale foreign investment (mainly from the United States) in Australian manufacturing and mining' (Castles, 1992b, 55). Non-English-speaking immigrants (from Eastern Europe in the 1940s and early 1950s and from Southern Europe in the later 1950s and 1960s) provided a source of labour for the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in this period of manufacturing expansion' (Castles, 1992b, 55). The heavy reliance of the Australian manufacturing industry on migrant labour is shown by the fact that factory jobs were popularly known as "migrant work" (Castles and Miller, 1993, 75). At this time 'workers from Asia were not regarded as suitable for meeting Australia's labour needs' (Castles, 1992b, 56).

The priority in the 1950s and 1960s was labour intensive growth in manufacturing and, as already mentioned, low-skilled migrant workers from Southern Europe filled this niche. Workers were de-skilled by a deliberate policy of non-recognition of overseas qualifications (Castles, 1992b, 59). Following from this permanent settlement was family reunion which became the largest category of new settlers from these European countries.

By the late 1960s it was obvious that settlement policies of "assimilation" were inadequate. In the 1970s (Appendix A) the Australian government

moved to a new policy of “integration” based on the concept of multiculturalism with special stress on cultural diversity (Castles, 1992b, 67). During 1974, occupational restrictions were imposed on the entry of all migrants other than immediate dependent relatives (i.e. spouses, children and aged parents) and special humanitarian cases including refugees. By the mid 1970s, a quarter of the immigrants came from Asia under the new, non-discriminatory immigration policy.

New Zealand

In the post-war era as both the markets and prices for ‘processed grass’ (Easton, 1997, 3) came under pressure, New Zealand, in common with other countries of the semi-periphery, established import substitution industries sheltered by high tariffs and transport costs (Palat, 1996a). Under these policies the New Zealand economy experienced an extended period of economic growth and diversification. The labour force virtually doubled in size while official unemployment rates remained below one percent and labour shortages were experienced. The high demand for labour between 1945 and 1973 was met not only through immigration but also through the increasing participation of women in the workforce and the migration of Maori workers from rural to urban areas.

Between 1945 and 1974 immigration policy in New Zealand was still governed by the Immigration Restriction Act of 1920 which gave people of exclusively British or Irish descent the right of free entry (Farmer, 1979). Entry of other people depended on the discretionary power of the Minister responsible for immigration (Bedford, 1984). This discretionary power was manipulated to serve economic ends when the labour supplied by Pacific Island workers was welcomed by New Zealand employers. In addition many of the Pacific Islanders entering at this time did so with colonial rights. The people of the Cook Islands, Niue and the Tokelau Islands all have New Zealand citizenship and the right of free entry into New Zealand as a consequence of their inclusion within New Zealand’s colonial domain in the early twentieth century. After Western Samoa was granted independence in 1962, a quota system was established for these citizens in recognition of their colonial ties (Appendix A). Encouragement of immigration from Asia was not a feature of policy during this period. However, a sizeable number of Indians from Fiji did enter during the 1950s and 1960s as part of the labour migration from the Pacific (Bedford, 1992).

In the late 1960s, two events occurred which had an important impact on immigration policy in New Zealand. First, between 1967 and 1969 a short economic recession occurred during which the first net migration losses since the 1930s were recorded (Farmer, 1979). Second, in 1969 the National Development Conference 'set targets for economic growth and [labour] requirements for the next decade' (Bedford, 1984, 120). Expansion of the manufacturing industrial base, and the consequent demand for unskilled labour, meant that the official position favoured extensive immigration.

The National Development Conference Planners believed that a net migration gain of 10,000 people per annum was necessary through the 1970s to achieve employment targets. In fact 'this figure was exceeded in 1972 and by 1974 the net migration gain was in the region of 30,000 per annum . . . placing considerable strain on available housing, services and employment opportunities' (Bedford, 1984). Migration from the Pacific Islands accelerated rapidly in the early 1970s and many Pacific Islanders, who entered as short term visitors or temporary workers, stayed on. Other non-European migration during this period was minimal because, as already mentioned, ministerial discretion still favoured immigrants from what were known as the traditional source countries.

As Gibson (1983, 30) notes, voluntary migrants from the Pacific Islands provided a 'free pool of unskilled labour' for the New Zealand "semi-peripheral" metropole. It was known that Pacific Islanders and others would often come to visit friends and relatives and then stay in New Zealand if they obtained employment. These illegal immigrants were ignored during the 1960s, but following a tightening of immigration policy in 1974, attempts were made to identify and deport the offenders. The methods used to track down the overstayers brought a storm of protest about alleged racial discrimination.

In summary, the changes in the migration flows after 1945 showed a gradual decrease in the dominance of immigrants from the United Kingdom. During the long boom immigration levels and assisted passages were renegotiated continually in an attempt to match changing economic conditions and labour market needs (Farmer, 1985, 64-65). The labour shortages created in the postwar economic expansion era provided the opportunity for extensive immigration from the Pacific Islands. A substantial proportion of this movement to New Zealand was on temporary work permits or visitors'

permits. The government ignored the increasing number of overstayers because workers were in short supply.

Challenges to restructure immigration policy

The evolving world economy has had a profound effect on how governments view the world. However, as immigration policy changes are in response to developing economic conditions there is a lagged relationship evident between economic changes and changes in immigration policy. Governments appear almost reluctant to acknowledge that policy changes need to be made.

All the traditional countries of immigration have gradually amended policies which were in effect discriminatory on racial grounds - Canada and the United States in the 1960s, followed by Australia in the 1970s and finally New Zealand in the 1980s (Appendix A). Changes in policy, in addition to being caused by economic imperatives, have also reflected changes in community attitudes.

For the four countries, the eventual adoption of non-discriminatory policies was prompted by a concern to be seen to be supporting the United Nations human rights convention. Both North American countries responded by creating token quota systems for select Asian nations (Brawley, 1993, 17). In this way they were able to maintain a basically “white” immigration policy while making a friendly gesture to foreign countries. However the Australian government ‘did not regard quotas as an acceptable trade-off for maintaining friendly foreign relations’ (Brawley, 1993, 17). The Australians decided to maintain racial discrimination in an effort to perpetuate homogeneity.

The way New Zealand dealt with the predicament of retaining a discriminatory policy was to introduce visa-waiver arrangements. New Zealand, in the 1960s and 1970s, had a very liberal visa-waiver policy by comparison with the other traditional countries of immigration; Canada, the United States and Australia (Bedford and Lidgard, 1996b). New Zealand is also unusual in the Asia-Pacific region because of a willingness by successive governments to enter into bilateral visa-waiver agreements.

The major difference between the Australian and New Zealand policies has been that the New Zealanders have never been as blatant as ‘their Antipodean neighbours in singing the praises of racial discrimination’ (Brawley, 1993,

18). Australians openly acclaimed racial discrimination and their “White Australia Policy”. New Zealanders managed to restrict the number of Asian immigrants without drawing much attention to the fact.

The settler countries of the South Pacific were more cautious in their liberalisation than those of the North. Although ‘token steps were taken in 1956 . . . [when] highly qualified Asians and other non-Europeans were allowed [entry] under temporary permits’ (Richmond and Rao, 1976, 189) it was not until 1973 that Australia abolished all ethnic discrimination in its admission requirements. New Zealand was even more cautious. The non-discriminatory immigration clause, contained in the immigration policy of the Labour elected government in 1972, was only partially implemented in the 1974 policy review (Ongley and Pearson, 1995, 774).

In essence, however, the major reason for change in all the countries was similar to those described for Canada by Passaris (1984). He viewed the changed immigration policy as a ‘triumph of economics over discrimination’ (Passaris, 1984, 91). The point he was stressing was that labour market demands opened the immigration doors to labour resources from source countries that had previously been rejected. Now the trend is for immigration policies that select entrants from any source on the basis of skills and qualifications based on a points system. As Freda Hawkins (1972, 3) pointed out more than two decades ago, ‘the pursuit of skills and talents by governments is world wide as is the keen response of professional and skilled migrants to opportunities in affluent countries’. In the 1990s, although this statement still applies, there is now an increasing pool of affluent people who move for quality of “life-style” rather than for economic advantage.

Refugees

Refugees¹¹, a category which involves the most control in selection, are another component of the population flows to the four countries. In spite of the large numbers of applications received from those seeking asylum only small numbers are resettled. After the Second World War Canada, the United States and Australia responded positively to the increasing numbers of refugees (Appendix A) and were members of the ‘Big Five Club’ (the countries with the highest global ratios of refugees to total population in the 1970s) together with China and France (Atchison, 1988, 22).

¹¹ Glossary - Refugees

Between 1945 and 1965, refugees comprised 'one-fifth of all immigrants to the United States' (Hawkins, 1972, 7). In the case of Australia, 170,000 displaced persons from Europe entered the country between 1947 and 1952 (Hawkins, 1989, 33; Freeman and Jupp, 1992, 5). In 1956 and 1957 the Hungarian Revolution and the Suez crisis prompted thousands of refugees to move to North America and Australasia. Atchison (1984, 12) has suggested that: 'Especially significant for Canadian life was the 1956-57 movement of 37,566 Hungarian refugees . . . followed by 12,000 Czech refugees in 1968'.

However, it is from Asia that about half of the world's estimated 15 million refugees in the 1970s and 1980s originate (Castles and Miller, 1993, 163). The current world refugee crisis began to develop in the mid 1970s and early 1980s, following the Vietnam War. Castles and Miller, (1993, 163) have noted that: 'Over two million people fled from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia . . . Over a million have been resettled in the United States, with smaller numbers in Australia, Canada, and Western European countries'. New Zealand also accepted small numbers of refugees from Southeast Asia at this time, mainly from Vietnam and Cambodia.

As noted, the refugees from Southeast Asia have been a major source of immigrants to the United States with more than 200,000 Vietnamese being accepted for resettlement in the five year period 1975-80 (Liu, 1995, 257). Large flows also entered from Cuba. The Refugee Act of 1980 (Appendix A) was passed to increase the annual limit for refugees and to remove the quota to make room for refugees from Laos and Cambodia (Liu, 1995, 257). Canada also had increasing numbers of refugees. 'The main countries of origin were Sri Lanka, Somalia, the USSR, China and Iran. Annual target figures for refugee admissions in the five year immigration plan range from 46,500 to 58,000' (Immigration Canada, 1991, cited in Castles and Miller, 1993, 85).

According to Castles and Miller, (1993, 85), Australia's acceptance of refugees from Indo-China in the late 1970s was a major factor in the growth of Asian immigration. Although the numbers of refugees in the annual intakes had been decreasing the main sources of refugees were the Southeast Asian nations (Inglis and Wu, 1992, 199). The source countries have now shifted to Eastern Europe and Africa with priority given to those people from 'the regions of the former Yugoslavia, the Middle East and Africa' (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 1997).

Refugee immigration to New Zealand was allowed on humanitarian grounds for three decades after the Second World War before the government formalised a policy on refugee immigration (Farmer, 1985, 65). Small numbers of refugees from Europe and Asia were accepted on the basis of *ad hoc* decisions during the 1940s, 50s and 60s. In 1975 the Indo-Chinese Refugee Resettlement Programme was established. This began 'a new era in New Zealand's international migration history . . . with the intake of refugees from South East Asia' (Farmer, 1986b, 22). About 7,000 Indo-Chinese refugees have been resettled in New Zealand since 1975. This accounted for over 90 percent of New Zealand's total refugee intake (Statistics New Zealand, 1997a, 125). New Zealand in the 1990s is moving to accept refugees from Africa after a period through the 1980s of accepting Asian refugees and a few from Eastern Europe. The quota for the 1997/98 year has been set at 750 people (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1997, 8).

Changes in source countries of immigrants were assisted by the entry of refugees who are inevitably followed by relatives. A feature of continuing immigration from Europe to North America is the flow of refugees from Eastern Europe. Poland was the major source country from this region to Canada through the 1980s (Inglis, 1993, 92), while the USSR was a major source country to the United States (Inglis, 1993, 87).

COLLAPSE OF THE LONG BOOM - 1973 - 1990

The early 1970s delivered a severe economic shock; 'the long boom seemed to "go bust"' (Dicken, 1992, 16). This end to the "golden age" was initially attributed to the massive rise in the price of oil in 1973, but Dicken (1992), amongst others, recognised that in hindsight this event was merely the final blow added to a crisis that had been building through the 1960s. It became evident that the changes were the result of more deep-seated and fundamental processes. The cyclical nature of economic activity again became apparent.

In such crises of capitalism, nations search for new economic and institutional arrangements in an attempt to revitalise 'their territorially based production, as [they] did in such earlier crises of capitalism' (Britton, Le Heron and Pawson, 1992, 3). Thus, a massive restructuring of economic activity occurred tied to investment and investment opportunities. These changes in global investment patterns had dramatic effects in Africa, Asia and Latin America in the period after 1973.

With increased capital export from developed countries rapid industrialisation occurred in some countries with the establishment of manufacturing industries in previously underdeveloped export processing zones. This fuelled the emergence of the newly industrialising countries (NICs), discussed briefly in Chapter Two. It is the impressive growth of these NICs as exporters of manufactured goods, particularly in Northeast and Southeast Asia, that has made these NICs so remarkable (Dicken, 1992, 35). Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea together with Singapore stand out from the other NICs as '[t]heir significance as exporters is much greater than their share of manufacturing production would suggest' (Dicken, 1992, 35).

One of the most controversial aspects of the growth of the Asian NICs at the global scale has been their success in competing with the industrialised nations and the extent to which they have penetrated the domestic markets of the developed market economies (Dicken, 1992, 37). This penetration has been extremely uneven and Australia, the United Kingdom, Japan, the United States and New Zealand have been especially impacted. In the case of the United States, imports from Brazil and Mexico are of considerable importance (Dicken, 1992).

Increasing identification with Asia, 1970-1990

During the 1970s, the increasing economic and political importance of the Asian region became obvious to the former settler colonies on the Asia-Pacific Rim. It became increasingly difficult for them to retain racist immigration policies. Growth of the NICs of Asia, together with the adoption of more liberal immigration policies that eliminated racial barriers, set the scene of a new international migration system. Over the past twenty-five years, Asia has come to replace Europe as the major source area for migration to Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand.

By the 1980s, the semi-peripheral economies had become 'dependent "branch plant economies" of the United States, the European Common Market and Japan based upon export of primary products and on a protected import substitution manufacturing sector' (Taylor and Thrift, 1981, 196-7). New Zealand's immigration policy was still lagging behind the other three settler countries at this time. However, it became apparent to New Zealand's politicians that there was an urgent need to reorientate the country's economy

to save it from becoming 'an isolated backwater in the South Pacific' (Bolger, 1994).

The migration of Asians to the countries on the Pacific rim is thus a part of the economic and accompanying social restructuring process. Figure 3.2 shows the pattern of immigrant arrivals from Asian countries since the beginning of the 1980s to the four countries. Numbers arriving in the 1990s are increasing in three of the four countries. While the numbers of Asians arriving in Canada and Australia were very similar in the mid 1980s, Asian immigration increased to Canada in the 1990s and dropped to Australia (Figure 3.2). The experiences of the four countries in recent years will now be discussed in turn.

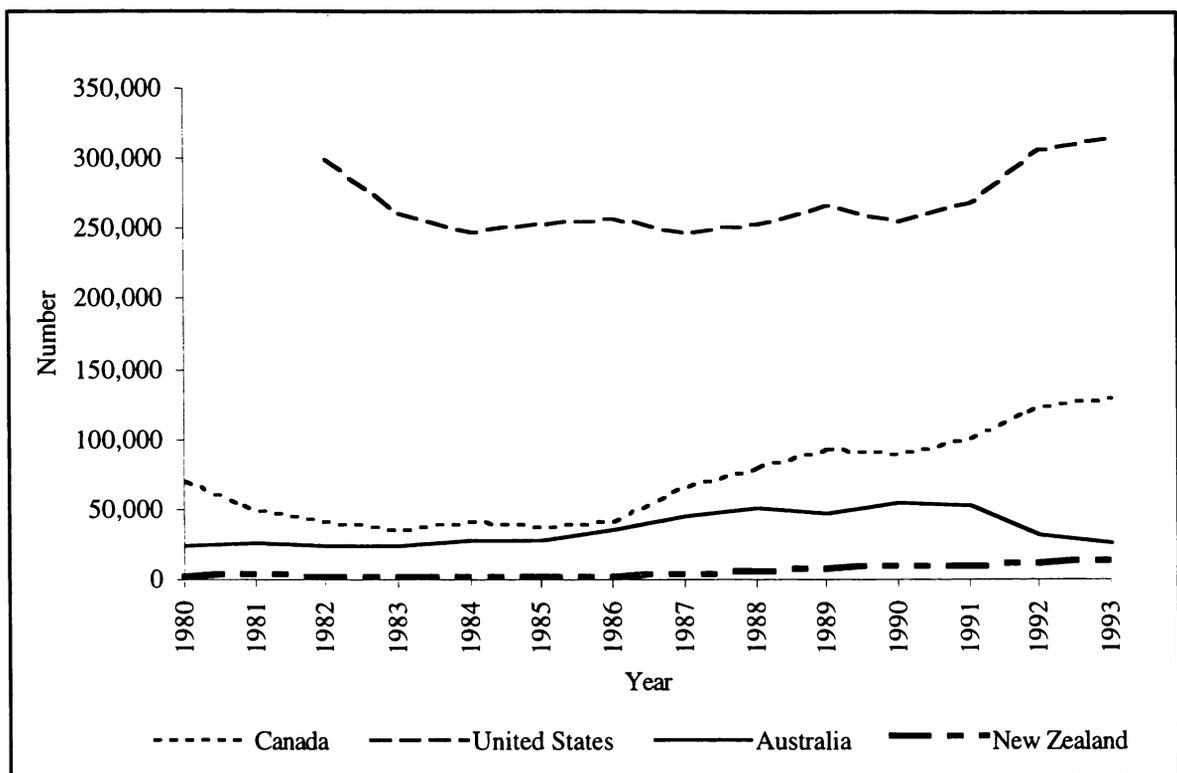


Figure 3.2: Settler and PLT arrivals to Canada, United States, Australia and New Zealand, by country of last permanent residence, from all Asian countries, 1980/82-1993

Note: The data used for the above graph are not directly comparable for New Zealand as in New Zealand the long-term visitors are not separated out from the settler arrivals as they are in Canada, the United States and Australia.

Source: Skeldon, 1994d, 42-44 and unpublished tables.

Canada

Chinese settlers, as already mentioned, were some of the early settlers of the Canadian Western provinces and were associated with most of British

Columbia's pioneering industries (Anderson, 1991, 34). However, it was not until the 1970s that their unique contribution to Canadian society was acknowledged (Anderson, 1991, 212). In 1971, the Trudeau government announced a policy of multiculturalism to 'support and encourage the various cultures and ethnic groups that give structure and vitality to our society' (cited in Anderson, 1991, 219). The emphasis was on a pattern of "mosaic" development in comparison to the "melting pot" development of their North American neighbour.

The Canadian response to global restructuring was a greater focus on the economic attributes of immigrants with special priority given to 'business (entrepreneurs, self-employed and investors) immigrants in government statements' (Inglis, 1993, 90). The 1976 Immigration Act (Appendix A), did not set a limit on the number of immigrants or refugees who could be landed in Canada (Griego, 1994, 125). Also Canada did not retain any geographical limitations on the numbers entering from particular source countries (this was still a factor in the policy in the United States).

Canada's immigration through the 1980s was based on the 1976 Immigration Act which came into effect in 1978 (Inglis, 1993, 90) (Appendix A). The country, however, reduced immigrant targets drastically in response to the 'world recession of 1982' (Fagan and Webber, 1994, 10). In 1982, the intakes of "selected workers" (workers with some form of arranged employment) were reduced (Hawkins, 1989, 255). In 1985, the Canadian Government cut down their intake of "independent immigrants" (those without close relatives who were admitted on their skills) and admitted one of its lowest migrant intakes in the post-war period (Hawkins, 1989, 283). Following the low in 1985, Canada's annual intakes have increased steadily. Asia was the source country of just over 50 percent of these new settlers in the years since 1985 (Skeldon, 1994d, 91) (Figure 3.2).

Hong Kong has become an increasingly important source of immigrants to Canada in the past twenty-five years. According to Johnston and Lary, (1994, 94), its ranking as a source country went from tenth place in 1971, to fourth place in 1981, to first place in 1987 where it remained into the 1990s. Johnson and Lary (1994) go on to note that migrants from Hong Kong typically arrive as a family, about half in the prime productive and reproductive ages 25-44 years, with a slight majority of females. As Johnson and Lary (1994, 87) note: 'The skills and confidence which Chinese

immigrants have brought with them fit neatly with the needs of Canadian society in the last quarter of the twentieth century’.

United States

Since the 1965 reconstruction of immigration policy, the proportion of Asians among all immigrants to the United States has grown dramatically with the admission of more than 4 million Asians (Liu, 1995, 253). In 1960, none of the ten largest sending countries was in Asia. However, by 1985, six of the ten largest streams of immigrants to the United States (and four of the five largest streams) had their origin in Asia (Arnold *et al*, 1987, 112). The 1965 changes to the immigration law resulted in an increase in the Asian American population from one million in 1965 to over seven million in 1990 (Hing, 1993, 1). Currently the number of immigrants from Asia averages approximately one-quarter million annually (Gardner, 1992, 68-69).

The groups that accounted for about 80 percent of Asian immigration came from ‘the Philippines, the three Chinese-speaking regions of mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong, Vietnam, Korea and India’ (Liu, 1995, 257). The Philippines have contributed more immigrants to the United States since 1960 than any other country except Mexico (Arnold *et al*, 1987, 114). During the same period immigration from Europe declined by around 50 percent from 114,329 to less than 65,000 a year (Arnold *et al*, 1987, 114). Close political and military ties between the United States and sending countries is a contributing factor to these large flows from Asia.

Admission to the United States as students or visitors is a popular route to eventual immigration as it is possible for persons already in the United States to change their residence status without leaving the country (Arnold *et al*, 1987, 119). This path appears to have been well used by Asian immigrants. Arnold *et al.*, (1987, 118) report that most Asians who became permanent residents between 1970 and 1979 entered as either tourists or students. The numbers of professionals and technicians from all countries also increased during this period, particularly among Chinese immigrants (Hing, 1993, 85).

Despite the increase in immigration during the 1980s in the United States, its impact on population growth was relatively small by comparison with the other three countries. However, as the migrant flows are concentrated in a small number of States it means the impact of immigration is just as considerable for these states as it is for the smaller countries (Smith, 1997).

The attractiveness of particular states or towns for new settlers is the existence of migrant community networks which provide information and support for new arrivals. However, the large inflows place both the networks and the central services under considerable pressure.

In the late 1980s the vast majority of Asian preference immigrants entered under the family (or relative) preference as 'families moved to "make themselves whole", and women rejoined their spouses' (Hing, 1993, 80). These social forces that were unleashed had been largely unanticipated by policy makers who had imagined that the 1965 amendments would permit an initial few thousand Asian immigrants and then numbers would tail off. As Hing (1993, 187) points out: 'Policy makers failed to anticipate that Asians would come to dominate legal immigration'.

Australia

The objectives of Australian migration policy have shifted in the past four decades in response to changes in the political and economic situation (Castles, 1992b, 59). Between 1966 and 1970 migrants from Asian sources averaged 6,500 persons per year, four percent of all migrants in that period (Australian Population and Immigration Council, 1977, 28). By 1980, Australia had a higher percentage of immigrants (22 percent) than any of the other three countries (Inglis, 1993, 98). Intakes continued to grow in the early 1980s as Australian employers and their political allies were convinced that high immigration was economically desirable. By 1981-82 immigration exceeded 100,000 per year, the highest annual intake since the 1960s (Collins, 1991, 27).

A severe downturn in the Australian economy in 1981-82, meant that 'the need for "restructuring" of Australian industry almost became a political cliché' (Fagan and Webber, 1994, 49). Unemployment jumped from 6.6 percent in May 1982 to over 10 percent early in 1983. This was the highest unemployment since the 1930s (Collins, 1991, 27). A new government, elected in 1983, immediately cut immigration. In 1982 there were 107,170 settler arrivals, in 1984 there were 73,110 (Australian Year Book, 1996). The unskilled and semi-skilled immigration, which had been a feature of earlier immigration, was now no longer considered important (Inglis, 1993, 99). As Collins (1991, 246) noted, during the 1980s all aspects of Australia's immigration policy were being analysed. A diverse range of opinion had

replaced the postwar consensus and a new direction was being sort for future immigration.

In practice, as noted by Hugo (1992, 100), the past two decades have seen a shift in immigration policy 'from one almost exclusively concerned with recruitment of economically and demographically active European settlers to one in which humanitarian and family reunion elements have become as significant as economic considerations in selection of potential settlers.' It was the entry of skilled workers that was reduced in line with traditional concerns about the threat to jobs for Australian workers through immigration (Castles, 1992b, 57). In 1982-1983, Asia for the first time in over a century was the largest source of Australian immigration with 36 percent of the net settler gain (the British intake was 27 percent) (Collins, 1991, 27). Collins (1991, 27) goes on to observe that immigration policy was debated intensely in 1984 after: 'Professor Geoffrey Blainey raised his concerns about the high proportion of Asians in the Australian immigration intake.'

After the December 1984 election, the Labour Government 'moved towards a neo-liberal economic policy' and re-examined the effects of immigration (Castles, 1992b, 57). In a report released in 1985 by the Council for the Economic Development of Australia it was 'argued that immigration of skilled workers and business people would stimulate economic growth' and create jobs for the Australian-born (Castles, 1992b, 57; Collins, 1991, 27). As a result immigration levels were raised. The six most predominant non-European ancestries recorded in the 1986 Census included Chinese, Vietnamese, Indian, Filipino, and Malay/Indonesian (Freeman and Jupp, 1992, 6).

Population movements into Australia are all controlled on the basis of type of migration not country of origin of the migrant. The only exception to this is the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement (TTTA) allowing the unrestricted entry of New Zealand citizens. The official view in Australia, like Canada, is that immigration is very positive for the country. A report by Monash University Professors Birrell and Hawthorn, "Immigrants and the Professions in Australia," concludes that the immigration experience is a success for migrants and Australia. The authors found that high percentages of migrants enter professional jobs. There appears to be little difference in the percentage of overseas-born and Australian-born graduates working in their respective careers. One reason for Australia's success in assimilating migrants into the

professions, suggested by the report, is the extensive settlement assistance offered to migrants in previous government administrations, including English language courses and labour market programmes (*Migration News*, 1997, 4).

New Zealand

For New Zealand, the international crisis associated with the collapse of the long boom in the global economy was compounded as privileged access for agricultural products to the market of the United Kingdom was withdrawn at this time. The onset of the economic crisis also coincided with record levels of immigration in the early 1970s (Figure 3.3). Therefore it is hardly surprising to find that the post war turning point for immigration policy in New Zealand occurred in 1974. A major review of immigration policy was undertaken by the New Zealand Government in April of that year in response to the deteriorating economic situation and record net immigration gains in 1972 and 1973. A significant modification in policy was announced signalling the end of the boom years of relatively uncontrolled immigration when 'controls were imposed on the entry of all immigrants except those travelling under the reciprocal Trans-Tasman Travel Agreement' (Farmer, 1985, 66). All non-citizens (including people of British and Irish ancestry) now required visas or permits to reside in the country. Preference for traditional source countries and the exercise of ministerial discretion were retained, however, ensuring that immigration flows remained predominantly European in character.

The mechanism for regulating immigration flows was the Occupational Priority List (OPL) which allowed for the entry of workers with skills in short supply in New Zealand. This linked intakes to short term economic requirements and was tied closely to the "interventionist" economic philosophy that prevailed through the 1960s and 1970s. However, as the list was seldom reviewed it was not an effective mechanism. The family and humanitarian categories ensured continuing chain migration from the Pacific Islands and Europe.

The 1970s was characterised by extreme fluctuations in migration which, as noted by Farmer (1981, 2), 'reflected the cyclical progression of the New Zealand economy'. New Zealand's net migration balance swung from record net immigration to record net emigration within three years (Farmer, 1979). All years between 1976 and 1981 showed a net loss of population - the outflow peaking in the year ended 31 March 1979 at 26,000 (Figure 3.3).

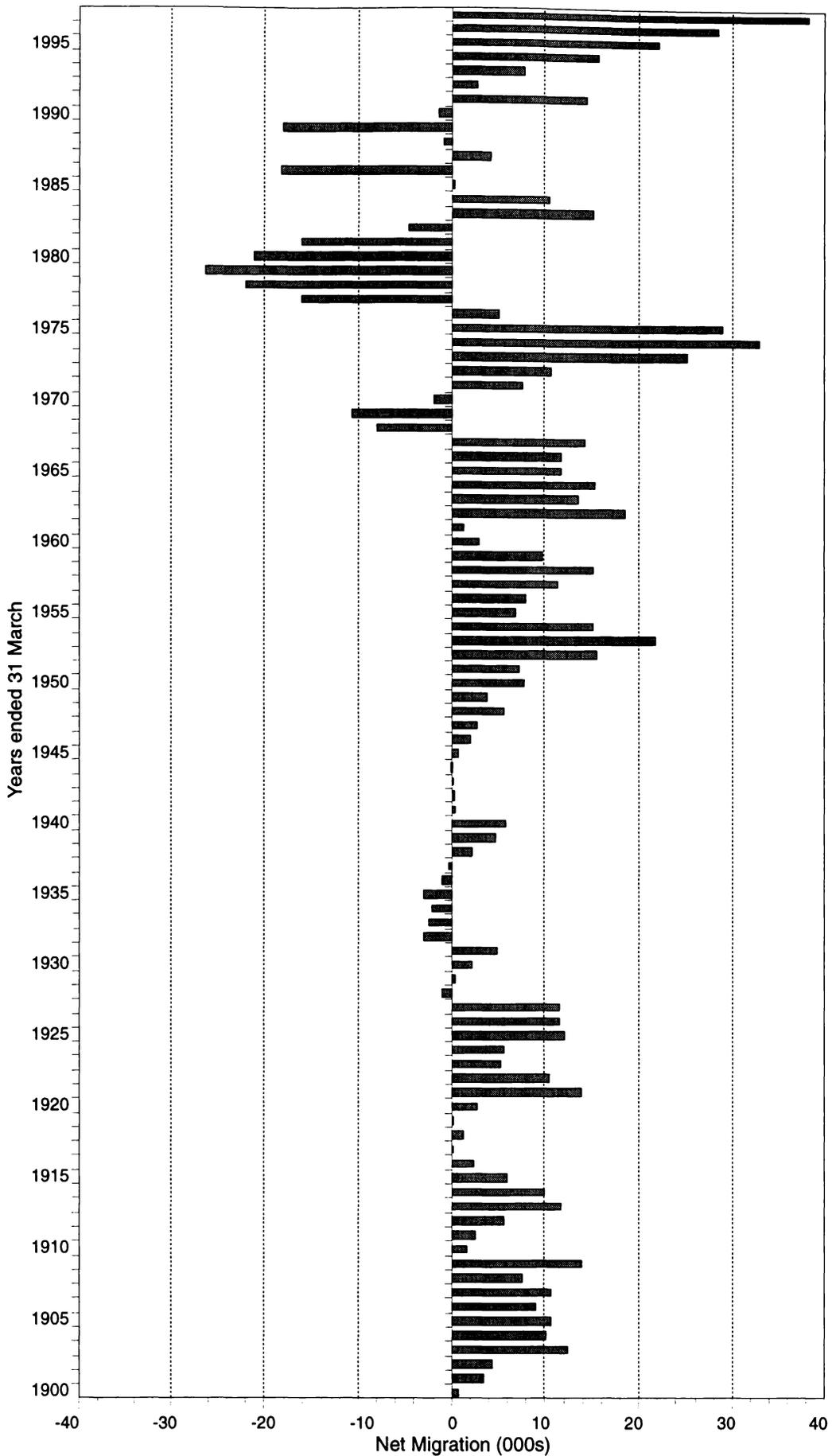


Figure 3.3 Net migration gains and losses in New Zealand, 1900 - 1997.
 Source: Unpublished data files from arrival and departure records prepared by Customer Services Division of Statistics New Zealand.

A combination of demographic and economic circumstances in New Zealand contributed significantly to these net outflows of the late 1970s. In countries where emigration is not subject to regulation, net losses overseas of citizens is commonplace. New Zealand experienced such losses annually throughout the post-war period. What was different about the late 1970s was the magnitude of these losses and the failure of net gains of citizens from other countries to compensate for the out-flows of New Zealanders.

The causes of the unprecedented net losses between 1976 and 1980 were not entirely economic. The late 1970s happened to be a time of very rapid growth in the New Zealand labour force entrant population. At this time the large birth cohorts of the 1950s and early 1960s left secondary and tertiary institutions and sought employment. Many thousands of them went overseas to find this work, especially in Australia and the United Kingdom; countries in which New Zealanders had privileged access to domestic labour markets because of immigration policy concessions. As Barrington and Davey (1980) showed in their survey of departing New Zealanders in 1979, work-related factors were important in their decision to migrate, but a third of those leaving said they were going on a working holiday rather than seeking permanent employment overseas.

Many of these “permanent and long-term” departures could be expected to return to New Zealand within one or two years. Indeed, as Poot, Nana and Philpott (1988, 10) pointed out: ‘Return migration appears to be distributed over time with varying lags, for example migration from New Zealand to Australia has a significant effect on the opposite flow two years later’. The exodus of New Zealanders during the late 1970s was to be followed by net migration gains of New Zealand citizens through return migration in the 1983 and 1984 March years (Figure 3.3).

New Zealand's immigration policy through the late 1970s was more restrictive than it had been at any time since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. A detailed analysis of this policy can be found in Trlin (1986). As Trlin (1986, 2) noted, immigration policy was driven by a concern ‘above all else to protect domestic employment opportunities for New Zealand citizens’. Continuing chain migration from the Pacific Islands still occurred, however, through the family and humanitarian categories.

During the period 1976-1984 the New Zealand economy continued to be manipulated by the government as it was right through the long boom. The population outflow of the late 1970s continued into the 1980s with New Zealand experiencing an average net outflow of 3,000 people per year between 1 April 1981 and 31 March 1990. These figures reflect a combination of relatively small numbers of new immigrants and large numbers of New Zealand citizens leaving for an absence of at least 12 months.

There was still the opportunity for Australians to come and go as they pleased, under provisions of the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement (TTTA) negotiated in 1972. However, general policy was not attracting large numbers of Australians and British immigrants in the late 1970s and early 1980s. A mixture of unattractive investment opportunities in New Zealand's very sluggish domestic economy, a strongly interventionist economic policy, and higher than average levels of unemployment (for OECD countries) in New Zealand (Gould, 1982) saw New Zealand experiencing a loss rather than a gain of settlers from these regions. Clearly policy change was overdue.

NEW ZEALAND CATCHES UP

New Zealand was the last of the settler countries to abandon racial restrictions. From October 1978, 'neither considerations of assimilation and racial harmony nor consequent limitations upon the entry of Asians or others have appeared in any official statements of policy' (Trlin, 1986, 19). However, it was still another eight years before there was a policy that finally ended the preference for "traditional source countries".

In 1986 the New Zealand government officially moved to an immigration policy designed 'to enrich the multicultural social fabric of New Zealand society' (Burke, 1986, 10). This 1986 review of policy was the first substantive statement since 1974 on a wide range of aspects of immigration by a New Zealand Government (Bedford, Farmer, Trlin, 1987), and was part of the new Labour Government's 'radical and comprehensive restructuring' (Britton, Le Heron and Pawson, 1992, xix; Bedford, 1996a, 360).

The "market forces" philosophy had raised four issues that needed addressing by immigration policy. First, any discrimination of migrants from countries

with which New Zealand wished to develop economic relationships needed to be withdrawn. Second, the development of new products and markets required venture capital and entrepreneurial skills which meant the introduction of an important change in the selection of occupational migrants. In addition, there was an increasing demand for workers with technical and professional skills and a declining demand for low skilled manual workers. Fourthly, the new ideology of liberalisation, commercialisation and deregulation contributed to the opinion that restrictions on immigration should be eased.

The significant change was the abolition of preference to migrants from “traditional source” countries, the rejection of assimilation and the ‘active celebration of the many different ethnic heritages’ (Burke, 1986, 48). However, it was recognised that immigration has direct effects upon the age, gender and ethnic composition of the resident population and immediate impacts on the labour market, housing and social services. Hence it was not surprising that while the 1986 policy included a number of changes and developments, notably the emergence of a new cultural identity objective, it ‘retained much of New Zealand’s traditional immigration philosophy, including the three main categories for granting prospective immigrants permanent residence’ (Farmer, 1996, 57).

The radical transformation of New Zealand society and economy since the mid 1980s has produced new opportunities for certain groups of international migrants. In an attempt to attract entrepreneurial labour and investment capital, especially from North and Southeast Asia, the government set up a business immigration scheme in direct competition with the Australian, Canadian, United States and United Kingdom governments (Britton, 1991, 19). However, compared to these countries, New Zealand was not a particularly attractive destination for business migrants from Malaysia, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong or Korea. In order to overcome the perceived lower material standard of living, some life-style and commercial disadvantages of New Zealand, the government’s immigration policy was the most liberal of those offered by the other destination countries competing for the same migrants (Hopkinson, 1989 in Britton, 1991, 19). The price of international competitiveness appeared to spawn a policy whereby wealthy migrants could buy themselves a passport and gain access to the country’s social services and education systems and yet were under no obligation or

surveillance to ensure they made any investment in New Zealand (Britton, 1991, 19).

Unfortunately the increasing flows of Asian immigrants arrived into a country where the resident population was still feeling very vulnerable and threatened as a result of the impacts of economic restructuring. The promised gains from economic restructuring had not materialised. So a confused population, with little understanding of the global forces driving the economic changes, often found it easy to make the visible newcomers scapegoats.

The situation in the 1990s

In the later years of the twentieth century there is a similarity in the immigration policies chosen by the four settler countries on the Pacific Rim which is linked intimately to the global restructuring of the capitalist economy. Part of the reason Asian immigration increased so dramatically to the four countries after all of them amended their immigration policies was that policy changes coincided with a period of rapid economic growth in Northeast and Southeast Asia. The economic transformation that changed the region from third world status into an 'economic powerhouse in the world economy' (So and Chiu, 1995, 3), produced a huge group of educated, middle-income earners. Increased prosperity for this group enhanced the awareness of international options and linkages and produced demands for high quality life-styles.

Generally there also appears to be a similarity in the outcomes of these immigration policies which are seen to be having positive results for all countries. In a summary of the 1997 SOPEMI¹² report, it was concluded that 'fears over the economic effects of immigration are much exaggerated' (*The Economist*, 1 November 1997, 81). The article credits young immigrants with lowering the average age of the population and reducing tax burdens, and asserts that most studies of the effects of immigrants on labour markets find few wage depression or displacement effects (*Migration News*, 1997, 12).

Canada

The Canadian government, in 1990, presented a five-year immigration plan which 'provided for an increase in immigration levels to 220,000 in 1991 and

¹² Glossary - SOPEMI

to 250,000 in each of the following four years, while claiming to maintain a balance between the family, refugee and independent categories' (Lam and Richmond, 1995, 268). While independent and assisted relatives exceeded the planned intake, in 1991, the numbers admitted under the business programme were a third less than planned (Inglis, 1993, 90). Inglis (1993,90) suggests that although this would appear to suggest that there was a shortage of suitable applicants in this category this is not always the case as it is the numbers in this category that are reduced when the family and refugee numbers increase.

The upward trend in migration is continuing and in 1998 Canada is expected to add 220,000 to 225,000 immigrants to its 29 million population (0.7 percent), a much higher rate of immigration than the United States, which is expecting to add about 800,000 immigrants to its 265 million population (0.3 percent). In 1996, for the first time, a majority of the foreign born in Canada were NOT born in Europe; 47 percent were born in Europe, down from 67 percent in 1981. Of the immigrants arriving between 1991 and 1996, about 25 percent were from China and Hong Kong and 19 percent were from Europe (*Migration News*, 1997, 12). 'Two immigrants are admitted in the economic class for every one admitted in the family class' (*Migration News*, 1998, 1). In March 1997, the Canadian Immigration Minister, Lucienne Robillard asserted: 'there is consensus, from one end of the country to the other, that immigration constitutes an economic and social force - one that is essential for the continued prosperity of Canada' (*Migration News*, 1997, 5).

United States

In spite of the United States' reputation as a "nation of immigrants", in 1990 only 8.7 percent of the population was foreign born. This compares with 14 percent in New Zealand, 16 percent in Canada and 22 percent in Australia. In 1996, immigrants augmented the population of the United States by 0.3 percent x- a considerably lower contribution to growth than in Australia (0.5%), Canada (0.7%) or New Zealand (0.8%).

Immigration law as it affected Asians remained basically unchanged in the United States from 1965 until 1990. The new law, passed by Congress in October 1990 (Appendix A), was 'essentially a compromise between those who wanted a continuing emphasis on family reunification and those who felt that immigration should be more related to the economic needs of the country' (Gardner, 1992, 67).

Among the assessments of the 1990 Act (Bean and Fix, 1992, 54) was the perception that a political consensus favoured some growth in immigration levels to ‘close the back door while keeping the front door open’ (Bean and Fix, 1992, 54). The cap on legal admissions, the main control mechanism, is “pierceable” and is therefore more symbolic than real. Hence the volume and pattern of immigration in the 1990s is likely to remain similar to that of the 1980s (Bean and Fix, 1992, 55). This legislation was a compromise to satisfy both those who were keen to restrict immigration and those who wanted to ensure that family reunification was protected. In essence, the new policy ‘increased the total legal limits, but introduced a slightly broadened focus on the economic skills and potential of immigrants, while preserving the overriding commitment to family reunion’ (Freeman and Jupp, 1992, 9).

As mentioned, the dramatic growth of Asian American communities after 1965 took policy makers by surprise. For example the Korean American community, although initially small, increased by 18 times in 25 years and ‘Chinese America, already relatively substantial in 1965, increased by four and a half times by 1990 to remain the largest [immigrant] group since 1980’ (Hing, 1993, 118). The percentage growth in the Asian and Pacific Islander population during the 1980s (107.8 percent) was substantially greater than for the population in general (9.8 percent) (Hing, 1993, 118).

Australia

The new immigration categories introduced in 1989 (Appendix A) were created to attract migrants who were young, highly qualified, and immediately employable. It was recommended that ‘there should be a shift to entry of those with skills, including literacy and language skills . . . [to] satisfy economic goals without compromising the promotion of social justice and international goals’ (Holton and Sloan, 1994, 285). What the government had failed to realise was that many of the young skilled workers attracted to Australia by the policy changes would be from Asia and that their entry would lead to family reunion’ (Castles, 1992b, 60).

In the second six month period of 1990, almost 50 percent of all new immigrants settling in Australia were born in Asia ‘compared to 18.1 percent from the United Kingdom and 8.8 percent from elsewhere in Europe’ (Hugo, 1992, 100). The number of immigrants arriving in Australia in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1996, was 99,139 - an addition to the resident population of

18 million (0.5 percent). The three leading countries of origin were New Zealand 12.4 percent, Britain 11.4 percent, and China 11.3 percent (*Migration News*, 1996, 10). In total some seven to eight percent of Australia's 18 million people are of Asian descent (Clarke, 26 September 1996).

The Australian Government plans to reduce immigration to 74,000 in 1996-97 (0.4% of the resident population), in part by introducing a "cap and queue" system that may require spouses to wait for permission to immigrate to join their husbands in Australia. In 1995-96, there was a 30 percent increase in applications for spouse visas from Asian countries, especially from the spouses of the 40,000 Chinese granted refugee status in Australia after the crackdown in China in June 1989 (Fitzpatrick, 22 September 1996).

New Zealand

A decade of net population loss was followed by a half decade of substantial net population gains. The New Zealand population turned from a position where migration was producing an overall loss of people, to a position where migrants were augmenting the population growth by around 0.8 percent per annum in 1996.

This was a time when profound economic change, 'market liberalisation and free trade, limited government, a narrow monetarist policy, a deregulated labour market, and fiscal restraint' (Kelsey, 1997, 2), was accompanied by a further amendment to immigration restrictions. The old historical, colonial linkages of the past had lost their strength. New international linkages of economic importance to the country were being forged and it was recognised that immigration policies cement and extend these economic linkages and are an integral component in the establishment of migration systems. This was pointed out in the summary of a report on New Zealand's Immigration Policy published by the New Zealand Business Roundtable in mid 1990. Kasper (1990, viii) argued that: 'An active immigration policy that attracts a larger and more diverse number of new citizens to New Zealand can make crucial contributions to the pool of practical knowledge and to raising the economy's responsiveness to market opportunities'.

Over the first five years of the 1990s there was a significant change in population flows. The large net losses of the late 1970s and 1980s being replaced by large net gains in the early 1990s. Between 1 April 1990 and 31 March 1995, there has been an average net inflow of migrants of almost

13,000 per year. For the year ended 31 March 1996, there was a net gain of just under 30,000 migrants in a single year. It should be noted that while more New Zealanders leave each year than arrive, the net migration of New Zealanders is significantly affected by return migration. This will be discussed in more detail later in this section.

When the National Government came to office in 1990 it maintained the process of economic and social change initiated by a Labour Government in 1984. Attention was again focussed on the role of immigration and a further review of immigration policies was conducted. In November 1991, a points system was introduced similar to the system operating in Australia. As Trlin, (1997, 1) points out in a useful overview of policy changes in the 1990s: 'The new policy was distinguished by a sharper, more determined attempt to secure human capital, investment funds and international linkages required for the nation's economic growth strategy'.

The aim initially was 20,000 new immigrants a year. All applicants who obtained the required number of points (beginning at 28 in 1991 and increasing to 31 by 1994) automatically qualified for residence. Prospective immigrants to New Zealand were considered for residence under four major categories: the general category points system (GC); business investment category (BIC); Family; and Humanitarian category. The GC and BIC were usually the most contentious. Migrants preferred to make their applications under the terms of the general category since a residence visa awarded to a business migrant under the terms of the BIC was "conditional" and only became unconditional after two years, subject to their capital still being invested in New Zealand (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1991).

As Trlin (1997, 24) notes, New Zealand's immigration policy shows a 'continued transition from "selective entry rules" to "promotional entry rules"'. That is, the New Zealand government moved from policy that 'selectively admits and does not actively promote the entrance of migrants' to a system that encouraged immigration to promote economic and social development. It was announced in 1991 that the emphasis of the new policy was to 'actively promot[e] New Zealand as a migrant destination' (Birch, 1991c, 2, in Trlin, 1997, 24). The New Zealand Immigration Service however, still retained many of its border control functions. Quotas for Western Samoans and refugees remained plus tight entry restrictions for the Family and Humanitarian categories (Trlin, 1997, 24).

The rapid increase in the number of applications for residence, and subsequent arrivals from Asian countries, seems to have given New Zealand policy makers as much of a surprise in the 1990s as it did policy makers in the United States in the 1970s. The New Zealand Government was encouraged to review the points system in 1994 as a result of increased public debate about the “Asianisation” of parts of Auckland and a perceived stress on public services such as education (Spoonley and Bedford, 1996). The revisions became effective in October 1995 and were designed to achieve ‘economic growth with social cohesion’ underpinned by four strategic objectives (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1995b, 3). Immigration was to build New Zealand’s human capital, strengthen international linkages, encourage enterprise and innovation, and maintain social cohesion while increasing ‘diversity and vitality’ (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1995b, 3).

The “autopass” system introduced in 1991 was abolished and a quota management system introduced to provide numerical control over the numbers approved for entry (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1995b). Two categories were renamed - the General Category became the General Skills Category (GSC) and the Business Investment Category became the Business Investor Category (BIC) (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1995b, 17-19). These amendments were made after New Zealand had exceeded its ill-defined immigration target in the previous two years. The review sought to refine the system to attract and select the ‘best possible skill mix’ for future needs and remove sources of tension ‘raised by communities, applicants, consultants and other interested parties’ (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1995b, 4). To obtain the skills mix required while removing sources of tension involved new prerequisites - ‘an amended points system for the GSC and the introduction of a separate points-based ranking for BIC applicants’ (Trlin, 1997, 20). One of the new prerequisites, directed at immigrants from non-traditional source countries, was that both the GSC and BIC principal applicants had to meet a minimum standard of English before arrival. Applicants needed to prove they had ‘a partial command of the language’ to be demonstrated by passing the General Module of the International English Language Testing System (IELTS level 5) and could therefore cope with most situations linguistically. The same standard applied to all non-principal applicants over the age of 16 years, although they could still qualify for residence by paying a \$20,000 fee refundable in full or part if the standard was reached within three to 12 months of arrival (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1995b, 10).

As Trlin (1997, 20) notes, the rationale for this prerequisite was clear. It recognised that it was costly for New Zealand when a large number of new residents lacked English language skills and the fee was an incentive to acquire basic skills quickly. However, the resource needs of primary, secondary and tertiary institutions, to achieve this goal, were not addressed and the question was raised whether or not this prerequisite was 'consistent with the spirit of multiculturalism announced in the 1986 policy review and implicitly endorsed in the 1991 policy changes' (Trlin, 1997, 20).

To obtain a broader skills mix among immigrants, changes were made to the human capital factors. These included a flatter points structure and where applicable, professional registration was now required before an applicant could earn points for their qualifications (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1997b, 12). A minimum of two years work experience was required to qualify for points and a job offer of skilled employment was given greater recognition and able to earn up to five points. These changes addressed some of the deficiencies that had been identified in the previous GC points system.

To improve on the characteristics of the successful BIC applicants, the previous minimum requirements were scrapped and replaced with 'a full points-based ranking system' (Trlin, 1997, 21). From the experience of the operation of the policy from 1991 to 1994, the other important issue that needed to be addressed by policy change was to encourage those immigrants who were genuinely committed to settling permanently in New Zealand and to discourage others who had no such desire. Those to be discouraged included Asians who were continuing to reside overseas and were merely obtaining New Zealand residency as "insurance", or "astronaut" migrants who spent considerable time overseas and made a minimal contribution to the New Zealand economy while their families made good use of the country's health and education services (Trlin, 1997, 22). The measure adopted to overcome this was to limit a Returning Visitors Visa to those who were 'considered to have New Zealand residence for tax purposes' (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1997, 15). This measure, together with more rigorous investment criteria for BIC immigrants, was introduced in an effort to counter abuses of the system if they were occurring and to respond to the critical comment of the more liberal New Zealand immigration policy.

In summary, the 1995 adjustments ‘represented a “retreat” to more selective entry’ after a period of ‘promotional entry rules’ (Trlin, 1997, 24). As Trlin goes on to point out, the New Zealand Immigration Service in 1994 felt that because the number of good quality applicants seeking entry was well above that required to meet immigration targets of 35,000 per annum, New Zealand was in the happy position of being able to promote immigration and be selective (Trlin, 1997, 24). These changes brought about a marked decrease in the number of applications for residence from Asian source countries in 1996. Once again the policy makers seemed surprised at the speed with which immigrants responded to their changes in policy and at the end of 1997, made further amendments in a bid to boost the numbers of business investor immigrants (*New Zealand Herald*, 20 December 1997).

Temporary flows

The flow of officially recorded migrants is only part of the story about international migration. The other elements that are important in terms of their impact on population change are illegal immigration and emigration, and temporary visits by non immigrants. Relatively little is known about illegal immigration. In addition there are thought to be large numbers of Asians - particularly residents of Taiwan and Hong Kong - who have obtained immigrant visas but have never moved to new countries. These “astronauts” or ‘emigrants-who-never-were’ (Skeldon, 1994d, 41) continue to live and work in their countries of origin travelling to Canada, the United States, Australia or New Zealand just often enough to avoid losing their permanent residence status. This gives them the option to move countries immediately if the political or economic situation in their home country deteriorates. They maintain the right to be citizens of their new countries but are not residents of these countries in any true sense.

The forms of temporary migration that are becoming of increasing significance include foreign study, the extensive international movement of the highly skilled, and mass tourism.

Foreign study

There is the perception for many that a student visa is the first step toward permanent residence. This is made very explicit in some of the Chinese oral histories recorded in Australia by Sang Ye (1996). Three-quarters of Australia’s overseas students come from Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia,

Japan, Thailand, Singapore and South Korea (Inglis, 1993, 103). Asia also dominates the student category to the United States (Inglis, 1993, 87). The education of overseas students has become an important trade in New Zealand: 'Nearly 10,000 overseas Asian students . . . studying in New Zealand secondary and tertiary schools, most of them paying fees' (Gibson, 1997a, 8). Since the 1990s universities and schools in New Zealand have come to rely on overseas born, fee-paying students for income. The impact of the Asian crisis on this flow has shown how sensitive it can be to economic conditions in the source countries. Many schools have started marketing their courses in South America instead of Asia in the hope of surviving the downturn (Boland, 12 January 1998, A5).

Temporary work

Increasingly affordable air travel has seen the settler flows of the past being overtaken in importance by flows of migrants who reside overseas for one to three years, or who move into and out of countries as part of their normal working lives. As Richmond (1984) suggests, migration in advanced industrial societies is largely "exchange migration" with return often a substantial part of this exchange. This highly dynamic system of temporary population circulation has produced its own "net migrant" residual as not all visitors end up going "home" (Bedford and Lidgard, 1997).

The frequent movement of highly educated professionals is an important element in international migration that falls largely outside the jurisdiction of policy in most nations. As mentioned in Chapter Two, many of the Asian countries are promoting higher education. Their focus on scientific and technical innovation has led to a situation where these nations have a highly educated stratum of trained technicians and professionals who move frequently between countries and contribute to the 'internationalisation of the professional-managerial stratum' (Cheng and Evans, 1991 in Ong, Bonacich and Cheng, 1994, 13).

Temporary migration patterns are following the changing patterns of permanent immigration. Countries within the Asia-Pacific region received one-third of the temporary employment authorisations to Canada at the beginning of the 1990s (Inglis, 1993, 92). The decline in numbers from Europe and the rise in numbers arriving from the Asia-Pacific suggest that changing patterns of economic ties are linked to the emerging patterns of immigration.

Unlike New Zealand, Australia did not seek large numbers of low skilled temporary workers from the Pacific Islands in the postwar boom (Inglis, 1993, 98). Australia sourced its low-skilled labour from Southern Europe. Now Australia has a 'Working Holiday Maker Scheme' with temporary work visas issued allowing people to work for up to three months. In 1990-91 two-fifths of all temporary arrivals to Australia entered under this scheme. 'The increased numbers of temporary entrants herald Australia's increasing involvement in global population movements' (Inglis, 1993, 98).

The *Review of Immigration Policy, August 1986* notes that 'in the year to 31 December 1985 over 600,000 people, or about 90 percent of visitors other than New Zealand residents, were able to enter New Zealand without visas or prior entry requirements' (Burke, 1986, 30). An important caveat in 1986 added to the standardisation of visa-waiver arrangements, was the removal of restrictions on visitors seeking work while in New Zealand (Bedford and Lidgard, 1997b). It was illegal for visitors to seek work while in New Zealand without specific authority to do so until after the 1986 policy review. The main reason given for this liberalisation of visitor access to work in New Zealand was the long-standing tradition of New Zealanders going overseas, especially to the United Kingdom, and gaining "overseas experience" in work as well as in social and cultural contact (Burke, 1986).

Tourism

Tourism is one of the largest earners of foreign exchange in New Zealand and Australia and policies and controls for short-term migration are increasingly designed to expedite rather than obstruct entry and place no limit on numbers. These policies, such as the increasingly popular visa-waiver provisions, are in direct contrast to permanent immigration policies which are elaborate and highly selective (Bedford and Lidgard, 1997b).

The expanding middle-class populations of Southeast and Northeast Asia, with their rapidly growing (until recently) disposable income, are the major source of Australian tourists (42.5 percent) (Inglis, 1993, 103). In 1997, as increasing prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region was arrested, tourist numbers from this area began to fall. In December 1997, a radio news item suggested there had already been a 90 percent drop in the number of tourists from Korea coming to New Zealand (*National Radio*, 18 December 1997). The sharp drop in visitor traffic from Korea was confirmed when a few days later Air

New Zealand suspended flights to that country (*New Zealand Herald*, 26 December 1997, D1).

Return migration

It must be remembered that returning residents, as well as visitors, are often far more numerous than immigrants. For example, in Canada immigrants made up less than one percent of all arrivals into the country in 1989, while returning Canadian residents made up nearly two-thirds of all arrivals (Inglis, 1993, 89). The contribution made by return migrants to the economic and social development of their countries is rarely appreciated or acknowledged by politicians (Bedford and Lidgard, 1993). Since the early 1980s return migration of New Zealanders, aged mainly in their late 20s, has been bringing back to the country over 20,000 citizens each year (Population Monitoring Group, 1991, 41). Many of these young working-age people have tertiary education and work skills and are returning home after a period of temporary “overseas experience” (Lidgard, 1992). They have only been classified “migrants” because they were absent from New Zealand for 12 months or more. People leaving for “overseas experience”, with the intention of returning rather than remaining permanently overseas, make up a large part of what is termed “emigration” in New Zealand’s migration statistics.

As I have argued elsewhere (Lidgard, 1992) it is important for governments to recognise and better understand the return flows of their citizens as their international movements are outside the control of the immigration authorities, and are often overlooked when new policy is being formulated. As Gould (1991, 8) noted at the time that the Minister of Immigration tabled amendments to the 1991 Immigration Act in New Zealand: ‘At any one time there are hundreds of thousands of New Zealand citizens and others with residence rights living or travelling overseas, and they can come back whenever they please, [whatever] the immigration criteria may be.’ In 1991, the New Zealand Government’s immigration policy focused attention on applications for residence in New Zealand and thus perpetuated a common misconception that government policies play the key role in determining the volume of migration to New Zealand. The emigration and return migration of New Zealand citizens ensure that there is a low level of direct government control over international migration.

Without doubt in the 1990s there has been a substantial increase in short-term population movement into and out from the countries of settlement. Although

this movement often coincides with changing government policy and priorities, international forces have had, and continue to have, a very significant impact on domestic responses. Governments are becoming increasingly aware that the control that they exercise over population movement is shrinking in scope. Expanded air travel and the emergence of host ethnic populations to ease the entry and settlement of new arrivals mean countries face the issue of growing numbers of illegal immigrants. As Burstein (1990, 3) noted, in Canada, such flows are inevitable and ‘countries in this predicament . . . will have to figure out how to deal generously with the resulting populations without inducing even more illegal migration’.

The current situation

The increasing economic integration of the settler countries with other countries that border the Pacific has been led not only by the geopolitical changes that have occurred since the Second World War, but also by the geoeconomic changes. While the geopolitical and technological changes of the past 50 years have radically changed the world wide organisation of finance, competition, supply and demand, they have at the same time incorporated most countries even more strongly into the world system of capitalism.

This increasing economic integration of the countries that border the Pacific is shown by the rising number of established and proposed regional trade zones such as the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), the Pacific Business Forum (PBF), Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), and South Pacific Regional Trade and Economic Cooperation (SPARTECA)¹¹. It is important to note that the nature and balance of relationships between countries are changing as, in Roger Bell’s (1996, 9) words, ‘there can be little doubt that geoeconomics now challenges geopolitics as the central determinant between states.’

It is not surprising that the four former settler colonies are active members of the APEC forum which was established in 1989. Regional governments are placing increasing importance on this grouping of 18 economies which include all the major states in the fastest growing economic region in the world. The APEC leaders are committed to freeing up trade in the region, to

¹¹ See Glossary - SPARTECA

strengthening the multilateral trading system and to promoting further trade liberalisation in the global economy (APEC Fact Sheet, 1995).

The 'exceptionally turbulent forces' in the world economy (Dicken, 1986, 1), mentioned in Chapter Two, are making themselves felt in Asia in the latter part of the 1990s as they did in the settler countries in the 1980s. The 'increasing globalisation of economic activities' as Dicken (1992, 3-4) notes, can be clearly seen from the way the fallout from the Asian financial crisis is being felt by countries in all parts of the world.

Now economic links are such that the Asian economic crisis of the last few months of 1997 has been termed the "Asian contagion" by pundits (*New Zealand Herald*, 20 December 1997). For the first time in modern history a global economic crisis has been 'triggered by developments in Asia' (Palat, 1997, A13). The four settler countries, which since the 1980s have believed that their economic future lies in Asia, look particularly vulnerable to these slumps and news headlines are predicting that 'events in Asia cast black clouds over economic growth in New Zealand' (*Sunday Star-Times*, 7 December 1997, D8).

In Dicken's (1992, 4) view, 'The straightforward exchange between core and peripheral areas . . . is being transformed into a highly complex, kaleidoscopic structure'. Movement of capital and commodities brings with it the migration of workers in all directions (Castles, 1992b, 69). These include the highly skilled employees of the transnational corporations as well as the unskilled seeking economic or political refuge. As Skeldon (1994, 41) argues, 'we have entered into an era of global networks through which individuals flow to take advantage of opportunities in several places, thereby reducing the risks inherent in basing oneself in any single place.'

With the rapid economic and social developments in the dynamic (until recently) economies of Northeast Asia the aspirations of the inhabitants are also changing quickly. For a large group of upwardly mobile Taiwanese and South Koreans, opportunities at home are seen to be reducing. Intense competition and population pressure are additional factors making movement to one of the traditional countries of settlement an attractive proposition for increasing numbers of people from Asian source countries.

Immigration policy has long been recognised as a difficult and sensitive area of public policy (Hawkins, 1989). Most politicians have been considerate to public reaction and possible backlash from some sections of the community and have handled the issues with considerable caution. On the other hand a few populist politicians (Peters in New Zealand; Hanson in Australia) have recently attempted to make political capital by proposing massive cuts in the numbers of people being allowed to qualify for entry in “their” countries. Evidence that Asian politicians are concerned about such statements was presented on the eve of the APEC conference in the Philippines by the Malaysian Foreign Minister, Mr Abdullah Badawi. He commented that parents had expressed fears for the safety of Malaysian students studying in Australia and went on to say that ‘politicians in Australia who argued that the race debate sparked by independent MP Pauline Hanson was not having an impact in Asia were wrong’ (*New Zealand Herald*, 23 November 1996).

At present “immigration fear” is resurgent in all four countries. For instance, ‘a 1993 poll conducted by *Newsweek* found that fully 60 percent of all Americans viewed the current level of immigration as a bad thing for the United States, while 59 percent saw immigration in the past as a good thing’ (Yang, 1995, 3). A Herald-AGB poll in Australia released on June 19, 1996 found that 65 percent of respondents thought Australia was accepting too many immigrants; only three percent favoured more immigration. Although only about 25 percent of Australia’s immigrants come from Asia, 88 percent said there were too many Asian immigrants (*Migration News*, 1997, 12).

In New Zealand, the results of a NBR-Consultus Poll in October 1995 were published under the headline ‘Xenophobia alive and well in New Zealand’ (*National Business Review*, 27 October 1995, 12). The poll revealed that 57 percent of the people surveyed thought there were too many Pacific Islanders in New Zealand, while 51 percent considered there were too many Asian immigrants. White immigrants, by comparison were far more popular, with just 15 percent claiming there were too many Australians in New Zealand. This poll represented a hardening of attitudes towards foreigners coming to New Zealand. A similar poll taken a year earlier ‘revealed 53 percent of the public felt there were too many Pacific Islanders in New Zealand and 42 percent too many Asians’ (*National Business Review*, 27 October 1995, 12).

The changes in immigration policies in the four traditional countries of immigration have contributed to the development of a major new international

migration system. During the past decade the immigration experience of the four countries has been similar, with decisive moves by all countries away from the discriminatory practices of the past. These policy reforms have been accompanied by increasing diversity and a shift in source countries from Europe towards Asia. The growing significance of Asian migration is an indication that there is both the interest and ability of prospective settlers from these source countries to meet the migration regulations established by the settler countries.

An essential element of New Zealand's new "international economy" or "experiment" has been immigration. Some broad dimensions of the transformations in both the volumes of population movement to and from New Zealand, as well as the net migration gains and losses which resulted from this movement, are presented in the following chapter. A history of the changing population flows to New Zealand between 1981 and 1996 is the focus. The chapter will show how there was the major switch away from Europe as a source when immigration policy changes in the mid-1980s saw a significant increase in flows from countries in Asia.

CHAPTER FOUR

Transformations in New Zealand's international migration system: 1981-1996

The 1980s was clearly the decade when the countries of immigration became deeply involved in the trade of the Asia-Pacific rim. For the first time in modern history there was a greater volume of trade from the United States going west to Asia than east to Europe. In their introduction to *Asia-Pacific: New Geographies of the Pacific Rim*, McGee and Watters (1997, 4) note 'the growing predominance of America's Pacific trade over its Atlantic trade. The former first exceeded the latter in 1982.' Accompanying these trade flows were the investment and migration flows so characteristic of capitalist development.

Through a significant re-orientation of trading, investment and migration patterns, successive New Zealand governments attempted to benefit from the country's location on the southern periphery of the new "centre" of global capitalism. From the beginning of the 1980s, sustained migration from Asia grew more rapidly than migration from any other region. As a consequence, the Asian ethnic component of New Zealand society has been boosted (Ip, 1996, McKinnon, 1996) and trade and tourism linkages have developed and strengthened (Gibson, 1997, Cremer and Ramasamy, 1996). In 1996, two in every five recent immigrants were born in countries in Asia, compared with around one in seven a decade earlier (Statistics New Zealand, 1997b, 34). Asian investment in 1995 accounted for 18 percent of the total foreign direct investment into New Zealand (Cremer and Ramasamy, 1996, 2), while tourism from Asia accounted for more than 28 percent of the international visitors in 1996 (Statistics New Zealand, 1997a, 333). This chapter shows how New Zealand's international migration system has been transformed by changes in the sources of major population flows that have accompanied the "revolution" in economic and social policy since 1984.

The significant immigration policy changes during the 1980s and 1990s have been discussed in Chapter Three and in several publications (Bedford, Trlin and Farmer, 1987; Farmer, 1996, 1997; Greif, 1995; Population Monitoring

Group, 1991; Trlin, 1986, 1992 and 1997). The nature and impacts of economic restructuring have been reviewed widely from a range of disciplinary perspectives, including two very comprehensive, collective assessments prepared by a group of New Zealand geographers (Britton, Le Heron and Pawson, 1993; Le Heron and Pawson, 1996).

Economic change and the associated changes in immigration policy have not to date been linked in much depth to the transformations in flows of people to and from New Zealand which are documented in the arrival and departure statistics. In his contribution to Le Heron and Pawson (1996), Bedford (1996a) makes some suggestions about these linkages. Farmer (1996) situated some of the changes in migration flows, associated with the immigration policy initiatives in 1986, in the wider context of New Zealand's economic "experiment". Trlin (1997) documents clearly and concisely the close links between economic policy, the adoption of a "points system" and the changing composition of immigrant approvals between 1991 and 1995. Over a wider time horizon, Ongley (1996) shows how the post-war migration flows to New Zealand were a product of the changing nature of capitalist production and Palat (1996) comments on some of the problems associated with the reorientation of the New Zealand economy in view of the country's strong history of "Anglocentrism".

The main focus of this chapter is on population flows and the major factors responsible for accelerated immigration from Asia. The discussion is in six sections. The first section examines the methodological and conceptual issues of relevance for the main data sources used to analyse migration streams. The discussion in the following three sections identifies the major flows during three five year periods between 1 April 1981 and 31 March 1996. At the beginning of the first period there was much debate about the economy and immigration policy. It was the period of the short-lived "think-big" projects and the beginning of radical economic restructuring following the 1984 parliamentary elections. The period ended with a time of transition. The old migration regime, with its emphasis on Europe, began to give way to the new migration regime, with a focus on Asia. At the same time economic linkages were being increasingly reorientated from "colonial" to "regional".

The second period (1986-1991) started with immigration policy developments that cemented in this new regime. As noted in the previous chapter, the *Immigration Policy Review, August 1986*, was the most comprehensive and

far-reaching reassessment of international migration in New Zealand's development since the 1940s. Between 1987 and 1991 New Zealanders experienced a period of considerable economic pain. The demise of a large part of New Zealand's manufacturing sector following the sharemarket crash of 1987 was accompanied by a large outflow of New Zealanders. A sudden surge in immigration from the Pacific Islands brought about by a visa-waiver experiment in 1986 and two military coups in Fiji, was very short lived. In 1990 another policy review set the foundation for the new international migration system.

The third period began with a push by a new National Government to attract overseas investment. This was in response to initiatives from the Business Roundtable who felt the need for an immigration policy that was more attuned to the needs and opportunities of a liberalised economy (Trlin, 1997, 2). The Kasper report of 1990, *Populate or Languish*, commissioned by the Business Roundtable, along with recommendations from an influential report commissioned by the New Zealand Immigration Service (Poot, *et al.*, 1988), were instrumental in the policy changes launched in 1991. The Business Investment Category (BIC) was introduced as one of the 'economic building blocks put in place . . . to provide a strong foundation for sustained economic growth' (Birch, 1991b, cited in Trlin, 1997, 6). The points system introduced by the National Government produced flows in the 1990s that were quite unexpected. In tandem with the rise in PLT immigration, especially from Northeast Asian countries, there was a huge increase in tourism and large flows of short-term visitors.

In the fifth substantive section of the chapter, the changing composition of the Asian migration flows during the decade following the 1986 policy review is examined. There has been a shift from the domination of flows from Southeast Asia in the late 1980s, to a heavy bias towards migration from Northeast Asia in the 1990s. Within the latter shift there has been a move from domination in the flows by Chinese from Hong Kong and Taiwan to an influx from South Korea. The refinement of the points system in October 1995 had no real impact on flows in the decade under discussion. This chapter deals with changes in the migration system through to March 1996. Subsequent developments are reviewed briefly in the concluding chapter.

The final section of this chapter examines some of the age and gender characteristics of PLT arrivals from Northeast Asia between 1986 and 1996.

This category of arrivals is of particular interest in a discussion of international migration flows as PLT migrants reflect most clearly the people choosing to live in New Zealand. By examining the age-sex composition of PLT arrivals over time, it is possible to identify some significant changes in structural characteristics of the immigrant flows. It is these characteristics which tend to capture the attention of commentators on international migration to New Zealand far more than the net gains and losses *per se*. The age and gender compositions of the net gains and losses are explored in Chapter Five in the context of the contribution made by migration to population growth between 1986 and 1996.

METHODOLOGICAL AND CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

The migration data used in this chapter have been drawn from the annual tabulations of arrivals and departures by country of nationality, five year age group, and sex, provided by the Customer Services Division of Statistics New Zealand. The data set and some of its associated problems were introduced in Chapter One. Also defined in Chapter One, and discussed in detail in Chapter Five, is the reason country of last or next permanent residence (CL/NPR) is not a particularly helpful classification for a mobile population when net migration gains and losses are the major point of interest. In this thesis migrants from different parts of the world have been identified on the basis of their stated nationality.

The problem of nationality not being tied to a single country was also mentioned in Chapter One. A good example of the complexity of this problem can be found when studying arrivals of people specifying their nationality as China. In 1995, out of a total 13,025 arrivals in this category only 8,289 (64 percent) gave China as their country of last permanent residence (Table 4.1). Hong Kong and Taiwan were also countries of last permanent residence for a further 10 percent of China nationals. The remainder had been living in at least 18 other countries for the 12 months before their arrival in New Zealand. Korean and Taiwan nationals are more likely to cite either Korea or Taiwan as their countries of last permanent residence. However, even for the nationals of these two countries, between nine and 15 percent had a country of last permanent residence other than the country of nationality in 1995 and 1996 (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Total arrivals of Chinese, Hong Kong, Taiwanese and South Korean nationals, 1995 and 1996

CL/NPR	Nationality			
	China	Hong Kong	Taiwan	South Korea
	Arrivals	Arrivals	Arrivals	Arrivals
1995				
Country of nationality	8,289	19,894	61,840	76,595
Total	13,025	29,451	72,608	83,909
% from country of nationality	64	68	85	91
1996				
Country of nationality	12,767	22,429	64,571	112,899
Total	18,764	32,294	77,932	124,899
% from country of nationality	68	69	83	90

The nationality classification of migrants was also needed to differentiate clearly between New Zealand citizens in the migrant flows and the citizens of other countries - the potential “new” immigrants. The net emigration of New Zealand citizens has tended to cancel out the immigration of new migrants. Hence it is difficult to gauge the magnitude of the flows of new migrants until the New Zealand citizen component of the total net gains and losses is separated out. There is also a problem of restricting analysis of net migration gains and losses to PLT flows. This is illustrated in the following brief discussion of overall migration trends between 1981 and 1996.

Total, PLT and short-term arrivals and departures

Between 1 April 1981 and 31 March 1996 there were 23.398 million international arrivals in New Zealand. During the same period departures totalled 23.321 million giving an overall net gain for the 15 years of 76,800 - all but one thousand of this gain occurring in the 1990s (Table 4.2). The 1980s was a decade in which there were net losses in many years. These arrival and departure figures of the 1980s reflect a combination of highly variable numbers of new immigrants arriving and New Zealand citizens leaving for an absence of at least 12 months. During the 1990s there has been a sustained period of growth in numbers of new migrants and some

smaller net losses of New Zealand citizens. Between 1 April 1991 and 31 March 1996 the net gain to New Zealand's population was 75,800 (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Total arrivals, departures and net migration (balance),
1 April 1981 - 31 March 1996 (000's)

	1981-86	1986-91	1991-96	1981-96
Arrivals	4,913.0	8,019.5	10,465.0	23,397.6
Departures	4,910.0	8,021.6	10,389.3	23,320.8
Net Migration	3.1	-2.0	75.8	76.8

When the total flows in and out of New Zealand are disaggregated into the two main components, PLT and short-term, some significant differences in the net gains and losses are apparent. When the net PLT figures are analysed it can be seen that the 1980s was truly a decade of losses (-78,400), and these losses were almost replaced by the gains of the first five years of the 1990s (78,200). If only the PLT data are considered, it is clear that the net losses and gains tend to be exaggerated (Tables 4.2 and 4.3).

Table 4.3 PLT arrivals, departures and net migration (balance),
1 April 1981 - 31 March 1996 (000's)

	1981-86	1986-91	1991-96	1981-96
Arrivals	204.1	247.5	303.6	755.2
Departures	235.5	294.5	225.4	755.4
Net Migration	-31.4	-47.0	78.2	-0.2

When short-term flows are also taken into account, it can be seen that the net losses through PLT migration in the 1980s (-78,400), were more than replaced by the net gains from short-term migration (+79,400) (Table 4.4). In the early 1990s, the PLT net gain (+78,200) is dampened by a small net loss through short-term flows (-2,500). These shifts reflect the significance of "category jumping" which is the main conceptual problem facing researchers using New Zealand's arrival and departure data. Any analysis of net migration gains and losses assessing the contribution of migration to population change

in New Zealand, must be based on total arrivals and departures, not just PLT flows.

Table 4.4 Net total, PLT and short-term migration, 1 April 1981 - 31 March 1996 (000's)

	1981-86	1986-91	1991-96	1981-96
PLT	-31.4	-47.0	78.2	-0.2
Short-term	34.5	44.9	-2.5	77.0
Total migration	3.1	-2.1	75.8	76.8

The situation with regard to PLT, short-term and total net migration gains and losses during the 15 year period, between 1 April 1981 and 31 March 1996, is summarised in Figure 4.1. The volatility of net gains and losses is clearly demonstrated here, particularly the heavy losses through PLT migration during the 1980s, followed by significant gains after 1990. The major contribution to overall net migration made by short-term net gains in the 1980s is also very apparent in Figure 4.1.

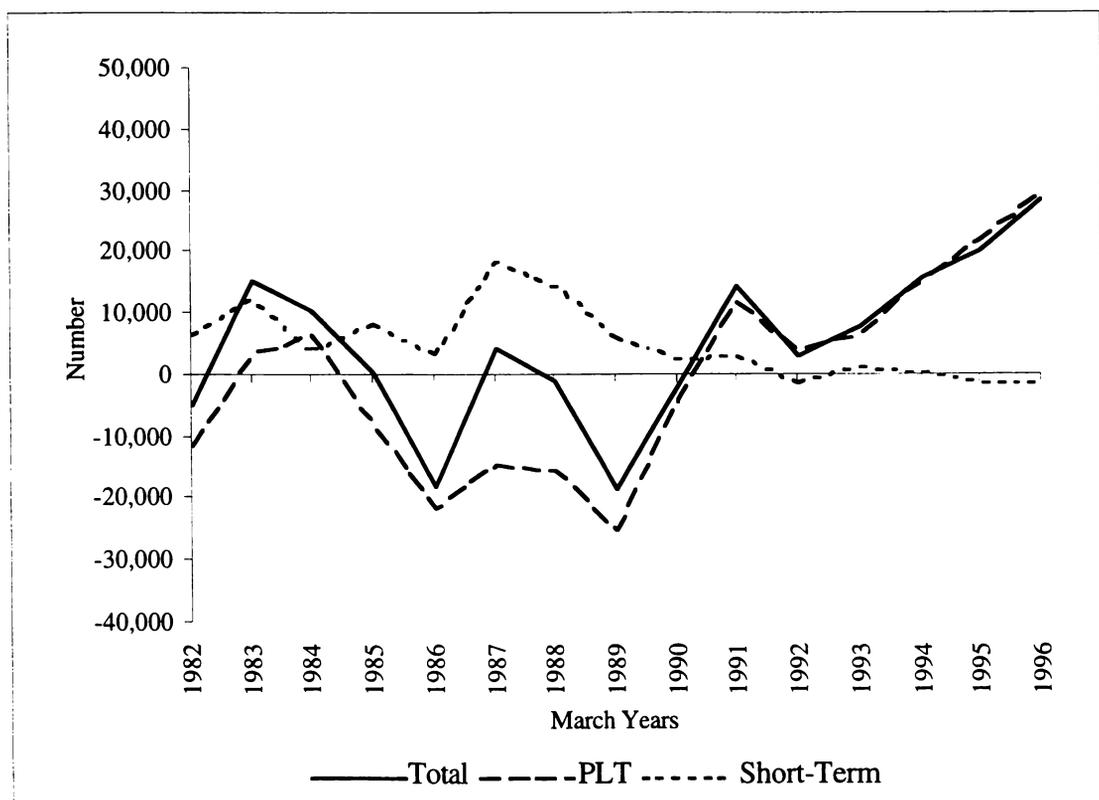


Figure 4.1 Total, PLT and short-term net migration, 1981-1996

The citizenship classification

It is clear from Figure 4.1 that the diverse flows of people into and out of New Zealand since 1981 have created a complex cyclical pattern of net migration gains and losses. These reflect an equally complex pattern of net migration gains and losses of New Zealand citizens, Australian citizens and the citizens of other countries. The entry and departure of New Zealand and Australian citizens is not regulated by policy - it is controlled simply by the presentation of a valid passport. Citizens of all other countries 'either enter under visa-waiver arrangements, or obtain a visa or permit to enter under the various policies applying to short-term and long-term or permanent arrivals' (Bedford and Lidgard, 1997a, 32). As shown in Bedford and Lidgard (1997a) nationals of New Zealand comprise the largest single group of arrivals and departures every year, with Australian nationals providing the second largest group. However, during the 15 year period, the most outstanding growth in net gains has been of nationals travelling on passports other than New Zealand and Australia (Figure 4.2).

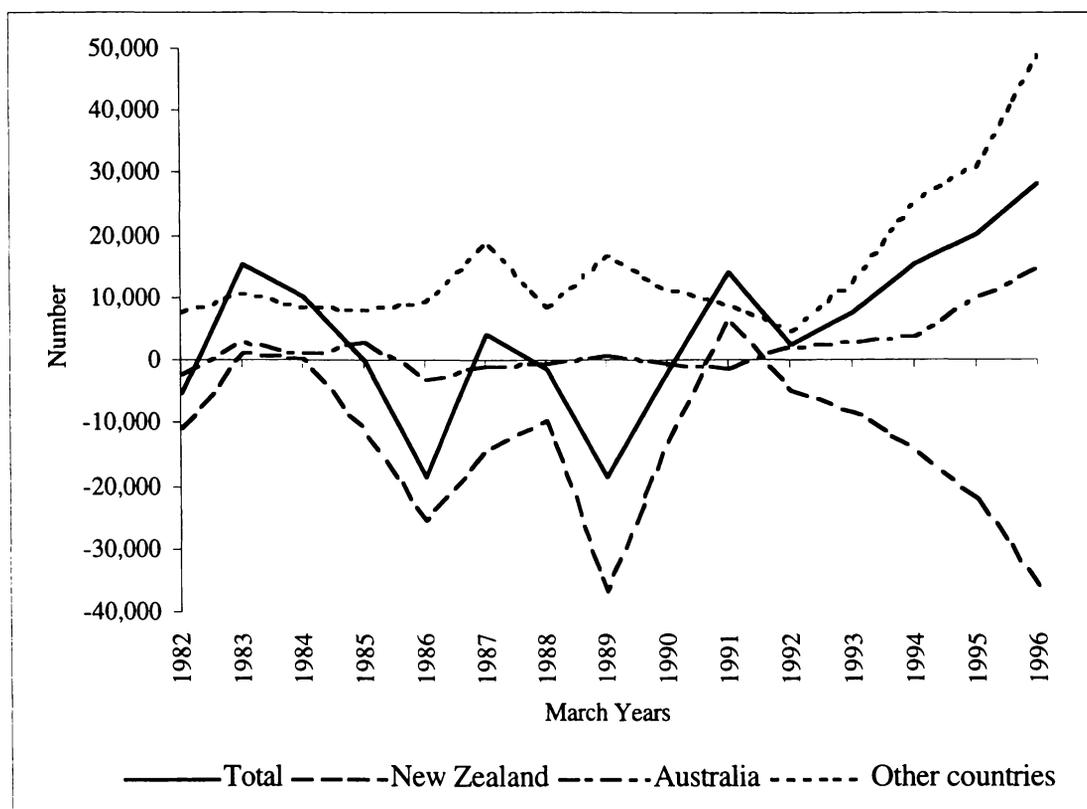


Figure 4.2 Net migration gains and losses of total population and citizens of New Zealand, Australia and all other countries.

The significant net losses of New Zealand citizens during the mid and late 1980s, and again in the mid 1990s have dampened considerably the net gains of citizens of countries other than New Zealand and Australia (Figure 4.2). Net migration from Australia picked up during the early 1990s, but in most years net gains of citizens from this country were small. Departures tend to cancel out arrivals in the Australian flow. The net gains of citizens of other countries, however, have been consistently positive through the 15 years, growing very rapidly in the early 1990s. It is therefore important to isolate the New Zealand citizens from others in any analysis of New Zealand's evolving migration system.

Having established some of the methodological problems associated with use of New Zealand's arrival and departure data, attention now turns to developments in the international migration system during the three five year periods between 1981 and 1996. In order to illustrate clearly changes in the composition of New Zealand's migration system from the beginning of the 1980s, averages of three years have been taken to avoid the idiosyncratic effects of fluctuations in annual flows of arrivals and departures. These years, 1980-82, 1985-87, 1990-92 and 1995-97, define the structure of the flows at the beginning and end of each of the three five year periods under study.

An indicator of the changes in flows can be obtained by comparing growth in the number of arrivals from selected "traditional" source countries (Australia, United Kingdom and Ireland, total Pacific Islands and Europe excluding the United Kingdom and Ireland) and selected "non-traditional" sources (total Americas, total Asia, total Africa and the Middle East). Attention now turns to an analysis of changing characteristics of New Zealand's migration system during the three five year periods.

THE EARLY 1980s

The early 1980s, as noted in Chapter Three, was a time of considerable economic and social turmoil in New Zealand. The construction phase of the "think big" projects, as they became known, had the added dimension of generating considerable demand for both skilled and unskilled workforces which could not be supplied from the domestic labour market. Immigration from overseas, especially the United Kingdom and Europe, picked up again from 1981 although it was not until the year ended March 1983 that net

losses of New Zealanders were more than balanced by net gains from overseas (Table 4.5). At the beginning of the 1980s there was a net outflow of Australian citizens that corresponded with the outflow of New Zealanders at this time (Figure 4.2). New Zealand in the early 1980s was emerging from a sharp recession, high levels of unemployment and extensive emigration in the late 1970s.

Table 4.5 Total net migration, 1 April 1981 - 31 March 1986 (000's)

Year ended 31 March	Arrivals	Departures	Net gain
1982	946.1	950.9	-4.8
1983	915.4	899.8	15.5
1984	922.6	912.1	10.5
1985	1017.0	1016.8	0.2
1986	1111.9	1130.2	-18.3
1981-1986	4913.0	4909.9	3.1

Patterns of arrivals and net migration

Traditional source countries were by far the most important contributors to the total and PLT arrival flows in the early 1980s (Figure 4.3). Australians comprised the largest component from any of the traditional sources, although the PLT flows across the Tasman were smaller than those from the United Kingdom and Ireland (Figure 4.3). The flow of PLT arrivals from the Pacific Islands rose during the period to almost equal that from Australia by 1985-1987.

In the case of non-traditional source countries, the biggest flows of total arrivals were from the Americas, reflecting the significance of the United States and Canada for New Zealand's tourism industry (Figure 4.3). The PLT arrival flows from the Americas were very small; indeed these never grew significantly through the 15 year period under review. In the early 1980s Asian migration to New Zealand as reflected in total arrival flows, was comparatively small compared with flows from the Americas (Figure 4.3). However, it is interesting to note from Figure 4.3 that by 1985-1987 the total number of arrivals of Asian nationalities almost equalled that from the United Kingdom and Ireland. The growing importance of Japanese tourism for New Zealand is clearly evident in these total figures.

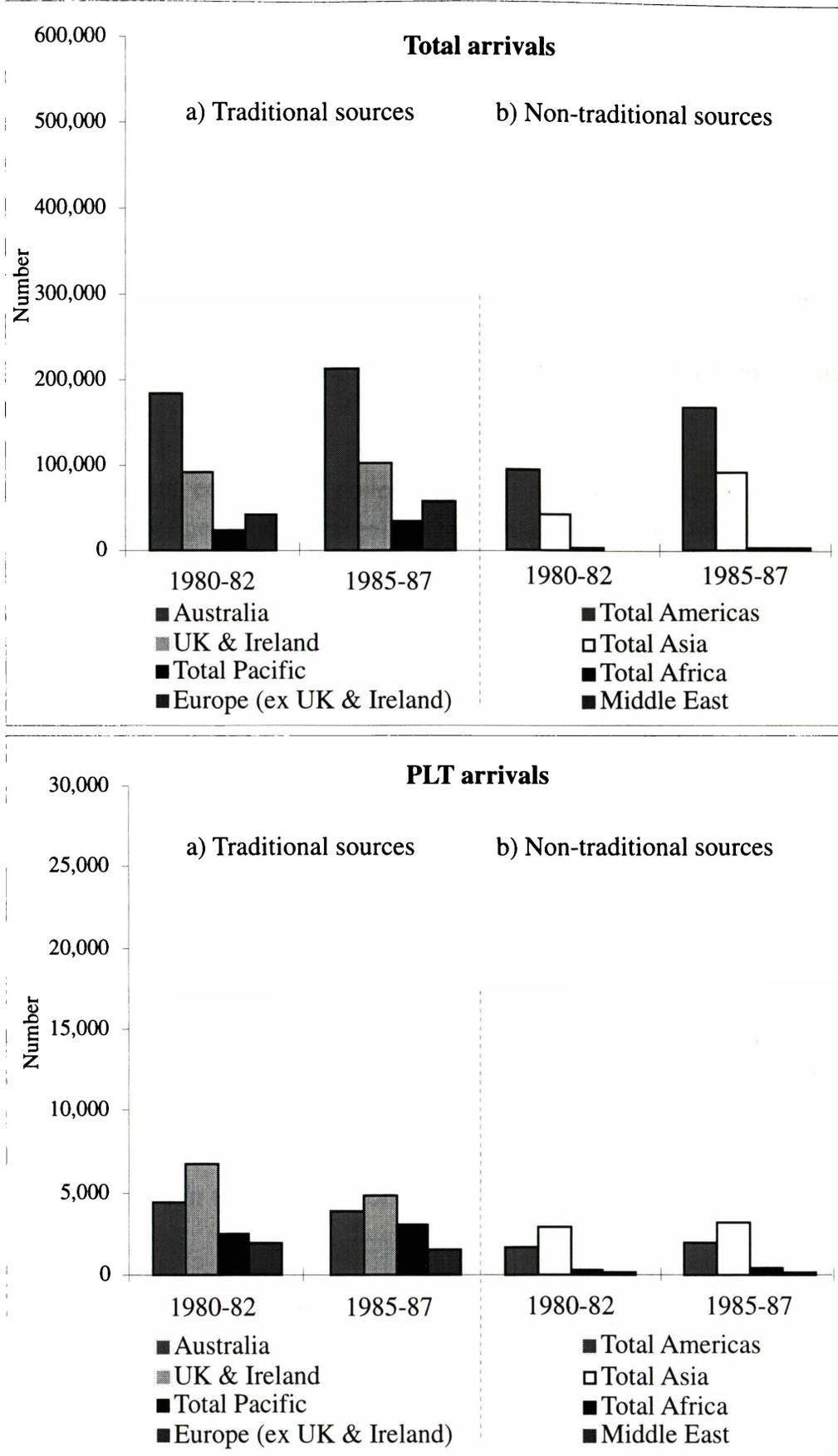


Figure 4.3: Total and PLT arrivals by source countries, 1980-1982 and 1985-1987

The PLT arrivals from Asia were the largest from non-traditional source countries, and almost equalled those from the Pacific Islands in the early 1980s and mid 1980s (Figure 4.3). Refugee flows from Indo China were a major contributor to these PLT arrival flows (Bedford and Lidgard, 1996a, 14). Aside from the refugee intake, which was regulated by a quota system, the key mechanism for regulating immigration flows was the Occupational Priority List (OPL) which allowed for the entry of workers with skills in short supply in New Zealand and ‘functioned as a labour market tool’ (Trlin, 1997, 5). Through the early 1980s the New Zealand Government used this approach to gaining skilled and semi-skilled labour, especially from countries in Europe, to meet the short-term needs of large construction projects associated with the “think big” schemes. However, these projects did not produce a lasting economic recovery from the recession of the late 1970s, or a significant increment to New Zealand’s population through net migration. Indeed, as shown in Table 4.5, the total net gain for the five years was only 3,100.

Net migration

The net gains from traditional and non-traditional source countries are summarised in Figure 4.4. It is apparent from these graphs that traditional sources were contributing more to overall net migration than non-traditional sources at the beginning and end of the period under review. However, there were some marked differences in the net gains from PLT and total migration. The PLT net gains from the traditional sources were comparatively similar, especially for Australia, Pacific Islands and the United Kingdom and Ireland. However, the Australian gains were lost again through “category jumping” as some PLT arrivals left after only short stays (Figure 4.4). The reverse occurred for Pacific Islanders, especially in the 1985-1987 period, where there was a significantly higher net gain through total migration than from PLT migration. The reasons for this relate to events in the year ended March 1987, discussed in the next section.

The overall net migration gains and losses from traditional and non-traditional sources are summarised in Table 4.6. It is clear from this table that traditional sources dominated completely, both in the total and PLT net migration figures.

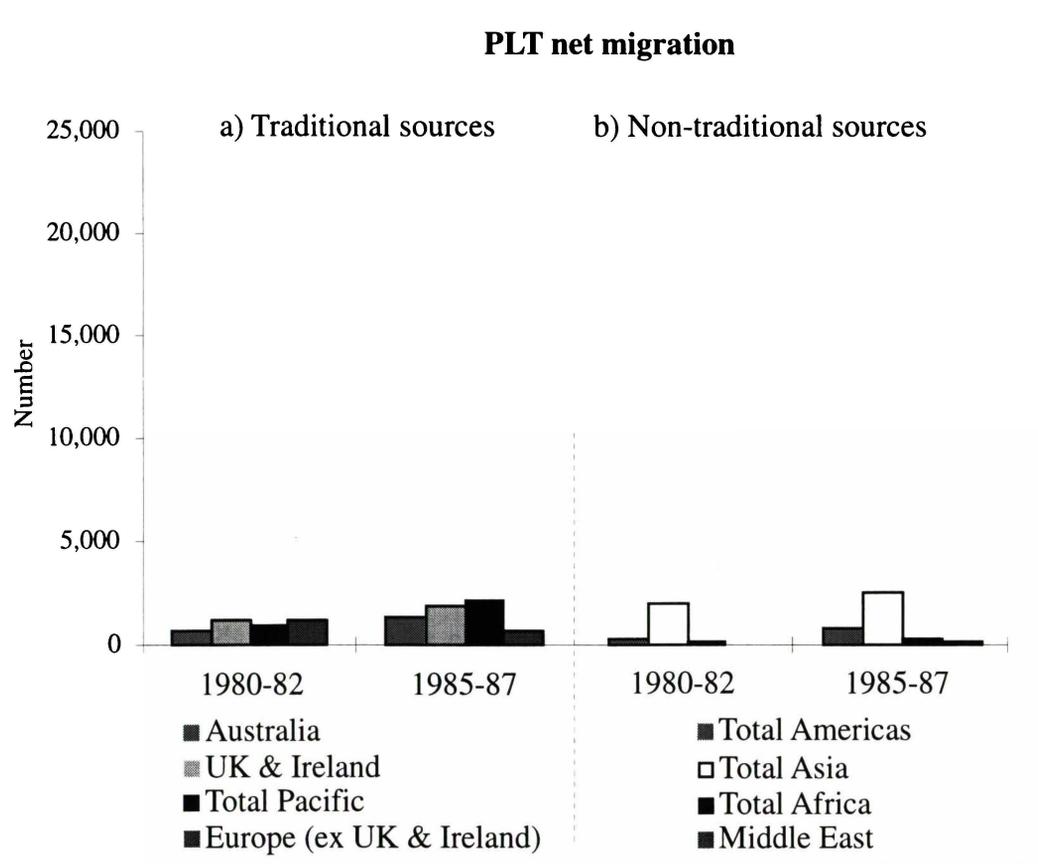
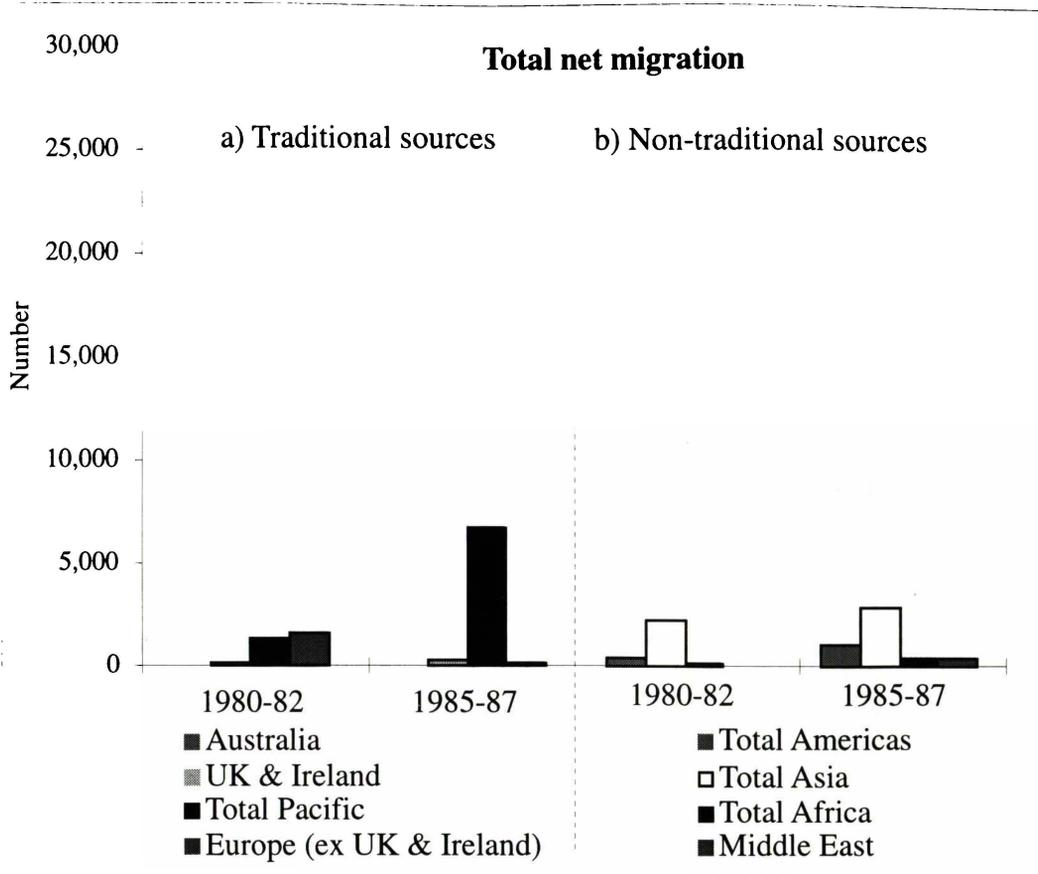


Figure 4.4: Total and PLT net migration by source countries, 1980-1982 and 1985-1987

The slightly higher figure for total net gains (31,800) than PLT net gains (30,400) from traditional sources disguises the importance of “category jumping” especially for Pacific Islanders and migrants from the United Kingdom and Ireland. This situation also applied in the case of non-traditional sources from all regions as the total net gains were higher than the PLT gains, especially from Asian sources (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6 Net total and PLT migration gains and losses by nationality, 1 April 1981 - 31 March 1986 (000's)

Nationality	1981-86	
	Total	PLT
<u>Traditional</u>		
Australia	2.8	6.3
United Kingdom and Ireland	9.1	11.7
Europe	6.0	5.5
Pacific Islands	13.9	6.9
Sub-total	31.8	30.4
<u>Non-traditional</u>		
Americas	3.5	2.4
Asia	10.0	7.0
Total Africa	0.8	0.6
Middle East	0.8	0.2
Other	1.1	0.2
Sub-total	16.2	10.4
New Zealand	-44.9	-72.2
Total	3.1	-31.4

Through the period under review, net losses of New Zealand citizens dropped initially, but then rose sharply in 1985 and 1986 (Figure 4.2). The overall effect of these losses is shown in Table 4.6: -44,900 for total migration and -72,200 for PLT migration. The much higher PLT losses reflects a tendency for many more New Zealanders departing to say they intend being away for periods of 12 months or more, when, in fact, they return after absences of less than a year. As noted earlier, the effect of these high net losses on the total contribution of international migration to population change in the early 1980s was to virtually cancel out the net gains from traditional and non-traditional sources.

Economic trends and immigration policy

Notwithstanding the contribution the “think big” projects made to employment generation in New Zealand in the early 1980s, the economic situation continued to deteriorate. Levels of inflation were rising and external debt was spiralling. By 1984 New Zealand’s economic situation was much worse than it had been in 1981 when the National Government was re-elected. Deterioration in the macro-economy, however, was not matched by continued heavy reductions in net immigration from traditional sources.

Poot, Nana and Philpott (1988, 10) have stressed that factors which are not related to unfavourable economic conditions in New Zealand can contribute significantly to explanations of net migration gains and losses at any time. Particularly important are life cycle effects (for example, a student returning after two years of “overseas experience”, or a retired person moving back to his or her homeland), and humanitarian considerations related to the location of family members and the plight of refugees. Motives for migration to New Zealand vary considerably depending on the country of origin of the migrants. In explanations of population flows across international boundaries in most countries, economic considerations regularly emerge as an issue. But the state of the domestic economy is not always a reliable predictor of the magnitude of flows into and out of a country as Poot, Nana and Philpott (1988, 10) have mentioned. A combination of low numbers of New Zealanders emigrating and moderate gains of immigrants (the skilled migrants required by the “think-big” projects from Europe and the United Kingdom) contributed to the net gains for this period, especially in 1983-1984.

By 1983 an increasingly acrimonious debate about economic policy was dominating political and public considerations about the future. A new Immigration Bill, introduced to Parliament in 1983, attracted considerable public comment and a large number of submissions (Farmer, 1996). However, it lapsed when Parliament was dissolved in June 1984 (Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives, 1985, 39). The new Labour Government sent the bill back to the New Zealand Immigration Service for further consideration. It did not reappear in Parliament until 1987. The new government’s concern to review immigration policy did not bring forth any major initiatives until 1986, the beginning of the second period in this review of developments in New Zealand’s international migration system.

THE LATE 1980s

The pattern of net migration gains and losses during the late 1980s was the reverse of that for the early years of the decade. Net gains were recorded in the first and last years of the period with a substantial loss in the mid year, 1989 (Table 4.7). This loss was linked to both economic and political factors. As mentioned earlier this was the period when the suffering associated with economic restructuring began to be felt widely throughout the country. Rising unemployment was accompanied by a huge net loss of New Zealanders, especially during the year ended 31 March 1989 (Table 4.7 and Figure 4.2). This exodus was associated with a spectacular slump in the share market in October 1987 which prefaced a major restructuring of manufacturing industries in the country. Between the censuses of 1986 and 1991 almost a 100,000 jobs were “lost” in the manufacturing sector (Bedford, 1994).

Table 4.7 Total net migration, 1 April 1986 - 31 March 1991 (000's)

Year ended 31 March	Arrivals	Departures	Net gain
1987	1321.7	1317.3	4.4
1988	1555.0	1555.9	-1.0
1989	1669.5	1687.9	-18.4
1990	1700.9	1702.6	-1.7
1991	1772.5	1757.9	14.6
1986-1991	8019.5	8021.6	-2.1

Although the outflow of New Zealand citizens during the year ended 31 March 1989 was considerable, an Australian Bureau of Immigration Research (BIMR) study, *Trans-Tasman Migration: Trends, Causes and Consequences*, concluded that ‘the migration response to record job shedding in New Zealand and a further widening of the earnings gap in the late 1980s was smaller than anticipated’ (Carmichael, 1993, xxii). In fact the large exodus in 1989 reversed dramatically in the 1991 March year (Table 4.7). On the other hand, the net gain of non-citizens showed a slow increase over the first three years of the period followed by a more rapid increase from 1990 (Figure 4.2). In spite of the increase the total non-citizen gain was still less than the loss of New Zealanders during the period, and there was an overall net loss of -2,100 between 1986 and 1991 (Table 4.7).

Pattern of arrivals and net migration

Despite the economic upheavals of the late 1980s, the total numbers of arrivals from the two traditional sources, Australia and the United Kingdom and Ireland, continued to rise (Figure 4.5). These figures reflect more the growth in tourism flows than any substantial growth in immigration from traditional sources. It is clear from Figure 4.5 that the only traditional source area to show a larger number of PLT arrivals at the end of the period, over the number at the beginning, was Europe. In the case of non-traditional sources, some changes were more dramatic. The most obvious and significant is the substantial growth in both total and PLT arrivals from Asia. This reflects significant shifts in immigration policy announced in the Labour Government's *Immigration Policy Review, August 1986* (Burke, 1986). The main initiatives have already been noted in Chapter Three, but it should be recalled here that a critical departure from previous policy was the abandonment of the "traditional" source country preference in selection of migrants. The system for regulating selection did not change - the OPL remained a basic tool for ensuring some match between labour market needs and immigrant flows. However, other factors, such as the introduction of a Business Immigration Programme (BIP) and some changes to family reunion provisions ensured there were substantial numbers of PLT arrivals who were not subject to OPL screening (Bedford, Trlin and Farmer, 1987; Trlin, 1992; Farmer, 1996).

Net migration

The contributions these changing patterns of arrivals at the beginning and end of the period under review made to net migration are summarised in Figure 4.6. Total net migration from traditional sources in 1986-1987 was completely dominated by the sizeable influx of Pacific Islanders following the introduction of visa-waiver provisions for citizens of Fiji, Tonga, and Western Samoa, late in 1986 (Bedford, 1989; Bedford and Lidgard, 1997b). Between December 1986 and February 1987, when approval for entry of short-term visitors without visas from the three countries was revoked, thousands of Pacific Islanders entered New Zealand allegedly for holidays and to visit friends and relatives. In fact, many did not return at the end of their three month period. The military coups in Fiji, in May and September 1987, added to the flow from this country, especially of Indo-Fijians. Indeed, between April 1980 and March 1991 the overall net gain from Fiji was 11,400 - the largest on record for any five year period to date (Bedford, 1994).

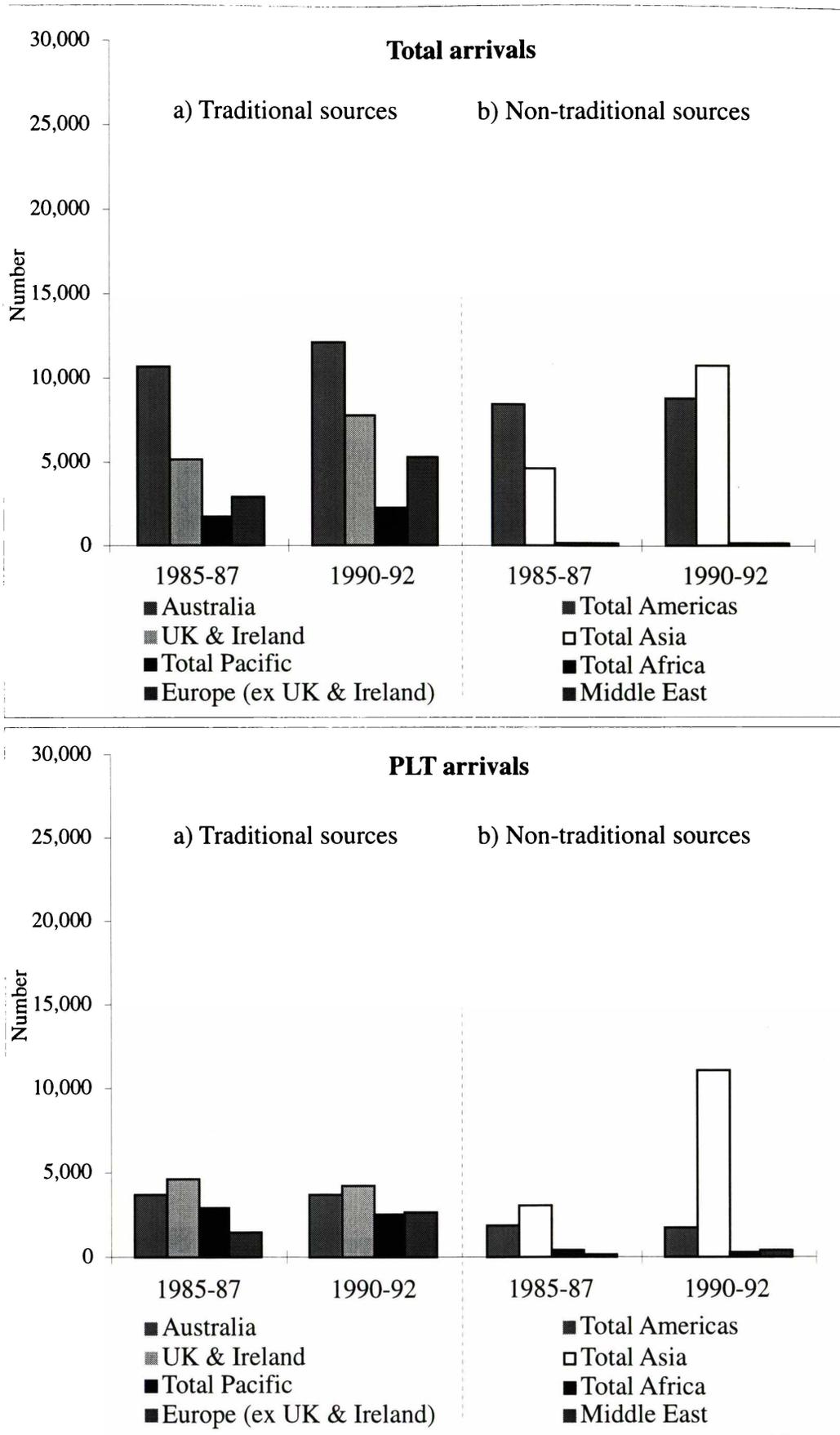


Figure 4.5: Total and PLT arrivals by source countries, 1985-1987 and 1990-1992

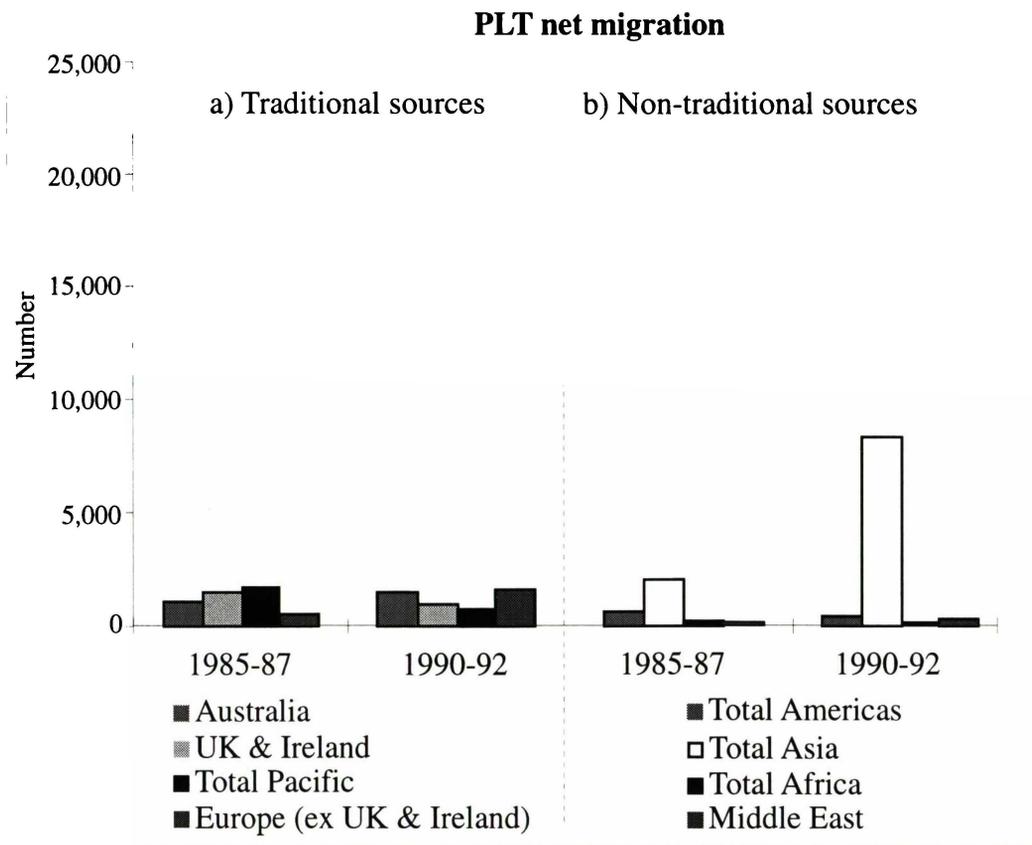
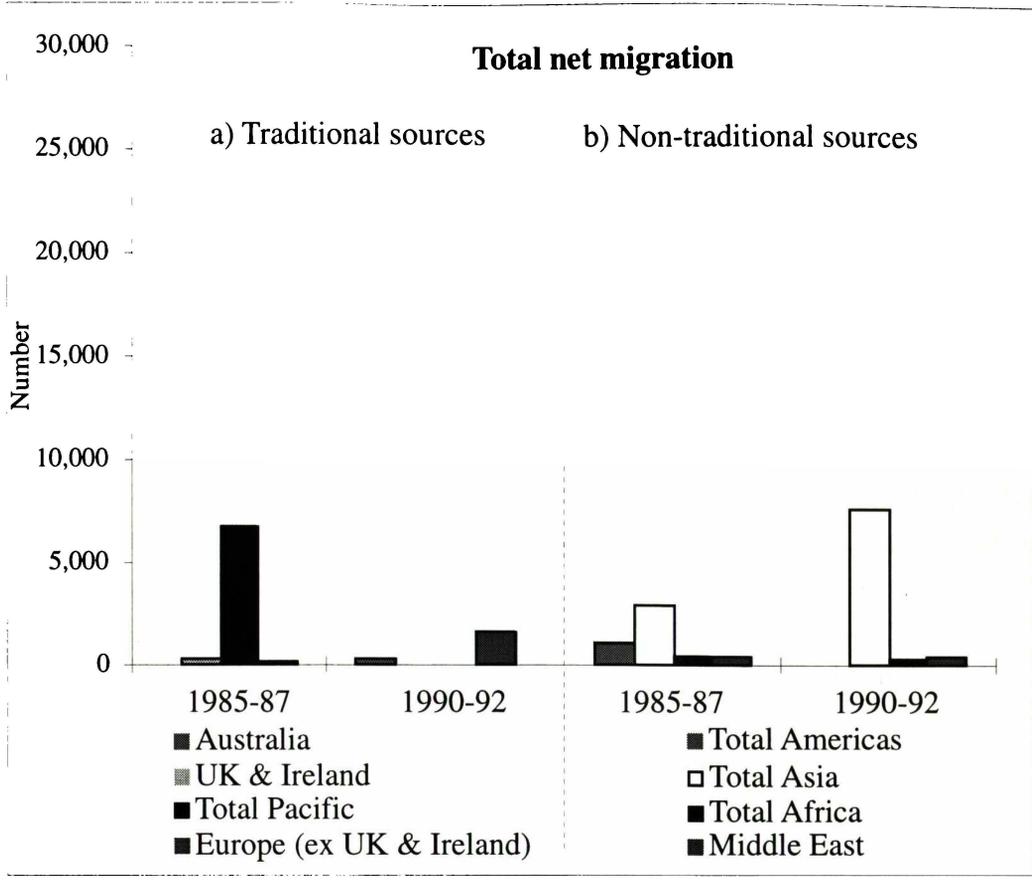


Figure 4.6: Total and PLT net migration by source countries, 1985-1987 and 1990-1992

The other noticeable change in net migration was the surge in gains from countries in Asia (Figure 4.6). As noted in the previous section, the net gains from Asia around 1986 were not very different from those at the beginning of the 1980s (Figure 4.4). However, by the early 1990s, these had quadrupled, totally dwarfing gains from other non-traditional sources (Figure 4.6). This major increase in population movement between Asian countries and New Zealand was stimulated by the introduction of the Business Immigration Programme and the beginnings of a proactive drive to make New Zealand “part of Asia”. Included in the latter was the granting of visa waiver status to countries like Singapore and Malaysia in 1986. The acceleration in population movement between Asian countries and New Zealand produced the largest PLT and total net migration gains of any migrant source region in the late 1980s (Table 4.8).

Table 4.8 Net total and PLT migration gains and losses by nationality, 1 April 1986 - 31 March 1991 (000's)

Nationality	Total	1986-91	PLT
<u>Traditional</u>			
Australia	-2.3		5.9
United Kingdom and Ireland	-6.9		10.5
Europe	1.3		5.5
Pacific Islands	30.4		10.5
Sub-total	22.5		32.4
<u>Non-traditional</u>			
Americas	-0.4		3.1
Asia	42.1		29.2
Total Africa	2.9		1.2
Middle East	1.3		0.9
Other	-5.1		-0.3
Sub-total	40.8		34.1
New Zealand	-65.4		-113.5
Total	-2.1		-47.0

By the late 1980s countries in Asia had superseded all traditional countries as contributors to population growth in New Zealand. The total net gain of 42,100 was almost double the net gain from all traditional sources (22,500), even exceeding by 25 percent the exceptional influx from the Pacific Islands (30,400) (Table 4.8).

However, net losses of New Zealanders (-65,400), especially during 1988 and 1989 (Figure 4.2), completely eliminated the numerical effect of these gains. As Table 4.8 shows, New Zealand had an overall net loss of population during the late 1980s of -2,100. This is a rather misleading figure if migration trends are interpreted solely in terms of overall net gains and losses. Isolating the impact of the movement of New Zealand citizens, as noted earlier in this chapter, is critically important for understanding changes in the structure of New Zealand's international migration system.

Economic trends and immigration policy

The transformation in the country's migration system during the late 1980s is a result of a powerful combination of immigration policy initiatives and economic trends. The active encouragement of Asian immigration was bolstered by an easing of regulations governing investment in New Zealand. The share market was deregulated, state assets were corporatised and later privatised, and controls over foreign ownership of land were liberalised. From 1984, New Zealand's "economic experiment" created a more attractive climate for foreign investment. Investors from Asian countries, especially Singapore and Malaysia, were not slow in capitalising on such opportunities.

Debate about Asian immigration began to intensify after the share market crash, especially with rising domestic unemployment and slow economic growth. A popular perception at the time was that immigrants from Asia were using their money to buy residency rights, settling their families in New Zealand to make use of the country's social services and then taking their money out of the country again to invest in more profitable ventures in other countries. However, the government was not persuaded to attempt to stem the flow. Indeed, a new National Government in 1990 was determined to make the system even more flexible.

A Working Party on Immigration, set up in late 1990 by the National Government's new Minister of Immigration (Birch), reported that the 'OPL was inflexible and ineffective . . . echoing complaints made by immigration consultants and others' (Trlin, 1997, 2). The Business Immigration Policy (BIP) was also criticised as it was felt that the system did not contain measures to prevent "abuse". There was concern that successful applicants were able to take advantage of New Zealand's social services for their

families while they became “astronaut” family members and continued to do business in their countries of origin.

To attract people with resources, skills and enterprise a new approach more suited to an open economy was needed, according to Kasper (1990). The National Government considered that it was vital for New Zealand’s development to increase the country’s human capital by attracting substantial numbers of well-qualified immigrants (Farmer, 1996, 61). A new policy was implemented in late 1991 that drew heavily on the recommendations of the Working Party on Immigration and on the reports of the economists mentioned, Poot *et al* (1988) and Kasper (1990) (Trlin, 1997, 5). The policy adopted was a points system, similar to that used by Canada and discussed in Chapter Three. The turnaround began at the beginning of the 1990s before the new policy became operational with a net gain of 11,600 in the year ended 31 March 1991 (Figure 4.1).

THE EARLY 1990s

The 1990s saw the longest period of sustained population growth since the boom years of the early 1970s - clear evidence that a ‘targeted human capital’ approach to immigration selection, regulated by a points system, had succeeded. However, as pointed out by Farmer (1997, 1), ‘the new annual immigration “target” was a goal which could be exceeded rather than a limit’ and within four years it was surpassed. Immigration issues received much attention from the media and populist politicians and with increased concerns about the impact of migration from non-traditional sources for social cohesion a ‘fine-tuning’ of the ‘targeted’ immigration policy took place in October 1995 (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1995).

The turnaround in net migration flows to New Zealand since the late 1980s, as mentioned, has been described as “astounding” (*National Business Review*, 8 March 1996). Between 1 April 1991 and 31 March 1996 there was an average net inflow of migrants, intending to stay for 12 months or more, of over 15,500 per year. This was a reversal from the position where migration was producing an overall loss of people in most years from 1976 to 1990, to a situation where migrants were augmenting the population by around 0.4 percent per annum. Table 4.9 and Figure 4.1 show that a sustained net gain occurred in five consecutive years with a relatively rapid rise after 1992.

Table 4.9 Total net migration, 1 April 1991 - 31 March 1996 (000's)

Year ended 31 March	Arrivals	Departures	Net gain
1992	1809.9	1807.0	2.9
1993	1898.8	1890.7	8.1
1994	2057.0	2041.2	15.8
1995	2235.2	2214.8	20.4
1996	2464.7	2436.1	28.6
1991-1996	10465.0	10389.3	75.8

Low levels of net emigration of New Zealanders combined with the rising levels of net immigration of non-citizens produced six consecutive years of net migration gains (Tables 4.7 and 4.9). Since 1991/92 the net gain of non-citizens has been larger than the net gain or loss of New Zealand citizens (Figure 4.2). For the five years of this third period, the net gains steadily rose with the 1995 and 1996 years recording the highest population increase in the whole 15 year period. In all five years of this 1991-1996 period, the emigration of New Zealand citizens was more than compensated for by the immigration of new settlers (Figure 4.2). The loss of 52,000 New Zealanders was made up nearly three times by the net gains of 130,200 new migrants. However, as shown below, in the 1990s it was the PLT arrivals from non-traditional sources that made the major contribution, especially after the introduction of the points system in 1991.

Pattern of arrivals and net migration

Arrivals from the major traditional source countries increased progressively through the early 1990s (Figure 4.7). The trans-Tasman flow exceeded 300,000 per year for the first time, while the migration flow from the United Kingdom and Ireland rose to over 200,000 per annum. However, it was the Asian flow that experienced the really spectacular growth, averaging over 500,000 per year up to the mid 1990s (Figure 4.7). Arrivals from the other major non-traditional source, North America, did not change much when figures for the 1990-1992 years are compared. Arrivals from the other two areas, Africa and the Middle East, did increase more substantially, although from a very small base (Figure 4.7).

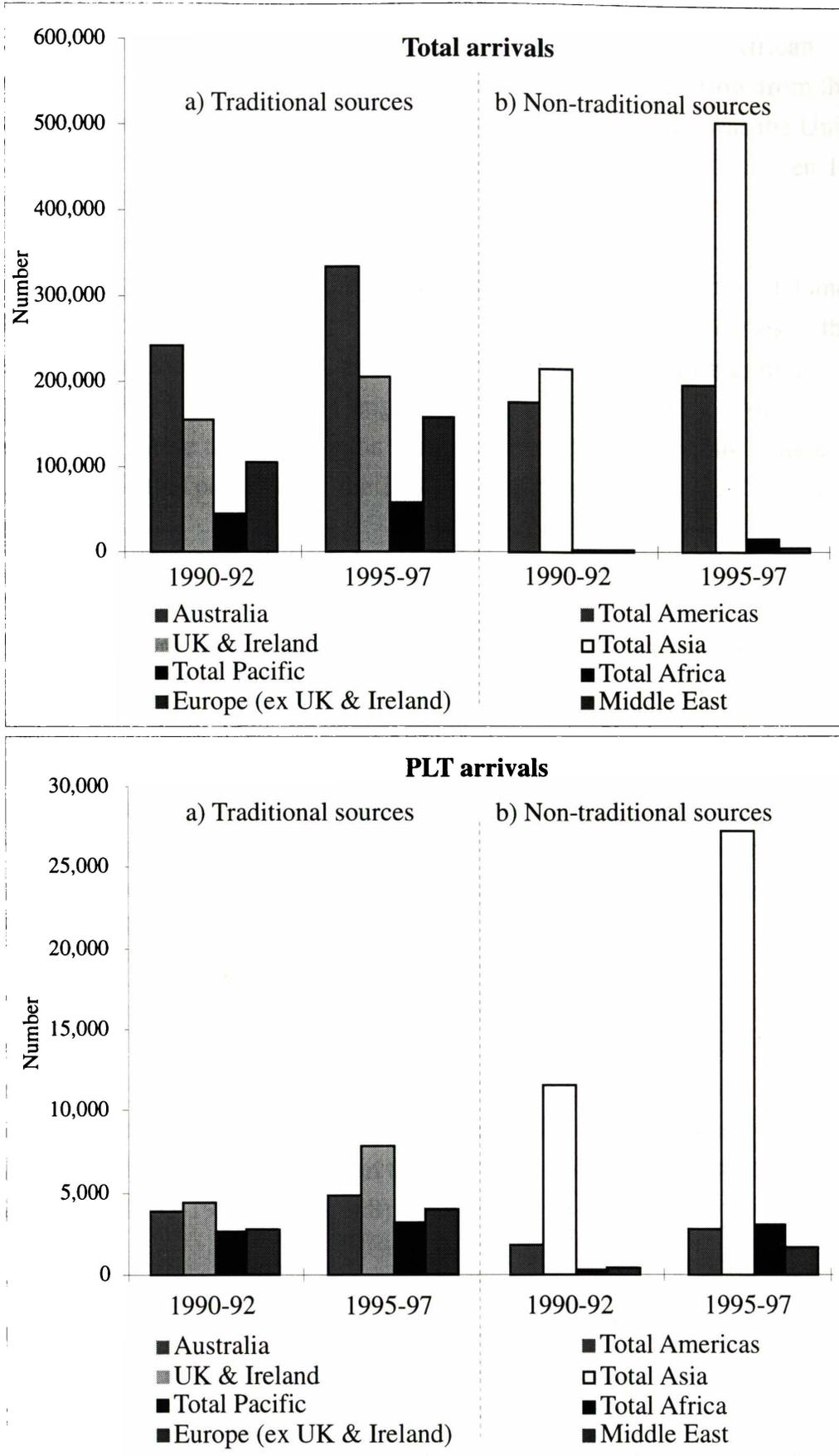


Figure 4.7: Total and PLT arrivals by source countries, 1990-1992 and 1995-1997

The PLT arrival data reveal again the domination of Asian flows, both at the beginning and the end of the five year period (Figure 4.7). The African inflow, mainly of white South Africans, virtually equalled the flow from the Pacific Islands. The biggest traditional source of PLT arrivals was the United Kingdom and Ireland, as was the case throughout the 15 years between 1981 and 1996 (Figure 4.7).

Contributing significantly to the surge in arrivals from Asia (both total and PLT) were the extension of visa-waiver provisions to more countries in that region during the early 1990s, and the active promotion of immigration to New Zealand by a burgeoning migration consultancy industry. An interesting feature of the net gains resulting from these flows, and which differentiates this period from the 1980s, is the predominance of PLT net gains.

Net migration

The net gains from total and PLT migration in the early and mid 1990s are summarised in Figure 4.8. In the case of total net migration from traditional sources, very small gains, or indeed net losses for people of United Kingdom and Pacific nationalities, around 1990 were replaced by the largest net gains on record since the 1960s for all areas except Europe. The PLT net gains from traditional sources did not change so dramatically, but the United Kingdom clearly stands out as the major supplier of PLT immigrants between 1995 and 1997 (Figure 4.8).

The situation with regard to non-traditional sources shows the total domination of Asian net migration both at the beginning and end of the five year period. PLT net migration from all non-traditional sources increased, but category jumping managed to remove some of the impact of this for the Americas. The total net gain from the Americas is much smaller than the PLT net gain in 1995-1997 (Figure 4.8).

The situation with regard to total and PLT net migration gains between 1991 and 1996 is summarised in Table 4.10. Compared with the late 1980s (Table 4.8), the early 1990s clearly saw the consolidation of Asian migrations, the main contributor to net immigration, especially to PLT immigration. Net gains from the Pacific, the second major source of migrants between 1986 and 1991, had fallen significantly.

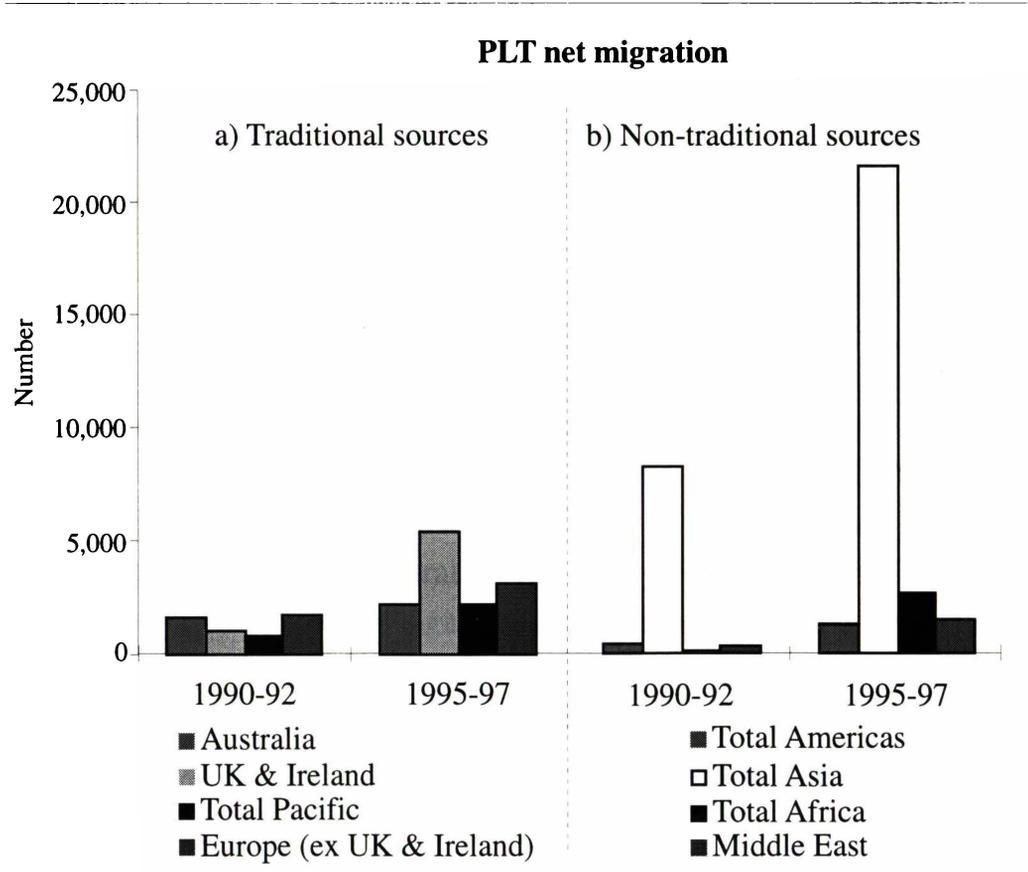
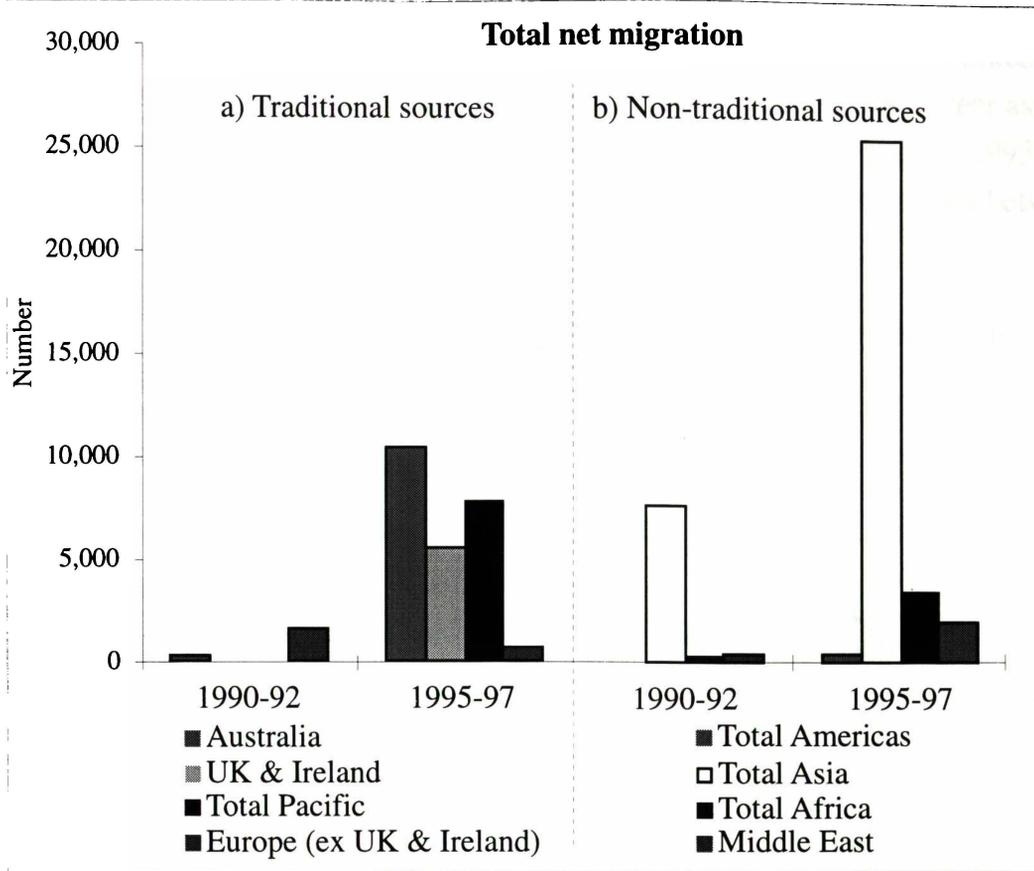


Figure 4.8: Total and PLT net migration by source countries, 1990-1992 and 1995-1997

The “points system” did not favour migration from this region and with the much tighter employment situation for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, almost as many Pacific Islanders were leaving New Zealand each year as arriving. Indeed, there were net losses of Samoans and Tongans in 1993 and 1994 - the first on record since the development of significant flows between New Zealand and countries in Polynesia (Bedford, 1994).

Table 4.10 Net total and PLT migration gains and losses by nationality, 1 April 1991 - 31 March 1996 (000's)

Nationality	1991-96	
	Total	PLT
Traditional		
Australia	35.3	8.9
United Kingdom and Ireland	8.8	16.0
Europe	10.8	12.0
Pacific Islands	9.7	4.0
Sub-total	64.6	40.9
Non-traditional		
Americas	5.7	3.5
Asia	73.1	74.4
Total Africa	10.3	7.4
Middle East	5.1	4.0
Other	0.4	0.1
Sub-total	94.6	89.4
New Zealand	-83.4	-52.0
Total	75.8	78.3

Australia had replaced the Pacific Islands as the second largest source of total net gains in the early 1990s (Table 4.10). The net gain of 35,300 Australian citizens undoubtedly includes some children of returning New Zealanders who have been living in Australia. The trans-Tasman flows are complicated by the reciprocal residence rights both countries offer the other's citizens. The large net gain in the early 1990s is not a sign of significant movement of Australian labour into the New Zealand economy. The nationality classification is not necessarily the best for understanding the trans-Tasman flow (Bedford and Lowe, 1993; Carmichael, 1993b).

The other flow that had grown significantly in the early 1990s was of people with African nationalities (Table 4.10). Two streams are important here;

South Africans (mainly white) and Somali refugees. Between 1991 and 1996 net migration from Africa exceeded that from the United Kingdom and the Pacific Islands for the first time. This is another sign of the significant changes which were occurring in New Zealand's international migration system.

Economic trends and immigration policy

At the beginning of the 1990s the New Zealand economy was still in recession. Indeed, Kelsey (1997, 243) has argued that 'New Zealand spent almost seven years of [its economic] experiment in stagnation and recession.' Between 1985 and 1992 the average growth across OECD countries was 20 percent. During the same period New Zealand's economy shrank by one percent. The OECD calculated that New Zealand's real Gross Domestic Product was still five percent below its 1985/86 level in 1992 (OECD, 1993 in Kelsey, 1997, 243).

By 1994, however, economic recovery was evident, especially as Auckland pulled out of a deeper recession than other cities in New Zealand (Roger, 1995). Auckland's economic recovery was stimulated by immigration, especially the demand for housing and growth in investment capital. Migrants from countries in Northeast Asia contributed significantly to both of these drivers of economic growth. In 1994 and 1995, New Zealand's economic growth was close to the top rather than the bottom of the OECD rates. The "experiment" seemed to be working. Economic restructuring and associated labour market reform appeared to have freed the factors of production, from regulation and bureaucratic control. Immigration policy changes, especially the introduction of a points system and aggressive marketing of New Zealand as a destination for Asian skills and investment capital, seemed to be producing dividends in the form of sizeable net immigration gains.

The economic recovery was a short-lived one, however, and by late 1994 extensive immigration from non-traditional countries was attracting adverse comments from both politicians and members of the public. In 1994, the New Zealand Immigration Service carried out a review of the operation of the points system and some significant changes were recommended. These came into effect from 1 October 1995 but did not have any appreciable impact on arrivals and net migration gains during the period under review. It was not

until the second half of 1996 that the smaller number of people approved for entry under the amended points system began to influence arrivals and net migration, and even then, the impact was small. The year ended March 1997, the third year in the averages for 1995-1997 shown in Figures 4.7 and 4.8, produced the largest total net migration gain (37,800) for any year since the early 1870s. By 1997, New Zealand's migration system began to reflect the combined impacts of policy changes in 1995, slowing economic growth in the domestic economy, and from October 1997, fiscal crisis in many parts of Southeast and Northeast Asia. These recent developments are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Seven.

Overview

This descriptive analysis of changes in the sources of migration flows into New Zealand between 1981 and 1996 has demonstrated that there has been a profound structural transformation in the country's international migration system. The transformation can be summarised in two further graphs. In Figure 4.9 growth in the numbers of arrivals (total and PLT) from three source areas is compared using index numbers (1981=100). Clearly the Asian flows have grown more significantly than those from two traditional source areas, especially since the mid 1980s.

In Figure 4.10 the contributions which net migration of citizens of New Zealand, countries in Asia, and all other countries have made to population changes are summarised. In the early 1980s Asian migration contributed significantly less than other countries to net gains. By the late 1980s, however, it was emerging as the major contributor to population growth through immigration.

The first 10 years were times of considerable variability in population flows and mirrored the uncertainty created by changes in the country's economic and social policy linked to the wider changes in the global capitalist system. Short-lived cycles of immigration and emigration marked the 1980s and were a continuation of the pattern that had been present in New Zealand population flows since the 1970s.

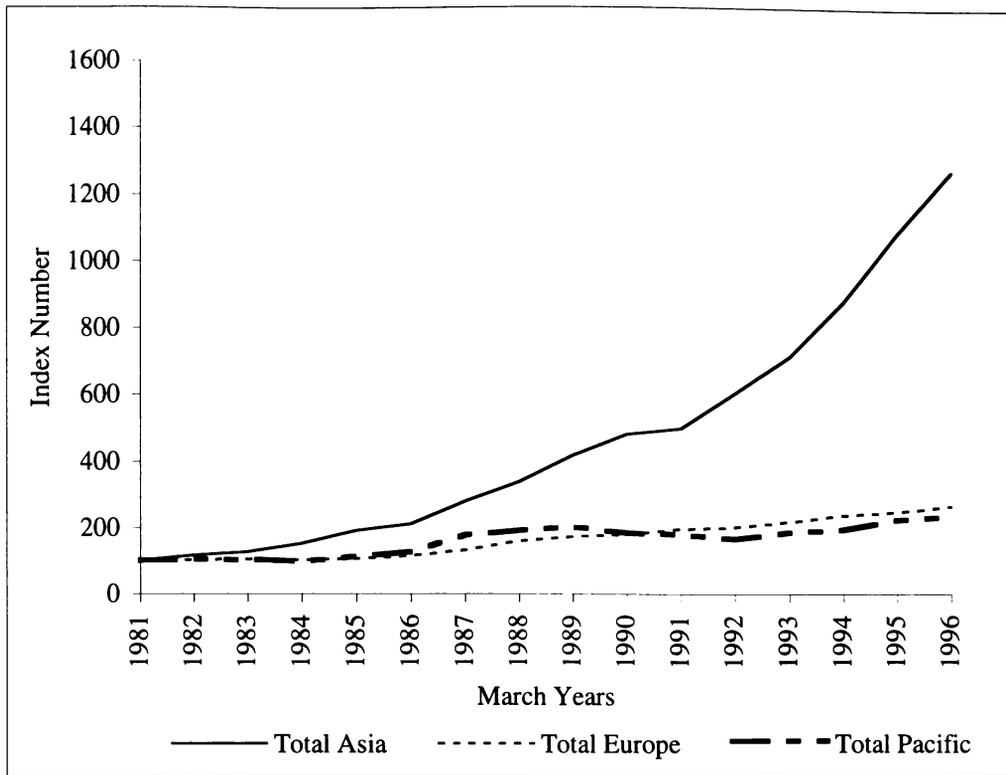


Figure 4.9a: Growth in total arrivals from Asia, Europe, and the Pacific Islands, 1981-1996 (1981=100)

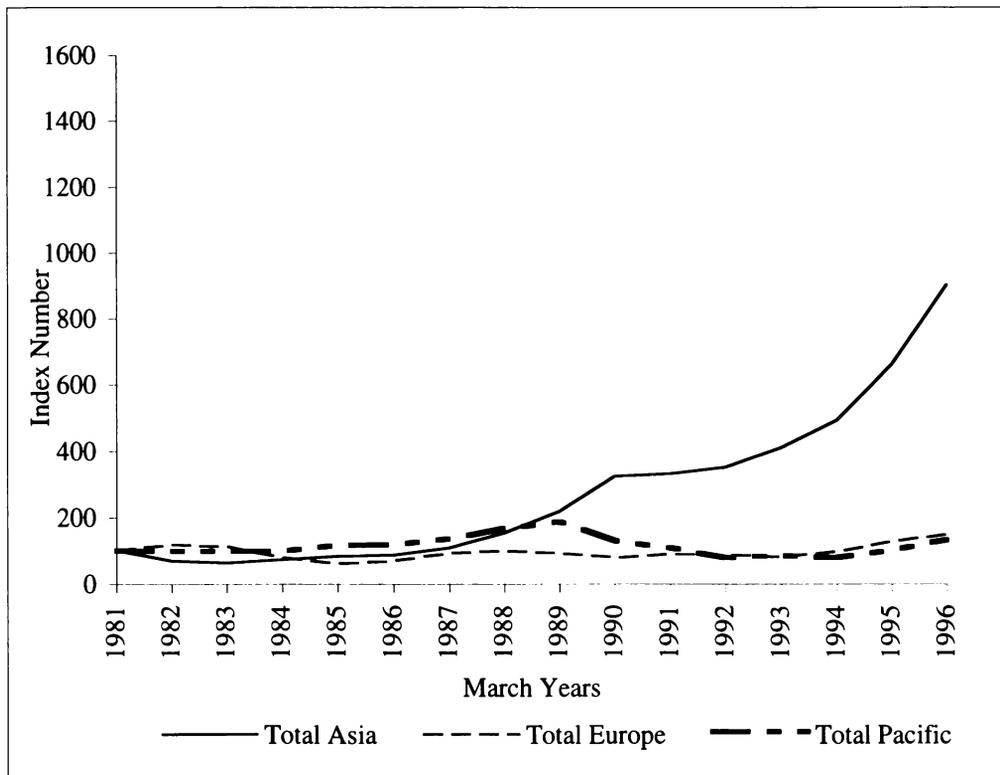


Figure 4.9b: Growth in PLT arrivals from Asia, Europe and the Pacific Islands, 1981-1996 (1981=100)

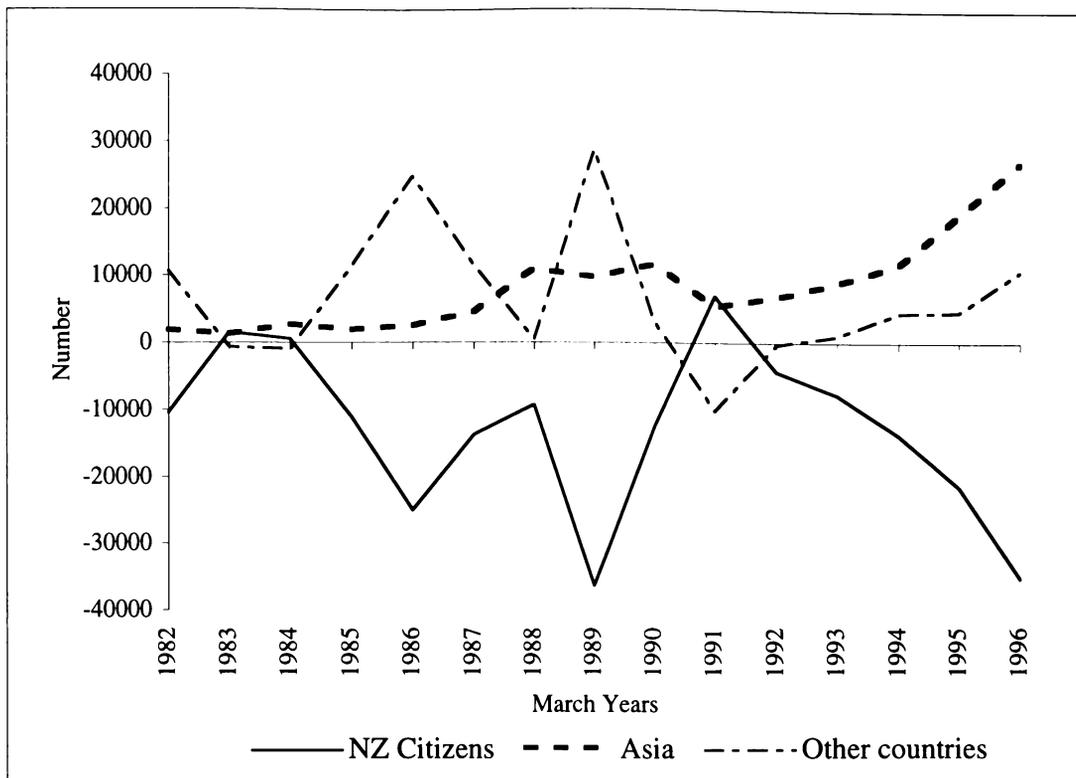


Figure 4.10a: Total net migration, citizens of New Zealand, Asia and other countries, 1981-1996

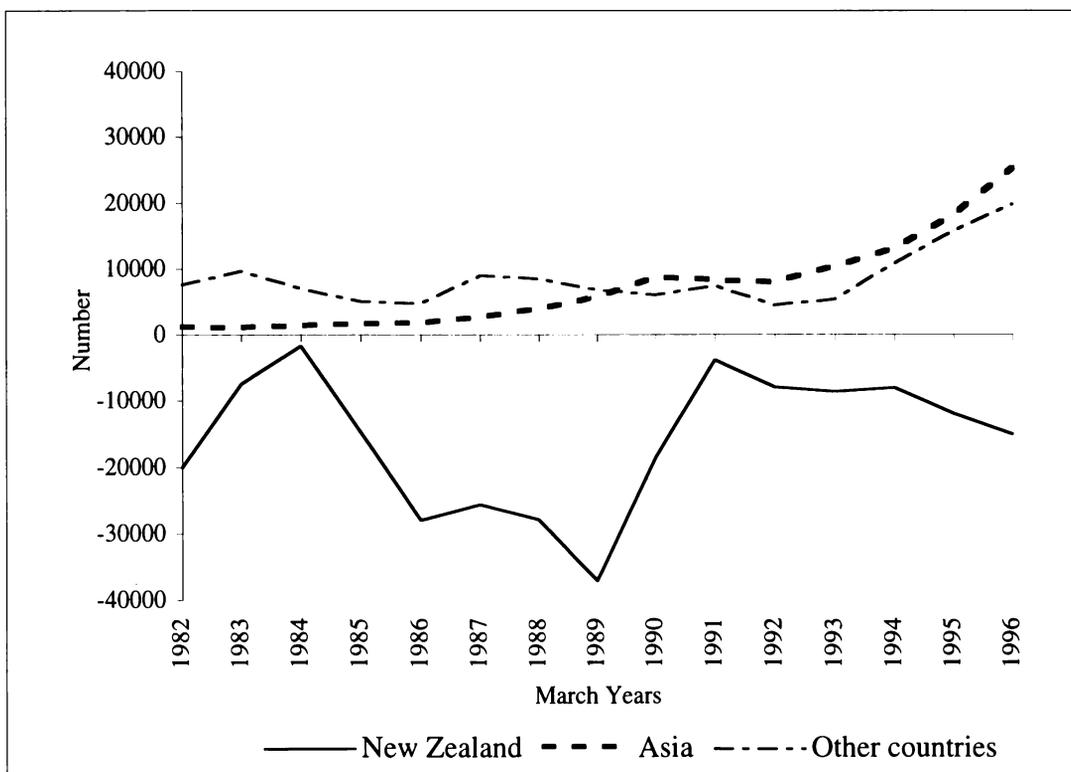


Figure 4.10b: PLT net migration, citizens of New Zealand, Asia and other countries, 1981-1996

The major change in international migration to New Zealand came with a continuous period of six years in the 1990s during which there was a substantial, and constantly rising flow of immigrants. Three factors combined to produce this change; economic restructuring in New Zealand, changes in immigration policy, and the considerable growth in short-term as well as long-term migration from countries in Asia. By 1996 the centre of gravity in New Zealand's international migration system had shifted from its traditional, colonial source countries to a non-traditional regional source on the Asia-Pacific rim. Discussion now turns to the changing composition of flows within the loosely defined Asian migration to New Zealand. The transformations in New Zealand's international migration stream between 1981 and 1996 were matched by some significant shifts in source countries within Asia.

MIGRATION FROM ASIA: AN OVERVIEW

It has already been shown that the strong swing in government policy towards measures favouring making the New Zealand economy more competitive in international markets, also produced some significant changes in immigration policy. The immigration policy changes in 1986 placed considerable emphasis on encouraging migrants to New Zealand who would bring professional, technical and entrepreneurial skills as well as venture capital for the development of new products and markets.

New Zealand's economic experiment was unfolding at the same time as a more affluent middle class was growing rapidly in Asia's Newly Industrialising Countries. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that there was a significant pool of potential migrants in parts of Asia who were not only keen to travel, but in many cases, also keen to settle overseas. In a recent survey, Stein (1997) found that 'many wealthy Asians wish to migrate despite rapid economic growth' in their home countries. This suggests that dissatisfaction with quality of life in these countries will continue to act as a "push" to those who can afford to move.

Three sub-regions

“Asia” is an enormous region of great cultural, economic and political diversity. It is not appropriate here to engage in the debate about what comprises “Asia” (see Vasil and Yoon, 1996, for a recent review of this issue in the New Zealand context). Following a common convention in New Zealand, three broad sub-regions are delineated to introduce the analysis of migration from Asia. These are: Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia and South Asia (Figure 4.11).

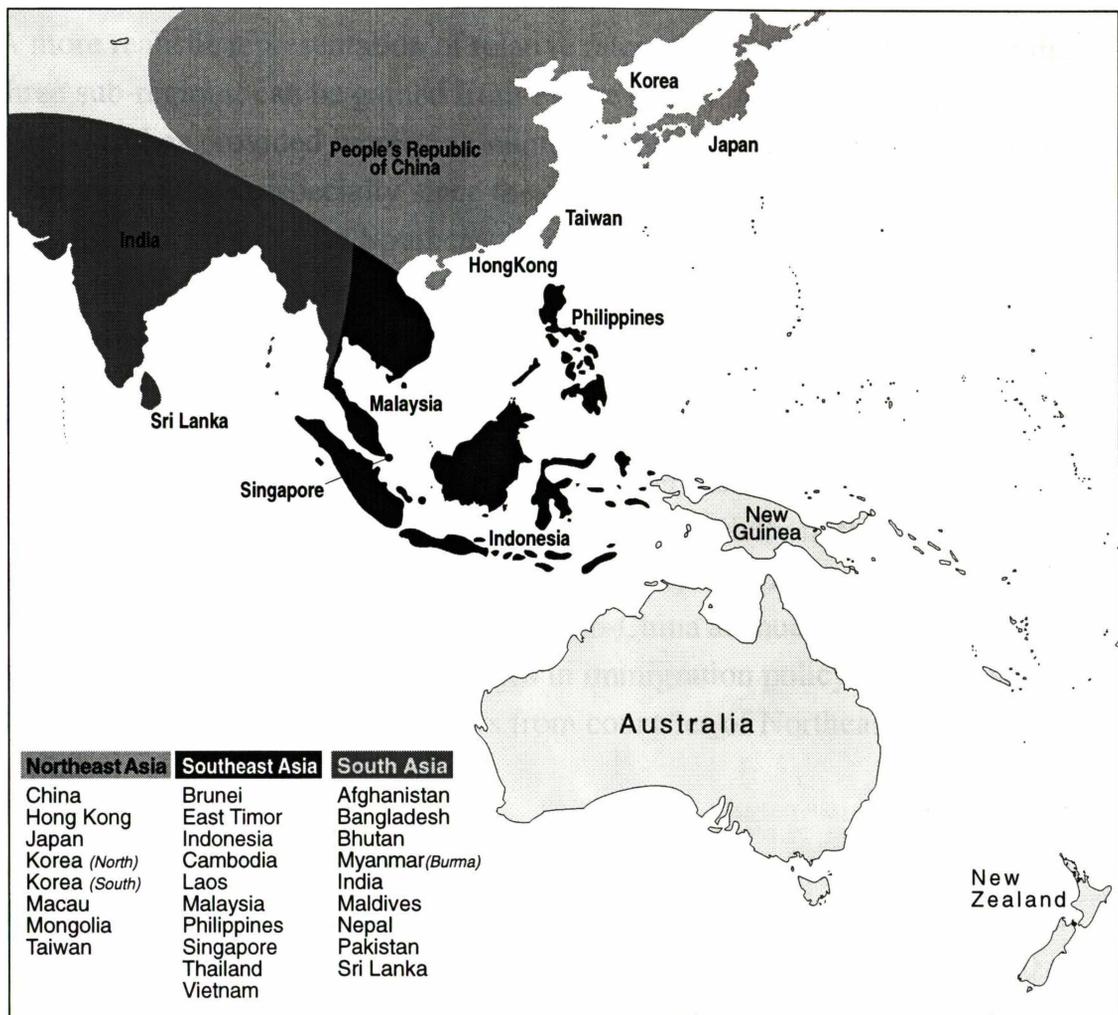


Figure 4.11 Location map showing the three sub-regions of Asia

Total arrivals

Migration from all three regions has increased significantly since the early 1980s (Figure 4.12). In terms of total numbers of arrivals, Northeast Asia has dominated through the last 15 years, and numbers coming to New Zealand from this sub-region have accelerated through the late 1980s and early 1990s (Figure 4.12a). Numbers arriving from Southeast and South Asia also increased, especially from the former, through the late 1980s. Figure 4.12a suggests arrivals from South Asia did not grow much, but in fact they had more than doubled by the mid-1990s.

A more realistic representation of relative rates of growth in arrivals, from the three sub-regions, can be gained from Figure 4.12b. Again, it is clear the Northeast has provided increasing numbers of arrivals at a faster rate than the other two regions, especially since the early 1990s. However, growth in arrivals from countries in Southeast Asia and South Asia is evident in the fact that by 1996 the index number for both sub-regions was four or five times greater than in 1981 (Figure 4.12b).

PLT arrivals

The patterns for PLT arrivals show even sharper distinctions between Northeast Asia and the other two sub-regions, especially in the 1990s (Figure 4.13). Between 1981 and 1986 there were more immigrants from Southeast Asia, reflecting the refugee flows from Indo-China as much as migration from Malaysia and Singapore. The changes in immigration policy in 1986 and in 1991 encouraged much larger flows from countries of Northeast Asia (Figure 4.13a).

The impact of policy changes in 1986 and 1991 can be seen clearly in Figure 4.13b, where index numbers show sharp increases in 1988 and 1993. These reflect the flows of migrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan in the late 1980s and the onset of Korean migration in the early 1990s. It is also interesting to note in Figure 4.13b the substantial jump in the index numbers for South Asian migrants from 1993 as well. These increased numbers were from India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, again in response to the introduction of the points system.

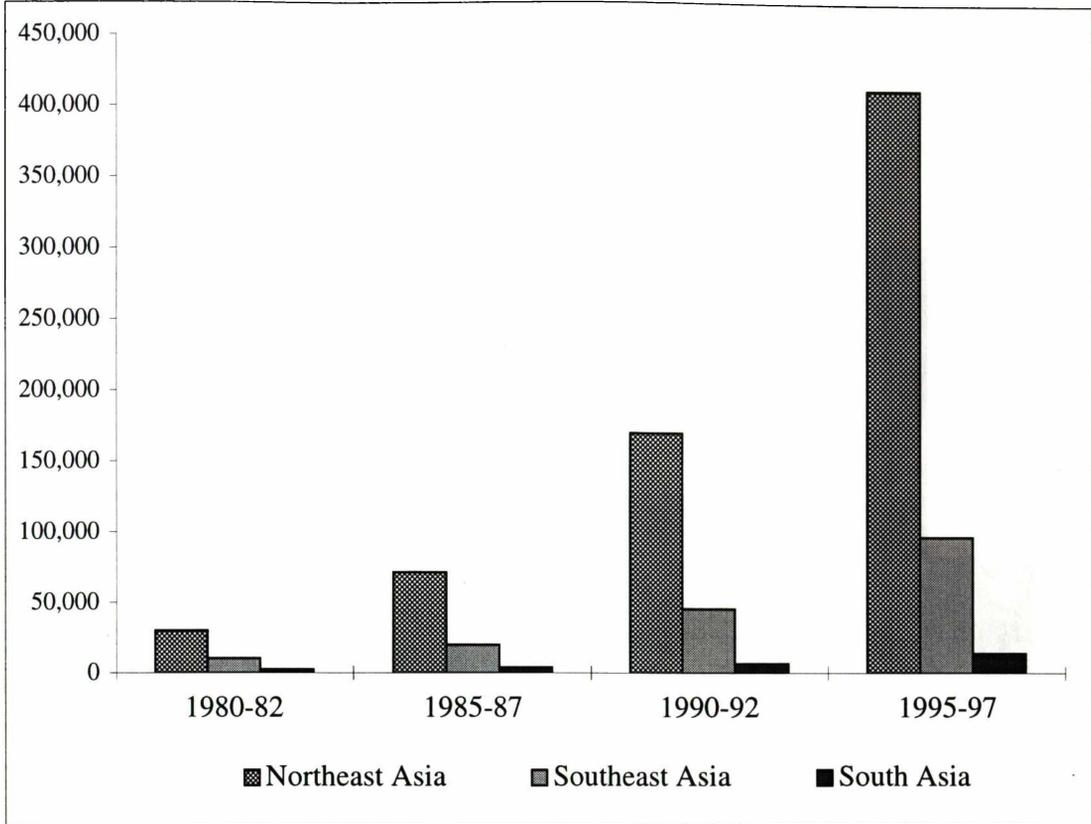


Figure 4.12a Average of total arrivals from Asian source countries

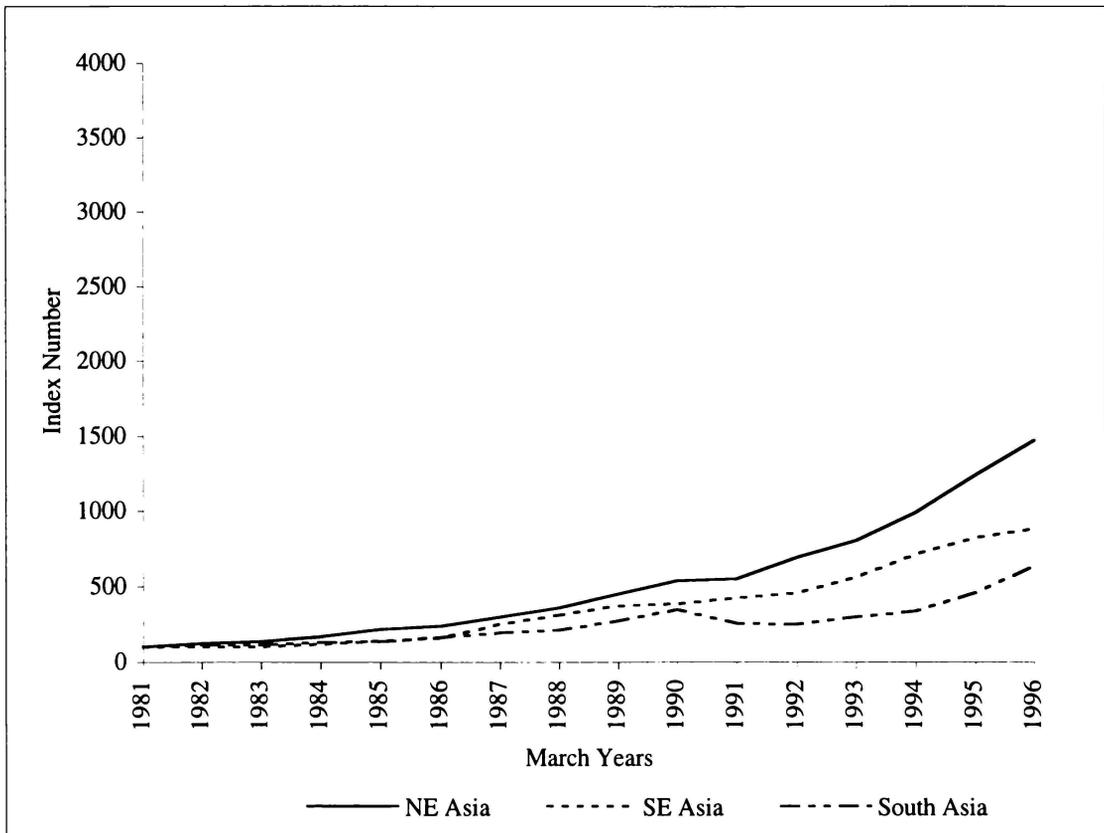


Figure 4.12b Growth in total arrivals from Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia, and South Asia, 1981-1996 (1981=100)

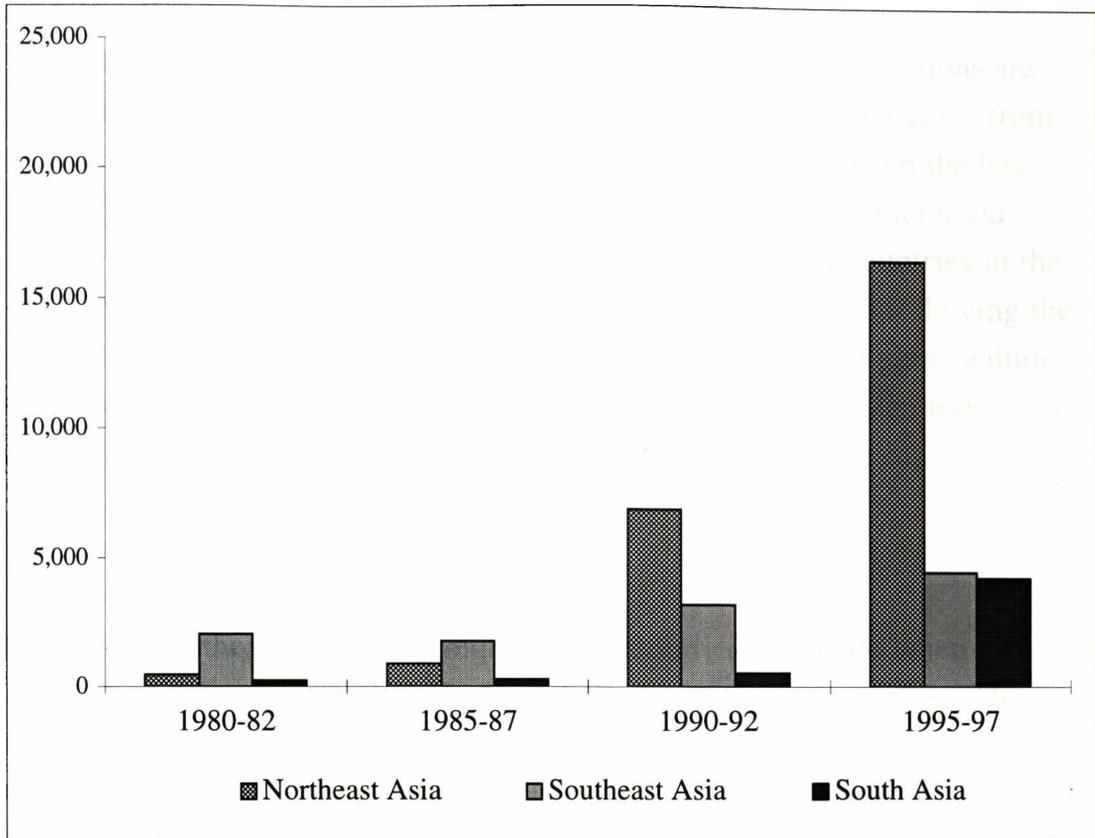


Figure 4.13a: Average PLT arrivals from Asian source countries

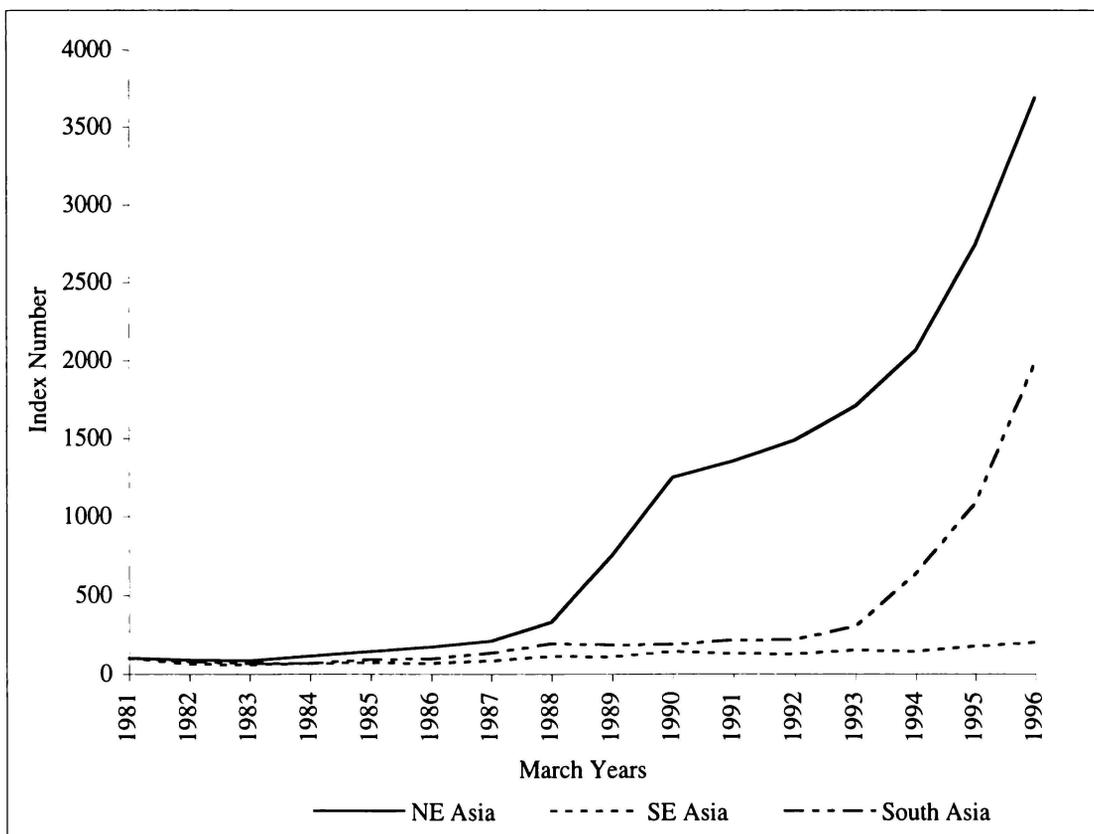


Figure 4.13b Growth in PLT arrivals from Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia and South Asia, 1981-1996 (1981=100)

Net migration

The net migration gains resulting from flows from the three sub-regions are shown in Figure 4.14. The pattern for the early 1980s, where net gains from countries in Southeast Asia dominated, changed dramatically from the late 1980s. Even though net gains from Southeast and South Asia increased through the 1990s, they were dwarfed by the increases from countries in the north. Not only had New Zealand's migration system changed following the policy initiatives in 1986, but the composition of flows and net gains within the Asian sub-system had also changed. By the early 1990s Asian migration was heavily dominated by flows and net gains from the Northeast.

Migration from Northeast Asia

Within the Northeast Asian sub-region, four countries dominate when it comes to contributions to New Zealand through net migration gains. These are China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and, since 1991, South Korea. Japan is an important source of migrants as well, but the main contribution from this country is short-term visitors rather than immigrants.

A summary of net migration gains and losses through PLT, short-term and total migration for the four main sources of immigrants, since the 1986 policy changes, is given in Figure 4.15. There are some significant differences in the respective contributions which short-term and PLT net migration make to gains from the four nationalities and these are discussed further below. However, it is clear from the graphs that by 1995 migration from all of them was increasing sharply. By 1996, Chinese from the People's Republic of China were the largest contributors to net gains, even exceeding the Koreans who were often cited more frequently in the media as the most numerous immigrants.

Characteristics of net migration, 1986-1991

During the late 1980s net migration from Northeast Asia contributed over 4,500 people to the age groups 10-19, 20-29 and 30-39 (Table 4.11). The biggest net gain for a 10 year age group was in the 20-29 year olds. However, when the age compositions of the net gains (and losses) from four of the main sources of migrants in Northeast Asia - China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea are examined separately, it can be seen that different age groups feature as the ones being augmented most by migration.

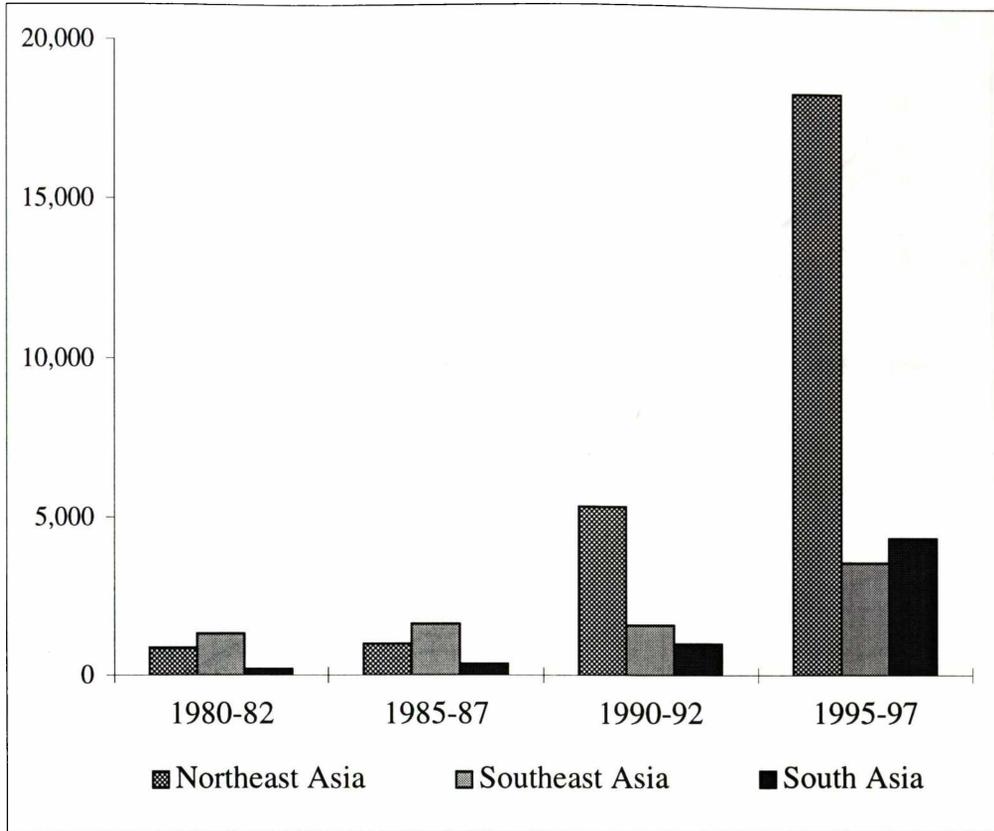


Figure 4.14a Average of total net migration from Asian countries

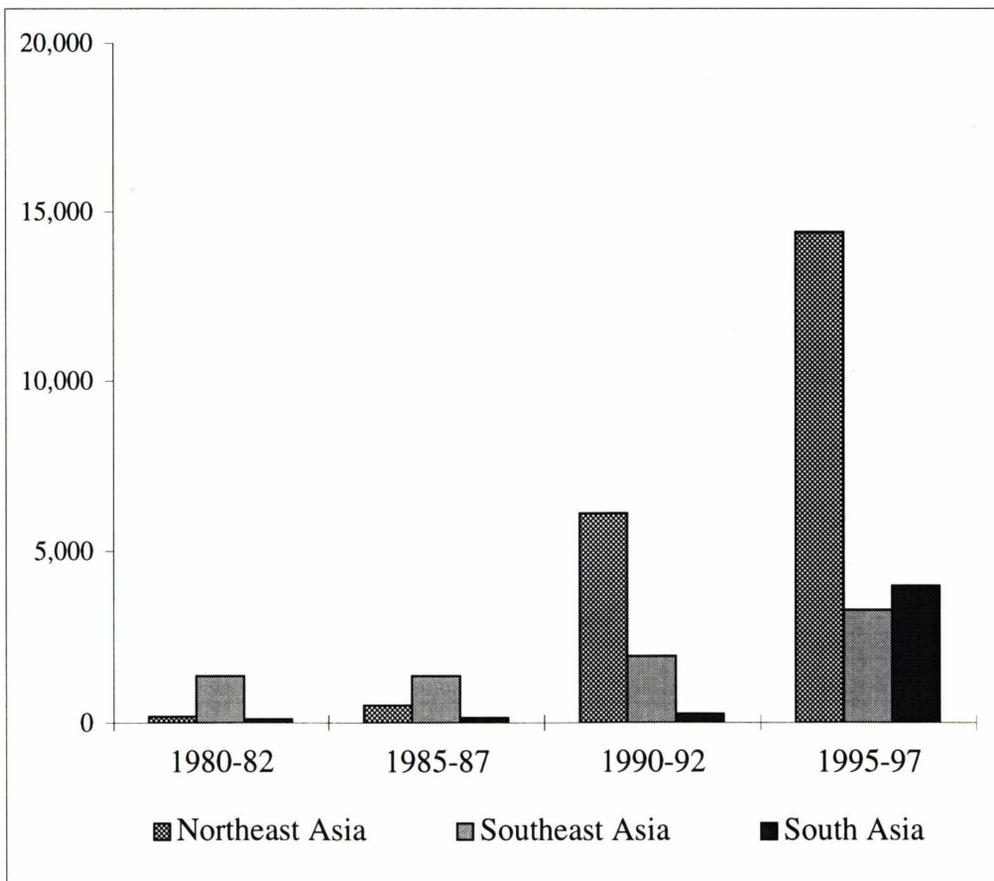


Figure 4.14b Average PLT net migration from Asian countries

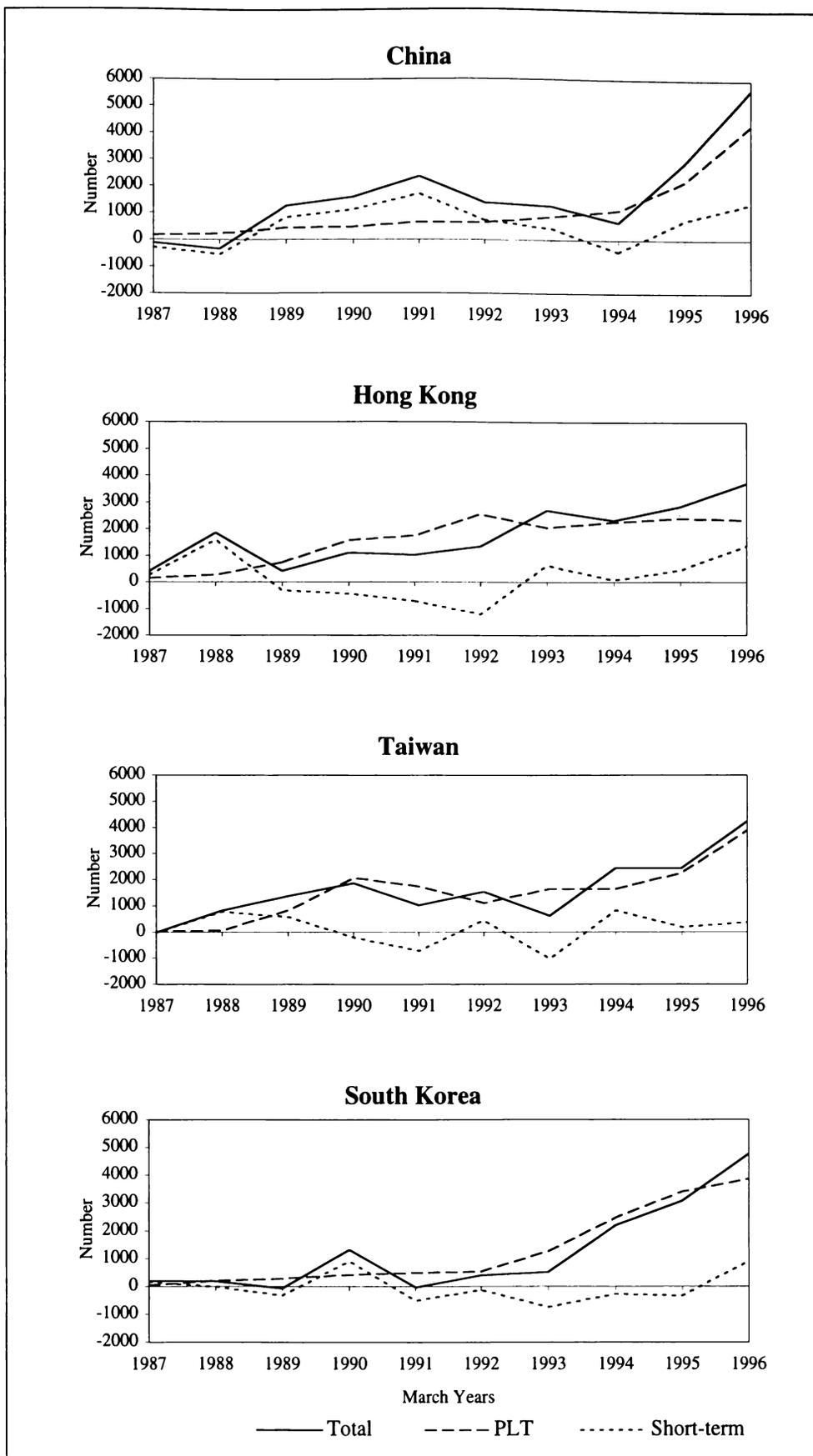


Figure 4.15 Net migration of nationals from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea, 1986-1996

In the case of Chinese citizens it is the 20-29 and 30-39 year olds; for Hong Kong citizens it is the 10-19 and 30-39 year olds; for Taiwanese citizens it is the 10-19 and 50-64 year olds; while for the much smaller South Korean group it is the 20-29 year olds (Table 4.11). Immigration from Hong Kong and Taiwan had much more impact on the younger (under 20) and older (50-64) population in New Zealand than immigration from China or South Korea (Table 4.11, Figure 4.16).

Table 4.11 Net migration gains of Northeast Asian¹, Chinese, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korean citizens by broad age group and sex, 1986-1991

Age Group	Northeast Asia	China	Hong Kong	Taiwan	South Korea
0-9	80	360	340	460	-50
10-19	5,550	630	1,330	1,510	330
0-19	5,630	990	1,670	1,970	280
20-29	6,650	2,170	950	460	550
30-39	4,740	1,610	1,240	730	370
40-49	2,050	370	300	810	-0
20-49	13,440	4,140	2,490	2,000	920
50-64	1,950	-460	650	1,070	230
65+	-1,680	-10	-50	-10	110
50+	270	-470	600	1,060	340
Total	19,370	4,670	4,750	5,020	1,540
Gender					
Males	12,890	3,050	2,600	3,560	920
Females	6,480	1,620	2,150	1,460	620
Sex Ratio	198.9	189.0	121.3	243.4	146.4

¹ Note: Northeast Asia also includes Japan. During the 1986-1991 period Japan's total contribution was 3,360 with a sex ratio of 447 males per 100 females.

There were also some significant differences in the sex ratios of the net gains. Taiwanese migration contributed a much higher proportion of males per 100 females (243) than any of the other countries. The Hong Kong immigrants had a much lower ratio, which although still biased in favour of males was only half that of the Taiwanese (Table 4.11). The much lower sex ratio for the Hong Kong net migration gain reflects the longer history of immigration from this part of Northeast Asia, and the rapid development of family migration as distinct from the male dominated "exploratory" movement which is characteristic of the formative years of a new migration flow. These

differences in the age compositions of immigrant populations from different countries in Northeast Asia are illustrated graphically later in the chapter when characteristics of PLT arrivals are examined.

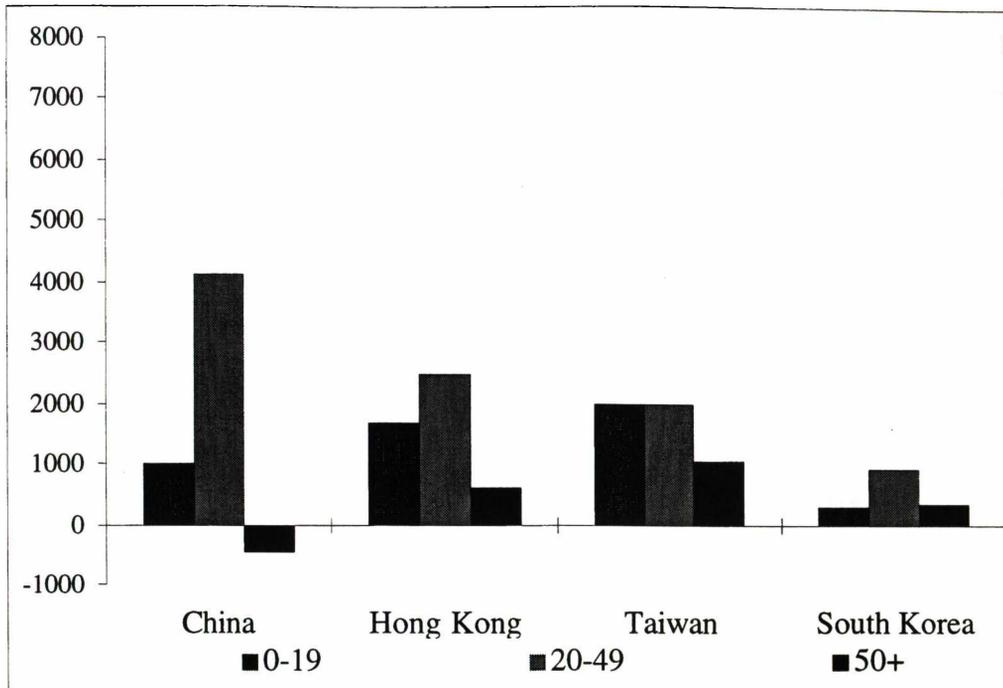


Figure 4.16 Net migration of nationals of China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea, by broad age group, 1986-1991

Characteristics of net migration, 1991-1996

There were substantial increases in the net gains from all four countries in the early 1990s, especially South Korea (Table 4.12 and Figure 4.17). After the introduction of the points system for entry under the general category in November 1991, immigration from South Korea increased rapidly. There was a sevenfold increase in the gain of 1,540 from the first period, to a net gain of 10,890 in this 1991-1996 period (Table 4.12). In this period South Korea's largest contribution was of younger people - the 0-19 year olds. This was in contrast to the other three countries where the broad age group receiving the largest contribution remained the 20-49 year olds. The gain of 5,400 in this age group was 50 percent of the net gain from South Korea and 10 percent of the regional gain. The contributions to the 0-19 year age group from other countries, on a regional basis, were 2,740 (five percent) from China, 3,670 (seven percent) from Hong Kong and 5,330 (10 percent) from Taiwan (Table 4.12). It was these increases, especially in the age group 10-19 years, which attracted the adverse media comment in 1995 and 1996.

Table 4.12 Net migration gains of Northeast Asian¹, Chinese, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korean citizens by broad age group and sex, 1991-1996

Age Group	Northeast Asia	China	Hong Kong	Taiwan	South Korea
0-9	5,780	1,310	1,670	1,130	1,940
10-19	15,720	1,430	2,000	4,200	3,460
0-19	21,500	2,740	3,670	5,330	5,400
20-29	10,330	2,980	2,230	540	1,160
30-39	11,550	4,280	2,170	2,900	1,760
40-49	7,830	500	2,920	2,210	1,850
20-49	29,710	7,760	7,320	5,650	4,770
50-64	6,240	1,220	790	200	1,950
65+	-2,370	40	1,040	60	-1,230
50+	3,870	1,260	1,830	260	720
Total	55,080	11,760	12,820	11,240	10,890
Gender					
Males	33,560	7,490	6,510	7,910	7,020
Females	21,520	4,270	6,310	3,330	3,870
Sex Ratio	155.9	175.6	103.2	237.0	181.6

¹ Note: Northeast Asia also includes Japan. During the 1991-1996 period Japan's total contribution was 8,370 with a sex ratio of 123 males per 100 females.

In the age groups between 20 and 49 years there were some significant differences in net gains by Northeast Asian nationality. Chinese citizens were more heavily concentrated in the 30-39 year age group as were the Taiwanese. The citizens of Hong Kong in the 40-49 year age group were marginally more numerous than in the 20-29 and 30-39 year age groups. South Koreans followed a similar trend to Hong Kong although the gains were numerically smaller (Table 4.12). Whereas in the late 1980s the largest net gain of older immigrants was from Taiwan, in the early 1990s these were from South Korea and China in the 50-64 year age group, and from Hong Kong in the 65+ age group (Table 4.12).

Sex ratios for net migration gains remained much higher for Taiwanese than was the case for citizens of the other countries. The sex ratio for Hong Kong citizens had fallen to 103 males per 100 females, virtually the same as that for the population as a whole (97 males per 100 females in 1996). Migration from China remained much more "exploratory", while the Taiwanese flow was dominated by male children, especially in the early years of the period.

This is quite apparent in the age-sex compositions of the four countries (Figures 4.19 and 4.21).

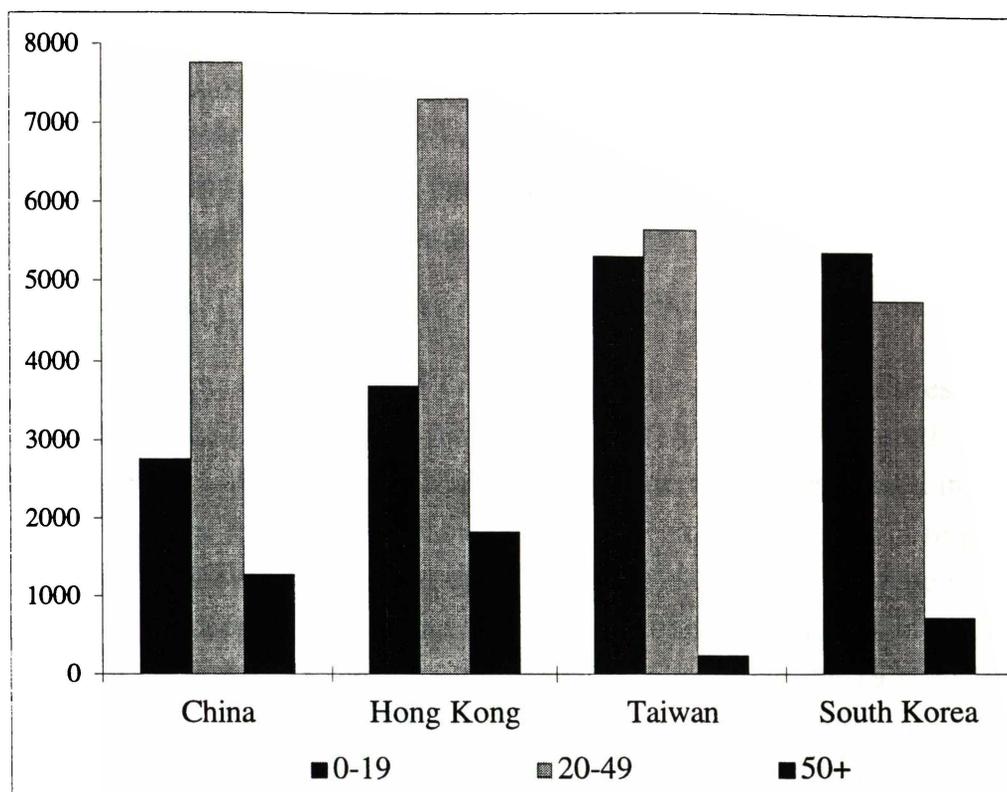


Figure 4.17 Net migration of nationals of China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea, by broad age group, 1991-1996

AGE AND GENDER CHARACTERISTICS OF PLT ARRIVALS FROM NORTHEAST ASIA

A clearer picture of both the variability over time in the age and gender characteristics of the immigrant populations of particular places, as well as the variability in these immigrant characteristics between countries, can be provided by examining the population structures of PLT arrivals. It was noted in the first chapter that, in New Zealand at least, the people arriving with the intention of staying for 12 months or more are classed as “permanent and long-term” arrivals. These are New Zealand’s “immigrants”, and much of the media comment about immigration flows focuses attention on PLT arrivals or PLT net migration gains. Arrivals rather than net gains are examined in this section in order to portray more accurately features of those who arrive with the intention of staying for at least a year.

As noted earlier, these are the people who, unless they are New Zealand citizens or entitled to enter New Zealand under preferential arrangements, (such as Australian citizens under the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement), are required to obtain approval from the New Zealand Immigration Service to enter the country; that is their entry is governed by immigration policy. The characteristics of PLT arrivals from countries in Northeast Asia give some indication of the way immigration policy has tended to favour immigrants in certain age groups. This is of particular interest in the early years of the development of sizeable flows from these “new settler” countries.

PLT arrivals from Northeast Asia, 1986-1996

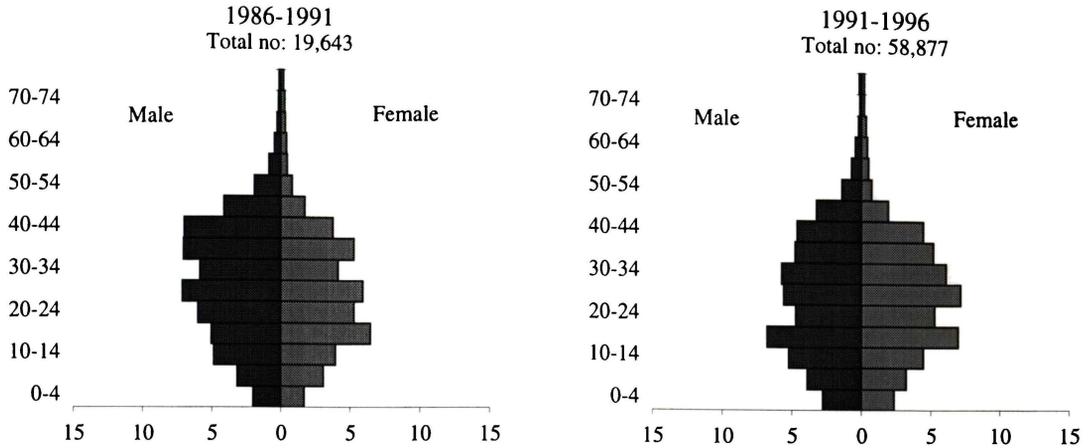
The age-sex pyramids for PLT arrivals who are citizens of countries in Northeast Asia are shown by year in Figure 4.18. It can be seen that in the first two years of the series the arrivals were heavily concentrated in the male work force age groups, the classic pyramid for early employment migration streams. However by the year ended March 1990 a more even gender balance had been achieved, and there were higher proportions of children in the migrant flows. The drop in the sex ratio of adults in the 1991 to 1996 period reflects the fact that there was increasing female migration (Figure 4.18). Through the 1990s the numbers of females arriving began to outnumber the males, especially in the working ages. This suggests that not only was more family migration occurring, some families were in New Zealand without their adult male - the “astronaut” household.

The summary pyramids for the two periods show an interesting shift in the age pattern for the males. Between 1986 and 1991 the male population from Northeast Asia was “older” than the male population in the second period. This reflects the change in policy from the OPL and BIC, that encouraged the immigration of older men with capital to invest, to the points system that was targeting young “human capital”.

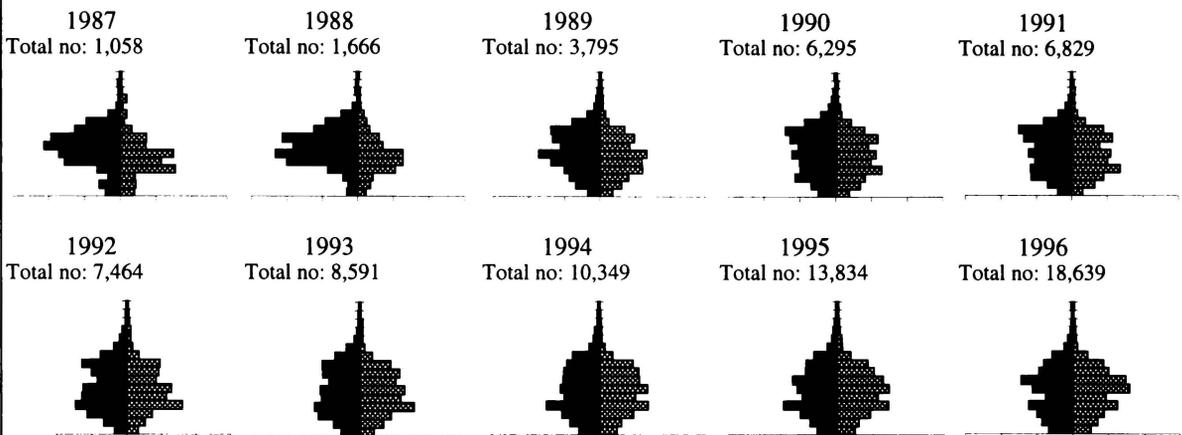
China

When the pyramids for the PLT arrivals from the individual countries are examined, some interesting patterns emerge linked to nationality. The pyramids for citizens of China (Figure 4.19) show a shift from an adult male dominated flow, which was very small in 1986/87, to one heavily dominated by males and females in their 20s in 1995/96. This recent, heavily concentrated population flow is in sharp contrast to the family patterns of the other three countries of the Northeastern Asian area in the mid 1990s.

Population pyramids of PLT arrivals of nationals of Northeast Asia, by five year periods



Population pyramids of PLT arrivals of nationals of Northeast Asia, by year



Scale: Horizontal - One mark denotes 5 percent

Sex Ratio of PLT Arrivals

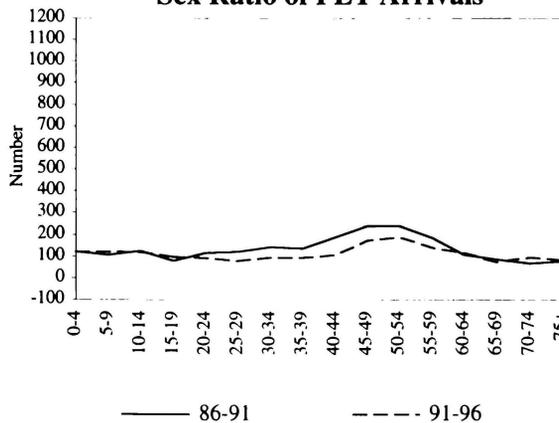


Figure 4.18 Age-sex characteristics of PLT arrivals, 1986-1996, citizens of Northeast Asia

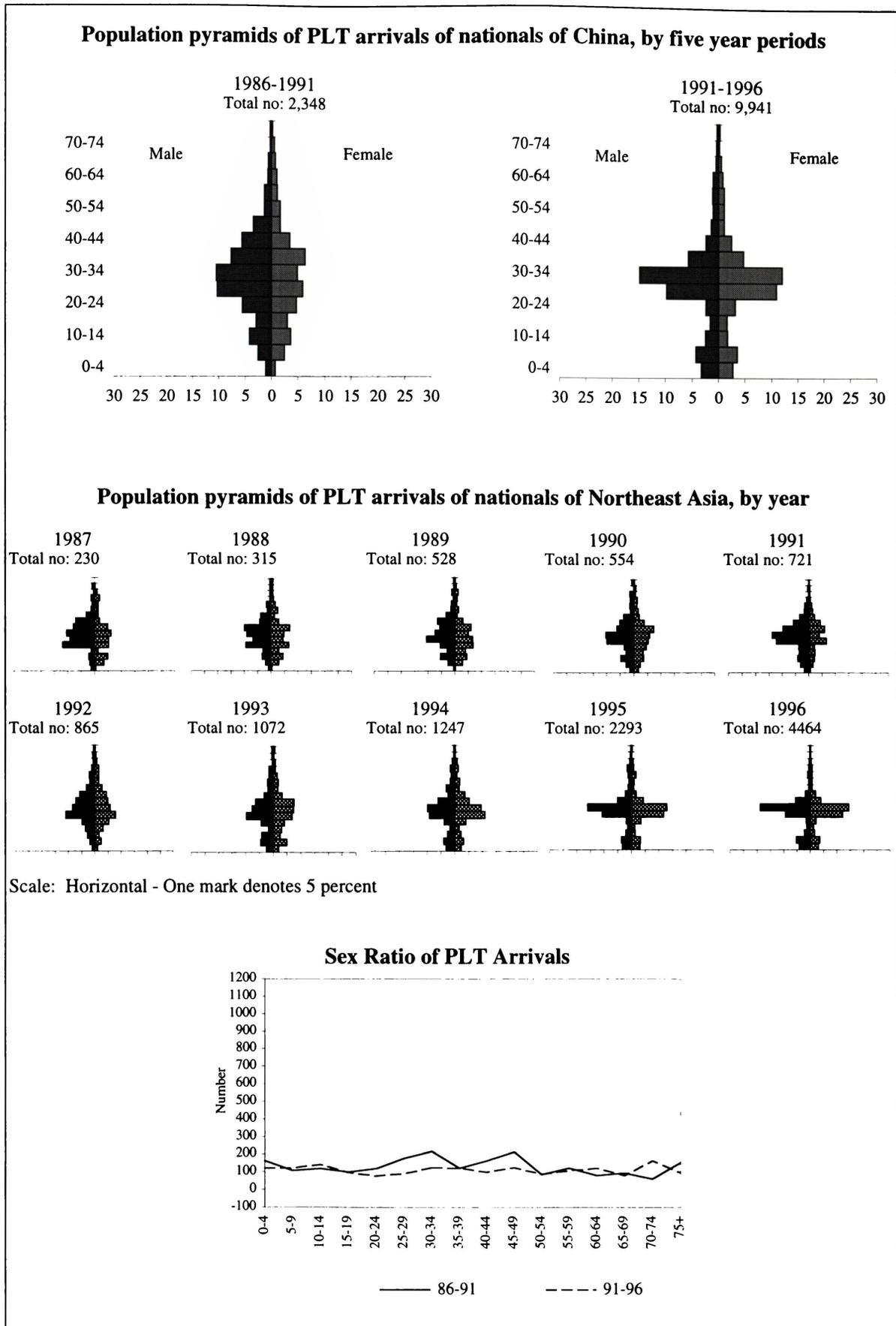


Figure 4.19 Age-sex characteristics of PLT arrivals, 1986-1996, citizens of China

A possible reason for this arrival flow is that it is composed mainly of young adult men and women who have come to New Zealand from China to further their education. This type of young adult flow is also very similar in age structure to the emigration flow of New Zealanders. The flows of young adults have a highly variable character and are much less stable than the flows of “settler” families.

Hong Kong and Taiwan

For the Hong Kong citizens, the pyramids show a rapid transition from a population dominated by young adults to a population dominated by children and their parents. The bulge for the Chinese in their 20s is conspicuous by its absence in the Hong Kong arrival flows (Figure 4.20). This family pattern of arrival was established early from Hong Kong and since 1989 the age structure from that country has been relatively stable. The sex ratio graph shows the dominance of males in their late 40s and 50s between 1986 and 1991 indicating that businessmen from Hong Kong responded rapidly to the New Zealand government policy initiatives.

A similar “deficit” in the young working age population characterises the age-sex composition of PLT arrivals from Taiwan. This trend toward family immigration began as soon as sizeable numbers of Taiwanese began arriving in the March 1989 year. There is a remarkable consistency in the age composition of PLT arrivals from Taiwan in the summary pyramids for the two time periods and for all years through the 1990s, except for a dominance of young males in the tertiary aged group in 1992 (Figure 4.21). The sex ratio graph shows up the early arrival of mature businessmen from Taiwan who came between 1986 and 1991 to check out investment opportunities.

South Korea

A very different picture emerges for the South Korean citizen flows (Figure 4.22). These flows have the characteristic pattern of an “exploratory” flow dominated by young adult males between 1986 and 1991. The sex ratio graph for Korea contrasts to that of the other three countries. It shows three ages when male domination is heaviest in the 1986 to 1991 period; the 20-24 year olds, 40-54 year olds and the early 60s. In the second period the mature businessman also appears in the flow from South Korea.

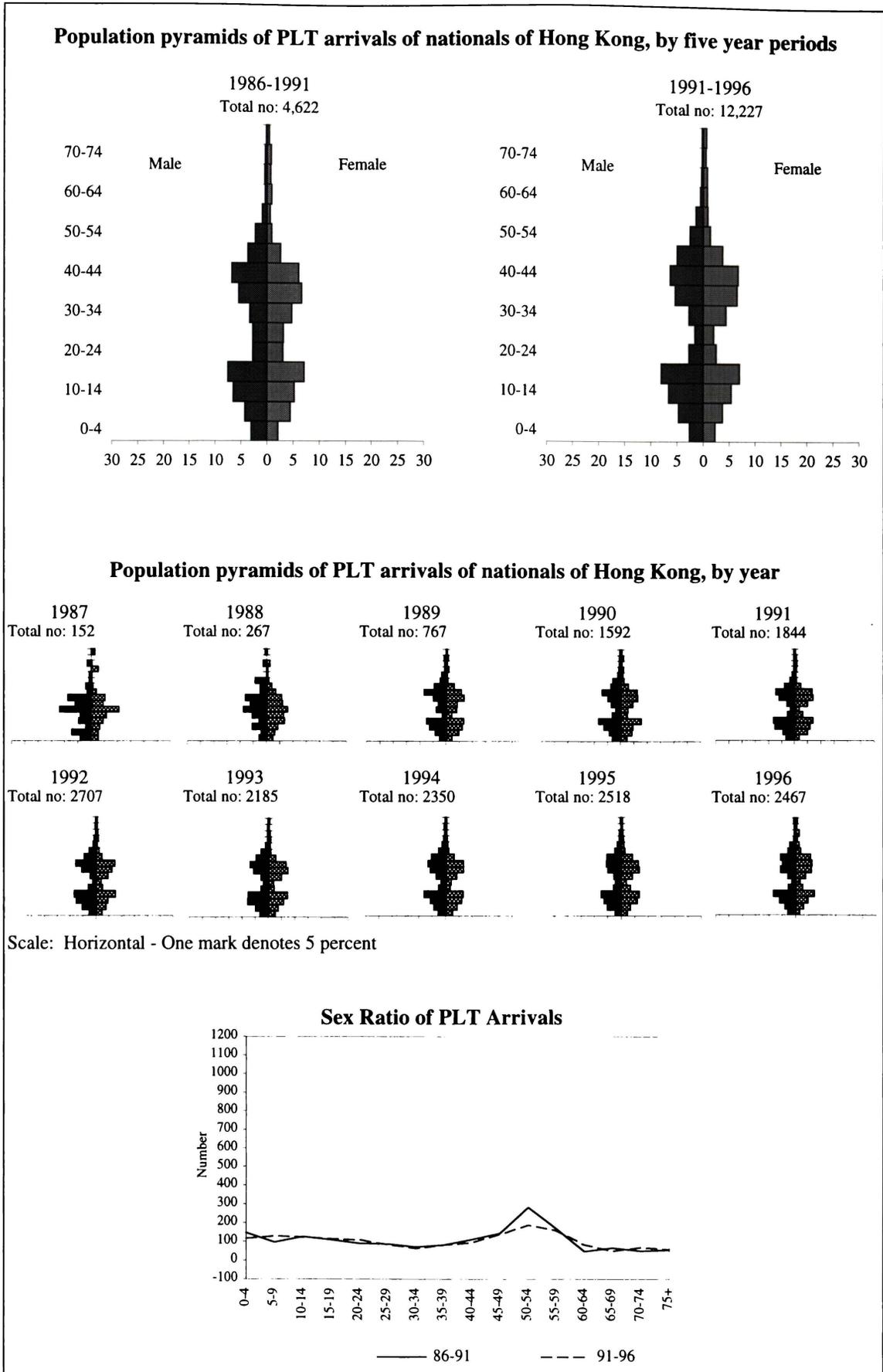


Figure 4.20 Age-sex characteristics of PLT arrivals, 1986-1996, citizens of Hong Kong

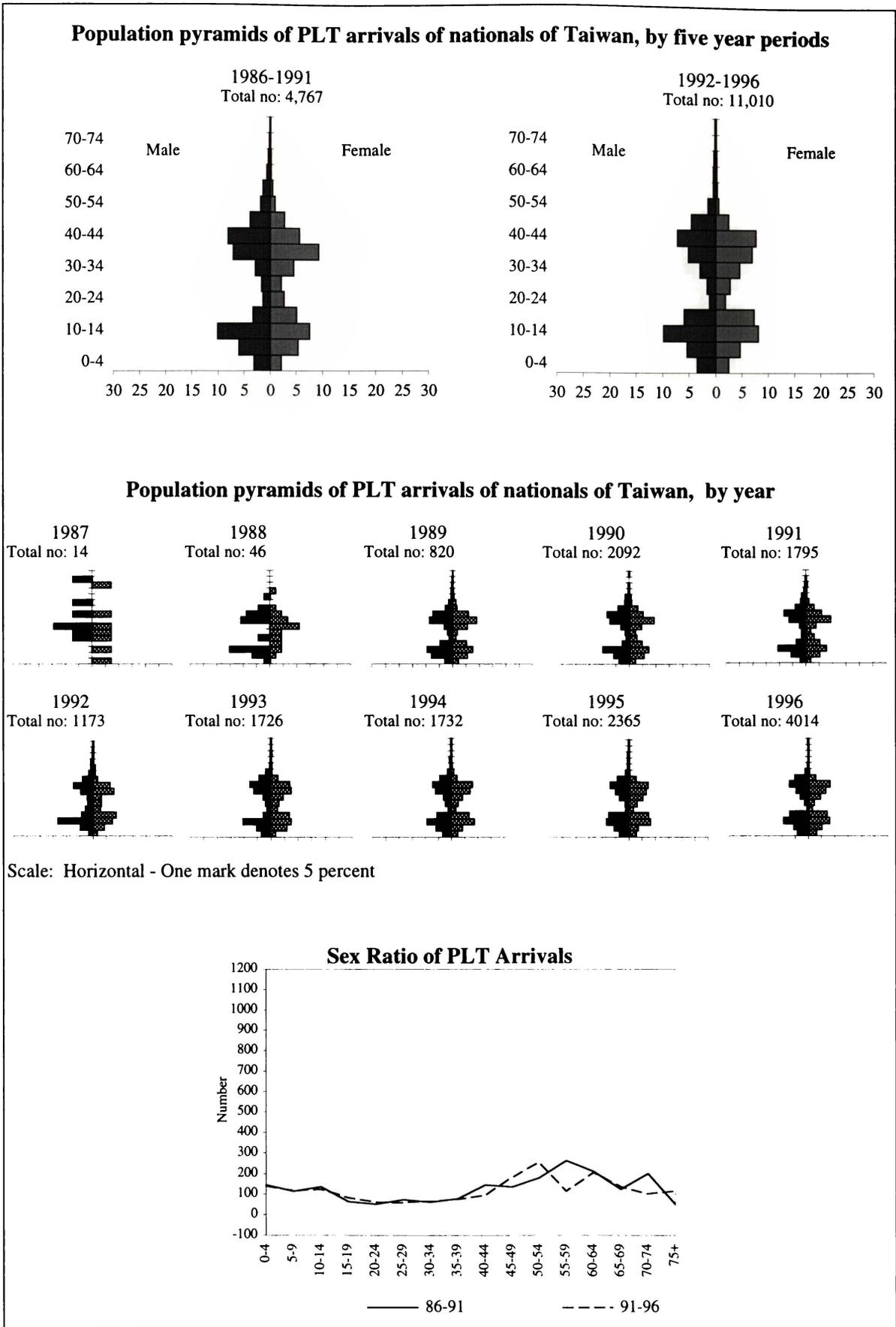


Figure 4.21 Age-sex characteristics of PLT arrivals, 1986-1996, citizens of Taiwan

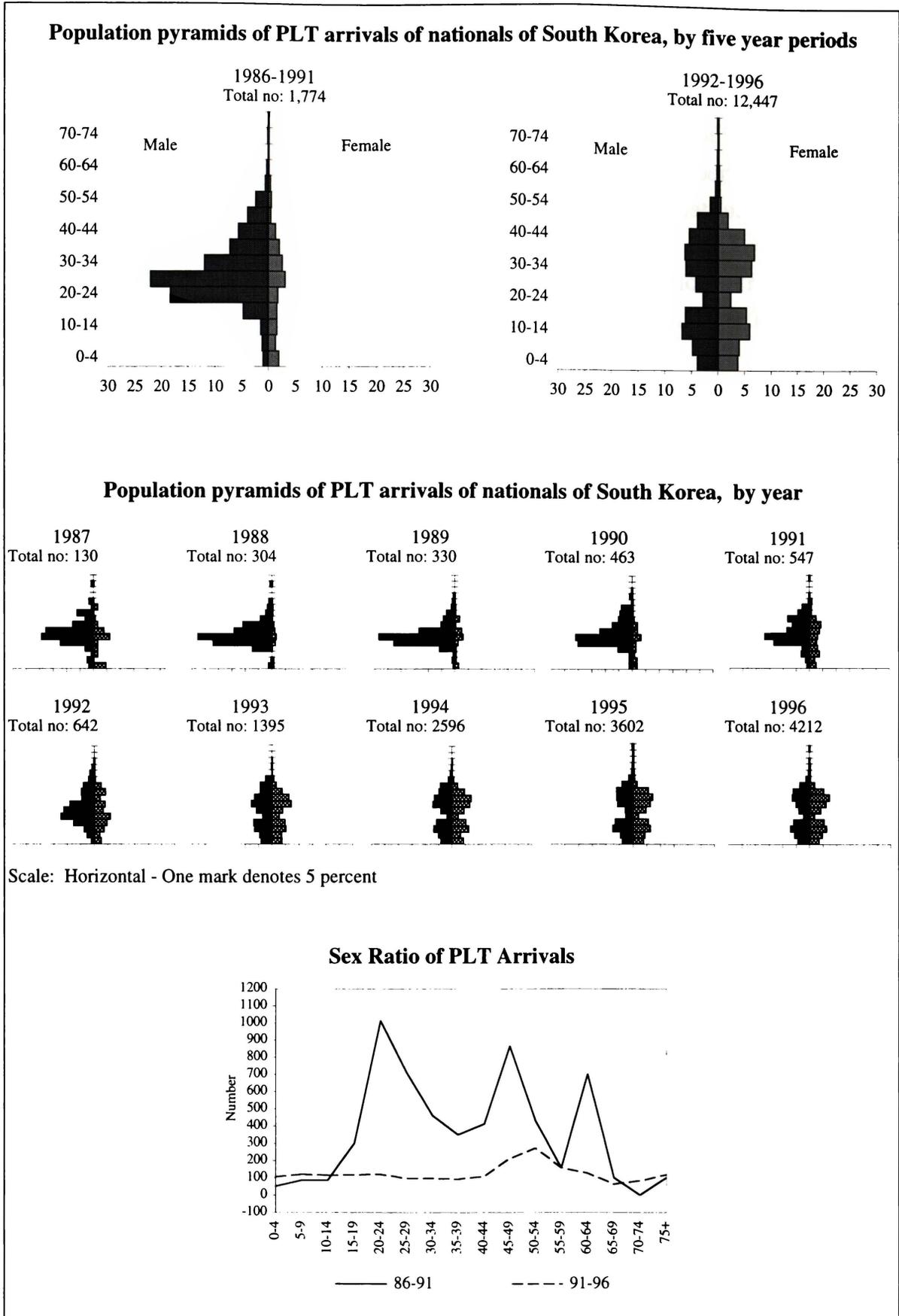


Figure 4.22 Age-sex characteristics of PLT arrivals, 1986-1996, citizens of South Korea

Female migration is relatively insignificant in the early years of this South Korean flow. In the 1990s, especially from the year ended March 1993, the characteristic nip in the pyramid for the young adults emerges and the pyramids begin to conform more closely to those for citizens of Taiwan and Hong Kong by 1996. However, there is not quite as much tapering in the pyramid for the young adult age groups in the Korean population as there is in the Hong Kong and Taiwan pyramids (Figure 4.22). The other difference is the larger proportions of young Korean children. The children from Hong Kong and Taiwan are more concentrated in the secondary and tertiary education age groups.

Summary

The population structures of arrivals from Hong Kong, Taiwan and Korea are in sharp contrast to the structure which has emerged for PLT arrivals from China. The Chinese from the People's Republic are heavily concentrated in the age groups 25-29 and 30-34 years and many are probably still in tertiary education (Figure 4.19).

The age and gender compositions of the PLT arrival flows from countries in Northeast Asia, show some interesting patterns that reflect well the impact of immigration policy changes made in 1986 and 1991. The rapid growth in numbers of PLT arrivals from Hong Kong and Taiwan in the late 1980s was a response to the "opening up" of New Zealand to immigration from a wider range of countries, especially an opening for immigrants with skills and money to invest in business development. Migrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan qualified under the Business Immigration Programme (BIP) and the Occupational Priority List (OPL) for entry, under immigration policy in force between 1986 and 1991 and the response from these two countries to this policy was very different from that of China and South Korea.

The pyramids for PLT arrivals from Hong Kong and Taiwan from the year ended March 1989 show the obvious family migration in the flows from Hong Kong and Taiwan (Figures 4.20 and Figure 4.21). This indicates the success of the changes in attracting younger migrants with skills and capital resources who were keen to settle with their children in New Zealand. In the case of the citizens of the Peoples Republic of China and the Republic of Korea, the quite different age and gender compositions of the net gains as well as the PLT arrivals in the late 1980s reflect the stricter controls over entry from these countries. Numbers of PLT arrivals remained less than 1,000

from both countries until the year ended March 1993 - the year a visa-waiver scheme was approved for South Korea. The South Korean flows have come to resemble those from Hong Kong and Taiwan in the 1995 and 1996 March years. In the case of China, the pattern is very different reflecting stricter controls over both emigration from this country, as well as entry into New Zealand.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE MIGRATION SYSTEM: A SUMMARY

At the beginning of the 1980s New Zealand's international migration system comprised three sub-systems. The first was the "proximate" or trans-Tasman flow. Under the long standing Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement (TTTA) Australian and New Zealand citizens move freely across the Tasman in flows that have been likened by many to internal migration. The demands of the labour markets of the two countries play a central role in the direction of the flow (Farmer, 1979; Brosnan and Poot, 1987). The strong economic ties established during the 1840s have once again become strong under the Closer Economic Relations (CER) of the 1980s.

The second sub-system is the "colonial" flow that links New Zealand to its former colonial ruler. As a former British colony New Zealand retained strong economic, political and social links with the United Kingdom throughout the twentieth century despite a progressive loss of guaranteed markets and settlement rights since the early 1970s. A period of residence in the United Kingdom has been part of the experience of a large number of young working age New Zealanders, especially since the advent of relatively inexpensive travel. The United Kingdom, with its familiar language and institutions, is then used as a base for travel to continental Europe. By means of this colonial connection, Western Europe is thus a part of New Zealand's colonial migration system.

The third sub-system, also in essence a "colonial" flow, linked New Zealand to its former Pacific Island protectorates. From the 1960s New Zealand became a popular destination for emigrants from these and several other countries in the Pacific basin. New Zealand's largest city, Auckland, contains the biggest urban concentration of Pacific Islanders living outside their own countries (Bedford, 1994, 1997; Ward, 1997).

By the end of the 1980s a fourth sub-system of migration had developed. The flows in this system link New Zealand to the Newly Industrialising Countries (NIC's) of Northeast Asia, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea and grew rapidly following the immigration policy changes of the 1980s and 1990s. The substantial growth of these flows has resulted in migration from these countries contributing the largest numbers of new settlers of any region by the mid 1990s. In the June quarter 1995, Great Britain, traditionally the source of most migrants to New Zealand, lost its number one ranking in the year slipping into second place behind Taiwan (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1996).

This chapter has reviewed the transformations in New Zealand's international migration system up to the 31 March 1996. The October 1995 amendments to immigration policy had not had time to impact directly on the fourth migration sub-system. The two amendments that appeared to be deliberately pitched at Asian immigrants were the extension of the minimum English language proficiency requirement and the linking of residence and tax status. When the figures for the year ended 31 March 1997 are examined it is found that there was a drop of nearly 3,700 (15 percent) in net PLT migrants from Asia compared to the 1996 year.

However, the drop in PLT migrants was not just from Asia. There were also reduced numbers from Europe (including the United Kingdom), Africa and the Middle East plus a continuing rise in the number of New Zealand citizens emigrating. These movements from countries other than Asia, suggest a more direct link to the movement of the New Zealand economy. New Zealand's economic recovery has been short-lived and after three years of high growth, key economic indicators have begun to show a falling growth rate (Kelsey, 1997). It appears that the much lauded 'economic "fundamentals" have not produced the promised long-term gains' (Kelsey, 1997, 372).

Analysing population changes using broad five year time bands can mask some of the interesting annual variations. Until the annual net gains and losses are broken down further it is not possible to see what effect the new settlers are having on the population composition of New Zealand. Although it is apparent that new settlers were more than compensating for the loss of New Zealand citizens in the early 1990s, until the net contributions are studied using five year age groups and gender it is not possible to examine the impact that immigration has had on the composition of the resident population. This is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

International migration and population change in New Zealand, 1986-1996

International migration to New Zealand in the 1990s has been making a significant contribution to population growth after 15 years of net losses or only small net gains. Indeed, as Bedford (1996) has shown, during the year ended December 1995 net migration gains contributed slightly more than natural increase to overall population growth. However, there have been no substantive assessments of the contribution of international migration to population growth since the Population Monitoring Group of the former New Zealand Planning Council, was disbanded in 1991 (Population Monitoring Group 1989 and 1991).

The dynamics of population change seem 'deceptively simple' (Pool and Bedford, 1997, 6). A country's population is added to by the processes of immigration and fertility and reduced by the processes of emigration and mortality. Immigration is the only one of these processes controlled by government policy, although high numbers of arrivals may be no guarantee of a permanent contribution to the growth of the country's population. In spite of high levels of immigration during the 15 year period 1981-1996, especially since the 1986 policy amendments, the 'balance of PLT arrivals of people who were not New Zealand citizens, over the PLT departures of New Zealand citizens, produced a small net loss of 150 people' (Pool and Bedford, 1997, 8). However, as has been shown in Chapter Four (Table 4.2), when all forms of population movement are considered in the 15 year period there was a surplus of 76,800 people. This net gain came from one of two sources: they were either New Zealanders who had returned from overseas after an absence of less than 12 months, or visitors to New Zealand who had stayed on for more than 12 months.

Clearly it is the gains and losses of the total migration flows which indicate the direct contribution made by international migration to population change. In the discussion of this dimension of international migration the direct contributions by the balance of arrivals over departures are compared with the

contributions made by on-going structural change in the population. Structural change refers to the impact of natural increase and progressive population aging on the age-sex composition of the population.

Between 1981 and 1996 it was natural increase that contributed 85 percent of the population growth of 508,400 people (Pool and Bedford, 1997, 8). The net gain of 76,800 immigrants during this period was considerably 'less than the contribution of 431,600 made by natural increase' (Pool and Bedford, 1997, 8). It is acknowledged that immigrants make an additional contribution through their natural increase however, this is balanced to some extent by the potential loss of the natural increase of emigrating young adult New Zealanders. The other factor that adds to the complexity of explanations of population change are what Pool and Bedford (1997, 3) have termed 'a series of Mexican waves that are going to sweep through our age structure.' These waves refer to the large fluctuations in the size of past birth cohorts from the 1930s and they produce an effect termed "momentum growth¹". It is this effect, Pool and Bedford (1997, 6) argue, that is the 'key element of growth' of New Zealand's population growth at present.

The population gains from migration, as already discussed, are linked to the cyclical nature of the global capitalist system. Therefore the net migration gains and losses will augment the humps and hollows working their way through the age structure in a highly irregular way. It is this characteristic of contemporary population change that makes it difficult to generalise about the contribution international migration is making to New Zealand's unstable population structure.

This chapter examines the contribution that international migration from Northeast Asia has made to the transformation of New Zealand's population. It builds on an analysis Bedford and Lidgard (1997a), and Bedford, Lidgard and Goodwin (1998) have carried out on the contribution made by net migration from different source areas to changes in the labour force age groups between 1991 and 1996. Two dimensions of this contribution are explored. The first is the age composition of the total net gains and losses to New Zealand through all categories of migration between 1986 and 1996. The total migration gains and losses by all age groups are examined; first, for

¹ Momentum growth is when larger and larger generations reach older ages, and the population continues to grow even when natural increase is low, stationary or even negative (Pool and Bedford, 1997, 3).

all arrivals and departures, second for New Zealand citizens and all other citizens, third for citizens of Asian countries and all other non-New Zealanders, and finally for citizens of countries in Northeast Asia and all other Asian citizens. A brief discussion of gender differences in the net flows from Northeast Asia is re-introduced in the latter part of this section.

The second dimension is the inter-censal growth in New Zealand's populations of Chinese and Korean ethnic descent between 1991 and 1996. A descriptive analysis of changes in the age and gender composition of "recent" and "established" Chinese and Korean migrant populations living in New Zealand in 1991 and 1996 is presented. Rather than nationality, "migrants" from Northeast Asia are identified by birthplace and place of usual residence five years before the census. These definitions and issues are reviewed briefly in the next section.

The analysis of net gains and losses focuses on migration from Northeast Asia during two five year periods between 1 April 1986 and 31 March 1996. The first period covers the five years following the major immigration policy review in August 1986 (Burke, 1986). This period includes the introduction of new immigration legislation in November 1987 (Trlin, 1992), the "regularisation" of residence status for thousands of migrants in New Zealand during 1988 and 1989 (Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives, 1989; Population Monitoring Group, 1991; Farmer, 1996), the onset of another major review of immigration policy in 1990 and a turn-around in the net losses of New Zealanders during the late 1980s (Lowe, 1991; Lidgard, 1992 and 1993a). The second period spans the introduction of a "points system" in November 1991, the development of extensive immigrant flows from several countries in Northeast Asia, especially Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea (Trlin and Kang, 1992) and the further "targeted" amendment to policy in October 1995 (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1995b; Department of Internal Affairs, 1996; Farmer, 1997).

A brief overview of some of the methodological and conceptual problems associated with data sets that are used here to analyse net migration gains and losses is necessary and is presented in the first part of the chapter. This is followed by an analysis of the relative contributions which net migration and structural change have made to growth (or decline) in different age groups in the population. The third section contains a more detailed analysis of age and gender characteristics of Northeast Asian net migration in the context of

population growth during the two five year periods, 1986 to 1991 and 1991 to 1996. The chapter concludes with some observations on the growth and composition of the immigrant Chinese and Korean descent populations, as these were enumerated in the 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population and Dwellings.

METHODOLOGICAL AND CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

Reference has already been made in Chapters One and Four to some conceptual issues which have to be addressed when using New Zealand's arrival and departure data to analyse international migration. The key issues of relevance for the analysis presented in this chapter are:

- 1) the definition of migration flows from particular countries and sub-regions, especially when the focus of attention is the direct contribution these flows make to population change;
- 2) the assessment of the contributions to population change made by migration using estimates of net migration gains and losses.

Defining the flows

In Chapter Four flows of migrants from different regions were reviewed with reference to the changing composition of New Zealand's international migration system during the era of economic restructuring. Migrants from different parts of the world were identified on the basis of their nationality. As noted in Chapter Four, this simple classification of migrants was used to differentiate clearly between the New Zealand citizens in the migrant flows and the citizens of other countries - the potential "new" immigrants. However, when it comes to examining more closely the contribution which migration from a particular part of the world makes to population change, the nationality classification has some limitations as mentioned in Chapter One.

The most serious limitation is that a person's nationality, as stated on an arrival (or departure) card, does not necessarily indicate their country of origin (or destination) for the particular move to (or from) New Zealand. Thousands of people enter New Zealand each year from countries where they have been living for 12 months or more (their countries of last permanent residence in New Zealand's migration statistics) which are not their countries of nationality. Their geographical sources are these countries of last permanent

residence. Frequently this geographical definition is used to isolate flows to and from particular regions (see for example Farmer, 1986b). Sometimes a combination of nationality and country of last (arrivals) or next (departures) permanent residence is used (see for example, Bedford, 1994).

Initially, the approach taken in this chapter analysing flows from parts of Asia, especially countries in Northeast Asia, was done using a combination of nationality and geographical reference points. The flows were defined firstly on the basis of country of last or next permanent residence (CL/NPR) cited by the migrant. These gave the geographical sources and destinations. The migrant universes, so defined, were then classified by nationality to isolate the citizens of Asian countries from citizens of countries in other parts of the world, including New Zealand. The arriving citizens of Asian countries from countries of last permanent residence (CLPR) were then compared with the departures to the same countries of next permanent residence (CNPR) to obtain estimates of net migration gains and losses.

Unfortunately this analysis produced results which greatly overstated the total net contribution of migration of citizens from Asian countries to New Zealand between 1986 and 1996, and slightly understated the PLT net contributions over the same period. This is shown clearly in Table 5.1 where the net gains of citizens of four Northeast Asian countries are compared firstly on the basis of their countries of last or next permanent residence in Asia (Column 1) and secondly on the basis of their nationality irrespective of CL/NPR (Column 2). The difference between the two sets of estimates is shown in Column 3.

In the case of the overstated estimates of total net migration from the four countries, and especially Taiwan and South Korea in the years ended 31 March 1995 to 1996, the cause of the problem is a high incidence of “not stated” cases for country of both last and next permanent residence. This can be seen in Table 5.2 which shows the countries of last or next permanent residence for Chinese, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea citizens in the years ended 31 March 1995 and 1996. There is a much higher incidence of “not stated” cases for country of next permanent residence, especially for Taiwan and China, and this has the effect of inflating the overall net gain from these countries.

Table 5.1 Comparison of total and PLT net migration of citizens of China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea, 1986-1996 by CL/NPR and nationality

Year 31 March	Total			PLT		
	CL/NPR	Nationality	Difference	CL/NPR	Nationality	Difference
China						
1987	207	-140	347	146	145	1
1988	218	-346	564	197	212	-15
1989	1526	1242	284	379	429	-50
1990	1631	1572	59	429	461	-32
1991	2157	2336	-179	585	636	-51
86-91	5739	4664	1075	1736	1883	-147
1992	1279	1367	-88	611	638	-27
1993	1651	1254	397	696	843	-147
1994	1522	640	882	885	1090	-205
1995	3222	2881	341	1922	2158	-236
1996	6129	5614	515	3978	4272	-294
91-96	13803	11756	2047	8092	9001	-909
Hong Kong						
1987	491	398	93	112	139	-27
1988	1660	1838	-178	235	260	-25
1989	574	402	172	689	718	-29
1990	1363	1098	265	1470	1547	-77
1991	1703	1016	687	1681	1740	-59
86-91	5791	4752	1039	4187	4404	-217
1992	3219	1332	1887	2418	2554	-136
1993	3126	2679	447	1963	2049	-86
1994	3785	2300	1485	2110	2248	-138
1995	3727	2820	907	2249	2385	-136
1996	4485	3689	796	2153	2331	-178
91-96	18342	12820	5522	10893	11567	-674
Taiwan						
1987	217	-25	242	2	9	-7
1988	1156	811	345	43	46	-3
1989	1121	1370	-249	762	809	-47
1990	1601	1855	-254	1955	2066	-111
1991	1291	1009	282	1591	1734	-143
86-91	5386	5020	366	4353	4664	-311
1992	1697	1536	161	1037	1105	-68
1993	2539	606	1933	1526	1635	-109
1994	4967	2441	2526	1548	1630	-82
1995	5140	2430	2710	2172	2246	-74
1996	6559	4224	2335	3625	3861	-236
91-96	20902	11237	9665	9908	10477	-569
South Korea						
1987	212	186	26	24	43	-19
1988	126	174	-48	175	195	-20
1989	299	-80	379	210	267	-57
1990	1199	1298	-99	313	398	-85
1991	192	-38	230	451	484	-33
86-91	2028	1540	488	1173	1387	-214
1992	969	390	579	491	527	-36
1993	1274	508	766	1164	1252	-88
1994	3713	2179	1534	2354	2465	-111
1995	6583	3067	3516	3215	3405	-190
1996	9293	4744	4549	3659	3845	-186
91-96	21832	10888	10944	10883	11494	-611
Total 1986-91	18944	15976	2968	11449	12338	-889
Total 1991-96	74879	46701	28178	39776	42539	-2763

The other point to note from Table 5.2 is that citizens of the four countries actually came to New Zealand from a variety of sources (countries of last residence). In the cases of migrants citing their nationality as Chinese and Hong Kong, over 30 percent of the arrivals came from countries other than China and Hong Kong. In both cases quite large proportions gave New Zealand as their country of last permanent residence.

Even larger proportions (over 20 percent) of Chinese and Hong Kong citizens departing gave New Zealand as their country of next permanent residence (Table 5.2). Clearly estimates of net migration from Asian countries, based on a combination of CL/NPR and nationality definitions of migrant sources (and destinations), are highly problematic.

Table 5.2 Total arrivals and departures of Chinese, Hong Kong, Taiwanese and South Korean nationals, 1995 and 1996

CL/NPR	Nationality							
	China		Hong Kong		Taiwan		South Korea	
	Arrive	Depart	Arrive	Depart	Arrive	Depart	Arrive	Depart
1995								
New Zealand	2065	2294	7962	8017	6509	6950	4038	4629
Country of nationality	8289	4830	19894	16221	61840	56667	76595	69826
Other countries	2671	3110	1595	17707	4259	6630	3276	6517
Not stated	415	471	461	605	3151	4985	1207	3514
Total	13025	10234	29451	26707	72608	70247	83909	80972
% from NZ	16	22	27	30	9	10	5	6
% from country of nationality	64	47	68	61	85	81	91	86
% Not stated	3	5	2	2	4	7	1	4
1996								
New Zealand	2205	2783	8032	8460	8030	9251	6827	7395
Country of nationality	12767	6587	22429	18099	64571	58077	112899	103832
Other countries	3792	3913	1833	2185	5331	6432	5173	9332
Not stated	764	773	770	1078	3833	4827	2509	5920
Total	18764	13283	32294	28744	77932	73760	124899	120559
% from NZ	12	21	25	29	10	13	5	6
% from country of nationality	68	50	69	63	83	79	90	86
% Not stated	4	6	2	4	5	7	2	5

An attempt to summarise the issues raised here is presented in Figure 5.1. In this figure the total net migration gains and losses to New Zealand of the citizens of the four countries are shown by country or region of last or next permanent residence for the two five year periods examined in this chapter. In the case of Chinese nationals, in the five years covered by the March years 1986 to 1991, the total net gain was just under 4,700 (4,664 - see Table 5.1). This is shown in Figure 5.1 in the top left of the diagram for the 1986-91 as “Total +4.7”. The contributions of this total net gain of Chinese nationals, made by migration from different CL/NPR areas, are shown in the arrows. Chinese from Asian countries contributed a net gain of just over 5,700 (5,739 - see Table 5.1) more than the total net gain of Chinese citizens. The other arrows show net losses to Australia, New Zealand, other countries and “not stated” (Figure 5.1).

The most graphic illustration of over-statement of net migration of a particular Northeast Asian nationality is given in the bottom right diagram for South Korea, 1991 to 1996. Here the total net gain of Korean nationals during the five years was just under 10,900 (10,888 - see Table 5.1). Yet the net gain of Korean nationals citing Asian countries as their CL/NPR was more than double this (+21.9 in Figure 5.1). The great bulk of the difference was due to a net loss to the “not stated” category (over 7,800, Figure 5.1).

Given the problems associated with using the CL/NPR classification as a basis for defining migrant sources and destinations when net migration estimates are required, it was decided to use the nationality classification to define the flows. This matter has been discussed in some length here because there is still a tendency to regard nationality data as less satisfactory than CL/NPR data for examining the origins (and destinations) of migrants, and the gains and losses to New Zealand from these origins and destinations. The incidence of “not stated” cases, especially for country of next permanent residence, is now creating significant problems for migration researchers. In the case of the nationality question, the incidence of “not stated” cases is extremely small, mainly because answers to this question are checked carefully against passports by customs officials as people arrive in, and depart from, New Zealand. The answers to the question on country of last or next permanent residence are not checked rigorously, especially as people leave the country.

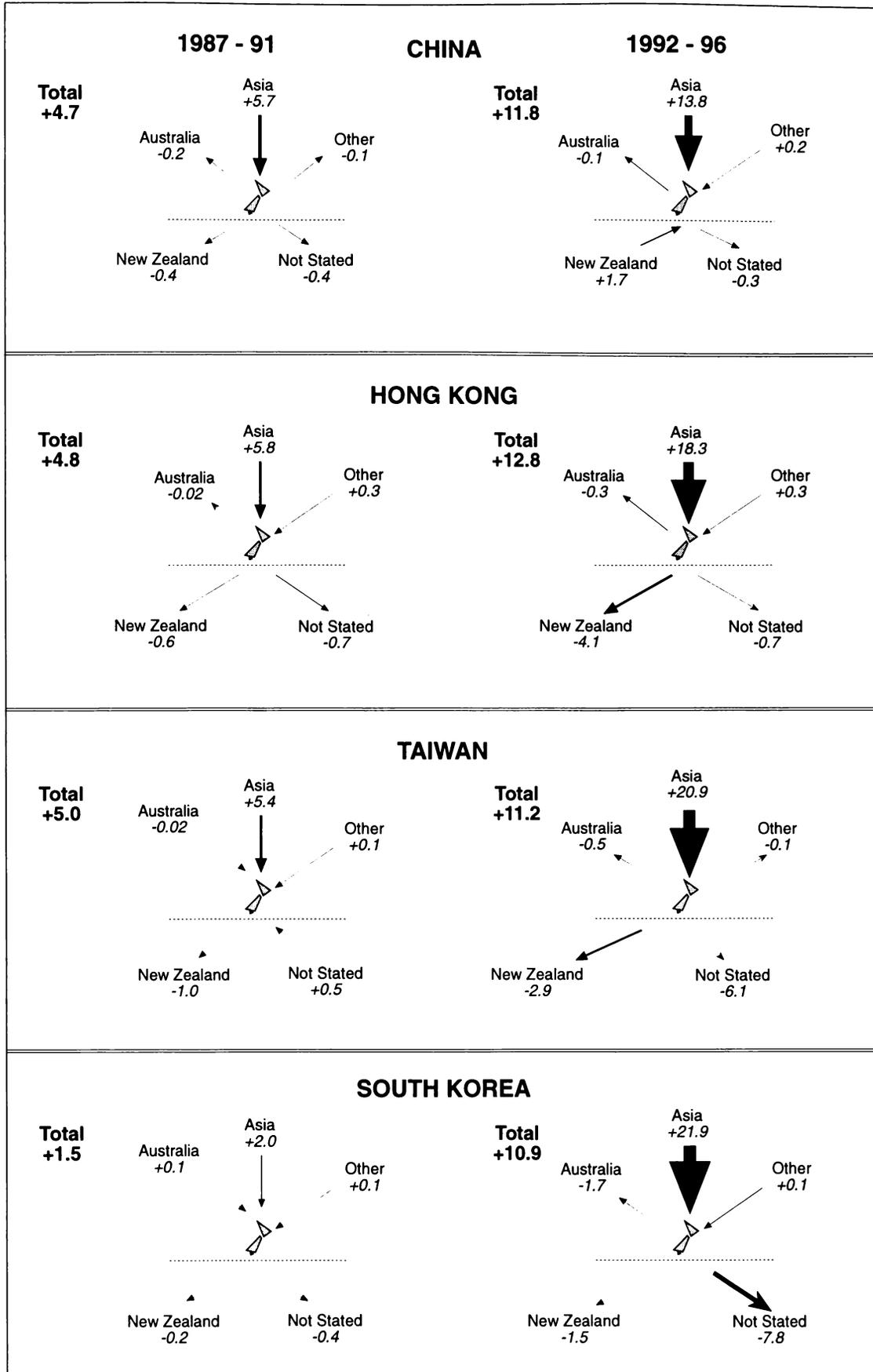


Figure 5.1 : Total net migration gains and losses (000's) of Chinese, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korean nationals by CL/NPR

In summary, in this thesis, the assessment of the contribution which total net migration has made to population growth refers to migrant universes defined on the basis of nationality. The country of last or next permanent residence classification is not used because of the limitations identified in this section. The general problems with nationality data, outlined in Chapter One, especially the fact that migrants can be citizens of more than one country at any time, and can enter and leave the country on different passports, remain limitations which must be kept in mind. Notwithstanding these issues, nationality is currently the best classification to use for an examination of flows from Northeast Asia.

Census data

One of the most important and valuable sources of data on the overseas-born and their descendants, as mentioned in Chapter One, is the census although it must be stressed that census data provide a cross-sectional illustration of only some post-migration characteristics. In this chapter, data obtained from the 1991 and 1996 censuses are used to provide information on the numbers of “recent” immigrants and “established” immigrants aged between 20 and 49 years from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Korea. A “recent” immigrant is defined as a person who stated that they were resident overseas five years before the census. Hence the recent immigrants in the 1991 census refer to the people who had come to New Zealand between 4 March 1986 and 4 March 1991, and those in the 1996 census refer to people who came to New Zealand between 4 March 1991 and 5 March 1996.

“Established” immigrants refer to those people who stated in the census that they were born overseas, but were living in New Zealand five years before the census. The 1991 “established” immigrants refer to those migrants who had come to settle in New Zealand before the 1986 census and therefore arrived before the immigration policy change of 1986. The “established” immigrants in the 1996 census were already living in New Zealand in 1991 and therefore this group includes all those who were the “recent” immigrants of the 1991 census.

The tables that have been created for this analysis are based on the census question which asks each individual to record to which ethnic group(s) they belong. Anyone who recorded Chinese or Korean as an ethnic group was separated out. It is important to appreciate that the specified ethnic groups

contain ALL people who indicated in their response to the 1996 census question on ethnicity, that they belonged to the named group.

Next, country of birth was considered and all those born in New Zealand were separated out to leave the overseas born. Those of Chinese ethnicity born overseas were then separated into those whose birthplace was the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong or Taiwan. Finally, if the individual was not living in New Zealand five years ago and was 20 years of age or over they became part of the group to be analysed. So the variables used in this study are the ethnic descent group, Chinese (Taiwanese and Hong Kong Chinese) or Korean, aged 20 years and over, currently resident in New Zealand and whose place of usual residence in 1991 was overseas. These variables are shown by five year age group, sex, birthplace and selected labour force and employment characteristics.

Some of the relevant problems for this thesis associated with the use of census data were mentioned in Chapter One. First, the incidence of "not stated" cases for birthplace, ethnicity and the socio-economic variables relating to qualifications, work and employment status, occupation and industry, was much higher in the 1996 census than it was in the 1991 census. In order to avoid distorting the percentages, in all subsequent tables the "not specified" category has been removed from the total before any percentages were calculated. This was done because in some groups the "not specified" category is large enough to distort seriously the percentage distributions across particular employment; status, occupation, and industry groups.

Second, the percentage of people who were not counted on census night was assessed by conducting a follow-up census survey immediately after the 1996 census. As mentioned in Chapter One, this post enumeration survey (PES) showed that 1.2 percent of the population (43,000) were not counted on census night (Statistics New Zealand, 1997b). Although there were ethnic differentials in the undercount the sample sizes for ethnic groups other than Maori, Pacific Island and other (predominantly European) were too small to give reliable information on the undercount (Statistics New Zealand, 1997b).

MIGRATION AND POPULATION CHANGE: AN OVERVIEW

It is well known that radical changes in fertility during the 1970s and 1980s have produced substantial structural changes in New Zealand's population (Population Monitoring Group, 1989; Pool and Bedford, 1996; Pool and Bedford, 1997). The 'wave' effect in the ageing of birth cohorts, mentioned earlier - also referred to as population "peristalsis" - can be traced when the gains and losses of particular age groups are examined using the annual estimates of population at the 31 March every year during the past decade. It is essential to appreciate this ageing process, in a population with a highly unstable age structure, when attempting to assess the impact of international migration on the changing size of different age groups.

It is also necessary to isolate the contributions to population change made by the patterns of New Zealand citizen emigration and the immigration of citizens of other countries before looking specifically at how migration from Northeast Asia has impacted upon population change. This is required because, as noted in Chapter Four, total net migration is made up of two components - net losses of New Zealand citizens on the one hand, and net gains of non-citizens on the other - which often have the effect of cancelling each other out.

As the focus of this chapter is the contribution which non-citizen immigration makes to population change this has to be defined as a specific component of total net migration. The analysis of net migration of citizens from Northeast Asian countries will be carried out with reference to the total non-citizen net gains, and how these gains relate to the gains (and losses) in different age groups caused by on-going structural change in the population of New Zealand.

The components of population change, 1986 to 1996

The increase in New Zealand's population during the decade between 1 April 1986 and 31 March 1996 is estimated to have been 354,190 (Table 5.3). The net gain from international migration during these years was 73,880 - the equivalent of just over a fifth of the total population increase. This contribution from international migration is the balance of all arrivals over all departures during the decade. Growth due to structural change is derived as the balance between total population change and the net gains or losses from

international migration. In the 1986-96 period structural change contributed 280,300 or 79 percent of the total population change in the decade (Table 5.3). The respective numerical contributions made by structural change and net migration to population change in each five year age group are shown in Table 5.3.

There is marked variation in the contribution which international migration has made to the growth (or decline) in particular age groups. The main trends for the 10 year period can be summarised as follows:

- i) net migration enhanced growth in the age groups 5-9, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 50-54, 55-59, 65-69 and 70-74;
- ii) net migration dampened growth in the age groups 0-4, 40-44, 45-49, 75+;
- iii) net migration dampened the structural decline in numbers in the age groups 10-14, 15-19, 60-64.
- iv) net migration reversed the structural trend in the age group 20-24.

Table 5.3 Contribution of structural change and net migration to population change by five year age groups, 1986-1996

Age Group	Population change	Structural change	Net migration	Effect of migration
0-4	42,830	44,200	-1,370	dampened growth
5-9	30,910	24,010	6,900	<i>enhanced growth</i>
10-14	-32,120	-43,960	11,840	<u>dampened decline</u>
15-19	-41,210	-51,480	10,270	<u>dampened decline</u>
20-24	-170	23,140	-23,310	reversed trend
25-29	11,940	-17,330	29,270	<i>enhanced growth</i>
30-34	46,330	17,680	28,650	<i>enhanced growth</i>
35-39	56,690	43,120	13,570	<i>enhanced growth</i>
40-44	52,010	54,160	-2,150	dampened growth
45-49	72,400	75,680	-3,280	dampened growth
50-54	40,190	36,160	4,030	<i>enhanced growth</i>
55-59	4,160	1,740	2,420	<i>enhanced growth</i>
60-64	-3,430	-5,630	2,200	<u>dampened decline</u>
65-69	19,420	18,350	1,070	<i>enhanced growth</i>
70-74	17,240	16,950	290	<i>enhanced growth</i>
75+	37,000	43,520	-6,520	dampened growth
Total	354,190	280,310	73,880	<i>enhanced growth</i>

As summarised, international migration added people to all age groups except the 0-4 year olds, the 20-24 year olds, those in their 40s and those over 75 years. The biggest contributions from migration were to the late 20s and early 30s (29,300 and 28,700) age groups. The other substantial gain from

migration was to the children and adolescents aged between 5 and 19 years. In aggregate the 29,000 added to these age groups from migration helped to offset an overall structural decline of -71,430 in this component of the population.

The “core” working population aged between 20 and 49 years grew by 42,800 as a result of international migration between 1986 and 1996. This gain was the equivalent of 58 percent of the total net migration gain during the period. There was also a large gain due to migration in the youthful population (0-19 years) of 27,600 or 37 percent of the total migration gain. The older workforce and the retired population (50+ age group) contributed the final five percent increase (3,500 people) due to net migration.

The net migration gains and losses shown in Table 5.3 comprise net losses of New Zealand citizens and net gains of citizens of other countries. During the decade net migration gains from overseas sources have ensured that numbers in all age groups, except the oldest, have increased, notwithstanding the emigration of New Zealanders (Table 5.4). There are two critical components that make up the overall contribution to population change: the net immigration of citizens from countries other than New Zealand, (termed Other citizens in the tables that follow) and the net emigration of New Zealanders.

Table 5.4 The age composition of net migration gains and losses, 1986-1996, New Zealand citizens and other citizens

Age Group	NZ citizens	Other citizens	Total
0-4	-18,430	17,050	-1,370
5-9	-8,180	15,080	6,900
10-14	-8,870	20,710	11,840
15-19	-22,160	32,430	10,270
20-24	-60,010	36,700	-23,310
25-29	-2,560	31,830	29,270
30-34	-1,070	29,720	28,650
35-39	-12,520	26,090	13,570
40-44	-12,200	10,060	-2,150
45-49	-11,250	7,960	-3,280
50-54	2,750	1,280	4,030
55-59	-130	2,550	2,420
60-64	600	1,600	2,200
65-69	1,040	40	1,070
70-74	170	120	290
75+	4,090	-10,610	-6,520
Total	-148,730	222,610	73,880

Between March 1986 and March 1996, New Zealand lost 148,730 of its citizens through net emigration (Table 5.4). The net gain of citizens from countries other than New Zealand during this period was 222,610 which is not much less than the 280,310 added to the population through structural change (Table 5.3). When the contribution to the five year age groups is examined the immigration of citizens of other nationalities more than replaced the loss of New Zealanders in the 5-19, 25-39, 55-59 year age groups and augmented the return of New Zealanders in the 50-54 and 60-74 year age groups, although the gains of non-citizens aged 65 and over were numerically very small (Table 5.4).

Non-citizen gains helped to ameliorate the losses of the pre-school, young adult and 40-49 year old New Zealanders. It was only in the oldest age group, 75+ years, that there was a loss of citizens of other countries. This loss was much larger than the return of New Zealanders of the same age. This pattern of “retirement return” to the country of origin is not surprising and has been well documented (King *et al*, 1983).

Asian migration and population change, 1986 to 1996

Immigration from countries in Asia accounted for just over half of the non-citizen net migration gain over the decade (Table 5.5). The age composition of the Asian net migration gain is different from the non-Asian gain, and it is clear that migration from Asia is contributing to population change in New Zealand in some distinctive ways. These will be discussed briefly before examining more closely the age and gender characteristics of net migration from Northeast Asia, in the context of the very different patterns of population change during the five year periods.

The net gain of Asian citizens made a bigger contribution than citizens of other overseas countries to the adolescent and young adult age group (10-24 year olds) and to the established working age groups (35-64 year olds) (Table 5.5). The age groups that experienced the biggest gains of citizens from Asia were those encompassing secondary and tertiary education - the 15-24 year olds. Asian citizens also contributed gains in the 50-64 year age groups whereas the other non-citizens in contrast lost citizens in this 50-64 year age band (Table 5.5). There was a net loss of older Asian citizens in all the age groups over 65 years (5,990) with a total loss of over 10,500 overseas citizens

over the age of 75 years (Table 5.5). As anticipated, the pattern of retirement return migration is evident.

Citizens of other countries made bigger contributions than Asians at both the younger age groups (0-9 years), the middle (25-34 years) and older ages (65-74 year age group) (Table 5.5). Sixty-six percent of the contribution of young children (0-9 year olds) was of citizens of countries other than Asia, (and 75 percent of the 0-4 year olds). In the 25-34 year age group the citizens of other countries contributed 59 percent of the total non-citizen gain.

Table 5.5 The age composition of net migration gains and losses of Asian citizens and other citizens, 1986-1996

Age Group	Asian citizens	Other citizens	Total non-citizens
0-4	4,840	12,210	17,050
5-9	6,200	8,880	15,080
10-14	12,100	8,610	20,710
15-19	19,000	13,430	32,430
20-24	18,760	17,930	36,700
25-29	11,790	20,050	31,830
30-34	13,520	16,210	29,720
35-39	13,600	12,490	26,090
40-44	5,570	4,490	10,060
45-49	6,500	1,470	7,960
50-54	3,890	-2,610	1,280
55-59	3,450	-900	2,550
60-64	1,970	-370	1,600
65-69	-760	790	40
70-74	-930	1,040	120
75+	-4,300	-6,320	-10,610
Total	115,200	107,400	222,610

Migration from Northeast Asia contributed just under two thirds of the Asian citizen net migration gain (64.2 percent) (Table 5.6). Again, the Northeast Asia net gain differs somewhat in age composition from the other Asian component, reinforcing the need for caution when generalising about the impact of immigration on population change.

The gains of citizens from countries in the Northeast were consistently larger than the gains contributed by citizens of other Asian nationalities over all the age groups except the youngest (0-4 year olds - 1,210 more), and in the 55-59 year age group (230 more). The highest percentage gains from Northeast Asia were in the 5-19 year old age group accounting for just over two thirds of the

Asian gain (67.6 percent) and in the 40-54 year age group where 91 percent of the contribution was from the Northeast (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 The age composition of net migration gains and losses, of Asian citizens, 1986-1996: Northeast Asia and other countries

Age Group	Northeast Asia	Other Asia	Total Asian citizens
0-4	1,820	3,030	4,850
5-9	4,050	2,150	6,200
10-14	9,020	3,080	12,100
15-19	12,250	6,750	19,000
20-24	10,120	8,640	18,760
25-29	6,860	4,930	11,790
30-34	7,730	5,790	13,520
35-39	8,560	5,040	13,600
40-44	5,000	570	5,570
45-49	4,880	1,610	6,490
50-54	4,850	-960	3,890
55-59	1,610	1,840	3,450
60-64	1,730	240	1,970
65-69	-950	190	-760
70-74	-810	-120	-930
75+	-2,280	-2,020	-4,300
Total	74,440	40,760	115,200

The effect of migration from Northeast Asia

In summary, the main trend for the 10 year period has been for migration from Northeast Asia to enhance the growth of the age groups 0-9, 20-24 and 30-59 years (Table 5.7). Net migration dampened the decline in the adolescent age groups, 10-19 years and the late 20s. Above the age of 60 years, net migration from the Northeast also dampened a decline in the 60-64 year age group. However, over the age of 65 years, net migration from Northeast Asia dampened the growth.

The respective numerical contributions made by structural change and net migration from Northeast Asia in each five year age group are shown in Table 5.7. The age group receiving the biggest numerical contributions from Northeast Asia was the secondary school/tertiary education aged group, 15-19 years (12,250). Therefore it was not surprising that schools, especially in Auckland, found they were experiencing pressures for resources to teach these

large numbers of new students, many of whom did not have a good command of English.

Significant numerical contributions were also made to the 20-39 year age groups (Table 5.7). Indeed, net migration gains from Northeast Asia contributed the equivalent of 39 percent of the structural change in the age group 25-29, 43 percent in the age group 30-34 and 91 percent in the age group 55-59 years.

Table 5.7 The age composition of structural change and net migration gains and losses of Northeast Asian citizens, 1986-1996

Age Group	Structural change	Net migration Northeast Asia	Effect of migration
0-4	44,200	1,820	<i>enhanced growth</i>
5-9	24,010	4,050	<i>enhanced growth</i>
10-14	-43,960	9,020	<u>dampened decline</u>
15-19	-51,480	12,250	<u>dampened decline</u>
20-24	23,140	10,120	<i>enhanced growth</i>
25-29	-17,330	6,860	<u>dampened decline</u>
30-34	17,680	7,730	<i>enhanced growth</i>
35-39	43,120	8,560	<i>enhanced growth</i>
40-44	54,160	5,000	<i>enhanced growth</i>
45-49	75,680	4,880	<i>enhanced growth</i>
50-54	36,160	4,850	<i>enhanced growth</i>
55-59	1,740	1,610	<i>enhanced growth</i>
60-64	-5,630	1,730	<u>dampened decline</u>
65-69	18,350	-950	<u>dampened growth</u>
70-74	16,950	-810	<u>dampened growth</u>
75+	43,520	-2,280	<u>dampened growth</u>
Total	280,310	74,440	<i>enhanced growth</i>

Another way of looking at the contribution to population change made by net gains from Northeast Asia is to isolate its share of all non-citizen net migration. This is done in Table 5.8. It can be seen here that net gains from the Northeast accounted for a third of the total non-citizen net gain. However, much higher proportional shares were found in the age groups 10-14 (44 percent), 40-44 (50 percent), 45-49 (61 percent) and 55-59 (63 percent) years. In two age groups (50-54 and 60-64), net gains from Northeast Asia exceeded the overall non-citizen net gains.

Finally it should be noted that net migration from Northeast Asia over the decade (74,440) almost exactly equals the total net gain through migration

(73, 880) (Table 5.8). It is clear from a direct comparison of the figures for specific age groups in Table 5.8 that net migration from Northeast Asia accounts for most, if not all, of the overall net gain in several age groups, especially those between 5-19 years. Only in the age groups 25-34 years is the contribution of immigration from Northeast Asia dwarfed by contributions from other regions. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that migration from countries on the Asia-Pacific rim came to dominate so much of the public debate about immigration especially in the early 1990s. This matter is discussed further in the next section.

Table 5.8 The age composition of net migration from Northeast Asia compared with total non-citizen net migration and total net migration by five year age group, 1986-1996

Age Group	Northeast Asia	Total non citizen	Percentage from Northeast Asia	Total net migration
0-4	1,820	17,050	10.7	-1,370
5-9	4,050	15,080	26.8	6,900
10-14	9,020	20,710	43.6	11,840
15-19	12,250	32,430	37.8	10,270
20-24	10,120	36,700	27.6	-23,310
25-29	6,860	31,830	21.6	29,270
30-34	7,730	29,720	26.0	28,650
35-39	8,560	26,090	32.8	13,570
40-44	5,000	10,060	49.7	-2,150
45-49	4,880	7,960	61.3	-3,280
50-54	4,850	1,280	378.9	4,030
55-59	1,610	2,550	63.1	2,420
60-64	1,730	1,600	108.1	2,200
65-69	-950	40	-	1,070
70-74	-810	120	-	290
75+	-2,280	-10,610	21.5	-6,520
Total	74,440	222,610	33.4	73,880

MIGRATION AND STRUCTURAL CHANGE: TWO PERIODS COMPARED

The respective contributions of the two components to population change between 1986 and 1991 and 1991 and 1996 are shown in Table 5.9. These contributions were considerably irregular, both between the two periods and between the two causes of population change. Of the two components, it is

clear that structural change in both five year periods far outweighed the contribution made by international migration.

Structural change added 131,240 to the New Zealand population between 1986 and 1991 while there was a net loss from immigration of almost 2,000 in this same time period (Table 5.9). Although there was a significant increase in the net migration component during the early 1990s: the net gain of 75,840 between March 1991 and March 1996 accounted for only a third of the total population change during the five years, while the structural change of 149,070 in this period contributed two-thirds.

Table 5.9 The composition of population change by five year age group, 1986 -1991 and 1991-1996

Age Group	Structural change		International migration	
	1986-91	1991-96	1986-91	1991-96
0-4	35,510	8,690	-6,510	5,140
5-9	-3,940	27,950	2,390	4,510
10-14	-37,370	-6,590	2,190	9,650
15-19	-13,580	-37,900	-400	10,670
20-24	7,600	15,540	-15,380	-7,930
25-29	-6,020	-11,310	14,710	14,560
30-34	20,560	-2,880	8,010	20,650
35-39	5,350	37,770	1,770	11,800
40-44	46,980	7,180	-1,170	-980
45-49	25,830	49,850	-4,110	830
50-54	17,500	18,660	-1,340	5,370
55-59	-11,710	13,450	800	1,620
60-64	3,160	-8,790	-1,040	3,230
65-69	15,560	2,790	-2,790	3,870
70-74	3,540	13,410	830	-550
75+	22,270	21,250	80	-6,600
Total	131,240	149,070	-1,960	75,840

The instability created by the significant fluctuations in fertility levels in New Zealand, mentioned earlier, can be seen in Table 5.9 as a number of “humps” and “hollows” in the age structure work their way through the population, producing significant surpluses, followed by major deficits in specific age groups in successive five year periods. Net immigration tends to produce larger increments to some age groups than others. The actual contribution that migration makes to growth in different age groups can be highly variable.

It is important to assess this variability in the context of on-going structural change in the population because it helps to explain why immigration produces particular period-specific pressures in the host country. For example, in 1996, a general overheating of the economy in Auckland, especially its housing market and the overcrowding of some schools, caused considerable debate about immigration, particularly immigration from Asia. The news media carried numerous articles, particularly as the politicians began to campaign for the 1996 general election. Immigration was made a “hot political potato” by the populist politician, Winston Peters. Headlines such as one from the local *Waikato Times*, 6 March 1996, 7) ‘New Zealand’s Asian immigrants: investors or invaders?’ is indicative of the type of debate that was engendered at this time. Understanding the sources of these pressures is important if the debate about the contribution of international migration to New Zealand’s population and long-term development is to be rational.

Overview of the two periods

The differences in population change between the two five year periods of the decade, and the contribution made by international migration to this change, are summarised in Table 5.10 and 5.11. During the first five year period the increase to New Zealand’s population through structural change is estimated to have been 131,240. However, an overall net migration loss of -1,960 reduced the total population change to 129,280 (Table 5.10). This contrasts sharply with the situation in the second five year period when an overall net migration gain of 75,840, augmented the increase due to structural change of 149,070, to produce a total population change of 224,910 (Table 5.11).

During the first period, net migration enhanced growth in only four age groups (30-34, 35-39, 70-74 and the over 75s) (Table 5.10). In the second period migration-enhanced growth is found in eight age groups (0-4, 5-9, 35-39, 45-49, 50-54, 55-59, 65-69) (Table 5.11). Migration dampened the structural declines in three age groups between 1986 and 1991 (5-9, 10-14 and 55-59), and the decline in the 15-19 and 60-64 year age groups between 1991 and 1996. Finally, net migration gains reversed a trend towards structural declines in numbers in the 25-29 year age group in both periods, as well as in the 10-14 and 30-34 year age groups between 1991 and 1996.

Table 5.10 Population change, structural change and net migration by five year age group, 1986 -1991

Age Group	Population change	Structural change	Net migration	Effect of migration
0-4	29,000	35,510	-6,510	dampened growth
5-9	-1,540	-3,940	2,390	<u>dampened decline</u>
10-14	-35,180	-37,370	2,190	<u>dampened decline</u>
15-19	-13,980	-13,580	-400	enhanced decline
20-24	-7,780	7,600	-15,380	enhanced decline
25-29	8,690	-6,020	14,710	reversed trend
30-34	28,570	20,560	8,010	<i>enhanced growth</i>
35-39	7,120	5,350	1,770	<i>enhanced growth</i>
40-44	45,810	46,980	-1,170	dampened growth
45-49	21,720	25,830	-4,110	dampened growth
50-54	16,160	17,500	-1,340	dampened growth
55-59	-10,910	-11,710	800	<u>dampened decline</u>
60-64	2,120	3,160	-1,040	<u>dampened growth</u>
65-69	12,770	15,560	-2,790	dampened growth
70-74	4,370	3,540	830	<i>enhanced growth</i>
75+	22,340	22,270	80	<i>enhanced growth</i>
Total	129,280	131,240	-1,960	dampened growth

Table 5.11 Population change, structural change and net migration by five year age group, 1991-1996

Age Group	Population change	Structural change	Net migration	Effect of migration
0-4	13,830	8,690	5,140	<i>enhanced growth</i>
5-9	32,450	27,950	4,510	<i>enhanced growth</i>
10-14	3,060	-6,590	9,650	reversed trend
15-19	-27,230	-37,900	10,670	<u>dampened decline</u>
20-24	7,610	15,540	-7,930	<u>dampened growth</u>
25-29	3,250	-11,310	14,560	reversed trend
30-34	17,760	-2,880	20,650	reversed trend
35-39	49,570	37,770	11,800	<i>enhanced growth</i>
40-44	6,200	7,180	-980	dampened growth
45-49	50,680	49,850	830	<i>enhanced growth</i>
50-54	24,030	18,660	5,370	<i>enhanced growth</i>
55-59	15,070	13,450	1,620	<i>enhanced growth</i>
60-64	-5,550	-8,790	3,230	<u>dampened decline</u>
65-69	6,650	2,790	3,870	<u>enhanced growth</u>
70-74	12,870	13,410	-550	dampened growth
75+	14,660	21,250	-6,600	dampened growth
Total	224,910	149,070	75,840	<i>enhanced growth</i>

The non-citizen component of net migration during the two periods, together with the Northeast Asian component of this non-citizen migration, are isolated in Table 5.12. As has already been noted in Chapter Four, net migration gains from countries in Northeast Asia were much smaller before the introduction of the points system in 1991. Between April 1986 and March 1991, the overall net gain of migrants from Northeast Asia totalled 19,370. This gain was 30.6 percent of the total non-citizen net gain of 63,400 (Table 5.12).

Between 1991 and 1996, Northeast Asian net migration totalled 55,080 almost three times the number in the previous five years. However, the share of non-citizen net migration from Northeast Asia was not much greater (34.5 percent) than in the earlier period; the overall net level of immigration (159,200) of citizens of countries other than New Zealand in the early 1990s was also much greater than in the late 1980s (Table 5.12).

Table 5.12 The age composition of net migration gains and losses of citizens of Northeast Asian countries and other overseas countries, by five year age group, 1986-1991 and 1991-96

Age Group	1986-1991		1991-1996	
	Northeast Asian	Tot non-citizens	Northeast Asian	Tot non-citizens
0-4	-170	3,960	1,990	13,100
5-9	250	6,460	3,790	8,620
10-14	2,210	5,720	6,810	14,990
15-19	3,350	13,330	8,910	19,100
20-24	3,920	16,380	6,210	20,310
25-29	2,740	16,440	4,120	15,390
30-34	1,480	8,610	6,250	21,110
35-39	3,260	6,790	5,300	19,300
40-44	1,350	2,470	3,650	7,600
45-49	710	-1,780	4,180	9,740
50-54	1,340	-4,680	3,510	5,960
55-59	830	-1,100	780	3,650
60-64	-220	-1,130	1,950	2,730
65-69	-1,380	-4,190	430	4,230
70-74	-180	-1,060	-640	1,180
75+	-120	-2,810	-2,160	-7,810
Total	19,370	63,410	55,080	159,200

Northeast Asian component

The respective contributions that Northeast Asian migration and structural change made to population growth in the two periods is summarised in Tables 5.13 and 5.14. These show that migration from these countries of the Northeast is contributing to population change in New Zealand in some distinctive ways. This reinforces the need for caution when generalising about the impact of immigration on population change.

The two periods compared

Net migration gains from Northeast Asian countries were much smaller before the introduction of the points system as shown in Chapter Four. Between April 1986 and March 1991, the overall net gain of migrants from Northeast Asia totalled 19,370 (Table 5.13). In this period, migration of Northeast Asians enhanced growth in six age groups (20-24, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49, 50-54); dampened decline in five age groups (5-9, 10-14, 15-19, 25-29, 55-59) and dampened growth in the youngest age group, 0-4 years, and in the four oldest age groups, the over 60 year olds (Table 5.13). Three age groups received numerical gains of more than 3,000 from Northeast Asia (15-19, 20-24 and 35-39) suggesting the arrival of a high proportion of secondary and tertiary students and their parents. There was very little impact on either the youngest age group (0-9 years) or most of the older age groups with the exception of the 50-54 year olds and those in their late 60s (Table 5.13).

During the second period, after the introduction of the points system, growth was enhanced by migration of Northeast Asians in nine age groups (0-4, 5-9, 20-24, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49, 50-54, 55-59, 65-69). Decline was dampened in three age groups (15-19, 25-29, 60-64) and the trend of structural change was reversed in two age groups (10-14, 30-34). Only two age groups experienced a dampening of growth in this period and they were the two oldest age groups, 70-74 year olds and those over 75 years of age (Table 5.14).

The numerical gains were much bigger in the second period with ten age groups gaining more than 3,000 Northeast Asians. The adolescent and young adults again received large numeric gains, 15-19 year olds (8,910) and 20-24 year olds (6,210) (Table 5.14). During the 1990s, the other age groups receiving big numerical gains were the 10-14 years (6,810), 30-34 years (6,250), 35-39 years (5,300), 45-49 years (4,180), 25-29 years (4,120), 5-9 years (3,790) and 50-54 years (3,510). The loss of just under 3,000 over the age of 70 years dampened the structural growth in these oldest age groups.

Table 5.13 The age composition of structural change and net migration gains and losses of Northeast Asian citizens, 1986-1991

Age Group	Structural change	Net migration Northeast Asia	Effect of migration
0-4	35,510	-170	dampened growth
5-9	-3,940	250	<u>dampened decline</u>
10-14	-37,370	2,210	<u>dampened decline</u>
15-19	-13,580	3,350	<u>dampened decline</u>
20-24	7,600	3,920	<i>enhanced growth</i>
25-29	-6,020	2,740	<u>dampened decline</u>
30-34	20,560	1,480	<i>enhanced growth</i>
35-39	5,350	3,260	<i>enhanced growth</i>
40-44	46,980	1,350	<i>enhanced growth</i>
45-49	25,830	710	<i>enhanced growth</i>
50-54	17,500	1,340	<i>enhanced growth</i>
55-59	-11,710	830	<u>dampened decline</u>
60-64	3,160	-220	dampened growth
65-69	15,560	-1,380	dampened growth
70-74	3,540	-180	dampened growth
75+	22,270	-120	dampened growth
Total	131,240	19,370	<i>enhanced growth</i>

Table 5.14 The age composition of structural change and net migration gains and losses of Northeast Asian citizens, 1991-1996

Age Group	Structural change	Net migration Northeast Asia	Effect of migration
0-4	8,690	1,990	<i>enhanced growth</i>
5-9	27,950	3,790	<i>enhanced growth</i>
10-14	-6,590	6,810	reversed trend
15-19	-37,900	8,910	<u>dampened decline</u>
20-24	15,540	6,210	<i>enhanced growth</i>
25-29	-11,310	4,120	<u>dampened decline</u>
30-34	-2,880	6,250	reversed trend
35-39	37,770	5,300	<i>enhanced growth</i>
40-44	7,180	3,650	<i>enhanced growth</i>
45-49	49,850	4,180	<i>enhanced growth</i>
50-54	18,660	3,510	<i>enhanced growth</i>
55-59	13,450	780	<i>enhanced growth</i>
60-64	-8,790	1,950	<u>dampened decline</u>
65-69	2,790	430	<i>enhanced growth</i>
70-74	13,410	-640	dampened growth
75+	21,250	-2,160	dampened growth
Total	149,070	55,080	<i>enhanced growth</i>

While the most obvious difference between the two five year periods is the large increase in net gains of citizens from countries in Northeast Asia to virtually all age groups, it is important to note a significant shift in the age composition of the net migration contribution. Between 1986 and 1991, just under 30 percent of the total net gain of citizens from Northeast Asia was in the age group 0-19 years, with a further 34 percent aged 20-29 years. During the 1991 to 1996 period the proportions in the youthful population rose to 39 percent, while the young working population fell to just under 19 percent. In the mature working age groups (30-49 years), a similar proportion (35 percent) is found for both periods. Migration from Northeast Asia, in both periods, has contributed to some “rejuvenation” of New Zealand’s population, at a time of significant structural declines in the teenage populations especially. However, it is evident from Tables 5.13 and 5.14 that migration from this part of the world has also been augmenting growth in the older working-aged population (50 years and over) especially in the early 1990s. Net migration is thus contributing to ageing as well as rejuvenation.

Another perspective

The relative impact which migration from Northeast Asia has had on population change since 1986 can also be examined with reference to the contribution which net gains and losses have made to growth in the “stock” of people in each age group. The estimated total numbers by age group, at the beginning of each five year period, is the population “stock”. The contribution which net migration makes to this “stock” over the five years can be expressed as a rate per 1000 population. Thus, between 1986 and 1991, net migration from Northeast Asia (19,370) added just under 6 people per 1000 in the country’s population of 3.289 million in 1986 (Table 5.15). In the five years between 1991 and 1996, the relevant contribution made by migration from Northeast Asia was just over 16 per 1000 population in 1991 (Table 5.16).

It is clear from Table 5.15 that during the late 1980s, net migration from Northeast Asia contributed most to growth in the 15-19, 20-24, 25-29 and 35-39 year age groups. In these age groups, net migration added more than 10 per 1000 to the defacto population at the beginning of the period. These are the age groups that traditionally are most affected by international migration, especially those between 15 and 29 years.

Table 5.15 The contribution of net migration of Northeast Asian citizens, between 1986 and 1991 to New Zealand's population stock

Age Group	Population stock, 1986 ¹	Net migration Northeast Asia	Contribution (per 1000 stock)
0-4	249,740	-170	-0.68
5-9	254,660	250	0.98
10-14	292,010	2,210	7.57
15-19	301,710	3,350	11.10
20-24	284,700	3,920	13.77
25-29	270,070	2,740	10.15
30-34	248,730	1,480	5.95
35-39	242,390	3,260	13.47
40-44	193,670	1,350	6.97
45-49	167,530	710	4.24
50-54	145,590	1,340	9.20
55-59	150,710	830	5.50
60-64	140,790	-220	-1.56
65-69	116,270	-1,380	-11.87
70-74	96,870	-180	-1.86
75+	123,580	-120	-0.97
Total	3,289,000	19,370	5.89

¹ Statistics New Zealand: estimated age distribution of the total New Zealand de facto population as at 31 March, 1986

Table 5.16 The contribution of net migration of Northeast Asian citizens, between 1991 and 1996 to New Zealand's population stock

Age Group	Population stock, 1991 ¹	Net migration Northeast Asia	Contribution (per 1000 stock)
0-4	278,750	1,990	7.15
5-9	253,110	3,790	14.98
10-14	256,820	6,810	26.52
15-19	287,730	8,910	30.97
20-24	276,920	6,210	22.43
25-29	278,770	4,120	14.78
30-34	277,290	6,250	22.54
35-39	249,510	5,300	21.24
40-44	239,470	3,650	15.24
45-49	189,250	4,180	22.09
50-54	161,760	3,510	21.70
55-59	139,800	780	5.58
60-64	142,910	1,950	13.64
65-69	129,040	430	3.33
70-74	101,240	-640	-6.32
75+	155,910	-2,160	-13.85
Total	3,418,300	55,080	16.11

¹ Statistics New Zealand: estimated age distribution of the total New Zealand de facto population as at 31 March, 1991

During the early 1990s, the contributions to population stock made by net migration gains of citizens of Northeast Asian countries were both much larger, and more evenly spread through the age groups between 5-9 and 50-54 (Table 5.17). The largest contributions to the populations aged 10-14 (26.52 per 1000) and 15-19 years (30.97 per 1000), reflect the significant influx of families with school-aged children. The contributions made to age groups in the 20s were exceeded by contributions to age groups in the 30s and 40s. Asian migration in the early 1990s did not have anywhere near the age-specific impact that is commonly associated with net migration streams. Its impact was spread through a large number of age groups and this contributed significantly to the heightened perception of an “Asian invasion” among the resident, predominantly white, population.

Age and gender characteristics of Northeast Asian net migration

The graphs in Figures 5.2 and 5.3 summarise the contributions to overall Asian net migration during the two five year periods made respectively by citizens of countries in Northeast Asia and other Asian countries. The contributions are shown separately for males and females, by five year age group. In the first period, the Northeast Asian contribution is dispersed for males over the working age groups 20-39 years while for females the contribution is much more concentrated in the youthful age groups (Figure 5.2). In the early 1990s, migration from Northeast Asia contributes to virtually all age groups in both the male and female populations, although the magnitude of the net gains by age are much more variable for females (Figure 5.3).

As has already been noted in Chapter Four, there is significant change in both the broad age composition of Northeast Asian net migration over the two periods (Table 5.17). This can be illustrated further with reference to differences in the gender composition of the net gains by broad age group and changes in the sex ratio.

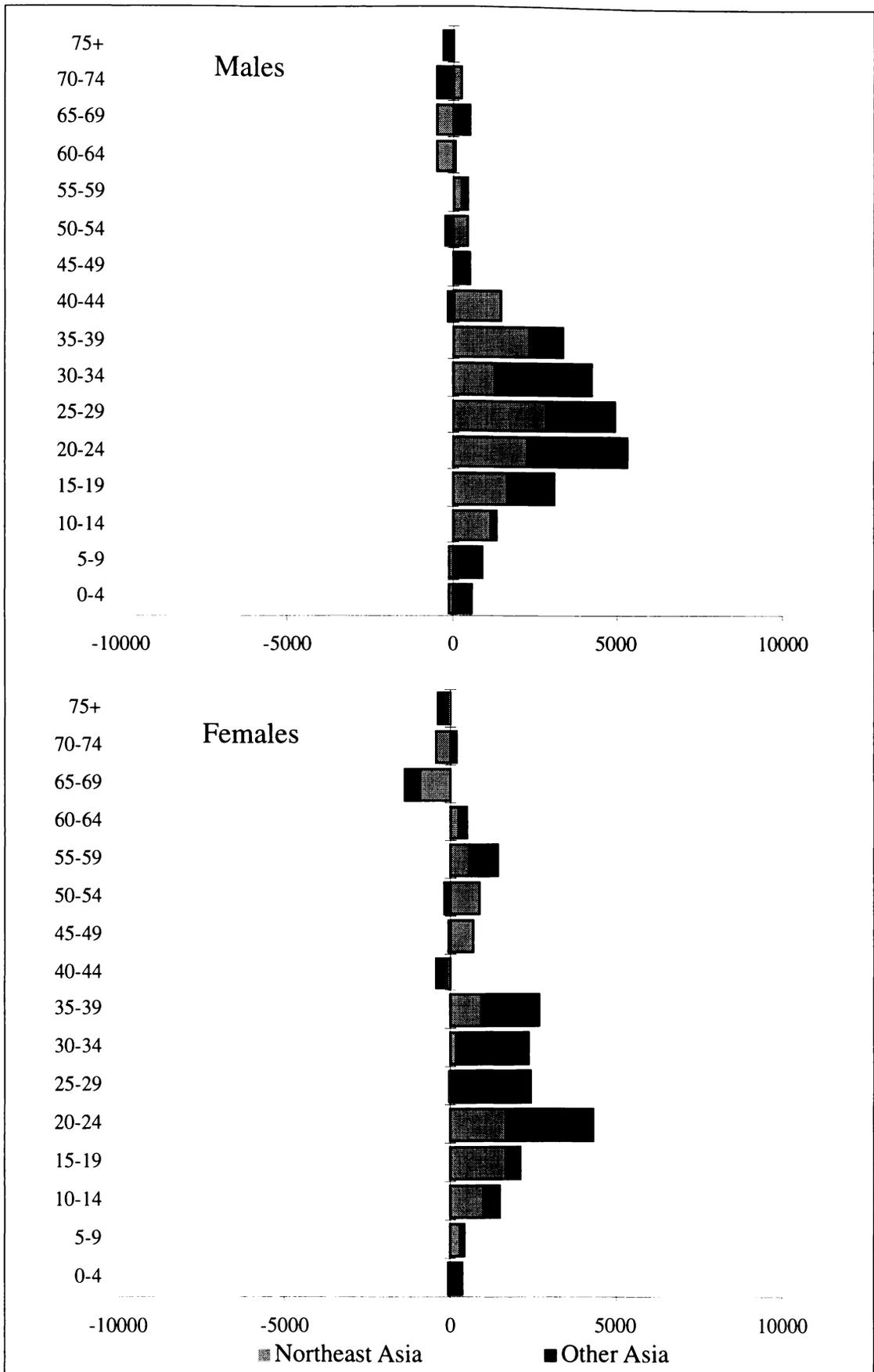


Figure 5.2: Net migration of Northeast Asian citizens and other Asian citizens, by sex and age group, 1986-1991

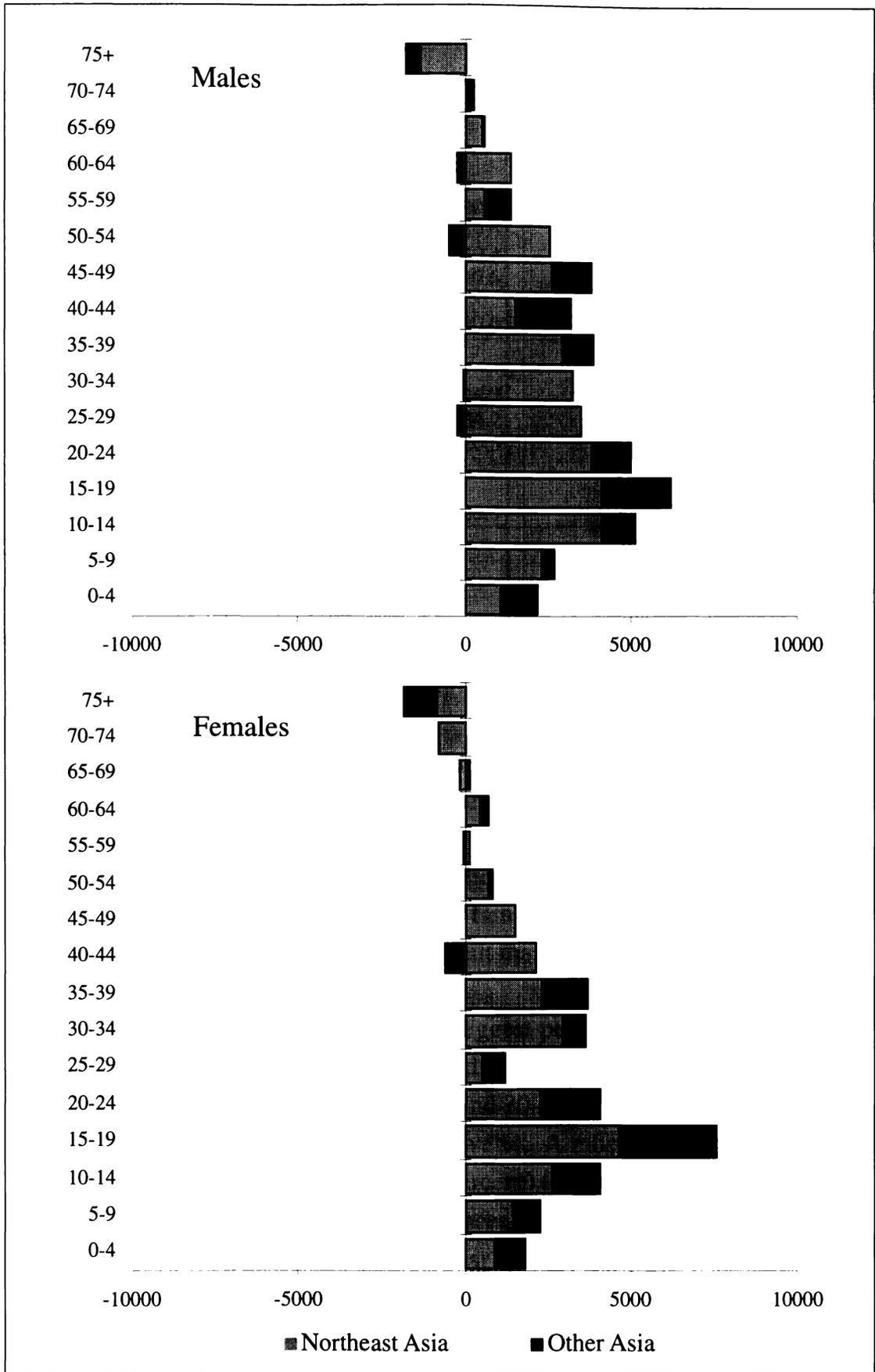


Figure 5.3: Net migration of Northeast Asian citizens and other Asian citizens, by sex and age group, 1991-1996

Table 5.17 Broad age composition and sex ratios of Northeast Asian¹ net migration by gender, 1986-1991 and 1991-1996

Age Group	1986-1991		1991-1996	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Males				
0-19	2,640	20.5	11,760	35.0
20-29	5,090	39.5	7,460	22.2
30-49	5,080	39.4	10,360	30.9
50+	80	0.6	3,980	11.9
Total males	12,890	100.0	33,560	100.0
Females				
0-19	2,990	46.2	9,740	45.3
20-29	1,570	24.2	2,870	13.4
30-49	1,720	26.5	9,020	41.9
50+	200	3.1	-110	-0.6
Total females	6,480	100.0	21,520	100.0
Total both sexes	19,370		55,080	
Sex ratio	198.9		155.9	

¹ Note: Northeast Asia includes China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea and Japan

The sex ratio in the early 1990s is still quite heavily male dominated, although it is clear that female migration has become more prominent than it was in the late 1980s. As noted in Chapter Four with reference to specific countries in Northeast Asia, the explanation for these changes in age composition and sex ratio largely lies with a shift towards more family migration in the 1990s after some years of movement dominated by adult males.

The broad age group that contributed the biggest percentage gain of females in the 1986-1991 period was the 0-19 year olds, (46.2 percent), with the proportional gain of females in the 20-29 and 30-49 year age groups being similar (24 percent and 27 percent respectively). A much smaller gain was made to the over 50 year age group (3.1 percent) (Table 5.17). In contrast, the male contributions for this period were concentrated in the broad young and middle aged working groups (the 20-29 year age group and the 30-49 year age group both received 39 percent of the gain). Males in the 0-19 year age group contributed 20.5 percent of the net migration from Northeast Asia, while there was a very small proportion (0.6 percent) of males over the age of 50 years (Table 5.17).

Between 1991 and 1996, the proportions of both the male and female contributions to the broad age groups showed a notable change from the earlier period. While the proportional contribution of males to both the 20-29 and 30-49 year age groups dropped (the 20-29 year olds by 17 percentage points), the contribution of males in the youngest and oldest age groups rose (0-19 years by 15 percentage points; 50+ years by 11 percentage points) (Table 5.17). There was a significant shift in the contribution made to the middle age groups, 20-29 and 30-49 years among the females. However, the proportion of the contribution to the youngest broad age group remained similar to the gain in the earlier period (45 percent) (Table 5.17).

In the period, 1991 to 1996, although the numerical gain to the 20-29 year age group doubled, the proportional gain dropped by 11 percentage points (from 24 to 13 percent). In comparison the numerical gain in the 30-49 year age group, (the mature working and mothering age), increased five times and the proportional gain rose by 16 percentage points (from 26 to 42 percent) (Table 5.17). On the other hand there was a small loss of females aged 50 years and over. This pattern of gender migration, with a more even distribution of males across all the broad age groups and a significant proportional increase in the females of mothering age (30-49 years), shows the move toward family migration from Northeast Asia as the migration streams become established. This trend toward family migration has been illustrated clearly in Chapter Four, where the age and gender compositions of PLT arrivals from countries in Northeast Asia were examined more closely.

The analysis of the contributions made by net migration to population change using the continuous flow data provides some useful perspectives on the relative importance of migration as a process influencing growth during intercensal periods. However, it does not tell us anything about growth in particular ethnic descent populations during such periods, except by inference. Korean nationals, in the arrival and departure data, are likely to be people of Korean ethnicity in the census data. Unfortunately data on nationality are not collected in the census, just as data on ethnicity are no longer collected on arrival and departure cards. Separate analysis of the flow and stock data have been required ever since the birthplace question (asked in the census) was removed from arrival and departure cards in 1987 (Bedford, 1987b).

The census data on the two major descent populations of relevance for the remaining chapters in this thesis - Chinese and Korean - are introduced in the next section. A descriptive analysis of their respective patterns of growth between 1991 and 1996 contributes to a general appreciation of the role of migration in transforming New Zealand's population. These were the five years during which migration from Northeast Asia came to dominate New Zealand's migration system.

CENSUS OVERVIEW

There was a 14.7 percentage point increase in the number of overseas born people living in New Zealand (605,061) at the 1996 census over the 1991 census. In 1986, one in seven people resident in New Zealand were born overseas. By 1996 this had risen to one in six (Cook, 1997, 27). The timing and sources of past migration flows is shown by the substantial differences in length of residence by birthplace. If considering the United Kingdom or Ireland birthplace, three in every four New Zealanders had lived in this country for 20 years or more. For those with a European birthplace, half had lived in New Zealand for 20 years or more (Cook, 1997, 27).

By contrast, more than half of the immigrants with a birthplace in Asia or South Africa had been in New Zealand for less than five years (Cook, 1997, 27). As has already been shown in Chapter Four, the traditional countries of origin became much less important sources of new immigrants during the 10 year period, 1986-1996.

In 1986, the three main source areas for new immigrants were: the United Kingdom and Ireland (30.4 percent), the Pacific (19.4 percent) and Australia (15.1 percent). By 1996, the top three source areas were Asia (40.8 percent), the United Kingdom and Ireland (17.0 percent) and the Pacific (10.1 percent) (Cook, 1997, 27).

Between 1986 and 1996, the increase in Asian-born immigrants accounted for two-thirds of the overall growth of the new immigrant population in New Zealand. This resulted in there being over five times the number of new immigrants who were born in countries of Asia in 1996 compared with 1986 (Cook, 1997, 28). Although the numbers are relatively small, in world terms the proportion to the resident population is significant. The Chinese ethnic group recorded the largest numerical increase and accounted for almost half of

the intercensal Asian population increase in 1996 (Ho, Goodwin, Bedford and Spragg, 1997). The fastest growing Asian community during this time was the Korean one which was 28 times as large in 1996 as it had been in 1986 (Table 5.18).

Table 5.18 Population change 1986-1996, Chinese and Korean ethnic groups

Ethnic Group ¹	1986	Census 1991	1996	Change between 1986-1996	
				Number	Percent
Chinese	26,616	44,793	81,309	54,693	205.5
Korean	441	927	12,753	12,312	2,791.8
Total Asian	53,541	99,576	173,502	119,961	224.1
Total NZ	3,263,283	3,373,926	3,618,303	355,020	10.9

¹ Where a person reported more than one ethnic group, they have been counted in each applicable group

Source: Ho, Goodwin, Bedford and Spragg, 1997, 1

When the age structure of the new immigrants is compared with that of the resident population as a whole, in 1996 more than 40 percent of new immigrants were in the 25-44 year old age group. Children aged under 15 years made up a quarter of the new immigrants, while those in the school and tertiary aged groups, 15-24 years, accounted for 20 percent of new immigrants (Statistics New Zealand, 1997a). Of these 15-24 year old recent immigrants, more were likely to have been born in Asian countries or countries of the Pacific Islands, suggesting they were in New Zealand to obtain a higher education (Statistics New Zealand, 1997a).

As the 1991 immigration policy changes introduced a points system of selection in a more determined attempt to attract skilled workers, the following analysis focuses on the 20-49 year age group. The total number of "recent" immigrants, which includes the New Zealand born returnees, aged 20-49 years in the 1991 and 1996 censuses is shown in Table 5.19. This table also shows the number of recent immigrants from four countries of Northeast Asia; the Chinese born in Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan and the Koreans and the total number from the four countries of Northeast Asia (Table

5.19). Also included for comparison are the total of all the overseas born and the New Zealand born who were living overseas five years ago.

Table 5.19 Number of New Zealand born, total overseas born, Chinese, Korean and total "recent" immigrants, 1991 and 1996 censuses, in New Zealand, aged 20-49 years

Birthplace	1991			1996			%increase 1991-96
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
New Zealand	19,068	20,472	39,540	24,738	25,698	50,436	27.6
Overseas	34,273	34,710	68,983	42,669	47,796	90,465	31.1
Total	53,341	55,182	108,523	67,407	73,494	140,901	29.8
China	1,668	1,446	3,114	3,036	3,702	6,738	116.4
Hong Kong	645	786	1,431	1,479	2,082	3,561	148.8
Taiwan	549	876	1,425	1,251	2,121	3,372	136.6
Korea	168	180	348	2,850	3,135	5,985	1,619.8
Total 4 NEAsia	3,030	3,288	6,318	8,616	11,040	19,656	211.1

Source: Unpublished data files prepared by the Customer Services Division of Statistics New Zealand from the 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population and Dwellings

The New Zealand born and overseas born populations grew by relatively similar proportions (27.6 and 31.1 percent respectively) between 1991 and 1996. This gives the rather misleading impression that immigrant and non-migrant groups grew at roughly the same rate during the intercensal period. As the table clearly shows, the number of immigrants born in countries in Northeast Asia grew by almost seven times the average for the total overseas-born population (211.1 percent compared with 31.1 percent). Within the Northeast Asian component, the Korean-born population grew seven times the average for immigrants from this region (Table 5.19).

The impact of immigration on New Zealand's population is not spread evenly across the country: as in other parts of the world it is highly concentrated in particular cities. Auckland has been the favoured initial destination for overseas born immigrants for much of the twentieth century. This preference has been particularly strong for Asian immigrants over the past decade (Bedford and Goodwin, 1997: Bedford, Goodwin, Ho and Lidgard, 1997).

Numerically, the largest group of recent immigrants was the China born females living in Auckland, with China born males in Auckland the second biggest group (2,778 and 2,280) (Table 5.20). The smallest groups numerically were of Chinese men and women born in Hong Kong and living outside of the Auckland metropolitan area (213 and 258 respectively in 1996). Across all four countries in 1996 there were more females than males. The difference was particularly marked in the 30 and 40 year age groups for those born in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Korea suggesting the astronaut family arrangement.

Table 5.20 Number of New Zealand born, total overseas born, Chinese, Korean and total "recent" immigrants, 1991 and 1996 censuses, living in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand, aged 20-49 years

Birthplace	1991				1996			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where
New Zealand	5,913	13,155	6,667	13,805	7,644	17,094	8,091	17,607
Overseas	17,031	17,242	17,474	17,236	22,764	19,905	25,951	21,845
Total	22,944	30,397	24,141	31,041	30,804	37,479	34,419	39,915
China	903	765	777	669	2,280	756	2,778	924
Hong Kong	408	237	558	228	1,266	213	1,824	258
Taiwan	480	69	753	123	930	321	1,539	582
Korea	117	51	126	54	1,977	873	2,226	909
Total 4 NE Asia	1,908	1,122	2,214	1,074	6,453	2,163	8,367	2,675

Source: Unpublished data files prepared by the Customer Services Division of Statistics New Zealand from the 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population and Dwellings

The distribution of the "recent" immigrants by age group and gender across the four Northeast Asian countries shows that there were dramatic increases in numbers in most groups of the Chinese born in China and the Koreans between 1991 and 1996. The increases in the groups of Chinese born in Hong Kong and Taiwan, although substantial, did not show such dramatic rises in numbers (Table 5.21).

Table 5.21 Number of New Zealand born, total overseas born, Chinese, Korean and total “recent” immigrants, 1991 and 1996 censuses, in New Zealand, aged 20-49 years and sex ratios

Birthplace	1991			1996		
	Male	Female	Sex ratio	Male	Female	Sex ratio
New Zealand	19,068	20,472	93.1	24,738	25,698	96.3
Overseas	34,273	34,710	98.7	42,669	47,796	89.3
Total	53,341	55,182	96.7	68,283	74,334	91.9
China	1,668	1,446	115.4	3,036	3,702	82.0
Hong Kong	645	786	82.1	1,479	2,082	71.0
Taiwan	549	876	62.7	1,251	2,121	59.0
Korea	168	180	93.3	2,850	3,135	90.9
Total 4 NEAsia	3,030	3,288	92.2	8,616	11,040	78.0

Source: Unpublished data files prepared by the Customer Services Division of Statistics New Zealand from the 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population and Dwellings

Some selected characteristics of the group of recent immigrants are compared with the 1996 census “established” immigrants (Tables 5.22 and 5.23). The established immigrants were already living in New Zealand five years before the 1996 census and therefore this group includes those who were the “recent” immigrants of the 1991 census who had chosen to stay in New Zealand. The total number of recent immigrants in the 20-49 year age groups is shown in Table 5.22, separated into those living in Auckland and those living elsewhere in New Zealand. Table 5.22 shows that there were two groups who experienced a slight decrease in numbers during this period March 1991 March 1996.

The groups that were numerically smaller in 1996 were both of males, living elsewhere in New Zealand. The first group was the China born 40-49 year old males and the second group, the 25-39 year old men born in Hong Kong. This suggests it was more difficult for recent arrivals in 1996 to find employment outside the main metropolitan area. From Table 5.22 it can be seen that the number of people resident in New Zealand from the four Northeast Asian countries was small prior to 1986 especially from Taiwan and Korea. The largest groups were the males and females born in China and living elsewhere in New Zealand (528 and 603) (Table 5.23).

Table 5.22 Number of Chinese, Korean and total "recent" immigrants, 1991 and 1996 censuses, living in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand, by broad age group and sex

Birthplace Age group	Census							
	1991				1996			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where
China								
20-24	75	105	126	120	120	102	189	117
25-29	222	201	207	213	342	126	660	225
30-39	369	300	258	222	1,353	399	1,308	393
40-49	237	159	186	114	465	129	621	189
20-49	903	765	777	669	2,280	756	2,778	924
Hong Kong								
20-24	87	30	87	33	387	81	366	66
25-29	48	51	69	57	84	15	114	27
30-39	162	108	261	99	261	57	534	99
40-49	111	48	141	39	534	60	810	66
20-49	408	237	558	228	1,266	213	1,824	258
Taiwan								
20-24	21	3	105	24	117	48	213	99
25-29	33	9	48	15	99	36	120	60
30-39	183	18	342	54	261	87	543	183
40-49	243	39	258	30	453	150	663	240
20-49	480	69	753	123	930	321	1,539	582
Korea								
20-24	15	6	15	9	225	129	222	99
25-29	24	3	24	12	219	123	285	153
30-39	45	27	60	21	810	363	1,041	393
40-49	33	15	27	12	723	258	678	264
20-49	117	51	126	54	1,977	873	2,226	909
TOTAL New Zealand								
20-24	3,102	3,519	3,897	4,272	3,777	4,737	4,779	5,991
25-29	5,886	8,184	6,906	9,720	6,018	8,598	8,094	10,959
30-39	9,522	13,194	9,534	12,735	13,563	16,740	14,109	16,542
40-49	4,434	5,500	3,804	4,314	7,446	7,404	7,437	6,423
20-49	22,944	30,397	24,141	31,041	30,804	37,479	34,419	39,915

Source: Unpublished data files prepared by the Customer Services Division of Statistics New Zealand from the 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population and Dwellings

Table 5.23 Number of Chinese, Korean and total "established" immigrants, 1991 and 1996 censuses, living in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand, by broad age group and sex

Birthplace Age group	Census							
	1991				1996			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	
China								
20-24	18	21	21	30	72	75	72	84
25-29	60	54	105	99	117	105	165	135
30-39	183	246	171	243	660	453	615	498
40-49	165	207	144	231	516	450	399	384
20-49	426	528	441	603	1,365	1,083	1,251	1,101
Hong Kong								
20-24	27	42	30	27	234	84	180	54
25-29	30	45	39	27	63	30	48	33
30-39	84	102	108	99	132	114	201	135
40-49	30	42	51	66	213	123	312	135
20-49	171	231	228	219	642	351	741	357
Taiwan								
20-24	3	9	3	6	168	60	174	63
25-29	3	9	3	6	27	3	60	9
30-39	3	6	12	21	66	12	123	30
40-49	3	12	12	6	237	54	378	78
20-49	12	36	30	39	498	129	735	180
Korea								
20-24	3	3	0	9	18	21	15	21
25-29	3	6	0	0	12	12	12	6
30-39	0	9	6	12	48	30	54	36
40-49	9	6	6	9	27	30	42	33
20-49	15	24	12	30	105	93	123	96
TOTAL New Zealand								
20-24	34,602	94,749	34,947	91,998	34,974	91,272	36,090	90,018
25-29	31,653	87,363	32,802	89,838	34,224	83,526	35,646	86,097
30-39	57,351	175,605	61,143	180,135	67,806	183,474	71,553	194,667
40-49	50,967	151,047	53,880	150,144	59,421	171,324	63,252	173,385
20-49	174,573	508,764	182,772	512,115	196,425	529,596	206,541	544,167

Source: Unpublished data files prepared by the Customer Services Division of Statistics New Zealand from the 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population and Dwellings

The smallest groups from the four Northeast Asian countries were the males and females born in Korea living in Auckland (15 and 12) and Taiwan-born males living in Auckland (12) (Table 5.23). New immigrants in 1996 were more concentrated in the main urban areas than their counterparts were in 1986. The new immigrants who were Asian-born (together with the Pacific Island-born) were the most urbanised of the new immigrants with more than 98 percent living in urban areas (Cook, 1997, 30; Bedford and Goodwin, 1997).

The census also revealed differences in the levels of dispersion by birthplace which occurs after the initial settlement. Table 5.23 shows the higher numbers of the “established” migrants from the four Northeast Asian countries that were living elsewhere in New Zealand in 1991. This pattern is in contrast to the “recent” migrants who, as already mentioned, were concentrated in Auckland across both genders and all age groups (Tables 5.20 and 5.22). This suggests that although newly arrived migrants tend to cluster in the major metropolitan area, through time there is a dispersal out from Auckland to other New Zealand localities. Among the established Asian-born population, who were living in New Zealand at the 1991 census, only 52.7 percent were living in the Auckland Urban Area in 1996 (Cook, 1997, 30).

CONCLUSION

The analysis presented in this chapter demonstrates that simple generalisations about the impact of recent net gains on New Zealand’s population structure from countries in Asia are unwise. New Zealand’s population has a highly unstable age-sex composition which makes it necessary to isolate the respective contributions made by on-going structural change and net migration gains and losses for each age group. To establish the relative importance of international migration for population change in particular age groups, structural change and net migration must be assessed in a comparative analysis. This has been done both for total net migration as well as for the net migration of citizens from selected countries in Asia.

The increasing numbers of new settlers from Asia were a direct reflection of the specific policy objective adopted by the New Zealand Government that New Zealand becomes “part of Asia” by the year 2000. Becoming “part of Asia”, however, is requiring some significant shifts in foreign policy,

economic perspective, and cultural awareness. Neither the indigenous Maori population of New Zealand, nor the Pakeha descendants of the Europeans who settled from the early nineteenth century, have ever acknowledged strong historical or cultural links with Asia. As far as Maori are concerned, New Zealand is part of Polynesia. For the Pakeha (New Zealand European), the United Kingdom and countries in continental Europe are where their cultural roots lie (Spoonley and Bedford, 1996b).

Yet from the mid-1980s, and especially since 1991, successive New Zealand governments developed a powerful and persuasive rhetoric about becoming part of Asia. New Zealand's economic future in the twenty-first century was seen to be dependent on the development of much stronger links with the economies of Northeast and Southeast Asia. The establishment of these linkages has been so successful that in 1998, in spite of the Asian economic turmoil, Philip Gibson, the executive director of Asia 2000 said the reality for New Zealand 'was that backing out of Asia was not an option' (Lee, 1998b, D2). The much larger Asian communities resident in New Zealand by 1996 would partly ensure that strong links and continuing population flows were maintained.

Analysis of the 1996 census data confirms that there was a substantial increase in the Asia-born population between 1986 and 1996. The Asian community that recorded the fastest growth during this period was the Korea-born. Recent immigrants born in Asia were more concentrated in the main urban centres than the established overseas-born. As mentioned in Chapter One, these new migrants from Northeast Asia differ in some important aspects from other migrant influxes in recent years. This is not unexpected since the 1986 immigration policy changes gave preference to highly trained people with an urban, educated, middle-class background. These people have come with established careers as professionals and managers and an expectation that they will be able to continue to enjoy the sophisticated urban life-style to which they are accustomed.

The next chapter examines the occupational characteristics of immigrants from Northeast Asia, and the difficulties which recent immigrants from three Northeast Asian countries (Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea) have faced when seeking satisfactory work in New Zealand. Immigrants from China have not been included in the following micro-analysis. It was decided to omit this group from the interview process as it was only in the 1995/1996

years that substantial numbers arrived from the PRC and these were mainly flows of people in their 20s. The likelihood was that many of these young adults were still involved in tertiary education and therefore possibly not likely to stay once they had completed their education. On the other hand the population structure of the arrivals from Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea suggested these nationals were arriving as family groups (Chapter Four) and these national flows were thus a genuine response to the government policy encouraging settler migration.

CHAPTER SIX

The employment and settlement of Northeast Asian migrants in New Zealand in the 1990s

This chapter examines the occupational characteristics of immigrants from Northeast Asia, and the difficulties which recent immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea have faced when seeking satisfactory work in New Zealand. The key issue to be investigated is whether new immigrants from Northeast Asia are succeeding in realising their potential to contribute to the New Zealand economy and society. Or are most discovering that the high hopes with which they arrive are quickly dashed?

Recent micro-level research involving migrants from countries in Northeast Asia suggests that there is a considerable amount of underutilised human capital, in the form of skilled immigrants, who have arrived in New Zealand since the points system was introduced (Boyer, 1996; Department of Internal Affairs, 1996; Friesen and Ip, 1997; Ho, Bedford and Goodwin, 1996; Ho, Goodwin, Bedford and Spragg, 1997; Ho, Chen, Kim and Young, 1996; Lidgard, 1996). As mentioned in Chapter Three, the underlying intention of the policy changes, especially since 1991, has been to ensure that immigration complemented the Government's social and economic goals (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1995a and 1995b). The assumption has been that immigration of skilled, innovative and wealthy migrants will promote economic growth. Part of the problem in the mid 1990s has been that although immigration stimulated "growth" in residential sub-divisions, growth in the building industry, growth in property speculation and growth in school rolls, it was not necessarily the kind of growth that the government had anticipated or wanted.

Since October 1995, the goal has been explicitly to achieve 'Economic Growth With Social Cohesion' (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1995b, 3). However, there have as yet been no systems put in place to monitor the effectiveness of immigration policy in achieving its stated objectives. The evidence to date suggests that the impact of the policy changes were not fully appreciated or prepared for and hence have created a pool of highly skilled

and experienced unemployed migrants, which is fostering social disintegration rather than cohesion (National Business Review, 1994 and 1995).

A mix of quantitative and qualitative methods are used in this chapter as: ‘One important strategy for conducting evaluation research is to employ multiple strategies’ (Patton, 1980, 109). The quantitative approach ‘gives a broad, generalisable set of findings presented succinctly and parsimoniously’ (Patton, 1990, 14). The quantitative or statistical data has been sourced from special tables provided by Statistics New Zealand drawing on information collected in the 1996 Census of Population and Dwellings.

The qualitative method, in contrast, produces ‘a wealth of detailed information about a much smaller number of people and cases. This increases understanding of the cases and situations studied’ (Patton, 1990, 14). The interviews held in Hamilton and Auckland and the school survey conducted in Auckland provide the qualitative data. A brief outline of the selection procedures and ethical issues associated with the cross-cultural interviews are presented in this chapter. A more detailed account of the issues relating to survey and interview studies is included in Appendix B.

The occupational characteristics of the recent immigrants from Northeast Asia are examined from two perspectives. The first seeks to establish which occupation groups and industrial sectors in the New Zealand labour force have been most affected by immigration from Northeast Asia. This is achieved by using both macro and micro-level research techniques. The macro-level data from the census are complemented with a micro-level in-depth interview study.

The second establishes how well some of these recent immigrants from Northeast Asia have been able to use their qualifications and work experience since arriving in this country to settle. These people entered New Zealand in response to the government policy quest in 1987 for immigrants with the potential to contribute to economic growth. An attempt was made to cover as many different family type combinations as possible. One reason for this “family” focus, was the concern being expressed in New Zealand in 1995 with “absentee” adults. Phenomena known as the “astronaut” family and “parachute kids” have been identified in contemporary migration flows from countries in Northeast Asia (Skeldon, 1994a). Both of these practices involve the return to the country of origin of at least one adult after settlement in the

new country. Also considered are the type of international family linkages established that extend the family resource base of those families interviewed.

To study the occupational characteristics, this chapter is arranged in two major sections. Although small group surveys provide interesting perspectives on issues, they are not representative. Therefore, before the findings of the survey conducted for this thesis are presented, the census data are analysed to provide a statistical context for the interview group.

In the first section, a cross-sectional perspective on the occupation and employment status of the new Asian settlers is provided by the analysis of census data. Data obtained from the 1991 and 1996 censuses are used to provide information on employment status, occupation, and major industry characteristics of “recent” immigrants and “established” immigrants aged between 20 and 49 years, from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Korea. The basic population sub-groups identified are the “recent” immigrants and the “established” immigrants defined in Chapter Five and the tables that have been created for this analysis are based on the same census questions as used for the tables in the previous chapter. The data from the 1991 census is also included as the recent migrants at this time make up the bulk of the established migrants surveyed five years later.

The second section begins by presenting some of the practical and ethical issues involved in designing and conducting a cross-cultural series of interviews. The experiences of the group involved in the survey are then reviewed to provide a “qualitative” dimension to the “quantitative” analysis of the employment characteristics in 1996 of the immigrants from Northeast Asia. The 42 interviewed were a small segment of the almost 75,000 new settlers who arrived from Northeast Asia between 1 April 1986 and 31 March 1996. These interviews, conducted in Auckland and Hamilton in late 1995 and early 1996, with people whose country of origin was Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea, provide valuable insights into the barriers the migrants have faced when seeking employment in New Zealand. A further survey, providing data of relevance for this discussion, was a questionnaire completed by 124 Chinese and Korean parents of immigrant school children in Auckland, conducted by the migration study group at the University of Waikato (Ho and Lidgard, 1998). This survey was carried out as part of a larger study on the educational and occupational aspirations of 500 East Asian adolescents (Ho, Chen, Kim and Young, 1996).

The experiences of the interview participants and questionnaire respondents are also compared with the experiences of the respondents in a survey conducted by the Department of Internal Affairs (1996). The report on this survey, *High Hopes: A Survey of Qualifications, Training and Employment Issues for Recent Immigrants in New Zealand*, was based on information received from a postal questionnaire completed by 500 recent immigrants. A group of 12 were selected from these 500, for in-depth interviews (Barnard, 1996). Three other recent studies of relevance have been conducted by staff and students of Auckland University. The first two studies involved members of the Taiwanese community. One was a study of 220 Taiwanese business immigrants by Dr Doren Chadee (1995), and the other was conducted by Tania Boyer (1995) for her Masters thesis. The third study, by Ward Friesen and Manying Ip (1997), involved the Chinese community and the conclusions were drawn from a postal questionnaire answered by 375 Chinese immigrants who had arrived in New Zealand between 1986 and 1996.

The first section begins with an assessment of information collected in the 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population and Dwellings on aspects of employment recorded amongst “recent” and “established” immigrants aged between 20 and 49 years, of Chinese and Korean ethnicity as defined in Chapter Five. The data refer to the populations which were usually resident in New Zealand on 4 March 1991 and the 5 March 1996.

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND OCCUPATION: A CROSS-SECTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

This discussion is based on responses to questions on three census topics. The first considers the employment status, the second occupation groups and the third the industrial sectors of the labour force in which immigrants from the four countries in Northeast Asia were working. These groups are differentiated by age and sex, and by location in Auckland or elsewhere in New Zealand. The reason for the locality differentiation is that half of the survey respondents, discussed in the second part of the chapter, came from outside Auckland, that is from Hamilton.

Employment status

Wage and salary earners, the self-employed and the unemployed are the major employment statuses recorded by the Chinese and Korean “recent” and “established” immigrants in New Zealand. The self-employed group includes the combined numbers of those who work for themselves without any employees and those who are self-employed and employ others, in other words the “employer” group. The percentages given in the following tables have been derived for each age group and exclude the “not specified” category. As mentioned in Chapter One, the incidence of “not specified” cases is much higher in the 1996 census than it was in the 1991 census. Therefore it was considered advisable to calculate the 1996 percentages using the total minus the “not specified”, so that where appropriate, comparisons could be made between the two periods.

Wage and salary earners

Amongst the Chinese and Korean recent immigrant groups the highest proportion of those recording an employment status were wage and salary earners (Table 6.1). In 1991, over half of the China, Hong Kong and Korean born new settlers worked for a salary or wage, but in all cases the proportion earning a salary or wage was below the percentage for the age group for the country as a whole (Table 6.1). In general there was a higher incidence of wage and salary earners outside of the Auckland area (the exception being males from Hong Kong in 1996).

Table 6.1 Percentages of Chinese, Korean and total “recent” immigrants who were wage and salary earners, 1991 and 1996 censuses, aged 20-49 years, living in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand

Birthplace	1991				1996			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where
China	69.3	76.6	72.9	63.6	50.9	60.6	51.6	57.4
Hong Kong	60.2	68.8	68.7	70.0	45.8	43.8	52.3	68.2
Taiwan	18.3	--	32.6	--	32.1	32.3	39.3	37.0
Korea	71.4	64.7	100.0	45.5	31.5	33.7	26.7	31.7
Total New Zealand	71.5	72.9	77.7	77.0	65.7	71.9	70.3	75.2

Note: -- Proportions not given where numbers are less than 10

Source: Unpublished data files prepared by the Customer Services Division of Statistics New Zealand from the 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population and Dwellings

The two groups that recorded the highest percentages in wage and salary employment in the 1991 census were both born in China. The men living elsewhere in New Zealand had the highest proportions (76.6) which was 3.7 percentage points higher than the national average for recent immigrants, and the women living in Auckland the second highest (72.9) (Table 6.1). The exception to high proportions in wage and salary employment was the group from Taiwan in the 20-49 year age group, who were more heavily represented in the self-employed category (Table 6.1).

Of interest is the group of Chinese women born in Hong Kong living elsewhere in New Zealand who had the highest percentages in waged employment across the four countries in 1996. In 1991, this group of women had a slightly higher proportion in waged employment than the group of women living in Auckland, although the groups were numerically similar. Compared with the 1991 groups there was a substantial drop in the percentage of those earning a wage or salary in the 1996 groups both for the four ethnic groups and for the population as a whole (Table 6.1). The group with the highest proportion earning a wage or salary in 1991, the males born in China and living outside the Auckland area, had dropped 16 percentage points in the five years, while the proportion of those living in Auckland dropped by 18 percentage points (Table 6.1). Thus it is expected that there may be both rising levels of self-employment and unemployment in 1996 compared to 1991.

When the proportion of wage and salary earners among the “established” immigrants was examined the group that had the highest proportion earning wages or a salary was the women born in Hong Kong living in Auckland in 1991. This group had more than 60 percent in waged employment in 1996 as well and those living elsewhere in New Zealand also had just over 60 percent earning wages in 1996 (Table 6.2). There is a drop in the proportion of the “established” Hong Kong born in waged employment across both genders and all locations between 1991 and 1996 which is the reverse of the trend for the population as a whole and for those born in China (Table 6.2). The exception is the 12.7 percent increase for women born in Hong Kong working for wages outside the Auckland area.

Table 6.2 Percentages of Chinese, Korean and total “established” immigrants, who were wage and salary earners, 1991 and 1996 censuses, aged 20-49 years, living in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand

Birthplace	1991				1996			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where
China	48.3	40.5	53.0	36.1	54.0	42.1	57.3	41.4
Hong Kong	59.6	56.1	67.3	48.1	54.8	54.4	61.8	60.8
Taiwan	--	44.4	--	40.0	29.3	38.5	42.9	37.9
Korea	--	--	--	--	41.7	45.0	45.8	35.3
Total New Zealand	68.0	68.0	80.1	77.0	77.9	74.9	80.6	76.2

Note: -- Proportions not given where numbers are less than 10

Source: Unpublished data files prepared by the Customer Services Division of Statistics New Zealand from the 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population and Dwellings

A comparison between the recent and established immigrants in waged and salaried employment is given in Table 6.3. The lower proportion earning wages or a salary in the established immigrants compared to the recent immigrants from China, occurs for both male and female, living elsewhere in New Zealand, in 1996 with the exception of the 25-29 year old women (Table 6.3). It was the reverse for those living in Auckland with all age groups of established immigrants born in China recording a higher proportion in waged employment in 1996 than their recently arrived counterparts. The established China born also had lower proportions in waged employment than the newly arrived across all localities and both genders in 1991 suggesting that with increasing familiarity with the country and its customs more move into self-employment. This is in contrast to the immigrant population as a whole where the only group to show lower proportions in wage and salary employment, amongst the established immigrants compared to the recent immigrants, is the 25-39 year old females and the older males (30-49 year age group) living outside the Auckland metropolitan area (Table 6.3).

Across age groups, those in their 20s and 30s had higher percentages in waged and salaried employment than those in their 40s (Table 6.3). The small numbers of those from Taiwan and particularly Korea in these “established” groups (Table 6.3) mean that generalisations are not particularly meaningful for these groups.

Table 6.3 Percentages of Chinese, Korean and total "recent" and "established" immigrants, who were wage and salary earners, aged 20-49 years, living in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand, 1996 census

Birthplace Age group	Census							
	Recent				Established			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where
China								
20-24	55.6	57.1	66.7	70.0	60.0	52.9	73.7	52.9
25-29	55.6	66.7	55.0	48.6	60.6	51.9	62.9	54.5
30-39	51.3	60.0	48.7	56.5	53.8	45.7	50.8	37.3
40-49	44.6	58.3	50.6	62.1	47.6	32.6	53.8	36.9
20-49	50.9	60.6	51.6	57.4	54.0	42.1	57.3	41.4
Hong Kong								
20-24	57.9	--	47.4	--	56.0	66.7	69.6	66.7
25-29	61.5	0	64.7	--	64.7	85.7	71.4	100.0
30-39	61.2	54.5	56.3	55.6	56.8	51.4	59.5	63.3
40-49	32.2	40.0	47.7	63.6	47.5	41.5	55.0	51.4
20-49	45.8	43.8	52.3	68.2	54.8	54.4	61.8	60.8
Taiwan								
20-24	--	--	50.0	--	47.1	80.0	55.6	--
25-29	55.6	--	60.0	--	--	--	70.0	--
30-39	38.6	--	38.2	--	37.5	--	40.0	--
40-49	23.1	28.6	31.3	33.3	16.3	--	28.2	33.3
20-49	32.1	32.3	39.3	37.0	29.3	38.5	42.9	37.9
Korea								
20-24	40.0	--	28.6	--	--	--	--	--
25-29	46.2	--	44.4	46.2	--	0	--	0
30-39	38.7	37.7	28.2	32.0	55.6	50.0	60.0	--
40-49	19.6	22.9	18.5	20.0	--	--	--	--
40-49	31.5	33.7	26.7	31.7	41.7	45.0	45.8	35.3
TOTAL New Zealand								
20-24	73.3	73.8	73.3	75.5	84.0	81.9	86.8	82.2
25-29	74.0	76.1	79.4	81.4	80.4	78.6	84.7	80.0
30-39	66.3	72.4	68.3	73.7	70.6	68.3	77.7	73.1
40-49	54.7	64.9	60.0	67.1	62.1	60.8	77.9	74.9
20-49	65.7	71.9	70.3	75.2	77.9	74.9	80.6	76.2

Note: -- Proportions not given where numbers are less than 10

Source: Unpublished data files prepared by the Customer Services Division of Statistics New Zealand from the 1996 Census of Population and Dwellings

Self-employment

It can be seen in Tables 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6 that self-employment is an important employment status group for the Chinese and Korean immigrants compared with the labour force for New Zealand as a whole. There are two reasons for this. First, as will be shown later in this chapter when the interview data are discussed, many recent immigrants from Northeast Asia have found it difficult to obtain waged employment in New Zealand. Second, the government actively recruited immigrants with business experience and funds in the hope that migrants would establish their own enterprises and thus contribute to employment generation.

Across the four migrant groups the highest levels of self-employment amongst recent immigrants was found in the group from Taiwan in the 1991 census followed by the Koreans in the 1996 census (Table 6.4). This pattern reflects the initial difficulties that new arrivals face in gaining wage and salary employment and the initial establishment of unprofitable “face-saving” small business enterprises. Levels of self-employment amongst recent migrants had fallen by 1996 for migrants from all four countries although the levels of self-employment for the total New Zealand immigrant population remained relatively unchanged (Table 6.4). Generally levels of self-employment were higher in the Auckland region than elsewhere in New Zealand.

Table 6.4 Percentages of Chinese, Korean and total “recent” immigrants, who were self-employed, 1991 and 1996 censuses, aged 20-49 years, living in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand

Birthplace	1991				1996			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where
China	20.6	16.3	13.2	22.5	11.0	10.2	8.3	13.5
Hong Kong	30.1	18.7	19.4	12.5	28.5	37.5	21.4	18.2
Taiwan	64.8	66.7	37.2	50.0	33.9	25.8	19.0	25.9
Korea	--	29.4	--	36.4	39.8	31.6	32.3	27.0
Total New Zealand	16.5	15.5	8.3	8.8	17.3	16.5	10.2	9.7

Note: -- Proportions not given where numbers are less than 10

Source: Unpublished data files prepared by the Customer Services Division of Statistics New Zealand from the 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population and Dwellings

When the “established” immigrant groups are considered (Table 6.5) this trend towards higher levels of self-employment in Auckland is reversed for both the China and Hong Kong-born. Although Auckland may be the first city within which a business is set-up, following longer periods of residence and increasing familiarity with local business practice, it appears that higher proportions are prepared to set up business outside of the Auckland area.

Table 6.5 Percentage of Chinese, Korean and total “established” immigrants, who were self-employed, 1991 and 1996 censuses, aged 20-49 years, living in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand

Birthplace	1991				1996			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where
China	45.0	52.5	41.0	53.1	30.7	44.9	27.0	43.3
Hong Kong	34.6	36.3	22.4	42.3	32.6	35.6	24.3	27.8
Taiwan	--	44.4	0	--	42.7	38.5	29.7	20.6
Korea	--	--	0	0	45.9	40.0	37.5	23.5
Total New Zealand	21.8	21.9	9.3	11.1	21.7	21.9	10.7	12.0

Note: -- Proportions not given where numbers are less than 10

Source: Unpublished data files prepared by the Customer Services Division of Statistics New Zealand from the 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population and Dwellings

The highest levels of self-employment were, as expected, in the older age groups, with low levels of self-employment amongst those in their 20s (Table 6.6). When a comparison is made between the level of self-employment amongst the recent and established immigrants, in general across all four ethnic groups, and the immigrant population as a whole, levels are higher among the established immigrants. The only exception to this trend is in the small groups of women from Taiwan and Korea who are living outside the Auckland metropolitan area (Table 6.6). Clearly, although self-employment may be an initial necessity, it appears to become more manageable once newcomers become increasingly familiar with local business practice and customs. The higher level of self-employment among the 25-29 year old established immigrants born in China, suggest that family support and network linkages may have made self-employment an option for these younger people.

Table 6.6 Percentages of Chinese, Korean and total "recent" and "established" immigrants, who were self-employed, 1996 census, aged 20-49 years, living in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand

Birthplace Age group	Census							
	Recent				Established			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where
China								
20-24	--	--	--	--	--	--	0	--
25-29	--	--	3.7	16.2	21.2	33.3	25.7	33.3
30-39	8.4	9.3	7.6	14.5	27.7	38.0	27.3	43.2
40-49	26.5	16.7	18.2	13.7	35.2	54.1	29.0	47.6
20-49	11.0	10.2	8.3	13.5	30.7	44.9	27.0	43.3
Hong Kong								
20-24	--	--	--	--	--	--	0	--
25-29	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0
30-39	22.5	45.5	25.0	--	40.5	34.3	28.6	26.7
40-49	37.9	40.0	26.2	--	42.3	46.3	30	37.2
20-49	28.5	37.5	21.4	18.2	32.6	35.6	24.3	27.8
Taiwan								
20-24	--	--	--	--	--	0	0	0
25-29	--	--	--	--	--	--	0	--
30-39	27.3	--	20.6	57.1	37.6	--	40.0	--
40-49	42.3	50.0	21.9	--	53.1	69.3	43.6	--
20-49	33.9	25.8	19.0	25.9	42.7	38.5	29.7	20.6
Korea								
20-24	--	--	--	--	--	--	0	0
25-29	--	--	14.8	--	0	--	--	0
30-39	35.2	30.2	31.8	24.0	44.4	33.4	--	--
40-49	53.2	40.0	43.2	36.0	62.5	50.0	50.0	--
40-49	39.8	31.6	32.3	27.0	45.9	40.0	37.5	23.5
TOTAL New Zealand								
20-24	5.0	5.4	5.0	2.4	5.1	4.1	2.1	2.4
25-29	12.8	13.2	6.4	6.9	11.9	11.3	5.5	6.9
30-39	17.7	18.0	11.2	11.8	23.3	23.6	12.9	14.1
40-49	24.5	21.5	16.1	15.1	32.5	32.1	15.2	15.9
20-49	17.3	16.5	10.2	9.7	21.7	21.9	10.7	12.0

Note: -- Proportions not given where numbers are less than 10

Source: Unpublished data files prepared by the Customer Services Division of Statistics New Zealand from the 1996 Census of Population and Dwellings

As mentioned, the self-employed group is made up of two sub-groups - those who work by themselves for themselves and those who have established a business that employs other workers. The employer group has not been separated out for this analysis for all age groups as the numbers are small. The incidence of “self-employed with employees” was highest amongst the 40-49 year age group born in Hong Kong and Taiwan and living outside the Auckland area and for those born in Korea in the same age group living in Auckland. These employers have been separated out in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7 shows the proportions in the 40-49 year age group who are employers in the four Northeast Asian countries compared with the New Zealand born, the total overseas born and the population as a whole. The self-employed group that had the highest proportion as employers were the Korean men, established in New Zealand and living outside the Auckland area - 67 percent compared to the national average of 15 percent (Table 6.7). The recently arrived Korean men and women also had at least 15 percent as employers but these recently arrived employers were all living in Auckland.

Table 6.7 Percentages of Chinese, Korean and total “recent” and “established” immigrants who were employers, 1996 census, aged 40-49 years, living in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand

Birthplace	Males				Birthplace	Females			
	Auckland		Elsewhere in New Zealand			Auckland		Elsewhere in New Zealand	
	Rec	Estab	Rec	Estab		Rec	Estab	Rec	Estab
N Zealand	8	17	7	16	N Zealand	3	7	4	7
Overseas	7	10	7	12	Overseas	5	5	7	7
Total	7	15	7	15	Total	4	6	4	7
China	6	13	--	24	China	--	8	--	18
Hong Kong	9	23	--	21	Hong Kong	6	12	0	14
Taiwan	15	22	--	--	Taiwan	--	16	0	0
Korea	18	--	--	67	Korea	15	--	--	--

Note: -- Proportions not given where numbers are less than 10

Source: Unpublished data files prepared by the Customer Services Division of Statistics New Zealand from the 1996 Census of Population and Dwellings

Established immigrants born in Hong Kong and Taiwan also had above the national average in the employer category. The difference between the two groups was that while the Hong Kong born were more widely spread throughout New Zealand with similar proportions of employers in both

Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand, the Taiwanese employers were concentrated in Auckland for both the established and recent immigrants.

There seems to be three distinctive patterns emerging with regard to self-employment. First, there is the trend for the established migrants from China, Hong Kong and Korea to set up a business outside of the Auckland area while the Taiwanese remain concentrated in Auckland. Second, there is the decline in self-employment across all age groups for those arriving from China. This decline in self-employment corresponds with rising levels of unemployment (Table 6.8). Third, as already seen, the Taiwanese and Koreans have the highest proportions in self-employment both among the recent and the established migrants. Some of these differences can be explained with reference to the occupation and industry group but first the figures for unemployment are examined in Tables 6.8 and 6.9.

Unemployment

There has been a much greater increase in the incidence of unemployment amongst the recent immigrants than for the population as a whole between 1991 and 1996 (Table 6.8). As suggested above by the falling numbers from China in self-employment, the China-born are the group which has experienced the largest rise in unemployment.

Table 6.8 Percentages of Chinese, Korean and total "recent" immigrants, who were unemployed, 1991 and 1996 censuses, aged 20-49 years, living in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand

Birthplace	1991				1996			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where
China	9.0	4.1	10.1	8.5	35.8	27.7	37.4	22.3
Hong Kong	7.2	7.8	7.5	12.5	20.2	9.4	18.1	9.1
Taiwan	7.0	0	14.0	0	28.4	32.3	28.6	33.3
Korea	0	--	0	--	23.0	26.3	26.7	27.0
Total New Zealand	11.3	10.9	12.4	12.3	15.6	10.0	17.0	11.5

Note: -- Proportions not given where numbers are less than 10

Source: Unpublished data files prepared by the Customer Services Division of Statistics New Zealand from the 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population and Dwellings

Across the four Northeast Asian countries all have shown increasing percentages of unemployed with China recording the highest levels of unemployment in Auckland followed by those in their 30s and 40s from Taiwan and Korea. Unlike the Chinese, born in China and Hong Kong, both the Taiwanese and Korean men and women had higher levels of unemployment in New Zealand localities outside of Auckland. The lowest rates of unemployment in the four countries were found in the established immigrants for both males and females born in Hong Kong and females born in China living elsewhere in New Zealand (Table 6.9).

Among the recent immigrant population from all sources, the rates of unemployment were, as expected, substantially higher than for the established immigrant population (Table 6.9). The ethnic group that showed the largest difference in unemployment in the established immigrants, in contrast to their counterparts who were recent arrivals, was those born in China, both males and females living both in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand (Table 6.9).

Table 6.9 Percentages of Chinese, Korean and total “recent” and “established” immigrants, who were unemployed, 1996 census, aged 20-49 years, living in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand

Birthplace	Census							
	Recent				Established			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	Auck land	Else where	
China	35.8	27.7	37.4	22.3	11.4	6.7	9.4	5.3
Hong Kong	20.2	9.4	18.1	9.1	8.9	5.6	8.1	5.1
Taiwan	28.4	32.3	28.6	33.3	14.6	--	16.7	17.2
Korea	23.0	26.3	26.7	27.0	--	--	--	35.3
Total New Zealand	15.6	10.0	17.0	11.5	5.6	6.9	6.8	7.8

Note: -- Proportions not given where numbers are less than 10

Source: Unpublished data files prepared by the Customer Services Division of Statistics New Zealand from the 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population and Dwellings

There is a higher proportion unemployed in the recent immigrant population compared with the established immigrant population especially for males in Auckland (Table 6.9). This indicates that immigrant groups from Northeast

Asia are hit hard in tough economic times. This has also been found in Australia where a recent study titled *Loyalty is a One Way Street, NESB Immigrants and Long-Term Unemployment* found that ‘compared with workers who were born in Australia, the long-term unemployed rate for migrants with non-English-speaking backgrounds deteriorated significantly between 1978 and 1995’ (*New Zealand Herald*, 10 October 1997, A12).

Occupation

The occupation distribution of recent immigrants has been considered for the whole 20-49 year age group, as the numbers are very small in some of the age groups when they are spread across nine occupation groups and divided between Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand. The number whose occupation was not defined and the total number in each of the age groups is given in the table (Table 6.10). The percentage distribution has been calculated on the total minus the “not specified” category as it was for the employment status tables.

The country that has workers spread across most of the occupation groups is China in both 1991 and 1996, with the largest percentages in the sales and service worker category (Table 6.10). In 1991, there were only a few hundred Korea-born people living in New Zealand. By 1996, with the numbers rising dramatically to several thousand Korea-born in the labour force, the workers especially the males, were spread widely through the occupation categories (Table 6.10).

However, unlike the China-born, the Korea-born had the largest concentration of people in the administrator and managerial category although the sales and service worker category had the second largest proportion of the Korea-born. The Chinese born in Hong Kong and Taiwan had the largest proportion of professionals. Although quite high proportions of the professional category from both Hong Kong and Taiwan lived in the Auckland region, larger proportions of those in the professional category were living elsewhere in New Zealand. A substantially higher percentage of the Hong Kong-born males, living outside the Auckland area in both 1991 and 1996, were professionals (Table 6.10). In fact, male professionals from all four countries had higher proportions living elsewhere in New Zealand. In the survey group, discussed later in this chapter, the only male professional interviewed working in his profession was Hong Kong-born and living in Hamilton.

Table 6.10 Occupation distributions for Chinese and Korean recent immigrants aged 20 to 49 years, 1991 and 1996 censuses, living in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand

Birthplace/ Occupation	Census							
	1991				1996			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Ak	Else	Ak	Else	Ak	Else	Ak	Else
China								
Legislators, administrators, managers	15.6	6.4	8.3	9.9	14.0	8.1	8.0	16.2
Professionals	7.3	4.3	8.3	4.5	8.5	16.2	5.3	7.7
Technicians and associate professionals	11.2	8.0	6.7	--	12.6	10.1	9.2	8.5
Clerks	--	--	7.5	--	6.1	--	11.1	3.4
Service and sales	34.6	54.5	24.2	41.4	21.5	43.4	23.7	28.2
Agriculture and fishery workers	2.2	13.4	3.3	8.1	1.4	8.1	--	5.1
Trades workers	13.4	5.3	--	--	11.6	--	3.4	--
Plant and machine operators/assemblers	8.9	2.7	30.8	21.6	10.2	--	24.8	20.5
Elementary	5.6	4.3	8.3	8.1	14	7.1	13.7	7.7
<i>(Number Not defined)</i>	18	15	9	6	123	57	132	57
Total number (-Not Spec)	537	561	360	333	879	297	786	351
Percent of total number in age group stating an occupation	59%	73%	46%	50%	39%	39%	28%	38%
Hong Kong								
Legislators, administrators, managers	31.4	14.8	15.8	20.0	27.9	21.7	18.4	25.9
Professionals	12.9	29.5	15.8	17.1	11.6	39.1	13.2	--
Technicians and associate professionals	14.3	8.2	12.3	--	20.2	21.7	9.6	22.2
Clerks	--	--	21.1	17.1	7.8	0	27.2	14.8
Service and sales	24.3	29.5	19.3	22.9	14.7	--	15.8	14.8
Agriculture and fishery workers	0	--	0	0	--	0	--	--
Trades workers	10.0	6.6	0	--	6.2	--	0	--
Plant and machine operators/assemblers	5.7	--	15.8	14.3	7.0	0	9.6	0
Elementary	0	--	0	--	3.9	0	4.4	--
<i>(Number Not defined)</i>	6	3	3	15	48	15	69	9
Total number (-Not Spec)	210	183	171	105	387	69	342	81
Percent of total number in age group stating an occupation	51%	77%	31%	46%	31%	32%	19%	31%

Table 6.10 Continued

Birthplace/ Occupation	Census							
	1991				1996			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Ak	Else	Ak	Else	Ak	Else	Ak	Else
Taiwan								
Legislators, administrators, managers	55.7	26.7	42.4	--	32.9	25.9	15.7	--
Professionals	--	--	0	--	15.7	22.2	11.8	36.8
Technicians and associate professionals	16.4	--	--	0	28.6	--	21.6	--
Clerks	0	--	21.2	--	5.7	--	27.5	--
Service and sales	11.5	--	18.2	--	8.6	--	9.8	31.6
Agriculture and fishery workers	--	--	--	--	5.7	--	--	--
Trades workers	6.6	--	--	0	--	--	--	0
Plant and machine operators/assemblers	--	--	--	0	0	--	--	0
Elementary	--	--	--	0	0	0	--	0
<i>(Number Not defined)</i>	3	3	3	0	63	30	78	30
Total number (-Not Spec)	183	45	99	27	210	81	153	57
Percent of total number in age group stating an occupation	38%	65%	13%	22%	23%	25%	10%	10%
Korea								
Legislators, administrators, managers	--	35.7	0	--	36.8	30.4	31.2	21.4
Professionals	--	--	0	--	7.9	10.1	7.8	--
Technicians and associate professionals	--	--	0	--	13.8	7.2	8.4	--
Clerks	0	0	0	--	2.8	5.8	11.7	--
Service and sales	0	0	--	--	19.8	20.3	29.2	35.7
Agriculture and fishery workers	0	--	0	0	3.6	10.1	3.2	19.0
Trades workers	--	--	0	0	5.9	--	--	0
Plant and machine operators/assemblers	--	--	--	--	4.7	5.8	5.2	0
Elementary	--	--	0	0	4.7	5.8	--	--
<i>(Number Not defined)</i>	0	0	3	0	147	78	135	57
Total number (-Not Spec)	24	42	12	21	759	207	462	126
Percent of total number in age group stating an occupation	21%	82%	10%	39%	38%	24%	21%	14%

Note: -- Proportions not given where numbers are less than 10

Source: Unpublished data files prepared by the Customer Services Division of Statistics New Zealand from the 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population and Dwellings

In the technician and associate professional categories, however, the position was reversed for all countries except Hong Kong where a slightly higher proportion in this category were working outside the Auckland area in 1996. For the other three countries Auckland was the centre for this group of workers particularly for the Taiwan-born, both male and female, where the numbers elsewhere in New Zealand were so small that percentages would be misleading.

Some other points of interest were the high proportion of clerks amongst the Hong Kong and Taiwan-born females in both 1991 and 1996 compared to the women from China and Korea (Table 6.10). The Taiwanese in this category were almost exclusively in Auckland whereas the China-born, although more concentrated in Auckland, were also in this occupation elsewhere in New Zealand. Women born in China also had higher proportions in the plant and machine operators category than women born in the other three countries. The proportions in Auckland in this category were slightly higher than elsewhere in New Zealand.

Korean men and women and the China-born, especially in 1991, had small proportions working in agriculture and fisheries. The proportions in this category were understandably higher outside the Auckland area. Only China-born recent immigrants reported an elementary occupation, in both 1991 and 1996, while in 1996 only the Taiwan-born had virtually none in this category (Table 6.10). In comparison the Hong Kong and especially the Taiwan-born had very few or no workers in agriculture and fisheries, trades, plant and machine operators and elementary occupations (Table 6.10).

In summary, it should be noted that in 1996 only small proportions of men and women in the recent immigrant category stated an occupation. The group with the highest representation in the occupation category was the China-born males (39 percent) in both Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand. The group with the lowest representation (10 percent) in 1996 was women from Taiwan both in and outside Auckland. In 1991, there was a greater range in representation. Ten percent is the lowest representation - this time for Korea-born females in Auckland compared with 82 percent representation for the Korea-born males living elsewhere in New Zealand (Table 6.10). This variable rate of representation of recent immigrants in the occupation groups needs to be taken into account when any generalisations are made or inferred about employment experiences of recent Asian immigrants.

Industry

The distributions of the four Northeast Asian recent migrant groups across the major industrial sectors are shown in Table 6.11. As was the case with the occupation groups, the China and Korea-born were more evenly distributed across the industrial groups in 1996 than the Hong Kong or Taiwan-born. However, all four migrant groups, by census and gender, had the highest percentage of their 20-49 year old workers employed in the wholesale, retail and restaurant sector.

In 1991, it is interesting to note that at least 50 percent of the Chinese males from Hong Kong, Taiwan and China, living in Auckland, were in the wholesale, retail and restaurant sector. For both the men and women born in China the proportion in this sector was even higher elsewhere in New Zealand (Table 6.11). In 1996, the same pattern is present for those born in China, although the proportions in this wholesale, retail and restaurant industrial group were ten percentage points lower. The industrial sectors that gained more of the China-born in 1996 were manufacturing and community, social and personal services.

Business and financial services was the industrial sector where the second largest proportion of people born in Hong Kong and Taiwan were located. For the Hong Kong-born this industrial activity had higher proportions involved in Auckland whereas for the Taiwanese, both male and female, the higher proportions in this industry were outside the Auckland area (Table 6.11). Korean men in 1996, both in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand, were the only group to have at least 10 percent in the transport, storage and communications sector. Small numbers of China and Korea-born were employed in the agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing industries with, as expected, the higher percentages employed outside the Auckland area.

These differences in distributions of Chinese and Korean recent immigrants across occupations and industries show that if simple generalisations about their employment experiences are made they could be misleading. While it is clear that most of the recent immigrants from Northeast Asia were concentrated in the more skilled occupations and in industrial sectors where “white collar” work predominates, there were considerable numbers working in less skilled occupations at the time of the 1996 census. This suggests that many of the highly skilled who came to New Zealand after the introduction of the points system in 1991 were under-employed.

Table 6.11 Employment by industrial sector of Chinese and Korean recent immigrants aged 20 to 49 years, 1991 and 1996 censuses, living in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand

Birthplace/ Industry	Census							
	1991				1996			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Ak	Else	Ak	Else	Ak	Else	Ak	Else
China								
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	--	13.9	--	8.6	1.4	5.7	1.6	4.7
Mining and quarrying	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0
Manufacturing	22.2	8.6	35.5	25.9	27.6	12.3	38.1	28.3
Electricity, gas and water	0	--	0	--	0	0	0	0
Building and construction	2.3	--	0	0	3.2	--	0	--
Wholesale, retail and restaurants	51.1	64.2	41.8	56.0	40.6	55.7	35.8	46.2
Transport, storage and communication	--	--	--	0	2.8	--	2.7	0
Business and financial services	11.4	2.1	7.3	--	11.3	6.6	9.3	5.7
Community, social and personal services	10.2	8.0	12.7	6.0	13.1	17.9	12.5	13.2
<i>(Number not specified)</i>	27	9	18	9	132	66	141	63
Total number (-Not Spec)	528	561	330	348	849	318	771	318
Percent of total number in age group not stating an industry	58%	73%	42%	52%	37%	42%	28%	34%
Hong Kong								
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	0	--	0	0	--	0	--	0
Mining and quarrying	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Manufacturing	8.7	9.4	17.5	17.9	14.5	--	11.5	--
Electricity, gas and water	0	--	0	0	--	--	0	0
Building and construction	0	--	0	0	3.2	--	0	--
Wholesale, retail and restaurants	52.2	45.3	49.1	41.0	37.9	24.1	31.9	36.4
Transport, storage and communication	--	--	--	0	--	--	--	--
Business and financial services	23.2	12.5	14.0	10.3	23.4	17.2	30.1	--
Community, social and personal services	14.5	23.4	15.8	30.8	14.5	37.9	21.2	27.3
<i>(Number not specified)</i>	15	0	9	0	51	24	72	6
Total number (-Not Spec)	207	192	171	117	372	87	339	66
Percent of total number in age group not stating an industry	51%	81%	31%	51%	29%	41%	19%	26%

Table 6.11 Continued

Birthplace/ Industry	Census							
	1991				1996			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Ak	Else	Ak	Else	Ak	Else	Ak	Else
Taiwan								
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	--	--	--	--	6.2	--	--	0
Mining and quarrying	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0
Manufacturing	8.6	--	--	--	13.8	0	12.0	0
Electricity, gas and water	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Building and construction	--	0	--	0	--	0	--	0
Wholesale, retail and restaurants	50.0	40.0	59.4	--	35.4	31.6	30.0	66.7
Transport, storage and communication	--	0	--	0	6.2	--	--	--
Business and financial services	24.1	--	15.6	--	21.5	31.6	20.0	33.3
Community, social and personal services	--	--	--	--	13.8	21.1	24.0	26.7
<i>(Number not specified)</i>	18	6	12	0	75	33	87	36
Total number (-Not Spec)	174	30	96	27	195	57	150	45
Percent of total number in age group not stating an industry	36%	43%	13%	22%	21%	18%	10%	8%
Korea								
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	--	0	0	0	2.4	15.4	4.6	17.1
Mining and quarrying	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Manufacturing	--	44.4	--	--	9.2	6.2	7.9	--
Electricity, gas and water	--	0	0	0	0	--	0	0
Building and construction	0	--	0	0	3.2	--	--	0
Wholesale, retail and restaurants	--	--	--	--	40.6	40.0	53.9	48.8
Transport, storage and communication	0	0	0	0	14.5	10.8	5.9	--
Business and financial services	0	--	0	0	14.5	7.7	8.6	14.6
Community, social and personal services	--	--	--	--	15.7	13.8	18.4	9.8
<i>(Number not specified)</i>	3	6	3	3	156	87	147	63
Total number (-Not Spec)	27	27	18	12	747	195	456	123
Percent of total number in age group not stating an industry	23%	53%	14%	22%	38%	22%	20%	14%

Note: -- Proportions not given where numbers are less than 10

Source: Unpublished data files prepared by the Customer Services Division of Statistics
New Zealand from the 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population and Dwellings

As with the occupation groups, there is a variable rate of representation of recent immigrants, aged 20 to 49 years, in the industrial sectors. The lowest representation, as for occupation categories, is for the Taiwan-born females living in both Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand in both 1996 (10 and eight percent respectively) and 1991 (13 and 22 percent respectively). In 1991, the Korea-born females have a similar low representation (Table 6.11). On the other hand, the groups with the highest representation are of males born in China and Hong Kong in both 1996 (42 and 41 percent respectively) and 1991 (73 and 81 percent respectively). These China and Hong Kong-born men were living outside the Auckland metropolitan area (Table 6.11).

This brief examination of the 1996 census data shows that it is difficult to generalise about the experiences of both recent and established immigrants. Their labour force participation varies not simply by country of origin but also by age, gender and the New Zealand locality in which they have chosen to settle. From the figures on unemployment, occupation and industrial sector participation, it appears there are a considerable number of skilled migrants both unemployed and under-employed. Not only does this represent a waste of imported human capital, it also means that many recent immigrants were having greater than expected difficulty in settling in their new country.

To examine the latter points more carefully, the experiences of a group of recent immigrants are now explored to establish some of the reasons why recent migrants from three of the Northeast Asian countries, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Korea, may be unemployed, working in low status jobs or participating in some “face saving” form of self-employment. Also discussed is the way in which this lack of satisfactory work impinges on the settlement and adaptation process for the family as a whole.

A MICRO-SCALE PERSPECTIVE

In-depth interviews were conducted with migrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea. The reason the China-born were not included in the interview schedule was it was clear from the age profiles of the PLT arrivals in Chapter Four, that this group had not been migrating as families. Many of the China-born were students coming for tertiary education and would have to leave New Zealand at the end of their training. Therefore, it was decided to restrict the interviews to the three groups from Northeast Asia who appeared to be entering New Zealand as families planning to settle. In this research, no

attempt has been made to generalise from the interviews conducted. Rather, the data collected has been used to allow the voices of some people from Northeast Asia to highlight their experiences of immigration to New Zealand from their own perspectives. The richness of these personal experiences is missing in the aggregate data sets examined so far. In this section the selection of respondents is discussed, followed by some characteristics of the interview population. The employment and settlement experiences of the group are examined in the final section.

The interviews

The research was cross-cultural as the researcher is of New Zealand European ethnicity. Given that the researcher was not a member of the target population the contacts of a Chinese colleague and friend were the main means by which a “snowball” sample design was set up. The “snowball” sample is a special kind of judgmental sampling that is frequently used when it is necessary to reach a small, specialised target population (Dillon, Madden and Firtle, 1990). The “standardised open-ended interview” (Patton, 1980) was chosen as the method for collecting data. Personal “face-to-face” interviews were used because this approach was the most likely to provide the personal information being sought.

Ethical issues

This research methodology involved an intrusion into the lives of the interviewees. The interview process meant that the interviewees not only had to be prepared to invite strangers into their home, they also had to be prepared to give them information, often quite personal, about themselves. As Patton (1990, 353-354) points out: ‘The process of being taken through a directed, reflective process affects the persons being interviewed and leaves them knowing things about themselves that they didn’t know - or at least were not aware of - before the interview.’

Thus, ethical issues were of particular concern for this research as the people to be interviewed were already feeling vulnerable as newcomers to the country. As mentioned in Chapter One, the main ethical concerns were informed consent, confidentiality, potential harm to participants, and the use of the information. The procedures for dealing with these are detailed in Appendix B. As noted in Chapter One, formal approval to proceed with

interviews was obtained from the University of Waikato's Human Research Ethics Committee.

As found by the researcher in previous interviews (Lidgard, 1992), and confirmed by Patton (1990), many people appreciate the opportunity to tell their stories and share their feelings with a neutral but interested listener. A summary of the research findings was posted to all the interviewees after the process was completed and they were all aware that the information was to be used as part of a doctoral thesis and in conference papers and journal articles.

Participants

The selection of interviewees was based on length of residence - all participants had arrived in New Zealand after the 1986 immigration policy review. Another critical selection variable was family type, as mentioned earlier in the chapter. A group of 42 recent immigrants were interviewed to explore ideas about the adjustment and settlement of these newcomers. This number was considered sufficient for this component of the research project, as the in-depth interviews were undertaken to give added substance and background to the employment experiences of recent immigrants from Northeast Asia.

To ensure that the immigrant experiences commented upon were not confined to those who had chosen to settle in Auckland, half of the interviews, that is 21, were conducted in Hamilton with people who were currently living in that city. While the great majority of arrivals from Northeast Asia reside initially in Auckland there is a diffusion out to other cities, often within a year or two of arrival in New Zealand (Bedford and Goodwin, 1997). Hence it was considered desirable to shift the focus away from a sole concern with residence in Auckland.

Interview schedule

The interview schedule is reproduced in Appendix B. Section I contained questions on the educational qualifications and type of employment the participants had before migration. Section II was concerned with immigration to New Zealand. The initial questions established the category under which permanent residence in New Zealand was approved. The questions in Section III investigated some of the migrant's experiences since arriving in New Zealand. The length of residence and number of trips back to country of origin were established. Finally questions were asked about the present work status of the immigrant. The participants were asked whether their current

occupation bore any relationship to their qualifications and previous work experience. Some general questions were then asked which enabled the interviewees to detail their experiences of finding work or setting up a business in New Zealand. Section IV, a four page booklet containing demographic questions, was given to each of the participants for them to complete personally at the end of the interview. This time allowed the researcher to check answers and identify any questions that would benefit from further elaboration.

Procedure

The interpreters contacted all the participants to arrange interview times and to reassure the interviewees that their language skills were not being assessed. Some had to be reassured that a lack of fluency in English would not be a barrier to participation in an oral survey. The success rate was virtually a hundred percent when the initial approach was made via same ethnic group contacts. As found by Czudnowski (1987, 240), 'personal trust and personal recommendations are the keys for opening doors'. There were refusals to take part from Taiwanese approached by ex-residents of Hong Kong indicating that potential participants preferred introductions from members of the same ethnic group. A more detailed discussion of the procedures can be found in Lidgard (1996) and Appendix B.

Case records of all the interviews were organised and these are the source of the data on pre and post migration occupation and employment status. It should be noted that the participants in this survey are not considered to be a representative sample of all recent immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong and South Korea. They have been chosen as subjects reflecting the socioeconomic characteristics of many of the new arrivals from the three countries.

Survey

A school survey, conducted in Auckland in 1995 by migration research staff at the University of Waikato, investigated the educational and occupational aspirations of 500 Chinese and Korean adolescent immigrants who had entered New Zealand since the late 1980s (Ho, Chen, Kim and Young, 1996). Full details of the background and methodology of the school survey have been published in a research report (Ho, 1996). The report of this survey focuses on the attitudes, future education and employment plans of the migrant students from Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea (Ho, Chen, Kim and Young, 1996). The results were used to assess the stability of these gains

in population and the likely proportion of the second generation migrants that will remain in New Zealand to begin their working careers. The in-depth personal data obtained from the interviews and survey material are used to enhance our understanding of the census statistics and present problems relating to issues of employment and settlement from the perspective of the immigrants.

Before examining employment and settlement experiences, it is necessary to outline briefly the demographic profile of the interviewees; their age, family type, education and qualifications, occupations and job categories before coming to New Zealand, and the reasons they gave for choosing to come and settle in New Zealand, is presented. This profile is required to understand more fully the post-migration experiences of the different ethnic groups.

Profile of interviewees

The 42 participants ranged in age from early 20s to late 60s and were engaged in a wide range of occupations. Some were still students or retraining, two were living on blocks of land and two of the older women were care-givers for the family. Where possible both the husband and wife were interviewed and both their comments and answers recorded. However, the data used in the tables refer to the principal participant, 27 men and 15 women.

Age range

Most of the participants were aged 30-49 years (Table 6.12). The group from Hong Kong were more evenly dispersed through the age groups. Those from Taiwan were more clustered in the 40-49 year age group whereas the majority of those from South Korea were younger and in the 30-39 year age group. Most of the respondents in the Department of Internal Affairs' Survey were of a similar age to the interviewees (77 percent were aged between 30-49 years).

Table 6.12 Age range of participants

Age group	Migrant group (%)			Total
	Hong Kong	Taiwan	South Korea	
20-29 years	21	0	0	7
30-39 years	28	28	57	38
40-49 years	36	57	36	43
50 years and over	14	14	7	12
Total Number	14	14	14	42

The period of permanent residence in New Zealand in the participant group ranged from one month to seven years. The group from Hong Kong was the earliest established and the Taiwanese the most recent arrivals (Table 6.13). Amongst the residents from Hong Kong was a New Zealand return migrant to Hamilton. Holiday trips back to the country of origin were taken by most of the participants. However, one of the families who had been in New Zealand for over six years had never made a return trip back to Taiwan. As the wife said ‘We came to New Zealand as we wanted to find a country where we could get that “home feeling”. We came on a one way ticket. We adopted New Zealand as our country so we’ve never returned.’

Table 6.13 Duration of residence of participants

Duration	Migrant group (%)			Total
	Hong Kong	Taiwan	South Korea	
Under 6 months	7	28	7	14
6-12 months	0	28	14	14
1-3 years	36	21	64	40
over 3 years	57	21	14	31
Total Number	14	14	14	42

Family type

The family combinations varied from a “parachute kid” in his 20s who had completed his senior secondary and university education in New Zealand to a couple in their 30s with a family of three young children, working in New Zealand as missionaries, and providing accommodation at the time of the interview for two additional families of similar age and structure.

Several other family types were interviewed in addition to the nuclear families of parents and children. These included a 20 year old participant from Hong Kong with “space parents” who had the responsibility of caring for three teenage siblings. There were a number of single parent families in all three ethnic groups with most often an “astronaut” father continuing to work in the country of origin, although one Taiwanese family had an “astronaut” mother continuing her work as a teacher in Taiwan (Table 6.14). An extended family of four generations and a young newly married couple from Taiwan who were hosting a friend’s daughter aged 15 years to enable her to attend school in New Zealand completed the interview group.

Table 6.14 Family types of participants

Type	Migrant group (%)			Total
	Hong Kong	Taiwan	South Korea	
Nuclear	36	50	86	57
Extended	21	0	0	7
'Astronaut'	21	36	14	24
Other ¹	21	14	0	12
Total Number	14	14	14	42

¹ Includes a household of three nuclear families, a "parachute kid" and a young woman with "space parents".

The Koreans were the ethnic group with the highest proportion of participants in nuclear families amongst the interviewees - twelve of the fourteen interviewed (Table 6.14). One of the participants, an Asian business banker, confirmed that the Koreans usually settled as nuclear families in New Zealand. However, the settlement pattern differed amongst her clients from Hong Kong and Taiwan. These two groups of nationals contained a high proportion of men who established their wife and children in New Zealand and then returned to their country of origin to continue working. The families of these "astronauts" were then supported by interest from investments and/or overseas remittances.

Education and qualifications

Most of the interviewees had tertiary educational qualifications. Only those interviewed, aged 60 years and over, had low levels of education (Table 6.15). The group who had emigrated from South Korea had the highest percentage recording a university education. The 1996 census findings confirm that this was a representative feature of the wider population. Korean nationals had the highest percentage with tertiary qualifications followed by those born in Taiwan. The lowest percentages holding tertiary qualifications, across both genders and all age groups, were the Chinese born in Hong Kong in both the survey and census (Ho, Goodwin, Bedford and Spragg, 1997, 11). Only one Korean participant had no tertiary education and he was a factory manager (Table 6.15). Asian families demonstrate they have a strong commitment to providing a tertiary education for their children. As a Taiwanese man commented; "Asian people will always find the resources to send their children to university." In the Department of Internal Affairs' Survey 40

percent of the group were qualified with a Bachelors Degree and 20 percent held a Postgraduate degree.

Table 6.15 Level of highest qualification of participants

Qualification	Migrant group (%)			Total
	Hong Kong	Taiwan	South Korea	
Postgraduate degree	0	7	21	10
Bachelors degree	29	79	71	60
Diploma	29	14	0	14
Secondary level	29	0	7	12
Primary level	7	0	0	2
No formal qualification	7	0	0	2
Total Number	14	14	14	42

This high level of tertiary education among the immigrants is not unexpected. The immigration policy, especially since the introduction of the points system in 1991, has meant that only those immigrants with high points for tertiary qualifications can be granted approval for permanent residence. Although most of the Korean and Taiwanese participants had at least a Bachelors Degree their university qualifications were general rather than vocational. The lack of a direct link between qualifications and work experience was mentioned by a few people as a common occurrence in Korea and Taiwan. Half the groups from these two countries felt that at best they used their qualifications “only a little” in their pre-migration occupations.

This tendency created a problem for these would be immigrants, as present immigration policy fails to recognise work experience not directly related to qualifications for the allocation of points. This had been a cause of concern for a Taiwanese participant who after working as a journalist for six years prior to immigration, found that he could not use his work experience to gain entry points. As his Masters Degree was in Botany, he almost failed to gain sufficient points for entry to New Zealand as under this provision he got zero points for work experience. “That kind of situation happens often in Asian countries. Lots of my friends have observed the same”, he concluded.

The policy states that points are awarded for ‘work experience directly related to qualifications (*my emphasis*) . . . on a 1-10 basis, with one point being given

for every two years of completed work [and] a minimum of two years work experience is required' (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1995b). This is a problem for those people who have a long work experience that does not match their qualifications.

This finding contrasts to the Department of Internal Affairs' study. The departmental study found that in the jobs held by 443 respondents before migration 'the great majority had been making considerable use of their qualifications and skills' (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 20). However, as the majority of the respondents in the government survey were recent immigrants holding professional qualifications in either health or engineering, the contrast is to be expected (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 19). The interview group contained only one health professional who had come to New Zealand as an appointee to a pre-arranged job in the health sector. It is not possible to equate professional qualifications with occupation from census data.

Occupations and job categories before coming to New Zealand

The interviewees were asked about their main occupation before they came to New Zealand. Table 6.16 shows that over 60 percent of the participants stated they had been working in a professional or managerial occupation in their former country. Over fifty percent of the interviewees of all three countries were in these occupation groups before their immigration to New Zealand. None of the interviewees from Taiwan were in the non-waged category before coming to this country.

The questionnaire survey conducted in Auckland by Ho, Chen, Kim and Young (1996), found that before migration to New Zealand most of the men from Northeast Asia were in the labour force working in administrative and professional occupations. 'After migration, 60 percent had no paid employment. Over half had not been able to obtain work in the administrative and professional sectors.' (Ho and Lidgard, 1998, in press). In comparison before migration half of the women were not in paid employment. After migration the proportion of these women not actively engaged in the labour force increased to nearly 80 percent and like their male counterparts many experienced downward mobility (Ho and Lidgard, 1998, Table 4).

Table 6.16 Occupations and professions of participants, before coming to live in New Zealand

Occupation	Migrant group (%)			Total
	Hong Kong	Taiwan	South Korea	
Administrators and Managers	36	43	29	38
Professionals	21	21	43	31
Technicians	0	21	14	12
Other occupations	7	14	7	10
Unpaid occupations	36	0	7	14
Total Number	14	14	14	42

Permanent residence

All participants from Taiwan had been granted permanent residence status before settling in New Zealand and they and the Koreans had usually been granted permanent residence under the General Points Category. This compares with 43 percent of the total 500 respondents in the Department of Internal Affairs survey who had their permanent residence approved under the General Points Category (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 21).

Of those interviewed from Hong Kong, on the other hand, 65 percent had their permanent residence approved under the Business Immigration Programme (1986) or Business Investment Category (1991) with only one participant from Hong Kong in New Zealand under the General Points category. This agrees with the findings on qualifications where, as shown in Table 6.13, the group from Hong Kong were the least qualified and hence would not have had sufficient points for entry under the General Points category, especially that which prevailed before October 1995. However, the fact that entry to New Zealand was gained under the business categories did not mean that these people came to New Zealand for economic reasons as will be shown later. It merely shows that entry is gained under a category for which the applicant meets the necessary criteria.

Reasons for coming to New Zealand

The reasons given for coming to New Zealand were coded into three categories - political, environmental and economic. The political category contained all reasons given with political motivations, such as the handing back of government in Hong Kong to China in July 1997. Many Hong Kong and Taiwanese citizens, or their parents, were refugees from the communist

regime in China and they remained concerned that the political regime in the People's Republic was still unpredictable.

Children's education was the main social reason given for coming to New Zealand. The New Zealand education system was seen by parents to offer their children the opportunity to learn in a relatively stress-free environment. Parents were also keen for their children to receive some practical education and the New Zealand system was seen to place value on imaginative, independent and practical achievements. Benefits were also seen for children having time and opportunity to pursue leisure activities in a country with a sparse population, fresh air and space for them to play. The physical environment was frequently mentioned as a contributing reason for making the move to New Zealand.

Although 65 percent of the group from Hong Kong had gained permanent residence approval under the Business Immigration Programme (1986) or the Business Investment Category (1991), as mentioned, none of these people from Hong Kong had come to New Zealand for economic reasons. Only three of the 42 families interviewed, two from Taiwan and one from Korea, came to New Zealand specifically for business reasons and they were all living in Auckland. The two Taiwanese participants had moved to New Zealand as they both hoped to do business with China. One said: "It is difficult to do business as a Taiwanese with Mainland China. I hope if I set up a New Zealand Company that it will be more successful".

The Korean who had migrated for economic reasons, came to New Zealand in 1990 at the request of a family friend to help set up a deer velvet exporting business in Christchurch. In 1995 he moved north with his wife, and two small New Zealand born children, as "Auckland is the centre of commerce in New Zealand and is therefore a better place to live to do business". Business was also the major consideration when the participant decided where to live in Auckland. As he was managing an export business he chose to live in a suburb close to the international airport.

The question in the interview schedule, on reasons for choosing to come and live in New Zealand, was completely open-ended. This was unlike the Department of Internal Affairs' survey that provided the respondents with a list of 10 possible reasons for coming to this country. The most popular reason for coming to New Zealand, chosen by nearly half the respondents in

the government survey, was “quality of life and environment”. ‘One-third chose “better opportunities for children”; and one-third chose “better standard of living” (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 20). Sixteen percent of the whole group were in New Zealand for better employment opportunities (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 21) but it is impossible to say how many of these were from Northeast Asia.

Reasons for choosing Auckland or Hamilton

The interviews were conducted in Auckland and Hamilton as it was of interest to establish some of the reasons the participants had for choosing to live in Auckland or elsewhere in New Zealand. Figure 6.1 shows the location of Auckland and Hamilton and also the location of the interviews in both cities. The main reasons given by those living in Auckland for choosing to live there were the big city activities, and the fact that it was easier to find a job or set up a business in Auckland. Others mentioned it would have been even more of a culture shock for them to live in a city any smaller than Auckland, or any colder or windier.

Initially Northeast Asian settlers seem to cluster in the newer, usually eastern suburbs of Auckland. After a period of residence in New Zealand in these “new housing estates” some move to live in the older established areas. A Hong Kong family, resident in New Zealand for six years, moved from Half Moon Bay and “a whole street of new houses” to an area of Howick established 20 years ago. Likewise, a Taiwanese family moved from a new area of Howick to Mt Eden, one of Auckland’s oldest established suburbs. The reasons given by most for choosing to live in Hamilton are summed up in the following sentence from a Korean participant; “Hamilton is a quiet, peaceful small town that is not too busy. In comparison with Taipei or Seoul, Hamilton is a very small town but it still has most city facilities.” As a Taiwanese participant, who was enjoying learning about gardening, said:

We were looking for a peaceful, quiet environment. We decided on New Zealand and so retired [from the labourforce]. Hamilton is a country small town but not backward. We wanted a living level the same as in a big city - medical facilities, transport were all considered adequate in Hamilton.

Auckland is viewed by those in Hamilton as similar to the large cities of Asia from which they are escaping. As a participant from Taiwan said: “We want to get involved in Kiwi society now that we have decided to live here. That is easier in Hamilton. There are too many Chinese in Auckland”.

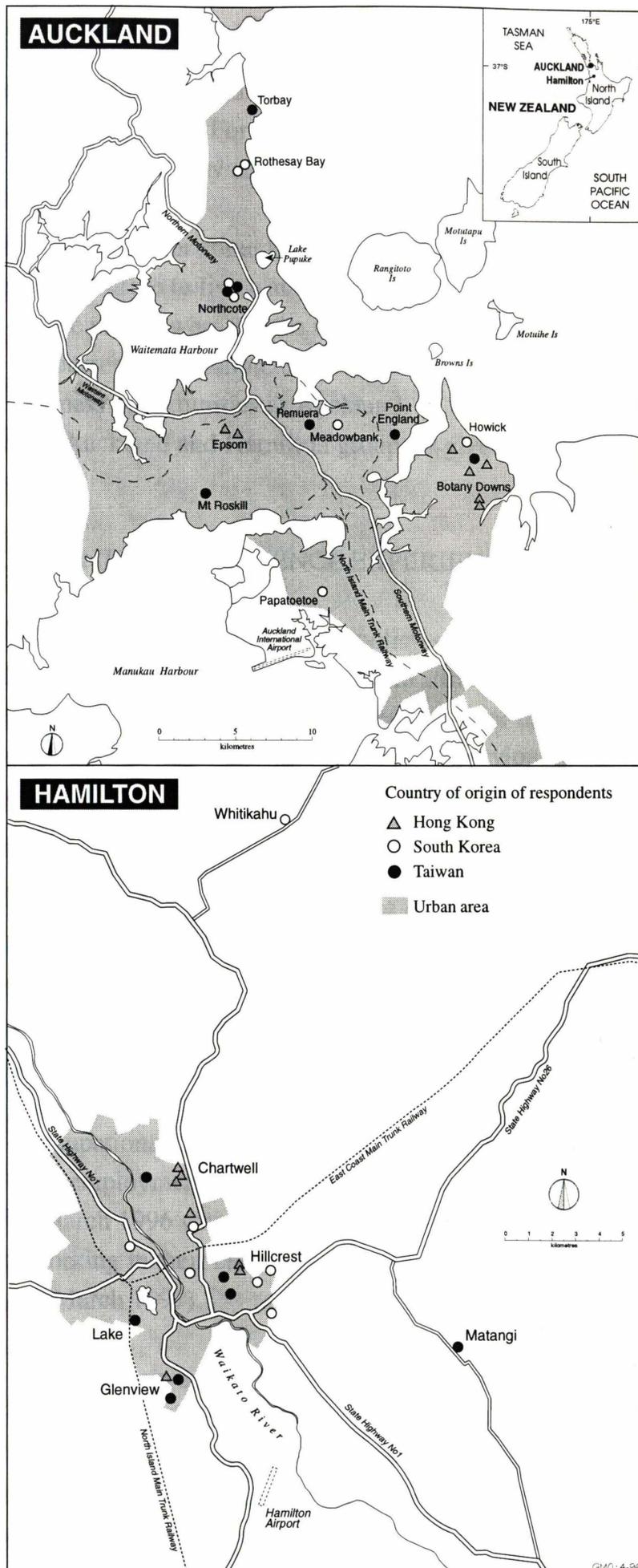


Figure 6.1: Location of interviews in the Auckland and Hamilton regions.

A Korean woman, who had lived in Auckland for nine months before moving to Hamilton, said "Auckland is too like Seoul. Auckland is too competitive - a city with traffic jams". For those with relatives already happily settled in Hamilton this was the only city considered by the new arrivals.

An additional reason for some Korean and Taiwanese in their choice of Hamilton as the place to live was the length of the waiting lists for English tuition. These people were unsure whether they would remain in Hamilton once their courses were completed as they were aware that there were more job and business opportunities in Auckland. A comparison of the employment between the Auckland and Hamilton groups is given later.

EMPLOYMENT AND RESIDENCE EXPERIENCES IN NEW ZEALAND

Although New Zealand's immigration policy since 1987 has been proactive rather than reactive, specifically designed to attract highly educated and skilled people to the country, it has not been easy for these talented newcomers to find work that utilised fully their previous work skills. The experiences of the interview group were similar to those reported in the government survey of 500. A considerable number of new settlers when they first arrive in New Zealand find it difficult to obtain work that suits their qualifications and experience (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 5).

The government survey also found that 'among the respondents the percentage gaining work in their own field varies considerably by occupational group' (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 41). In this larger survey it was those in the health professions - doctors, dentists and vets - that were the occupational group that experienced the greatest difficulties moving into suitable employment. This finding was reinforced by a Medical Council Survey in March 1996 which reported that more than 600 immigrant doctors were not working in their chosen profession of medicine (*New Zealand Herald*, 14 March 1997).

The inability to obtain employment in New Zealand equivalent to the work they were engaged in before migration has a profound effect on the whole family. Feminist writers on employment stress the need to understand the complexity and interconnections of the relationship between home and work

(Kobayashi, 1994). Most of the participants interviewed said that they did not, or would not feel really settled until they had found satisfactory work.

Underemployment, (that is the under utilisation of a person's experience and qualifications in their work place), unemployment and forced "early retirement" do not help the adjustment process to life in a new land and culture. Indeed, there is evidence in contemporary international migration literature on unemployment, that underemployment, unemployment and other adverse labour market experiences are associated with poor mental health, not only for the unemployed themselves but also for their families (Fryer, 1995; McKee and Bell, 1986; McLoyd, 1989). As is shown later, the occupational and economic dislocation that has been experienced by many of the newly arrived Northeast Asians in New Zealand has been very unsettling for family life and has slowed the process of adaptation to life in a new land. It was not surprising to find there was concern at the lack of government preparation and policy to utilise the experience and skills being brought by the new immigrants. New Zealand was compared unfavourably to other countries by some of the interviewees in this regard.

Characteristics of employment

The employment situation was precarious for many of the respondents in the Department of Internal Affairs survey (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 29). A similar situation was found amongst the interviewees as more were reliant on interest from deposits than on a salary or wages as their primary source of income. Those who had been in New Zealand for a longer period of time were more likely to be self-employed or working as employees. As shown in Table 6.17 just under 40 percent of the participants were retraining (students), retired from active participation in the workforce, still looking for work or trying to establish a business.

Work status and occupation

Those who claimed to be self-employed were often in a business that merely supplemented their income, as can be seen later, where the income earned from the business was secondary to that earned from interest on deposits. For example a Taiwanese man, whose occupation before migration had been a professional engineer, was self-employed as a shuttle-bus driver. As he pointed out, "There's not a lot of money in the business but I enjoy the job. I enjoy the contact with people".

Table 6.17 Work situation of participants¹ in New Zealand

Work situation	Migrant group (%)			Total
	Hong Kong	Taiwan	South Korea	
Paid employee	14	0	0	5
Self-employed	7	29	36	24
Home duties	43	36	14	31
Voluntary work	0	14	0	5
Student	21	7	29	19
Retired	0	7	7	5
Not working, seeking work	14	14	14	14
Total Number	14	14	14	42

¹ Note: The responses in this table apply to the principal interviewee only

Table 6.18 outlines the broad occupation groups of the participants both before and after migration. Across all ethnic groups there was a substantial change in occupation after migration to New Zealand. The professional, technical, administrative, managerial and related workers category to which the majority of the interviewees belonged before migration was replaced by the not actively engaged category as the major occupation group for the interviewees post migration. Another point of interest shown on Table 6.18 is the rise in the proportion of people in the lower status occupations in the agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry workers, fisherpersons and hunters; and production and related workers and transport equipment operators category.

The Auckland survey conducted by Ho, Chen, Kim and Young (1996) reported that 'forty-six percent of East Asian males and 73 percent of the females who lived in New Zealand were not actively participating in the labour market, while 11 and 4 percent respectively were actively seeking employment' (Ho and Lidgard, 1998, in press). Another point to note from this survey is the fact that amongst those males who were working more were self-employed than working for wages or salary while the females working in paid employment were more likely to be wage or salary earners.

A general feeling of the participants was summed up by one of the Korean interviewees who said, "Employees are chosen on race rather than qualifications". He felt that even when new arrivals were reasonably fluent in

English it was still difficult for them to obtain a job. This feeling is verified by a recent Australian survey that found ‘migrants to Australia from non-English-speaking backgrounds have high unemployment’ (*New Zealand Herald*, 10 October 1997, A12).

Table 6.18 Occupation of participants before and after migration

Occupation Group	Migrant group (%)							
	Hong Kong		Taiwan		South Korea		Total	
	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After
P,T,A,M	57	7	79	14	86	21	74	14
C,S,S	7	7	21	7	0	7	10	7
A,F,P,T	0	7	0	7	0	7	0	7
NA,U	36	79	0	72	14	65	16	72
Total Number	14	14	14	14	14	14	42	42

The classification of occupation groups are the same as those defined in the Census:
 P,T,A,M: Professional, Technical, Administrative, Managerial and Related Workers
 C,S,S: Clerical, Sales, Service and Related Workers
 A,F,P,T: Agricultural, Animal Husbandry, Forestry Workers, Fisherpersons and Hunters; and Production and Related Workers, Transport Equipment Operators
 NA, U: Not Actively Engaged; and Occupation Unidentifiable

The government survey reported that respondents often faced the dilemma of being over qualified but lacking New Zealand work experience. ‘Employers are reluctant to employ people in junior positions for which they are over qualified and are also reluctant to consider them for senior positions because of their lack of New Zealand experience’ (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 30). The Department of Internal Affairs, (1996, 46) goes on to report:

Of the 127 respondents from North Asia, 23 percent were in jobs for which they were qualified; 13 percent were in other jobs; 14 percent were unemployed; 4 percent were preparing to qualify; 31 percent were students; 6 percent were doing voluntary work; and 9 percent were doing home duties.

“Even when people have been employed by a Kiwi company when redundancies occur the Koreans are the first to go” said one of the interviewees. He cited examples he knew amongst members of the

congregation of the church he attends. “Some people, who have been studying hard for qualifications, give up when they hear these stories”. His comments echo those of the respondents in the government survey who ‘indicated that many people were very discouraged and upset by so many rejections without being granted an interview, particularly when they felt that they fitted the job description for the position’ (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 29). Barnard (1996, 93-94) also reported that ‘one barrier for finding work in New Zealand was not having New Zealand work experience’.

There are some stories of success to balance the negative ones. The wife of a participant from Taiwan returned to University when she settled in Hamilton six years ago. Her Bachelors degree from Taiwan was recognised and she enrolled in a Masters degree programme. Three years later she graduated with a Masters Degree in Computing and Mathematical Sciences and began work as a systems engineer. Her husband works at home as a farmer on a 10 acre block of land providing her with “the peace and quiet of the country after a hard day in the office”.

Employment and duration of residence

It appears that the experiences of the interview group were similar to those of the respondents to the Department of Internal Affairs’ survey. We found that, as they reported, a considerable number of new immigrants experience difficulties finding work that suits their qualifications and experience when they first arrive in New Zealand (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 5). The survey also reported that ‘many new immigrants take months if not years to settle into jobs appropriate to their skills and qualifications’ (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 30).

Our findings also showed (as did the Internal Affairs Survey) that chances of gaining employment improve with duration of residence in New Zealand. ‘Some respondents were able to move into more responsible positions and professions after a year or two’ (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 5). The census also showed that the established immigrants had higher levels of wage and salary employment than the recent immigrants. Two of the interviewees from Hong Kong were working as paid employees of New Zealand companies. These participants had both been in New Zealand for more than three years, one living in Auckland the other in Hamilton.

The Auckland family arrived in New Zealand in 1989 to retire after deciding that they would come here for a change of lifestyle after working hard for 18 years. However, after living in New Zealand for three months the participant registered with the Labour Department as he felt “too young in my forties to be without a job”. He considered himself to be very fortunate as he found employment as a skilled designer in the garment industry, the type of work he had done all his working life. He feels he was lucky to find an employer who recognised his years of experience in the trade and gave him the opportunity to prove he could do the job. Although he earned considerably less than he would in Hong Kong, he and his wife enjoyed a more relaxed lifestyle and he had no plans to start his own business again. His wife was working as a volunteer for the Chinese Lifeline service and enjoyed gardening.

The Hamilton participant and his wife were both paid employees. They had lived in Hamilton, where many of the wife’s family were already living, for just over three years. Both husband and wife had found it difficult to find equivalent work to the jobs they had in Hong Kong. The wife was the more fortunate at the time of the interview as she had managed to obtain a full-time position in the banking industry. Her working career in New Zealand began on a part-time contract basis and it was this first step into work that was the most difficult. As the Internal Affairs survey found many new settlers appear to get their first jobs in New Zealand as casual workers (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 5). ‘Relatively few respondents had been instantly successful in getting a job to match their qualifications but over the years more had moved to suitable jobs’ (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 6).

Her husband realised, through talking with friends and contacts, that he would need to make a career change to begin working in New Zealand. Although he had work as a real estate agent, the job in no way corresponded with his previous work experience in corporate finance. While waiting for the opportunity to resume his career, and to improve his prospects, he completed a post-graduate diploma in finance. Amongst the respondents in the government survey 12 percent were studying for qualifications in a polytech or university to prepare for employment (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 5-6). Altogether 43 percent of all respondents had taken or were currently taking, courses (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 35).

Comparison in employment between the Auckland and Hamilton groups

As already discussed earlier in this chapter, the census analysis showed that the employment status of the recent immigrants varied between Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand. Among the three countries, the group that had the highest percentages in both wage and salary employment was the Hong Kong-born, in particular, the women living outside the Auckland area. In the interview group, however, among the Chinese born in Hong Kong there were more involved in home duties or studying than in waged or salaried employment. Amongst the Taiwan-born group, self-employment was higher for those living in Auckland while the Koreans in Hamilton had higher levels of self-employment. The census revealed that both those born in Taiwan and Korea reported higher levels of self-employment in Auckland, with the exception of the women from Taiwan living elsewhere in New Zealand. On the other hand the males born in Hong Kong and living outside of the Auckland area had the highest proportion in self-employment of the three countries (37.5 percent).

Amongst the interview group, those living in Auckland recorded higher levels of unemployment than those in Hamilton (Table 6.19). This mirrors the census findings for the Chinese born in Hong Kong and China but for those born in Taiwan and Korea levels of unemployment were higher for both males and females living outside the Auckland area.

Table 6.19 Work situation of participants¹ in Auckland and Hamilton

Work situation	Hong Kong		Migrant group (%)				Total	
	Ak	Ham	Taiwan		South Korea		Ak	Ham
Paid employee	14	14	0	0	0	0	4	5
Self-employed	0	14	43	29	29	43	24	29
Home duties	57	29	29	43	29	0	38	24
Voluntary work	0	0	14	14	0	0	5	5
Student	14	29	0	14	14	43	10	29
Retired	0	0	0	14	14	0	5	5
Not working, seeking work	14	14	29	0	14	14	19	10
Total Number	7	7	7	7	7	7	21	21

¹ Note: The responses in this table apply to the principal interviewee only

Business investment and sources of income

There was general criticism of the New Zealand Government's lack of preparation and support for new immigrants, both among the interviewees and the respondents in other surveys (Boyer, 1995; Chadee, 1995; Department of Internal Affairs, 1996). As reported in the media in an article titled "Rich Asians fail to get jobs", 'a lot of them have the money but they don't know where to invest it because they don't have that information' (Laxton, 1995). No guides had been published for the business investors on general business regulations and tariffs and the tax system, and many migrants felt they had to waste an inordinate amount of time and money trying to track down the relevant information.

There was a general feeling amongst the participants that the government was expecting them to invest all their money in New Zealand but was not prepared to spend any money to help them to establish themselves successfully once they arrived in the country. One Korean said he felt the New Zealand Government was acting as "pirates", taking their money and giving nothing in return. The small market, and the monopoly of the producer boards on the export of primary products, were mentioned as additional difficulties immigrants have had to face when trying to set up business in New Zealand. As one Taiwanese said:

We would like our whole family to get together but it is not easy for my husband to find a job. The New Zealand Government wish businessmen to bring skills - but there are few chances to do business although my husband can speak English fluently and is a very experienced businessman. He has tried for several years as he would like to stay and pay taxes. Small market the problem. Only things can export are agricultural products and there's a monopoly problem. Waste time and lose money to attempt to set up business.

Setting up businesses

When business ventures had been set up in New Zealand the general pattern was for the wife and husband to be equal partners in the business. These businesses were most often food stores, restaurants, amusement parlours or general import and export ventures. The women migrants of the 1990s were no longer the "silent immigrants" (Leckie, 1995) of the past merely "tagging along" as part of the baggage (Lidgard, 1993b). Indeed women often had to take sole responsibility for their families in New Zealand for much of the year.

Participants reported that many new families from Asia, after seeing others lose a considerable amount of money in failed business ventures, decided they could not afford to stay in New Zealand. Hong Kong families appeared to move on to Australia, whereas a Korean in his 40s suggested that younger Koreans, who had not yet built up enough equity to remain living on their capital, had been forced to give up trying to establish themselves in New Zealand and returned to Korea. Some younger Koreans mentioned, however, that return was not a viable option for them. As one Korean noted:

Many immigrant people think that they need to go back but they can't. They have sold their houses and left their jobs and it is too difficult to return. Korean society is so competitive they can't get back in at the same level as they were when they left.

One of the Korean businessmen, who had succeeded in establishing a business in Auckland, summed up the situation from a Korean point of view.

Setting up a business in New Zealand is difficult. The manufacturing capacity is limited and many orders are not easy to fill. Most New Zealand manufacturers do not understand their target market in foreign countries. They need to put more effort into understanding the market segmentation, organisation and system to make the most reasonable decision.

Potential businessmen have to make a very regular study of the Asian markets. Markets in Asia are changing very, very quickly and are very large scale. New Zealand businessmen simply sit here and do not always make the correct decision. They are not enthusiastic or profit orientated. In Korea or Taiwan once they lose a contract it is a big shock to the company and the person in charge but in New Zealand they seem not too concerned. There is no stimulation to make a profit which makes it difficult to expand as a company.

You hear complaints about immigrants - they don't invest just put money in the bank or buy houses, I think many immigrants try to invest properly but there is no chance for them. Immigrants worked VERY, VERY hard in their own country for the assets they have. They publish letters in the *New Zealand Herald* saying we should invest but we have to protect our investment.

The Korean, who had come to New Zealand to establish a business in Christchurch, was critical of government policies in New Zealand which made it difficult for companies like his to set up a business and get employees. He

complained of poor work attitudes amongst many employees and “no eagerness to do a job well”.

Some of the businessmen who had been here in New Zealand for about a year still seemed to have high hopes for the future. They enjoyed having time to spend with their family and leisure activities but admitted to becoming a little bored after three to six months without work. After two to three years when, in spite of their best efforts, they had not been able to get a job or start a successful business, bitterness and disillusionment seemed to set in. Two of the businessmen interviewed did not expect to work for five years. They believed that it would take them that length of time to acquaint themselves with local systems. However, as one man pointed out, ‘it is only those in their 40s, who have built up sufficient assets, that can afford to do this’. Those coming in under the general points system in their 30s, without large assets, were often being forced to return to their country of origin.

As previously found, it was not until satisfactory work was found, or a successful business established, that people began to feel permanently settled (Lidgard, 1993b, 245). Clearly as Allen and Waton (1986, 1) note, ‘Earning ones living is more than an economic matter, for it pervades a whole range of cultural and political relationships. These become visible when individuals are no longer able to earn their own living’.

Sources of income

As already mentioned, and as Table 6.20 shows clearly, more of the participants were reliant on interest from bank deposits or investments than on salary or wages as their primary source of income in New Zealand. This interest from invested money was supplemented in several cases with money remitted from overseas and by earnings from small business enterprises in New Zealand. In three cases where overseas remittances provided the major income, this allowance was supplemented with a student benefit.

Amongst the participants from Taiwan and South Korea, many of those who said they were working were self-employed. However, when their main source of income was compared with their work status, it was found that most of the self-employed were reliant on interest from deposits as their major source of income. The impression gained was that the business had been set up more as a “face saving” operation than as a profitable enterprise as ‘those without jobs are frequently denigrated and their abilities and motivation

openly questioned' (Allen and Waton, 1986, 1). One of the participants from Hong Kong, studying for a post-graduate diploma whilst running a small-scale tour bus operation, reported being particularly upset when a woman accosted him while he was supermarket shopping during the daytime on a week-day and told him that he should be "out working".

Table 6.20 Major source of income in New Zealand among the participant group

Income source	Migrant group (%)			Total
	Hong Kong	Taiwan	South Korea	
Wages or salary	29	0	7	12
Self-employment	7	14	36	19
Interest from deposits	14	71	43	43
Overseas remittances	43	14	14	24
New Zealand benefit	7	0	0	2
Total Number	14	14	14	42

The group of participants from Hong Kong, the longest established group, had the highest number of people working for wages (Table 6.20). The secondary sources of income of the principal participants are shown in Table 6.21.

Table 6.21 Other sources of income in New Zealand among the participant group

Income source	Migrant group (%)			Total
	Hong Kong	Taiwan	South Korea	
Wages or salary	0	0	0	0
Self-employment	0	14	0	5
Interest from deposits	0	0	14	5
Overseas remittances	0	14	7	7
New Zealand benefit	7	0	14	7
None stated	93	71	64	76
Total Number	14	14	14	42

Although the government survey asked those who had jobs their 'annual income from the job you have now' (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 103), and showed how those who replied were distributed between income brackets (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 46), they did not ask a

comparable question to the interview question on the sources of all income. However, as the census contained the question ‘show ALL the ways you yourself got income’ (Statistics, New Zealand, 1996) it should be possible in future research to make some comparison with the information supplied in answer to this question.

Other work experiences

When it had proved impossible to find employment or set up a business in New Zealand another option favoured by some families, cited by politicians and capturing media headlines from time to time, was for the husband to buy a house, settle his wife and children and then return to continue his business ventures in the country of origin. For those experiencing problems with the recognition of qualifications and professional registration this return to the country of origin was the only way to continue working as a professional.

“Astronauts” and work overseas

When the breadwinner of the household returned to the country of origin to continue working the family was then largely supported with overseas remittances. This “astronaut” phenomenon is a well documented pattern of family life for many Chinese immigrants to Canada (Skeldon, 1994c). Although supposedly a temporary arrangement, it nevertheless places a great strain on the family as a unit. This “astronaut” arrangement adds the burden of family separation to the already significant challenge of adjustment to a completely new culture and language. The women interviewed always mentioned that they could not be completely satisfied with their New Zealand life while they remained separated from their husbands for a large part of the year.

Unemployment, however, also disrupts family life and creates problems for family relationships. Instead of necessarily creating a unified set of problems for couples to be tackling through joint strategies, ‘unemployment of husbands could have particularistic and negative effects on their partners’ (McKee and Bell, 1986, 140). Indeed, the “astronaut” strategy may be a better option for family health than male unemployment in New Zealand.

Meantime many new immigrants, to avoid family separation, were working at whatever job they could find in New Zealand to support their families. Amongst the interview group an electrical engineer was working as a cleaner,

an aircraft mechanic owned and helped operate a food-bar, an electronics engineer was starting an amusement business, an animal research scientist was the owner/operator of a horticultural farm unit, and some well qualified migrants were studying again for further qualifications as they felt that this would be the only way for them to obtain work as professionals in New Zealand.

For the women, life in New Zealand often involved a complete change of lifestyle for those who had previously had a professional career. In addition some have had to become accustomed to being separated from their husbands for lengthy periods and coping with family problems in an unfamiliar country.

Voluntary work

Becoming involved in voluntary work was one of the ways that new arrivals had found to make use of their skills and talents. Two of the interviewees were members of the 40 strong Chinese Lifeline Counselling service offering help in both Cantonese and Mandarin. A Hamilton woman from Taiwan advised others to become involved in voluntary work to meet people and learn more about the local society. She felt sure that when women were prepared to do something outside their homes they were able to cope better with the loneliness and sadness involved in setting up a family home from which their husband would be absent for much of the year.

I encourage people - there are lots of volunteer jobs. I wish to get involved in New Zealand life-style. So I work as a volunteer for the Hospice Trading Post. I'm very willing to join other volunteer groups when I have more time.

Involvement in voluntary work was also suggested by the respondents in the Department of Internal Affairs survey (1996). The respondents suggested that undertaking voluntary work was one way that new immigrants could build up New Zealand networks and connections that would give them the "New Zealand work experience" that could sometimes lead to jobs (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 29). Three percent of the respondents in the government survey were involved in voluntary work (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 6).

LOOKING AHEAD

A question which often surfaces in the studies of migration concerns the “permanence” of the moves. Will the new settlers stay or will they return to their former homes, or move on to another country? Evidence, that many do in fact leave, is found in the figures for PLT departures of people who are not New Zealand citizens. As shown in Chapters Four and Five, the net migration gains of Koreans, Taiwanese and Hong Kong Chinese are smaller than the PLT arrival flows. Return migration and movement to a third country is common in all flows.

In this concluding section to the chapter, some dimensions of the stability of recent migration flows from Northeast Asia are examined. Information from surveys carried out in Auckland and Hamilton is used to demonstrate that some of the recent migration gains from countries in Asia may prove to be quite ephemeral.

Aspirations of adolescent migrants

There is evidence that once young people have completed their education in New Zealand, they may opt to return to their country of origin, or to another country, to work. The school survey conducted in 1995 with Asian adolescent migrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea suggested that it may be fairly common for many of these young people to seek employment in countries other than New Zealand once they have completed their education.

The survey showed that all three ethnic groups had high educational and occupational aspirations for themselves (Ho, Chen, Kim and Young, 1996). As pointed out ‘these young, hard working high achievers . . . have the potential to make a valuable contribution to New Zealand society and economy if they stay to seek employment after they finish their education’ (Ho, Chen, Kim and Young, 1996, 54). However, amongst those Asian adolescents surveyed, large numbers indicated that they did not wish to seek employment in New Zealand. The problems identified by the students that would make it difficult for them to gain suitable employment in New Zealand were a language barrier, racial discrimination and unemployment. Ho, Chen, Kim and Young, (1996, 46) found that:

Of the three Asian groups, the proportion of Korean students who wished to work in New Zealand (39 percent of males and 18 percent of females) was higher than that of the Chinese students. Only 16 percent of the Hong Kong Chinese students of either sex, as well as 17 percent of the Taiwan Chinese males and 11 percent of the females wanted to work in this country. In general males were more likely than females to prefer work in New Zealand.

Two young recent graduates from the University of Waikato were preparing to return to work in Hong Kong when interviewed. Ho, Chen, Kim and Young, (1996), found that almost 50 percent of the female students from Hong Kong surveyed wished to go back to Hong Kong to work. The young woman interviewed had been in New Zealand since 1988, had never made a return visit to Hong Kong and was leaving her parents, two older brothers and one younger brother in New Zealand. A job had been arranged for her in a family owned company. Neither of her older brothers had jobs in New Zealand at the time of the interview but they subsequently also returned to Hong Kong to work after spending two years unemployed in New Zealand.

The young male interviewee in Hamilton was an example of a “parachute kid” (a child sent to a country alone usually to further their education), and had been in New Zealand for five years - two years of secondary education and three years at University. He returned to Hong Kong with a Bachelors degree in Management Studies and in April, when he returned to Hamilton for graduation, was employed as a sales and marketing executive in Hong Kong.

Studies of return migrants to Hong Kong from Canada report similar experiences. A return migrant to Hong Kong said, ‘In deciding whether to stay in Canada or Hong Kong, there are different values that must be considered. In Hong Kong there’s job satisfaction and financial security. The economy is on the upswing. This is definitely the place to work’ (Lo, 1996, 177). Therefore it was unexpected when Ho, Chen, Kim and Young, (1996), found that the number of male students (38 percent) who wished to return to Hong Kong to work was 10 percent less than for the female students (48 percent).

A similar gender preference for country of work was found amongst the Chinese from Taiwan and the South Koreans. Ho, Chen, Kim and Young, (1996, 46), found that amongst the Taiwanese and Korean students the females (30 to 35 percent) were keener to return to their country of birth to

work than the male students (less than 20 percent). So across the three ethnic groups being studied male students were more likely than female students to stay and work in New Zealand.

Parents' expectations

As this was the country they had chosen to settle in with their children it was not surprising to find that many of the parents of the students' surveyed would like their children to work in New Zealand. Ho, Chen, Kim and Young, (1996, 46) reported that:

Of the three Asian groups, 63 percent of the Korean parents, 52 percent of the Hong Kong parents and 46 percent of the Taiwan parents would like their children to work in New Zealand. . . . Only 18 percent of the Hong Kong parents, 13 percent of the Taiwan parents and 11 percent of the Korean parents would like their children to return to their original countries to work - much lower percentages than given by the students.

Not all parents revealed the expectations they had concerning the country their children might choose to begin their working lives. Between 10 and 16 percent of the survey group parents from Asia 'indicated that they did not have any specific expectations concerning where their children would work' (Ho, Chen, Kim and Young, 1996, 48).

Although most respondents in the Internal Affairs survey expected they would still to be living in New Zealand in 1999 (Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, 49) they were not questioned about their expectations for their children. The interviewee parents were asked where they expected to be living and where they expected their children to be living in five to ten years time. The invariable response was "We will probably be here in New Zealand. I'm not sure for the children. It will be up to them to make that decision for themselves".

As reported by Boyer (1996, 76) the decision to return permanently to the country of origin is not undertaken lightly by the family. The loss of savings, consequent downward mobility in housing and the disruption in schooling for the children mean that although many consider this option few make the move as the upheaval is so great. However, as Boyer points out (1996, 75) there is no organisation monitoring return migration hence it is difficult to identify the extent of this complete withdrawal from New Zealand.

Transnational family linkages

Immigrants in the 1990s usually have multiple and complex networks where family members often settle in several different countries and move between them. Evidence of the widespread existence of this phenomenon, of extending the family resource base, was found amongst the interview group. One interview question asked specifically whether members of the family or close relatives were living, for six months or more in one year, in countries other than New Zealand and the country of origin. Over 60 percent of the interviewees across the three ethnic groups had close relatives in this category.

However, across the three ethnic groups there was a divergence in destination countries. Only one of the interviewees in the group from Hong Kong said they had no close relatives in other overseas countries. In the group from Taiwan, in comparison, just over half had relatives in other countries and just under half of the group from Korea was in this category (Table 6.22). Not only was the proportion recording these transnational family connections different for the group from Hong Kong compared to those from Taiwan and Korea, but the destination countries of the relatives also showed a distinctive pattern. While all the Koreans and almost all the Taiwanese had overseas relatives in the United States of America, the relatives of the Chinese from Hong Kong were mostly in Canada. This is an indication that relationships established in the colonial era endure in the post-modern world.

Table 6.22 Countries where members of the close extended family of the participant group were resident¹

Country	Migrant group (%)			Total
	Hong Kong	Taiwan	South Korea	
Australia	14	0	0	5
Canada	64	0	7	24
United States	21	43	43	36
Other Asian countries	21	21	14	19
Other countries	0	0	0	0
Total Number	14	14	14	42

¹ Interviewees often had relatives in more than one country

Political freedom and the opportunity that gave the family to educate their children internationally was mentioned specifically by one young interviewee

as the reason his father chose to settle his family in New Zealand. A sister had been educated in Switzerland before returning to work in Hong Kong. This family was keen to create an international network connecting them with several countries. As Connell (1997, 199) notes, 'Migrants . . . construct social networks and life-worlds that link them to two or more locations and nation-states.' In practice much of the movement of new migrants to New Zealand from Northeast Asia in the 1990s is circular with family members moving frequently between their country of origin, New Zealand and other countries, often where family members are located. This transnational movement is a product of the globalisation of investment and production processes and the modern transportation systems.

In the two years since the interviews were completed there have been some significant changes both in the New Zealand economy and in the economies of countries from which the migrants come. The recovery in New Zealand's economy in the early 1990s proved to be short-lived. By 1996 economic growth was slowing, unemployment was rising again, and migrant investment in New Zealand was declining fast. Late in 1997, a fiscal crisis hit several countries in Southeast and Northeast Asia. This event has had profound implications for patterns of population movement between Korea and New Zealand. These recent developments are discussed in the final chapter which also reviews the main findings of the thesis, and the utility of the world-systems theoretical framework for examining contemporary international migration in the Asia-Pacific region.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Review and Prospect

International migration flows in the late twentieth century are very much a part of the globalisation process. The movement of people plays a key part in most contemporary social transformations. Migration is both a product and a cause of global change. New Zealand society has experienced a period of momentous economic and social change since 1984. The settlement of a substantial group of new immigrants from Northeast Asia has played a significant role in this change both economically and socially.

The effects of the migration process on both migrant-sending and receiving countries produce strong impetus for further change. This sets up a transition process within communities which ultimately leads to ethnocultural diversity within nation-states. The establishment of the UNESCO-MOST Programme (Management of Social Transformations) in 1995 was recognition that the blurring of traditional boundaries and the transformation of identities through migration needed to be studied to enable policy makers to better understand and manage the migration process (Castles, 1997b).

When a country changes its immigration policy and hence the composition of the immigrant flow, the country itself changes (Smith, 1997). The move in New Zealand in 1986, away from an immigration policy which focussed on a narrow range of traditional source countries, began a new population flow of people from Northeast Asia with skills and resources. This flow has helped to transform the country, particularly Auckland city. As the Minister of Immigration noted in his closing address to the first government-sponsored national Population Conference in November 1997 '[t]here are some inexorable changes going on, determined by things that have already happened' (Bradford, 1997a, 303). These migrants from Asia were seen by the government as an important strategy to link the structurally adjusted New Zealand economy to the economies of Asia that were booming at that time. The government, however, as I have argued elsewhere (Lidgard, 1996, 42) was not prepared for the reality of large numbers of new immigrants arriving for whom English was a structurally different language. Virtually no thought

was given, in the economic and immigration policies, to their impacts on people or places.

In spite of problems such as these, the economic consequences of the 'New Zealand Experiment' were being hailed in 1995 by the World Bank as an example for the rest of the world (Kelsey, 1997, 1). But New Zealand's economic miracle was short-lived. After only three years of high growth New Zealand's growth rate began to fall and the other key economic indicators showed signs of a downturn. The bubble had burst. Growth slowed, immigration flows began to drop, budget surplus projections were reduced and the balance of payments deficit widened. In January 1998 the International Monetary Fund (IMF) issued the government a warning urging them to 'trim [their] spending programme and cut costs in superannuation and welfare' (Herbert, 14 January 1998, A3). On 31 March 1998, one of the country's leading banks in its monthly survey reported that '[b]usiness confidence remains in the pits' (Fallow, 31 March 1998, D1). Also noted was the fact that the general business climate was expected to deteriorate over the next 12 months although 'the impact of Asia on the economy is a guessing game.'

The economic event that overshadowed all others was the collapse of the Asian economies. The International Monetary Fund (IMF), founded in 1944 to underwrite the international currency system, was called on to provide a record \$US57 billion bailout for South Korea in November 1997 to restore confidence in Korea's battered economy (Blustein, 30 March 1998, A01). As Blustein (1998) goes on to comment 'rarely, if ever, in its 53-year-history has the IMF been forced to scramble so furiously as during its efforts to keep Asia's once-thriving economies from collapsing.'

The fact that New Zealand's economic future is now inextricably bound up with the Asian economies was clear when top-level calls were made on Christmas Day 1997 to confirm that New Zealand was to contribute \$60 million of taxpayer's money toward the international financial rescue package for Korea to help in the 'bailout of its fifth largest trading partner' (Bingham, 26 December 1997, A1). The flow-on effect for the domestic economy is rising unemployment. The *National News* on 31 March 1998, reported that business indicators were currently at the lowest point since the economic recession of 1991 and, as a result of the Asian crisis, New Zealand companies would be laying off more workers. Clearly globalisation has heightened interdependence between nations and peoples.

This concluding chapter contains three sections and a concluding comment. The first, presents a summary of the main findings of the research. The second, examines the utility of a systems approach for the understanding of the new era of immigration from Northeast Asia. The third, is a summary of developments in New Zealand in 1996 and a brief review of what has happened since then including the Population Conference. This section closes with some speculative comments on some possible directions for future research. Finally the chapter is completed with a general concluding comment.

REVIEW OF RESEARCH

In the introduction four clusters of questions were raised as a focus for the substantive analysis reported in this thesis. These questions are revisited in this section which reviews the main findings of this research.

Immigration policy: change and linkages

The first questions to be addressed were the reason why there was a change in New Zealand's immigration policy in 1986 and how this change was linked to the process of economic restructuring in New Zealand. The major change that occurred at this time in the country's immigration policy was an essential part of the Fourth Labour Government's radical economic restructuring programme. It was recognised that it was necessary for the country to forge new international economic linkages and that immigration policies were capable of cementing and extending these and were thus an integral component in the establishment of new migration systems.

The other question addressed in Chapter Three was how New Zealand's change in policy was linked to changes in policy in the other countries of immigration. All the traditional countries of settlement adopted policies that were no longer exclusionist on racial grounds beginning with Canada in 1962, the United States in 1965, Australia in 1973 and finally New Zealand in 1986. There was general recognition that, in order to attract highly skilled immigrants who were able to contribute to national development, it was no longer in the nation's best interest to retain immigration policies that excluded the entry and settlement of nationals from Asian source countries. Not only

were Northeast Asian nationals highly educated and skilled they were also comparatively wealthy and brought with them the potential to establish links to one of the most dynamic centres of capitalist development. The exchange between core and peripheral areas has been transformed into a highly complex and varied structure with individuals moving to take advantage of both economic and social opportunities in several places.

A new international migration system

The focussing question of Chapter Four was to elaborate on how the immigration policy changes of 1986, and the introduction of a “points system” in 1991, impact on the structure of the system of international migration to New Zealand, particularly from Northeast Asia. By the end of the 1980s it was clear that a new international migration sub-system had developed in New Zealand as a direct result of the liberalised immigration policy introduced by the Labour Government. However, the National Government elected in 1990 thought that the changes in labour market and immigration reform had not been radical enough and they quickly moved to complete the transformation of New Zealand begun in 1984.

In 1991 New Zealand immigration policy moved from a ‘selective entry rules’ policy to a ‘promotional entry rules’ regime in an effort to actively promote New Zealand as a migrant destination. The new points system was seen as a more determined effort to secure human capital, investment funds and the international economic linkages for the nation’s economic growth strategy. What was remarkable about the development of the population flows from the NICs of Northeast Asia, as analysed in Chapter Four, was the speed with which they grew in the early 1990s. By mid 1995 a non-traditional country, Taiwan, was the source country contributing the biggest number of immigrants to New Zealand (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1996).

Flows from Northeast Asia

In Chapter Five it was shown how international migration, in particular from Northeast Asia since 1986, has contributed to the changing age and gender compositions of a highly unstable, small national population. The age and gender compositions of the PLT arrival flows from the countries of Northeast Asia show patterns that can be linked directly to the impact of the 1986 and 1991 immigration policy changes. The response from Chinese in Hong Kong and Taiwan to the liberalisation of New Zealand’s immigration policy differs

to that of Koreans and Chinese from the PRC. The population pyramids for the Hong Kong and Taiwan migrants in Chapter Four show obvious family migration from the end of the 1980s, indicating the arrival of immigrants planning permanent or at least “semi-permanent” settlement.

Both the Korean and PRC Chinese flows remained relatively small until the year beginning April 1994. For Korea the introduction of the points system and a visa-waiver scheme appear to have been the factors that facilitated a dramatic rise in immigrants arriving from Korea. Family migration, including younger children than in the Hong Kong and Taiwan families, quickly became the pattern in 1995 and 1996, suggesting that the Korean arrivals were planning to settle permanently.

The flow from Mainland China, on the other hand, was markedly different from those from the NICs. The sudden increase in numbers arriving from that country after 1993 was even more dramatic than the rise in numbers of Korean immigrants. However, the age profile of the arrivals from Mainland China was the feature that was significantly different. The predominance of young adults in their late twenties and early thirties suggest that there is a significant number of students, probably coming to complete a tertiary qualification, in this flow to New Zealand. Family migration from China was not taking place in the mid 1990s.

As stressed in Chapter Five, it is unwise to attempt to make simple generalisations about the impact of net migration gains on New Zealand’s population structure. When the net gains and losses for each age group made by migration are isolated out from the contributions made by on-going structural change it is possible to establish the relative importance of international migration for population change in particular age groups. From the analysis in Chapter Five, it was shown that during the 1986 to 1996 decade net migration gains of overseas born people added to all the five year age groups except to the oldest - the over 75 year olds. Just over half of this non-citizen gain was from Asian source countries.

The age composition of the non-Asian net migration gain is different from the gain from Asian source countries. One of the distinctive ways that migration from Asia has contributed to population change in New Zealand is the bigger contribution of gains of citizens from these sources to the secondary and tertiary aged groups - 15-24 year olds. The other age group to experience a

distinctive gain from Asian source countries, in contrast to citizens of other countries, was the 50-54 year old group. In all the age groups over 65 years there was a net loss of Asian citizens showing the pattern of retirement return migration is particularly strong for migrants from these countries.

Migration from Northeast Asia contributed almost two thirds of the gain from Asian sources and a third of the total non-citizen gain. The need for caution when generalising was again apparent as the gain from the Northeast differed in age composition from the other Asian component. The highest percentage gains from Northeast Asia were in the 5-19 year age groups and in 40-54 year age group reinforcing the fact that much of this migration gain was of families. It was only in the 25-34 year age group, traditionally the most mobile age group, that the contribution of migration from Northeast Asia is overshadowed by contributions from other regions.

The 1986-1996 decade is made up of two distinctive five year periods. The first period at the end of the 1980s produced an overall net migration loss to New Zealand of almost 2,000. In contrast in the second five year period at the beginning of the 1990s there was a net migration gain of nearly 76,000. It was after the introduction of the points system in 1991 that net migration gains from Northeast Asia experienced a dramatic numerical increase. On the other hand, the proportional contribution from Northeast Asia stayed relatively the same made up of just under and just over a third of the total non-citizen gain during the two periods,

In both periods net migration gains from Northeast Asia contributed to some rejuvenation of New Zealand's population but, in addition, it also added to growth in the older working-aged population thus contributing as well to ageing of the population. Although the sex ratio was still quite heavily male dominated in the 1990s (156 males per 100 females) the ratio had fallen from 199 males per 100 females in the period at the end of the 1980s. This lowering of the sex ratio in the flows from Northeast Asia in the 1990s was accompanied by a shift towards more family migration as the new migration streams became established.

The 1996 census showed that there was a 14.7 percent increase in the number of overseas-born people living in New Zealand (605,061) over the 1991 census. In 1986 one in seven people resident in New Zealand were born

overseas. By 1996 this had risen to one in six (Cook, 1997, 27). When those of Korean and Chinese descent (from Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan) are studied the group recording the highest percentage increase between the 1991 and the 1996 census was the Koreans (1,620 percent). Amongst those of Chinese descent the nationals from Hong Kong showed the highest percentage increase (149 percent) followed by the nationals from Taiwan (137 percent) and the Mainland Chinese (116 percent).

Employment status and occupation

To identify the occupation groups and industrial sectors in the New Zealand labour force that have been most affected by immigration from Northeast Asia some preliminary analysis of the 1996 census data was undertaken in Chapter Six. The highest proportion of those recording an employment status were wage and salary earners among the recent immigrant group of Korean and Chinese descent. The exception was the 30-49 year old group from Taiwan who had higher representation in the self-employed category. When age groups were examined it was those in their 20s and 30s that had the highest percentages in waged and salaried employment for these nationals. However, there was a substantial drop in those earning a wage or salary in 1996 compared to 1991 for the population as a whole and particularly so for the immigrants from Korea and the three Chinese nations.

Self-employment is a substantial employment status group for the Korean and Chinese immigrants, particularly the recent immigrants, compared to the New Zealand population as a whole. Often these businesses were found to be small enterprises probably established for “face-saving” employment rather than profit. Between 1991 and 1996 there was a greater increase in the incidence of unemployment among the recent immigrants than for the population as a whole. In the countries under study, the group with highest unemployment in 1996 was the China-born, while the Hong Kong-born had the lowest incidence of unemployment.

Korean and China-born nationals had a wider distribution through the occupation groups than the Chinese born in Hong Kong and Taiwan who are mainly clustered in the professional category. The Korea born had the biggest concentration of people in the Administrator and Managerial category, unlike the China-born who had higher proportions in the Sales and Service Worker category. However, as shown in Chapter Six, it is difficult to generalise about the experiences of both recent and established immigrants. It appears from

both the census data and the survey data that there are a considerable number of skilled immigrants both under- and unemployed. The labour force participation rates vary not only by age, gender and the New Zealand locality they have chosen to live in but also by their country of origin. Lack of satisfactory work interferes with the adaptation and settlement process for the whole family.

The micro-level research reported in Chapter Six confirmed that a considerable number of immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea have not been able to utilise their wealth, skills and experience to help promote New Zealand's economic growth. The growth that was stimulated seemed to be in areas where it was not wanted, for example in property speculation and school rolls. A pool of highly skilled and experienced unemployed was created and, as 70 percent of recent immigrants of Chinese or Korean descent had settled in Auckland (Ho *et al.*, 1997), they formed a very visible group that generated considerable media and public debate and marked a 'major divide between Auckland and the rest of the country' (Spoonley and Bedford, 1996, 16). Rather than there being relatively little social disruption because of a skills-based points system, migration had heightened racial tensions and social conflict.

The future of Northeast Asian settlement in New Zealand

Although New Zealand was founded on a Treaty between the Maori and the Pakeha peoples, the country has historically been 'homogenous and exclusivist in our immigration policy - matching the insular and protectionist stance we took towards external economic ties generally' (Gibson, 1997, 3). This helps to explain some of the anxiety felt by many of the resident population as the country experienced a substantial inflow of immigrants from non-traditional source countries after 1986. Unlike the other three traditional lands of settlement, New Zealand had no tradition of welcoming large numbers of different ethnic groups and, until the 1960s, the government expected that all ethnic groups, including Maori, would assimilate into the Anglo-European "mainstream". The lack of recognition of established ethnic communities, combined with an approach that valued homogeneity, have made it more difficult for the recent immigrants to establish themselves and begin the adaptive process.

The Northeast Asian immigrants who have arrived since 1986 are a group of people in New Zealand as a direct result of a change of state policy. Since

the mid 1980s successive New Zealand governments have tried to establish as many direct links as possible with Asian economies. As a result of the policy under which they were accepted for New Zealand residency, the migrants were mostly skilled and/or wealthy and arrived in a country where they assumed they would be able to begin immediately to contribute to the economy.

‘The New Zealand Experiment’ (Kelsey, 1997) has created feelings of fear and uncertainty among the resident population. This has meant that, in addition to adaptation to the traditional challenges for an immigrant, for those migrants entering in the 1990s there has been the additional burden of settlement in a period of economic, political and social uncertainty in New Zealand’s history with a resident population unsettled and alarmed by rapid change.

In the case of migrants from South Korea and Taiwan in particular, who generally have limited fluency in the English language and no prior history of substantial migration to New Zealand, there were few established networks to help them situate themselves in a new country and culture. Given that the immigration policy emphasises selection of the most skilled and wealthy applicants, it was not surprising that those immigrants from Northeast Asia felt that there ought to be help from government agencies in both the establishment of businesses and the availability of local professional employment. As we have argued elsewhere (Ho, Lidgard, Bedford and Spoonley, 1997, 57):

It is symptomatic of free market policies that having encouraged and permitted certain types of migrants entry to New Zealand, their subsequent success or failure is not deemed to be a government responsibility. In the circumstances, it is understandable that they should explore the possibility of return migration.

The links that these migrants from Northeast Asia are helping to establish, and the relative wealth of these newcomers make their migration and settlement in New Zealand of particular interest and importance. However, as Palat (1996, 53) argues, Asian migrants and investors are not responsible for the contemporary nature of capitalist production. Hence some of the expectations of how and when these migrants will contribute to the economy have been most unrealistic. Recent changes in the bounding economies of Asia, which have sent the “Tigers in[to] a tailspin” (*New Zealand Herald*, 26 November, 1997), will complicate these expectations even further. These

events emphasise the close linkage between the process of international migration and the continual evolution of the capitalist system.

THE UTILITY OF A SYSTEMS APPROACH

World systems analysis, with its focus on the interconnectedness of economic relations around the world, provided a firm basis in this thesis for the analysis of international migration in the later part of the twentieth century. It is acknowledged that the concepts of world-systems theory and international migration systems have usually been treated as separate concepts. However, as argued in this thesis, and supported by Hugo (1996, 108), while the two systems concepts are separate 'a world systems theory approach . . . can be accommodated within the overarching international migration systems framework which is concerned with the totality of interactions between nations'. To study international migration to New Zealand in the late twentieth century, it is necessary to use a theory that acknowledges the central role that the globalisation of capitalist accumulation has on the international movement of people. However, concepts of networks and associated linkages, both institutional and individual, also need to be integrated to provide a theory with a framework broad enough to analyse the elements involved in the international migration process of the 1990s.

Most countries have migration systems that are continuing to grow in size, complexity and diversity. The processes that create and control these systems operate on a worldwide basis. They result from the global capitalist economy and the mobility of capital, the activities of transnational corporations and the widespread realisation by governments that human resources can be traded for profit like any other resource (Salt, 1992b). Clearly, the changing international division of labour needs to be located within the context of global economic restructuring (Sassen, 1991; Koser and Salt, 1997).

The other strength of a world-systems approach to analysis of international migration is the ability it has to highlight regional development as the 'interface between global and national analysis. . . . [T]he regional context is the medium through which world-system dynamics become articulated in the form of geopolitics, which in turn shape national development' (So and Chiu, 1995, 279). For example, the global dynamics of the "Asian crisis" have dislocated the New Zealand economy and altered the composition of both the

short-term and long-term population flows. So and Chiu (1995, 279) also go on to show that ‘through the regional context, the nation-state and subnational forces articulate themselves before transcending into global dynamics.’ For example, the establishment of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) has created a group that can challenge the hegemonic domination of the United States.

This thesis illustrates how world-systems analysis can be used to link the movement of people to the periodic cycles of crisis and development inherent in capitalism as a system. Globalisation has not only accentuated the extremes of the cycles in the economic system but also the speed with which they occur.

Systems and economic change

The linchpins of the global system of migration and development are the global cities from which subregional corridors of development spread (Sassen, 1991; Skeldon, 1997c). However, the tenuous and fragile nature of globalisation needs to be acknowledged for as some parts of the world become more closely integrated into the global system other parts may be ‘disarticulating’ (Skeldon, 1997c, 54). This inclusion and exclusion contradiction is a fundamental issue and has been identified by Castles (1997b, 1) as ‘a central aspect of all the other contemporary contradictions.’

By the beginning of the 1980s, when the trans-Atlantic trade was eclipsed by the trade of the Pacific, ‘the Age of the Pacific’ was beginning to be proclaimed (Palat, 1993, 3). This predication appeared to be confirmed by the high rates of economic growth displayed by the Asian tiger economies and Japan. There was a shift from a transatlantic system and the “old core” areas of Western Europe to a transpacific system and the “new core” areas of East Asia (Skeldon, 1997c, 61). The increasing integration of relational networks across and along the shores of the contemporary Pacific, however, has taken place within the larger context of the evolution of capitalism.

Many researchers working in the world-systems school have helped to clarify the ‘impact of world-system and regional dynamics on East Asian development.’ (So and Chiu, 1995, 26). The process that enabled the Northeast Asian states to industrialise so rapidly was the way in which the United States chose to transform the capitalist world economy from Fordism to flexible accumulation using transnational corporations (TNCs) to invest

across state boundaries and rationalise their manufacturing operations (Palat, 1996b, 309).

The migration from Northeast Asia in the 1980s and 1990s is a product of the larger economic restructuring occurring in the Pacific rim countries. The tremendous rise of trade in the region, the growth of Asian countries as major manufacturers for export, the resulting dislocations in the economy of the United States as it tried to become more competitive, all stimulated this new immigration and set the stage for the kinds of roles the new immigrants are playing in the 1990s (Bonacich, Ong and Cheng, 1994, 325). A globalising economy not only changes the relations between countries but also pushes emigrants and immigrants into new roles. In the process, these international migrants play a significant part in hastening globalisation.

This contemporary immigration from Northeast Asia has two features that make it unique (Bonacich, Ong and Cheng, 1994, 324). The first is that the flow is composed of highly educated immigrants who are expecting to join the professional and managerial classes. The second is that the flows include immigrants with considerable capital to invest and are thus a group with the potential to transform the local economy with their investment.

The contradiction between the economy and the environment is of relevance (Castles, 1997b, 7). Some of the migration flows from Northeast Asian cities are as a direct result of environmental degradation. The quest for a more relaxed lifestyle in a 'clean, green environment' was mentioned by many of my survey interviewees as a reason for choosing to leave their country of origin, with its high levels of industrial pollution, and settle in New Zealand. This was confirmed for the other countries of settlement by Skeldon, (1997b, 14) who noted that some of the reasons given for moving to North American or Australasian societies included 'a clean environment with plentiful space, a less stressful education programme, a perceived liberal and just society where individual freedoms are valued'.

Although global investment patterns mean that production processes in the periphery are increasingly resembling those that were part of the core production process, Zolberg (1981, 1992) and others note that these capital flows are still structured by the regulatory mechanisms of the nation-states. The contradiction between market and state, which includes some and excludes others, appears to result from anonymous "market forces". This has

a very marked effect on international migration. Skilled migrants are welcomed in most countries while the unskilled migrant workers may only be able to obtain illegal entry if employers are in need of unskilled labour.

The mobility of people is as much a part of globalisation as the movement of capital, commodities and ideas. If governments try to implement unrealistic immigration policies or try to stop migration the migration networks and the global migration industry may have more power than the states in shaping population flows.

Systems and networks

All countries are now participating in transnational circuits through which the highly skilled pass as part of the circulatory migration process. It is the formation of transnational social networks, and the linkage of families and communities, that facilitate migration (Skeldon, 1997b). People keep coming back to see family members and it is the networks of family, friendship and community that underlie much recent migration (Boyd, 1989, DeGolyer, 1998). There appears to be an extensive network evolving 'of transnational circuits of short-term and more long-term mobility, with participants having two, and possibly more residences around the Pacific' (Skeldon, 1997c, 113). This is a particular characteristic of the "astronaut" families of Hong Kong Chinese and Taiwanese, in particular in Australasia and North America. In the new core of East Asia the return of students is another part of the circular flows.

The well-educated or entrepreneurial Asian migrants are 'part of the global elite . . . [and] can be seen as in diaspora' (Skeldon, 1997b, 5). Long-distance commuting, part of the "astronaut" and "parachute kid" phenomena, is a form of mobility that has only been possible since modern, relatively low cost, air travel, became an everyday occurrence. Skeldon (1997b, 6) has suggested that the numbers involved may be substantial as 'the sex-ratios for the Hong-Kong-born in Australia as a whole, and in Auckland and Vancouver, are significantly biased towards women in the adult age cohorts suggesting large numbers of female-headed "astronaut" households'. Research in New Zealand into this astronaut family strategy suggests it is more complex than is sometimes portrayed (Ho *et al.*, 1997a and b).

International networks of “Overseas Chinese”, ‘the largest of the world’s middleman minorities’ (Sowell, 1996, 175), are based on a range of social relationships with ethnic roots that transcend the nation state (Thrift and Olds, 1996). It is this Chinese diaspora, working in association with the Chinese Government, that appears to be emerging as the leading agent of global capitalist expansion (So and Chiu, 1995, 28). This, as pointed out by Friesen and Ip (1997), generates a great deal of medium and short-term mobility in addition to “permanent” movements.

However it needs to be kept in mind that although the absolute number of Chinese in overseas countries may be substantial, ‘their proportion of individual national populations is still small’ (Skeldon, 1997a, 224). Ethnic Chinese represented only 0.66 percent of the total population of the United States in 1990; 2.5 percent of the total population of Canada in 1991, and not more than 2.5 percent of the Australian population in the same year (Skeldon, 1997a, 224-5). In New Zealand the proportion of ethnic Chinese in the population rose from 1.3 percent in 1991 to 2.2 percent by the 1996 census (Ho, Goodwin, Bedford and Spragg, 1997).

Often there appears to be a deliberate strategy on the part of some families to diversify their country options. Much has been written since the early 1980s for the Pacific Island Polynesians who have established ‘transnational corporations of kin’ (Marcus, 1981). Chinese migrants from Asia have long had this strategy. Recent acknowledgement of the astronaut family phenomenon is really recognition of a long-established practice (Seagrave, 1996). As DeGolyer (1998, 4) points out in his report on Hong Kong’s transition: ‘Clearly a portion of the people who have emigrated did so as one of the contingency measures adopted by families to cope’. It appears that a logical risk minimisation strategy under globalisation is the establishment of family bi- or multilocality (Skeldon, 1995c).

Migration can take on a momentum of its own which can become increasingly difficult to control (Skeldon, 1997b, 13). Linkages back to the home areas see the development of transnational communities. The linkages of emigrants to their countries of origin and to other countries through a variety of familial, economic and emotional ties mean that there are emerging forms of transcultural belonging and identity which in the past were relatively rare (Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Blanc-Szanton, 1994).

In the 1990s it is quite common to find transnational kin networks of relatives maintaining “a foot in several camps” allowing the ‘flexible mobilisation of . . . resources somewhat outside the orbit of immediate state intervention and direct regulation’ (Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Blanc-Szanton, 1994, 239). The possible political effect of this component of international migration systems has been identified by Stephen Castles (1997a) as the issue that long-term is likely to be of increasing importance in migration studies in the Asia-Pacific region .

Dynamics of systems

The focus on long-distance commuting has highlighted the circulation component in the process of international migration in the 1990s. Hugo (1996, 101) has noted the increased significance and scale of ‘cross-national daily commuting’, a complex form of mobility which , as he points out, is ‘very difficult to reconcile with “official” demographic concepts of residence, citizenship and international migration’. Most demographic work on international migration has emphasised the permanent relocation of people as it has been based on a conceptualisation of migration as a change of place of residence or citizenship (Zlotnik, 1987a). To understand the complex patterns of movement, from and to present-day Asia, clearly all forms of population mobility need to be studied regardless or whether or not the moves are permanent (Hugo, 1996, 102).

The boundaries of the systems are constantly changing as the migration fields are reorientated towards new areas of economic dynamism (Skeldon, 1997c, 45). The state, however, remains one of the most powerful players in the system, even though its power and effectiveness can vary from place to place (Skeldon, 1997c; Wallerstein, 1997). State policies are critical in determining the patterns and types of migration. In addition, as Skeldon (1997c, 46) points out, states are of critical importance from an analytical point of view as the data on which migration researchers usually depend is normally available for nation states.

Together with the rise of a transnational culture, the globalising effects of modern communications and transportation, are challenging the loyalties to and even the continued existence of the nation-state. At the same time the

belief that 'each person should belong politically and culturally to just one nation-state is becoming unworkable' (Castles, 1997b, 9). Currently many people maintain multiple identities by commuting between countries and maintaining economic, family and social links in more than one country. This was one of the issues raised by the Leader of the New Zealand First Party in the 1996 election debate in New Zealand who said that his party would make 'commitment to New Zealand . . . a precondition to buying property' (Young, 1996, S1, 1). This stance was 'lambasted' by an Asian newspaper who described the arguments as 'dubious and bizarre' and targeting mainly those from Hong Kong and Taiwan (*New Zealand Herald*, 13 April, 1996, 4).

However, the global networks that have been formed can 'selectively switch on and off individuals, groups, regions and even countries' (Castells, 1996, 3) creating a contradiction between the society ("net") and the individual ("self"). Hence people increasingly seek meaning to their lives through assuming identities 'based on ethnicity, religion, regionalism or nationalism' (Castles, 1997b, 5). So the conflict between the net and self can become a defence of the local against the globalising forces that may exclude or dispossess on the basis of the rationale of 'market forces'. In other words, at the same time as economics is encouraging disintegration of nations, there is an integration of regions. The larger regional groupings are seen as 'economic insurance policies guaranteeing [countries] participation in the world economy' (Thurow, 1997, 63).

One of the key issues addressed by the UNESCO-MOST programme is the contradiction between the global and the local (Castles, 1997b, 6). Economic geographers such as Fagan and Le Heron (1994), and Fagan and Webber (1994), have written on this contradiction. Although international migration continues to be generally analysed at the national level, 'its strongest effects are felt locally' (Castles, 1997b, 6). In New Zealand the immigration of large numbers of people who were born in Asian countries is more of an issue for Auckland city than it is for any other of the major, minor or secondary urban centres. For rural areas it is not an issue as very few immigrants from Asian source countries settle outside an urban centre (Bedford and Goodwin, 1997). Therefore, although the nation-state remains as the dominant level of analysis it is important that local dimensions of migration are 'treated as central issues in research and political action' (Castles, 1997b, 6).

In common with markets elsewhere the Asian market will be subject to cyclical turnarounds as '[e]conomic crises are an integral part of capitalist development and one response to crisis is restructuring' (Forbes, 1984, 78). Hence New Zealand's trade relationship is likely to remain fragile in this part of the world as the country has not yet built up a long history of trade with Korea. It is important that New Zealand does not get left out in Korea's restructuring process as in 1997 this country was already New Zealand's fifth largest trading partner (Bingham, 26 December 1997, A1). New Zealand has been seen to jump on the Korean band wagon when times were good and let go with unseemly haste when times were bad. An employee of the New Zealand Tourist Board in Seoul put it this way:

You are here when times are good. As soon as the times turn bad you are the first one to depart . . . [and] I guess in [the] way of departing so fast . . . friendship feelings [are] hurt. People feel let's [wait and] see when times are good who's going [to] support who? [We'll] support friends that stay with us when we had a hard time (*Television New Zealand*, Channel 1, 19 April 1998).

The danger long-term is that when the Korean economy recovers the country may decide that New Zealand is not a reliable trading partner. This is the reason New Zealand contributed money to the international financial rescue package (Bingham, 26 December 1997, A1) and companies like the New Zealand Dairy Board are continuing to maintain an office in Korea in spite of the drastic cut in their business (*Television New Zealand*, Channel 1, 19 April 1998).

An historic meeting known as the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) took place in Bangkok in March 1996 and sent important signals to Australia and New Zealand. "Europe" in the form of the European Union went to meet with "Asia" in the form of a coalition of States from East Asia in an essentially bilateral forum (FitzGerald, 1997). One of the important elements of this meeting was to establish an agreement on the group of States that could be defined as composing an "Asia". Agreement on a definition was difficult and finally became a definition by exclusion.

At this meeting Australia was not present on either side. It was not part of "Europe" so sought inclusion as "Asia". However, Malaysia vetoed Australia's inclusion and the other East Asian States were not prepared to risk their consensus for Australia's benefit. Thus the group of states that came together for an economic summit defined "Asia" in political and cultural terms

and denied Australia a vote in this coalition. The political exclusion from participation in the coalition of states, a group that dominates Australasian economic, immigration, tourism and education flows, has been seen as 'comparable to a colonial status for Australia' (FitzGerald, 1997). FitzGerald goes on to point out that this is an ominous exclusion for Australia for as an "outsider" it has no voice and therefore no political or cultural influence in its regional habitat.

Australia and New Zealand should be concerned over the signals that the exclusion of Australia from this coalition sends. The future for Australasia 'will not be one in which the United States, or any other power with which we have shared cultural heritage or political philosophies or processes or institutions, is the determining force in our part of the world' (FitzGerald, 1997). Something like the coalition of East Asian States under the influence of China is what FitzGerald (1997) sees as the dominant regional political and cultural force.

The current world situation has been interpreted by some contemporary theorists as 'the painful transition from modernity to post-modernity' (Castles, 1997b, 7). The fragmentation of politics, cultures and identities and the rejection of the "grand narratives" are all seen to be a part of the post-modern environment. The integrated economy of the global capitalist world is not matched by political and social harmony. "Free" markets do not bring about social justice and equality although highly skilled migrants usually have sufficient power to secure their social and economic rights. What is needed Castles (1997b, 9) argues is 'a new model of global citizenship, which will break the nexus between belonging and territoriality: people need rights as human beings, not as nationals.'

To date, globalisation has been a process that has imposed extensive changes on local communities by powerful external forces from above. The hope is that a countervailing force "from below" will develop and that a new concept of citizenship will emerge from the thousands of local movements appearing that will help to ameliorate the drastic side effects of economic and social change (Castles, 1997b, 10).

The strength of a systems approach to the study of migration, as argued by Kritz *et al.* (1992) and Poot (1996) is that it is able to integrate migration with other processes linking nation states. An important element of the systems concept is that consideration is given to the whole spectrum of processes

involved in population movement. In an increasingly interconnected world the systems perspective focuses attention on the changing linkages and growing networks of socio-economic interdependence.

DEVELOPMENTS IN NEW ZEALAND, 1996 TO 1998

The cycles in net migration gains and losses are continuing to be a feature of New Zealand's international migration system in the 1990s. The year ended March 1996 was the high point in both total net migration gains and PLT net migration gains in the 1990s. Even with the substantial emigration of New Zealanders, the PLT net migration gains for March 1996 are the highest to date for the decade. In contrast the total net migration gain continued to rise in the year ended March 1997 as fewer New Zealanders left in this year compared to the previous year.

When the total net migration for the 1995, 1996 and 1997 March years is compared on the basis of "traditional" and "non-traditional" source countries there is more variation in the migration flows from the traditional countries compared to the non-traditional sources (Figure 7.1). The net gain from Australia shows the most variance in the three years while net gains from the United Kingdom and Ireland, and the Pacific to a lesser extent, show a steady increase over the three year period. The net gains from the non-traditional source countries dominate completely and show a continuing increase in the net total gain.

The pattern is different when the net PLT figures are graphed. The net gains from three of the four traditional source countries remain fairly constant over the three years with that from the Pacific Islands showing a small but steady increase (Figure 7.2). When the non-traditional source countries are considered in the 1997 year, gains from both Asian source countries and countries of the Middle East show a drop in net PLT immigrants (Figure 7.2). This is an indication that by the 1997 year, the October 1995 immigration policy amendments, with their emphasis on English language skills and residential visas linked more closely to New Zealand residence for tax purposes, were beginning to impact on the numbers of people arriving to settle from these source countries.

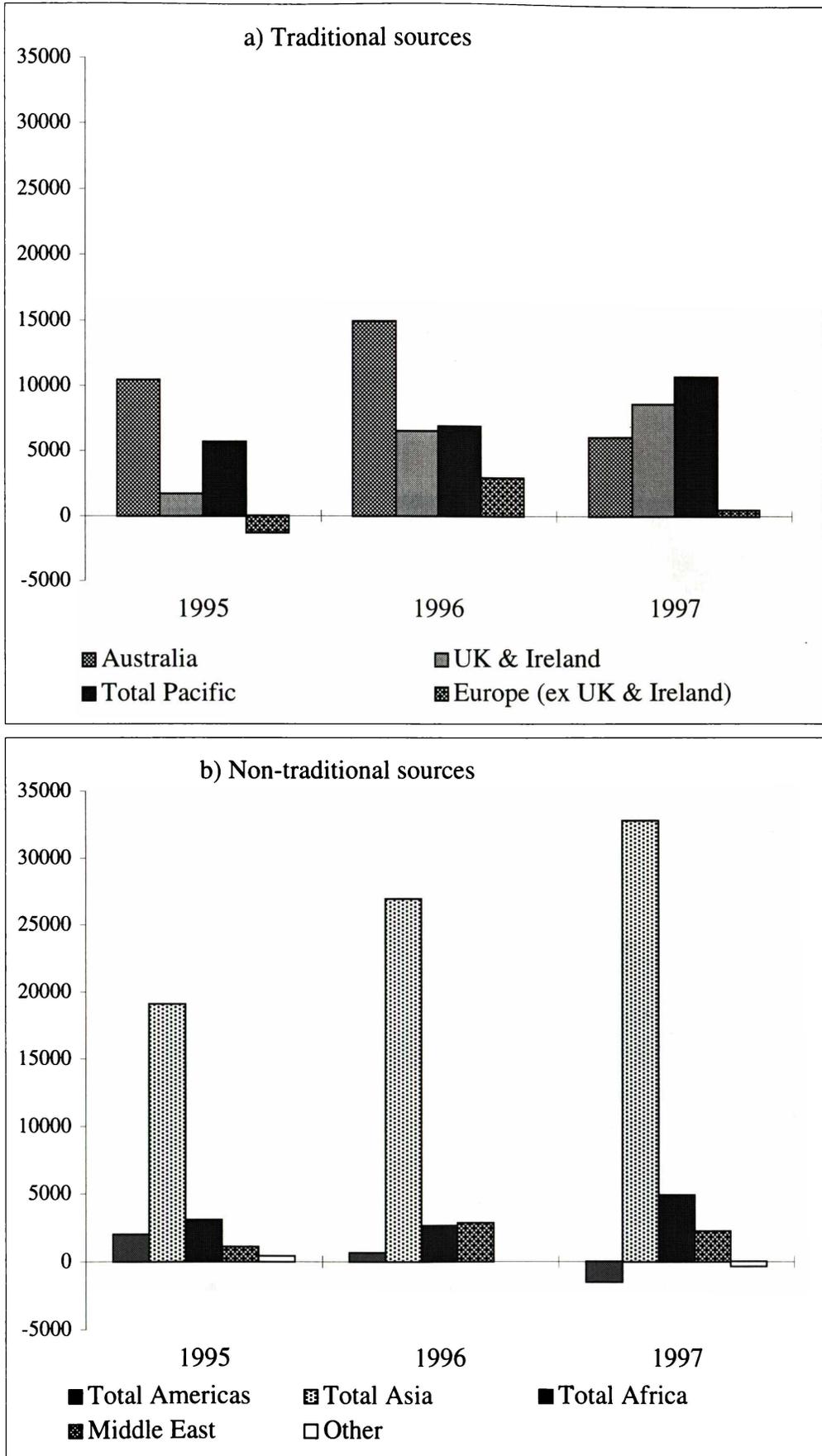


Figure 7.1: Net total migration from traditional and non-traditional source countries, 1995-1997

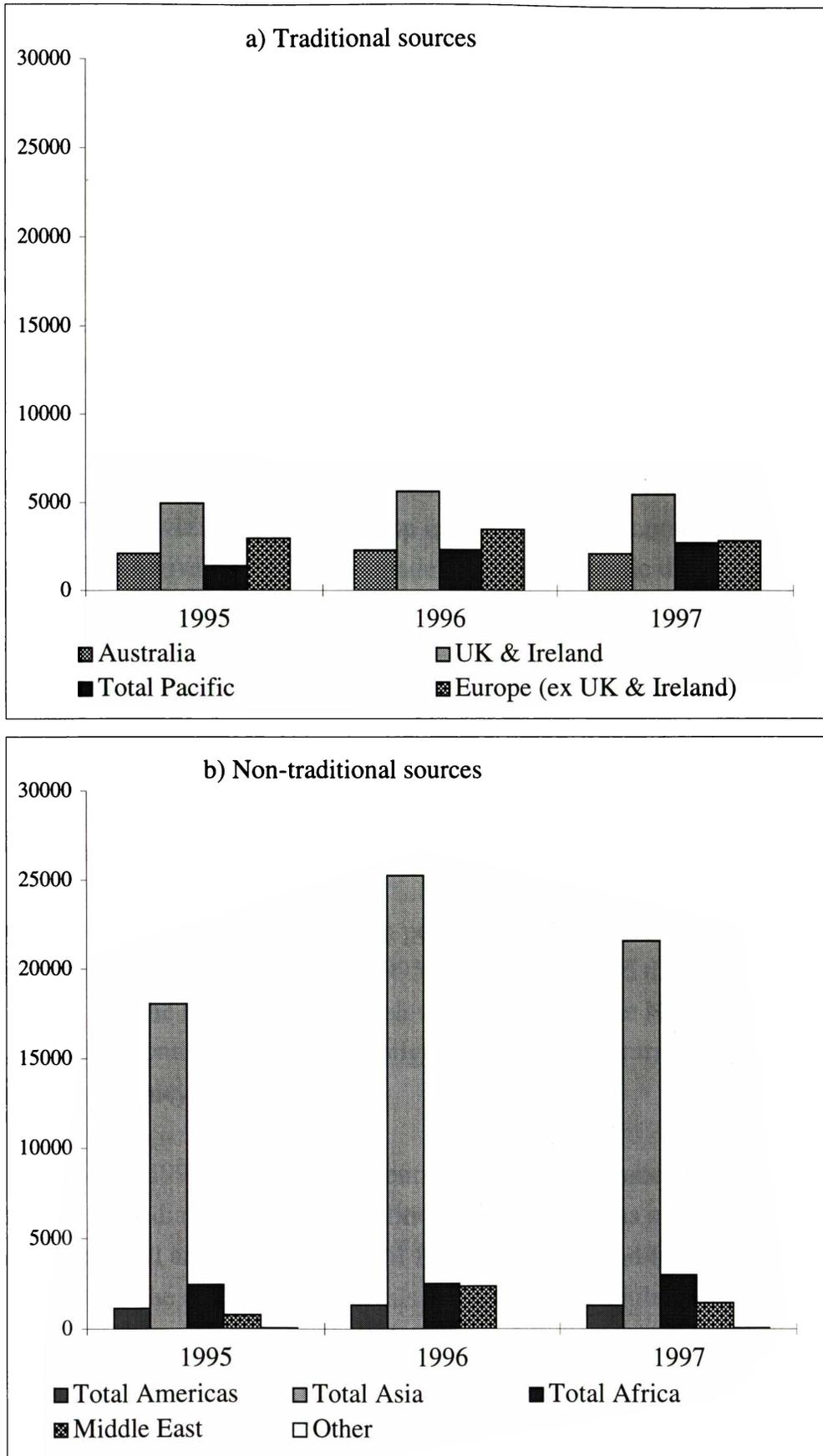


Figure 7.2: Net PLT migration from traditional and non-traditional source countries, 1995-1997

Statistics New Zealand report a substantial downturn in the net PLT gain from the peak of 30,160 for the April 1996 year (Statistics New Zealand, August, 1997). In February 1998 the net gain of 820 long-term migrants during that month was 64 percent lower than that for the previous February.

After seasonal adjustments there was a net outflow of 80 in February. The Chief Statistician noted that the net outflow of permanent migrants since October 1997 last occurred in late 1991 (Statistics New Zealand, March, 1998a). In February the net loss of New Zealanders to Australia (1,400) was almost replaced by the net gain of immigrants from Asia (1,390). Meanwhile the number of visitor arrivals 'remained relatively steady' (Statistics New Zealand, March, 1998b).

Asia had been the most significant regional source of arrivals but has fallen to third place overall with a 37 percent drop in February 1998 compared with February 1997. Arrivals from Korea made the most dramatic drop of any single country during February a drop of 90 percent (Statistics New Zealand, March, 1998b). Korean tourism to California also dropped sharply at this time (*Migration News*, 1998a) as it has done to all countries. Overseas travel by Koreans is currently perceived to be a luxury that the country cannot afford (*Television New Zealand*, Channel 1, 19 April 1998).

The New Zealand policy situation

The successive changes in immigration policy since 1986 (Burke, 1986; New Zealand Immigration Service, 1991; 1995) have highlighted the deficiencies in the policy and the inadequacies of relevant research. The New Zealand government has continued to view immigration as a tap to turn on and off; an easy source of money or labour.

The reality of the 1995 policy adjustments was that the number of immigrant applications immediately began to decline although this was not shown in arrival figures until around March/April 1996 (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1997). The decline in approvals sought was particularly marked for people from Taiwan and was attributed directly to 'new English language requirements, new requirements for returning residents' visas . . . and occupational registration requirements' (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1997, 4).

It was rather ironic, as pointed out by Farmer (1997, 12), that while the number of applications to enter the country began to fall in the first half of 1996, the New Zealand First Political Party, led by Winston Peters, began their election campaign with a call to greatly reduce the number of migrants. Immigration issues began to dominate the news media and headlines, such as “Stupid immigration policies will rob us of our lifestyle” (*New Zealand Herald*, 7 February, 1996); “It’s race day in Petersville” (*New Zealand Herald*, 9 March, 1996), helped to generate heated debate on immigration issues.

After the election and the formation of a coalition government, with the New Zealand First Party one of the coalition partners, the portfolio of immigration was upgraded to full Ministerial status. As part of the coalition agreement it was pledged to hold a Population Conference and a commitment was made to retain current immigration policies until after the conference was held.

The convening of this Population Conference, held in Wellington in November 1997, was seen as a first step towards ‘greater stability in the immigration target to avoid the negative perception among migrants and migrant source countries that New Zealand is inclined to turn the immigration tap on and off’ (Bradford, 1997b, 1). Originally the conference was intended to be about immigration as this had been debated vigorously before the 1996 elections. The conference organisers, however, were encouraged to develop a programme that focused on population dynamics rather than on immigration per se (Bedford and Ho, 1998, 51; New Zealand Immigration Service, 1997).

A keynote speaker at the Conference, Dr Jim Smith of the Rand research organisation in California, said that the United States was grappling with similar sensitive immigration issues to New Zealand. In Smith’s (1997, 44) words:

Immigration is always a sensitive issue. It is a sensitive issue in my country and has been for the over 200 years we have been debating this issue. That debate has always centred around exactly the same questions. What is the impact of immigration economically on the rest of us? Are we better or worse off by letting others come into our country?

Smith also confirmed that the current immigration debate in the United States was focused around the need to restrict family to close relatives and increase

the proportion of economic migrants (Smith, 1997, 186). A news report at the time of the conference suggested that the New Zealand Government was also concerned about this issue and planned to signal moves ‘to reduce the flow of family immigrants to New Zealand at its population conference’ (Gamble and NZPA, 1997, A15). Although both the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister spoke at the conference neither tried to introduce new policy nor did the Minister responsible for the immigration portfolio, Max Bradford, in his closing address (Bedford and Ho, 1998).

In his closing address the Minister of Immigration acknowledged that ‘for too long, immigration policy has been in a little cell on its own, without much reference to other government policies or indeed to other things going on in the community. ‘We have to rectify that.’ (Bradford, 1997a, 297). This address demonstrated to Bedford and Ho (1998, 52) that ‘the conference had succeeded in “situating” the debate about immigration issues in the wider context of contemporary and future population dynamics and social change.’ The critical message contained in Bradford’s concluding address was that migration policy is not going to be used simply as a lever in economic policy; something to pull on when you want to stimulate growth; something to push off when you want to take the “heat” out of growth. Migrants are *people* not investment dollars or commodities (Bedford, 1998).

A month after the Population Conference the Minister of Immigration, Max Bradford, released ‘a package to create a certain, long term immigration policy which will make a positive economic and social contribution to New Zealand’ (Bradford, 1997b, 1). The main points of the immigration policy package were:

- setting of a medium term immigration target related to a net long term migration flow of 10,000 people a year.
- marketing New Zealand as a migrant destination
- increasing business investor migrants
- modifying English language requirements
- clamping down on immigration scams
- better screening and removal processes
- more efficient appeals system
- faster and fairer refugee status process
- extending the visa-free framework
- adopting measures to cope with migrant trafficking (Bradford, 1997b, 1).

A significant achievement, from the point of view of research into migration in New Zealand, was the emphasis placed on more funding for research into settlement outcomes for migrants. Another important signal was an acknowledgment by the Minister that a key message from the Population Conference was '[t]he need for longer term planning in immigration policy' (Bradford, 1997c,1). In his view, a net gain of 10,000 people a year to the permanent and long-term migration flows translates currently into a medium term immigration target of between 35,000 and 45,000 new immigrant arrivals a year.

Permanent and long-term (PLT) net gains of 10,000 per year have been rare in New Zealand's twentieth century immigration history (Bedford *et al.*, 1998). The final immigration target figure for 1997/98 has yet to be released but the Minister has clearly signalled that he favours a policy that sanctions substantial immigration. The average annual net gain of PLT migrants since World War II has been 4,000 (Bedford *et al.*, 1998). Therefore if a net gain of 10,000 PLT migrants per year does become established in the country, 'the Population Conference will certainly mark a turning point in New Zealand's demographic history' (Bedford and Ho, 1998, 53).

In the December 1997 Press release the Minister expressed concern that the proportion of business investor and general skills migrants was decreasing as opposed to family category migrants (Bradford, 1997c). In an effort to reverse this trend the New Zealand Government is about to turn on the immigration tap yet again. Hopefully this time the policy will deliver a more measured flow that will be sustainable in the long-term.

The question that needs to be addressed by the Minister of Immigration, however, is whether or not there can be "measured flows" in the current world system. In his closing address to the Population Conference the Minister admitted that he doubted whether the variability of the uncontrolled flow could be counteracted with controlled immigration policy (Bradford, 1997a, 305). When he issued a statement on policy changes a month later, however, he seemed to have forgotten this point as the statement released was described as 'a package to create a certain, long term immigration policy' (Bradford, 1997b, 1; my emphasis). While it is important to have stability in policy and not continually 'fiddle with the target rate' (Bradford, 1997a, 305) the Minister is mistaken if he believes that stability in policy will deliver stability in population flows.

The record of New Zealand's cyclical net migration gains and losses under regulatory policy since the late 1960s (Figure 3.2) show that there are additional forces influencing population flows. This cyclical pattern of mobility is part of the current migration regime at a global scale. Immigration policy, and the thinking about immigration, have to be *flexible* enough to accommodate significant fluctuations in flows of both New Zealanders as well as Australians and new immigrants.

The policy situation in the other settler countries

It is clear that the countries of North America and Australasia have set out specifically to target talented and entrepreneurial groups 'to include the "best and brightest" among their immigrants' (Skeldon, 1997a, 232). Chinese groups dominate in business migration programmes to these countries. However, all these countries discovered that even the "best and the brightest" immigrants belong to family groups. Not all of the family members then eligible for permanent residence fit the preferred migrant criteria. As a result, the four destination countries have all become concerned about the predominance of family migration in the current streams and have moved to introduce policy to lower this proportion.

The United States introduced modifications in the 1990 Act with more emphasis towards increased independent migration and business groups (Appendix A; Skeldon, 1997a, 232). However, in the United States about five immigrants are admitted under family unification criteria for every immigrant admitted under economic criteria (*Migration News*, 1998a). Two major changes in immigration and welfare reform, likely to affect the patterns of immigration to the United States, were signed into law in 1996 (Appendix A). Espenshade, Baraka and Huber (1997, 794) argue that 'the combined effects of these two reform measures on people's incentives to migrate to the United States will be the opposite of what is intended.' Indeed, these authors suggest that the legislative measures are likely to expand incentives for illegal immigration and reduce levels of legal immigration.

Canada and Australia are both cutting down on the numbers of immigrants accepted under the humanitarian and family reunification category. Canada admits two immigrants in the economic class for every one admitted in the family class (*Migration News*, 1998a). Australia made policy amendments in

December 1995 introducing a “cap and queue” system which requires spouses to wait for permission to join their partners (*Migration News*, 1998b). Canada and Australia, however, are pursuing different policies in 1997/98 with Canada accepting more immigrants (5,000 more than in 1997) and Australia accepting less (Australia’s annual immigration intake has decreased by 9,000 between 1995-96 to 1996-97 and is due to fall a further 6,000 in the 1997 to 1998 period) (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 1997). Passaris (1998, 95) reported that in 1991 the Economic Council of Canada recommended that immigration be increased until it reached ‘one percent of the population, on a gross basis, by the year 2015.’ The Canadian Government is being advised that in order to correct the age imbalance in its population it will have to increasingly rely on immigration and will therefore need a more proactive immigration policy than in the past.

The New Zealand Government, as mentioned, is currently reviewing what the country should do to further fine-tune the immigration policy in 1998. As with the governments of the other traditional countries of settlement, the New Zealand Government is concerned by the increasing number of immigrants in the family reunion and humanitarian category. Comments by the Deputy Prime Minister, Winston Peters, in early 1998 suggest that there will soon be new policy introduced to correct this perceived problem (*Television New Zealand News*, Channel 1, 25 February, 1998).

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The major contribution of this research has been to deeper understanding of a new era of Northeast Asian immigration in New Zealand. In a period of rapid change and limited research funding it is difficult to prioritise the most useful directions for further research on international migration. As shown here, there is a complex set of relationships between the international movement of people, the ongoing evolution of global capitalism and social change. Following from this research three broad areas are identified where immediate work would add to both an understanding of the issues involved and to the development of more informed policy.

As the immigration policy of all settler countries becomes increasingly proactive, seeking to encourage the most skilled immigrants as settlers, research into the geography of the international migration of the highly skilled

is a priority. Koser and Salt (1997) have recently reviewed work on the international migration of the highly skilled and conclude that there is still much work to be done to establish a full understanding of the patterns and processes involved in the movement of these highly skilled workers.

In New Zealand, although immigration policy has been specifically targeting skilled workers since 1991, the only research has been the Department of Internal Affairs' Survey on qualifications and employment issues for these people. The reluctance of the New Zealand Government to address issues, such as the recognition of qualifications and previous work experience, has contributed to much of the ill-feeling in the wider community. This highlights the need for receiving countries to ensure that their immigration policy achieves the desired goals. Until the skilled immigrants are integrated into the labour market they represent a waste of human capital. Unless investment brought from overseas is in a business that generates employment and wealth it is not contributing to the growth of the country's economy. These issues, therefore, need to be thoroughly researched from both an economic and a social perspective. For example, the 1996 Census data do not show how many of the self-employed are in that category from choice or how many are in the category from necessity. Using the answer to the census question that asked for all sources of income to be specified it should be possible to identify the proportion of the self-employed who are operating income generating businesses. This would help provide valuable data for policy makers in their assessment of the success of current immigration policy and its impact on the lives of individuals.

A related area is the international migration of students. This has become a major industry in the settler countries. Although small numbers from Asian countries have been educated in Australasia since the 1950s and 1960s under the Colombo Plan¹³, it was not until after 1986 that large numbers of overseas students began to arrive in Australia and New Zealand. Australia launched its education export policy in 1986 (Gao and Liu, 1998) and New Zealand was actively seeking to forge stronger links with the Asian economies at this time. In the Australian tertiary sector by 1993, 86 percent of the fee-paying overseas students were from Asian countries (Gao and Liu, 1998). In New Zealand in July 1996, nearly 10,000 secondary and tertiary students were overseas-born from Asian countries. Numbers of overseas-born tertiary students from Asian

¹³ Glossary - Colombo Plan

countries rose by 78 percentage points between 1994 and 1996 showing the increasing importance of this education industry (New Zealand Education Gazette, 1997, 1). In late 1997 a news report suggested that this industry had not been 'hit too hard by Asia woes' (Masters, 29 December 1997, A4). However, it was clear that the impact would be very uneven. Some schools would suffer from a greater reduction in numbers than others depending on their source countries.

The global dominance of Western technology and cultural values, however, means that students from developing countries will continue to value both their experience and education in a developed Western country. This appears to be particularly the case for those students from the People's Republic of China where 'studying abroad' (*liuxue*) is still called '*dujin* (getting gilded)' (Gao and Liu, 1998, 39). Research on this industry would be timely as this research has shown that the arrival flows from the People's Republic of China are recent to New Zealand and heavily dominated by those in the 20-30 year age group (the age group most involved in tertiary education). Of particular interest would be longitudinal studies begun with present students to explore the long-term effects of the networks established by young people in educational institutions. The research by Ho, Chen, Kim and Young (1996) focused on migrant adolescents and specifically excluded fee-paying students. Research on the characteristics of fee-paying students, their aspirations and post-education plans, would make a valuable contribution to our understanding of the international education industry in New Zealand.

Another broad area of research involves the basic conceptualisation of migration. Migration must be conceptualised as movement but rather than the PLT concept of the past, new formulations are needed to accommodate a range of short-term movements. Research is needed to identify the links between countries that contribute to the increasing transnational circulatory migration process where migrants are likely to hold bi- or multi-national identities. This process raises issues that need to be addressed in future policy.

Increased flows of multi-cultural immigration will require changes in the scope of language and orientation programmes available for immigrants after arrival. The lack of preparation for them by the New Zealand government was identified by the interview group as a serious handicap to their settlement and adjustment. The demographic outlook for the traditional countries of

settlement suggests that immigration will play an important role in correcting and adjusting for the aging of the resident population (Passaris, 1998). Global trends show that future immigration sources will increasingly be from non-traditional source countries. Research is needed into the utilisation of a multicultural population as a valuable economic resource in terms of foreign investment, international trade and tourism.

Without doubt the effectiveness of the contribution made by migrants from Northeast Asia would be greatly enhanced by appropriate post-migration policies. Appropriate settlement programmes would assist in the adaptation process, foster social cohesion and help the resident population to celebrate the diversity that the Northeast Asian people bring to New Zealand society. Recognition that new settlers require assistance to facilitate their cultural and social adaptation should be part of a planned policy statement. The reality of New Zealand's links with Asia are threatened in several ways. It is the experience of the migrants and the way in which that experience is picked up and reported by the media that is the most influential in forming opinions (Bradford, 1997a).

Politicians and political point scoring, when widely reported, can do great damage to relationships. In New Zealand, after Winston Peters began the New Zealand First anti-immigration campaign, it was reported that Asian investors were deserting New Zealand 'because of New Zealand First's anti-immigration rhetoric' (Herbert, 1996, S1, p5). In Australia it was the outspoken, anti-Asian, independent MP, Pauline Hanson, that had comments 'blown out of all proportion' by the media. Nevertheless the damaging statements were reported by immigration consultants in Hong Kong to be scaring off wealthy Chinese immigrants from Australia (Ansley, 22 January 1997, B4).

Questions that now need to be addressed relate to the adaptation and settlement of the immigrants that have come to New Zealand from Northeast Asia. How many of the survey group are still resident in New Zealand? Have they returned to their country of origin or moved on to another destination? A research project that monitors the extent of return migration and explores the underlying reasons would be valuable. Some research on this process is currently underway at the University of Waikato, sponsored by the Asia 2000 Foundation. This project is examining the migration experiences of business migrants from Hong Kong and is part of the Asia-Pacific Migration Network's

(APMRN) programme of collaborative research between sending and receiving countries (Brownlee and Mitchell, 1997).

If the New Zealand Government is seriously considering an enhanced role for immigration, to foster and sustain economic linkages and to fine-tune demographic trends, it will require an immigration policy more consistent and coherent in the messages it sends and more informed than has been implemented to date. Reviews and policy statements can be filled with rhetoric but in practice the government has to provide the funds for research to assess the strengths and weaknesses of their policies before they will be in a position to make informed adjustments when they are needed. Hopefully, the Minister of Immigration will recall that in his closing remarks at the Population Conference he agreed there was 'poor information and poor research about what is happening in New Zealand' (Bradford, 1997c, 303). The Minister continued by saying he hoped he would be successful in exercising some influence over his colleagues to encourage them to 'put the effort, and most importantly the money into ensuring that it [research] happens' (Bradford, 1997c, 303). His success in this regard will become apparent when the 1998 budget is announced.

When attempts are made to understand the contemporary, complex patterns of movement, particularly movement from Asian countries, it is the conceptualisations of population geographers that will be of most assistance (Hugo, 1996, 102). The strength of geography's conceptualisations of population movement lies in its examination of all types of population mobility regardless of whether or not the movement leads to permanent relocation.

CONCLUSION

Since 1986 it has been demonstrated in New Zealand how quickly changes in immigration policy can transform the structures of migration systems. As later migrations are conditioned by earlier ones (Skeldon, 1997b), it is likely that a flow of immigrants from Asia to New Zealand will continue through the current period of economic crisis.

The way in which the New Zealand government responds to the challenge of becoming a politically and culturally accepted part of the Asia-Pacific region

will determine not only the future of international migration and therefore population change in New Zealand but also where New Zealand lies in the hierarchy of the global capitalist system. At the moment, although the “core” country for New Zealand is different in the 1990s from that which dominated until the 1980s, the country is maintaining a semiperipheral, or what Skeldon, (1997b) calls ‘core extension zone’, status. Whether New Zealand will remain in this position or whether it will slip out to become part of the periphery depends on two factors: first, how successful New Zealand companies are in moving from an industry-based to a knowledge-based economy; second, how committed the New Zealand Government is to providing the necessary resources for the education of an increasingly multi-skilled labour force.

Skilled and experienced migrants have many options on where and how to make optimum use of themselves as human capital. Globalisation has heightened appreciation for prospective immigrants of differences between places and peoples. The character of the flows into and out of specific countries reflects the ways in which people respond to the challenge of opportunities in places that are different. The New Zealand Government will only attract skilled and experienced immigrants to the country if they are perceived to be offering a package that clearly signals imported human capital is valued.

New Zealand society has experienced a period of significant economic and social change since 1984. The settlement of a substantial group of new immigrants from Northeast Asia has played a significant role in this change both economically and socially. The flows of immigrants, and the ways in which they form new linkages and maintain established links, create transnational communities and citizens who have multi-national rather than national identities. Immigration policy needs to be flexible enough to accommodate citizens who may wish to maintain bi- or multi-national citizenship and are part of a transnational circulatory migration process.

Whether the population flow from Northeast Asia to New Zealand becomes a short-lived “age” or the beginnings of an era with strong links to countries in Northeast Asia will depend not only on the immigration policy of the New Zealand Government but also on the strength of the regional and global economic and social networks. The operation of international migration systems is firmly tied to the dynamics of global capitalist development.

 APPENDIX A

**Chronology of Selected Immigration Legislation Dates
1880-1996**

- 1880 **United States** - began the process of excluding Asians
- 1881 **New Zealand** - first *Chinese Immigration Act* - head tax of 10 pounds
- 1882 **United States** - *Chinese Exclusion Act* passed by Congress barring labourers from entering and Chinese aliens from obtaining American citizenship and placing a head tax on each immigrant. Congress also excluded persons convicted of political offences, lunatics, idiots, and persons likely to become public charges
- 1885 **Canada** - Act to restrict and regulate Chinese immigration was passed
United States - Legislation prohibits the admission of contract labourers. Rapidly expanding flow of Japanese began to the United States after Japanese Government officially permitted its subjects to leave
- 1888 **New Zealand** - *Chinese Immigration Act* became more restrictive
- 1896 **New Zealand** - *Chinese Immigration Act* tightened - head tax raised to 100 pounds
- 1899 **New Zealand** - *Immigration Restriction Act* restricting the entry of foreigners
- 1900 **Canada** - Act to restrict and regulate Chinese immigration amended and head tax doubled to \$100.
- 1901 **Australia** - *Immigration Restriction Act* passed by the new Commonwealth Government excluding non-Europeans with the 'dictation test'
- 1903 **Canada** - Act to restrict and regulate Chinese immigration amended again and head tax increased to \$500.
United States - List of excluded immigrants expanded to include polygamists and political radicals such as anarchists.
- 1904 **United States** - process of excluding Asians became complete and permanent
- 1906 **United States** - *Naturalisation Act* makes knowledge of English a requirement for naturalisation.
- 1907 **United States** - Gentlemen's agreement between U.S. and Japan restricts Japanese immigration.
Head tax on immigrants is increased; added to excluded list are people with physical or mental defects that may affect their ability to earn a living, people with tuberculosis, and children unaccompanied by parents.

- 1910 **Canada** - *Immigration Act* insisted that the Canadian Government had the power to prohibit the landing of 'any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada'.
- 1917 **United States** - Congress requires literacy in some language for immigrants over 16 years of age except in cases of religious persecution; bans virtually all immigration from Asia.
- 1919 **New Zealand** - *Undesirable Immigrants Exclusion Act* allowed any person not resident in New Zealand to be prohibited from entering the country
- 1920 **New Zealand** - *Immigration Restriction Amendment Act* gave people of exclusively British or Irish descent the right of free entry and gave the Minister for Customs sole responsibility for a permit system that could reject any Asian application without explanation
- 1921 Temporary annual quotas are established, limiting the number of immigrants of each nationality to 3 percent on the number of foreign-born persons of that nationality living in the United States in 1910. Limit on Eastern Hemisphere immigration (mostly European) set at about 350,000.
- 1922 *Empire Settlement Act* - established that the British Government might collaborate with the Dominion Governments of Canada, Australia and New Zealand in the development of emigration and settlement schemes.
- 1923 **Canada** - *Chinese Immigration Act*. completely terminated Chinese immigration. A head tax was no longer required.
- 1924 **United States** - *National Origins Law (Johnson-Reed Act)* - general revision of Immigration Policy. The act set temporary annual quotas at 2 percent of a nationality's U.S. population as determined in the 1890 census and set a minimum quota of 100 for each nationality. This admissions policy favoured countries in western and northern Europe and targeted Japanese, all other non-Europeans and those from southern and eastern Europe. Border Patrol established.
- 1927 **New Zealand** - unofficially ended both the poll tax system, which had allowed very limited Chinese entry, and the informal quota system whereby 100 entry permits were issued per year for Asian entry.
- 1929 **United States** - Annual quotas of 1924 permanently set to be apportioned according to each nationality's percentage of the total U.S. population as determined in the 1920 census and applying that percentage against the total number permitted to enter, set at 150,000. Minimum quota of 100 for each nationality reaffirmed.
- 1942 **United States** - Bilateral agreements with Mexico, British Honduras, Barbados, and Jamaica cover entry of temporary foreign agricultural labourers to work in the United States -- the Bracero Programme.
- 1943 **United States** - Chinese exclusion laws repealed.
- 1945 **Australia** - government announced in August a large-scale post-war immigration programme designed to 'strengthen national security and economic development by increasing population growth' to meet post-war labour shortages and fill the serious gaps in the age structure of the

- existing population. The aim was to increase Australia's population by two percent per annum; one percent through immigration and one percent from natural increase - a goal that remained until the early 1970s.
- 1945 **Canada** - Canadian nationality
New Zealand - government recommended a carefully planned immigration policy to fill the labour shortages in secondary and tertiary industries that could not be filled in the short term by the local population
- 1946 **United States** - *War Brides Act* passed by Congress, facilitating immigration of foreign-born wives, husbands, and children of U.S. armed forces personnel.
- 1947 **Canada** - the Canadian Prime Minister's statement on immigration policy effectively preserved the "White Canada" immigration policy for the next 15 years. The focus of selection was related to absorptive capacity of the economy.
New Zealand - Assisted immigration from the United Kingdom was reintroduced. It was aimed at attracting working-age industrial and agricultural labour.
- 1948 **United States** - Congress passes Displaced Persons Act (amended in 1950), enabling 400,000 refugees to enter the United States.
New Zealand - New Zealand nationality established
- 1949 **Australia** - *Australian Citizenship Act* came into effect and the status of Australian citizen was adopted distinct from the British subject which had been the prior nationality status of Australians.
- 1950 **United States** - *Internal Security Act* increases grounds for exclusion and deportation of subversives; all aliens required to report their addresses annually.
New Zealand - The free immigration scheme from Britain was extended and provision was made to negotiate agreements to accept some non-British men and women. Namely from Austria, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland.
- 1951 **United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees** (UNCRSR) was adopted on 28 July. It was signed by 12 of the 26 governments attending - none of the four settler countries were original signatories.
- 1952 **United States** - *Immigration and Nationality Act (INA)* - (McCarran-Walter Act)
 - continued the national origins quota system, with its heavy bias in favour of immigration from northern and western Europe operating since 1929.
 - limited immigration from Eastern Hemisphere to about 150,000
 - established preferences for skilled workers and relatives of U.S. citizens and permanent resident aliens
 - Asian immigration was still severely limited in terms of numbers. One hundred visas were allotted annually to each nation in the region and 100 were set aside for an area known as the Asia-Pacific triangle.
 - tightened security and screening standards and procedures
- 1953 **United States** - *Refugee Relief Act* admits over 200,000 refugees outside existing quotas.

- 1954 **Australia** - signed the UNCRSR in January. By the end of April enough ratifications had been received to bring the Convention into force.
- 1957 **United States** - Laws allow immigration benefits for certain illegitimate and adopted children and orphans and permits waivers of inadmissibility for certain alien relatives otherwise excludable on criminal or moral grounds or because of tuberculosis or visa fraud.
- 1958 **Australia** - *Migration Act* replaced the Australian Immigration Restriction Act. The details of selection criteria were not specified in the Act. The Government changed its policy at will often without informing the public.
- 1962 **Canada** - racial discrimination was removed from Canadian immigration policy, ending “White Canada” policy.
New Zealand - negotiated a Treaty of Friendship with Western Samoa allowing an annual intake of 1,500 immigrants were permitted to enter New Zealand subject to having employment arranged.
- 1965 **Canada** - legislation to control the movement of sponsored immigrants as it was recognised that sponsorship provided an element of explosive growth vulnerable to unemployment.
United States - *Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1965* (to the 1952 (McCarran-Walter) Act)
 • abolish the national origins system (the strict numerical limits on immigrants from Asian countries)
 • establish an annual ceiling of 170,000 for the Eastern Hemisphere with a cap of 20,000 individuals allowed entry from any one country, distributing immigrant visas according to a seven-category preference system that favours close relatives of U.S. citizens and permanent resident aliens, those with needed occupational skills and refugees; and
 • for the first time establish a ceiling of 120,000 entries from the western hemisphere with no per-country limit or preference system.
- 1966 **Australia** - a significant development; a relaxation of the previous restrictive policy towards non-Europeans.
- 1967 **Canada** - the Canadian points system of selection was devised to take the place of selection on the basis of nationality or race. This system has proved to be a very good and popular selection procedure. Also in 1967 a change of status provision in the Immigration Regulations was introduced, permitting visitors to apply for landed immigrant status from within Canada. At the same time an Independent Immigration Appeal Board was created. The opportunities provided by these combined provisions began to be taken advantage of immediately.
- 1971 **Canada** - signed the UNCRSR. The Trudeau Government announced a policy of “multiculturalism within a bilingual framework” and thus institutionalised the mosaic concept
Australia - target figure for new settlers was reduced by 25 percent.
- 1972 **Canada** - Section 34 of the 1967 Immigration Regulations was revoked.
- 1973 **Canada** - In July a ‘60-day adjustment of status’ programme was introduced to allow all those who had been in Canada continuously since November 1972 to regularise their status. During these two months landed immigrant status was obtained by 39,000 people from 150 countries.

- 1973 **Australia** - White Australia policy was dismantled and the number of immigrants was immediately reduced by 30,000 (Castles, 1992b, 56).
- 1974 **New Zealand** - in May the post war turning point for immigration policy. Short-term, *ad hoc* decisions were replaced by regulated immigration policy and controls were imposed on the entry of all immigrants except those travelling under the reciprocal Trans-Tasman Travel Agreement. All non-citizens (including people of British and Irish ancestry) now required entry permits. Preference for traditional source countries and the exercise of ministerial discretion were retained, ensuring that immigration flows remained predominantly European in character.
- 1975 **United States** - *Indo-Chinese Refugee Resettlement Programme* begins. **New Zealand** - *Indo-Chinese Refugee Resettlement Programme* heralding a new era in New Zealand's international migration history.
- 1976 **Canada** - *Immigration Act* which came into effect in 1978 was a major overhaul of the illiberal 1952 act and contained a number of innovative measures that helped to create a very positive climate in immigration management. The policy contained 10 principles relating to Canada's demographic goals (listed in Hawkins, 1989, 287). In brief these aimed to enrich the cultural and social fabric of Canada taking into account its federal and bilingual character; facilitate family reunion; encourage collaboration between government and voluntary agencies in immigrant settlement; facilitate trade, commerce, tourism, cultural and scientific activities and international understanding; non-discrimination in immigration policy; fulfil legal obligations with respect to refugees; foster economic prosperity in all Canadian regions; protect the health, safety and good order of Canadian society and deny the use of Canadian territory to persons who are likely to engage in criminal activity. Canada did not retain any geographical limitations on the numbers entering from particular source countries. There was a greater focus on the economic attributes of immigrants with special priority given to 'business (entrepreneurs, self-employed and investors) immigrants under a revised points system.
- United States** - *Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1976*:
- extend the 20,000 per-country limit and the seven-category preference system to the Western Hemisphere and
 - maintain separate annual ceilings of 170,000 for the Eastern Hemisphere and 120,000 for the Western Hemisphere.
- 1978 **United States** - *Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1978* combine the ceilings for both hemispheres into a worldwide total of 290,000 with the same seven-category preference system and the 20,000 per-country limit uniformly applied. Congress also passed a law providing for the exclusion or deportation of Nazi persecutors.
- 1978 **New Zealand** - from October neither considerations of assimilation and racial harmony nor consequent limitations upon the entry of Asians or others have appeared in any official statements of policy. Three main categories of permanent immigration were recognised; entry on occupational, family reunification and humanitarian grounds. Provision also made to consider applications from entrepreneurs with expertise and money to invest and people who were distinguished in the arts or sciences or in public life.

- 1980 **United States** - *Refugee Act* removes refugees as the seventh preference category and establishes clear criteria and procedures for admission of refugees; reduces the worldwide limit for immigrants from 290,000 to 270,000 to reflect the removal of the seventh preference from the total.
- 1981 **Canada** - special temporary “domestic worker” category introduced in response to a demand for live-in household help. The unique feature of this scheme is that the workers, predominantly women, can apply for permanent resident status after working for two years in Canada.
United States - *INS Efficiency Act* provides for certain technical changes in the Immigration and Nationality Act to enable the more efficient application of the law and abolishes annual reporting of addresses for aliens.
- 1982 **Canada** - reduced intakes of “selected workers” (those with a job offer) and cut intakes of “independent immigrants” (those without close relatives admitted on the basis of their skills).
United States - Law permits non immigrant temporary workers who have lived continuously in the Virgin Islands since June 30, 1975, to obtain permanent residence in the United States.
Eases restrictions on the immigration to the U.S. of young Southeast Asians fathered by American serviceman.
Congress reauthorises for one year the refugee resettlement programmes established in 1980.
- 1984 **Australia** - *Changes to the Australian Citizenship Act* - eliminated anomalies and discrimination on the grounds of sex, ethnic origin and nationality; eased the English language requirement from an ‘adequate’ to a ‘basic’ knowledge and exempt applicants aged 50 and over from this requirement; reduced the qualifying period from 3 years residence in the previous eight to two years in the previous five for citizenship by grant; allowed for appeals on a number of grounds to the Administrative Appeals Tribunal.
- 1986 **United States** - *Immigration Return and Control Act (IRCA)*. This legislation was designed to deal primarily with stemming the entry of undocumented workers from Mexico.
New Zealand - *Review of Immigration Policy August 1986*; the first substantive statement on a wide range of aspects of immigration by a New Zealand Government since 1974. While the new policy included a number of changes and developments, notably the emergence of a new cultural identity objective, it was characterised by the continuation of previous objectives and entry provisions.
The significant change - the abolition of preference to migrants from “traditional source” countries, the rejection of assimilation and the active celebration of the many different ethnic heritages.
- 1987 **New Zealand** - *Immigration Act 1987* under which every person who wishes to immigrate to New Zealand needs to apply for New Zealand residence.
- 1989 **Australia** - *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia* launched in July was a public policy with three dimensions: cultural identity, social justice and economic efficiency. The new immigration categories were created to attract migrants who were young, highly qualified, and immediately employable.

- 1990 **Canada** - Immigration Plan for 1991-1995
United States - *Immigration Act*, replacing the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments. These amendments were an attempt to gain more control over the composition of the immigrant intake. The most visible features of the legislation 'include: a cap on legal immigration, increased overall admissions, emphasis on skilled versus unskilled workers, diversity visas, increased family-based immigration and reduced illegal population'. The "pierceable" cap set at '700, 000 for 1992-1994 and 675,000 thereafter', was the first cap on overall immigration to the United States since the laws of the 1920s.
- 1991 **Australia** - it was recommended that there should be a shift to entry of those with skills, including literacy and language skills to satisfy economic goals without compromising the promotion of social justice and international goals.
New Zealand - in November new 'targeted' immigration policy was introduced seeking to attract larger numbers of 'quality immigrants' from a wider catchment of countries. Immigration policy moved from a short-term, occupational 'gap-filling' to a long-term human capital approach.
- 1995 **New Zealand** - significant changes for the 'economic' stream; the General Skills Category (GSC) became the General Category (GC) and the Business Investor Category became the Business Investment Category (BIC). The General Investment Category ceased to exist. The previous GC 'autopass' was abolished.
 • points-based ranking system for applicants in both targeted categories
 • a minimum standard of English before arrival for both GSC and BIC principal applicants and the same English standard for all persons aged 16 years and over.
- 1996 **United States** - the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (WRA); reforms the entitlement policy for poor families and imposes new limits on alien access to welfare payments and other social services.
 The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IRA) strengthens efforts to combat illegal immigration and creates higher standards of financial self-sufficiency for the admission of sponsored legal immigrants.

APPENDIX B

In-depth interviews

This appendix begins with a more detailed discussion of some of the methodological issues involved in undertaking a cross-cultural series of interviews. In-depth interviews were included in the research process to give added background to enhance our understanding of the census statistics. The decision was made to undertake a series of interviews as it was recognised that ‘surveys and interviews involve little or no stage management or manipulation, and seem to be the most direct way of gathering accounts of people’s behaviour’ (Moghaddam *et al.*, 1993, 38). These interviews were used to obtain some insights into the issues faced by immigrants from Northeast Asia after they arrived in New Zealand. The interview schedule is included in this appendix (with the Mandarin translation). Also appended are copies of the introductory letter and consent form (with the Korean translation).

METHODOLOGY

The participant group

The method chosen for obtaining a group for interview has been described as “purposeful sampling” (Patton, 1980) or, more recently, “judgemental sampling” (Dillon, Madden and Firtle, 1990). This “purposeful sampling” is a research strategy that is used when ‘one wants to learn something and come to understand something about certain select cases’ (Patton, 1980, 100). The ‘logic of purposeful sampling is quite different from the logic of probability sampling . . . [and] purposeful samples . . . must be judged in context’ (Patton, 1990, 185). As McKee and Bell (1986, 139) noted, the strength of small scale case studies ‘. . . come from the ability to capture the complete variation of phenomena and to detail social processes and meanings for individuals and particular groups’. Or as in Patton’s (1990, 185) words: ‘The validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to

do with the information-richness of the cases selected and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher than with sample size.

Equal numbers were chosen from each of the three ethnic groups - 14 Chinese from Hong Kong and 14 from Taiwan, and 14 South Koreans (seven from each of the three ethnic groups in Auckland and Hamilton). This was deliberate to ensure the small sample was not completely biased by recent arrivals from just one country going to one particular locality or city. An additional group discussion was held with five Taiwanese participants who were all members of the New Zealand Taiwanese Presbyterian Church in Auckland. Thirty-two of the individual interviews, and the group discussion, were conducted in November and early December 1995. The final ten interviews, two in Auckland and eight in Hamilton, were conducted in February 1996.

Interview design

The 'standardised open-ended interview' (Patton, 1980) was chosen as the method for collecting data 'in order to find out what people's lives, experiences and interactions mean to them in their own terms and in their natural settings' (Patton, 1980, 22). However, as the researcher was not a member of the ethnic groups being studied Fontana and Frey's (1994, 367) advice was relevant: 'The researcher must find an insider, a member of the group studied, willing to be an informant and to act as a guide to and translator of cultural mores'. Words, the data from interviews, can take on a very different meaning in another culture. As Patton (1990, 337) has pointed out, 'intercultural interactions are always subject to misunderstandings.'

In an attempt to minimise these problems the interview questions were translated to enable the participants to follow what was being asked in written form to assist their understanding. Most clarifications, elaborations and probes were written into the interview schedule to ensure that the interview was systematic. This was felt to be of particular importance as the interview was to be conducted across three ethnic groups by one interviewer with the assistance of appropriate interpreters when necessary. It is acknowledged that relying on interpreters can add another layer of 'meanings, biases, and interpretations that may lead to disastrous misunderstanding' (Freeman, 1983 in Fontana and Frey, 1994, 367). So as Patton (1990, 338) points out 'cross-cultural interviewing, is intriguing, challenging, rewarding, and not a little precarious'.

Two other advantages of the 'standardised open-ended interview' have been identified by Patton (1980, 203). Firstly 'the exact instrument used in the evaluation is available for inspection by decision makers and information users; [and secondly] . . . the interview is highly focused so that interviewee time is carefully used'. However, it must be noted that 'each interview is a unique social interaction that involves a negotiation of social roles and frames of reference between strangers' (Briggs, 1986, 24). In other words, the interview process is an interactional negotiation between interviewer and interviewee during which the interviewer becomes a co-participant in the construction of a discourse rather than the medium through which the interviewees' attitudes and experiences are conveyed (Briggs, 1986, 24).

Ethical issues

The issue of informed consent was addressed by sending an introductory letter to all the potential participants which announced the project, gave them background information about the proposed research and advised them that they would be contacted by telephone to discuss the subject further. A copy of this letter is included in this appendix. The participants were then telephoned by an interpreter and asked if they were willing to be interviewed. At no stage were people put under pressure to agree to participate. All those who agreed to be interviewed were aware of the purpose of the research and were happy to assist by taking part in the interview process.

Before the interview began the participants were given a consent form to sign which indicated the approximate length of the interview. One point on the form mentioned that the researcher would like to use a tape-recorder during the interview (see attached form). Another point on the form drew the participants' attention to their right to query any questions asked, decline to answer questions and withdraw from the interview process at any stage. Thus the people who agreed to be interviewed had been given a clear indication of the research process and topic.

The second ethical issue to be addressed was confidentiality. All the participants were guaranteed confidentiality for this research in the initial introductory letter (attached) and the confidentiality item was highlighted on the consent form (see later). This meant that although the participants were known to the researcher their names were not identified in the research process. All completed interview material was given an identification number

by the researcher so that the information provided by the interviewees could not be linked to their names by anyone else reading the material. The issue of potential harm to the participants was considered to be nil so long as confidentiality and anonymity were preserved. As noted by Patton (1990, 355) 'while interviews may be intrusive . . . they can also be healing.'

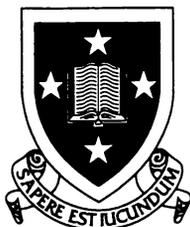
Procedure

When the interview questions were finalised they were translated into Korean and Mandarin. The letter of introduction and consent form were also translated and the English version backed with either the Mandarin or Korean translations. After the pre-tests back-translations were used to identify any discrepancies in terminology and phrasing. These back translations and interviewers or interpreters of the same ethnicity are needed to minimise misunderstanding in a cross cultural study (Triandis and Berry, 1980). The questions in the schedule were arranged in four sections. The information used in this study is from selected questions in each of the sections.

It should be noted that the presence of both the researcher and interpreter brought a special dynamic to the interviews. One of the interpreters stressed that the presence of someone from the perceived major ethnic group in New Zealand had an important effect on the pattern of responses. The interviewees were more communicative and explicit about the problems encountered as they had needed to explain their feelings to someone from another culture rather than shrug them off with a "you know what I mean" to someone of their own culture. This type of issue has been raised when the limitations of the interview as a research method have been discussed. As recorded by Briggs (1986, 24) 'Cicourel (1974, 20) and Dexter (1970, 144) note, interviewees respond not simply to the wording of the question but to the interview situation as a whole.' The participants were all willing to answer all the questions asked. Most of the participants were eager to talk and tell their story in the hope that it might improve the situation for others. Interviews were all tape recorded and ranged in length from 45 minutes to two and a half hours.

The first inclusion is a copy of the introductory letter followed by the letter in Mandarin and then Korean. A copy of the consent form with the Mandarin and Korean translations is followed by copies of the interview schedule with the Mandarin and Korean translations. Finally included is a copy of the letter of thanks and the summary of the findings posted to all the participants.

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION



The University of Waikato

Department of Geography

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Central Fax (07) 856-0135. Telephone (07) 856-2889.

8 November, 1995

Dear

Re: Population change in New Zealand

In New Zealand there has been a significant change in population movement to and from the country since the 1986 review of Immigration Policy. Immigrants from Asia, the Pacific Islands, South Africa, and Europe have come to a country which is experiencing considerable social and economic change. I wish to gather as much information as possible about the experiences of recent immigrant families as they adjust to residence in their new country. It is hoped that this information will be of use to teachers, counsellors and those who work with new immigrants as well as policy makers.

I am a Research Fellow in the Department of Geography at the University of Waikato, working as a member of a team of researchers headed by Professor Richard Bedford, on a project on population change in New Zealand, funded by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology (FRST). In addition I am completing a thesis for my doctoral degree on population change in New Zealand since the mid 1980s. As part of my research I need to talk to a group of people who have become New Zealand residents since 1986 so that I can understand better the process of contemporary migration to this country. The success of the study depends upon people like you being prepared to spend approximately 45 minutes talking with me and answering a series of questions. The aim of the interview is to get insights into why you chose to migrate to New Zealand; what influences affected your choice of country and city; and some of the experiences you have had settling into your new 'home country'.

My research work began in 1990 following a career as a secondary school teacher in New Zealand. In 1991, as part of the research for my Masters' thesis, I conducted a national survey of New Zealand citizens who had returned to live in New Zealand after living overseas for more than 12 months. This survey and the present one have been approved by the University of Waikato's Ethics Committee. I wish to assure you that everything you say will be completely private. Your name will not be recorded in the data, your answers will be combined with other people's and you will not be identified personally.

Thank you for your time and attention to this matter. I shall telephone in a few days to discuss this subject further and look forward to meeting with you in the near future.

Yours sincerely

(Mrs) Jacqueline M. Lidgard
 Phone: 07 856 2889 ext 8437
 Email: jml@waikato.ac.nz

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION - MANDARIN TRANSLATION



The University of Waikato

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato
Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand.
Telephone 0-7-856 2889, Central Fax 0-7-856 0135.

敬啟者：紐西蘭自一九八六年調整移民政策以來，人口移動有鉅大的轉變。啟者：來自亞洲、太平洋島嶼、南非和歐洲各國，與此同時紐西蘭的社會及經濟亦迅速改變。為了增進學校老師們，從事輔導新移民的工作者以及制定政策者對新移民的了解，本人欲廣泛搜集有關新移民適應新生活的經驗和其他資料。

本人是懷卡托大學地理系的研究員，現隨 Richard Bedford 教授進行一項關於紐西蘭人口變遷的研究。這項研究是由科技研究基金贊助。此外，本人亦需訪問一些自一九八六年後移居紐西蘭的新移民家庭，籍此了解紐西蘭現有的移民過程。這項研究的成功，有賴於閣下願耗費約四十五分鐘接受本訪員的訪問。訪問的主要目的包括：閣下為何選擇紐西蘭為移居地，何類因素影響閣下決定移居的國家和城市，以及閣下如何安置家人。故本人原是為經驗豐富的中學教師，一九九零年開始研究工作。本人的碩士論文，是關於紐西蘭人移居海外，超過十二個月而又重返紐西蘭居住的道德操守。該項研究及現任這項調查計劃均獲得懷卡托大學委員會的批准。本人保證閣下所提供的資料完全保密，及將來發表的報告不會透露任何受訪者的姓名。本人將致電閣下商討有關事宜。在此謹向閣下的熱忱與協助致謝。

此致

懷卡托大學地理系博士研究生

Jacqueline Lidgard 謹上

一九九五年十一月八日

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION - KOREAN TRANSLATION



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1995년 10월 18일

학부모님께

제목: 뉴-질랜드의 인구 이동에 관한 조사 협조

뉴-질랜드는, 1986년 이민 정책의 재검토이래 입/출국을 통해 상당히 많은 인구의 이동이 계속 되어 왔습니다. 아시아, 태평양의 도서국, 남아공, 그리고 유-럽으로부터, 사회와 경제적으로 많은 변화들 겪고 있는 이 나라로 이주를 해 오고 있습니다. 저는 이 나라에 최근에 도착하여 새로운 생활에 적응하려는 이주 가정으로부터 가급적 많은 정보를 입수하고자 합니다. 이 정보는 학교의 교사, 상담자 및 정책 입안자 이외에도 새로운 이주자를 위해 수고하고 있는 분들을 위해 사용 될 것입니다.

저는 Waikato대학 지리학부의 연구원이며, Richard Bedford교수가 지도하시는 연구 팀의 일원으로서, 과학 기술 연구 재단(FRST)이 지원하는 뉴-질랜드의 인구 이동에 관한 연구에 참여하고 있습니다. 이와는 별도로, 저는 1980년대 중반이후의 뉴-질랜드 인구 이동을 주제로 박사 논문을 완성해 가고 있기도 합니다. 이러한 저의 연구를 위하여, 1986년 이후 뉴-질랜드에 거주하게된 몇 분과 면담을 통해 현재 진행되고 있는 이 나라의 이주 과정을 좀더 제대로 이해하고자 하고 있습니다. 이 조사 연구의 성패는 귀하께서 45분 정도를 할애하여 저와의 면담과 일련의 질문에 대답해 주시느냐의 여부에 달려 있다고 할 수 있겠습니다. 본 면담의 주안점은, 왜 뉴-질랜드를 이주지로 선택하셨는지, 이주국과 거주지를 결정하는데 무엇이 영향을 끼쳤는지, 그리고 새로운 '내 나라'에 정착하는과정에서 겪으신 경험등의 내용을 파악하는데 있습니다.

저의 이러한 연구는, 뉴-질랜드에서의 중학교 교사를 역임한 후인 1990년에 시작되었습니다. 1991년에는, 저의 석사 논문 주제의 일부로서 12개월간 이상을 해외에서 거주한후에 뉴-질랜드로 다시 돌아온 뉴-질랜드 국민을 대상으로 전국 규모의 조사를 실시한 바 있습니다. 그 때의 조사와 이번의 조사는 Waikato 대학의 인종 문화 위원회에서 승인을 받은 바 있습니다. 귀하께서 이 조사와 관련 말씀하신 모든 내용은 개인에 관한 것인만큼 철저하게 비밀로 관리될 것임을 확실히 밝혀 드립니다. 귀하의 성명은 자료에 기록으로 남지 않으며, 귀하의 대답은 다른 분의 대답 내용과 함께 혼합 처리될 것이며 또 개인적 인적 사항은 밝혀지지 않을 것입니다.

이 조사에 귀한 시간을 내 주시고 또 관심을 가져 주셔서 감사합니다. 이 문제를 좀 더 의논드리고자 몇 일후 전화를 드리겠으며, 곧 뵈 수 있기를 바라고 있습니다.

(Mrs) Jacqueline M. Lidgard 올림

전화: 07 856 2889 구내 8437

Email: jml@waikato.ac.nz

CONSENT FORM



The University of Waikato

Department of Geography

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Central Fax (07) 856-0135. Telephone (07) 856-2889.

CONSENT FORM

1. The title of this research project is “International Migration, Globalisation and Population Change in New Zealand Since 1986”.

2. The project investigator is Jacqueline Lidgard, a DPhil candidate, Department of Geography, University of Waikato (telephone (07) 838 4046). Mrs Lidgard’s supervisor is Professor Richard Bedford, Department of Geography, University of Waikato (telephone (07) 838 4046).

3. The objective of the project is to find out about the migration and adjustment experiences of a group of recent migrants.

4. Your identity will be strictly confidential - no individuals will be identified by name.

5. The interview will take between 45mins to 1 hour to complete.

6. The interviewer would like to tape-record the interview to save time in recording your views.

7. The interviewer will be pleased to answer any queries you have of individual questions.

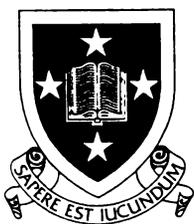
8. You have of course the right not to participate in the interview, to withdraw at any time, and to decline to answer individual questions.

“I agree to participate in this interview and acknowledge receipt of a copy of this consent form.”

Signature:

Date:

CONSENT FORM - MANDARIN TRANSLATION



The University of Waikato

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato
Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand.
Telephone 0-7-856 2889, Central Fax 0-7-856 0135.

同意書

1. 這項研究計劃的名稱是："紐西蘭自一九八六年以來受國際移民及全球觀念影響之人口變遷".
2. 這項計劃的訪問員是懷卡托大學地理系的 Jacqueline Lidgard 女士，指導教授是 Richard Bedford 教授 [電話：(07) 838 4046].
3. 研究的目標是了解近年來紐西蘭的移民情況，及新移民的適應經驗。
4. 閣下的身份嚴格保密，個人資料絕不透露。
5. 訪問時間為四十五分鐘至一小時。
6. 訪問員將使用錄音機以節省時間。
7. 訪問員樂於回答閣下的查詢。
8. 閣下有權拒絕參與，或中途退出此訪問，亦可拒絕回答個別問題。

"本人同意參與這項調查研究並已收回同意書之副本"

簽署：

日期：

CONSENT FORM - KOREAN TRANSLATION



The University of Waikato

Department of Geography

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand.

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동 의 서

1. 이 조사 연구 주제는 "1986년 이후 뉴-질랜드에 있어서의 국제간 인구 이동, 국제화 그리고 인구 변화"에 관한 것입니다.
2. 이 연구 주제의 조사 담당자는 Waikato 대학의 지리학부 박사 과정에 있는 Jacqueline Lidgard(전화(07) 838 4046)입니다. Mrs. Lidgard의 지도는 동 대학 지리학부의 Richard Bedford교수(전화(07) 838 4046)가 맡고 있습니다.
3. 이 연구의 주 목적은 인구 이동과 최근 이주자의 정착 경험에 대한 연구에 있습니다.
4. 귀하의 개인적인 인적 사항은 철저히 비밀로 취급될 것이며 어느 분도 신분이 밝혀 지지 않을 것입니다.
5. 면담 시간은 45분간내지 1시간 걸릴 것입니다.
6. 면담 담당자는 면담 내용을 녹음할 것입니다만, 이는 귀하의 의견을 기록하는데 시간을 절약하기 위해서입니다.
7. 면담 담당자는 귀하가 갖고 계신 어떤 특정한 개인적인 문제에 대해 궁금한 사항이 있을 경우, 이에 답변을 해 드릴 수 있습니다.
8. 귀하는, 면담에 참석하지 않을 수도 있으며, 답변 내용을 언제든지 철회하거나 또는 개인적인 문제에 대해서는 답변을 거절할 수 있는 권리를 갖고 계십니다.

"본인은 이 면담 조사에 참여할 것에 동의하며 본 동의서 한 부를 받았음을 확인합니다."

서명 :

날짜 : 1995년 월 일

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - MANDARIN TRANSLATION



The University of Waikato

Department of Geography

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Central Fax (07) 856-0135. Telephone (07) 856-2889.

Interview Schedule
Population Change in NZ - November 1995

紐西蘭的人口變遷
調查問卷 -- 一九九五年十一月

Thank you for agreeing to answer these questions. As we go through the interview if you have any questions about why I am asking some particular things please feel free to ask me. Or if there is anything that you do not want to answer please tell me.

謝謝你們同意回答此問卷。在訪問期間如有任何疑問，請隨時提出。如有不想回答的問題，亦請告知。

SECTION I: DECISION TO MOVE
移民決定

To begin I would like to ask a few questions about your decision to move to New Zealand
首先我想問你們一些問題，是關於你們移民紐西蘭的決定。

- I.1** Where did you live before coming to New Zealand?
你們來紐西蘭前，在何處居住？
- I.2** In which countries other than New Zealand and (the country you came from) have you lived in for: (a) 2 weeks to one year?
(b) 12 months or more? *(Length of time and date of visit)*
除紐西蘭和原居地外，你們曾在那些國家居住：
a) 兩星期至一年？
b) 十二個月以上？（請說明何時及居住了多久）

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

- I.3a** Do you come from a migrant family? (*i.e. were your parents/grandparents migrants?*)
你們是否來自移民家庭？（你們的父母或祖父母是否移民？）

- I.3b** *If Yes* Please list the movements of your close family for the past two generations.
如答“是”，請列出上兩代近親家庭成員的遷移情況。

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

I.4a Did you have a choice of countries other than New Zealand in which to settle?
除紐西蘭外，你們是否有移民至其他國家的選擇？

Yes No
是 否
to Q 4b
請答 4b

I.4b *If Yes:* What other countries could you have gone to live in?
如答“是”，你們可以到那些國家居住？

I.5 How long did it take you to make the decision to move from (the country you came from) to New Zealand?
你們用了多少時間考慮，才決定自原居地移民紐西蘭？

I.6a Did any other people influence your decision to come to New Zealand?
是否有其他人影響你們移民紐西蘭的決定？

Yes No
是 否
to Q 6b
請答 6b

I.6b *If Yes:* What other people played a role in your decision to come to New Zealand?
(Please rank in order of importance)
如答“是”，那些人影響你們移民紐西蘭的決定？
(請依影響的重要程度排列)

	H	W
	丈夫	妻子
1) Spouse and/or children 配偶及/或子女	[]	[]
2) Parents 父母親	[]	[]
3) Other relatives 其他親戚	[]	[]
4) Friends 朋友	[]	[]
5) An immigration consultant 移民顧問公司	[]	[]
6) Media / news reports / magazine articles 傳媒/報章/雜誌刊物	[]	[]
7) A combination (please list) 包括以上幾項(請詳列)	[]	[]

I.7 Did you belong to or attend any associations before settling in New Zealand? (Include professional, business, church, sport, social and cultural) *(Please name the associations)*
移民紐西蘭前，你們是否屬於或參與任何社團組織？
(包括專業，商業，教會，體育，社交及文化的社團組織)
(請列出其名稱)

I.8 When did you first visit New Zealand and how long did you stay on this visit?
你們第一次探訪紐西蘭是在何時？逗留了多久？

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

I.12 How many of your close relatives (*parents and brothers and sisters of you both*) are living in New Zealand?

你們的近親（即你們的父母親及兄弟姊妹），有多少是居住在紐西蘭？

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

I.13 Please list their order of arrival and relationship.

請依他們抵達紐西蘭的時間以次序排列，並說明親戚關係。

Husband's relatives 丈夫的親戚	Wife's relatives 妻子的親戚

I.14a How many of your close relations (*parents, brothers and sisters*) are still living in (the country you came from)? (*Please state relationship*)

你們的近親（父母親，兄弟姊妹），有多少仍居住在原居地？（如有，請說明親戚關係）

Husband's relatives 丈夫的親戚	Wife's relatives 妻子的親戚

I.15a Before you came to settle in New Zealand (*that is live in New Zealand for 6 months or more in one year*), did you have friends or family living in New Zealand?

你們來紐西蘭定居前（即在一年中，在紐西蘭居住六個月或以上），是否有朋友或家人居住在紐西蘭？

	Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子
Yes 是		
No 否		

I.15b *If Yes: Which city or region did they live in?*

如答“是”，他們居住在那個城市或地區？

	Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子
Family 家人		
Friends 朋友		
Family and friends 家人和朋友		

I.16a Are members of your close relatives living, for 6 months or more in one year, in other countries besides New Zealand and (the country you came from)?

你們的近親中，有沒有在紐西蘭或原居地以外的其他國家定居（即在一年中，在該國家居住六個月以上）？

	Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子
Yes 有		
No 沒有		

I.16b *If Yes:*

如答“有”，

Husband's Relations 丈夫的親戚	Country 居住國家	Wife's Relations 妻子的親戚	Country 居住國家

I.16c: Are any members of your close relatives planning to emigrate to New Zealand in the future? (*Please specify relationship and likely arrival date*)

你們的近親中，有沒有計劃將來移民紐西蘭？
（如有，請說明親戚關係及預計到達日期）

QUALIFICATIONS BEFORE YOU CAME TO NEW ZEALAND

你們來紐西蘭前的資歷

I.17 Before coming to New Zealand, what was the highest level of education you completed?

你們來紐西蘭前，已完成的最高教育程度是甚麼？

- (a) University degree
大學學位
- (b) Diploma or Certificate from Teachers' Training College, Polytechnic or Technical Institute
教育學院，理工，或工業學院（專科學校）的文憑或證書課程
- (c) Secondary school
中學教育
- (d) Primary school
小學教育
- (e) Other (please specify)
其他（請說明）
- (f) No formal education
沒受正規教育

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

I.18 *If you have completed a degree or diploma:*

Please name your highest qualification and subject area.

如已完成學位或文憑：
請說明最高資歷及科目。

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

I.19 What was the profession or occupation you were qualified for?

(*such as Doctor of Medicine (General Practice) or Auto Electrician*)

你們來紐西蘭前的專業或職業是甚麼？
（如醫生（普通科）或汽車電工）

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

EMPLOYMENT BEFORE YOU CAME TO NEW ZEALAND

你們來紐西蘭前的就業情況

I.20a Did you have a job in (the country you came from) before you came to New Zealand?

你們來紐西蘭前，在原居地是否有工作？

	Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子
Yes 是		
No 否		

I.20b *If Yes:* Which category best describes your main job in (the country you came from)?

如答“是”，你的主要工作屬於以下那一種類？

- a) a paid employee
受薪僱員
- b) self-employed and not employing any other person(s)
自僱，沒有聘用其他人
- c) an employer of other person(s) in own business
自己做生意，有聘用其他人
- d) working without pay in a family business
做家族生意，沒有受薪
- e) unemployed
 - i) not seeking work 亦沒有找工作
 - ii) seeking work 在找工作
- f) retired
退休
- g) full-time student
全職學生
- h) household duties
家庭職務
- i) Other: (please specify)
其他（請說明）

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

I.21 In that job, what was your occupation or profession (*such as Dentist, Primary School Teacher, Shoe shop Manager*)

該份工作的專業或職業是甚麼？（例如牙醫，小學教師，商店經理）

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

I.22 In that job, what tasks and duties did you spend most time on (*such as consulting clients, teaching children aged 5-10, managing the staff and stock of a shoe store*)

該份工作的主要職責是甚麼？（例如與客戶洽談，教導五至十歲的兒童，管理員工及清查鞋店存貨）

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

- I.23** In which country or countries did you work in this main job?
 你在那一個國家做該份工作？

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

- I.24** How much did you use your qualifications and skills in this job?
 該份工作，需要運用多少你的資歷和技能？

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

- I.25** How many years of experience did you have in this type of work?
 你有多少年的經驗做同類性質的工作？

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

- I.26a** Did you do any other type of work before you came to New Zealand?
 你們來紐西蘭前，有沒有做其他類型的工作？

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

- I.26b** *If Yes:* What was your occupation and activity in this other job?
 如答“是”，另外這份工作的職業和活動性質是甚麼？

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

INFORMATION ABOUT JOBS IN NEW ZEALAND BEFORE YOU CAME
你們來紐西蘭前所知道的就業資訊

I.27 Before you came to New Zealand, where did you get information about work opportunities in New Zealand?

來紐西蘭前，你們是在何處得知紐西蘭工作機會的資料？

- Family members living in New Zealand
居住在紐西蘭的家人
- New Zealand friends
紐西蘭朋友
- New Zealand Embassy or Consul or High Commission
紐西蘭領事館
- New Zealand Immigration Service (Department of Labour)
紐西蘭移民局（勞工處）
- Immigration consultant
移民顧問
- Bankers, real estate agents
銀行，房地產經紀
- Holiday or visit to New Zealand
到紐西蘭旅遊或渡假
- Tourist leaflets and magazine articles
旅遊宣傳單張，及雜誌專文報導
- Professional journals
專業刊物
- Future employer
未來僱主
- Other (*please state*) -----
其他（請說明）

I.28 How **useful** was the information you got from these sources about New Zealand work opportunities?

從這些途徑得知有關紐西蘭就業機會的資料，對你們有多少幫助？

I.29 How **accurate** was the information you got from these sources about New Zealand work opportunities? (*please explain*)

從這些途徑得知有關紐西蘭就業機會的資料是否正確？（請詳細說明）

I.30 How do you view the New Zealand Government's immigration policy in the light of your own experiences bringing qualifications, skills and expertise into this country?

以你們將專業技能帶進紐西蘭的個人經驗，你們對現今的移民政策有甚麼意見？

I.31 Do you have any suggestions on policy that you feel would assist future migrants in their settlement in this country?

為了幫助將來的移民在紐西蘭安家置業，你們對政府現今的政策有沒有甚麼建議？

II.4a Who organised your immigration to New Zealand?

那些人安排你們移民紐西蘭？

You 自己	Another person 他人 to Q 4b & 4c 請答 4b 和 4c.
-----------	---

II.4b *If Another person* : Who?

如答 "他人", 請問是誰人?

II.4c Did this person influence where you have chosen to live in New Zealand?

此人有沒有影響你們選擇在紐西蘭那處定居?

Yes 有	No 沒有
----------	----------

II.5 Why have you chosen to live in Auckland/Hamilton?

你們為何選擇在奧克蘭 (或漢密頓) 居住?

- Have relatives living in this city
有親戚居住在這個城市
- Have friends in this city
有朋友在這個城市
- More Chinese people in this city
有許多中國人在這個城市
- Have work in this city
在這個城市上班
- Easy to find a job or set up a business
容易找到工作或著手建立生意
- Big city - convenient (*close to international airport*)
大城市 -- 交通方便 (近國際機場)
- Big city (*more activities*)
大城市 (較多活動)
- Climate
氣候
- Other (*please specify*) -----
其他 (請說明)

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II.6a Would you choose this city to live in again?

你們會再選擇居住在這個城市嗎？

Yes

會

No

不會

II.6b *If No: Why?*

如答“不會”，為甚麼？

II.7a Would you choose this suburb (e.g. Pakuranga) to live in again?

你們會再選擇居住在這個住宅區(如 Pakuranga)嗎？

Yes

會

No

不會

II.7b Reasons for choosing to live or not to live in this suburb?

選擇居住或不居住在這區的理由

Reason 理由	Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子
Relatives living close by 親戚住在附近		
Friends 朋友		
Good schools 好的學校		
Close to work 近工作地點		
Good environment 好的居住環境		
New housing 房屋較新		
Combination 包括以上幾項		
Other 其他		

II.8a What other suburbs of Auckland/Hamilton have you lived in?

你們曾在奧克蘭（或漢密頓）的其他住宅區住過嗎？是那些區？

II.8b Why did you move from that suburb to this suburb?

為甚麼你們從那區搬遷到這區？

Reason 理由	Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子
No relatives living close by 沒有親戚住在附近		
No friends 沒有朋友		
Poor schools 學校不好		
Far from work 離工作地點遠		
Poor environment 居住環境不好		
Older housing 房屋老舊		
Racial tension 種族關係緊張		
Combination 包括以上幾項		
Other 其他		

II.9a Have you lived in any other city or region in New Zealand?

你們是否曾在紐西蘭的其他城市或地區居住過？

	Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子
Yes 是		
No 否		

II.9b *If Yes:* In which city or region have you lived and for how long did you live there?
 如答“是”，你們在那些城市或地區居住過？住了多久？

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

II.10a Did you work while in this city or region?
 當你們在那個城市或地區居住時，你們有沒有工作？

	Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子
Yes 有		
No 沒有		

II.10b *If Yes:* What was your last job there and how long did you work?
 如答“有”，你在那兒做的最後一份工作是甚麼？工作了多久？

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

II.11 Do you belong to or attend any associations? (Include professional, business, church, sport, social and cultural) *(Please name the associations)*

你們現在是否屬於或參與任何社團組織？
 (包括專業，商業，教會，體育，社交及文化的社團組織)
 (請列出其名稱)

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

II.12a How useful have you found support services from your own ethnic group, such as the (*Hong Kong*) business directory, newspapers and magazines, and radio programmes?

對你們來說，同種族的文憑服務（如紐西蘭華人商業年鑑，報紙雜誌，廣播節目）有用嗎？

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

II.12b Are there any other services that you have found useful?

你們有沒有使用其他服務，並認為是有用的？

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

II.12c Are there any services that you would have liked to use but they were not available?

是否有任何服務是你們希望使用，但卻缺乏的？

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

SECTION III: EXPERIENCE IN NEW ZEALAND
居住在紐西蘭的經驗

The following questions are about your experiences since arriving in New Zealand
 以下的問題，是關於你們抵達紐西蘭後的經驗。

III.1 How long have you been living in New Zealand?
 你們在紐西蘭居住了多久？

Length of time in NZ 居留時間	Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子
<1yr 少於一年		
1-2yrs 一至二年		
2-3yrs 二至三年		
3-4yrs 三至四年		
4-5yrs 四至五年		
>5yrs 五年以上		

III.2 How many times have you returned to (the country you came from) for more than 1 week since settling in New Zealand?

當你們在紐西蘭居住後，你們有沒有返回原居地並停留一星期以上？多少次？

Husband 丈夫		Wife 妻子	
Number of times 次數	Length of stay 停留時間	Number of times 次數	Length of stay 停留時間
1		1	
2		2	
3		3	
4		4	
5		5	
6		6	
7 or more 7 次以上		7 or more 7 次以上	

III.3a Which country would you expect to be living in for most of the year?

你們希望一年中，大部份時間在那一個國家居住？

Length of time 時間	Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子
1yr from now 一年後		
5yrs from now 五年後		
10yrs from now 十年後		
20yrs from now 二十年後		

III.3b Which country would you expect your children to be living in for most of the year?

你們希望子女們在一年中，大部份時間在那一個國家居住？

1yr from now 一年後	
5yrs from now 五年後	
10yrs from now 十年後	
20yrs from now 二十年後	

III.4a On the whole are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your life in New Zealand?

整體而言，你們滿意或是不滿意你們在紐西蘭的生活？

Husband's feelings 丈夫的感覺	Wife's feelings 妻子的感覺

III.4b *If Dissatisfied:* Is your dissatisfaction significant enough to make you consider moving back to (the country you came from) or on to another country?

如答“不滿意”，你的不滿意程度是否嚴重至令你考慮返回原居地或再移往其他國家？

	Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子
Yes 是		
No 否		

- III.4c** *If Yes to Question 4c: Move to* a)(the country you came from) b)another
 如答 "是", 將移往: a) 原居地 country
 b) 另一國家

Name of other country: _____
 國家名稱

- III.4d** Please list the dissatisfactions making you consider moving- the major one first.
 請列出你們有那些不滿, 是令你們考慮移居他處
 -- 依主要次序排列.

Dissatisfaction 不滿原因	Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

- III.5** What do you like most about your New Zealand life?
 在你們的紐西蘭生活中, 你們最喜歡甚麼?

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

- III.6** What do you dislike most about your New Zealand life?
 在你們的紐西蘭生活中, 你們最不喜歡甚麼?

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

- III.7a** At present do you have paid work?
 現在你們有受薪的工作嗎?

Paid work 有薪工作	Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子
Yes 有		
No 沒有		

III.7b *If Yes:* Do you feel that the work you are doing at present corresponds with your training and qualifications?

如答 "有", 你覺得現在這份工作與你的資歷和專業訓練是否符合?

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

III.7c *If No* Have you looked for paid work in the last 4 weeks?

如答 "沒有", 在過去四星期, 你有沒有尋找有薪的工作?

Looking for paid work 尋找有薪工作	Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子
Yes 有		
No 沒有		

III.8 Which category best describes your present job?

你現在的工作是屬於以下那一種類?

- a) a paid employee
受薪僱員
- b) self-employed and not employing any other person(s)
自僱, 沒有聘用其他人
- c) an employer of other person(s) in own business
自己做生意, 有聘用其他人
- d) working without pay in a family business
做家族生意, 沒有受薪
- e) unemployed
沒有受僱
 - i) not seeking work 亦沒有找工作
 - ii) seeking work 在找工作
- f) retired
退休
- g) full-time student
全職學生
- h) household duties
家庭職務
- i) Other: (please specify)
其他 (請說明)

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

III.9 In this job, what is your occupation or profession (*such as Dentist, Primary School Teacher, Shoe shop Manager*)

這份工作的專業或職業是甚麼？（例如牙醫，小學教師，鞋店經理）

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

III.10 In this job, what tasks or duties do you spend most time on (*such as consulting clients, teaching children aged 5-10, managing the staff and stock of a shoe store*)

這份工作的主要職責是甚麼？（例如與客戶洽談，教導五至十歲的兒童，管理員工及清查鞋店存貨）

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

III.11 Are you working in this job:

這份工作是：

Full-time (Full-time work is 30 or more hours per week)

全職（即每星期工作三十小時或以上）

Part-time (Part-time work is less than 30 hours per week)

部份時間（即每星期工作少於三十小時）

Work 工作	Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子
Full-time 全職		
Part-time 部份時間		

III.12 In which country or countries do you work at present?

你們現在於那個或那些國家工作？

Husband 丈夫	Wife 妻子

WORK HISTORY IN NEW ZEALAND

關於紐西蘭的工作

III.13 Thinking about your work situation how would you describe your experiences of finding work or setting up business in New Zealand?

請想及你們現在的工作情況，並談談你們在紐西蘭找尋工作或建立生意的經驗。

III.14a If you have not yet found satisfactory employment, what are you proposing to do in the next three months as far as seeking work is concerned?

如果你們尚未找到滿意的工作，請問在未來的三個月內你們在找尋工作方面，會有甚麼打算？

Do you have plans to move in order to find work?

你們是否計劃搬家以便尋找工作？

III.14b *If you are working:* Have you managed to get the sort of employment or business opportunities you wanted to when you chose to come to New Zealand?

如果你們有工作，你們是否已獲得當你們選擇前來紐西蘭時所希望得到的就業或生意機會？

If you are finding your work unsatisfactory do you have plans to change your job?

如果你們不滿意這份工作，你們有沒有打算轉換工作？

Was work available in the place (city/region) where you wanted to work? If not did you move to find work?

假如你們想工作，請問在你們以前居住的地方（城市／地區）有工作機會嗎？如果沒有，你們曾否為了找尋工作而搬家？

SECTION IV: BACKGROUND PROFILE
背景資料

Finally I would like to ask you to fill in the next questions which are necessary to establish a demographic profile of the participants. (Please circle or tick the correct answer or write in the space provided).

最後我希望你真答以下問題，用以協助我們了解受訪者的個人資料。請將正確答案，用圈或 ✓ 表示出來。或將答案寫在空白地方。

IV.1 Where were you born?

你的出生地點在那裡？

Country: -----
 國家

IV.2 Sex:
 性別

Female
 女

Male
 男

IV.3 Marital status:
 婚姻狀況

Never Married
 未婚

Now Married
 已婚

Divorced
 離婚

Widowed
 孀寡

Permanently separated
 永久分居

Not separated but living in a different household from your husband or wife
 非分居，但與配偶住處不同

IV.4 Age group in years:
 年齡組別

15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34
35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54
55-59	60-69	70+	

IV.5 What are your sources of income in New Zealand?
 你在紐西蘭的收入來源是甚麼？

wages, salary, commissions, bonuses etc paid by employer
 日薪，月薪，佣金，獎金等（由僱主支付）

self-employment, or business you own and work in
 自僱，或自己經營的生意

interest on bank deposits, dividends, rent, other investments
 銀行的存款利息，股息，租金，其他投資

government income support payments (all benefits etc)
 {Count student allowances, training allowances, unemployment benefit}
 政府的低收入支援補助（各項福利金，如學生補助費，訓練津貼，失業救濟金等）

overseas remittances
 海外匯款

other sources of income -----
 其他收入來源

Please tick all sources of income and identify your main source of income.
 請 ✓ 出所有收入來源，並指出最主要的收入來源。

IV.8a Have you **completed** any course(s) (including English language classes, night classes, job training or correspondence courses) since coming to New Zealand?

你來紐西蘭後，是否完成任何課程？

(包括英文班，夜間課程，工作訓練或函授課程)

Yes
是

No
否

IV.8b *If Yes:*

如答“是”

Please fill in the table below, giving details of the course(s) that you have completed.

請填寫以下表格，詳細註明你來紐西蘭後完成的任何課程。

TYPE OF COURSE 課程類別	TITLE OF COURSE 課程名稱 eg Office Technology	DURATION 所需時間		TICK ONE 請 ✓ 一個答案	
		Years 年	Months 月	Full-time 全日	Part-time 部份時間
University courses 大學課程					
Courses at Teachers' Training College, or Polytechnic 教育學院，理工，或工業學院課程					
Courses at Community College, or Continuing Education Studies 社區學院，或持續教育課程					
Night classes 夜間課程					
Correspondence courses 函授課程					
Secondary school education 中學教育					
Other courses 其他課程					

IV.9a Are you currently attending any education course(s) in New Zealand?
你現在是否於紐西蘭學習任何課程？

Yes
是

No
否

IV.9b *If Yes*
如答“是”

Please fill in the table below, giving details of the course(s) that you are currently attending.

請填寫以下表格，詳細註明你現正學習的任何課程。

TYPE OF COURSE 課程類別	TITLE OF COURSE 課程名稱 eg National Diploma in Accountancy	DATE STARTED 開始日期		EXPECTED DATE OF COMPLETION 預計完成日期		TICK ONE 請✓ 一個答案	
		Month 月	Year 年	Month 月	Year 年	Full-time 全日	Part-time 部份時間
University courses 大學課程							
Courses at Teachers' Training College, or Polytechnic 教育學院，理工，或工業學院課程							
Courses at Community College, or Continuing Education Studies 社區學院，或持續教育課程							
Night classes 夜間課程							
Correspondence courses 函授課程							
Secondary school education 中學教育							
Other courses 其他課程							

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

附加資料

Do you feel that you have told me enough so that I understand all about your family movements, employment experiences and reasons for coming to New Zealand or would you like to add something else to aid my understanding of your situation?

請問你認為你所提供的資料，是否已能令我深入了解關於你的家庭遷移情況，工作經驗，和移民紐西蘭的原因。你是否需要作些補充來增加我對你的移民情況的了解？

Do you have any suggestions for people giving advice to new migrants to New Zealand?
(Please list)

你有沒有任何建議給予那些輔導新移民的人士？

My sincere thanks for your time and cooperation

誠意謝謝你的合作

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - KOREAN TRANSLATION



The University of Waikato

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Interview Schedule
Population Change in NZ - November 1995

와이카토 대학 지리학과

인터뷰 일정

뉴질랜드의 인구변화 - 1995년 11월

Thank you for agreeing to answer these questions. As we go through the interview if you have any questions about why I am asking some particular things please feel free to ask me. Or if there is anything that you do not want to answer please tell me.

질문응답에 동의해 주셔서 감사합니다. 응답해주시는 동안 왜 특별히 이 질문을 하는지 궁금하시면 서슴없이 질문해주시기를 바랍니다. 또한 응답하기를 원하지 않으시면 저에게 말씀해 주시기 바랍니다.

SECTION I: DECISION TO MOVE. 이주에 관한 결정

To begin I would like to ask a few questions about your decision to move to New Zealand 시작으로, 뉴질랜드로 이주하기로 결정한 것에 관하여 몇가지 질문을 하고자 합니다.

- I.1** Where did you live before coming to New Zealand?
뉴질랜드로 이주하시기전애 어디에 사셨습니까 ?
- I.2** In which countries other than New Zealand and (the country you came from) have you lived in for: (a) 2 weeks to one year?
(b) 12 months or more? *(Length of time and date of visit)*
뉴질랜드와 한국을 제외한 국가들 중
(a) 2 주에서 1년
(b) 12 개월 이나 그 이상 거주한 나라는 어디입니까?
(체류기간 및 날짜를 기재해 주십시오)

Husband 남편	Wife 아내

- I.3a** Do you come from a migrant family? (*i.e. were your parents/grandparents migrants?*)
당신은 이민 2세대 이십니까?

- I.3b** *If Yes* Please list the movements of your close family for the past two generations.
만약 그렇다면 지난 이세대동안 친척들의 거주지역 이동에 대하여 기록하여 주십시오.

Husband 남편	Wife 아내

I.4a Did you have a choice of countries other than New Zealand in which to settle?
 뉴질랜드 이민을 결정하실때 국가를 선택할 여지가 있었습니까?

Yes 예 No 아니오

to Q 4b

질문 4b 로 가시오.

I.4b If Yes: What other countries could you have gone to live in?

만약 그렇다면 어떤나라에서 거주하실 의향이 있으셨습니까?

I.5 How long did it take you to make the decision to move from Korca to New Zealand?

한국에서 뉴질랜드에 오기로 결정하시기 까지 얼마나 걸리셨습니까?

I.6a Did any other people influence your decision to come to New Zealand?

뉴질랜드에 이민오기로 한 결정에 타인의 영향도 있었습니까?

Yes 예 No 아니오

to Q 6b

질문 6b로 가시오

I.6b If Yes: What other people played a role in your decision to come to New Zealand?
 (Please rank in order of importance)

누구의 영향으로 뉴질랜드행 이민결정을 하셨습니까?

(중요한 순서대로 순위를 적어 주세요)

- | | H | W |
|--|-----|-----|
| | 남 | 아 |
| | [] | [] |
| 1) Spouse and/or children
배우자 또는 자녀들 | [] | [] |
| 2) Parents
부모님 | [] | [] |
| 3) Other relatives
다른 친척들 | [] | [] |
| 4) Friends
친구들 | [] | [] |
| 5) An immigration consultant
이민 상담원 | [] | [] |
| 6) Media / news reports / magazine articles
대중 매체/신문보도/잡지기사 | [] | [] |
| 7) A combination (please list)
기타 (자세히 쓰시오) | [] | [] |

I.7 Did you belong to or attend any associations before settling in New Zealand? (Include professional, business, church, sport, social and cultural) (Please name the associations)

뉴질랜드에 정착하시기전 한국에서 어떤 단체 나 협회에 가입했거나 참석 하셨습니까?

(직업, 사업, 교회, 스포츠, 사회, 문화적 성격을 포함하는 것을 기술하시오.)

I.8 When did you first visit New Zealand and how long did you stay on this visit?

처음 뉴질랜드에 방문한 때는 언제이며, 그 방문기간은 얼마나 되었습니까?

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

I.12 How many of your close relatives (*parents and brothers and sisters of you both*) are living in New Zealand?
 뉴질랜드에 거주하는 가까운 친척 (부부의 부모, 형제, 자매)들은 몇명입니까?

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

I.13 Please list their order of arrival and relationship.
 윗 사람들과의 관계(relationship)와 도착한 순서를 기록하십시오.

Husband's relatives 남편의 친척	Wife's relatives 아내의 친척

I.14a How many of your close relations (*parents, brothers and sisters*) are still living in Korea?
 당신의 한국에 거주하고 있는 가까운 친척 (부모형제자매)들은 몇명입니까?

Husband's relatives 남편의 친척	Wife's relatives 아내의 친척

I.14b How many of your close relations (*parents, brothers and sisters*) are living in countries other than Korea or New Zealand?
 당신의 한국이 아닌 다른나라 혹은 뉴질랜드에 거주하고 있는 가족(부모형제자매)들은 몇명입니까?

Husband's relatives 남편의 친척	Wife's relatives 아내의 친척

I.15a Before you came to settle in New Zealand (*that is live in New Zealand for 6 months or more in one year*), did you have friends or family living in New Zealand?
 뉴질랜드에 정착(6개월-1년)하기전에 당신의 가까운 친척이나 친구가 이나라에 살고 있었습니까?

	Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내
Yes 예		
No 아니오		

I.15b *If Yes:* Which city or region did they live in?
 만약 그렇다면 어떤 도시(지역)에서 그들이 살고 있었습니까?

	Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내
Family 가 족		
Friends 친 구		
Family and friends 가족과 친구		

I.16a Are members of your close relatives living, for 6 months or more in one year, in other countries besides New Zealand and Korea?

당신의 가까운 친척들중 뉴질랜드와 한국을 제외한 나라에 살고 있는 사람이 있습니까?

	Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내
Yes 예		
No 아니오		

I.16b *If Yes:* 만약 그렇다면,

Husband's Relations 남편과의 관계	Country 나 라	Wife's Relations 아내와의 관계	Country 나 라

QUALIFICATIONS BEFORE YOU CAME TO NEW ZEALAND

뉴질랜드에 이주하기전 취득한 자격증

I.17 Before coming to New Zealand, what was the highest level of education you completed?

뉴질랜드 이주하기전에 최종학력을 무엇입니까?

- (a) University degree
학사학위
- (b) Diploma or Certificate from Teachers' Training College, Polytechnic or Technical Institute
교육대학, 전문대학, 직업훈련원의 자격증.
- (c) Secondary school
중, 고등학교
- (d) Primary school
국민학교
- (e) Other (please specify)
기타(구체적으로)
- (f) No formal education
정식 교육을 받지 않았다.

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

I.18 *If you have completed a degree or diploma:*

Please name your highest qualification and subject area.

만약 a와 b라면 최종 자격증과 전공 분야에 대해서 기록 하시오.

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

I.19 What was the profession or occupation you were qualified for?
(such as Doctor of Medicine (General Practice) or Auto Electrician)

당신이 자격증을 소지한 전문직업은 무엇이었습니까?

(예: 의사, 수의사, 전기 기술자)

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

EMPLOYMENT BEFORE YOU CAME TO NEW ZEALAND

뉴질랜드에 오기전에 취업상황

I.20a Did you have a job in Korea before you came to New Zealand?

뉴질랜드에 오기전에 한국에서 직업이 있었습니까?

	Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내
Yes 예		
No 아니오		

I.20b If Yes: Which category best describes your main job in Korea?

만약 그렇다면, 그때 당신의 직업은 다음 아래 사항중 어디에 해당합니까?

- a) a paid employee
월급생활
- b) self-employed and not employing any other person(s)
자영업(아무도 고용하지 않았음)
- c) an employer of other person(s) in own business
다른사람을 고용하고 있는 고용주.
- d) working without pay in a family business
급료지불이 없는 가족간의 사업. (예 : 농장)
- e) unemployed
실업자
 - i) not seeking work 가. 직업을 구하지 않고 있다.
 - ii) seeking work 나. 구직중.
- f) retired
퇴직
- g) full-time student
학생
- h) household duties
가사(household duties)
- i) Other: (please specify)
기타(구체적으로)

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

I.21 In that job, what was your occupation or profession (such as Dentist, Primary School Teacher, Shoe shop Manager)

당신의 직업이 무엇이었습니다?(구체적으로)

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

I.22 In that job, what tasks and duties did you spend most time on (such as consulting clients, teaching children aged 5-10, managing the staff and stock of a shoe store)

그 직업에서 당신의 주 업무는 무엇이었습니다?

(환자진료, 유아교육, 인사관리, 신발재고관리)

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

I.23 In which country or countries did you work in this main job?

어떤 나라에서 이 일을 하셨습니까?

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

I.24 How much did you use your qualifications and skills in this job?

이 직업에서 어느정도 당신의 자격증과 기술을 사용하셨습니까?

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

I.25 How many years of experience did you have in this type of work?

이 직업에서 몇 년간 경험을 쌓으셨습니까?

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

I.26a Did you do any other type of work before you came to New Zealand?

한국에서 그직업외에 어떤종류의 일을 하셨습니까?

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

I.26b *If Yes:* What was your occupation and activity in this other job?

만일 그렇다면 이 다른 종류의 직업과 업무는 무엇이었습니까?

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

INFORMATION ABOUT JOBS IN NEW ZEALAND BEFORE YOU CAME
뉴질랜드에 이주하기 전에 뉴질랜드의 직업에 관한 정보

I.27 Before you came to New Zealand, where did you get information about work opportunities in New Zealand?

어디에서, 누구로부터 뉴질랜드의 직업에 관한 정보를 얻으셨습니까?

- Family members living in New Zealand
뉴질랜드에 살고있는 가족
- New Zealand friends
뉴질랜드의 친구들
- New Zealand Embassy or Consul or High Commission
뉴질랜드 대사관, 영사관.
- New Zealand Immigration Service (Department of Labour)
뉴질랜드 이민국
- Immigration consultant
이민 상담원
- Bankers, real estate agents
은행원, 부동산업자.
- Holiday or visit to New Zealand
뉴질랜드 방문
- Tourist leaflets and magazine articles
여행책자와 잡지기사
- Professional journals
전문기사
- Future employer
장래의 고용주
- Other (*please state*) -----
기타(구체적으로 기재)

I.28 How **useful** was the information you got from these sources about New Zealand work opportunities?

당신이 얻은 그 정보가 얼마나 당신에게 유용했습니까?

I.29 How **accurate** was the information you got from these sources about New Zealand work opportunities? (*please explain*)

당신이 얻은 그 정보가 얼마나 정확했습니까?

I.30 How do you view the New Zealand Government's immigration policy in the light of your own experiences bringing qualifications, skills and expertise into this country?

당신이 가진 자격(증)과 기술, 전문지식, 경험에 비추어볼때 뉴질랜드 정부의 이민정책에 대한 당신의 견해는 어떠하십니까?

I.31 Do you have any suggestions on policy that you feel would assist future migrants in their settlement in this country?

당신은 이 나라에서 장차 이민 올 이민자에 대한 뉴질랜드 정부의 이민 정책을 위하여 제안할 만한 사항이 있으십니까?

II.4a Who organised your immigration to New Zealand?

뉴질랜드로 이민을 주선한 사람은 누구입니까?

You

본인

Another person

to Q 4b & 4c

제삼자.

질문 4b, 4c로 가시오

II.4b *If Another person : Who?*

제 삼자라면 그는 누구입니까?

II.4c Did this person influence where you have chosen to live in New Zealand?

이 제삼자가 뉴질랜드에 거주할 곳을 결정하는데 영향을 미쳤습니까?

Yes

예

No

아니오

II.5 Why have you chosen to live in Auckland?

왜 오클랜드에 거주하기로 결정하셨습니까?

[] Have relatives living in this city

이 도시에 거주하고 있는 친척이 있다.

[] Have friends in this city

이 도시에 거주하고 있는 친구가 있다.

[] More Chinese (Korean) people in this city

많은 아시아인들이, 한국인을 포함하여, 이 도시에 거주하고 있기 때문이다.

[] Have work in this city

이 도시에 직장이 있다.

[] Easy to find a job or set up a business

직업을 구하거나 사업을 하기가 쉽다.

[] Big city - convenient (*close to international airport*)

큰 도시의 편리성 (국제 공항에 가깝다.)

[] Big city (*more activities*)

큰 도시 (여가 선용이 쉽다.)

[] Climate

기후

[] Other (*please specify*)

기타 (구체적 기재)

II.6a Would you choose this city to live in again?

이 도시를 주거지로 다시 선택하시겠습니까?

Yes

예

No

아니오

II.6b *If No: Why?*

아니라면, 그 이유는 무엇입니까 ?

II.7a Would you choose this suburb to live in again?

이 근교지역을 주거지로 다시 선택하시겠습니까?

Yes

예

No

아니오

II.7b Reasons for choosing to live or not to live in this suburb?

이 근교 지역을 주거지로 다시 선택하거나 하지 않는 이유는?

Reason 이 유	Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내
Relatives living close by 가까이에 친척이 산다		
Friends 친구들		
Good schools 좋은 학교		
Close to work 직장이 가깝다		
Good environment 좋은 환경		
New housing 새 주거지		
Combination 복합적		
Other 기 타		

II.8a What other suburbs of Auckland have you lived in?

어떤 다른 오클랜드 근교지역에 주거 한적이 있습니까?

II.8b Why did you move from that suburb to this suburb?

왜 그 지역에서 이 근교 지역으로 이사 하셨습니까?

Reason 이 유	Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내
No relatives living close by 가까이에 친척이 안 산다		
No friends 친구들이 없다		
Poor schools 나쁜 학교		
Far from work 직장이 멀다		
Poor environment 나쁜 환경		
Older housing 오래된 주거지		
Racial tension		
Combination 복합적		
Other 기 타		

II.9a Have you lived in any other city or region in New Zealand?

뉴질랜드의 다른 도시나 지역에 주거한 적이 있습니까?

	Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내
Yes 에		
No 아니오		

II.9b *If Yes:* In which city or region have you lived and for how long did you live there?
 만약 있다면 어떤 도시 혹은 지역에 얼마 동안 거주 하셨습니다까?

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

II.10a Did you work while in this city or region?
 그 도시나 지역에서 일 하셨습니다까?

	Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내
Yes 예		
No 아니오		

II.10b *If Yes:* What was your last job there and how long did you work ?
 만약 있다면 그 곳에서의 직업이 무엇이었으며 얼마동안 일 하셨습니다까?

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

II.11 Do you belong to or attend any associations? (Include professional, business, church, sport, social and cultural) *(Please name the associations)*
 어떤 단체에 속하거나 참석하셨습니다까?
 (직업, 사업, 교회, 스포츠, 사회, 문화적 성격이 있는것)
 (단체의 이름을 명명(命名)해주십시오.)

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

II.12a How useful have you found support services from your own ethnic group, such as the (Hong Kong) business directory, newspapers and magazines, and radio programmes?

당신은 오클랜드내의 한국어로된 신문, 잡지, 라디오 방송을 통해서 어느정도 도움을 받고 계십니까?

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

II.12b Are there any other services that you have found useful?

이것들 이외에 유용했다고 느낀것은 무엇입니까?

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

II.12c Are there any services that you would have liked to use but they were not available?

이것들 이외에 도움이 된다고 생각했지만 이용할 수 없었던 Service는 무엇입니까 ?

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

SECTION III: EXPERIENCE IN NEW ZEALAND

뉴질랜드에서의 경험

The following questions are about your experiences since arriving in New Zealand
 다음의 질문들은 뉴질랜드 도착 이후의 당신의 경험에 관한 것입니다.

III.1 How long have you been living in New Zealand?

뉴질랜드에 얼마동안 거주하고 있습니까 ?

Length of time in NZ 뉴질랜드에서의 거주기간	Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내
<1yr 1 년 이하		
1-2yrs 1 - 2 년		
2-3yrs 2 - 3 년		
3-4yrs 3 - 4 년		
4-5yrs 4 - 5 년		
>5yrs 5 년 이상		

III.2 How many times have you returned to Korea for more then 1 week since arriving in New Zealand?

뉴질랜드에 도착이후 1주일 혹은 그 이상 한국에 다녀오신 적이 몇번 있습니까 ?

Husband 남 편		Wife 아 내	
Number of times 횟 수	Length of stay 거주기간	Number of times 횟 수	Length of stay 거주기간
1		1	
2		2	
3		3	
4		4	
5		5	
6		6	
7 or more 7회 이상		7 or more 7회 이상	

III.3a Which country would you expect to be living in for most of the year?

당신은 어느나라에서 대부분의 시간을 보낼 계획입니까?

Length of time 체류기간	Husband 남편	Wife 아내
1yr from now 지금부터 1 년간		
5yrs from now 지금부터 5 년간		
10yrs from now 지금부터 10 년간		
20yrs from now 지금부터 20 년간		

III.3b Which country would you expect your children to be living in for most of the year?

당신의 자녀는 어느나라에서 대부분의 시간을 보낼 계획입니까?

1yr from now 지금부터 1 년간	
5yrs from now 지금부터 5 년간	
10yrs from now 지금부터 10 년간	
20yrs from now 지금부터 20 년간	

III.4a Are you on the whole satisfied or dissatisfied with your life in New Zealand?

당신은 뉴질랜드에서의 당신의 생활에 대해 전적으로 만족합니까? 혹은 그렇지 않습니까?

Husband's feelings 남편의 견해	Wife's feelings 아내의 견해

III.4b *If Dissatisfied:* Is your dissatisfaction significant enough to make you consider moving back to Korea or on to another country?

만약 만족하지 않는다면, 이 불만족은 당신의 한국이나 다른나라로 갈 것을 고려할만큼 중대한 것입니까?

	Husband 남편	Wife 아내
Yes 예		
No 아니오		

III.4c If Yes to Question 4c: Move to a) Korea b) another country
 만약 그렇다면, 질문 4c로 가시오. a)한국으로 이주한다. b) 다른 나라로 이주한다.

Name of other country: -----

다른나라 국가명 :

III.4d Please list the dissatisfactions making you consider moving- the major one first.
 다른 나라로 이주할 것을 고려하게된 불만족한점에 대해서 기재해 주시오. (가장 큰 문제를 처음에 기재해 주시오.)

Dissatisfaction 불 만	Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

III.5 What do you like most about your New Zealand life?
 뉴질랜드의 생활에서 당신이 가장 좋아하는 점은 무엇입니까 ?

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

III.6 What do you dislike most about your New Zealand life?
 뉴질랜드의 생활에서 당신이 가장 싫어하는 점은 무엇입니까 ?

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

III.7a At present, do you have paid work?
 현재, 보수를 받는 일을 하고 있습니까 ?

Paid work	Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내
Yes 예		
No 아니오		

III.7b *If Yes:* Do you feel that the work you are doing at present corresponds with your training and qualifications?
 만약 그렇다면, 당신의 훈련(경험)이나 자격증이 현재의 직업과 일치한다고 생각하십니까?

Husband 남편	Wife 아내

III.7c *If No* Have you looked for paid work in the last 4 weeks?
 만약 아니라면, 지난 4주간 급료를 받고 하는 일을 찾고 있었습니까?

Looking for paid work	Husband 남편	Wife 아내
Yes 예		
No 아니오		

III.8 Which category best describes your present job?
 다음 항목중 당신의 현 직업을 가장 잘 묘사한것은 어느 것입니까?

- a) a paid employee
월급생활
- b) self-employed and not employing any other person(s)
자영업(아무도 고용하지 않았음)
- c) an employer of other person(s) in own business
다른사람을 고용하고 있는 고용주.
- d) working without pay in a family business
급료지불이 없는 가족간의 사업.(예 : 농장)
- e) unemployed
실업자
 - i) not seeking work 가. 직업을 구하지 않고 있다.
 - ii) seeking work 나. 구직중.
- f) retired
퇴직
- g) full-time student
학생
- h) household duties
가사(household duties)
- i) Other: (please specify)
기타(구체적으로)

Husband 남편	Wife 아내

III.9 In this job, what is your occupation or profession (*such as Dentist, Primary School Teacher, Shoe shop Manager*)

당신의 직업은 무엇입니까?

(예: 치과의사, 국민학교 교사, 신발가게 지배인)

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

III.10 In this job, what tasks or duties do you spend most time on (*such as consulting clients, teaching children aged 5-10, managing the staff and stock of a shoe store*)

이 직업에서 당신의 주 업무는 무엇입니까?

(예: 환자 진료, 유아 교육, 직원과재고 관리).

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

III.11 Are you working in this job:

이 직업은 :

Full-time (Full-time work is 30 or more hours per week)

Full-time (일주일에 30시간 또는 그 이상 일한다.)

Part-time (Part-time work is less than 30 hours per week)

Part-time (일주일에 30시간 이하 일한다.)

Work	Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내
Full-time		
Part-time		

III.12 In which country or countries do you work at present?

현재 어느나라(들)에서 일하고 있습니까 ?

Husband 남 편	Wife 아 내

WORK HISTORY IN NEW ZEALAND
 뉴질랜드에서 직업 경력

III.13 Thinking about your work situation how would you describe your experiences of finding work or setting up business in New Zealand?
 당신의 입장에서 생각할때 뉴질랜드에서의 구직이나 사업을 시작하는 것에 대해 어떻게 말할 수 있습니까 ?

III.14a If you have not yet found satisfactory employment, what are you proposing to do in the next three months as far as seeking work is concerned?
 아직 만족스러운 직업을 찾지 못했다면 다음 3달 동안 직업을 찾기 위해 무엇을 하려고 합니까?

Do you have plans to move in order to find work?
 직업을 찾기위해 이사할 계획을 가지고 있습니까 ?

III.14b *If you are working:* Have you managed to get the sort of employment or business opportunities you wanted to when you chose to come to New Zealand?
 만약 일을 하고 있다면 당신은 뉴질랜드에 올때 하려고 했던 직업이나 사업을 하는데 성공하셨습니까 ?

If you are finding your work unsatisfactory do you have plans to change your job?
 만약 당신이 직업에 만족하지 않는다면 직업을 바꿀 계획을 갖고 있습니까 ?

Was work available in the place (city/region) where you wanted to work? If not did you move to find work?

당신이 원하는 곳(도시/지역)에서 일자리가 있었습니까 ?
 만약 그렇지 않다면 일자리를 찾기위해 이사 하셨습니까 ?

SECTION IV: BACKGROUND PROFILE**배경. 프로필**

Finally I would like to ask you to fill in the next questions which are necessary to establish a demographic profile of the participants. (Please circle or tick the correct answer or write in the space provided).

마지막으로 참가자에 대한 통계학적 프로필을 만들기 위한 다음 질문들에 응답해 주시기를 바랍니다. (정답에 'V' 이나 'O' 를 하시거나 주어진 여백에 기재해 주십시오)

IV.1 Where were you born?

출생국가는 어디입니까 ?

Country: -----

국가명

IV.2 Sex:

성 별 :

Female

여

Male

남

IV.3 Marital status:

결혼관계

Never Married

결혼한 적이 없다

Now Married

결혼했다

Divorced

이혼했다

Widowed

미망인

Permanently separated

영구적으로 헤어졌다

Not separated but living in a different household from your husband or wife

헤어지지 않는으나 부부가 다른집에 산다

IV.4 Age group in years:

연 령

15-19

20-24

25-29

30-34

35-39

40-44

45-49

50-54

55-59

60-69

70+

IV.5 What are your sources of income in New Zealand?

뉴질랜드에서 수입원은 무엇입니까 ?

[] wages, salary, commissions, bonuses etc paid by employer
급료, 월급, 수수료, 보너스 등 고용주에게 받는다.

[] self-employment, or business you own and work in
자영업

[] interest on bank deposits, dividends, rent, other investments
예금, 이자, 임대료, 투자에서의 이윤

[] government income support payments (all benefits etc)
{Count student allowances, training allowances, unemployment benefit}
정부의 생활 보조금 (학생수당, 연수수당, 실업자수당)

[] overseas remittances
해외 송금

[] other sources of income -----
다른 수입원

Please tick all sources of income and identify your main source of income.

모든 종류의 수입원에 'V' 하시고 주 수입원을 표시해 주세요.

IV.8a Have you **completed** any course(s) {including English language classes, night classes, job training or correspondence courses} since coming to New Zealand?

뉴질랜드에 온 이후 어떤 코스(영어수업, 야간학교, 직업훈련 또는 통신학교)를 마치신 적이 있습니까 ?

Yes No
예 아니오

IV.8b *If Yes:*

만약있다면

Please fill in the table below, giving details of the course(s) that you have completed.

완료한 코스에 대해 상세히 기술해 주십시오.

TYPE OF COURSE 코스의 종류	TITLE OF COURSE 코스 명 eg Office Technology	DURATION 기간		TICK ONE 선택[✓]	
		Years 년	Months 개월	Full-time 전 시간제	Part-time 시간제
University courses 대학 코스					
Courses at Teachers' Training College, or Polytechnic 교육대학이나 폴리테크닉 코스					
Courses at Community College, or Continuing Education Studies 지역사회대학이나 평생교육 코스					
Night classes 야간학교					
Correspondence courses 통신학교 코스					
Secondary school education 중 고등학교 교육					
Other courses 기타 코스					

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Do you feel that you have told me enough so that I understand all about your family movements, employment experiences and reasons for coming to New Zealand or would you like to add something else to aid my understanding of your situation?

당신은 제가 당신이 뉴질랜드에 오게된 이유와 직업에 대한 경험 그리고 당신의 가족의 이동에 대해 모두 이해하도록 이야기 했다고 생각하십니까? 혹은 당신의 상황을 이해하는데 좀 더 추가할 것이 있다고 생각하십니까?

Do you have any suggestions for people giving advice to new migrants to New Zealand?
(Please list)

새로 뉴질랜드에 이민 오시는 분들께 제안할 점이 있습니까 ?

My sincere thanks for your time and cooperation
지금까지 협조해 주셔서 대단히 감사합니다.

LETTER OF THANKS



The University of Waikato

Department of Geography

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato
Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand.
Central Fax (07) 856-0135. Telephone (07) 856-2889.

26 April 1996

Dear

Re: Population Change in New Zealand Interviews

I wish to thank you again for the time you spent talking with me and answering the questions I asked about the factors that led you to come to New Zealand and your experiences here as residents. Attached please find a summary of some of the key points that were made on immigration policy and the difficulties facing immigrants.

A report on the preliminary findings of the interviews has just been published. If you would like to receive a copy please let me know and I will send you one.

Thanking you once again for your time and cooperation.

Yours sincerely

Jacquie Lidgard

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SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

**EAST ASIAN MIGRATION TO AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND:
PERSPECTIVES OF SOME NEW ARRIVALS**

Jacqueline M. Lidgard
Research Fellow
Department of Geography
University of Waikato
HAMILTON

Since 1986, when the selection of new immigrants to Aotearoa/New Zealand became based on personal merit, a substantial group of new settlers from East Asia have arrived and live mainly in the Auckland area. In the past two years there have been increasing numbers coming to Hamilton. A report detailing some of the experiences and concerns of 42 recent immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea who were living in either Auckland or Hamilton between November 1995 and March 1996 has been published as a Discussion Paper (Lidgard, 1996). The following is a brief summary of some of the findings of the research that relate to immigration policy.

Background

In the 1980s the New Zealand Government officially recognised the need to reorientate the country's economy. Migration from Asia was encouraged in the belief and hope that the new settlers would help establish the economic and political linkages that would save New Zealand from becoming, what the Prime Minister termed, "an isolated backwater in the South Pacific". The government hoped that these Asian networks would ensure that New Zealand developed the necessary new markets for its products.

Asian migrants were also sought by the government as a source of financial and human capital for New Zealand. The government, however, was not prepared for the reality of large numbers of new settlers arriving for whom English was a second language. Considerable strain has been placed on existing resources, especially in education, by government failure to anticipate or provide for the needs of the newcomers. The main reason given by those interviewed for coming to New Zealand was quality education in a stress-free environment. The reality is overcrowded schools, under resourced for teaching English as a second language.

The reluctance of the government to address these issues has contributed to much of the ill-feeling in the wider community. The established population feel that the government has "sold" the country and its assets to "foreigners". The newcomers feel that the Government is "hypocritical". "They [the New Zealand Government] love Asian money and trade but object to Asian people living here" (TV3, 20/20, 1/4/96).

Government policy and planning

There is general dissatisfaction at the lack of government planning and preparation to meet the needs of those that have been actively encouraged to come to New Zealand. The government is looked to for leadership by the

immigrants but they do not see much evidence of this role being played by the present New Zealand Government. Current immigration policies are viewed as *ad hoc*. The present system of fine tuning points amends numbers on a weekly basis. In addition, the Minister of Immigration is a Minister “outside” of Cabinet, which further strengthens the view that the Government does not regard immigration as an important issue.

Although the immigration policy contains no clauses of ethnic exclusion, many would argue that the present English language proficiency, announced in the 1995 Review, will act as a barrier to the free movement of those for whom English is a second language. An important motive bringing new settlers from Taiwan and Korea to New Zealand is education for their children, thus this new obstacle will be of grave concern to these prospective new migrants.

Education, qualifications and skills

A likely scenario for New Zealand is that there will be a reduction in the numbers arriving from Korea and Taiwan as a result of the stricter standards for English language proficiency imposed in October, 1995. Now all family members over the age of 16 years must meet a minimum standard of English or pay a refundable fee. If the required standard is not reached within three months of arrival part of this fee is retained. This requirement will be very difficult for many new immigrants to meet given the fact that current waiting lists for English language courses, at Polytechnic Institutes and Community Colleges in Auckland, are years rather than months long. However, the length of these waiting lists does seem to be having the effect of encouraging new arrivals to settle, at least temporarily, in cities other than Auckland.

The failure of the New Zealand Government to implement a flexible system for recognition of overseas qualifications and experience, to make the most of the “human capital” it is importing, is another major concern of those interviewed. Many immigrants, who come to New Zealand under the general points system, find that there are no jobs for them. Their high points score seems to indicate that their skills will be very much in demand in New Zealand. But as there is no direct link between immigration policy and the requirements of the domestic labour market there are no jobs for them.

In this regard, New Zealand is experiencing a similar situation to Australia where a recent study by the Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research (BIMPR) concluded that, “a high proportion of immigrants are over qualified for their jobs and underpaid for their skill level”. When a country fails to make use of the qualifications and skills of new settlers it is wasting a valuable resource. The authors of the Australian study note the need for a strong integrated national system of overseas skills recognition, and for programmes to facilitate the labour market adjustment of immigrants. Hopefully policy analysts in New Zealand will reach a similar conclusion and persuade politicians and planners of the need for programmes that will utilise more fully the potential of New Zealand’s new settlers.

Business development

The New Zealand Government also needs to acknowledge that setting up a business in a “foreign” land can be as difficult for Asians in New Zealand as it is for New Zealanders in Asia. Some new arrivals from Asia, encouraged to

come to New Zealand bringing business venture capital, commented that there was little evidence of any preparation by the government to assist them even to familiarise themselves with New Zealand business regulations. They have been frustrated at the amount of time needed to gather the most basic business information that they had expected would have been prepared for them in advance of their arrival. Many have lost considerable sums of money in failed investment ventures. The feeling is that the New Zealand Government, “just want our capital and give nothing in return”.

The fact that many are unable to find a job or set up a successful business in New Zealand has been widely publicised. An alternative strategy, that some have chosen to earn money to support their dependents, is for the principal breadwinner to return to their country of origin to work or do business. Now many families, especially from Hong Kong and Taiwan, plan their move to New Zealand with more realistic expectations about work opportunities here than those who came at the end of the 1980s. Family separation is not a preferred option but is considered a better alternative to not working and being forced to live on welfare payments. The “astronaut” strategy has received critical comment from politicians who view this arrangement as evidence that Asian immigrants show a lack of commitment to New Zealand.

Issues for women

For the women, life in New Zealand has not simply meant an adjustment to a new country and culture. Rather, it has involved a complete change of lifestyle for these wives and mothers. They have had the additional adjustment to make from life as professional career women to life as housebound, housewives. Suddenly these women have needed to learn to cook, clean and garden for the first time in their lives. Some also have had to become accustomed to being separated from their husbands for lengthy periods and “heading” the family household in a country which operates in a foreign language and system of government.

Some families suffer severe disruption and trauma to establish themselves in New Zealand. However, those from Hong Kong feel that the short-term sacrifices are necessary in view of the uncertainty surrounding the outcomes of the return of political power to China in a year's time. The recent missile tests, conducted by China off the coast of Taiwan, have deepened further feelings of mistrust and unease. In spite of short-term losses, people from Hong Kong and Taiwan seize the opportunity to establish international linkages to preserve their human rights.

Concentration in Auckland

The concentration of large numbers of visibly different new settlers in Auckland has led to the assumption that immigrants are solely responsible for straining the capacity of the infrastructure of the city. Overcrowding of schools, shortage of water, and the increasing traffic congestion on Auckland's roads are all being attributed to the “visible minority”. An additional problem for the resident population is that the newcomers are much wealthier than the average New Zealander. The conspicuous grandeur and newness of the real estate they choose, the expensive European cars they drive and the academic success of many of their children help to promote a high level of envy and jealousy, fear and mistrust amongst those of lesser material wealth.

The dream for many of these new settlers of a relaxed life-style in a peaceful and friendly country, with professional work or viable business opportunities and instant free access to education, is not being realised for many in the first few years of settlement. Over time, when systems and culture have become familiar, and possibly New Zealand qualifications have been obtained, the outlook tends to be brighter.

Conclusion

International migration is a global issue. Without doubt receiving countries have a responsibility to provide assistance to facilitate the cultural and social adaptation of migrants. In the eyes of the new settlers from East Asia, and by the admission of both the Prime Minister and the Minister of Immigration, the New Zealand Government has failed to meet some of its obligations to them. As the National President of the New Zealand Federation of Ethnic Councils, Dr Rasalingam, said: "We need to get together to work together for the betterment of the country." Immigration can be successful but it requires preparation and realistic expectations from both the immigrant and the receiving country.

Reference:

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Glossary

A number of terms and phrases are used throughout the thesis. To avoid confusion, and to save repetition, the meaning or significance of some of these words or phrases is explained in this section.

AFTA

This is the acronym for the ASEAN Free Trade Area. The setting up of this trade area was an objective from the fourth ASEAN summit meeting held in 1992 and the proposal was that it be established within 15 years.

Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)

The 18 economies of this group; Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Chile, the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea (PNG), the Philippines, Singapore, Chinese Taipei, Thailand and the United States of America (US), account for over half the world's production and include all the major economies in the fastest growing economic region in the world.

Asian Tigers

This term is used to refer to a group of four East Asian exporting countries - Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea. These countries 'became known as the "four tigers" for fast growth rates and new levels of industrialisation ... Output per person doubled each decade after 1970' (Fagan and Webber, 1994, 21).

Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)

The countries in this group are Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei Darussalam, and Vietnam.

Astronaut households

Astronaut households contain members who return to their countries of origin to work while the remainder of the family, usually the women and children, remain in one of the countries of immigration. The term "astronaut" is popularly used to refer to the returnee who, while maintaining business interests or a career in the country of origin, makes frequent long-distance flights to visit family settled in a new country. This "astronaut" family member then assumes a bilocal nationality. "Astronauts" are usually the husbands, (occasionally wives) who commute regularly across the Pacific and leave their partners and children in Australia, New Zealand, Canada or the United States. This syndrome is discussed in depth in Skeldon (1994d); and Pe-Pau *et al.* (1996). Ho, Bedford and Goodwin (1997b) have been researching the occurrence of the phenomenon in New Zealand.

Closer Economic Relations (CER)

The Australia and New Zealand Closer Economic Relations Trade Agreement

Colombo Plan

This plan originated at a meeting of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers held in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in 1950. The purpose of the plan was to organise a cooperative effort to develop the economies and raise the living standards in the countries of South and Southeast Asia. In the first ten years technical assistance in the form of training provided in New Zealand brought nearly 900 trainees to New Zealand mainly from Indonesia and Sri Lanka (Ceylon) (Encyclopaedia of New Zealand).

Core

The centre of capitalist accumulation.

Countries

It should be noted that the labels given to groups of countries have been taken from Statistics New Zealand 1995 edition of the *New Zealand Standard Classification of Countries*. Those of particular relevance for this thesis are Asia which is broken into three sub-regions - Southeast Asia, Northeast Asia and Southern Asia, and the countries which comprise Northeast Asia -- the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, Japan, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, Macau, Mongolia and Taiwan (Statistics New Zealand, 1995, 23). The Republic of Korea is referred to as South Korea or Korea in this thesis.

Established immigrants

"Established" immigrants refer to those people who stated in the census that they were born overseas, but were living in New Zealand five years before the census. The 1991 "established" immigrants refer to those migrants who had come to settle in New Zealand before the 1986 census and therefore arrived before the immigration policy change of 1986. The "established" immigrants in the 1996 census were already living in New Zealand in 1991 and therefore this group includes all those who were the "recent" immigrants of the 1991 census.

Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

This is defined as total final output of goods and services produced within a national economy in a given year plus incomes coming in from abroad net of any income earned in the country but paid to persons abroad.

GATT - see World Trade Organisation

Globalisation

Globalisation is that set of processes by which the world is rapidly being integrated into one economic space via increased international trade, the internationalisation of production and financial markets, the internationalisation of a commodity culture promoted by an increasingly networked global telecommunications system (Gibson-Graham, 1996, 120).

March years

The year begins on 1 April and ends on 31 March the following year. March years are frequently used in the analysis of migration trends in New Zealand in an effort to overcome the seasonal nature of flows into and out of the country.

Migrants

People who move from one country to settle in another.

Migration system

The basis of the systems approach to the study of international migration is defined by Kritz *et al.*, (1992) as 'a group of countries that exchange relatively large numbers of migrants with each other' (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992, 2). The population exchanges between the countries involve all types of movement from permanent "settler" migration through to short-term movements of tourists. Study of New Zealand's migration systems which, in common with other countries are constantly evolving and reshaping, show how these changes are taking place within the global system of economic exchange.

Newly-Industrialising Countries (NICs)

This term refers to the countries identified by both the World Bank and the OECD. They were defined as countries that first, were rapidly penetrating the world market for manufactured goods; second, had a rising proportion of their workforces in industrial employment; and third, had experienced a rapid increase in real GDP per capita compared to the industrial countries.

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)

This is a trade agreement between the Government of Canada, the Government of the United Mexican States and the Government of the United States of America.

Northeast Asia

The People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, Japan, North and South Korea, Macau, Mongolia and Taiwan.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)

This is an economic association of the developed industrialised countries excluding those former centrally-planned industrial economies of Eastern Europe. The original Convention was signed in Paris in December 1960 between 20 countries. New Zealand became a member in May 1973 and currently there are 29 member countries.

Pacific Rim

Countries that are located around the circumference of the Pacific Ocean. North American countries are sometimes referred to as on the Northwestern rim, Asian countries on the Northeastern rim and Australasia on the Southeastern rim.

Parachute kids

Parachute kid is the term used to refer to the children who are left behind in a country while both parents return to their country of origin to work. These children may be left in the care of relatives or friends or they may have responsibility for younger siblings in Australasia or North America when the parents return to Asia.

Pacific Business Forum (PBF)

This forum was established in 1994 to identify issues APEC should address to facilitate trade and investment and encourage the further development of business networks throughout the region.

Population Conference

A government-sponsored conference held in Wellington, New Zealand 12-14 November 1997.

Periphery

The countries on the edge of the capitalist system.

Recent immigrant

A "recent" immigrant is defined as a person who stated that they were resident overseas five years before the census. Hence the recent immigrants in the 1991 census refer to the people who had come to New Zealand between 4 March 1986 and 4 March 1991, and those in the 1996 census refer to people who came to New Zealand between 4 March 1991 and 5 March 1996.

Refugee

The term applies to any person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his [sic] nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (Convention of 1951 definition).

Semi-periphery

The middle grouping of countries in the core-periphery zonal organisation of world production.

SOPEMI

This is the French acronym for the OECD's Continuous Reporting System on migration. The 22nd report was issued in Paris in July 1997 and covered the trends in international migration in 1996. It was presented in three parts. Part 1 provided an overview of immigration in OECD countries pointing out that immigration peaked in many countries in 1992. Part 2 provides summaries of the immigration situation in 30 countries from Australia to the United States. Part 3 summarises a paper on the fiscal impacts of immigrants.

South Asia

Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Myanmar, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka.

Southeast Asia

Brunei, East Timor, Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam.

South Pacific Regional Trade and Economic Cooperation (SPARTECA)

An agreement between Australia, New Zealand and South Pacific Island Forum countries.

Transnational corporations (TNCs)

The term used to refer to a large business organisation or firm which controls operations in more than one country. The term *transnational* is used throughout this thesis in preference to the more often used *multinational* corporation because as Dicken (1986, 4) points out it is the more general term. All multinational corporations (MNCs) are transnational although not all transnational corporations are *multi-national* as they may only operate in two countries. 'The world economy is increasingly tied together by the corporate organisation of large enterprises which operate at a world-wide scale' (Johnston, Gregory and Smith, 1994, 400). Dicken (1992, 47) argues that the 'TNC is the single most important force creating global shifts in economic activity'.

Visa-waiver arrangements

These are special negotiated arrangements which give some countries privileges with regard to entry of their citizens to New Zealand. The history of these arrangements in New Zealand goes back to the Second World War and the passing of the New Zealand Citizenship Act. The 1986 policy review favoured a substantial extension of these arrangements to countries which were important sources of tourists to New Zealand. In 1996 New Zealand had visa-waiver arrangements with 33 countries (Bedford and Lidgard, 1996b).

World Trade Organisation (WTO)

This was established in January 1995 to replace the former General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) as the global trade watchdog.

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