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Migrant Settlement

**A review of the literature and its relevance
to New Zealand**

September 1999



MIGRANT SETTLEMENT

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and its relevance to New Zealand**

Report commissioned by the New Zealand Immigration Service

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Executive Summary

The New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS) has commissioned this review of migrant settlement literature with three objectives in mind:

- to assist it to operationalise policy concepts;
- as a basis for developing settlement indicators in New Zealand; and
- to describe the factors affecting migrant settlement.

Such a review is timely as New Zealand has been somewhat behind other migrant-receiving countries in its thinking on settlement issues. Moreover, New Zealand is now in a position where two trends are intersecting to make it vital to clarify our understanding of, and response to, migrant settlement issues.

The first of these is that changes in selection policies have resulted in considerably more non-English speaking background migrants immigrating to New Zealand. These changes have also shifted the emphasis onto migrants' skills and qualifications rather than whether they have an immediate job to go to. Language proficiency and employment are both critical aspects of settlement.

Second, globalisation of trade, telecommunications and labour markets is altering the pattern and character of migration in ways that have profound implications for migrant settlement. More and more people around the world have the capacity to migrate; many migrants have relatives in several migrant destinations and move regularly for economic, social and family reasons; distinctions between temporary, long-term and permanent migration are becoming blurred. Increasingly, migrant-receiving countries such as New Zealand are competing for skilled migrants and ease of settlement is one factor migrants take into account in choosing where to live. Also, if migration is less permanent, it becomes even more important from New Zealand's perspective that settlement — or certain key aspects of it — occurs quickly and effectively.

Concepts of settlement

The concept of migrant settlement is less straightforward, and more subject to change, than might at first be thought. It has not been widely discussed as a concept in New Zealand, but has been debated both academically and in official reports in other migrant-receiving countries such as Australia and Canada.

Assimilationism and multiculturalism

Over the past half-century, changes in the way settlement is thought of have reflected changes in the relationship between the host society and migrant groups and changes in the character and patterns of migration itself.

The prevailing approach to settlement in the post-war period was the notion of

assimilationism. The objective was that migrants should assimilate into their new society, without significantly altering it or requiring active change on its part. Successful settlement was ‘the achievement of invisibility by the migrant,’ that is neither migrants as a whole or individual national groups should remain visible in the sense of having special needs beyond the initial period of arrival (Morrissey et al, 1991: 25).

From the late 1960s migrants, academics and officials in a number of countries all began to question assimilationism as an appropriate — or even possible — objective of migrant settlement. Many migrant groups in Australia, Canada and the United States appeared not to be assimilating materially in the sense of attaining comparable social and economic outcomes. Moreover, the notion of cultural assimilation was increasingly being seen as dehumanising and contrary to human rights.

Concepts of the *multicultural* society effectively replaced assimilationism. Both Canada and Australia adopted *multiculturalism* as official policy in the 1970s. With its emphasis on every person’s right to retain their own culture and to have full access to society and government services, multiculturalism implied settlement was a two-way process involving change by both migrant and the host society. By extension, multiculturalism *as policy* implied an obligation on government to ensure all migrants had access to services and were able to retain their cultural heritage without disadvantage.

New Zealand has never formally adopted multiculturalism as official policy. Some authors suggest this reflects our previous more cautious approach to ‘non-traditional’ immigration and also the debate in New Zealand over the relationship between biculturalism and multiculturalism. Official statements on the objectives of immigration have however tended to move towards the concept of multiculturalism. The 1986 government *Review of Immigration Policy*, for example, rejected ‘the old notion of assimilation’ and noted that ‘our society now clearly sees a positive value in diversity and the retention by ethnic minorities of their cultural heritage’ (Burke, 1986: 48).

The shift to notions of multiculturalism occurred within a context of migration as a permanent one-way movement. As such, the concept of settlement retained a strong expectation of commitment on the part of the migrant to their new home. In Australia this was reflected most strongly in the 1988 ‘Fitzgerald Report’ on immigration, which argued for policies that encouraged migrants to take up Australian citizenship as an indicator of their commitment to living there.

New Zealand adopted a more pragmatic approach on citizenship, recognising that the decision to become a New Zealand citizen involved many factors and did not necessarily reflect a stronger commitment to reside here. Nonetheless, ‘commitment’ to New Zealand remains a key aspect of the current popular concept of migrant settlement and integration into New Zealand life.

A number of authors are now arguing that increasing mobility and globalisation imply

that what is meant by 'commitment,' while still relevant, needs to be re-thought. In future, integration and settlement are unlikely to be so closely linked with a once-only migration and abandonment of most active ties with the home country.

The processes and timeframe of settlement

One difficulty in defining settlement is the open-endedness and variability of the process. Definitions range from 'securing a permanent footing in a new country' (Holton and Sloan, 1994) to 'full participation on the economic and social opportunity structure of the society' (Neuwirth, 1997). Whatever the definition, for some migrants it will be a relatively quicker process than for others.

Various writers have attempted to identify phases or stages of the settlement process. While of some use, these tend to imply that integration is a linear process and that settlement occurs at a similar rate across all aspects of life. Evidence suggests neither of these conditions always holds. For example, settlement issues can arise long after arrival when migrants (especially those from non-English speaking backgrounds) become elderly and have new health and social needs. Also, migrants may be well settled in one dimension of their life (e.g. employment) but poorly integrated in other aspects. Alternatively, some members of the migrant family may be well integrated while others are not.

Current concepts of settlement therefore recognise that it is a multi-dimensional process involving all aspects of the migrant's (and migrant family's) life. Typically, some element of a time-based concept is retained, with 'settlement' usually being defined as the early parts of the longer integration process, but with the recognition that settlement and settlement needs may also vary with the migrant's life cycle.

The changing character of immigration

In the last two or three years a number of authors have drawn attention to fundamental changes in migration patterns that have profound implications for notions of migrant settlement.

These changes are being driven by a combination of globalisation, technological changes and economic and demographic forces. The internationalisation of many labour markets means that significant groups of migrants are participating in labour markets that cross international boundaries. Such people may migrate many times and so 'settlement' takes on a different meaning. International travel is now much cheaper and quicker than it once was, making migration an option for many more people. Changes in telecommunications technologies mean that information flows across migration networks are much quicker and also that it is now possible for people to maintain active business and personal links in several countries simultaneously. Overlaying these change are specific 'push factors,' such as occurred with the 1997 hand-over of Hong Kong, which interact with migrant-receiving countries' selection criteria.

The implications of these changes for settlement have not yet been fully articulated in

the literature. Some suggest the notion of settlement will become less important (Weinfeld, 1998), but others argue that what is needed is a new framework for understanding settlement, integration and related concepts such as citizenship (Hugo, 1999; Castles, 1997).

From New Zealand's perspective, increased mobility and destination choices open to skilled migrants mean that to gain maximum national advantage it is necessary to ensure key settlement outcomes are achieved rapidly. This applies not just to principal applicants but to the whole migrant family, as successful settlement of the whole family will be central to New Zealand's ability to attract and retain the migrants it most wants.

Settlement indicators

To date, the use of indicators to measure settlement or integration is very underdeveloped. It is, however, an area of increasing academic and policy interest in migrant-receiving countries.

The development of indicators has been hampered by lack of clarity in the definition of the term settlement, a lack of knowledge of the relationship between short-term indicators and longer-term outcomes and by a shortage of quality data. In New Zealand, the decision to conduct a longitudinal survey of migrants over the first few years post-arrival represents a unique opportunity to develop, test and implement effective settlement indicators that will enable improvements in policy design and in outcomes for migrants.

Possible indicators for use in New Zealand

Based on a review of the recent literature, the following conclusions can be drawn regarding possible settlement indicators for use in the New Zealand context:

- Labour market indicators are clearly important in measuring settlement progress for most migrant groups. Labour force status is the most basic, although in many cases, employment rates will be a more informative summary measure than unemployment rates, because the former captures the effects of non-participation as well as unemployment.
- Occupational mis-match indicators (i.e. mismatch between skills/qualifications and occupation in New Zealand) will also be important, as these can be indicative of barriers to settlement and frustration of migrants' migration objectives.
- Income measures are much studied, especially in the North American literature, and are also likely to be valuable. However, further work is needed on the dynamics of income growth over the first one or two years of settlement. The longitudinal survey can provide the necessary data, which are not available elsewhere in New Zealand.

- The rate of improvement in non-English speaking migrants' English proficiency may also be a good indicator of settlement progress.
- Measures based around accommodation and housing patterns (and post-arrival internal migration) may be of some use but will need to be differentiated according to migrant category/circumstances.
- Direct questioning of migrants' own perceptions of how well settled they are and how they rate life in New Zealand and their decision to migrate here may also be useful. Alternatively, it may prove more reliable to ask less direct questions such as whether they would, or intend to, encourage or sponsor others to come to New Zealand.
- There is scope for gaining useful settlement information from those who choose to re-migrate out of New Zealand. This could either be done through the planned longitudinal survey or by means of a specific survey of emigrants.

Finally, it is important to note that, while most of the literature on indicators is based around the individual migrant, settlement indicators need to be designed to take into account the family and household context within which most migration and settlement takes place.

Factors affecting settlement

A wide range of factors may either assist or hinder the settlement process and there is a large literature in this area. However, settlement is a multi-dimensional process encompassing economic, socio-cultural and subjective aspects and often studies focus on only one aspect. In particular, migrant labour market outcomes have frequently been studied and these outcomes are often used as a proxy for settlement success. While labour market integration is important, other factors are also critical and balance is needed to avoid a distorted assessment of both settlement factors and settlement processes.

Key conclusions regarding the factors that most affect settlement include:

- Proficiency in the host country language is of over-riding importance. The ability to converse, read and write in English (in New Zealand's case) makes all aspects of the settlement process quicker and easier.
- A transparent, effective and credible qualifications assessment and recognition process is critical for the labour market integration of skilled migrants. Along with this is a continuing need to ensure occupational licensing and professional registration procedures are fair and non-discriminatory.
- Family and social networks are central to the initial stages of the settlement process. While these networks develop and operate independently of

policy, policy can assist by providing information and, where needed, resources to foster family and community networks.

- Where they occur, discrimination and prejudice do retard the settlement process both in the labour market and in society more widely. Fostering positive attitudes towards immigrants and immigration fosters effective settlement.
- Learning about their new environment is the fundamental task facing new migrants. There is an important public policy role in ensuring access to up-to-date and relevant information for migrants who most need it, such as those without family in New Zealand or who are from a non-English speaking background.

Settlement services and programmes

A brief review of the settlement-related services and programmes provided by the major migrant-receiving countries — Australia, Canada, the United States and Israel — shows that these countries all take a more active role in publicly provided or funded settlement services than does New Zealand. All four countries regard involvement in migrant settlement as a proper role for central government, the United States being least involved and Israel the most.

Despite differences in detail, these countries' programmes have many similarities. In particular:

- Australia, Canada and Israel all place heavy emphasis on language training for migrants who do not speak the dominant language(s).
- Australia, Canada and Israel also all operate systems where settlement assistance is initially the responsibility of a dedicated department or ministry with later assistance, if needed, being taken over by mainstream agencies.
- Community groups and ethnic associations are seen as having an important settlement role and are funded to assist in all four countries.

Conclusion

It is clear from the literature that migration and settlement are undergoing change as a result of technological, economic and demographic factors. The characteristics, and hence the settlement needs, of the New Zealand migrant intake have also changed dramatically in the last decade, principally as a result of selection policy changes.

The challenge facing policy-makers now is to develop settlement policies that respond to these changes and that reinforce the overall objectives of immigration policy. How effectively that challenge is met will play a big part in determining how much New

Zealand and New Zealanders gain from immigration. It will also affect the way New Zealand's multicultural society evolves and develops.

A critical need is for better knowledge about the processes and dynamics of settlement. The recent decision to conduct a longitudinal survey of new migrants will go a long way towards addressing that need. The survey has the potential to provide detailed information on how migrants settle in their first three years after arrival, what barriers they face and what factors are most crucial in ensuring good settlement.

1. Introduction

1.1 Objectives and introduction

This review of the literature relating to migrant settlement has been commissioned by the New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS) of the Department of Labour. The objectives of the review, as set out by the Department, are to produce a report that will assist it to operationalise policy concepts, provide a basis for the development of frameworks for indicators of settlement in New Zealand, and describe the factors affecting migrant settlement. It is thus intended to be a very practically oriented review — a working document that contributes directly to the policy development process.

It is fair to say that New Zealand is somewhat behind other migrant-receiving countries in its thinking on settlement issues. Traditionally we relied more heavily on intake (selection) policies that minimised the need for specific settlement measures. High levels of employment were, at least until the late-1970s, also an effective de facto settlement policy. However, New Zealand is now in a position where two trends are intersecting to make it vital to clarify our understanding of — and response to — migrant settlement.

The first of these is the changes in selection policies during the 1990s. These have resulted in considerably more non-English speaking background migrants immigrating to New Zealand. These changes have shifted the emphasis onto migrants' skills and qualifications rather than whether they have an immediate secure job to go to.

The second is that, in common with other migrant-receiving countries, New Zealand has to decide what implications globalisation and changing migration patterns have for migrant settlement. As is discussed below, the old notion of the intrepid migrant making a once-in-a-lifetime shift to a new land with only perhaps an occasional visit 'home' is no longer an accurate portrayal of the migration process (if, indeed, it ever was). More and more people around the world are able to migrate, and the distinction between temporary, long-term and permanent migration is becoming increasingly blurred. Moreover, many families have relatives in several migrant destinations and family members move regularly between these places and the source country for economic, social and personal reasons. This changing pattern of international migration has several implications for settlement. It means migrant-receiving countries are increasingly competing for skilled migrants and, along with the prevailing social attitudes, settlement policies become part of the package that potential migrants will take into account in choosing where to live. Also, if migration is less permanent, the period during which the migrant may contribute to New Zealand is shorter, and it becomes even more important that settlement occurs quickly. Finally, in this context the meaning of 'settlement' itself is likely to change, with

different aspects of the concept becoming more or less relevant.

1.2 Structure of the report

This report is structured as follows. Section 2 summarises different concepts of migrant settlement, both how it has been perceived officially and researchers' analyses and descriptions of what the process of settlement involves. The concept of settlement has been little discussed in New Zealand so that the majority of this literature is from overseas, mostly from Canada and Australia. Section 3 is concerned with indicators of settlement. This topic is currently underdeveloped in terms of research, but is increasingly being seen as a critical area for both understanding the settlement process and for evaluating the effectiveness of settlement services and programmes. Section 4 summarises the literature on factors affecting settlement. The literature here is most comprehensive in the area of migrants' integration into the labour market, but where information is available, other aspects of settlement are also addressed. Section 5 provides a summary of the main settlement programmes and services in each of Australia, Canada, the United States, Israel and New Zealand. The intention is to provide a basis for comparing the approach taken to settlement services in each of these major migrant-receiving countries. The report ends with a bibliography.

1.3 Methodology

A number of techniques were used to gather the literature reviewed. Initially, library searches were conducted using several international databases, covering both books and journal articles. The Trlin and Spoonley (1992 and 1997) and the Bedford et al (1998) bibliographies of New Zealand immigration material were also searched. Back issues of several migration-specific journals were scanned for relevant articles. Internet searches were also carried out, both for topic material and for specific information on, for example, Canadian and Australian settlement programmes. After the initial round of searching, a 'snowball' technique was used to follow up further references.

2. Concepts of Settlement

2.1 Introduction

The concept of migrant settlement is less straightforward, and more subject to change, than might at first be thought. It has not been widely discussed as a concept in New Zealand, but has been debated in other migrant-receiving countries, especially Australia and Canada, both academically and in the context of official reviews of immigration policy.

Central to current concepts of what settlement means is the understanding that it operates on (or can be viewed from) several levels. These range from the individual migrant and their family, to the immigrant group and ethnic community, to the individual non-migrant in the host society and to the wider host society as a whole (Weinfeld, 1998).

Surveying the historical literature, it is evident that the focus has been on different levels at different times. Until the 1970s and 1980s, the emphasis was on questions about what are or should be the objectives of settlement from the point of view of the receiving society. Then from the 1980s, attention was also turned to better understanding the socio-cultural, personal and economic processes involved in settlement and the stages and timeframe of these processes. This has led to a more recent appreciation of the need to understand settlement as a multi-dimensional, multi-level phenomenon that is both process and objective.

In the last few years, some important new thinking has been emerging about the changing character of international immigration systems in light of the globalisation of labour markets, telecommunications and media and the cheapening of transport costs (e.g. Castles, 1997; Hugo, 1999; Weinfeld, 1998). While not yet fully articulated in the literature, these new views of immigration processes clearly have profound implications for the concept of settlement.

This section of the report focuses on the literature on the concept of settlement and its implications for New Zealand.

2.2 The changing objectives of settlement: from assimilationism to multiculturalism and beyond

In New Zealand, as in Canada, Australia and the United States, the prevailing approach to settlement in the post-war period was assimilationism. Jupp describes the Australian situation in a way that could apply equally to New Zealand:

The objects of settlement policy were to ease the assimilation process, to avoid the creation of ethnic enclaves, to minimise public costs, to reduce majority anxieties, to use migrant labour for projects of national importance, and to ensure that immigrants became permanent settlers who would not differ too markedly from the average either culturally or socially. At this stage Australia saw itself as a homogeneous and egalitarian society, which was measurably true in many respects (though not, of course, in all) (1992: 131).

Morrissey et al point out that assimilationism, from a policy perspective, provided clear answers to clear questions about the concept of settlement:

Essentially, successful settlement was the achievement of invisibility by the immigrant. Not only was it required that immigrants assimilate totally at linguistic and other cultural levels but it also required that neither immigrants as a whole, nor individual 'national groups,' should remain visible in the sense of having special needs beyond the initial period of arrival.... Successful settlement was to be the achievement by immigrants of 'normal' Australian standards of living and their adoption of 'normal' Australian cultural practices. The means by which this was to be achieved was by their own, very largely unassisted, efforts (1991: 25).

This view of settlement was very much one imposed by the receiving country onto migrants. It was in effect an implicit condition of residence. It appears, however, at least during the 20 years after 1945 to have been accepted by migrants. At least if it was resented, migrants in New Zealand or Australia were reluctant to voice their concerns.

From the late 1960s, though, assimilation began to be questioned as an appropriate — or even possible — objective of migrant settlement. Morrissey et al (1991) identify three problems with assimilationism in Australia:

- substantial groups of migrants were not assimilating materially, in the sense that being a migrant from a non-English speaking background was correlated with long-term social disadvantage;
- for many migrants meeting the demand of total cultural assimilation was impossible, and in any case such a demand was 'intrinsically repugnant and dehumanising;' and
- for some groups, structural factors were precipitating disadvantage, requiring institutional change rather than just 'residual' social policy.

Other writers have also pointed to the political role of the ethnic rights movements in North America and Australia. This movement stemmed in part from the American black civil rights movement (Bach, 1992: 152) and also from the growing number of young non-English speaking background migrants graduating from universities (Holton and Sloan, 1994; Perlman and Waldinger, 1997).

Assimilationism was replaced in 1971 in Canada (Dorais, Foster and Stockley, 1994: 374) and then later in Australia by formalised policies of multiculturalism. Both concepts are wider than just 'settlement' — they are concerned with the long-run type

of society that evolves (or should be promoted) from the interaction between different cultures and races. Migration is one source of this interaction. Multiculturalism is, however, fundamentally different from assimilationism and has far-reaching implications for both how the settlement process is viewed and the responses to it. Its central tenet is that everyone has the right to retain their culture and heritage without prejudice. By implication, the integration of new migrants is a two-way process, with the dominant receiving culture also adjusting to, and being modified by, new influences. Immigration and settlement become part of a process of social change. There is an implication that policy will facilitate that change and ensure migrants' full access to all aspects of society.

In Australia, the most influential report setting in place this new view of settlement was the 1978 *Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants*, known as the 'Galbally Report.' As well as setting in place key elements of settlement services, most of which remain in some form today (see Section 5), it shifted notions of what settlement means.

Galbally entrenched the concept of multiculturalism through the Report's adoption of the 'guiding principles' that:

- (a) all members of our society must have equal opportunity to realise their full potential and must have equal access to programs and services; and
- (b) every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures (Galbally, 1978: 4).

From these the Report developed a definition of settlement which included the notion of mutual change:

Settlement is the complex process of adjusting to a new environment following migration. It is a long-term process affecting all immigrants and particularly those coming from cultures different from that dominant in Australia or without a well-established ethnic group here. Its end point is the acceptance by and the feeling of belonging to the receiving society. It implies change both in the individual migrant and the host society (Galbally, 1978: 29).

The concept of settlement, as perceived in Australia, was further widened by the 'Jupp Report' in 1986 (ROMAMPAS, 1986). They cited the Galbally definition, but noted (and approved) the broader definition in their Terms of Reference, part of which stated that the process of adjustment 'may be said to culminate in *full and equal participation* in Australian society.' The Jupp Committee went on:

... to voice its concern about the way the term [settlement] is sometimes used and understood. There is a tendency to focus only upon the adjustments expected of immigrants, and not upon the changes society should make to facilitate their settlement. The implication is that if overseas-born residents do not feel that they belong, if they cannot participate on an equal footing with the Australian-born then they have 'failed.' It may be more appropriate to describe the source of difficulty as

the failure of social institutions to take adequate account of the different needs and circumstances of the population they are responsible to serve. A central theme of this report is the necessity for mutual adjustment if settlement is to be achieved (ROMAMPAS, 1986: 8).

In Canada, increasing ethnic diversity as a result of post-war migration also led to the development of multiculturalism as a policy response. Canada, however, differed in one respect from Australia in that multicultural policies were 'grafted on' to the pre-existing bicultural and bilingual pattern of English/French duality (Dorais et al, 1994: 374).

In New Zealand there was less acknowledgement in the official view that the concept of settlement involves acceptance of adjustment on the part of the wider community. For example the 1974 Immigration Policy Review noted that

It can be expected that, both individually and through their different ethnic groups, new settlers will in the future, as in the past, make varied, and in some cases distinctive economic and cultural contributions to the development of New Zealand.... On the other hand those coming to live here must take the country as they find it and accept the rules applying to its citizens and other residents (cited in Burke, 1986).

Perhaps even more significant is that as late as 1986 the Burke Review of Immigration Policy, which made such significant changes to selection policy, saw fit to quote this section of the 1974 report and cite it as 'continu(ing) to hold true' (Burke, 1986: 16).

New Zealand has also never formally adopted multiculturalism as an official policy. This reflects both our more cautious approach to non-'traditional' immigration (Ongley and Pearson, 1995) and also the importance in New Zealand of the debate over biculturalism and the relationship between the Treaty partners,¹ which has tended to overshadow (and at times confuse) issues of multiculturalism. Since the mid-1980s, however, official statements of the objectives of immigration and settlement have tended to move towards a position more like that in Australia and Canada. The Burke Review is somewhat equivocal, but nonetheless marks a significant change in official views. On the one hand it retains the reference quoted above that migrants 'must take the country as they find it' (Burke, 1986: 16) and places emphasis on using the selection process to 'assess *capacity* to settle well.' Both these suggest a continuing focus on the migrant and his or her characteristics in making the adjustment to life in New Zealand, and underplay adjustment by the receiving society and the potential role of government in assisting settlement.

On the other hand though, the Review does conclude with the comment that:

... the old notion of assimilation is no longer seen as the desirable outcome of immigration to New Zealand. Our society clearly now sees a positive value in diversity and the retention by ethnic minorities of their cultural heritage (Burke, 1986: 48).

¹ The Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840 by representatives of the indigenous Maori population and representatives of the British Crown, is the founding document of modern New Zealand.

It also included in the objectives of immigration policy:

To enrich the multicultural social fabric of New Zealand society through the selection of new settlers principally on the strength of their potential personal contribution to the future well-being of New Zealand;

To encourage and facilitate full participation in New Zealand society by persons admitted as permanent residents (Burke, 1986: 10).

More recent statements of the objectives of immigration policy have not altered this basic position. The current description of the immigration outcomes sought by government does not include any reference to multiculturalism.² They are:

- increasing New Zealand's human capital;
- contributing to the development of enterprise and innovation; and
- strengthening New Zealand's international linkages; whilst
- maintaining social cohesion.

Indeed, the use of the words '*whilst* maintaining social cohesion' suggests that increasing cultural diversity is regarded as a risk, to be balanced against the other benefits of immigration.

A further point to note about assimilationism and multiculturalism is that, in the North American sociological literature, there is currently some revival of interest in the former concept. Assimilationism was widely dismissed academically in the 1970s and 1980s — to the point where one author felt able to declare it 'dead.'³ The grounds for criticism were essentially the same as those mentioned above — assimilation was not only socially unfair to the aspirations of migrant groups, it was not an accurate reflection of the observed phenomena. However, while still rejecting it as an appropriate policy *objective*, a number of authors argue that it remains relevant as a description of the processes of integration. For example, Alba and Nee take the view that:

As a state-sponsored normative program aimed at eradicating minority cultures, assimilation has been justly refuted. But as a social process that occurs spontaneously and often unintendedly in the course of interaction between majority and minority groups, assimilation remains a key concept for the study of inter-group relations (1997: 827).

They define assimilation in its most general terms as 'the decline, and at its end-point the disappearance, of an ethnic/racial distinction and the cultural and social differences that express it' (1997: 863). Clearly, this is a long-run (i.e second or third generation) argument. It is not necessarily about the absorption of minority cultures by the majority. Rather it is about a long-term change in both that produces

² These outcomes were listed in a briefing paper from the New Zealand Immigration Service to the Minister of Immigration in September 1994.

³ Glazer, N. 1993, "Is Assimilation Dead?," *The Annals of the American Society of Political and Social Science*, 530: 122–36, cited in DeWind and Kasinitz (1997).

something distinctively new. Arguably, there are signs of such a process occurring in New Zealand in, for example, the development of what is sometimes called Pacific music.

Finally, it is important to note that in Australia and Canada (and New Zealand) the shift to notions of multiculturalism (or ‘cultural pluralism’ or ‘cultural diversity’) was still very much within the context of migration as *permanent* migration. ‘Commitment’ by the migrant to their new home was a central notion — almost to the point where in some formulations, there is an implied quid pro quo: migrants may retain their cultural heritage but must match this with a demonstrated long-term commitment to the host country.

This was especially clear in the Australian debate on multiculturalism. The best illustration is the following statement by Prime Minister Hawke, quoted in the foreword of *Multiculturalism and Immigration*:

What multiculturalism means in this country should be clear. It is simple. It means an acceptance and an appreciation of diversity and a fair go for everyone in Australia, irrespective of their background. As I had reason to say earlier this year when we began the celebrations of our Bicentenary, it is not the way a person looks, dresses or talks that makes him an Australian today; nor is it the form of religious practice or social life a person follows; nor is it related to when a person’s family arrived in this country; nor is it the colour of a person’s skin. What makes a person Australian in this country today is quite simply a clear commitment to the future of our nation. It is that commitment to Australia which overrides every other consideration (Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1989: v).

The 1988 Fitzgerald Report on Immigration (which was subtitled “A commitment to Australia”) recommended higher levels of immigration coupled with a strong emphasis on ensuring migrants were ‘committed’ to Australia. It placed great store by citizenship as the indicator of this commitment:

The status of citizenship is seriously undervalued. One million immigrants have declined to take it. Citizenship should reflect a commitment to Australia and its institutions and principles.

Immigration must be a two-way commitment between the immigrant and Australian society. Key Australian principles and institutions must have the support of the immigrant, and citizenship must be the watershed in the immigrant experience.

Government should move to restrict the non-survival benefits and privileges available to non-citizens. Non-citizens should not be able to sponsor immigrants, except in certain compassionate circumstances (Fitzgerald, 1988: xi).⁴

The New Zealand approach, in terms of citizenship, has been more cognisant of the varied reasons migrants have for taking out citizenship. The Burke Review commented that:

⁴ It should be noted that the Australian Government did not act on these recommendations.

This pragmatic approach to the acquisition of citizenship is consistent with overseas research findings which indicate that naturalisation in itself is not necessarily a reliable indicator of immigrants' identification with the host society. It is frequently undertaken for travel or other similar reasons and it should not be seen as marking the completion of the migration process and of the business of becoming a New Zealander (Burke, 1986: 44).

More recently amendments to Returning Residents Visa policy that allow entitlement to a Returning Residents Visa (and hence easier travel to and from New Zealand) on the basis of New Zealand tax status have also been driven by recognition that many permanent residents do not want to take out citizenship.

Commitment to New Zealand, nonetheless, remains as part of the popular view of, at least the longer-run settlement/integration process. This has been seen in the media and other questioning of the level of 'commitment' shown by some recent Asian migrants. It is also expressed, in a slightly different context by social historian Michael King in *Being Pākehā Now*:

My own people, descendants in the main of displaced Irish, had as much moral and legal right to be here as Māori. Like the ancestors of Māori, they came as immigrants; like Māori, too, we became indigenous at the point where our focus of identity and commitment shifted to this country and away from countries and cultures of origin (1999:235).

Of course, this is a test or measure of indigeneity, which is something different from 'settlement.' However, the (arguable) point King is making is that indigeneity is simply the far end of the settlement/integration continuum. Commitment to this society over others, is not only a measure of one's position on the continuum, it may even be regarded as a defining characteristic of a New Zealander.

As is discussed below, increasing mobility and the internationalisation of many labour markets are making the notion of once-in-a-lifetime permanent migration less accurate. This does not mean that the concept of commitment does not remain relevant, but the simple equation of commitment with permanent settlement and immobility has to be re-thought.

2.3 The processes and timeframe of settlement

Another difficulty in defining settlement is the essential open-endedness of the process. There is no clear point — defined either by time or circumstances — at which settlement can be said to be complete. Various strands of the literature therefore focus on different timeframes. These range from evaluations of short-term programmes provided for newly arrived migrants (e.g. Plimer and Jones, 1998) to sociological literature concerned with the position of second generation migrant groups (e.g. many of the articles in the *International Migration Review*, 1997, 31, Special Issue).

Many authors point to the variability in the time settlement takes. Galbally for instance, stated that ‘it is not possible to say how long settlement generally takes. Some people take only a few months to settle here, others take many years’ (1978: 29).

Various commentators’ ‘definitions’ of settlement also imply different timeframes. For example, Holton and Sloan’s:

The concept of settlement in its broadest sense involves securing a permanent footing in a new country (1994: 315).

suggests a somewhat shorter frame of reference than Jupp’s definition:

... the process by which an immigrant re-establishes economic viability and social networks following immigration in order to function effectively in the receiving society (ROMAMPAS, 1986: xviii).

Both are less far-reaching than Neuwirth’s definition of integration as:

... an immigrant’s participation in the economic and social opportunity structure of society (1997: 6).

A number of commentators have also attempted to split the immigration and the settlement process into phases or stages. Cox, for example, identifies four stages: ‘the pre-movement stage, the transition, resettlement in the new environment and finally integration which implies becoming an integral part in some way of that new environment’ (1985: 74). Similarly, Holton and Sloan (1994) cite a 1960 paper by Benyei that offers an early example of an attempt to classify stages of settlement. Benyei divides the settlement process into three phases:

- resettlement — finding the first job and accommodation;
- re-establishment — acquisition of more permanent accommodation;
- integration — where identification with the new country is strong enough to lead to naturalisation.

These attempts to identify stages in the settlement process are usually based on a view of migration as ‘permanent’ and involving a complete break with the home country. Typically the concept of settlement is linear and progressive. For many migrants now (and probably then) these conditions do not hold.

The Jupp Committee noted the fact that the notion of ‘stages’ in the settlement process tends to imply that settlement needs will diminish over time. They pointed to the example of settlement needs emerging among older migrants long after their arrival and quoted from a study, done as part of the Committee’s work, interviewing migrants about their settlement experience:

The fact is that the ‘settlement process’ — perceived as the movement towards full

participation and equitable access to Australian society — is determined by far more than the length of residence. The extent of settlement over time will depend on the conjunction of the migrant's life cycle...individual characteristics...and Australia's economic cycle.... This does not simply mean that the process of settlement will vary between individuals and ethnic groups, or between migrants who arrive in different periods. More importantly, it suggests that the needs of [a non-English speaking] migrant may increase over time, and the demand for the provision of community-language, culturally-sensitive services actually rise (Shergold and Nicolaou, 1986, cited in ROMAMPAS, 1986: 9).

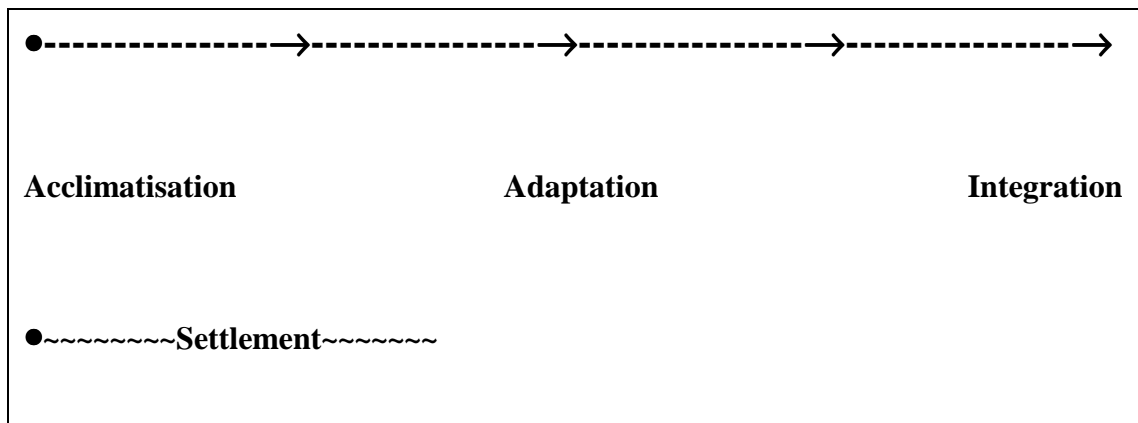
For these reasons, more recent discussions of the timeframe of the settlement process have tended to shy away from any attempt to specify stages too definitively. The Canadian Council for Refugees' 1998 report *Best Settlement Practices* is the best recent example. It preserves the notion of a progression but emphasises that:

Individuals and communities may be 'integrated' in some aspects of life but not in others. Issues can surface long after arrival, for example at times of significant change or crisis (Canadian Council for Refugees, 1998: 10).

With that caveat, the Canadian Council for Refugees' 1998 report includes the diagram below. They note that:

Settlement generally refers to acclimatization and the early stages of adaptation, when newcomers make the basic adjustments to life in a new country, including finding somewhere to live, beginning to learn the local language, getting a job and learning to find their way around an unfamiliar society. *Integration* is the longer-term process through which newcomers become full and equal participants in all the various dimensions of society (1998: 9).

Figure 1: The settlement/integration continuum



Source: Canadian Council for Refugees (1998)

Generally, the Canadian Council for Refugees' approach has been followed here, inasmuch as the focus in terms of 'settlement' is on shorter-term issues rather than long-term integration, while also acknowledging that chronological time is not always

a good guide.

Other writers (e.g. Weinfeld, 1998) have pointed to stages of integration in the sense of *whom* the migrant is integrated with. The notion here is that integration is a 'nested' process. Immigrants may integrate first into a family or extended family, into a sub-group of their ethnic group, into a broader communal group and finally into the wider society. While no doubt true of some migrants, this pattern is unlikely to be universal. For example, some migrants will move directly from integration within a kinship group to integrating into the wider society, perhaps via contacts made in the workplace. Moreover, it is not always safe to assume that integration into an established community of the same ethnic group occurs readily for new migrants, particularly if there is a considerable time gap between immigration waves. In *Dragons on the Long White Cloud*, for instance, Manying Ip notes that:

To the hitherto comfortably assimilated Chinese New Zealanders, the presence of a large number of Chinese-speaking Chinese espousing totally different values and displaying different lifestyles is confusing as well as disturbing (1996: 127).

What is important is the recognition that few migrants arrive without some family, friends or other contacts already resident in the place of destination (Hugo, 1999: 5). A neatly defined 'nested' process may not always occur, but settlement does typically involve a process of expanding contacts and connections across different spheres of life (Canadian Council for Refugees, 1998).

2.4 The changing character of immigration

The meaning of settlement is also being altered by the interaction of various factors that are affecting the character of immigration itself. In the last two or three years a number of authors have drawn attention to these fundamental changes in migration patterns and some have gone as far as to argue that it represents a paradigm shift (Hugo, 1999; Castles, 1997; Ip, Wu and Inglis, 1998; Weinfeld, 1998).

Driving these changes is the combination of some aspects of globalisation, technological change — particularly as it affects telecommunications and the cost of air travel — and certain economic and demographic factors that have exacerbated inter-country imbalances in incomes and population growth rates (Hugo, 1999: 2–5).

The internationalisation of some labour markets means that significant groups of migrants are effectively participating in labour markets that cross international boundaries. Such people are likely to migrate between countries at regular intervals. Some indication of this can be taken from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA).⁵ Results from this survey show a significantly lower proportion of Business and Employer Nominee Scheme category migrants say they intend to apply for citizenship (68 percent compared with 80 percent for all migrants) (Department of

⁵ The LSIA is an extensive longitudinal survey of over 5,000 principal applicants and their families arriving in Australia between 1 September 1993 and 31 August 1995. Immigrants were interviewed at three points in the first three years after arrival. The above information derives from the first wave of interviews conducted three to six months after arrival.

Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 1997: 32). In-depth interviews with migrants (such as those with Taiwanese migrants to Australia reported in Ip, Wu and Inglis (1998) and Lidgard et al's 1998 interviews with East Asian migrants to New Zealand) also highlight this. Hugo (1999) points out that labour market globalisation is increasingly extending beyond business people and technocrats to include a range of semi- and even unskilled jobs.

Other aspects of globalisation are also having an effect. The cost of travel is now much lower than it once was and travel times are much shorter. This has greatly increased the number of people for whom international migration becomes a realistic option and the frequency with which migrations and re-migrations can be considered. Telecommunications technologies have also made a qualitative change to migration. As well as making it possible to maintain active business links in several countries simultaneously, such technologies have also greatly increased both the speed and detail of information flows across multi-national social networks. This allows much more rapid and frequent migration responses to emerging opportunities and changes in personal and labour market circumstances.

Overlaying these changes are specific 'push factors' which interact with countries' selection criteria to produce new patterns of migration. Recent examples of this include the outflow of skilled Hong Kong migrants prior to the 1997 hand-over of Hong Kong to the Republic of China. Lary, Inglis and Wu (1994: 413) describe this as 'pre-emptive migration' and 'an act of insurance.' They state that for some the move is not intended to be permanent. Such push factors have always occurred as political and economic circumstances change in particular countries. However, Hugo argues that the global economic-demographic situation has been transformed over the last two decades and that this has resulted in a sharpening of differentials between countries. Structural economic change and rising educational levels in developing countries will greatly increase the pool of potential migrants. In particular, Hugo describes the Asian region as representing a 'vast reservoir of potential migrants' (1999: 5).

In New Zealand, there is also an interaction between these trends and the changes in selection policy that occurred in the early 1990s. The shift in selection policy consciously intended to 'improve the inflow of both skills and capital' in an environment where 'factors of production (...including managers and entrepreneurs, skilled technicians...) are now moving across borders with increasing freedom and on an increasing scale' (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1995: 8). New Zealand, therefore, from the early 1990s, deliberately targeted migrants who were likely to be more mobile, but in general the same conceptual framework of the once-in-a-lifetime migration and settlement in New Zealand continued to be applied.

The implications these changes in the character of migration have for settlement have not yet been fully articulated in the literature. At least one commentator (Weinfeld, 1998) has suggested that they may make the notion of settlement less important. However, others argue that what is needed is a new framework for understanding settlement, integration and related concepts such as citizenship. Hugo (1999), for

example, calls for a ‘new paradigm;’ while Castles argues that:

The principle that each person should belong politically and culturally to just one nation-state is becoming unworkable. We need a new model of global citizenship, which will break the nexus between belonging and territoriality; people need rights as human beings, not as nationals (1997: 9).

2.5 Implications for New Zealand

Whatever ‘new model’ or conception of the migration/settlement process emerges, there are a number of aspects that, in the New Zealand context, it will need to encompass. These include:

- ‘Settlement’ success can no longer be measured ‘by how long [migrants] stay put.’ Rather, as Ip commented in her address to the Population Conference, ‘success could even be validly defined as anyone who made a positive contribution and then moved on’ (1999: 4).
- If the rate of mobility is higher than it once was and more migrants stay only for a while, settlement policy needs to be directed towards achieving key outcomes more quickly. Put differently, the goal of ‘national advantage’ no longer has the luxury of a long slow integration process.
- New Zealand is increasingly competing with other migrant-receiving countries for the ‘best’ migrants. Settlement policies and programmes will become a key tool to ‘attract and retain’ high-contributing migrants.
- Impediments to rapid settlement will increase the outflow of skilled migrants and reduce the total ‘return’ to New Zealand over the period that they do reside here.
- An increasing number of migrants will have had first hand knowledge of New Zealand, through visiting or working here, before applying for residence. (Indeed, over half of all permanent residence applications are now made onshore.) This can be interpreted two ways. In one sense, it can be seen as meaning that many migrants will already be part way through the settlement process when they become residents. Alternatively, it can be seen as implying a need to extend the notion of ‘settlement’ to include temporary residents who may become permanent residents in future (and who will decide whether or not to partly on the basis of how readily they feel able to settle in New Zealand).
- Settlement must be seen in the context of the movement and incorporation of whole families and households, not just individuals. Family separation, reunion and chain migration has a long history, which has tended to be overlooked in much of the literature, especially that deriving from the economics discipline. Cheaper, quicker air travel and telecommunications technologies are now altering families’ migration patterns and their

responses to settlement difficulties. More families are maintaining active links in more than one country, for example through the much-discussed 'astronaut family' and 'grass widow' phenomena.⁶ It is not entirely clear whether these arrangements represent these migrants' original intentions or have been forced on them by settlement problems in New Zealand. Surveys of migrants from East Asia do however indicate that 'astronaut life' can be difficult and stressful for all family members and most regard it as only a temporary arrangement (Lidgard, 1996; Lidgard et al, 1998; Ip, 1999). These situations can be thought of as examples of settlement occurring at different rates for different members of the family group. A key factor in the longer-term success of settlement, and in whether the family remains in New Zealand, will be the extent of integration opportunities for the 'astronaut' member of the family.

On this last point, some migration analysts have argued that these trends signal changes that require a more radical re-think of the 'settler' notion (Ip, 1999). In the conclusion to their article on Taiwanese migrants to Australia, Ip, Wu and Inglis argue:

The cyclical migration of the 'astronaut' or 'flying trapeze' families is a pointer to a necessity to reconceptualise immigration. These 'astronauts' may have been criticised for showing a lack of commitment to their newly-adopted country. Equally, it is probable that they will no longer hold strong emotional, social or cultural attachment to their 'homeland' once they have determined to 'settle' elsewhere. Their high mobility does make them resemble very much what Richmond termed the 'transilients' — high level international bureaucrats, aid workers and businessmen. Perhaps it is more appropriate to conceptualise them as a 'diaspora' rather than as migrants, because diasporic identities are at once local and global, encompassing both 'imagined' and 'encountered' communities. They also embrace multi-locationality within and across territorial, cultural and psychic boundaries. It is therefore not illogical to argue that diaspora is most likely to become the dominant mode of ethnic sociality in the Global Age. A rethinking of current concepts of, and debates about, 'immigration,' 'citizenship' and 'national identity,' viewed in this context, is both timely and urgent (Ip, Wu and Inglis, 1998: 93).

⁶ 'Astronaut family' and 'grass widow' are expressions used by Hong Kong Chinese and Koreans respectively for a situation where part of the family, usually the wife and children, remains in the country of migration, while another member of the family, usually the husband, returns to the country of origin to continue work or business there. The 'astronaut' term refers to the frequent flying back and forth so family members can spend some time together. Some Taiwanese refer to this arrangement as 'flying trapeze.'

3. Indicators of Settlement

3.1 Introduction: conceptual issues

Settlement indicators are measures that can be used to assess to what extent and in what ways settlement is occurring. They may be used in the context of individual migrants, migrant groups, across society as a whole or in terms of evaluating specific policies and programmes. To date, the use of indicators to measure settlement or integration is very underdeveloped. In reporting a survey of resettlement and integration, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) concludes:

On the whole, resettlement countries appear to have little in the way of established criteria for assessing whether refugees have integrated (1997: 19, quoted in Canadian Council for Refugees, 1998).

While this comment relates to refugees, the same conclusion could be drawn in respect of other groups of migrants. The main findings of the UNHCR survey are summarised below in Table 1.

There are, however, signs that international attention is now being turned to the issue of indicators. This arises from efforts to better understand the settlement process and to improve the effectiveness of both selection and settlement policies.

Several factors hamper the development of settlement indicators. These include:

- Lack of clarity in the definitions of settlement and integration. As discussed in the preceding section the concept of settlement is not well defined and is also undergoing change.
- Lack of knowledge about the relationship between longer-term integration outcomes and shorter-term indicators of settlement. A — perhaps *the* — fundamental purpose of settlement indicators is to tell us the extent to which settlement is progressing towards a desired long-term outcome. However, in many instances the linkages between short- and long-term are not clear. For example, is the fact that a skilled migrant has found unskilled employment an indicator of integration into the labour market that can be expected to lead to skilled work in future, or is it a sign that the migrant is at risk of permanent occupational mismatch? Would training or continued job search be better short-term indicators?
- Lack of data. Our ability to fill the key knowledge gaps is severely restricted by lack of data. The chief need in New Zealand is for data that track the settlement process over time. Existing qualitative surveys provide knowledge of issues some migrants face, but this information

cannot be generalised. The census provides near-comprehensive coverage but lacks detail of settlement issues and does not include key information such as immigration status and category under which the migrant was granted entry.

An article by Neuwirth discusses some of the conceptual issues surrounding the development of indicators of integration. First she points out that integration is a ‘widely and loosely used term [and that] unless the sense in which the concept is used is clearly stated we cannot be sure what the indicators in fact measure’ (1997: 5). She uses the example of one of the principles proposed by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, which says that newcomers should have opportunities to participate in and contribute to the economic and social life in Canada. Interpreted in the narrower sense of economic self-sufficiency, ‘a former accountant from El Salvador who can only find work as a parking lot attendant’ could be said to meet this criterion. A wider interpretation would require that the migrant have the opportunity to transfer his or her skills.

Country	Indicators
Australia	No formal indicators or measures of achievement put in place by government or non-government organisations. However, government monitors socio-economic status of refugees and use of government services by refugees
Canada	No standard measures or indicators except for benchmarks for acquisition of English as a second language. Government is developing tools to assess value of funds spent on settlement programmes.
Denmark	Not addressed
Finland	No established indicators but 1993/94 study used employment, income, education and training, following mass media, voting, citizenship applications, friendships, discrimination, language ability, relationship with own ethnic community and willingness to return to own country as indicators.
Netherlands	Do not appear to be formal indicators, however, language testing is administered after a compulsory Dutch language course.
New Zealand (Refugee and Migrant Service)	NZ does not have any system for collection of data on refugee integration. Indicators include employment, education in NZ, English language skills, good mental and physical health.
Norway	Three main indicators are unemployment, education and contacts with persons from same background and with Norwegians.
United States	Only reliable indicators relate to employment, which is measured at 90 and 180 days after arrival.

Source: UNHCR (1997)

A further conceptual issue regarding indicators is to establish what they are measuring relative to. Neuwirth (1997) makes the point that migrants' subjective judgements are always related to some reference group or standard of comparison. Thus a refugee resettled after many years in a refugee camp may initially have a very positive view of their new circumstances and the assistance offered. Some years later, their replies may well be different. It is important therefore that surveys endeavour as far as possible to ascertain the standard of comparison being used.

A third point made by both Neuwirth (1997) and the Canadian Council for Refugees (1998), is that integration is a multi-dimensional concept and that measures of the degree of integration must cover economic, social and cultural spheres of life within a framework that recognises the inter-relationships between each. Some of these inter-relationships are clearer cut than others. Various commentators and surveys, (e.g. Ip, 1999: 7; Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 1997) have pointed to the close role of employment in aiding social aspects of integration.

Another point noted by Neuwirth (1997) is that the appropriate type of indicator will depend on the level of analysis it is to be used for. Indicators to be used by service provider agencies will have more of an accountability focus, whereas where integration is being measured 'at the level of...society,' indicators need to focus more on longer-term outcomes for migrants. In developing indicators, it is important to be clear whether they are intended to be used as service agency performance measures, as aids for policy monitoring and development or as risk and needs assessment tools at the level of the individual migrant.

A more fundamental issue is that of 'benchmarking' (Weinfeld, 1998). It is perhaps ironic that there is often an assimilationist premise underlying potential settlement indicators. Essentially, most indicators, whether labour market, economic or social, come down to measuring differences between immigrants and the already resident population after controlling for observable characteristics such as sex, age and qualifications. In other words, the implicit end-point in the settlement process is when the *fact of being an immigrant* does not in itself make a difference. This raises the question of what the appropriate benchmark for migrant settlement is and whether (equality of) outcomes or (equality of) opportunities are the appropriate measures. Weinfeld (1998) notes the methodological bias inherent in benchmarking that 'assumes that for some reason the native born population represents the normative standard to which immigrant groups must conform.' He points to the fact that some migrant groups do better than the native born on some measures like education and crime as an indication that the notion of using a native-born standard is flawed.

3.2 Typologies of settlement indicators

In principle, it should be possible to group possible indicators by type and/or other factors such as their time scale. In fact, this search of the literature has revealed only two sources that actually present typologies or matrices of settlement indicators.

These are interesting partly for the very different approach they take.

The first is now quite dated, coming from a 1981 Australian Committee that was established to review the effectiveness of NUMAS, the first version of the Australian points system (Committee of Review on Migrant Assessment, 1981). The report includes a 'model of migrant settlement' developed by Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs staff. Both the model and the report place heavy emphasis on the importance of emotional and psychological aspects of the settlement process.

The model splits the migrant settlement process into five stages:

- i. pre-arrival
- ii. arrival
- iii. immediate post-arrival
- iv. adaptation
- v. integration

It then outlines the tasks involved in each stage, the resources needed, and some 'indicators of engagement in tasks' and 'indicators of difficulty engaging in tasks' (see Table 2 below).

That the model is very much a product of its age is evident in several ways:

- It assumes a very uni-directional, one-off concept of migration (achieving 'appropriate separation from people in the home country,' etc).
- There is little real recognition of multiculturalism or of part of the adjustment process being undertaken by the receiving society. For example, 'achieving feelings of being accepted by wider community' are not expected till the last stage; and is expressed in terms of 'achieving feelings of' rather than being 'accepted by.'
- It pre-dates the recent concern with evaluation of outcomes. It is not clear that the indicators are intended to be measurable. ('Indicators of settlement should be measurable, specific and realistic outcomes of settlement' (INSCAN, 1997).)

The process of settlement is also assumed to be more or less linear. Migrants progress forwards, or may regress to earlier stages if difficulties are encountered, but there is no explicit acknowledgement that settlement can occur at different rates across different aspects of a migrant's life.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, the model has a number of positive features worth noting. In particular:

- The progression from locating and accessing resources to an ability to influence their provision and to exert influence and social power. Other commentators (e.g. Canadian Council for Refugees (1998) discussed below) also note this as an indicator of extent of participation in society.
- The focus on psychological and inter-personal indicators is itself important. While these may be hard to measure, it is clear from qualitative studies such as Lidgard (1996), Lidgard et al, (1998) and Ho (1996) that these are important indicators of how 'settled' migrants feel and (although this is less certain from the evidence) of whether they will settle in the sense of staying in New Zealand.

Table 2
Extract from ‘Model of the migrant settlement process’ from *Statement of Findings of the Australian Committee of Review on Migrant Assessment*

Task	Resources needed to achieve tasks	Indicators of engagement in tasks	Indicators of difficulty engaging in tasks
Stage III: Immediate post-arrival			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Achieving physical security - Achieving emotional security, i.e. developing new relationships balanced by appropriate separation from people in the country of origin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Simple information provided in meaningful terms - Housing - Employment - Income - Education for children - Interpreting facilities - Introductory facilities - Introductory English classes - Casework services comprising: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -counselling -advocacy -referral to other agencies/govt departments - Material assistance - Link with community support systems e.g. ethnic group hosting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ability to locate and use community resources as appropriate - Ability to recognise positive and negative aspects of both the old community and the new community - Ability to move to next stage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Misplaced anger - Depression/immobilisation - Excessive anxiety - Stressed family relationships - Physical hardship - Isolation - ‘Homesickness’ — includes a range of emotional reactions such as anger, pain, regret, idealisation of home country
Stage IV: Adaptation			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Achieving goals set for migration in pre-arrival stage, e.g. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - economic goals - fulfilment of children’s prospects - expected quality of life - Achieving sense of personal security and identification in the host community - Having some sense of contributing to the society of the host community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Access to retraining - Advanced English courses - Education resources adequate for children to compete equally - Ethnic group support - General community support, e.g. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - income maintenance programs - welfare services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Satisfaction with economic status/future - Participation in ethnic group structures or formation of primary networks, e.g. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - by family reunion - establishing women’s group - Influencing service provision, i.e. not passively using services - Modification of any unrealistic goals set for migration in pre-arrival stage - Ability to move to the next stage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Loss of hope - Regression — to state of dependency - Entrenched/serious mental and social breakdown (interpersonal problems, family and marriage breakdown) - Unfocused anger and resentment - Inability to take personal responsibility for problems — inappropriate blame - Inability to move to the next stage
Stage V: Integration			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fulfilling of ambitions - Achieving sense of self-esteem and feelings of competence - Achieving feelings of being accepted by wider community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Access to a range of groups for social, cultural and political expression — including ethnic groups - Access to welfare services on a need/request basis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expressing needs in terms other than ethnic identity, e.g. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - needs resulting from stage in the life cycle (such as old age) or from economic position - Access to resources and influence on power positions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regression to earlier stage

Source: Committee of Review on Migrant Assessment (1981)

The second typology of settlement indicators is much more recent. It comes from the Canadian Council for Refugees' 1998 report *Best Settlement Practices*.⁷

The table (see Table 3 below) has three important differences from the earlier model:

- it abandons the staged approach, opting instead for short-term (settlement) and longer-term (integration) indicators;
- it identifies indicators in each of four 'dimensions;' one effect of doing so is to avoid the implication that the rate of settlement must be similar across dimensions; and
- there is greater emphasis on measurable indicators.

Table 3 Indicators of settlement, from Canadian Council for Refugees' <i>Best Settlement Practices</i>		
Dimension	Short-term (settlement)	Longer-term (integration)
Economic	- entering job market - financial independence	- career advancement - income parity - entry into field of prior employment
Social	- established social network - diversity within social network	- accessing institutions - engaging in efforts to change institutions
Cultural	- adaptation of various aspects of lifestyle (e.g. diet, family relationships)	- engaging in efforts to redefine cultural identity - adapting or reassessing values
Political	- citizenship - voting	- participation in political parties - participation in socio-political movements

Source: Canadian Council for Refugees (1998)

At a general level, this matrix makes sense and most of the indicators have some backing in the literature. There are, however, some examples where one might question whether they are 'long-' or 'short-' term. For example, 'accessing institutions' could be seen as more appropriate as a short-term indicator; whereas 'diversity within social network' may take some time to achieve. There are also others that are less appropriate to New Zealand (e.g. 'citizenship') or would be widely regarded as 'optional' to the extent that the absence of this indication could not be taken to signify anything (e.g. 'participation in political parties').

The Canadian Council for Refugees' report also refers to 1993/94 Saskatchewan research in which immigrants themselves were asked to propose settlement indicators.⁸ It is interesting to note that:

⁷ It is credited there to a presentation by Reva Joshee at the Canadian Council for Refugees Conference, Edmonton in June 1997. Literature searches for this report have not been able to locate a paper by this author.

⁸ To date, it has not proven possible to locate this research, which is cited in Canadian Council for Refugees (1998) as sponsored by the Saskatchewan Association of Immigrant Settlement and Integration Agencies.

Five of the top ten indicators, including the top-rated one related to employment. Other important indicators related to good mental health, language skills, safety and well-being of children while parents work and a harmonious family life (1998: 12).

Khoo and Cook (1998) also use a range of 'indicators of settlement outcomes,' combining a mix of labour market outcomes, use of support services and self-reported measures of satisfaction. These are:

- labour force status (employed, unemployed and not in the labour force; and the corresponding participation and unemployment rates);
- whether migrants use their highest qualification in their job;
- satisfaction with their job;
- income;
- occupation;
- occupational group after migration compared with occupational group before migration;
- housing status at three to six months after arrival and one year later;
- needs for various types of support services;
- satisfaction with help received from various government agencies;
- whether their decision to migrate to Australia was right in retrospect;
- whether they would encourage others to migrate to Australia;
- whether they would sponsor other relatives to migrate to Australia;
- satisfaction with life in Australia; and
- health status and changes in health status between first and second interviews.

This wide range of indicators is possible because of the detailed information contained in the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA). Except where noted in the above list, Khoo and Cook have used data from the second wave of interviews, that is, the timeframe over which these indicators are used is approximately 18 months post-arrival. The study uses multi-way contingency tables and multivariate analysis to compare outcomes for Concessional Family category (i.e. sponsored) principal applicants and Independent category principal applicants.

As with the other lists of indicators (except the Saskatchewan research), no attempt is

made to rank the relative importance of indicators, since this is not the object of the research. It is worth noting though, that the LSIA database offers considerable potential for researching this issue — research that would be of benefit to New Zealand in developing indicators for use here and for planning the New Zealand longitudinal survey.

3.3 Possible indicators

The main indicators referred to or used in the literature are discussed below. The purpose is to outline how they are used, or how they may be able to be developed for use in New Zealand.

Labour market indicators

Labour market measures are clearly important indicators of settlement. Apart from its significance in its own right, labour market integration appears to be linked to successful integration in other realms of the migrant's life. Neuwirth, for example, makes the point that:

Research on refugees has shown that it is not, as previously believed, cultural adjustment that leads to occupational adjustment. Rather, cultural adjustment depends on prior occupational adjustment, that is, the ability to transfer occupational skills (1997: 6).⁹

Ip expressed the same view in her paper to the Population Conference:

Probably there is no better gauge to measure a migrant community's successful settlement than by looking at its employment status profile. When a new arrival finds a job or starts a business, it marks the crucial milestone of sinking roots, the beginning of the long process of social and economic integration by which the immigrant will derive steady income as well as acquire a circle of workmates and friends (1999: 7).

A major research task with respect to labour market-based settlement indicators is to identify those that are most powerful, in the sense of having the strongest implications across the widest group of migrants. It is also necessary to clarify more precisely what a particular measure tells us about the likely future path of the migrant's settlement. Related to this is the *level* at which the indicator is to be used; that is, is the indicator intended to compare settlement outcomes across groups of migrants or is it to be applied at the individual level. For the former, various summary measures and rates can be constructed, whereas for the latter it will be important to compare actual outcomes against the migrant's intentions and expectations.

There is a wide range of possible indicators, some more readily measurable than others. The 1998 Canadian Council for Refugees' table discussed above, for example, lists two short-term and three longer-term possibilities:

⁹ The research in question is not cited.

- **short-term:**
 - entering the job market (i.e. seeking work)
 - financial independence (i.e. in work)
- **longer-term:**
 - career advancement
 - income parity
 - entry into field of prior employment.

In their paper on the impact of sponsorship, Khoo and Cook (1998) use six labour market-related ‘indicators of settlement outcomes:’

- labour force status (employed, unemployed and not in the labour force; and the corresponding participation and unemployment rates);
- whether migrants use their highest qualification in their job;
- satisfaction with their job;
- income;
- occupation; and
- occupational group after migration compared with occupational group before migration.

Looking first at *labour force status*, there is widespread evidence that labour force status meets the key criteria for a useful indicator:

- it is associated with economic integration and financial independence;
- it is associated with social integration;
- it is regarded by most groups of migrants as central to their successful settlement; and
- it is progressive or predictive, in the sense that labour market involvement is usually an early part of the settlement process that then leads on to longer-term signs of successful integration.

The employment rate (the proportion of the working age population that is employed) is likely to be a more useful summary measure than the unemployment rate when comparing groups of migrants. This is because many migrants who are not in work are categorised as not actively seeking work and are therefore excluded from estimates of unemployment. Ip, for example, using 1991 census data shows that while the percentage of the Chinese and Korean ethnic groups that was ‘unemployed and actively seeking work’ was not especially great at the time of the census (about eight percent for each group); the percentage of ‘not in the labour force’ was exceptionally high (60 percent for the Chinese and 62 percent for the Koreans)¹⁰ (1999: 8).

¹⁰ There may also be cultural reasons for differences in labour force participation (e.g. different gender roles).

Alternatively both labour market participation and unemployment rates can be analysed.

Use of *highest qualification*, *entry into field of prior employment* and *pre-and post-migration occupation* are all based on the idea of measuring the extent to which migrants have been able to transfer their skills and experience to New Zealand. The extent to which this is central to settlement depends largely on migrants' expectations, but in most cases it appears that migrants do hope to use their existing skills and are more satisfied with life in their new country if they are able to. The most severe settlement problems in this regard relate to cases where skilled migrants came here on the understanding that their qualifications would be recognised by the relevant authority, but this proves not to be the case (see Section 4.4 below). Barnard's 1996 study of issues facing migrant engineers, teachers and health professionals showed several of his small sample of interviewees were planning to leave New Zealand as a consequence of qualification recognition problems.

Wooden cites two surveys in Australia suggesting 'high rates of skill wastage' (1994: 238). His main point, however, given that he is writing prior to the LSIA data being available, is the lack of datasets able to identify the extent to which migrants' capabilities and skills are under-utilised. Such data are a prerequisite for understanding the link with settlement.

Income measures, and in particular the initial income gap between migrants and comparable native-born and the rate of convergence ('catch-up') towards native incomes are widely used in the economics literature as a measure of migrant outcomes (e.g. Chiswick 1978; Beggs and Chapman, 1988; Borjas, 1985; Winkelmann and Winkelmann, 1998a and the discussion in Section 4 below). In terms of how income measures may be used as settlement indicators, rather than to analyse the more general — and different — question of relative immigrant labour market performance, two factors identified in the literature are particularly relevant:

- The initial income gap and the rate of catch-up, though nearly always inversely related to each other, vary considerably between migrant groups. These differences are evident across age, sex, education, ethnicity and language-proficiency groupings.
- The time taken to reach (or surpass) income parity with equivalent natives is typically measured in decades, not years.

These findings imply that, to use income as a shorter-term settlement indicator, disaggregated measures fitted to the experience of particular sub-groups will be needed; and that the focus should be on measuring the rate of movement towards 'closing the gap.' This latter requires good quality data on the pattern of migrant income growth over the first few years after arrival. Most of the existing research has been done using five-yearly census data, so that relatively little is known about patterns of income growth in the first one or two years of settlement. It is unlikely that income growth is linear over this period. The LSIA data should provide a good source of information for studying shorter-term income growth. However, to date it does not

appear that there has been any research using the LSIA database to study this topic.

For some purposes, *self-employment* rates may also be a useful indicator. However, there is evidence that self-employment can be a very ambiguous measure. In some cases, self-employment through the establishment of a new business or acquisition of an existing one can be indicative of a high degree of integration and firm intentions to remain in the place of destination. For others, though, self-employment may be the result of so called 'push factors' (Bururu et al, 1998: 26) and an indication of lack of integration into the migrant's pre-migration occupation. Anecdotally, examples are often cited in New Zealand of highly qualified migrants, with language or qualifications recognition difficulties preventing them working in their usual job, who are self-employed as taxi drivers and in other low income occupations.

Financial independence from the state

Although financial independence from the state, in the sense of not receiving a welfare benefit, is a basic goal for most migrants (and of the state, in respect of nearly all migrants), it is in fact likely to be less useful as a settlement indicator than most labour market measures. In the New Zealand context, receipt of financial assistance reflects labour market status but is also a function of immigration status, family circumstances, the level of assets owned, level of earned income in New Zealand, and so on. Although social assistance regimes vary substantially from country to country, all have elements such as these that will conflate the analysis of settlement. This is presumably why the search of the literature for this report did not reveal any studies using benefit status or welfare receipt as a measure of migrant integration. It should, however, be noted that welfare receipt remains an important issue in the context of assessing the fiscal costs and benefits of immigration. But, that is a different question from the measurement of settlement.

English language proficiency

Numerous studies have identified the importance of English language proficiency as a *factor* in determining social and economic settlement outcomes. These are discussed in depth in Section 4.2 of this report; here the concern is with the possibility of using measures of language proficiency as an *indicator* of settlement. The immediate problem in doing so is that, as Montgomery (1996: 683) points out, it is circular to use language proficiency as both a determinant, or predictor, of settlement and as an indicator that settlement is occurring. This may be the reason why none of the typologies of settlement indicators discussed above includes language proficiency.¹¹

Despite this, the fact is that, for non-native speakers, language proficiency is a fundamental aspect of settlement and is both a factor affecting integration and an indicator of its success. Moreover, qualitative studies show that it is recognised by non-English speaking background migrants themselves as a key element of successful integration (e.g. Lidgard, 1996; Barnard, 1996; Ip, Wu and Inglis, 1998). The question, therefore, becomes one of finding suitable, and methodologically sound,

¹¹ Although several countries surveyed in the UNHCR study (1997) did refer to language ability as an indicator of refugee resettlement.

ways of using language proficiency as an indicator. Doing so is outside the scope of this review but several points can be noted here:

- Measures will need to focus on the rate of change/extent of improvement in language proficiency in the post-arrival period. At present data is most often based on simple three- or four-category self-reported measures of language ability ('not at all,' 'poorly,' etc). More detailed and accurate measures are likely to be necessary for development of indicators.
- Disaggregated measures are likely to be needed. There is some Australian evidence that rates of improvement in English vary considerably by source country (although the extent to which this is caused by cohort differences is unclear) (Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research, 1996: 7). Other variables (e.g. age) will also be significant.
- Language proficiency measures used at the level of the migrant population as a whole may well be useful for evaluating policy effectiveness and the success of specific programmes. These measures would be based on monitoring what proportion of those who could not speak English well when they arrived can do so after a period of time and assessing what level of proficiency has been achieved.

Citizenship

The taking out of citizenship is widely cited as an indication of settlement (e.g. ROMAMPAS, 1986; Canadian Council for Refugees, 1998). However, it does not appear that any governments or official agencies have actually implemented it as a regular monitoring measure.

Where citizenship is referred to as a settlement indicator, it is usually thought to represent a commitment by the migrant to their new home and to be a firm sign that they intend to remain as long-term residents. In the New Zealand context at least, there are, however, a number of difficulties that make it an ambiguous measure. These include:

- Some countries allow dual citizenship, while others do not. Thus for some migrants the decision is whether to 'trade' their home country citizenship plus New Zealand residence for New Zealand citizenship only. For others, New Zealand citizenship is simply an addition to their existing rights.
- New Zealand citizenship confers the right to reside in Australia. In some cases it may therefore be an indicator of an intention *not* to settle in New Zealand. (This issue is discussed further.)

A further point is that citizenship is a relatively long-run indicator. Most migrants are not entitled to apply for citizenship until they have been New Zealand residents for three years and analysis by Thompson (1997) indicates that the actual take-up at three

to four years is below 50 percent.¹²

A feature of Thompson's study is the large variability in citizenship take-up rates and the time lag between arrival and citizenship application by country of origin. Evidently, citizenship applications cannot be used as an across the board indicator of settlement. Data permitting, it does however have the potential to be a useful tool in respect of migrants from those countries that have a high rate of early application for citizenship. The measure would effectively be for monitoring purposes — an indicator that something had changed which may require closer analysis. One would need to calculate country-of-origin-specific cumulative application rates for each entry year cohort. Changes in the shape of the distribution would indicate the need for further investigation.

The wide variability in citizenship take-up rates is also evident in an Australian Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research (BIMPR) analysis of Asian migrants. That report makes the point that 'the relationship of citizenship to social adjustment can be considered as that of removing obstacles to fuller participation in the government bureaucracy and the political process' (BIMPR, 1994: 43), but that there is a wide variety of factors influencing an immigrant's decision to become a citizen. Its analysis of 1991 census data shows that, even within migrants from Asian countries, citizenship take-up rates are widely varied. For example, among those resident in Australia for between two and five years (two years is the standard minimum period for citizenship in Australia), citizenship rates range from 3.6 percent for people born in Japan to 50.2 percent for Hong Kong-born and 61.7 percent for Laotian migrants.

As previously mentioned, another issue with respect to citizenship is the extent to which it may be an indication of an intention *not* to settle in New Zealand by virtue of a New Zealand passport entitling entry to Australia. Various media articles have suggested that some migrants come to New Zealand because the easiest or only way they can get residence in Australia is by gaining a New Zealand passport. Rapson points out a correlation between New Zealand's immigration programme and 'the size and shape of the net trans-Tasman flow to Australia' (1998: 61). It should be noted, though, that she does not make the claim that migrants come to New Zealand in order to obtain Australian residency (in fact her focus is on 'disillusioned New Zealand residents').

It is unlikely ever to be easy to know whether migrants are applying for New Zealand residence as a means of later gaining entry to Australia. The key question is the extent to which citizenship followed by on-migration reflects some barrier to settlement in New Zealand. Appropriate research in this area may make it possible to identify which groups of migrants this applies to and what the barriers are. In so doing, the research would help clarify how and in what circumstances citizenship uptake can be used as a settlement indicator.

¹² Thompson calculated the ratio of citizenship applications in 1995 and 1996 to permanent residence arrivals in 1992 and 1993 as 49.7 percent. Obviously, a significant number of the citizenship applicants will have arrived earlier than that. Indeed, he presents other data showing that the median residency of 1996 citizenship applicants was 3.6 years and 25 percent had been resident for 6.5 years or more.

Accommodation and home ownership

It does not appear that there are any examples of accommodation being used as an indicator of settlement in New Zealand. There is some information available from Australia, both from a census analysis of indicators of Asian migrant settlement (Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research (BIMPR), 1994) and from analysis of the first wave of LSIA data. However, it should be noted that accommodation is one area where results may not be readily transferable from one country to another because of cross-country differences in ownership patterns, house prices and housing stocks.

That said, occupancy type is likely to be relevant as a marker of settlement in New Zealand. The following comment made in the BIMPR study is likely to also apply here:

For immigrants, purchasing a home in the new country of residence represents an intention of permanent settlement as well as a major investment. Newly-arrived immigrants are usually accommodated in rental housing, with family or friends or in the case of assisted immigrants such as refugees, in government or community provided housing. As immigrants become more settled and if they have the resources, it would be expected that many would purchase their own home (1994: 42).

This study — of Asian migrants only — showed two key points:

- The level of home ownership did rise significantly with duration of residence (but note that there is a selection bias in this, as the data relate only to migrants who do stay).
- There was considerable variation in home ownership rates among recent arrivals (under five years) according to source country. In most cases the rate was less than 20 percent, but it rose to 59 percent for Taiwanese and 40 percent for migrants from Hong Kong.

Other information is available from the analysis of the first wave of the LSIA data (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 1997). This shows several important features of Australian migrants' accommodation patterns:

- The great majority of migrants (between 83 percent and 94 percent depending on category) shared their first accommodation with relatives, friends or others, except for Business/Employer Nominated Scheme category migrants, only 42 percent of whom shared.
- Almost half of all migrants moved accommodation at least once in the first three to six months after arrival (including six percent who had moved twice or more).
- The main reasons for moving related to not wanting to continue sharing

accommodation.

- Three to six months after arrival only 11 percent owned or were in the process of purchasing their own dwelling, but the same figure for Business/Employer Nominated Scheme migrants was 29 percent.

These data suggest accommodation may be a helpful indicator of settlement. However, further research is necessary. The biggest difficulty with its use is that it may prove to be more closely correlated with individual and family wealth rather than settlement. In other words, wealthy migrants may purchase a home even if not 'settled,' whilst those with few assets and low incomes may be unable to buy housing even if they are well integrated into New Zealand. Age is also likely to play a role in this.

Chain migration and sponsorship

One possible indicator of migrants' degree of integration is whether they have (or say they would be prepared to) encourage or facilitate family members or friends to join them in New Zealand. No data on this are available in New Zealand. Neither is it referred to directly in the typologies of settlement indicators discussed above. It is however used by Khoo and Cook (1998) in their study of the effects of sponsorship as a measure of how pleased migrants feel about their migration decision. (In that particular study, there is little difference between Concessional Family and Independent category principal applicants in terms of whether they would encourage others to migrate.)

Some data 'on level of satisfaction with life in Australia' are also reported in *The Migrant Experience*, analysis of the first wave of LSIA results (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 1997). These show 90 percent satisfied and a further nine percent neither satisfied nor dissatisfied three to six months after arrival. It is not intended as a comment on 'life in Australia' to suggest that these results may be best interpreted (given we know that substantial return migration does occur) as implying that more time needs to elapse after arrival before meaningful data can be gathered on chain migration/sponsorship issues. With that caveat, it may well be that questions about whether migrants would encourage family and friends to join them are more useful as a guide to settlement than are more general questions about how satisfied or dissatisfied they themselves are with life in New Zealand.

3.4 Future directions for the development of settlement indicators in New Zealand

Developing some useable settlement indicators is critical for the future assessment of New Zealand's immigration policies and for improving settlement outcomes. Internationally, attention is turning to the issue but at this stage the use of indicators is still very undeveloped. It is even more undeveloped in New Zealand and a substantial research agenda is necessary. The planned longitudinal survey of migrants will be

invaluable in this regard, as long as sufficient thought is given to settlement indicator needs at the questionnaire development stage. A few conclusions can be drawn from the above review of possible indicators as to the most promising directions for future work:

- Labour market indicators are fundamental for measuring the economic and social integration of the great majority of migrants. In this sense they will almost certainly be the most ‘powerful’ indicators of settlement.
- As well as labour market status, particular attention should be paid to occupational (mis)match indicators, as in many cases mismatch represents a barrier to settlement and a frustration of the migrant’s objectives in migrating.
- Income-based indicators are also important, but considerable work is needed to increase understanding of the dynamics of income growth in the first one or two years of settlement and this is a prerequisite for developing reliable indicators.
- The rate of improvement in non-English speaking migrants’ English proficiency may also be a good indicator of settlement progress, but care will need to be taken to separate cause and effect.
- Citizenship is unlikely to be very helpful as an indicator in the New Zealand context.
- Measures based around accommodation and housing patterns (and post-arrival internal migration) may be of some use but will need to be differentiated according to migrant category/circumstances.
- Direct questioning of migrants’ own perceptions of how well settled they are and how they rate life in New Zealand and their decision to migrate here may also be useful. Alternatively, it may prove more reliable to ask less direct questions such as whether they would, or intend to, encourage or sponsor others to come to New Zealand.

More generally, migrants’ circumstances and characteristics are so varied that whatever indicators are chosen it will be necessary to disaggregate or differentiate them for different migrant groups. The differentiation may be by country (or region) of origin, entry category, or demographic or educational characteristics. It is important to note that there does not appear to be a simple one-to-one mapping of arrival characteristics against settlement outcomes. That is, there is unlikely to ever be a one dimensional ‘settlement scale’ that migrants could be ranked on according to specified arrival characteristics.

Another point to note is that more emphasis is needed on the family/household context within which migrants settle. Most of the possible indicators discussed above focus on settlement of the individual migrant. Just as many migrants’ migration decisions are motivated by weighing up the expected advantages and disadvantages for all members of the family, so too must settlement be assessed in terms of the integration

of all family members.

Finally, although not directly concerned with settlement indicators per se, it is worth noting that those who re-migrate or who are considering doing so represent a potentially rich source of information about settlement. This has received only limited attention in the literature (one notable exception being George and Fuller-Thomson, 1997). Conceptually, the approach that needs to be taken is comparable to employers' 'exit interviews' for staff who are leaving. There is no presumption of failure or fault, but the perspective of individuals who are choosing to move on is valuable for future policy and programmes. It may be possible to tie such interviews into the longitudinal survey, by following up respondents who have moved overseas. It may also be worth developing a specific survey tool for departing residents.

4. Factors Affecting Settlement

4.1 Introduction

This section discusses factors that may either assist or hinder the settlement process. The factors have been selected on the basis of their significance in the literature and relevance to the New Zealand situation.

In the discussion that follows it is important to bear in mind the multi-dimensional nature of the settlement process. Factors that are of great significance in one dimension of a migrant's life may be of little or no significance in others. This point is studied explicitly in a paper by Montgomery analysing refugee adaptation. Using regression analysis of data from a survey of Vietnamese refugees in Alberta, Montgomery identifies three different components of adaptation, which he names 'economic,' 'socio-cultural' and 'subjective.' The analysis shows that predictors of one component may not have the same effect, or any effect, on another component (1996: 695).

Thus there is a need for caution in interpreting studies that focus on only one aspect of settlement. In particular, there are many studies that analyse labour market outcomes for migrants, and these outcomes are often used as a proxy for settlement success. As discussed in the previous section, labour market indicators will in many cases be critical measures of settlement. But labour market performance is not always the same thing as settlement. Migrants may be well integrated into the labour market but still be unsettled in other aspects of their life. Conversely, the existence of the often-identified gap between new migrants' and natives' earnings does not necessarily mean a migrant does not regard himself or herself as well settled. Settlement, from a migrant's perspective, is as much about meeting expectations as it is about the objective facts of labour market outcomes.

The problem is compounded by the almost unavoidable bias in favour of focusing on labour market outcomes. This arises because of the much richer supply of data on migrants' labour market performance, and the existence of a well-developed theoretical framework (human capital theory) within which to analyse it. Since Chiswick (1978) there have been numerous studies in virtually every migrant-receiving country analysing the process and determinants of migrant labour market performance. In many cases these studies are able to draw on major public-use datasets such as censuses. Other aspects of settlement, particularly socio-cultural and personal, usually require specific surveys and case studies to gather data. The theoretical framework for analysing these aspects of settlement is also less clearly defined. As a consequence, the basic evidence is less readily available and, with a few exceptions, there is no set of more or less broadly agreed conclusions.

The approach taken here is to report the key labour market and economic research findings insofar as they have relevance to factors affecting settlement and then also

discuss the literature on socio-cultural and subjective aspects where this exists.

4.2 Language proficiency

Proficiency in the dominant language of the receiving country is one factor that is widely recognised as critical to both economic and social aspects of settlement and integration. As one article puts it:

In any society, newcomers face a series of tasks: obtaining information about the new environment; understanding the practices and institutions which exist; and participating in these new social and economic settings. For immigrants who arrive without proficiency in the language of the host society, formidable barriers can exist in the undertaking of these tasks. Knowing the language of social discourse and business enhances the receipt of information about the new society, broadens the labour market opportunities of immigrants and often is a requirement for the legal acquisition of citizenship. In short, knowing the language(s) of the host country is considered to be both an indicator and facilitator of the integration of immigrants (Boyd, DeVries and Simkin, 1994: 549).

In terms of labour market outcomes, there have been numerous studies across many migrant-receiving countries which show that host country language proficiency has a large positive effect on migrants' relative earnings, labour market and occupational status.

Looking first at earnings, Chiswick and Miller (1992) compare the impact of language fluency on migrants in Canada and the United States. They find that migrants to the United States who are proficient in English have earnings 17 percent higher than other groups, after controlling for other factors including source country, years of residence and education. For migrants to Canada the same adjusted difference is 12 percent.

The Australian literature is summarised in Wooden. He concludes that 'poor English proficiency is also usually found to reduce earnings among immigrants (by about 10 percent according to Stromback, 1988¹³)' (1994: 245).

Carliner (1996) is one of few studies of language proficiency and earnings which has been able to separate assimilation (rate of 'catch up') and cohort (time of arrival) effects. His analysis shows that, in the United States, post-arrival improvements in migrants' language skills account for between six and 18 percent of the narrowing of the gap between migrants' and natives' earnings, depending on sex and education level. Thus, learning English is a significant, but not dominant, component of the labour market integration process. The effect is greater for males and for those with higher levels of education (see below). Interestingly, Carliner also shows that the widening of the earnings gap, which is evident for post-1960s United States immigrant cohorts, is not attributable to declining English skills. Rather, its main determinants are changes in source country and a decline in relative education levels.

¹³ Stromback, T., 1988, "Migrants, ethnic groups and the labour market," Policy options paper prepared for the Office of Multicultural Affairs, Canberra.

As with earnings, there are many studies showing a link between fluency in the dominant language and labour market status.¹⁴ The Australian evidence up to the early 1990s is surveyed in Wooden (1994) and is compared with the Canadian findings in Boyd, DeVries and Simkin (1994). More recently, Miller and Neo (1997) analyse Australian migrants' labour market status using 1991 census data, and Chiswick, Cohen and Zach (1997) do likewise for migrants to the United States using Current Population Survey data. For Israel, Beenstock and ben Menahem (1997) report a survey of ex-USSR migrants arriving between 1990 and 1993, which includes assessment of the effect of Hebrew training on labour market absorption.

There is considerable consistency in the findings relating to language proficiency across all these studies. Migrants with higher levels of dominant language fluency have higher average labour force participation rates and lower unemployment rates. Post-arrival improvements in fluency are a key determinant of improvements in labour force status over time along with other factors such as improved knowledge of the local labour market — better networks are also important. Another key finding is that high levels of language proficiency are more important for migrants from highly skilled occupations than they are for those with fewer qualifications or skills. As well as affecting the former group's employment and unemployment rates more, lack of language fluency is also strongly associated with loss of occupational retention (i.e. employment in jobs that do not utilise the migrant's qualifications). The Israeli study suggests that for more highly educated migrants, formal Hebrew language training is more beneficial than post-arrival vocational training.

One important point of difference in the studies relates to the length of time that the unemployment rate disadvantage persists. This does not relate solely to language proficiency but is closely connected. Chiswick, Cohen and Zach find that in the United States the unemployment rate disadvantage disappears 'at the end of the first year or, at latest, by the third year'¹⁵ (1997: 301). By contrast, Miller and Neo find that in Australia a 'duration of residence effect' persists for around 22 years. They speculate that the difference may be associated with the United States having a more flexible labour market than Australia (1997: 169).

A further point worthy of note is that, while learning the dominant language is critical, high levels of bilingualism do not appear to give non-English speaking background migrants a positive labour market advantage over those who speak only English. In theory, one would expect fluency in two languages to lead to more employment opportunities than knowledge of the dominant language only. However, in those studies (e.g. Miller and Neo, 1997 and see Wooden, 1994: 230) where there are data on several levels of dominant language fluency, including 'good' or 'very good,' those who speak 'only English' do better than those who speak English 'very well.' This may reflect the self-reported nature of the survey questions, but it may also be an

¹⁴ It is interesting, however, to observe that the United States literature has focused more on earnings, while Australian research has more frequently focused on labour market status. This difference may be due to relative data availability, but it may also be a reflection of differences in policy perspective and/or differences in the degree of wage flexibility in the two economies.

¹⁵ The employment rate differential also declines sharply but takes up to ten years to disappear entirely (Chiswick, Cohen and Zach, 1997: 310).

indicator of employer discrimination (see section 4.7 below). Accent, as distinct from fluency, may also be a factor in this.

There does not appear to be any research directly investigating whether there is a difference in labour market integration between those migrants who learn English post-arrival and those who deliberately delay migrating so as to undertake language training prior to arrival. This is unfortunate, as from the point of view of settlement policy it would be useful to know whether policy should be slanted towards ensuring pre-arrival training or to provide intensive post-migration courses.

New Zealand research on the effects of English proficiency on labour market integration has been limited by a lack of data. However, the 1996 census did include a question on ability to converse in English¹⁶ and these data were used by Winkelmann and Winkelmann (1998a) to provide a descriptive analysis of the language proficiency of migrants and to assess its impact on their labour market outcomes. They report significant levels of non-proficiency among recent (nought to five years in New Zealand) migrants from Northeast Asia (35 percent) and the Pacific Islands (20 percent). Non-proficiency rates for recent migrants from Eastern Europe, Southeast Asia and Southern Asia ranged from 13–16 percent. For all regions, ability to converse in English increased as years since migration increased. However, as only one data point (i.e. the 1996 census) exists it is not possible to tell how much of this effect is due to cohort differences and how much to time spent in New Zealand.

Their analysis of the labour force status of 25–54 year olds shows considerable differences in participation and unemployment rates depending on ability to speak English. There are also substantial variations in the labour force status of English speakers and non-English speakers according to region of origin. Table 4 below summarises the differences in employment rates. These reflect both higher unemployment rates and lower labour force participation rates among non-English speakers.

¹⁶ The question asked only: 'In which language(s) could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things?' Response options were: 'English; Māori; Samoan; NZ sign language; other (please specify).'

Table 4		
Employment rates of immigrants aged 25–54, by ability to speak English and region of origin (1996)		
	Can Converse in English (%)	Cannot Converse in English (%)
Western Europe	78.9	60.1
Eastern Europe	62.4	26.6
Northeast Asia	50.8	34.7
Southeast Asia	68.3	41.4
Southern Asia	63.8	39.0
Pacific Islands	65.1	44.9
Other	80.7	36.1
Total	74.1	39.3

Source: Winkelmann and Winkelmann (1998a: 47)

With respect to incomes, their regression analysis revealed ‘a large specific and independent effect of language skills on relative incomes even after controlling for region of origin or English speaking background’ (Winkelmann and Winkelmann, 1998a: xvi). Among males, this gap between migrants and otherwise similar New Zealand-born individuals averaged around 30 percent. Among females the gap was about 23 percent.

The findings of this study — the first of its sort carried out in New Zealand — are therefore consistent with the overseas literature. They confirm language proficiency as a critical factor in terms of how readily migrants integrate into the labour market. The two areas where the overseas literature suggests dominant language fluency may be somewhat less important — migrants in low skilled employment and those living in regions with a high proportion of speakers of the migrant’s home language — are both ones that are comparatively less relevant in the New Zealand context. From a labour market perspective, and given the recent (and likely future) growth in the proportion of non-English speaking background migrants, one must therefore conclude that ensuring language training policy and programmes are effective should be a high priority in New Zealand.

There is much less information available on the role of English language proficiency in affecting socio-cultural and personal integration. The data that are available come mainly from qualitative surveys and in-depth interviews. From these it is clear that there is a close overlap between economic and other settlement aspects of language ability. Proficiency in the dominant language of the receiving country provides a means of learning about society and engenders a sense of being part of that society. As well as the direct impact on social interaction, language problems spill over into other aspects of social integration such as confidence in accessing government and other services.

With respect to Australia, Ip, Wu and Inglis report that in two surveys they undertook (one national, one in Brisbane) language or communication difficulties were cited by

respondents as being 'far and away' the most serious (1998: 84).

In New Zealand, Lidgard et al, in their interviews with Korean, Taiwanese and Hong Kong migrants, for instance, cite the example of a Korean woman. She 'appeared to speak English fluently, but kept reiterating that she was frustrated by her inability to communicate her deepest thoughts as she was not able to translate these to her satisfaction' (1998: 35). Interviews carried out for the New Zealand Immigration Service by Forsyte Research (1999) also include a comment by a Family category migrant from Denmark who felt her lack of English made her unduly dependent on her partner

Clearly, English language proficiency is necessary for migrants to communicate well with people outside their own linguistic background. While the extent to which this is central to social integration will vary from migrant to migrant and according to the size of the relevant ethnic community, in such a relatively monolingual society as New Zealand's, it will be an important factor for nearly all migrants.

4.3 Education and skills

There are a number of strands to the literature on the relationship between migration outcomes and education and skills. Not all of these are directly connected with settlement per se.

First, there has been much debate, especially in the United States and Canadian literature, about the apparent decline since the 1970s in immigrant 'quality' as measured by educational qualifications and skill levels. In both countries it has been asserted that this decline in quality is a cause of the observed decline in migrants' overall labour market performance from the 1970s onwards (Borjas, 1994; Carliner, 1996; Baker and Benjamin, 1994). This is primarily a debate about migrant selection and the changing composition of the migrant intake, rather than one of settlement. It is therefore mentioned only briefly here.

In the United States, it appears that the increase in the earnings gap between initial migrants and natives is due partly to a decline in the migrant intake's average education levels but mostly to shifts in the source country mix (from Europe to Latin America and Asia) (Carliner, 1996).¹⁷ In connection with the changing source country mix, Borjas (1994) also speculates that skills obtained in less developed countries may not be as readily transferable to the United States labour market as those obtained in developed countries. Presumably this is for reasons of cultural and institutional similarity, although it may also be because of information problems (and therefore related to the issue of qualification recognition, which is discussed below), or discrimination (see Section 4.7).

In Canada, the most recent work has challenged the view that the average educational attainment of migrants has in fact been declining. Akbari (1999) shows that for new

¹⁷ Carliner estimates that between four and 23 percent is due to education declines and 73 to 95 percent to changes in source country mix.

arrivals to Canada between 1956 and 1994, the percentages with high school education or less has been declining and is below that of the Canadian-born population and that the percentage with university degrees has been rising and is above that of the Canadian-born population. Akbari concludes that it is necessary to look to other factors, including discrimination and general economic conditions, to account for the observed decline in migrants' economic performance.

While these findings have some bearing on settlement, the more pertinent question is whether migrants with higher levels of education and skills integrate more or less readily into the labour market than those with less schooling and fewer qualifications.

The broad conclusions from the evidence on this are that, while the more skilled eventually fare better in terms of labour force participation, employment and earnings than those with fewer skills, they face a larger initial earnings and employment gap relative to similarly qualified non-migrants. As discussed in the previous section, there is also a strong interaction between education, English language proficiency and English speaking/non-English speaking background.¹⁸

A key study in this area is that by Beggs and Chapman (1988), who analysed 1981 Australian census data. They found that 'as education increases, the labour market position of immigrants relative to natives systematically deteriorates.' This effect was much stronger for non-English speaking background migrants than for those from English speaking backgrounds and applied to both earnings and employment rates. Similar results have been found in respect of immigrants to Canada (e.g. Baker and Benjamin, 1994).

Related to this finding is a study by Flatau, Petridis and Wood (1995) using 1991 Australian census and LSIA data that shows many migrants, who were in professional occupations before migration, experience significant downgrading of their occupational status in the early years post-arrival. Again, this effect is more common among non-English speaking background migrants than those from an English speaking background. Measuring 'mismatch underemployment' (i.e. the extent to which an individual's job under-utilises the qualifications and experience they have), Flatau et al find that the incidence of this type of underemployment is much greater among non-English speaking background migrants than either English speaking background migrants or the Australian-born. Other studies, for example Chiswick's (1978) study of United States immigrants, have also found significant occupational downgrading when migrants first arrive.

Winkelmann and Winkelmann's (1998a) research confirms for the New Zealand context the same main findings regarding the effect of education on labour market integration. For non-English speaking migrants, the initial unemployment rate and earnings gaps (i.e. relative to comparable New Zealand-born) were higher than for English speaking background migrants and were highest for those with university qualifications. The more highly qualified migrants do however catch up to their New

¹⁸ Coming from a predominantly non-English speaking background (source country) has been shown to have a separate effect from the individual's own fluency in English (Winkelmann and Winkelmann, 1998a). However, in the absence of adequate data on fluency, many studies have focused only on the English speaking background /non-English speaking background distinction.

Zealand-born counterparts at a faster rate. For example, male non-English speaking background university graduates are predicted to achieve earnings parity after 16 years, whereas male non-English speaking background school graduates require 25 years to achieve the same average level of earnings as New Zealand-born school graduates.

The usual explanation offered in the literature for the effects described above is that human capital (skills, experience) are imperfectly transferable between countries. Thus the returns to qualifications gained overseas is lower than for similar qualifications gained in the country of migration. From the point of view of enhancing rapid settlement, though, what matters is why this transferability problem arises. Clearly it is not universal. There is an increasing proportion of skilled individuals who operate in labour markets that are more or less global, transferring between jobs in different countries without disruption or loss of income. For such people, English language skills are usually a prerequisite, but whether one originates from an English speaking or a non-English speaking background is less relevant.

However, for the majority of migrants, and especially non-English speaking background migrants, skill transferability is an issue. Several possible reasons exist and it is not clear which is the more significant. First, some commentators have suggested that it is not strictly a transferability problem but simply that the quality of education and training is lower in the migrant's home country than in the destination country. There is some evidence to support this view, however, logically, this should have a permanent effect on earnings, other things being equal. In other words, it alone is not consistent with the observed higher rate of earnings catch up.¹⁹

A second possible reason is that, while the skills are 'valid,' they require a level of knowledge of and adaptation to the institutional and firm level context applying in the new country. It therefore takes skilled migrants some time and a period of local employment experience to adapt their previously gained skills to the new environment. As Borjas (1994) suggests, this effect may be more pronounced for non-English speaking background migrants, not because of language per se but because the English speaking background/non-English speaking background split is a proxy for the degree of cultural and institutional dissimilarity. The settlement implications of this explanation are that to some extent the adjustment process is unavoidable, but that it may be able to be ameliorated by appropriate occupation-specific training courses (i.e. 'bridging' courses) perhaps in conjunction with work experience programmes.

The other possible explanation concerns difficulties employers may have in determining the authenticity and quality of overseas-gained qualifications and experience. (Or, alternatively put, the difficulties migrants may have in demonstrating this to potential employers.) This effect could account for the large initial gap, especially for non-English speaking background migrants, whose qualifications will in many cases be less directly comparable to New Zealand qualifications and for whom verification is more difficult. It would also be consistent with a more rapid catch up, as migrants gain New Zealand work experience that 'proves' their abilities and

¹⁹ Migrants could of course 'catch up' by retraining after migration, but this is a different effect.

productivity.

4.4 Recognition of qualifications

Procedures for assessing and accepting overseas-gained qualifications are therefore issues that can have a large impact on settlement outcomes for migrants with certain types of qualifications.

There are two types of recognition issues:

- Occupational registration or licensing (usually controlled by a registration board or professional organisation), which is a regulatory prerequisite for employment in certain occupations.
- Formal equivalence assessment (conducted in New Zealand by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority), which provides migrants and employers with independent information on how overseas qualifications compare with New Zealand ones.

Both these issues, which have been and continue to be important in the New Zealand context, have been the subject of much study and official reports in Australia (but appear to be less discussed in the United States and Canada).

In respect of occupational licensing, two matters have been at the centre of debate on both sides of the Tasman. The first is problems caused in the late 1980s and early 1990s by the difference between acceptance of qualifications for immigration purposes and the recognition of qualifications by occupational regulatory authorities. As Iredale and Nivison-Smith (1995: 21) note in the Australian context: ‘...other people have taken their National Office of Overseas Skills Recognition (NOOSR) ‘letter of equivalence’ to be a ‘letter of recognition’ and then are surprised when they are not admitted to membership of an association etc.’ NOOSR has since devolved some pre-migration assessments to the professional bodies. Iredale and Nivison-Smith note that, while NOOSR argues this is being done on the basis of agreements promoting transparency and safeguarding the interests of the overseas trained, an alternative view is that it is ‘a handing over of decisions about pre-migration assessment to the bodies whose interest may be in protecting the jobs of Australian members’ (1995: 21).

This leads directly on to the second matter of debate — a widespread view expressed in both Australia and New Zealand that some professions’ occupational licensing requirements are unduly difficult and often contain an element of bias against non-English speaking background migrants. Wooden surveys the Australian literature on this issue²⁰ and states that a ‘principal conclusion’ is that:

‘The outcome [of the licensing process] is that immigrants, and especially immigrants with poor English language skills, find themselves at a distinct handicap

²⁰ Wooden draws heavily on an ‘extensive review’ by Iredale, R., 1988, “The recognition of overseas qualifications and skills,” Policy option paper prepared for the Office of Multicultural Affairs, Canberra. Unfortunately, this author has not been able to obtain a copy of Iredale’s paper.

during the accreditation process. There is firstly the problem of knowing where to go to apply for accreditation, lack of knowledge about local laws and regulations, language difficulties and a lack of interpreter services, lack of pre- and post-assessment counselling, and little in the way of systematic appeal mechanisms (Iredale, 1988: 2). Moreover, the assessment approach itself is clearly biased against [non-English speaking background] immigrants, not only because testing usually takes place in English, but because problems in verification of documentation and assessing the comparability of equivalent overseas standards are typically more pronounced with [non-English speaking background] immigrants because of the weak links between Australian institutions and institutions in many non-English-speaking countries (Wooden, 1994: 264).

In New Zealand, difficulties obtaining acceptance of qualifications, and therefore registration to practice, from professional associations have been a problem for migrants in a number of professions, most notably for health professionals and engineers (Barnard, 1996; Department of Internal Affairs, 1996). As in Australia, problems have revolved around lack of pre-migration information as to the rules regarding professional registration (at least in the early to mid-1990s) and lack of English language proficiency, as well as refusal by professional bodies to recognise qualifications from certain countries and the strict testing requirements imposed on some migrants.

Confusion over the distinction between gaining points in the points test for qualifications and New Zealand registration requirements have now been largely resolved (in most instances points are not awarded unless registration requirements are able to be met). However, a significant number of qualified and experienced migrants who entered in earlier years have not been able to gain employment in their profession and have either taken less qualified work, remained unemployed or have re-migrated.

In the longer-run, the more important issue in terms of settlement services is the effectiveness of the equivalence assessment system. Reliable, credible and speedy qualifications assessment is at the heart of the skill transferability problem, which is essential to rapid labour market integration.

Evidence from Australia (Iredale and Nivison-Smith, 1995; Flatau and Wood, 1997), is that qualifications assessment is of particular importance to non-English speaking background migrants.²¹ In fact, it appears that the relationship between the decision to seek assessment and the cultural/educational similarity of the source country and the host country can be thought of as an inverted-U shape. That is, migrants from countries that are most similar to New Zealand (i.e. English speaking countries with 'British' education systems) are less likely to seek assessment because their qualifications are accepted without it. At the other end of the spectrum, migrants from countries that are most dissimilar, especially countries where English is not the main language and those with lower per capita incomes, are also somewhat less likely to seek assessment. This is partly because of lack of knowledge of the procedures but

²¹ It should be noted that Flatau and Wood's 1997 analysis of LSIA data found little impact of assessment outcomes on the incidence of unemployment. However, they point out the difficulty in separating the effects of assessment outcomes from those of visa category, and the possibility of reverse causation effects (e.g. migrants who find work quickly do not bother seeking assessment). They therefore conclude these results should be treated with caution.

more often because, if the system is sufficiently transparent, they know in advance that their qualification will not be recognised.

In an analysis of data from the prototype LSIA,²² Baker and Robertson report that, after the second wave of interviews (conducted after an average duration of residence of approximately 14 months), 71 percent of adult migrants with post-school qualifications had sought some form of assessment (1995: 15). Of those who had not, four percent still intended to do so, 40 percent said it was not needed or they could not be bothered and 56 percent were unaware, had language difficulties or other reasons for not having an assessment.

Baker and Robertson's analysis (1995: 25) also shows that younger migrants, those with post-graduate degrees, those entering under the skilled migration category and those who come from a non-English speaking background other than in Asia but who speak English well are most likely to seek assessment.

In terms of assessment outcomes, Baker and Robertson find that those principal applicants and spouses who entered under the Family category are significantly less likely to obtain full recognition. So too are 'those individuals with anything less than a full command of the English language and its subtleties' (1995: 82). Finally, despite those with post-graduate degrees being most likely to seek assessment, it is those with building, agriculture and trades qualifications who are most likely to obtain full recognition.

Although New Zealand data on the issue is limited, it appears to have been less of a cause of problems in New Zealand than occupational licensing. The Department of Internal Affairs 1996 *High Hopes* survey reported that 168 of 500 respondents had contacted the New Zealand Qualifications Authority. Seventy percent had been assessed within three months and only six people reported waiting for more than 12 months, in most cases because they needed to get documents from overseas. Of the 150 respondents whose assessment had been completed, two percent were assessed at a higher level in New Zealand than in their country of origin, 56 percent at the same level and 24 percent at a lower level. Eighteen percent had qualifications that were not recognised in New Zealand, most of these being doctors. It should, however, be noted that the *High Hopes* survey was not a representatively drawn sample of migrants (or skilled migrants) and so the findings need to be treated with caution.

4.5 Age

The two broad conclusions emerging from the literature regarding the relationship between immigrants' age and settlement outcomes are that:

- settlement difficulties and initial disadvantage are greater for older migrants than for younger adult migrants; and

²² Note that the prototype survey was conducted primarily to test the full survey. Survey numbers were smaller and the sample was not fully representative of the migrant intake. Results based on the prototype must therefore be treated with caution.

- there are additional specific problems facing aged migrants, particularly those from non-English speaking backgrounds.

Regarding the first point, the evidence relates mostly to labour market outcomes, but there is some indication that the same results carry over to social and subjective aspects of settlement, albeit with possibly some variation depending on the motivation for migration.

Borjas (1994) summarises the United States evidence that age at arrival is correlated with immediate earnings and employment differentials and stresses the need for analysis of immigrant labour market outcomes to control for this factor. Borjas' concern is to decompose the wage convergence apparent in the raw data. Using census data for migrants arriving in the United States between 1960 and 1990, he concludes that about half of the apparent wage convergence disappears after controlling for age at arrival.

This age difference is usually explained in terms of younger migrants being more likely to undertake some of their education or training in the host country and by overseas education and work experience being only imperfectly substitutable with its local equivalent. That is, employers are believed to discount the value of overseas training and work experience and this weighs more heavily against older workers.

Winkelmann and Winkelmann's analysis of census data shows the same age-at-arrival effect occurring in New Zealand migrants' labour market outcomes. For males, they conclude that 'the entry income disadvantage is 16 percent for a 15 year old, but 30 percent for a 35 year old' (Winkelmann and Winkelmann, 1998b: 61). They also note that this gap narrows over time, as the relative incomes of older migrants increase more rapidly than those of younger migrants.

Interestingly, the Winkelmanns' study shows that almost all of the age-at-arrival effect is associated with non-English speaking background migrants. For migrants from an English speaking background there is virtually no age effect. The authors conclude that 'the large differential effect for non-English speaking background migrants is compatible with the hypothesis that learning a language and integration into another culture are much easier at an earlier age' (1998b: 61). While this hypothesis may be correct, the conclusion does not seem warranted by the results. If the explanation is that young people find it easier to adapt and learn a new language post-arrival, one would expect to observe a relatively faster catch-up rate among young people. An alternative explanation for the Winkelmanns' results is that there is some unobserved difference between young and older non-English speaking background migrants. For example, young non-English speaking background migrants may arrive with somewhat better English skills (and/or knowledge of New Zealand society), attributable perhaps to the fact that they attended schooling more recently.

The second theme in the literature regarding migrants' age is the particular issues affecting elderly migrants. McCallum, Rowland and Ujimoto (1994) present a detailed discussion of these issues with respect to migrants in Australia and Canada.

In both these countries the number of 'ethnic aged' (i.e. over 65 year old members of non-English speaking background ethnic minority groups) is rising and will continue to rise into the next decades. Most of this rise is due to the ageing of earlier cohorts of migrants, but a few groups with higher concentrations of refugee/family reunification migrants (e.g. Vietnamese) also include a significant number of migrants who were relatively old at the time of arrival.

The issues McCallum et al raise can be thought of as 'delayed' settlement issues in that they are settlement/integration problems that do not emerge until precipitated by certain life cycle events or changes often many years after the time of migration.²³ A key factor is language proficiency, which not only affects older people's ability to access public and private support services but also limits the individual's ability to function within their own home and family if younger generations speak only English (1994: 617). The authors note that, whilst immigrants who arrive in old age are most at risk, sometimes integration, including language learning, does not occur even after decades of residence. Thus, length of residence is, by itself, an unreliable indicator of integration (1994: 616).

Major issues affecting the migrant aged are:

- loss of independence and greater need to access services associated with declining health;
- loss of independence/support through death of a spouse; and
- lack of income, particularly where residence entitlements for superannuation have not been met but also due to low earnings during working life.

A further point made by McCallum et al is that policy should also include consideration of the needs of caregivers, who are usually the children or other relatives of the migrants. They cite an Australian study of daughters caring for older migrants, which highlighted the fact that carers were 'in the middle' not only generationally, between caring for their children and for their parents, but also in terms of the family's migration transition experience. They point to a cultural and generational 'mismatch of expectations' due partly to the fact that, precisely because their parents are immigrants, the daughters often have no experience of living in a household with older people. Such mismatches may contribute to the higher rate of late onset mental health problems and the higher suicide rate observed among older migrants in Australia, United States and the United Kingdom as compared with the native-born.²⁴

²³ It should however be noted that the authors emphasise that in their view the field of 'ethnogerontology' has suffered from an excessive focus on the negative and on the 'double jeopardy' of being old and from an ethnic minority. They argue the need for a more balanced approach 'capable of identifying advantages of being 'ethnic' as well as disadvantages' (1994: 613). Rowland expressed similar views in an (unpublished) presentation to the 1999 Population Association of New Zealand conference.

²⁴ McCallum, J., 1992, "Immigrants, ageing and mental health promotion," paper presented at the Migration and Mental Health Conference, November, Transcultural Psychiatry Unit, Melbourne, cited in McCallum et al (1994).

There does not appear to have been any research into migration and ageing in New Zealand²⁵ and the extent to which overseas findings will apply here is uncertain. In terms of specific ethnic groups, past New Zealand immigration patterns suggest that the priority groups for research are likely to be the Dutch, Pacific Islanders (Samoan, Tongan and Niuean) and possibly also the Vietnamese and Kampuchean communities who migrated here as refugees in the 1970s.²⁶

4.6 Family and ethnic group support and the role of sponsorship

The most significant issue in this area is determining the effect on settlement of having relatives or friends from the same source community already living in the destination community. A second issue is the effect of formal sponsorship programmes on settlement outcomes. This has not been widely analysed in the literature, but is relevant to New Zealand policy.

Looking at the first of these questions, the most commonly held view in the literature is that the presence of friends or relatives at the place of destination acts both to encourage the initial decision to migrate (i.e. the chain migration effect) and also lowers the psychic and economic costs associated with migration. Relatives and friends are able to provide an initial place to stay, may often help with the monetary costs of becoming established and provide information about job opportunities and job search techniques as well as social and cultural aspects of life. They may also help successful settlement by counteracting new migrants' feelings of homesickness and dislocation.

Most of the evidence in support of these views comes from case studies and qualitative interviews with migrants. However, George and Fuller-Thomson (1997) provide an interesting quantitative study that also confirms the significance of support networks. It is one of very few studies that explicitly focuses on migrants' intentions to stay or to re-migrate as the indicator of settlement. The study is of 248 permanent residents or citizens of Canada who had migrated between one and five years earlier. George and Fuller-Thomson (1997: 189) find that the two key factors indicative of planning to stay in Canada are having a social network and being married. A respondent who was married or currently had a social support network was two and a half times more likely to be intending to stay. The effects of these factors were independent of each other. The authors comment that the finding with respect to support networks is unsurprising in light of the arguments such as those mentioned above and also given the general finding regarding non-migrants that the presence of social support is associated with higher well-being. They do, however, note that their study does not allow the question of causality to be addressed. It is possible that the difference observed is because migrants with a lower commitment to staying are less inclined to build a social support network.

²⁵ This author has not been able to locate any studies and none is referenced in any of the Trlin and Spoonley (1992, 1997) or the Bedford et al (1998) bibliographies.

²⁶ Because the Southeast Asian migrants came as refugees, the group included a higher than average number of older people.

Other evidence on the importance of family and friends in assisting with the early stages of settlement is available from the LSIA (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 1997). These data show that 70 percent of principal applicants shared their first accommodation in Australia with already-resident relatives and 17 percent shared with friends. Significantly, sharing accommodation is very much a short-term post-arrival settlement characteristic. Within three to six months, almost half of all principal applicants had moved at least once, mainly because they no longer wanted to share accommodation. The survey also showed that 65 percent of principal applicants received assistance from relatives in Australia, and 40 percent from friends (multiple responses were allowed). Relatives most frequently assisted with finding housing, providing information on health services and learning English. Friends were most likely to assist with housing and with getting a job.

The fact that family and social networks are effective in helping settlement cannot, however, be taken for granted. Menjivar (1995) compares the dynamics of kinship-based social networks during the initial settlement period, based on intensive interviews with 80 Salvadorean, Mexican and Vietnamese migrants to San Francisco. She finds that the 'pull' effect was similar for all three groups, that is in each case relatives were just as likely to encourage the migrant to move and to assist with travel costs and accommodation on arrival. But that the interaction of other factors, especially the level of state assistance, local labour market opportunities and the length of history of settlement by the receiving community, resulted in different outcomes after a short while. In particular, the Salvadorean families were effectively unable to continue to support newly-arrived relatives due to low levels of income, lack of access to government assistance and overcrowded housing. In the other cases, the Vietnamese families had the benefit of access to state assistance upon arrival, which helps economically and serves to reinforce family ties; and the Mexicans' long history of migration to the United States had created informal ties which gave access to resources, such as job opportunities. Menjivar's conclusions are that her study 'cautions against overestimating the capacity of immigrant social networks; these need to be analysed as dependent on the context where they develop' and that policy should not assume that immigrants can rely on kinship and friendship networks without fail (1995: 230).

Turning to the issue of the effect of sponsorship on settlement, the most significant recent study is that by Khoo and Cook (1998). Using LSIA data, they compare principal applicants granted visas under the Concessional Family category²⁷ with those entering under the Independent Skills category. Both groups are subject to the points test, but Concessional Family migrants receive some points for being sponsored by a close relative in Australia. The samples are matched for age, skill, English proficiency, sex, birthplace and whether they have previously visited Australia and results are compared across a range of labour market, social and personal settlement indicators. Khoo and Cook find that 'sponsors and relatives have not had much effect on the settlement outcomes of Concessional Family principal applicants, except in terms of housing arrangements' (1998: 16). In respect of housing, Concessional Family migrants are more likely than Independent migrants to be living with relatives.

²⁷ Now called the 'Skilled-Australian linked' category.

But even then the proportion living with relatives falls to 15 percent 18 months after arrival. The other difference is that Concessional Family migrants report less job satisfaction, lower incomes and less likelihood of using their qualifications in their jobs than do otherwise similar Independent category migrants. On an unadjusted basis (i.e. before controlling for differences in characteristics) the authors conclude that ‘the Concessional Family category results in the selection of principal applicants who are older on average, have lower English proficiency and lower educational qualifications than Independent category principal applicants. These differences have a negative effect on the labour market outcomes of Concessional Family principal applicants, but do not affect other aspects of their settlement’ (1998: 16).

That said, most commentators recognise that chain migration is a powerful force driving patterns of migration and settlement. There is typically a three stage process involved — an initial wave of pioneer migrants, a period of chain migration of family and friends, followed by a tapering off as the new community matures (Hugo, 1994: 42). The first wave of settlers will, in general, assist the settlement process of their relatives who follow and, where policy permits, will use sponsorship programmes to gain their entry. Contrary to Khoo and Cook’s finding, work by Birrell (1990, reported in Hugo, 1994) suggests that the sponsored migrants have similar characteristics (education, etc) as their sponsors.

In Canada, sponsorship has been officially fostered, through programmes such as the Host Program, as a means of encouraging public participation in resettlement of refugees and other immigrants with special needs (see Section 5.3). In this case the sponsorship is primarily by faith groups and ethno-cultural organisations and has involved more than 20,000 groups in Canada since 1979. Lanphier and Lukomskyj (1994: 360) comment that such community sponsorship has made positive contributions by reducing certain settlement costs (such as furniture and rental accommodation) and facilitating local social integration. It was, however, causing considerable drain on the human and financial resources of community groups. It was largely in response to this problem that the Host Program was set up in 1985.

4.7 Discrimination

Discrimination and prejudice have the potential to make the process of settlement more difficult for newly arrived migrants. It may be a factor affecting economic, socio-cultural or personal aspects of settlement, and is more likely to affect those from culturally dissimilar, non-English speaking backgrounds.

Given that discrimination is a product of the receiving society, it is necessary to be cautious in transferring the results of overseas studies to the New Zealand context. Nonetheless, it is useful to look at the approaches taken to the issue in the literature and the main conclusions that emerge. As with other issues the data and, hence, findings are strongest in the area of labour market discrimination. Three main approaches are used. Some studies focus on identifying the size of the unexplained or

‘unjustifiable’ component of wage or labour market status differentials, attributing this to discrimination. Others analyse case studies of particular occupations, focusing on institutional or behavioural factors that may be regarded as discriminatory. A third approach is qualitative or quantitative surveying of migrants’ own experiences and perceptions or surveys of the native population’s attitudes. Examples of each of these approaches are discussed below.

A recent example of the first approach is Miller and Neo’s (1997) study of immigrant unemployment based on 1991 Australian census data. They decompose the immigrant-native unemployment rate differential into two components. The first is that attributable to differences in the marketable characteristics of the two groups (qualifications, experience, age, etc). The second component is that which is due to differences in the way the marketable characteristics translate into lower unemployment rates for different birthplace groups. This part is unexplained by the model and is ‘conventionally labelled as a “discriminatory” component of the unemployment rate differential’ (1997: 169).²⁸ Miller and Neo’s results show that if immigrants’ marketable labour market characteristics were rewarded in the same way as those of the Australia-born they would have lower than average unemployment rates. However, the ‘unjustifiable’ component offsets this advantage so that English speaking background migrants’ unemployment rate is only slightly below that of the Australia-born while non-English speaking background migrants’ unemployment rate is substantially higher.

The difficulty with this approach is that it is not clear that the unexplained differential is in fact due to discrimination. Wooden (1994: 246, 248), for example, argues that the differences may be due to differences in the quality (i.e. the productivity-enhancing effect) of education in some overseas countries, particularly when it is applied to the new labour market.

Similarly, in respect of Canada, Sloan and Vaillancourt (1994: 482) comment that ‘the issue of whether migrants are discriminated against in the Canadian labour market is...unanswered.’ They cite a 1991 study by De Silva²⁹ in which he concludes that ‘there is no discrimination against immigrants in general, nor is there against coloured immigrants in particular...[differences] seem to stem from a difference in the market evaluation of Canadian versus non-Canadian education and experience.’ De Silva goes on to comment, however, that ‘there is no way to tell incidentally, whether that under-evaluation represents prejudice against foreign educational credentials, ignorance of the true value of foreign credentials or a genuinely lower usefulness of non-Canadian credentials in the Canadian labour market.’ In the case of ‘embodied capital’ such as skills and experience, the distinction between prejudice against the credential and prejudice against its holder is a fine one.

A good example of the case study approach to issues of discrimination is that reported in Hawthorne (1997). She investigates two occupational groups of highly qualified immigrants: doctors and engineers. In the case of doctors the focus is on ‘indirect

²⁸ In New Zealand, the Winkelmann and Winkelmann (1998a: 129) finding that poor English proficiency and coming from a non-English speaking background have *independent* negative labour market effects could be interpreted as evidence of a discrimination effect.

²⁹ De Silva, A., 1991, *The Economic Destiny of Migrants*, Ottawa, Economic Council of Canada.

discrimination' through the professional registration system. The study of engineers, on the other hand, is exclusively of those whose qualifications have been fully recognised and who have an advanced level of English proficiency. With respect to overseas-trained doctors in Australia, she concludes that registration barriers have become substantially higher over the last decade and that the effect works most powerfully against non-native speakers of English. This result is contrasted with the 'substantial advances' made in comparable fields such as nursing. In the case of the engineers, her conclusion is that direct discrimination does occur and 'that in many cases inferior employment outcomes cannot be attributed to poor English, inadequate technological skills or non-recognition of qualifications' (1997: 413).

The third type of evidence regarding discrimination is that from surveys of migrants' and the already-resident population's opinions and experiences. Regarding public opinion towards immigrants, Simon and Lynch (1999) compare public attitudes in seven migrant receiving countries.³⁰ They conclude that, despite major differences in immigration policies and practices, there is a surprising degree of consensus in attitudes and beliefs about immigrants. Most respondents want their country to accept fewer immigrants, want more restrictions on immigrants of colour and prefer that priority be given to skilled migrants over family reunification migrants. They note, too, that the desire to restrict immigration is not always closely related to negative attitudes towards specific migrant groups. This latter appears to be generally related to the 'social distance between the group and the host society;' although this relationship is imperfect and factors such as the size of the ethnic group may also be important (1999: 464–5). Casual observation of the New Zealand situation suggests that as well as social distance and size, the rate of growth of an immigrant group (i.e. the net inflow) may also be important.

A preference for lower immigration, even a preference for fewer migrants of a certain type, does not necessarily translate into actual instances of discrimination or prejudiced behaviour towards migrants. Another source of evidence of individual instances of prejudice comes from surveys or studies of the experiences of migrants themselves. There are not, however, many such surveys that are quantitatively representative of migrants' experiences. One exception is the LSIA, which includes a question about labour market discrimination. Unfortunately, there does not as yet appear to be any published analysis of the findings. In terms of qualitative surveys, reports of experiences or perceptions of discrimination are quite common both overseas and in New Zealand. Lidgard (1996: 31) for example, quotes a Korean migrant to New Zealand whose experience was that 'employees are chosen on race rather than qualifications,' that it was difficult to get a job even if fluent in English and that Koreans were more likely than New Zealanders to be made redundant during downturns. The Race Relations Conciliator's *Annual Report* (1998: 18) also records an increase in formal complaints of racism lodged by people who are neither Māori nor Pākehā /European.

³⁰ Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Japan and the United States.

4.8 Implications for New Zealand

What conclusions for New Zealand can be drawn from the above survey of factors affecting migrant settlement?

First is the over-riding importance of English language proficiency. The ability to converse, read and write in English makes all aspects of the initial settlement process quicker and easier. Over the medium term, it is critical to good labour market integration, especially for skilled migrants. From a policy perspective there are two main tools available. English proficiency can be made a pre-migration entry requirement or policies and programmes can focus on ensuring those who arrive with less than adequate English skills become proficient as soon as possible after arrival. The optimal solution is likely to be a mix of both policy mechanisms. In practical terms, the first option can at best be only a partial solution, unless extremely stringent requirements were to be placed on family migration categories and non-principal applicants (including children). Moreover, pre-arrival entry requirements are likely to restrict New Zealand's ability to attract the significant, and growing number of highly skilled and entrepreneurial migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds. Also, the level of English required to gain entry may be sufficient to get by in the community, but inadequate for most employment. There is therefore also a need to ensure access to post-arrival English language training. It is beyond the scope of this review to consider how such training might be funded and the appropriate split between self-funding by migrants and state assistance. What is clear, however, is that the returns to migrants' rapid English language acquisition accrue in part to the wider society and economy as well as to the migrants themselves.

Second, a transparent, effective and credible qualifications assessment process is critical to the successful settlement of skilled migrants. As with standard-verification institutions in other areas (e.g. ISO 9000), qualifications assessment serves to reduce high information costs that, in this case, would hinder the effective operation of the labour market. The increasing range of source countries and the shift away from meeting immediate skill-shortages to a medium-term 'human capital' focus mean that qualifications assessment is now much more important than a decade ago. Along with this is a continuing need to ensure that occupational licensing and professional registration procedures are fair and non-discriminatory and are serving their fundamental purpose of protecting standards rather than acting as barriers to entry.

Third, is the importance of family and social networks in aiding the initial stage of new migrants' settlement. This is a process that takes place more or less independently of policy. Where policy can be important is in providing resources, back-up and information to community organisations assisting migrants, particularly for refugees and other migrants without family already in New Zealand. Also, policy makers need to be aware that the ability of family and friends to assist new migrants can break down if, for reasons of unemployment or low incomes, they lack the resources to assist.

Fourth, learning about their new environment is the fundamental task of migrant

settlement. Migrants need information on all aspects of life — the labour market, business, banking and commerce, laws, social practices and customs. They obtain this information from many sources: friends and relatives, cultural organisations, employers, immigration consultants and all the sources of information available to already resident New Zealanders. However, for some migrants, especially those that do not speak English well and those with no family or contacts in New Zealand, access to needed information will be patchy and unsystematic. There is an important policy role in providing new migrants with up-to-date, relevant and carefully targeted information designed to aid settlement. It is also vital that mainstream government agencies and the private sector are conscious of the needs of new migrants and make suitable information available to them in an appropriate fashion.

Finally, an issue that will be of increasing importance in the future is the particular needs of aged migrants. A key preventative response to this is to ensure effective English language training for all migrants, as language skills are central to older migrants' capacity to access health and other services and to function effectively in society. Even with this, however, the recent (and likely future) inflows of greater numbers of non-English speaking background migrants will require greater attention to ethno-specific (or 'ethnically appropriate') services for the aged.

5. Settlement Services and Programmes

5.1 Introduction

This section outlines the major publicly provided migrant settlement services and programmes currently operating in Australia, Canada, the United States and Israel as well as those applying in New Zealand. The focus is on comparing the approach taken to settlement service provision in each of these major migrant-receiving countries. Ideally, information about the effectiveness of these programmes would also be included. Unfortunately, however, it appears that very few programmes have been formally evaluated, or if they have, the evaluations are not publicly available. Where evaluation data are available this is summarised, as is less formal published commentary on the effectiveness of services where this is available.

While there are significant differences in settlement policies and service provision between Australia, Canada, the United States and Israel, there are also some common themes which emerge and which are relevant to the New Zealand situation. These include:

- *All four countries regard involvement in migrant settlement as a proper role for central government.* The United States government is least active in this regard and the Israeli government is the most involved. Funding of settlement assistance measures is justified partly on the basis of fairness (e.g. in the Australian ‘access and equity’ plans) but also as crucial for maximising the economic returns from migration and fostering social cohesion.
- *Australia, Canada and Israel all operate systems where settlement assistance is initially the responsibility of a dedicated department or ministry with later assistance being taken over by mainstream agencies.* In Australia especially, the appropriate period of migrant-specific service provision has been a matter of some debate and has shifted over the years. All three countries recognise the importance of appropriate and culturally aware service provision by mainstream agencies.
- *Community groups and ethnic associations are seen as having an important settlement role and are funded to assist.* All four countries have more or less formalised programmes designed to make best use of the skills, commitment and voluntary effort of community and ethnic organisations. Government provides such groups with funds to carry out a range of settlement assistance roles. In Australia there has, however, also been debate about the relative merits of ‘ethno-specific’ and mainstream agency service delivery. The former has the advantages of closer community ties but may lack the expertise and resources of the latter.

- *Australia, Canada and Israel all place heavy emphasis on language training for migrants who do not speak the dominant language (i.e. English, English or French, and Hebrew respectively). In the post-war period, all three countries have had significant waves of new migrants who are speakers of other languages and are very aware of the central role language proficiency plays in social and economic integration.*

5.2 Australia

Since at least as far back as the post-war influx of European refugees, it has been accepted in Australia ‘that immigrant settlement is a state responsibility requiring public provision and supervision’ (Jupp, 1992: 144). The basic pattern and range of settlement services provided to migrants in Australia has not changed greatly since the 1978 Galbally Report into ‘Migrant Services and Programs.’ There have however been ongoing (and inter-related) issues regarding:

- the co-ordination of federal, state and local provision;
- the optimal split in service delivery between immigrant-specific and mainstream government agencies; and
- the extent of devolution to voluntary agencies and ethnic associations.

The emphasis in Australian policies has been on the provision of language training and translation and interpreter services for non-English speaking migrants, and on the co-ordination of welfare, labour market, health and other social services to ensure migrants’ access to services.

The National Integrated Settlement Strategy (NISS)³¹

The NISS is a planning framework that aims to link and improve services available to migrants and refugees in Australia at local, regional, state/territory and national levels. Its focus is on fostering co-operation between all levels of government to:

- clarify who is responsible for providing services;
- encourage agencies to co-ordinate the delivery of services;
- target resources to avoid gaps and duplication; and
- improve outcomes for clients in the form of more appropriately targeted and accessible services.

The NISS involves a multi-level planning structure that comprises:

- the *Ministerial Council on Immigration and Multicultural Affairs*, which is a committee of Commonwealth, state and territory ministers;
- the *State/Territory Settlement Planning Committees*, comprising

³¹ This section draws on DIMA Fact Sheet 69 (available at <http://www.immi.gov.au/facts/69niss.htm>).

representatives from all levels of government. The Settlement Planning Committees' task is to develop, for their state or territory, a settlement plan that sets out priority settlement needs, how these are to be met, who is responsible and how outcomes will be measured;

- an *Interdepartmental Working Group*, comprising senior officials from Commonwealth government departments and tasked with identifying national level objectives and strategies and ensuring co-ordination of services delivered by different departments;
- the *Refugee Resettlement Advisory Council*, which advises the Minister on the settlement of refugees and humanitarian category migrants.

As of March 1997, the Ministerial Council agreed that, while settlement priorities may vary from state to state, they would include:

- English language training;
- access to the labour market;
- settlement information;
- access to housing;
- translating and interpreting services;
- enhancing support provided by sponsors;
- a more integrated approach to the settlement needs of Refugee and Humanitarian Program entrants; and
- meeting the settlement-related needs of the ethnic aged.

An extension of the NISS structure is the Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy, which is designed to improve service delivery to refugees, largely through better use of the NISS planning structures.

Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP)³²

The Australian Government provides extensive funding of basic English language tuition for adult migrants through the AMEP, which is administered by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA). Tuition is available to adult migrants for whom English is not their first language, and who have been assessed by DIMA as not having functional English language skills.

DIMA funds training organisations in each state and territory to provide AMEP courses. Most training is through formal courses at training centres, but distance learning, informal volunteer-based tuition through the Home Tutor Scheme and self-paced learning through Individual Learning Centres is also funded.

In 1997/98 expenditure on AMEP was \$A98.7 million and 36,941 adult migrants were

³² See DIMA Fact Sheet 71 (available at <http://www.immi.gov.au/facts/71amep.htm>).

assisted. The allocation for 1998/99 was \$94.9 million.

Tuition is open to newly-arrived migrants and humanitarian entrants from overseas, and to people already in Australia who are changing from temporary to permanent resident status. If they are assessed as not having functional English, they are entitled to 510 hours of tuition, or the number of hours it takes to reach functional English, whichever is the lesser. In some circumstances, additional tuition may be provided. Migrants must register for their entitlement within three months of arrival or grant of permanent residence, start tuition within one year, and complete tuition within three years. Deferrals may be authorised in some circumstances.

All migrants who do not pass the Australian Second Language Proficiency Rating test, are charged a 'second instalment' fee as part of their visa application, irrespective of whether they actually take up their English tuition entitlement. The second instalment fee is currently \$4,485 for Business category and Employer Nominated Scheme principal applicants and \$2,240 for all other principal and adult non-principal applicants.

The AMEP programme has recently been evaluated from the migrants' perspective using wave one and wave two LSIA data (Plimer and Jones, 1998). The main findings of this assessment were that:

- 65 percent of poor English speakers had participated in the AMEP and a further 12 percent in other ESL services;
- less than one quarter of participants withdrew before completing their course and those who did withdraw did so mainly for employment or health reasons;
- 98.5 percent of participants said they were satisfied with their course; and
- in the wave two LSIA interviews (18 months after arrival), 47.4 percent of those who initially had poor English skills and who had attended a course reported an improvement in English proficiency, compared with 32.5 percent of poor speakers who had not attended a course.

This last figure is cited by the authors as indicating that the AMEP courses are effective. However, it could be argued that one should be able to expect almost all participants to report an improvement in the language proficiency after attending a course. It also seems surprising that there is such a big disparity between this figure and the very high course satisfaction rating given by participants.

Translating and Interpreting Service (TIS)³³

The Telephone Interpreter Service was originally established in 1973 and was expanded and renamed the Translating and Interpreting Service on the recommendation of the 1978 Galbally Report. The TIS now provides a mix of fee-for-service and free services using professional interpreters and translators in more than 100 languages and dialects.

³³ See DIMA Fact Sheet 68 (available at <http://www.immi.gov.au/facts/67tis.htm>).

Free services include:

- telephone interpreting (using three-way phone facilities) for people wishing to speak with government agencies and certain community organisations;
- some face-to-face interpreting on settlement-related matters and for such things as medical consultations; and
- personal document translation for migrants during their first two years' residence.

Commercial translation and interpreter services are provided to individuals, private firms, and government and community organisations on a user-pays basis.

The TIS operates a 24-hour, seven-day a week telephone translator service across Australia. This is designed to ensure all non-English speakers can access urgent medical and other services at any time.

The TIS has been reviewed or assessed several times (see Holton and Sloan, 1994: 325). One issue raised is that of the appropriate balance between interpreting services on the one hand and English as a second language training and bilingual training for professionals on the other, given that interpreting services are often unavoidably slow and cumbersome. Another issue raised was that of women's access to TIS services, especially for issues such as medical consultations, domestic violence and sexual assault. This appears to have been addressed by the TIS which now offers women female interpreters if they wish. Sixty percent of all its interpreters are female.

Despite these issues, Australia still appears to regard the provision of translator and interpreter services as an important part of its menu of services for non-English speaking migrants within the context of its wider policies of multiculturalism and 'access and equity' plans.

Migrant Resource Centres (MRCs)³⁴

The Migrant Resource Centres were established at the recommendation of the 1978 Galbally Report as a means of stimulating local service provision and ethnic community organisation in under-resourced localities (Holton and Sloan, 1994: 330). Their role initially included information provision, referral of clients to other agencies, provision of resources such as libraries and meeting rooms and support for community groups. From the mid-1980s their functions were expanded to include follow-up of new migrants and direct service provision.

There are currently 30 MRCs, plus three outreach services and two agencies. In 1998/99 DIMA allocated a total of \$8.75 million for MRCs.

There appears to be an ongoing debate as to the effectiveness and impact of the MRC structure. The 1986 Jupp report took the view that they were needs-based in their approach and assisted in articulating proposals for funding on the basis of perceived

³⁴ See DIMA Fact Sheet 68 (available at <http://www.immi.gov.au/facts/68grants.htm>).

migrant need. The National Migrant Resource Centre Working Party's 1988 report also emphasised the MRCs' positive role in helping meet the otherwise unmet needs of migrants. Others, however, have argued that, because MRCs run counter to a mainstreaming approach to service provision, they 'represent a lost opportunity for an effective and co-ordinated social welfare presence.'³⁵

Holton and Sloan (1994: 330) comment that the MRCs have been under-researched and 'a more systematic assessment' is required before policy disagreements about their value can be settled. In the five years since that was written, it does not appear that any such evaluation has been published.

Two incidental pieces of evidence about the effectiveness of the MRCs both cast some doubt on their value as a source of information. First, the *Report on the Survey of Sponsors and Proposers* (DIMA, 1998) showed that only 12 out of 112 respondents obtained their knowledge on how to help a newly-arrived migrant or refugee from an MRC. Proposers under the Refugee/Special Humanitarian Programme were however more likely to use an MRC (seven out of 30 respondents).

Second, data from the first wave of LSIA interviews, approximately six months after arrival, show that only five percent of all principal applicants had received assistance from MRCs while seven percent had had contact with a Resource Centre (DIMA, 1997). By way of comparison, 16 percent had had contact with a religious organisation or church, and five percent had received assistance through a church.

Community Settlement Services Scheme³⁶

Under this scheme worker-based and project-based grants are made to community organisations. Worker-based awards are made to 'encourage ethnic and other community organisations to initiate, manage and promote services which help in the successful settlement of migrants, particularly those recently arrived and from non-English speaking backgrounds' (DIMA Fact Sheet 68). The awards are to help employ specialist social and welfare workers to deliver settlement services. Project-based awards are intended to complement the worker-based grants and aim to improve the design, planning and delivery of settlement services for non-English speaking background migrants.

In 1998/99, 301 full-time equivalent worker-based awards were operating, with a total annual value of \$14.84 million. The total value of project-based awards was \$4.5 million. In both cases, part of the funding was from the Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy, with the rest coming from DIMA. There do not appear to have been any evaluations of the operation or effectiveness of the Community Settlement Services Scheme.

³⁵ Cox, D. R., 1987, *Migration and Welfare: An Australian Perspective*, Sydney, Prentice-Hall, cited in Holton and Sloan (1994: 330).

³⁶ See DIMA Fact Sheet 68 (available at <http://www.immi.gov.au/facts/68grants.htm>).

5.3 Canada

Like Australia, Canada has provided a range of settlement services for migrants and refugees for at least the last three decades. Despite some rationalisation and budgetary constraints during the 1980s, expenditure on language training was increased with the introduction of the Language Instruction for Newcomers programme (Lanphier and Lukomskyj, 1994: 347). Funding of community groups was also increased. These moves reflect first, the acceptance in Canada that funding of immigrant settlement assistance is a federal responsibility and second, the emphasis on achieving multiculturalist objectives through language assistance and close involvement of the wider community.

The main Canadian settlement service programmes are outlined below. No published evaluations of these programmes have been located for this report, although it is likely that internal reviews by officials have been conducted.

Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP)

The ISAP funds not-for-profit and educational organisations to provide immigrants with the essential bridging services to facilitate their access to community services. Although originally focused on services to refugees, the ISAP was extended at the beginning of the 1990s to assist all permanent residents and those about to become permanent residents.

Services funded under ISAP include reception and orientation; translation and interpretation; paraprofessional counselling; referral to mainstream services and employment-related activities such as job-finding clubs, CV preparation and interview techniques.

ISAP also funds projects designed to complement or improve the delivery of settlement services. These include planning improvements for the delivery of settlement programmes, research projects on settlement and immigration integration, seminars and conferences to share information about settlement and integration activities, and training of ISAP workers.

Federal expenditure on the ISAP program in 1997/98 was estimated to be \$14.3 million.

Language Instruction for Newcomers (LINC)

The LINC programme was established in the early 1990s, replacing and augmenting previous English and French language training for migrants. The objectives of the programme are to 'facilitate the social, cultural and economic integration of immigrants and refugees into Canada by providing basic language instruction.' All new immigrants older than the legal school-leaving age are eligible to participate in LINC training. An individual may participate in LINC for a maximum of three years after the date of beginning training. This is to allow flexibility in meeting family,

medical, employment and other commitments.

Training is provided by LINC 'partners,' which may be educational institutions, non-government organisations, private sector businesses, community groups and provincial and local governments. These organisations apply to Citizenship and Immigration Canada for funding on a year-by-year project basis. Trainers must meet set quality standards and trainees' language proficiency must be assessed under the Canadian Language Benchmarks Assessment as the first step in the programme.

Funding covers wages, administration, assessment and overhead costs and there is also provision for contributions towards operating childcare services for trainees' children and for transportation.

All participants receive a formal accreditation at the end of their training.

Estimated 1997/98 expenditure on the LINC programme was \$101.943 million.

The Host Program

The Host Program funds community organisations to recruit, train, match and monitor Canadians who volunteer to serve as 'hosts' to newly arrived immigrants. Volunteers familiar with Canadian ways help newcomers learn about available services and how to use them, practise English or French, get contacts in their field of work and participate in the community.

The Host Program is designed not only to harness the energy and goodwill of volunteers, it also fits specifically within the Canadian framework of multiculturalism. The publicity and other material for the Program emphasises the benefits to volunteers of the opportunity of making new friends and learning about a new culture.

The estimated 1997/98 expenditure on the Host Program was \$2.2 million.

Adjustment Assistance Program (AAP)

The AAP provides cash assistance and immigrant reception housing to needy immigrants in their first 12 months after arriving in Canada. Although open to all migrants its effective focus is on assisting quota refugees (Lanphier and Lukomskyj, 1994: 346). The Immigrant Reception Centres are funded under AAP.

The estimated 1997/98 expenditure on AAP was \$45.79 million.

5.4 The United States

The provision of settlement services in the United States differs from Australia and Canada in that, while it is mostly funded at federal level, there are no national programmes. Different services are provided in different states and cities. It is therefore not possible to list a small number of nationwide settlement programmes.

Bach (1992: 155-6) notes that, historically, federal assistance for immigrant settlement was based on funding of specific localities with high concentrations of new migrants. For example the 1966 Cuban Adjustment Act, provided (amongst other things) for federal aid to local communities on the basis of perceived impact.

The one area where assistance is centralised is for refugees. The 1980 Refugee Act established the Office of Refugee Resettlement and provided for a set of programmes to help refugees achieve economic self-sufficiency. These included a full range of employment training and placement, and English language training programmes and cash assistance (Bach, 1992: 156).

Bach concludes by noting that the United States Government is now more involved in settlement policies than at any time in the past. However, he comments that the federal funding/local provision split creates a paradox, whereby those seeking to assist migrants must compete vociferously for funds while at the same time the supporters of immigration argue that it is virtually cost-free (1992: 162).

5.5 Israel³⁷

Of all the major migrant-receiving countries, Israel has the most comprehensive and generous set of settlement services for new migrants. The focus is on government provision of a range of services designed to ensure the rapid and effective integration of substantial numbers of immigrants. These policies are directly related to the post-war development of modern Israel as a Jewish state.

Services are provided by the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption (MOIA), which is responsible for the economic, occupational, social and cultural integration of immigrants during their first three years in Israel (housing-aid eligibility lasts five years). The Ministry also has a role in encouraging others — public institutions, volunteer organisations and students — to promote immigrant absorption.

In the last few years Israeli settlement policy has moved away from a highly directive ‘manpower planning’ approach to what is called ‘direct absorption.’ Under direct absorption, immigrants integrate themselves as they wish rather than being directed by absorption clerks to places and ways of life not necessarily suited to them. Direct absorption is described by the MOIA as having five aspects:

- freedom of choice;
- provision of resources;
- assistance at specified intervals;
- the influence of relatives on immigrants and their integration; and
- the impact of Israeli society and the immigrant’s exposure to everyday life.

³⁷ Information on Israeli settlement services is drawn primarily from the websites of the Israeli Ministries of Immigrant Absorption and Foreign Affairs (<http://www.moia.gov.il> and <http://www.israel.mfa.gov.il> respectively).

Direct absorption is intended to promote receptiveness in society, so that informal absorption systems provide a range of services alongside the formal system. The previous more interventionist approach is still used 'for a small proportion of immigrants who lack the emotional strength and social assistance to cope with their unfamiliarity with the language and mentality of Israel' as well as for the elderly, the ill, and other high-risk groups of immigrants (Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

Key features of the Israeli system are described below.

The 'Absorption Basket'

The 'Absorption Basket' is a series of direct payments made to all new migrants during their first three years in Israel. Up to 20 percent of the first year's allowance is paid out at the airport at the time of arrival.

The absorption basket is intended to meet new immigrants' basic needs:

- initial absorption — hotel accommodation, basic expenses, and apartment-hunting;
- rent for the first 12 months;
- assistance with housing expenses (taxes, utilities, and so on);
- living expenses for the first half-year, covering the period of Hebrew-language studies;
- costs of children's education; and
- purchase of basic furnishings.

The total value of the absorption basket is 35,460 shekels (approximately \$NZ16,400) for a two-parent family or couple.

Hebrew language training

As part of social and economic integration, emphasis is placed on non-Hebrew speaking migrants learning Hebrew. Training is provided through designated language classes (called ulpanim). As with English language proficiency in countries where English is the dominant language, proficiency in Hebrew has been shown to be associated with more rapid labour market integration and better occupational retention especially among more highly qualified migrants (Beenstock and ben Menahem, 1997).

The ulpanim are five-month courses operated by the Ministry's Employment Absorption Department in conjunction with the Ministry of Education and Culture. The ulpanim are also used as an opportunity to address individuals' settlement difficulties as they arise and are closely linked in with employment placement and job search activities.

Employment absorption

The Employment Absorption Department is also responsible for a wide range of other services to migrants. These include:

- translation and verification of qualifications;
- job placement services;
- vocational training and retraining courses for migrants;
- vocational guidance and referral;
- development of specific occupational employment plans;
- direct involvement in industrial projects to employ new migrants;
- employment subsidies for new migrants and assistance for migrants setting up new businesses; and
- specific programmes such as the Centre for the Absorption of Scientists.

The Ministry of Immigrant Absorption also has three other departments:

- the *Housing Absorption Department*, which provides a range of housing assistance measures, including temporary accommodation and financial assistance;
- the *Social Integration Department*, responsible for cultural and social aspects of integration within a multiculturalist framework and for encouraging a positive view of immigration and new migrants among the already resident population; and
- the *Welfare Absorption Department*, which has four sections: Prisoners of Zion, Education, Soldiers, and Health Services.

The absorption period is regarded as three years, except for housing and social integration, during which time the MOIA has primary responsibility for settlement but works in co-operation with mainstream government ministries.

5.6 New Zealand

By comparison with the other major migrant-receiving countries New Zealand provides only limited publicly-funded settlement services for migrants. Historically, the combination of high employment levels and a focus on English-speaking migrants meant the need for specific settlement services was low. The only large wave of non-English speaking background migrants in the period from 1945 to 1991 was that of Pacific Islands peoples in the 1960s and 1970s.³⁸ This group was encouraged to migrate to fill semi-skilled job vacancies. Language proficiency was not considered a high priority in such employment. An active state house-building programme was

³⁸ There was also a period of government-assisted Dutch migration, but the number of migrants was relatively smaller.

effectively a settlement assistance programme, applying to both Pacific Island migrants and the large number of mainly Māori internal rural-urban migrants.

The Refugee Reception Centre

The one area where New Zealand does have a long-standing direct involvement in settlement is in respect of quota refugees. All refugees arriving in New Zealand as part of the annual quota (as distinct from asylum seekers) are given a six-week live-in orientation course at the Refugee Reception Centre in Mangere. As well as basic orientation training, the course provides non-English speaking refugees with some language classes.

The Centre also provides a number of other initial resettlement services for refugees. These include medical and dental screening and treatment and counselling if required, assistance with accessing social welfare entitlements and also connecting refugees with community sponsors in their locality.

The New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS) and the Community Funding Agency also purchase some refugee support services from the Refugee and Migrant Service.

In the 1997/98 year, 844 refugees passed through the Reception Centre. In the same year the total NZIS Refugee Quota Branch cost to government was \$2.4 million.

The Settlement Information Programme

The changes in policy that led to a much greater diversity in migrant source countries brought with them recognition of a greater need for providing migrants with settlement-related information. This is funded by means of the Settlement Information Fee, which is currently \$90 per principal applicant.

The Settlement Information Programme has two strands. First, the provision of pre-arrival information that will help potential migrants prepare for life in New Zealand. Second, ongoing post-arrival information for those that want it, which is focused on informing migrants about how to access services, find employment, and so on.

As part of the Programme NZIS provides new migrants with a Settlement Kit consisting of information about eight different areas of life in New Zealand (accommodation, employment, etc). It has also produced specific booklets targeted at older migrants and teenagers.

NZIS also publishes and distributes a quarterly magazine, *Linkz*, available to all migrants for a period of up to two years after arrival.

Other publications also include the *National Ethnic Communities Directory* (in a printed and an internet version) and *The Local Government Migrant Services Guide*.

Total expenditure on the Settlement Information Programme in 1997/98 was \$0.89 million.

Language training

New Zealand does not provide English language training for adult non-English speaking migrants. Instead the approach currently taken is to make a certain level of English proficiency (International English Language Testing System (IELTS) level 5) a prerequisite for General Skills principal and non-principal applicants, with the non-principal applicants having the option of pre-purchasing language training. Business Investor category applicants are required to meet IELTS level 4 and if they do not both principal and non-principal applicants may pre-purchase English language training instead.

Pre-purchase charges range from \$1,700 to \$6,650 per person depending on IELTS score. The pre-purchase contract is administered through Skill New Zealand and training is provided by a range of educational institutions and private training providers. It is up to the migrant whether they actually take up the training.

Migrants granted residence under the non-economic categories (Family and Humanitarian) are not required to purchase English language training and are not provided with any training after arrival.

In 1996 the New Zealand Employment Service (NZES) established a small targeted English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) programme for long-term unemployed tertiary qualified migrants whose lack of English proficiency was regarded as a barrier to employment. These courses, known as the *ESOL for Professionals Programme*, are 18 weeks long, with approximately 25 hours of tuition each week. Part of the course time was devoted to work experience. In 1996/97, 294 students attended the programme, with a further 210 participating in the following year.

An evaluation of this programme (NZES, 1998), showed that, compared with a similar group of registered unemployed non-English speaking background non-participants, programme participants were significantly more likely to move into training or employment after completing the course. Surveys of participants, training providers and NZES Employment Advisers showed that all three groups thought the programme's effectiveness could be improved by lengthening the period of language training.

In 1998/99, \$8.1 million was provided for ESOL courses in the school sector and \$1.7 million of post-compulsory education ESOL training was purchased from the National Association of Home Tutors, which provides one-on-one adult literacy assistance. The Migrant Levy is also used to fund aspects of English language training for migrants.

6. Conclusion

The objective of this literature review is to produce a report that will assist the New Zealand Immigration Service in operationalising policy concepts, developing frameworks for indicators of settlement and describing factors affecting migrant settlement.

It is clear from the literature that migration and settlement are undergoing change as a result of technological, economic and demographic factors. The characteristics, and hence the settlement needs, of the New Zealand migrant intake have also changed dramatically in the last decade, principally as a result of selection policy changes.

The challenge facing policy-makers now is to develop settlement policies that respond to these changes and that reinforce the overall objectives of immigration policy. How effectively that challenge is met will play a big part in determining how much New Zealand and New Zealanders gain from immigration. It will also affect the way New Zealand's multicultural society evolves and develops.

A critical need is for better knowledge about the processes and dynamics of settlement. The recent decision to conduct a longitudinal survey of new migrants will go a long way towards addressing that need. The survey has the potential to provide detailed information on how migrants settle in their first three years after arrival, what barriers they face and what factors are most crucial in ensuring good settlement.

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