

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Setting the Scene

Current migration flows in the Asia-Pacific emphasise migration trends reflecting long-term shifts in the region. Prior to the Second World War, mainly British migrants came to New Zealand (NZ) as settlers. European women largely travelled as ‘associational’ migrants, travelling with ‘principal’ male migrants as spouses, to help establish the settlement. This picture has changed in the last three decades. Declining fertility levels and a demand for professionals and skilled migrants has led to a competition among countries in the region for human talent.

That talent is largely available within the region in Asia, one of the most habited places on earth. Approximately, 57.7percent of the world’s population lives in the Asia-Pacific region and just three of its countries (China, India and Indonesia) account for 40percent of the world’s population. This region has experienced considerable demographic changes as a consequence of social and economic transformation. Thousands of people migrated from China, Japan and India during the 19th and 20th centuries, creating diasporic community networks and connections across the world, initiating modern skilled migration (Vertovec 2002: 3; 2005: 3).

As labour-sending countries in the region increase their share of skilled migrant

workers (Martin 2009: 3), an important emerging trend is the growing need for skilled human capital in India, Japan, Singapore, Taiwan, Korea, and Malaysia as these countries actively compete for skilled professionals, introducing residence regimes for this category (Castles and Miller 2009: online). Both the Australian and the NZ governments have used economic criteria to view migration and use sophisticated immigration programmes to source highly educated and skilled migrants to meet labour market shortfalls and sustain their economies (Iredale 1999: 95).

Human capital is obviously the most important asset for countries in the region, with those that have the best resources in terms of human capital and talent achieving the highest rates of economic growth (Iredale 2004: 2). The NZ government sets out to attract highly skilled immigrants each year through an immigration programme that is reviewed and revised as needed (see Appendix D - Timeline of Policy Changes). While migrants generally enter NZ through various streams, skilled migrants and their families enter NZ through the 'permanent' skilled/business migrant stream under various categories (see Chapter 1.5.2). The size of the stream influences the overall gender composition of migration (Didham, Bedford et al. 2007:131).

Modern international migration flows include skilled women in erstwhile male-dominated migration streams (Kofman and Raghuram 2009: 1). This remarkable change is due to a number of factors, chiefly economic development and subsequent changes in gender equations in countries of origin. Women increasingly participating in tertiary education delay marriage and childbearing, making them increasingly skilled and increasingly mobile (Purkayastha 2005:182). As skilled female partners of migrants they are likely to want to work and re-start interrupted careers and professions in the country of destination. Badkar, Callister et al (2007: 2) indicate a

dramatic rise in numbers of well-educated women particularly in Asian skilled migration flows to NZ. Asian skilled migration has been a topic for much research in NZ in recent times (Ho, Au et al. 2003; Pio 2007; Badkar, Callister et al. 2007a; Bedford and Ho 2008; Friesen 2008). This study's focus is on the migration of Indian women spouses as secondary migrants to NZ.

1.2 Significance of this Study

This study offers an understanding of the complex dilemmas faced by skilled Indian women who migrate as spouses to NZ. It examines the consequences of their migration and the impact of policy, race, gender and state institutions on their occupational and social mobility.

While Indian women migrate both as principal applicants and as dependants (Badkar, Callister et al. 2007: 12), a review of migration literature reveals a wide gap in our understanding of the settlement challenges faced by skilled secondary applicants, particularly female spouses, in their social and labour market integration. Secondary applicants are defined as those men or women who accompany principal applicant migrants as spouses. This study will be a useful tool for policy and planning with the potential to inform state-run programs on the efficacy/deficiency of support systems and structures that are meant to aid the integration of these immigrants into the labour market.

A review and analysis of NZ's settlement policy framework, its strengths and weaknesses enables a comparison with overseas settlement models. An analysis of government funded migrant resource centres and their effectiveness/limitations in

supporting skilled female spouses also allow comparison between New Zealand and other countries. The complexity of the migration process, the heterogeneous backgrounds of migrants and the yet un-researched differential migration experiences of men and women make such analyses difficult in NZ. However ‘gender-neutral or gender-blind policies are rarely neutral in their effects on disadvantaged groups’ (Fincher, Foster et al. 1994: 2) and contribute towards the economic and social outcomes for women that migrate as spouses. This thesis will provide a realistic picture of the situation of this group of women migrants in New Zealand and the challenges they face.

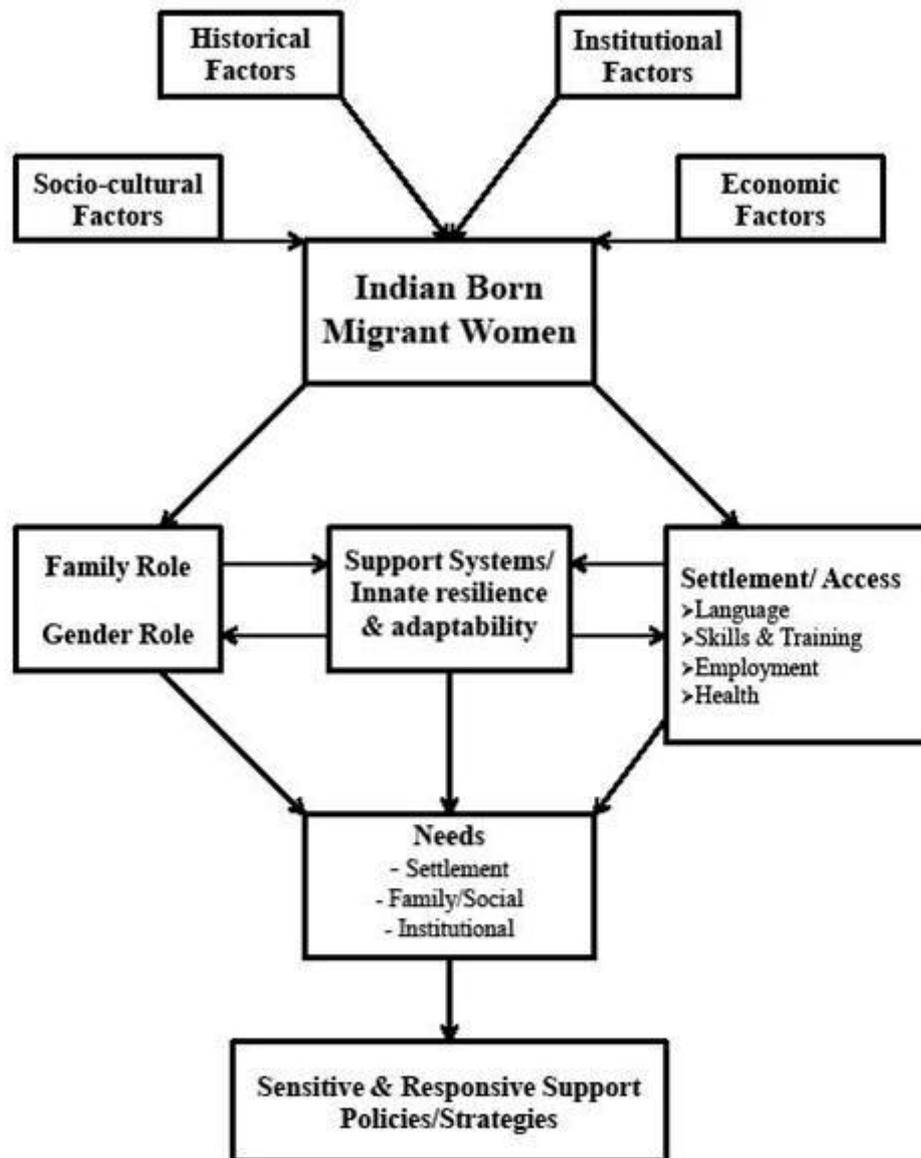
1.3 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this study is illustrated in Figure 1.1 and encompasses all its aspects. The conceptual framework summarises and illustrates the means through which the process of integration is to be critically examined and the process by which data is effectively gathered and organised. At the same time it demonstrates the relationship between the women, the socio-cultural, economic, gender and institutional factors that influence their post-migration experiences on one hand and the methods/resources utilised to deal with their challenges on the other.

The starting point in conceptual terms, involves a number of major determinants underpinning the women’s post-migration experiences, namely the socio-cultural, institutional and gender-based factors that are in reality inter-related and contribute to their economic and social integration. Further, the socio-cultural and family structures within which Indian women exist, the institutional structures that affect their status and their settlement realities are closely linked with their status within those structures

- a composite of variables dependent on income and degree of support the women can generate. Due to the complexity of the institutional, family and societal structures that Indian women generally operate in, historical variables alone are inconclusive when explaining the relationship between the socio-cultural and socio-economic stressors and settlement outcomes (labour force participation, social integration etc). This model serves as a structural framework to help organise concepts pertinent to this study and the relationships between them.

Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework of the Relationship between Indian Migrant Women, Socio-Cultural and Socio-Economic Stressors and Settlement Needs



1.4 Overall Research Aims and Objectives

Skilled migration and the effective and speedy integration of migrants, their spouses and families is critical to NZ's economy. However, there is a dearth of information to help us understand the settlement trajectories of women that migrate as dependent spouses of skilled migrants, in spite of the fact that around 50 percent of skilled migrants that pass through the skilled/business stream of the New Zealand Residence

Program (NZRP) are women (see Table 4.2, Pg.100 and Table 4.5, Pg. 103). Furthermore, there is an increasing presence of skilled women in Asian migration flows and little is known on their integration outcomes (Badkar, Callister et al. 2007:

2). This thesis, thus, has the following specific objectives:

- 1) To analyse Indian skilled migration to NZ with special focus on Indian spouse migration between the years 1998 and 2008 and to document the women's experiences post-migration, especially their social and labour market integration. This will include the building of a comprehensive profile, including their educational levels, their language comprehension, their family and social networks, their labour market accessibility and challenges as well as their perceptions about the benefits and disadvantages of migration.
- 2) To examine the NZ government's recent and historical immigration policies, document any changes and trace the extent to which these shape the ethnic profile of NZ's skilled immigration flows with special focus on Indian skilled migrants in NZ, skilled migrant intakes and the spouse migration process;
- 3) To analyse the NZ government's policies and frameworks in relation to supporting the settlement of skilled migrants and their families and for gender responsiveness with suggestions for making support systems more gender responsive;
- 4) To analyse the efficacy of NZ's settlement services with focus on skilled women spouses. This will include an analysis of cross-regional migrant support structures and networks including local migrant resource centres, civic organizations and local, regional and cross regional government-run migrant networks.

This thesis is grounded in my own migration journey from India to NZ some eight years ago. Specifically it details my work experiences in settlement, initially as the Settlement Support Coordinator at the Auckland Regional Migrant Services in Auckland from 2005 to 2008 and subsequently as Senior Analyst at the Department of Labour's Settlement Division. My thesis is titled 'Indian Women Spouses as Secondary Migrants in New Zealand: Challenges and Missed Opportunities' and is situated within the context of the NZ government's skilled migration preferences in general with focus on Indian skilled migration in particular. My study thus maps the settlement experiences of migrant spouses in NZ. The study will also provide a better understanding into the challenges faced by the settlement sector especially with regards to the settlement and integration of skilled spouses.

1.5 Immigration and Changing Government Policies in New Zealand

NZ's immigration policies have profoundly shaped the growth and character of the nation's population. This chapter documents the evolution of NZ's immigration policy over the last two centuries, showing how successive governments have adjusted key selection criteria such as human capital, race and ethnicity, to meet the country's political, economic and cultural objectives.

NZ's migration history has been closely tied to its government's economic objectives. The main focus of NZ immigration policy since the Immigration Act of 1987 has been the sourcing of human capital on the basis of NZ's current occupational shortages (Clydesdale 2008: 2). The Immigration Act of 1987 dramatically changed the skill profile of NZ's migrants. Prior to the Second World War, the demand for unskilled labour for the construction and manufacturing industry generated waves of low-

skilled migration (Philips 2008m: online). Since the early 1990s however, NZ's immigration policy is aimed at 'actively' sourcing high quality human capital (New Zealand Department of Labour 2008: 15).

Section 1.5.1 of this chapter documents immigration policy in NZ from 1840 to 1986. It documents policies that restricted entry to particular races that were considered 'undesirable' for much of the nineteenth century. It simultaneously tracks changes in the ethnic profile of migrants as immigrant recruiting strategies and policies were amended. Section 1.5.2 documents the dramatic shift in immigration policy from its focus on race to human capital and its subsequent evolution to its current form. The section also traces the dramatic changes to the ethnic profile of migrants after this radical shift. The last section of this chapter, section 1.5.3, examines the NZ skilled migration policy from the perspective of women. While women migrate as principal applicants today, large numbers continue to migrate as dependent spouses. The NZ immigration selection criteria and preferences for admission disadvantage women and these policies are partly responsible for skilled women migrating as secondary migrants. Chapter Seven shows that the gendered nature of migration has serious implications for migrants' subsequent settlement in NZ.

1.5.1 Early Immigration Policies: 1840 -1986

The overall goal of any immigration policy is to select those migrants that offer the greatest benefits to the country and to its present population. Thus the starting point would be to determine the terms, conditions and even criteria on exactly who those migrants need to be (Glass 2004: 2). The year 1840 is an important year in NZ's history. In this year NZ formally became a part of the British Empire and in this year

the Treaty of Waitangi was signed between Britain and the NZ Maori.¹ The treaty gave British immigrants legal rights as citizens in NZ and ensured that its immigrants would be from the United Kingdom (UK). It was also the year that the New Zealand Company (a company set up to promote the colonisation of NZ) set up operations and the first immigrants arrived (Philips 2009k: online).

The prevailing approach in the early years of NZ immigration history was assimilationism (Fletcher 1999: 7) and NZ, like Canada, Australia and the United States (US) restricted entry to immigrants of Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Celtic origin namely the English, the Scots, the Irish and the Welsh. Thus until 1971, ‘making NZ British’ was the goal (Philips 2009n: online).

The early 19th century saw a demand for young, able-bodied male farm labour, mechanics, trades-people and soldiers and the New Zealand Company set about vigorously promoting NZ in Britain. Around 14,000 of the 18,000 settlers who came from Britain were brought in by the Company and by 1852 there were 28,000 European settlers in NZ (Philips 2009n: online). This was the first organised immigration operation in NZ. However about 100 French and 281 Germans migrated on their own and settled in NZ around this time.

Between 1840 and 1852, assisted migration brought large numbers of migrants and their families to NZ. They were mostly English with a few Scots and Irish. A majority were agricultural workers and mechanics but there were migrants from the upper class as well. They were younger sons of the English gentry, retired military officers,

¹ The Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 by representatives of the indigenous Maori population and of the British Crown. It is seen as NZ's founding document.

professionals such as doctors and spinsters keen to work as governesses or to find husbands (Philips 2009k: online). Table 1.1 presents birthplaces of immigrants living in Auckland compared to those living in other New Zealand Company settlements. While Auckland’s immigrants included Welsh, Irish, Scottish migrants, the other settlements were predominantly English (Philips 2009n: online).

Table 1.1: Auckland and NZ Company settlers by country of origin, 1840 – 1852

Auckland Settlers 1842-1852		
	Ireland	35.9%
	Wales	0.8%
	Scotland	17.6%
	England	45.7%
NZ Company Settlers 1840-1850		
	Ireland	1.8%
	Wales	1.0%
	Scotland	15.1%
	England	82.1%
Centerbury Assisted Settlers from United Kingdom 1854-1870		
	Ireland	22.1%
	Wales	1.4%
	Scotland	19.9%
	England	56.6%

Source: Jock Phillips (2008), online.

In 1854, provincial governments were given the responsibility of securing migrants. They offered free assisted passage for unskilled migrant labour that was highly in demand at the time. Auckland even offered land grants. Thus agricultural labourers, builders, bricklayers or masons from England, Scotland and Ireland migrated to NZ under the scheme. Single women migrants, highly in demand to even the sex ratio and as wives and domestic servants were offered free passage. The small number of ‘nominated migrants’ were people nominated by friends and family in NZ (Philips

2009i: online). Between 1858 and 1868, assisted passages (and land) were offered to Irish, South African, Canadian and Bohemian migrants to settle in Auckland and a total of 14,516 land orders were issued (Philips 2009h: online). The wars with Maori tribes brought in military families and soldiers and 4,000 Irish migrants with families were settled in the Waikato on Maori land. Also 6,382 people were recruited for the Waikato militia. British and Irish soldiers were offered Crown land and a total of 7,692 soldiers acquired 350,000 acres around Auckland (2008h:online).

In 1857 gold was discovered in Otago and by 1862 there were 22,000 miners to work the gold fields. NZ's first non-traditional or non-white migrants, the Chinese, migrated to NZ (Philips 2009f: online) at this time. By 1869, there were around 2000 Chinese men in NZ and there were calls to restrict their entry. The Chinese Immigrants Act was passed by the NZ government in 1881. It was the earliest of a long line of such Acts that restricted the entry of non-white, non-British immigrants (Beaglehole 2009b: online). Thus seven Immigration Acts were passed between 1899 and 1831 aimed at keeping out Chinese, Indian and later, other non-European, non-British migrants. Besides these restrictions a poll tax of £100 was imposed on Chinese migrants on entry.

The objective of these restrictions and a 'White NZ' policy favouring 'white' settlers was to ensure that potential immigrants did not markedly differ from the mainstream (white) population either socially or culturally (Fletcher 1999: 17). There was widespread apprehension concerning the 'mixing' of races or 'miscegenation' and the restrictions garnered wide support from the NZ public. This 'assimilationist' view of immigration and settlement was one very much in vogue in the other 'new

economies' of Australia, Canada and the US for a large part of the 20th century (Fletcher 1999: 17).

The restrictions continued till the 1970s but the first steps (in principle) to a non-discriminatory policy were taken in 1961 with the launch of the Immigration Amendment Act 1961. It was the first time that NZ put people of British and non-British parentage through the same process to enter NZ (Beaglehole 2009b: online). The NZ government's early immigration policies for women were completely different from the way modern policies perceive women. Women were allowed to sign promissory notes for £5 payable on the same conditions as married couples and families if unable to pay the fare (Philips 2009o: online). However, women entering NZ as wives of migrants were not granted independent citizenship. The 1923 Immigration Act changed this and women were allowed to retain their citizenship, independent of men (Beaglehole 2009c: online).

The assisted migration schemes designed to keep NZ 'white' were difficult to sustain. Government schemes such as the Colombo Plan brought young Malaysian, Thai and Indonesian students into NZ and by 1971 there were 3,000 Malaysians in the country. Also NZ's political responsibilities, as coloniser of the islands in the South Pacific, facilitated the entry of over 50,000 migrants by 1972. Thus Cook Islanders, Samoans, Tokelauans and Niueans entered NZ at this time. Women worked as domestic servants while men worked as unskilled labourers in factories (Philips 2008c:online).

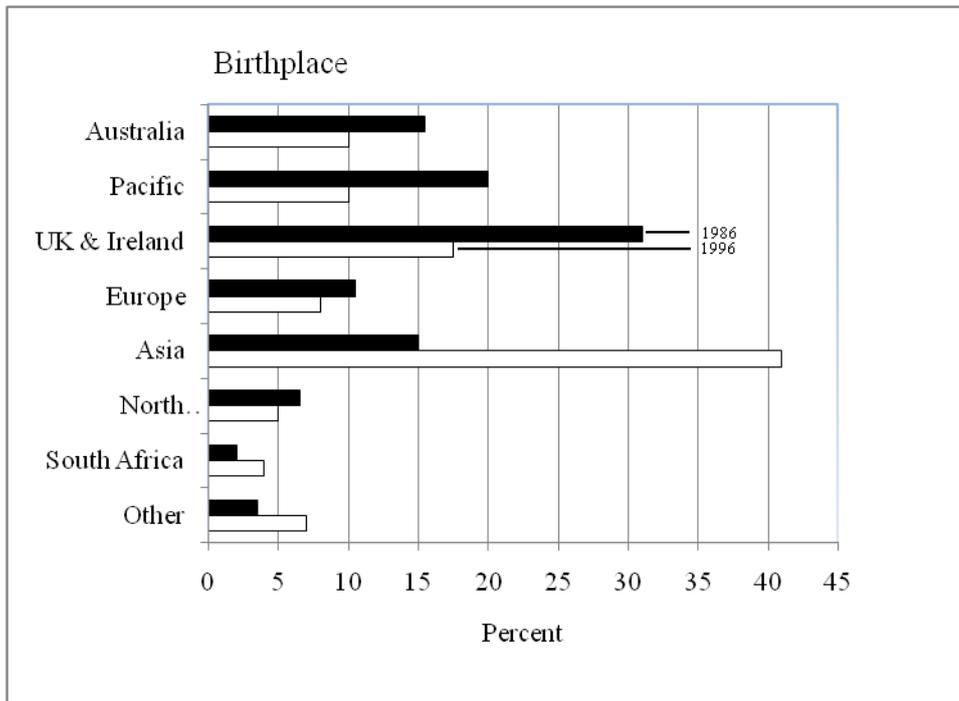
Assimilation had begun to be questioned as a model for migrant settlement in the late 1960s (Fletcher 1999: 17). In 1978 the 'Galbally Report' in Australia was the first to

propose multiculturalism as an option and Australia, concerned with long-term settlement, formally launched policies of multiculturalism. Taking Australia's lead, other migration destination countries including NZ began reviewing their own immigration policies (Fletcher 1999: 17).

The 1974 Immigration Policy Review acknowledged that NZ's future lay with Asia and the Pacific. For the first time, British and Irish migrants were required to apply for entry into NZ. In 1978 the first of the skilled migration policies took effect. People could enter NZ under occupation, family reunification or humanitarian considerations. Provision was also made for business migrants with skills and capital, and people distinguished in the arts, sciences or public life (Philips 2008c:online). In effect, this was NZ's first skilled migration policy

Figure 1.2 indicates the changes to the ethnic profile of NZ in the ten years between 1986 and 1996, before and after major revisions were made to the immigration policy. The three main sources of immigrants in 1986 were from the British Isles with 30.4 percent, the Pacific with 19.4 percent and Australia with 15.1 percent. By 1996 the top three source regions had become Asia with 40.8 percent, the British Isles with 17.0 percent and the Pacific with 10.1 percent (Statistics New Zealand 1997:29).

Figure 1.2 New Immigrants-1986 and 1996 Censuses: By Place of Birth



Source: Statistic New Zealand (1997), p. 29.

The review of the NZ government's immigration policy in 1986 and the introduction of the 'points' system in 1991, regulated migration flows to NZ and made the country more accessible to migrants with education and skills. The revision of migration policies resulted in dramatic changes to the composition of migration flows to NZ. For the first time, NZ saw large numbers of skilled migrants from non-traditional source countries. Until 1986, NZ had remained a largely 'white' British colony. The Immigration Act changed that and then began the 'browning' of NZ. The next section will examine the changes to the NZ government's immigration policy post-1987 and document its effects on the ethnic profile of its migration flows.

1.5.2. The Shift to Skilled Migration: Post-1987

The Immigration Policy Review of 1986 was a clean break from the way the NZ government admitted migrants. It brought to an end NZ's 'whites only' immigration

policy and opened the door to non-British migrants with high levels of education and work experience. The Immigration Act of 1987 that followed the review defined NZ's first immigration policy that was purely focused on human capital. The objectives of the new Act were skills and investment. An Occupational Priority List (OPL), guided selection criteria and migrants were required to have a firm job offer to qualify (Beaglehole 2009e: online).

The immigration policy revision of 1987 owes little to social enlightenment. Rather, NZ's physical distance from the UK and the fact that the UK was increasingly bound to its European neighbours spurred the NZ government to tie its future with that of its near neighbours in the Asia-Pacific region (Castles and Miller 2009: online). Technological advances in the rest of the world and NZ's own lack of specialised skills and the availability of those skills virtually at its own door-step in Asia and the Pacific, influenced the radical changes (Kasper 1990: online).

In 1991 the NZ government introduced the points test which replaced the occupational priority list. In 1992 and 1993, the new immigration policy was marketed in Britain and certain Asian countries and promptly saw an increase in residence applications. Between 1992 and 1996 a total of 75,838 migrants were approved for residence (Farmer 1996: online). Figure 1.2 summarises the earliest Asian groups to enter NZ in skilled migration streams. A total of 21 nationality groups participated in the migration flows and with nine Asian countries, made up an average of 52.3 per cent of the total approvals. The single largest Asian country of origin was Taiwan which made up 14 percent of approvals. Other significant sources

were Hong Kong and South Africa, reflecting their political environments at the time (Farmer 1996: online).

Table 1.2: Asians approved for residence by nationality, New Zealand, 1992 – 93 to 1995 – 96.

Nationality	1992-93		1993-94		1994-95		1995-96	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	28,465	100	30,887	100	46,649	100	57,520	100
Asia Total	15,231	53.4	14,037	45.4	19,506	47.4	33,443	58.1
North Asia								
China	2,457	8.6	1,896	6.1	4,823	10.3	5,520	9.6
Hong Kong	3,671	12.9	2,786	9	2,605	5.6	2,893	5
Japan	343	1.2	267	0.9	281	0.6	359	0.6
Korea (South)	2,397	8.4	3,327	10.8	3,741	8	3,725	6.5
Taiwan	2,553	9	2,748	8.9	6,019	12.9	14,438	25.1
South Asia								
Bangladesh	67	0.2	144	0.5	532	1.1	1,097	1.9
India	1,009	3.5	1,336	4.3	2,615	5.6	3,569	6.2
Southeast Asia								
Malaysia	2,156	7.6	1,057	3.4	774	1.7	564	1
Philippines	578	2	476	1.5	731	1.6	1,278	2.2

Note: 1) Data are extracted from tables titled 'Persons approved for residence by nationality, New Zealand, 1992-93 to 1995 from the source. 2) Total includes total migrants from all nationalities

Source: Ruth S.J. Farmer (1996), online.

Census 1996 figures corroborate that New Zealand was already very multicultural. The census records 'more than 200 separate identities' (Statistics New Zealand 1997: 36) though fewer than 30 ethnic groups had more than 4000 members. Four in five migrants were Europeans making them the largest group in NZ.

There was much hostility towards these 'non-traditional' new migrants. Maori were concerned about the influx of Asian immigrants. Pacific people felt marginalized by the educated and wealthy newcomers and resented them. New Zealanders were incensed by the arrival of highly educated, wealthy and visibly different migrants,

particularly in Auckland (Farmer 1996: online). Many of the wealthier Asians were seen to settle their families in NZ, returning to their own countries to conduct their businesses. Their numbers allowed them to form communities and enclaves that exist to this day around Auckland, and to establish their own places of worship, shops, restaurants and social rituals. Asian children worked hard at school and this was resented as well (Farmer 1996: online).

However, the new migrants' labour market integration was fraught with challenges and showed poor outcomes (Bedford, Ho et al. 2000: 13). Highly qualified professionals from Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea and South Africa, including medical doctors and engineers, found that their overseas qualifications were not recognized by employers in NZ. Asian migrants especially those from Taiwan and Korea found the English language barrier difficult (Farmer 1996: online). The poor settlement outcomes stimulated much research and discussion (Poot 1993; Winkleman and Winkelman 1998; Basanayake 1999; Fletcher 1999; Bedford, Ho et al. 2000). These studies note the extreme challenges encountered by immigrants and their families during the 1990s. Poor English language proficiency was a key factor in poor settlement outcomes and labour market integration of these new migrants but it was also due to the reluctance of NZ employers to hire diverse people with diverse skills and qualifications (Winkleman and Winkelman 1998; Bedford, Ho et al. 2000; Henderson, Trlin et al. 2006).

The 1995 immigration policy amendment introduced a pass mark which could be adjusted according to yearly quotas and replaced the points system (New Zealand Department of Labour 2007: 5). Selection criteria were tightened for migrants who

wished to enter through the skilled/business stream. A higher level of English (level 5) was made mandatory (Bedford 2003: online) and steep fees were introduced for applicants with inadequate English. Non-principal applicants (those that travelled as dependents) aged 16 years who did not qualify were required to pay a refundable \$20,000 fee. Human capital requirements were revised to obtain broader and more general skills. Higher qualifications were awarded more points and professionals were required to show evidence that they were registered in NZ (Farmer 1996: online). The policy adjustments of 1995 proved too ambitious and few Asians could qualify. The General Skills Category (GSC) and the business category applications declined by 70 percent and 96percent within the first five months compared to 1995 levels (Farmer 1996: online).

Amendments to the immigration policy in 1998 were aimed at attracting business migrants discouraged by the earlier changes. A settlement fee and migrant levy was introduced. Pre-purchase of language courses replaced the language bond. The English language bond for secondary applicants was abolished (Philips 2008l: online). Skilled migrant approvals rebounded and by the 2001 census there were 238,179 Asians in NZ including 100,680 Chinese and 60,000 Indians (Statistics New Zealand 2001: 33). Concern over the rise in numbers of Asian immigrants in settlement centres like Auckland influenced the 2002 and 2003 amendments and was aimed to restrict the inflow of Asian migrants with limited English capabilities (New Zealand Department of Labour 2007: 8).

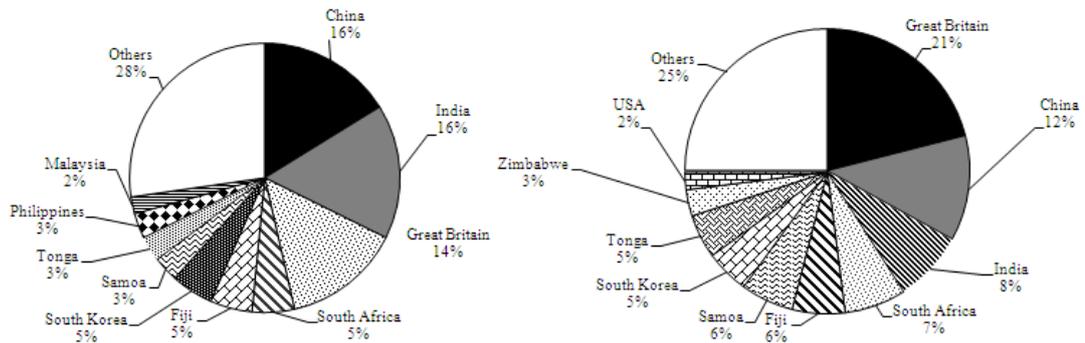
The New Zealand Immigration Programme (NZIP) was launched in 2001. It included three separate residence streams based on skill and family connections. These were

the Skilled/Business Stream that was allocated 60percent of the NZIP, the Family Sponsored Stream with an allocation of 30percent and the International/ Humanitarian Stream with 10percent. A numeric target of permanent residence approvals for each stream was set annually. Changes to the Family Sponsorship category allocated family members, especially partners and dependent children immigration places (New Zealand Department of Labour 2007: 8).

The English language level was raised to International English Language Testing System (IELTS) 6.5 in 2002 and the numbers of Indian and Chinese migrants promptly dropped while numbers of migrants from the UK increased (New Zealand Department of Labour 2004: 2). In 2003 selection criteria were revised, the General Skills Category (GSC) was replaced by the Skilled Migrant Category (SMC) and a points process was introduced. Points were allocated for age, qualifications, employment status, work experience, identified skills shortage and the regional location of any job offer (New Zealand Department of Labour 2007: 8).

These changes saw a radical shift in the ethnic make-up of migrants entering NZ. As Figure 1.3 shows, in 2002/2003, India, UK and China accounted for almost half the approvals at 46percent. However in 2003/2004, the largest source country was UK with 21 percent followed by China (12 percent), and India (8 percent). With the dramatic fall in numbers of migrants from India there was a noticeable shift in the migrant source countries(New Zealand Department of Labour 2004: 22).

**Figure 1.3 Comparison of Residence Approvals by largest source country
2002/2003 (n = 48,538) 2003/2004 (n = 39,017)**



Source: New Zealand Department of Labour (2004), p. 22.

A shortage of skilled labour influenced the 2004 amendments and allowed entry to migrants who met English language requirements and were ‘from comparable job markets’ (Henderson, Trlin et al. 2006: 4).

NZ’s skilled immigration policy continued to evolve during the first decade of the twenty first century reflecting the current political environment and changing labour market. The Immigration Act passed in 2009 has focused on skills, security and settlement (New Zealand Department of Labour 2009: 2) while the current NZRP is adjusted to maintain an annual target of 45,000 to 50,000 places of which 60 percent is reserved for the skilled/business stream. People who wish to migrate permanently to NZ must apply through one of the four residence streams of the NZRP (New Zealand Department of Labour 2010: 4). Thus NZ has continued to revise its immigration policies and its selection criteria which drive the immigration policy’s human capital focus and ‘active’ selection approach designed to attract high-level human capital against global competition.

1.5.3 Consequences of New Zealand Immigration Policies on Female Spouses

Women have been a component of NZ migration flows for over a hundred years. However recent trends in Asian skilled migration suggests that women in skilled migration flows are well educated and highly-skilled causing a flurry of interest (Badkar, Callister et al. 2007; Didham, Bedford et al. 2007) (Pio 2005a: 1285; Badkar, Callister et al. 2007: 2). This section examines the NZ government's immigration policies from the perspective of women in migration flows to NZ.

Early European migrations to NZ were heavily gendered and men outnumbered women. Women migrated either as wives of settlers, as potential wives, or as a source of domestic labour (Philips 2009o: online). Thus female migration to NZ has long been driven by marriage and labour markets. Early immigration policies set separate conditions for women that were based on the belief that women were less likely to participate in making rational migration decisions and that their roles as wives and mothers prevented them from participating in the labour force. The paucity of statistical data and gender-based breakdowns in early immigration studies added to the assumption that women were not 'active' economic contributors and worked mainly in the 'informal economy' of domestic work, as maids, seamstresses and laundry women (Zlotnik 2003: online). Therefore, 'single' women were sought either as brides and wives or domestic help for 'white' settlers. The trend was to source women migrants for 'Cooks, Housemaids, General Servants, Dairy-maids, not under 15 nor over 35 years of age'(Philips 2009p: online). Selection criteria for women at the time specified age, not skills. Women were valued for their offer of marital status and for child-bearing so the preference was for single women. The need for unskilled and semi-skilled workers was supplemented by an active interest in the recruitment of

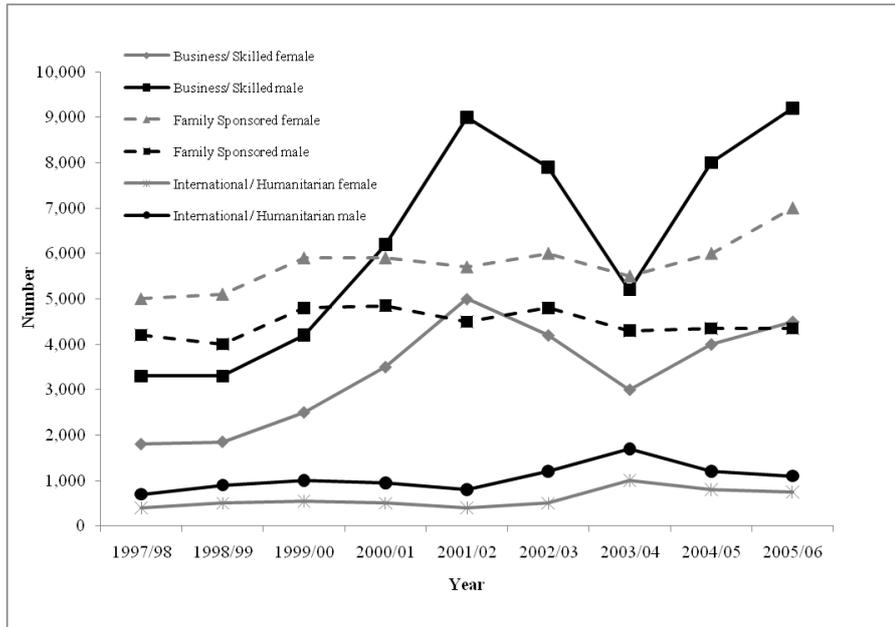
young families for 'permanent' settlement. Thus while the 'able bodied' immigrant male was looked upon as a source of labour, women were considered to be dependent 'housewives' and were relegated to the confines of homes. Their economic contribution to family and society was largely ignored. The image of women as being economically inactive prevailed, thereby influencing migration theories (2009p: online).

This state of affairs regarding women in migration streams to NZ continued till changes in SMC selection criteria under the NZIP in October 2001 awarded points for a skilled job or offer, work experience, qualifications and age (New Zealand Immigration Service 2009: online). For the first time, bonus points were granted in 'certain circumstances' to recognise partners' employment and experience, NZ qualifications and/or employment outside of NZ (New Zealand Department of Labour 2009:237). Skilled women, however, migrated as dependents of principal applicants, with no knowledge of whether their qualifications and work experience were recognised in NZ and whether their skills and qualifications were transferable (Basanayake 1999; Pio 2005a).

The numbers of women in skilled migration flows is dependent on immigration policy. The SMC stream is dominated by men (except China where genders are more balanced) for reasons discussed in Chapter Four. Men have consistently outnumbered women in permanent residence flows between 1998 and 2006 with the female to male ratio being 1:2 (Badkar, Callister et al. 2007: 14). Figure 1.4 shows a fluctuation in numbers of females in skilled migration streams from 2003/2004 when numbers increased closing the gap only to fall back in 2004/2005, increasing again in

2005/2006. The reasons were immigration policy changes in 2002 and 2003 when the SMC was introduced (2007: 13).

Figure 1.4: Trends in male and female migrants entering New Zealand through the three residence streams



Source: Juthika Badkar et al. (2007), p. 18.

The selection criteria that awarded points for skills and work experience under the SMC proved unfavourable to women with the resulting drop in numbers in 2004/2005. However, the changes in the Family Sponsored stream under the NZIP placed priority entry for partners and children of skilled migrants and this boosted numbers of women again in 2005/2006. The gendered effects of NZ immigration policies have yet to be analysed. Further migration research needs to consider gender-based analyses (GBA) of immigration policy alongside qualitative studies that can analyse the effects of education, income, sectoral employment patterns and age on the presence of women in migration streams. This will be discussed in Chapters Six and Seven.

1.6 Summary

Since the Immigration Act of 1987, immigration policy revisions and the selection of migrants in NZ have been guided by a heavy focus on human capital. However, the emphasis on the human capital of the principal applicants who are largely male (Badkar, Callister et al. 2007: 2), has obscured the significant presence of accomplished women in skilled migration flows. While the immigration policies themselves are gender-neutral, the absence of state-funded settlement programmes to fast-track skilled women's labour market integration shows a lack of understanding of the migration challenges that beset such migrant women. Badkar, Callister et al (2007a: 5) admit that 'despite the growing significance of the global feminisation of migration', the increase in numbers of women in Asian skilled migration to NZ has received little research or policy attention.

The NZ government's current immigration policy with its heavy focus on human capital has evolved from a historic race-based policy that favoured migrants from traditional source countries (Britain, Ireland and Scotland). Contemporary immigration to NZ and the shift to skilled migration have major repercussions on its ethnic profile

1.7 Outline of Chapters

This chapter sets the scene for the thesis and introduces the topic, its aims and focus and the NZ government's immigration policies. The chapter provides a historical and contemporary perspective of immigration policies in NZ and outlines the impact of its changes on the profile of its immigrants over the last two centuries. The evolution of NZ's immigration policy is driven by its need for human capital. However, the

subsequent challenge for NZ of maintaining a balance between skills and ethnicity is no mean task and has serious consequences in the maintenance of a socially inclusive and cohesive society. The chapter reviews these changes and presents relevant literature on the evolution of immigration policies while providing essential background information. Immigration policies are known to disadvantage skilled women. The chapter thus presents the NZ government's immigration policy from a gender perspective to set the context for this study.

1.7.1 International Skilled Migration: A Literature Review (Chapter Two)

With globalization and technological innovation, the demand for high-skilled migrant workers in the developed economies has increased over the past decade. Highly-skilled migrants are in high demand not only in the traditional migration-destination countries of Canada, Australia and NZ but many other countries in Western Europe and in the Asia-Pacific region. These countries adopt immigration systems and regulations with the objective of attracting and efficiently employing high-skilled workers towards economic development. However for several reasons, despite their qualification and skills, women are disadvantaged within this global competition for human capital,

Chapter Two firstly presents the definition of high-skilled followed by research approaches and typologies that can categorise international skilled migration. It introduces current literature on various aspects of international skilled migration most relevant to this study and presents a comprehensive review covering demography and stocks of human capital while reviewing the international mobility of high-skilled women. Chapter Two provides context to this thesis and is a reference point from

which to garner understanding on the situation of women who are spouses in international skilled migration flows.

1.7.2 Methodology (Chapter Three)

Chapter Three sets out the methodology that underpins this research. It discusses sources of data, the methods of data collection and their limitations, and the ways in which some of these limitations were overcome. Methods used to analyse data in order to realise the objectives of this research are also described.

The chapter on methodology is based on information that can reflect the full scope of the subject with the purpose of gaining a full understanding of the settlement experiences of Indian women who migrate as secondary migrants to NZ. This includes an understanding of the ‘longitudinal’ and ‘cross-sectional’ perspectives involving the collection of facts and figures at international, regional, national and individual levels. At the individual level, this study explores the experience of individual women spouses of skilled Indian migrants through questionnaires. This provided data for a ‘micro’ level analysis. The data collection methods reflected the type of data this study relied on and thus the methodology required different methods of data collection. The study thus used two key data collection instruments: first, a search of administrative records and documents; and second, questionnaires; Methods of analysing collected data are described in the chapter.

1.7.3 Indian Migrants to New Zealand and The respondents: A Profile (Chapter Four)

This chapter provides an overview of Indian migrations to NZ. This includes the earlier migrations that have established older Indian diasporic communities and

networks. The chapter provides a demographic, geographic and human capital profile of recent Indian migrants and also introduces a profile of this study's respondents.

Migration has been a crucial part of NZ's modern history. NZ witnessed the most dramatic shift in ethnic composition in its history since the launch of the Immigration Act in 1987. The exponential growth of NZ's Asian population is the most notable aspect of this change (Friesen 2008: 2). Of the 354,552 Asians in NZ during the 2006 Census, 41 percent were Chinese, 29 percent were Indian and 30 percent were people of other Asian ethnicities (Bedford and Ho 2008: 2). The Indian population in NZ is heterogeneous and includes people of Indian ethnicity born in NZ and significant numbers born overseas. The modern Indian Diaspora is one of the most geographically dispersed in the world and the Indian government estimates 20 million people of Indian origin in the Diasporas worldwide (2000: 1) - almost on every continent in the world. The Indian Diaspora in NZ is equally complex and has the highest proportion of ethnic Indians (71 percent) settled in Auckland where they have well-developed community infrastructure and established networks. New Indian migrants and families are these existing community networks. The networks particularly offer new Indian migrant women initial linkages to other social and professional networks. Therefore it is important to understand how these social and community structures are set up and how Indian women in particular, derive support from them.

1.7.4. Skilled Migrants and Spouses: Settlement Assistance and Pathways to Integration (Chapter Five)

Immigration is a central focus of NZ policy, yet history indicates that immigration also generates anxieties about the integration of new migrants and their families. The dramatic increase in migrants from non-traditional source countries as a consequence of the shift in immigration policy focus to qualifications and skills in the 1990s and their poor integration outcomes is discussed in Chapter Five. It generated debates in NZ on the efficacy of such immigration. As the settlement process became more challenging the NZ government was persuaded to set up migrant assistance programs that were funded by a levy that was imposed on all new skilled migrants entering the country. Non-governmental service providers in NZ have long been providing settlement assistance to new migrants and new government funding made available to these agencies allowed for more structured government-funded settlement assistance.

Chapter Five outlines the government-funded settlement assistance options available to new skilled migrants and their spouses. The chapter further analyse the efficiencies of such funded settlement services and the role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in government initiated settlement. Both governmental and non-governmental institutions that assist skilled migrants and their spouses are examined for efficiency and outcome. Often spouses of skilled migrants are under immense pressure during their early settlement phase with the dual burden of having to re-establish careers and professional networks on the one hand and of re-establishing their families and homes on the other. Settlement assistance that is sensitive to their particular needs is therefore critical to their integration outcomes. Finally, the chapter

discusses the role of ‘ethnic’ social capital and the role it plays in affecting both social and labour-market integration for migrant families and spouses.

1.7.5 Research Findings and Analyses of Responses: Based on Results of Survey Questionnaires (Chapter Six)

This thesis uses both primary and secondary research to examine Indian migrant spouses’ settlement experiences in New Zealand. In Chapter Six, I refer to secondary data from large-scale surveys from Statistics New Zealand, the Census and the Longitudinal Immigration Survey of New Zealand (LisNZ), as I present primary data from findings derived from completed questionnaires. In this Chapter, I discuss the survey questionnaire as my preferred method of research to describe the conceptual framework of the participant’s profile followed by a detailed explanation of the design of the survey instrument and the rationale for each section in the questionnaire. I then present a composite of the participants' situations, organized by a typology of categories that will describe the women’s migration experiences from the perspective of gender and race. In the interests of anonymity and confidentiality, I present a composite picture that lays out the social and economic integration of the women within the context of family relationships and wider community that is critical to this research.

For my analysis, I have drawn on relevant literature on women that migrate as secondary migrants from similar backgrounds and have heavily cited: Purkayastha’s (2005) analysis of Asian Indian women spouses and the cumulative disadvantage they face while integrating to life in the United States (US), Man (2004), Sallaf and Greve

(2003) and Ho (2004) and their work on the economic and social integration of professional Chinese women immigrants in Canada and Australia respectively.

Although skilled migrants and spouses arrive in their countries of destination through varied channels of skilled migration, they contend with a range of similar barriers in order to re-establish their careers. However, the migration experiences of skilled female spouses indicate a completely different trajectory from that of skilled migrant males. Women cope with specific challenges as they attempt to rebuild their careers, establish community and professional networks and shoulder family responsibilities. Thus analysing their migration experiences through a ‘cumulative disadvantage lens’ (Purkayastha 2005: 195) helps understand the negative effects of migration for such women.

1.7.6 Indian Migrant Spouses and Challenges to Integration in New Zealand (Chapter Seven)

Chapter Seven discusses this study’s findings with particular focus on the factors that disadvantage Indian women in achieving occupational mobility. I argue that successful social and economic integration for Indian women is intertwined with the sensitive support they receive from their families on one hand and from the state on the other. It illustrates that skills and qualifications are not automatically transferable across national borders but are recognised and compensated depending on the extent of their compatibility with local standards. I examine the role of gender, ethnicity and culture in the women’s ability to access paid work (Ho 2004; Ho and Alcoroso 2004). Indian women often rely on extended family support and social/ professional networks. The loss of such support and networks after migration proves to be a major

barrier to their economic integration in NZ. This Chapter also explores the role of family support and community networks on the occupational mobility of Indian women spouses.

1.7.7 Conclusions (Chapter Eight)

Chapter Eight, in conclusion summarises our enhanced understanding of the settlement experiences of skilled women that are dependent migrants. It concludes that both immigration policies and NZ's regulatory bodies influence the successful integration of skilled women migrants. State-funded settlement systems and their gender-neutral aspect neglect to take into account the widely different settlement challenges female migrants face and are therefore unresponsive to their specific needs. The 'feminization' of skilled Indian women in NZ and their downward occupational mobility is true of skilled migrant spouses in other migration-destination countries (Ho 2004; Man 2004; Raghuram 2004; Purkayastha 2005) as well. Lastly the Chapter presents a list of topics that might add value to this research study on skilled migrant women who migrate as wives.

CHAPTER TWO

International skilled migration: a literature review

2.1 Introduction to Chapter

The demand for skilled labour has rapidly grown beyond expectation in the last decade, as developed industrial societies become increasingly dependent on overseas-born scientists, engineers, computer programmers and other highly qualified individuals to meet labour-market shortages critical for economic growth (Lowell 2005: 1).

An important emerging factor is the increasing presence of ‘high skilled’ women in international skilled migration flows. Over the last decade, the share of women in international migration increased from 46.8 to 49.6 percent between 1960 and 2005 and women now constitute half of all international migrants (Kofman and Raghuram 2009: 1). However, Docquier et al (2007: 3) also suggest an increase in numbers of skilled women in international migration flows. They suggest a rise in women’s education, the increased demand for female professionals in the health care and other sectors or cultural and social changes in source countries as a likely reason. The feminization of international migration consequently raises specific issues related to the consequences of migration for such high-skilled women.

The literature on International Skilled Migration is vast and includes a wide range of disciplinary perspectives that encompass policy and regulation, governance, integration and development, geography and demography, gender and capacity

building. This chapter presents an extensive literature review and identifies a number of strands that form the central issue of my thesis.

2.2 Significance of the Study of International Skilled Migration

International migration is a complex phenomenon and policymakers, scientists and many international agencies contribute towards understanding its impact on source and destination countries. The increasing complexity of migration along with the exponential increase in the number and diversity of international migrants in recent times (Figure 2.1, Page 46 and Figure 2.2, Page 47) has made government immigration agencies and global organizations such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), International Organization of Migration (IOM) and International Labour Organisation (ILO) place them in an increasingly complex number of legal and administrative categories (Global Commission on International Migration 2005:1). Migration is expected to intensify in the coming decades with the emerging global markets for high-skilled professionals and the development of knowledge economies. Understanding the consequences of migration for migrants and host countries is a difficult and important task.

A number of developed countries have liberalized their policies to facilitate the entry of highly skilled workers (Lowell 2001: 1) and studies suggest a net increase of seven and half million tertiary-educated migrants migrating to more developed nations between 1990 and 2000 (Lowell 2007: 14). The study of international skilled migration is thus important not least because of the complexity of the migration process but also because of the immensity of socio-economic changes it causes (Castles 2002: 179). Migration flows are recognized by the great range of diversity in

terms of socio-political ideologies and the ethnic, linguistic and social backgrounds of people in both the sending and receiving countries (Tanner 2005: 3). The increasing international competition for highly skilled workers makes international skilled migration the central focus of many investigations.

2.3 International Skilled Migration: Definitions, Theories and Typologies

Current migration theory is rather inadequate in clarifying the ‘high skill end of the migration spectrum’ (Iredale 2001: 7). While no universal system records skilled emigration, the terms ‘skilled’ and ‘high-skilled’ are often interpreted in terms of educational achievement (Lowell and Findlay 2001:2). It is therefore important to first define the terms ‘skilled’ and ‘high-skilled’ before any discussion on international skilled migration.

2.3.1 Definitions

There is a wide consensus that ‘high-skilled’ migrants are those with university degrees and/or extensive experience in a given field (Iredale 2000:883; Batalova, Fix et al. 2008:5; Lowell 2008:2; Chalof and Lemaitre 2009: 10; Cerna 2010: 1). However, the study of skilled migration and skilled migrants can be problematic; the recognition of qualifications varies across countries which may have different approaches to managing immigration (McLaughlan and Salt 2002: 3). Also, definitions may change over time reflecting changes in labour market structures of national and global economies. Moreover, the term ‘skilled’ migrant is often used interchangeably with ‘professional’ or ‘high skilled’ migrant without actually meaning the same (Lowell and Batalova 2005: 2).

The OECD's definition of what constitutes 'highly skilled' is explained in the Canberra Manual (OECD 1995; Khadria 2004: 11). The Manual's (see Appendix E) definition of Human Resources in Science and Technology (HRST) is based on qualification (tertiary level or higher education) and on occupation (training/employment in science and technology occupations). Thus, the definition of skills as far as most skilled immigration policies are concerned is heavily based on educational qualifications and occupation.

The shift towards post-industrial, 'knowledge-based' economies and the tremendous shortfall of high-skilled workers in developed countries reflects the increasing emphasis on 'permanent' international migrants with high human capital in some countries and for 'temporary' high-skilled workers in others. Destination countries that actively promote employment-based immigration programmes and apply highly specialized criteria to select high-skilled migrants define the level of skills for immigration purposes (Mclaughlan and Salt cited in : Lowell 2005: 2). Most governments consider international skilled migration as a means of meeting labour-market shortages and consequently define skilled migrants in terms of both education and occupation (Iredale 1999: 8) for both permanent and temporary flows. For example, migrants to NZ in both permanent and temporary streams are labour-market tested against the Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO). The ANZSCO is a standard framework for classifying occupation data using a combination of skill level and skill specialization, requiring a minimum of a bachelor's degree or higher qualification or at least five years of relevant experience (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2009: online; New Zealand Department of Labour 2010: online). This is not unlike the H-1B visa in the United States which is also

based on a list of occupations and a minimum degree requirement of a baccalaureate (Lowell 2005: 2).

The definition of 'skills' in migration streams is, therefore, based on an educational component and a minimum level of competence. As Lowell asserts, 'occupation is important not only because by its nature it excludes workers with little education (say from agricultural visa programmes), but also because it targets skills that are desired' (2005: 2). Thus both 'skilled' and 'high-skilled' migration can be defined as the international movement of tertiary educated people who have at least 16 years of education, which includes 12 years of school and 4 years of education following (Lowell 2006: 11).

2.3.2 Theories

A number of theoretical approaches and viewpoints have been put forward across disciplines and ideologies to explain international skilled migration (Beaverstock 1994; Goss and Lindquist 1995; Massey 2003). However, Iredale (2000: 884) argues that theories within the context of globalization neglect certain aspects of skilled migration flows, especially those initiated through 'permanent migration policies, refugee flows and regionalism'. Further, the very specificity of this approach, on economic and business transfers excludes women and gender issues from the analysis. Based on Iredale's argument (2000: 884), a brief overview of some of the theoretical approaches regarding international skilled migration is presented below:

The human capital approach: This approach does not make any allowances for informal training or for the role of institutional factors, discrimination and other

factors that affect limitations in the labour market (Iredale 2001: 9). Employment and wages, rather than formal education and training motivate people to move from one place to another. By and large this is the approach most migration-destination countries (including NZ) follow where immigration programmes focus on the sourcing of high quality human capital overseas.

The ‘structuralist’ neo-Marxist approach: This is a macro-level approach that takes into account the impact of race, class and gender, as well as the difference between wealthy core nations and peripheral impoverished ones. However, it ignores institutional factors such as ethnic and/ or other networks, various types of institutional agents or the role of regulatory bodies and professional and industry unions (Iredale 2001: 9).

The ‘structuration’ approach: This approach incorporates all three elements, namely the individual, the structural and the institutional; (Goss and Lindquist cited in: Iredale 1999: 8) both private and state institutions actively recruit skilled labour to meet labour shortages. The focus here is on both private individuals and organizational agents in control of recruiting skilled workers who are instrumental in setting qualifications and selection criteria for employment (Iredale 2001: 9).

All these theories however, centre on a single group of skilled migrants –those motivated by ‘economic’ migration. As mentioned earlier, an increasingly large section of skilled migratory movements occur as a result of permanent migration and other migratory policies organised by the state. Thus the role of state immigration policies and state-initiated bilateral and multilateral regional agreements that

influence skilled migration flows cannot be ignored. Professional organizations and regulatory agencies that dictate employment outcomes for skilled migrants also play an important role and as Iredale argues, '[they] influence government policies on international migration' (1999: 9). Thus modern skilled migration flows are driven by 'industry and market' demands and both state and regional policies serve to pave the way for such 'industry-motivated' migratory movements of skilled people. Iredale (1999: 102) points out that policies and bilateral and multilateral agreements such as the European Union, North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Mutual Recognition Agreement (MRA) between Australia and NZ facilitate high skilled labour movements. Other state policies that influence growth of skilled migration flows are the internationalization of higher education and the internationalization of professions.

International education is a large revenue earner for the US, the UK, Canada, Australia and NZ. Potential immigrants can thus acquire the 'overseas' qualification that will allow them the opportunity to live and work in these countries. These countries value 'overseas' qualifications highly as it enables rapid social and labour market integration (Iredale 1999: 10). Thus former international students in tertiary institutions in the US, Canada, Australia and NZ are often able to transition from students to skilled migrants. Further in-house and on-the-job training and accreditation of qualifications are increasingly offered and managed by employers. For example, Microsoft offers specialized training and tests for IT professionals (Iredale 2001: 10). Thus in the world of the IT professional, the certification awarded by Microsoft is more valuable than a university degree and plays a critical role in contributing IT professionals to international skilled migration flows.

Control over standards and regulations on occupations, usually handled at the national level although a mutual recognition of certain occupations in transnational labour markets is active among certain countries. Such arrangements recognize that the terms of standards for the operation of certain professional occupations are similar across participating countries where common training systems permit ease of movement across borders for work and training. Thus similar systems and fairly common curricula and standards have usually enabled the automatic registration of certain professionals for example medical doctors. Among 'traditional' commonwealth countries such as: the UK, Canada, South Africa, Australia and NZ, India, Sri Lanka, Hong Kong and Singapore (Iredale 2001: 10) doctors were once automatically recognised and able to work. However, this system is no longer operational. A surplus of such professionals and a 'differential treatment of applicants for employment and migration' have permitted this system to break down.

Iredale (2001: 10) quoting Lenn and Campos (1997) suggests an internationalization of professions and a convergence towards international standards away from individual nationally defined standards and national forms of regulation. The importance of the internationalization of professional services can be seen reflected in the creation of regional blocs such as the NAFTA established in 1994, the Canada-Chile Free Trade Agreement (1996), the 1983 Australia-New Zealand Closer Economic Relations Trade Agreement (ANZCERTA) and the MRA and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) that followed it in 1996 (Mallea 1997:4). These are examples of transnational arrangements designed to facilitate freer movement of skilled people and have led to the internationalization of various professions. The MRA has been 'the preferred means of resolving issues of

professional equivalency and reciprocity' (Mallea 1997: 5). At a global level, international agreements and bodies such as the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) contribute towards the internationalization of professions. Thus the recognition that skilled migratory movements are growing increasingly temporary has fostered changes in professional recognition mechanisms. The increased flexibility of such mechanisms is expected to increase mobility ensuring that skilled labour markets are relatively free of constraints.

Thus developing countries invest in increasing their stock of qualified young people; a repository of skills to supply human capital to the developed world. India leads in this trend and has recently seen a dramatic rise in its stock of ICT and HRST professionals. This will be discussed at length in the next section of this chapter. However, while the ICT industry is relatively free of national or professional controls, other professions such as the medical and nursing professions are nation and profession bound. This illustrates the range of issues that impact the mobility of each professional area when examining skilled migration flows (Iredale 2001: 15).

Lastly there has been little attempt to include gender into theories of international migration. Although gender is a critical factor in migration movements, the traditional emphasis on causes of international migration rather than who migrates, has neglected the gender aspect of skilled migration in migration theory. Boyd and Grieco (2003: online) argue that without the clarity of theoretical framework that includes gender, it becomes difficult to explain 'the conditions under which women migrate, or the predominance of women in certain labour flows and not in others'.

2.3.3 Typologies

Typologies are useful for categorising skilled migrants and illustrate the many perspectives on migration. Typologies of international migration thus illustrate multidisciplinary perspectives to migration managers and policy / decision makers, and can help identify the right kind of approach for developing policies and managing migration (International Organisation of Migration 2011: online).

Massey's analysis (2003: 10) of mobility suggests the 'the operation of common social, economic, and political forces' even as those forces contribute towards 'stable migratory systems'. Thus migration typologies offer mechanisms to evaluate and analyse these major migratory systems. While there are many kinds of migratory movements, this study's focus is on the migratory movements of the skilled and highly skilled. Iredale (2001: 16) proposes five typologies that help categorize professional or skilled migrants:

By motivation: where oppressive regimes have been a factor in the flight of well-educated people,

By nature of source and destination: flows that move from less or more developed source countries and move towards destinations that could be more or less developed. The largest of such movements is that of skilled people from less developed countries to more developed post-industrialized countries,

By channel or mechanism: where skilled personnel circulate within the structure of Multi National Company's (MNCs), between off-shore facilities and international recruitment agencies generate migration flows through the recruitment of large numbers of skilled personnel,

By length of stay: where skilled migrants, both permanent and/or temporary stay or circulate at will and,

By mode of incorporation: where skilled flows are categorized by the nature of the reception of skilled migrants receive on arrival at destination.

Iredale's (2001: 20) typologies help explain the categorization of forces that drive migratory movements of the skilled and highly skilled. Her analysis however goes beyond accepted typologies to include categorizations that explain new trends and patterns in international skilled migration. She suggests the need for a sixth typology to explain the trends and patterns in professional migration because 'the type and level of regulatory mechanisms, the level of internationalization and the relative influence of the market, the state and the profession, and the global labour market demand/supply situation are all very significant factors'.

While radically divergent concepts have attempted to explain international migration (Massey, Arango et al. 1993) in a fast-changing world, the internationalization of both education and professions, presents a novel set of circumstances. Since a composite of factors influence migratory movements, research on international skilled migration needs to be interdisciplinary, comprising of a variety of methodologies that take into account migration policy and institutional structures at the 'macro' level with a 'micro' level perspective that emphasizes the experience of the individual or the individual family unit (Brettell and Hollyfield 2000: 2). The changing global 'demand' situation and the internationalization of higher education and the professions lead to cultures of inclusion. However even as demand grows for professionals world-wide, women continue to suffer disadvantage. This study draws

on both macro-level and micro-level perspectives on the study of gender and international skilled immigration to illustrate how skilled migrant female spouses in NZ continue to be relegated to secondary positions due to their immigration status, their ethnicity and gender.

2.4 The Demography of Skilled Mobility and Stocks

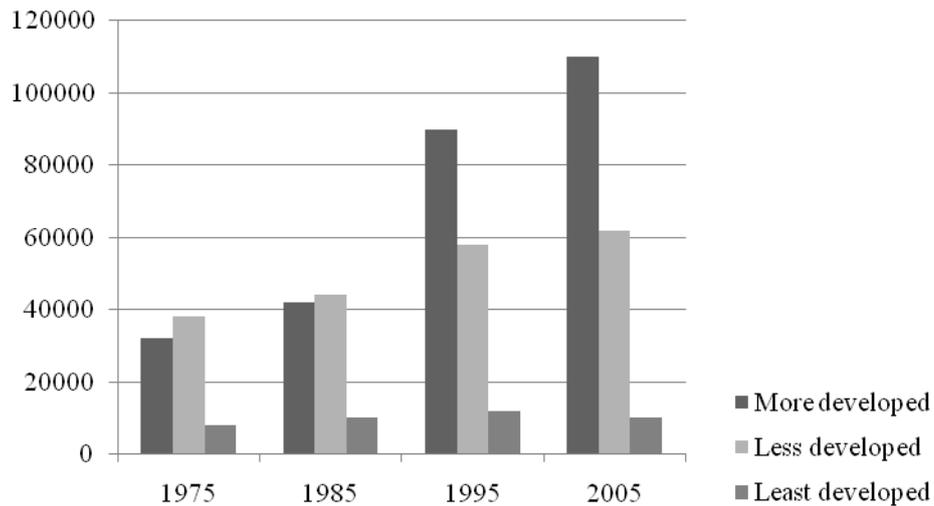
The basic demography of high-skilled emigration from developing to developed economies is often explored in the context of the ‘brain drain’ (Lowell and Findlay 2001: 2). However, in the face of globalization and the quantum growth of the ICT sector, the migration of increasing numbers of skilled people has gained much importance. Docquier and his colleagues (2010: 3) particularly stress that an absence of data can hinder important avenues of research that will help determine ‘the skill and gender dimensions of migration patterns, why important migration corridors emerge and disappear and the analysis of interdependencies between migration patterns and human/economic development’. They further state that ‘demographically, international migration is one of the key components governing population dynamics’. Thus categorisation of migration data by country of origin, country of destination, gender and education level is critical if we are to understand the demographic, economic, political and sociological consequences of skilled migration.

2.4.1 International Skilled Mobility: Demography and Stocks

According to UN estimates, in 2005 there were 190 million people living outside their country of birth. While developed nations had a share of 60 percent, the less developed and least developed nations had a share of 34 percent and 7 percent each,

respectively (Lowell 2007: 7). As can be seen in Figure 2.1, the biggest increase in international stock of migrants occurred between 1985 and 1995 and the number of migrants in the more developed countries more than doubled during this time.

Figure 2.1 Number of Immigrant Stock by Place of Residence and Level of Development



Source: United Nations (2006).

Source: Lindsay Lowell (2007), p. 8.

A more detailed breakdown of immigrants in major regions of the world can be seen in Table 2.1. Europe and North America together hold the largest stock of immigrants at 59 percent, while 26 percent reside in Asia and just 15 percent in the other regions of the world. As seen, migration flows to Europe increased exponentially in the first 10 years between 1975 and 2005. North America shows the most consistent growth of immigrant flow while growth declined in all other regions during the same time.

Table 2.1 International Migrant Stocks by main regions, 1975-2005

	Europe	North America	Latin America and the Caribbean	Asia	Oceania	Africa	Total
Immigrant Population (000's)							
2005	63 997	44 461	5 825	48 355	4 815	16 922	184 375
1995	55 183	33 525	5 388	43 320	4 875	17 864	160 158
1985	18 365	22 118	5 740	34 051	4 045	14 390	98 709
1975	16 474	15 267	5 381	25 419	3 270	10 990	76 801
Percentage change from prior decade							
1995 – 2005	16.0	32.6	8.1	11.6	-1.3	-5.3	15.1
1985 – 1995	200.5	51.6	-6.1	27.2	20.6	24.1	62.3
1975 – 1985	11.5	44.9	6.7	34.0	23.7	30.9	28.5
Source: United Nations Population Division 2007 (author's tabulations of online database)							

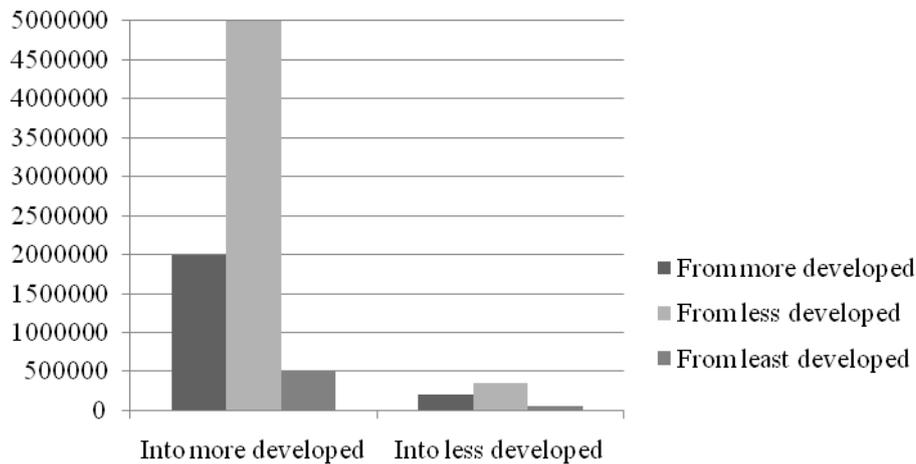
Source: Lindsay Lowell (2007), p. 10.

Also migration is a powerful contributor to social and economic changes in both migrant-sending and receiving societies (Castles 2002: 179). Quoting Khadria (2002: 2) with India as an example, 'the emigration of highly-skilled labour could be looked at either as a painful drain of human resources or gainful globalization of human capital'. Further, Docquier and his colleagues (2010: 3) suggest the influence of migration on the dynamics of societies both in sending and receiving countries by altering the age, gender, skill compositions.

Figure 2.2 presents the numbers of tertiary-educated migrants that moved across international borders between 1990 and 2000. We see a net increase of nearly two million tertiary-educated migrants, moving from one more developed nation to another. Five million tertiary-educated adults moved from a less developed nation to a more developed nation (an increase of 94%). The figure also shows a rather high net

increase of 500,000 tertiary-educated migrants moving out from least developed nations (Lowell 2007: 14).

Figure 2.2 Net Increases in the International Movement of Tertiary Educated Adult Migrants, 1990 to 2000



Note: Net increase refers to inflow minus outflow
 Source: Docquier and Marfouk, 2006.

Source: Lindsay Lowell (2007), p.14

Lowell (2007: 16) presents a further breakdown of 1990s statistical data (Table 2.2) to show an overall increase in the number of skilled migrants in migration flows even though the rate of tertiary out-migration from less developed countries had not notably increased. Thus, 30 percent of all migrants worldwide were tertiary educated in 1990, a figure which increased to 35 percent in 2000. The increases in skilled emigration flows were greatest from the developing areas of the world such as Latin America and the Caribbean (97%), Asia (84%), Oceania, (69%), and Africa (113%). Table 2.2 also shows the break-down of tertiary-educated adult migrants moving from one region of the world to another. An increase in numbers of tertiary-educated migrants to Europe between 1975 and 2005 is observed. This shift was due to increases in the movements of skilled workers moving within Europe- from European countries of origin to European destinations. Today it is perceived that such skilled

Europeans move towards North America. The most important fact however, is that around 90 percent of tertiary-educated migrants from the international stock is in either Europe or North America (Lowell 2007: 16).

Table 2.2 Regional Distribution of All Adult Migrants with a Tertiary Education by Source and Receiving Region

Source Area	Receiving Area						Table Total	Number of Residents
	Europe	North America	Latin America and the Caribbean	Asia	Oceania			
2000								
Total	23.6	64.8	0.7	2.4	8.5	100.0	20083 686	
Europe	36.7	49.9	0.6	1.6	11.3	100.0	6686 361	
North America	24.9	62.1	4.6	2.3	6.1	100.0	947 801	
Latin America and the Caribbean	8.0	88.3	1.3	1.4	1.0	100.0	3655 136	
Asia	14.5	73.1	0.1	4.2	8.0	100.0	1041 367	
Oceania	22.4	27.2	0.1	0.7	49.6	100.0	364 055	
Africa	47.8	44.5	0.1	0.1	7.6	100.0	1387 966	
1990								
Total	20.3	64.9	1.0	3.2	10.7	100.0	12086 508	
Europe	27.2	57.2	0.8	0.9	13.9	100.0	4803 501	
North America	19.1	67.2	4.8	2.9	6.0	100.0	722 634	
Latin America and the Caribbean	7.9	83.3	2.2	1.2	1.5	100.0	1856 287	
Asia	13.5	69	0.2	7.7	9.6	100.0	3836 581	
Oceania	15.3	28.5	0.1	0.8	55.3	100.0	251 291	
Africa	46.8	43.2	0.1	0.1	9.8	100.0	651 716	
<i>Note:</i> includes mobility across borders and with region. Data collected for OECD receiving countries								
<i>Source:</i> Docquier and Marouk, 2006 (author's tabulations of online database).								

Source: Lindsay Lowell (2007), p.16

In the near future, efficient, speedy and cheap transportation and communication, rapidly expanding global markets, a chronic shortage of skilled human capital in the developed world and a surplus of such skilled workers in the less developed world

will all contribute towards skilled migration. The rapidly expanding education systems in countries like India, a 'brain bank' (Khadria 2004: 22) of surplus human capital, can cater to the world's chronic shortage for skilled labour. However, while a rise in levels of skilled migration can be forecast, specific patterns and the impact of such flows cannot (Lowell and Findlay 2001:10).

2.4.2 Indian Skilled Mobility and Stocks of HRST

India is currently the most sought-after source country for highly skilled human capital. It has a long history of supplying high-skilled engineers and medical doctors to the United States. Today, India produces some 120,000 graduates each year to meet the enormous demand for skilled workers in the IT and other related sectors of work (Khadria cited in Lowell and Findlay 2001: 15).

An education system which is both cheap and effective by modern world standards enables India to produce thousands of highly qualified graduates with excellent English language skills each year. This makes India, with its vast pool of highly skilled, English-speaking professionals, one of the largest source countries for human capital in the world (Khadria 2004: 9).

Khadria defines these modern workers with generic skills as 'knowledge workers' (2001: 45). The global applicability of generic skills underpins the continued rise of skilled migration from India in the last couple of decades. The shifting global demand for more general skills (ICT, business management and chartered accountancy) unlike the professional skills (engineers, scientists, medical doctors and architects) of the 'brain drain' years (Khadria 2001: 45) is also responsible for Indian skilled migration.

In 2001, Khadria (2004: 9) estimated India's stock of highly skilled HRST personnel to be 25 million. Thus the Indian labour force has grown from 306 million to 444 million between the years 1991 and 2001 (2004: 9). This growth is reflected in the increase in numbers of skilled Indians emigrating from India to the developed world and exemplifies likely migration trends for the near future. Table 2.3 shows the numbers of emigrating Indians between 1990 and 2000. The migration rate of the high-skilled (tertiary educated) is significantly higher than all other groups. Thus in 2000, the total migration rate from India was just 0.3 percent while that of the high-skilled was 4.2 percent.

Table 2.3 Migration rate of high-skilled personnel from India, 1990- 2000 (%)

Situation in 1990				Situation in 2000			
Primary Educated	Secondary Educated	Tertiary Educated	All Groups	Primary Educated	Secondary Educated	Tertiary Educated	All Groups
0.1	0.2	2.6	0.2	0.1	0.3	4.2	0.3

Source: Docquier and Marfouk cited in Mani (2009), p.11.

Thus the incremental growth in stocks of skilled labour in India can be attributed to the rapid growth of its higher educational system. Box 2.1 summarises the academic qualification framework for higher education in India. India's bachelor's degree (12 years of school plus three years study) is one year short of the 15 years of study (baccalaureate) criterion for a 'highly-skilled' migrant (Lowell 2005: 2).

Box 2.1 India- Degree structure and academic qualification framework

There are three principal levels of qualification within the higher education system in India. These are:

- Bachelor/undergraduate level
- Master's/postgraduate level
- Doctoral/pre-doctoral level

Diploma courses are also available at the undergraduate and postgraduate level. At the undergraduate level, the length of these courses varies between one and three years, while postgraduate diplomas are normally awarded after one year's study.

Bachelor's degrees in arts, commerce and sciences require three years of education (after 12 years of school education). In some places there are honours and special courses available. These are not necessarily longer in duration but indicate greater depth of study. Bachelor degrees in the professional fields of study of agriculture, dentistry, engineering, pharmacy, technology and veterinary medicine generally take four years, while architecture and medicine take five and five and a half years respectively. Other bachelor degrees – in education, journalism and librarianship – are second degrees. A bachelor's degree in law can either be taken as an integrated degree lasting five years or as a three-year course as a second degree.

The Master's degree is normally of two-year's duration. It is either based on course-work without a thesis or it is based on research alone.

A pre-doctoral programme, Master of Philosophy (M.Phil.), is taken after completion of the Master's degree. This can either be completely research based or can include course work as well. PhDs are awarded two years after the M.Phil. or three years after the Master's degree (although it generally takes longer). Students are expected to write a substantial thesis based on original research.

Source: Ministry of Education Web site (<http://www.education.nic.in/htmlweb/edusta.htm>)

Source: Binod Kadia (2004), p.12.

Recent expansions of the Indian educational system have added 254 accredited national universities in 2000-2001, up from the 184 in 1990-1991 (Raychaudhari and De 2007: 21). Furthermore, the number of tertiary institutions has grown from 4,862 to 7,929 for general education and from 886 to 2,223 for professional education in the same period. Enrolments have increased from 5.3 million in 1991-1992 to 7.7 million in 2001-2002 (Agarwal 2005: 1). Table 2.4 provides an indication of Indians enrolled in higher degree institutions between 1991 and 2000. The table indicates a considerable increase in enrolments from 5.3 million in 1991-1992 to 7.7 million in 1999-2000. These are distributed over various fields of study as listed in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4 Enrolments in higher education in India by field of study 1991-2000 (thousands)

	1991 - 92	1995 - 96	1996 - 97	1997 - 98	1998 - 99	1999 - 00
<i>General education</i>						
Natural Sciences	1 034	1 260	1 324	1 387	1 454	1 477
Social Sciences	1 155	1 410	1 479	1 550	1 625	1 694
Humanities	2 129	2 593	2 729	2 860	2 997	3 136
<i>Professional courses</i>						
Engineering and Technology	258	316	331	347	363	389
Medical Sciences	179	220	230	241	252	271
Agricultural Sciences	55	68	74	78	82	81
Veterinary Sciences	13	16	20	21	22	23
Education	121	148	155	163	171	178
Law	279	342	358	375	393	402
Others	42	52	54	57	59	83
Total	5 266	6 426	6 755	7 078	7 418	7 734

Note: The Institute of Applied Manpower Research, citing the Ministry of Human Resources and Development, estimates the numbers of enrolments in general education at about 800,000 persons higher in 1999-2000.

Source: University Grants Commission (UGC), cited in Research and Development Statistics 2000-2001 (DST 2002).

Source: Binod Kadria (2004), p. 14.

The total number of doctorates awarded rose from around 8000 degrees awarded in 1990-1991 to almost 11000 in 1998-1999, an increase of 30.6 percent. Table 2.5 provides more detail on PhD degrees awarded between 1990-1991 and 1998-1999. The two largest categories, natural sciences and humanities, together accounting for three quarters of all awarded degrees, also grew by 30 percent. Degrees awarded for social sciences and education rose by 86 percent and 65 percent respectively while degrees awarded in traditionally popular areas of study such as medical sciences and engineering rose by 36 percent and 11 percent (Khadria 2004: 15).

Table 2.5 Number of Doctorate degrees awarded by field of study 1991-2000 (thousands)

Faculty	90-91	91 - 92	92-93	93-94	94-95	95 - 96	96 - 97	97 - 98	98 - 99	Growth 90-98 (%)
Natural Sciences	2 950	.....	3 386	3 467	.....	3 861	3 498	3 894	3 836	30
Social Sciences	290	.....	453	515	.....	612	502	541	541	86.6
Humanities	3 210	.....	3 621	4 039	.....	3 957	4 245	4 058	4 189	30.5
Engineering and Techn.	629	.....	323	329	.....	374	298	744	696	10.7
Medical Sciences	140	.....	116	145	.....	135	133	200	190	35.7
Agricultural Sciences	715	.....	611	769	.....	780	968	849	785	9.8
Veterinary Sciences	145	.....	112	114	.....	138	152	122	101	-30.3
Education	188	.....	247	308	.....	295	295	342	310	64.9
Law	51	.....	72	73	.....	75	65	67	75	47.1
Others	65	.....	129	164	.....	170	252	249	228	250.8
Total	8 383	.....	9 070	9 923	.....	10 397	10 408	11 066	10 951	30.6

Note: Data for 1998-99 are provisional

Source: UGC, compiled by the Department of Science and Technology (DST 2002).

Source: Binod Katria (2004), p. 15.

The dramatic growth in numbers of women in higher education and their presence in scientific and technical institutions have increased Indian women's presence in highly valued professions such as business management, information technology, engineering, teaching, medicine and pure sciences. Table 2.6 indicates numbers of professional women in science. An average of 17.7 percent of women working in research-based institutions as scientists and 19 percent of women working in technical areas is indicated (Munshi and Srivastava 2006: 4).

Table 2.6 Women Scientists in Various Organizations

Organisation	Scientists % women	Technical % women
CSIR	13.0	14.0
DBT	31.8	23.1
ICMR	27.3	20.1
DAE	16.5	-
DOD	8.7	-
ICAR	20.1	-

* Asst. Prof.=10.4; Assoc. Prof.=6.2 & Prof.=3.5

Women Faculty in Universities

Organisation	Scientists % women	Technical % women
IISc	16.3	14.7
Hyd. Univ	15.8	23.1
JNU	16.0	0.0

Source: Usha Munshi and Divya Srivatsava (2006), p. 4.

Although India's gender gap in education is wider than the global average (Lawson 2008: 4), Indian women have registered a sharp rise in numbers enrolled in ICT and other related fields, excelling in almost all fields. Munshi and Srivatsava (2006: 2) also confirms a high percentage of women in the sciences with fewer women in medicine and engineering/technology (Table 2.7) suggesting that Indian women's participation in the professional sector has sharply increased. Table 2.7 indicates the percentage of women enrolled in science and technology (S and T) at universities state-wise.

Table 2.7 State-wise enrolment of women in universities: 2000 – 2001

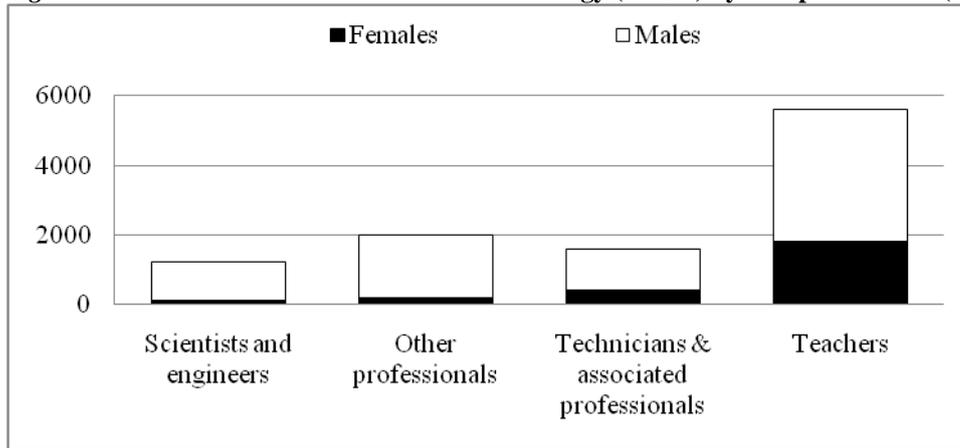
States with > 50% enrolment					
State	Science	Eng./ Technology	Medicine	Agric.	Vet.
Goa	59.8	25.9	61.1		
Kerala	64.7	30.5	64.7	54.4	45.4
Punjab	55.5	19.1	56	28.8	
Andaman & Nicobar	54.5				
Chandigarh	63.3	24.9	57.3		
Pondicherry	52.7	28.8	46.8		41.3
States with < 35% enrolment					
Arunachal Pradesh	29.7	33	13.5		
Bihar	21.1	21.3	11.8	20.2	25.2
Jharkhand	30.5	26.9	6.8	33.8	29.6
Orissa	34.6	28.9	18.6	23.7	29.2
Rajasthan	32.6	39.2	11.4	24.2	10.1
Average	44.05	27.9	28.7	35.6	33.5

Source: Usha M Munshi and Divya Srivatsava (2006), p. 4.

Thus the rapid technological changes epitomized by export-oriented development and a booming IT sector supplemented by an incremental increase in employment opportunities created a favourable environment for sustainable employment for both men and women. Opportunities for higher education has allowed women access to job opportunities in IT, communication and engineering and other professions in India and overseas (Mitter, Fernandez et al. 2004:166). Often, this is the profile of women who migrate as spouses of international skilled migrants.

Figure 2.3 indicates the numbers of male and female Indians in HRST occupations in India. A majority were teachers. One third of this group was female with the highest share of women in careers. Scientists and engineers on the other hand, accounted for less than 14% of total HRSTO, of which only 9% were women.

Figure 2.3 Human Resource Science and Technology (HRST) by occupation -1991(thousands)



Note: data excludes Jammu and Kashmir

Source: Binod Katria (2004), p. 12.

India has traditionally supplied relatively low-skilled labour to the middle-east, especially during the economic oil boom of mid-1970s (Khadria 2006:10). However it is the highly skilled, highly educated and English language proficient workforce that makes India a major source country for skilled migrant workers to the developed world. In 2006, India received 14,842 million USD as remittances from 5.7 million overseas workers, beating China and Mexico (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2006: 143).

Statistics presented in this chapter indicate an estimated growth in the stock of skilled workers completing higher degrees in India in 2001, suggesting an increase from 15.6 million in 1991 to 25.2 million in 2000 in a population aged between 15 and 64. While a steady growth in post graduate doctorate holders is observed, IT professionals show the largest growth from 133,000 to 214,000 between 2000 and 2005 (Khadria 2004: 18).

This stock of high-skilled workers drives international skilled migration from India. Each year thousands of highly-educated Indian men and women leave for overseas destinations as temporary or permanent migrants, in search of better opportunities and quality of life for themselves and their families. Women account for a large proportion of these international skilled migration flows.

2.5 International Skilled Migration in the Asia-Pacific region

Migration in Asia has grown since the 1990s, from less-developed countries with massive labour surpluses to fast-growing newly developing countries. Most countries in Asia have experienced emigration or immigration during this time. India and China were the largest sources of emigrants, one-third worked in natural and social sciences, engineering, and computer-related occupations (Castles and Miller 2009: online). While traditional destination countries such as Canada, the United States, NZ and Australia have developed immigration policies to favour the entry of high-skilled and entrepreneurial immigrants, India, Japan, Malaysia, the Republic of China, the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Singapore have also introduced privileged immigration and residence programmes to attract high-skilled professionals on either temporary or permanent basis (Cerna 2010: 6). For the purpose of this study on skilled migration, the Asia-Pacific region includes the three regions of Asia (South Asia, East Asia, and Southeast Asia) and Australia and NZ from Oceania.

International migration from Asia to destinations in North America, Australia and the oil economies of the Middle-East grew dramatically in the 1970s and 1980s (Castles and Miller 2009: online). The relaxation of race-based immigration by the United States, Canada, Australia and NZ was a major trigger for the 'brain drain' of the 1960s following which, thousands of skilled migrants from Asian countries in the

south emigrated to post-industrial economies in the north (Petthe 2007: 228) in major south-north flows. In 2000, Asians included 16.8 million of migrant stocks in OECD countries (Table 2.8), with largest numbers in the USA (8.4 million), Canada (2.0 million), Great Britain (1.6 million) and Australia (1.2 million). The largest source countries for these Asian migrants in the OECD countries were China, Philippines, India, Korea, Pakistan and Vietnam (Hugo 2009: 11).

Hugo (2009:13) points out that the Asian south-north permanent migration flows at this time had 'a disproportionate number of highly skilled and highly educated migrants'. A total of 13 Asian countries were thus represented in permanent skilled migration flows to OECD countries. This was largely because many OECD countries have immigration programmes to attract and retain highly-skilled workers.

Table 2.8 Stocks of Asia-Born Persons in OECD Nations- 2000

Country	Asian-Born
Australia	1,115,655
Austria	57,236
Belgium	68,494
Canada	2,040,590
Switzerland	101,599
Czech Republic	21,365
Germany	567,021
Denmark	110,454
Spain	86,669
Finland	18,375
France	444,774
Great Britain	1,579,133
Greece	75,854
Hungary	10,730
Ireland	27,768
Japan	969,799
Korea	116,732
Luxembourg	4,382
Mexico	10,765
Netherlands	367,987
Norway	100,274
New Zealand	175,302
Poland	9,479
Portugal	16,859
Slovak Republic	1,400
Sweden	244,246
Turkey	83,657
USA	8,402,240
Total	16,828,839

Note: Data are extracted from tables titled 'Stocks of Asia-and Pacific Born Persons in OECD Nations around 2000' from the source.

Source: Dumont and Lemaitre cited in Graham Hugo (2009), p. 11.

In the 1980s and the 1990s, the largest sending countries from Asia were Philippines and Sri Lanka comprising of 40 percent and 33 percent of highly skilled people while other Asian countries showed substantial skill losses. During the 1980s and 1990s,

large numbers of Asian migrants migrated to the United States, the largest numbers being from India and Sri Lanka followed by China in the 1990s (Iredale 2000: 888). In 2005, China (127,800 immigrants), the Philippines (89,700), and India (61,800) were included in the top ten sending countries to Italy while in 2008, Indians made up the largest group within the UK foreign-born population with an estimated 627,000 residents with Pakistan in fourth place with 416,000 (Castles and Miller 2009: online). The challenge of re-starting professional careers in NZ and Australia, especially for those in regulated professions is well known. Prospective migrants generally take into account these factors when they make migration decisions (Iredale 2000: 886).

Figure 2.4 shows the top 10 source countries for migrants in Australia and NZ in 2006. The migration flow pattern is different for each country of destination. In 2006, NZ received more migrants from the UK and China and fewer migrants from India than in the past decade and these were its main source countries. Australia's main source countries in 2006 were the UK, NZ, China, and India. NZ's Asian migrant population has increased dramatically from 33,443 in 1996 to 354,552 in 2006. Figure 2.4 shows the stocks of migrants in Australia and NZ in 2000, 2005 and 2010. While the numbers of migrants in Australia grew from 4 million in 2000 to 4.7 million in 2010, NZ's migrant numbers grew from 685,000 in 2000 to 962,000 in 2010.

Figure 2.4 Proportion of total migrant inflows by top 10 source countries in Australia and New Zealand, 2006



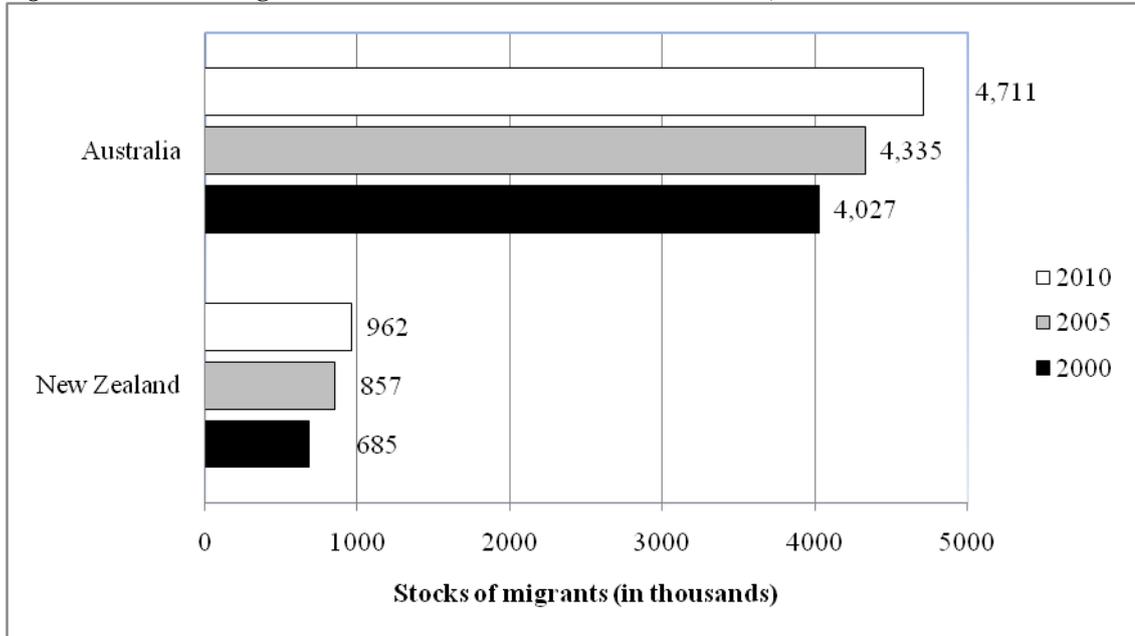
Note: The top 10 source countries are presented in decreasing order of the number of migrants in 2006. Data refers to inflows of permanent settlers by country of birth.

Source: NZ Department of Labour (2008), p. 37.

Figures 2.5 and 2.6 indicate that the percentage share of migrants in the total population has also increased in both countries over the last decade. In the first years of the twenty first century, the introduction of temporary work visas in the US dramatically increased numbers of Asian workers while the number of temporary workers in Australia grew from 36,000 to 87,300 between 2000 and 2007, while the numbers of permanent migrants grew at a much slower rate. In NZ, there was an even bigger growth between 2000 and 2007 and the numbers of temporary migrants doubled in five years, from 59,600 in 2000 to 121,500 in 2007. The numbers of

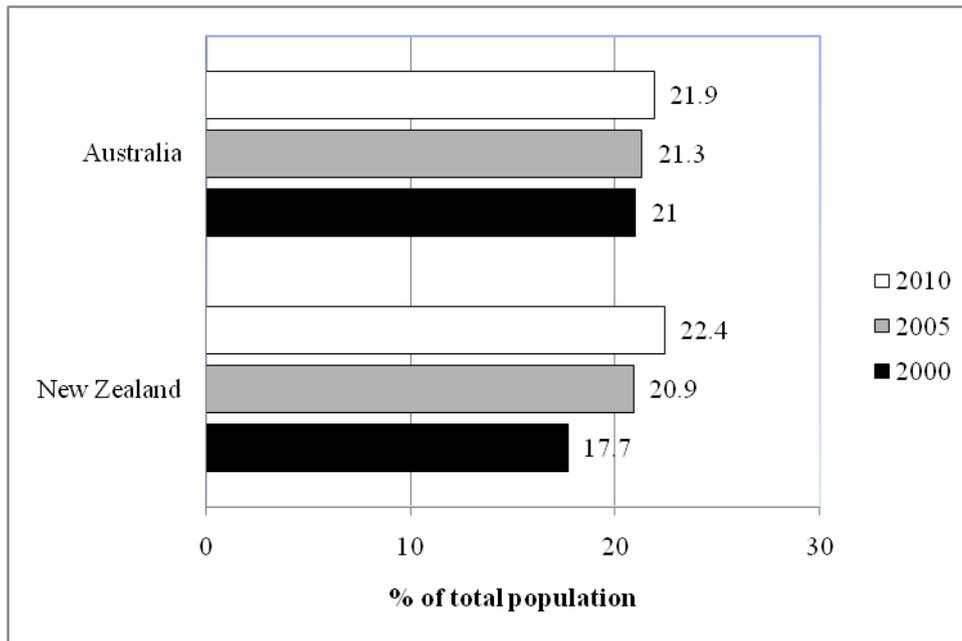
permanent migrants has, however, comparatively declined in that time (International Organisation for Migration 2010: 220).

Figure 2.5 Stock of migrants in Australia and New Zealand in 2000, 2005 and 2010



Source: International Organisation of Migration (2010), p. 221.

Figure 2.6 Stock of migrants as a percentage of total population in Australia and New Zealand in 2000, 2005 and 2010



Source: International Organisation of Migration (2010), p. 221.

International education and Asian permanent migration have been inextricably linked in the US although Australia and NZ have been slow to catch up. Policy changes were however, initiated in 1998 in NZ to facilitate this link. Between 1998 and 2003, 2.6 million Asian students studied in other countries. The largest groups were from China (471,000), South Korea (214,000), India (207,000), and Japan (191,000). The internationalization of education plays a big role in international skilled migration. Castles and Miller (2009: online) argue that ‘student mobility is often a precursor to skilled migration’. Table 2.9 presents UNESCO data on the number of students from Asia studying in countries other than their own between 1998 and 2004. During this time 3.7 million Asian students studied overseas, the largest numbers being from China, Korea and India.

Table 2.9 Foreign Students by Country of Origin, 1998 to 2004

Country of Origin 1998 to 2004	Number
Bangladesh	38,097
China	804,919
Hong Kong (China), SAR	129,337
India	329,354
Indonesia	127,501
Japan	250,641
Korea, Democratic People's Rep.	44,829
Korea, Republic of	306,963
Malaysia	173,728
Nepal	22,241
Pakistan	62,916
Philippines	23,593
Singapore	98,364
Sri Lanka	32,698
Thailand	89,111
Turkey	233,758
Vietnam	47,054
Other Asia (incl. Western and Central)	892,192
Total Asia (incl. Western and Central)	3,707,296

Source: UNESCO Institute of Statistics in Graham Hugo (2009), p. 17.

Many OECD countries have revised immigration policies to take advantage of the burgeoning numbers of foreign students from Asia, and overseas students in Australia and NZ are allowed to remain in the country as they pursue their immigration applications. For example, in 2007-2008, 83 percent of permanent residence approvals (skilled/business migrant category) in NZ were made on-shore. This was 36 percent more than in 1998-1999 and reflects the growing proportion of people living, working or studying in NZ before applying for residence (New Zealand Department of Labour 2008: 64). According to Hugo (2009:18) Asian student migration must be considered as the emigration of HRST and other skills because, for many international students, education is a prelude to permanent settlement. Therefore it is not surprising that OECD nations perceive overseas students as an excellent source for skilled

labour. Another category of high-skilled migrants are the highly qualified executives and industry experts who participate in intra-company transfers across borders and contribute to high numbers of high-skilled migrants in migration flows. Thus in 2000, large numbers of foreign specialists from Asian countries, US, Europe and Australia were found to be working in China (200,000), Malaysia (32,000) and Vietnam (30,000).

Massive transformations have changed the face of the Asia Pacific region in the last few decades. The most striking is the dramatic increase in population mobility. The scale and complexity of this vast movement of people has contributed to dramatic social, economic, political and demographic change in the region. While there is a great deal of variation in immigration systems between the economies of the region, there is every indication that the demographic, economic and social changes will continue to favour the population movements within, out of and into the Asia-Pacific region.

2.6 Gender Dimensions of Skilled Mobility

Between 1990 and 2000, the proportion of skilled women in immigrant populations in almost all OECD countries increased from 48.0 to 49.7 percent and for many source countries the growth rate of skilled women was found to be larger than that for unskilled women or skilled men (Docquier, Lowell et al. 2007: 5). This increase in numbers of skilled women in recent international skilled migration flows has generated much interest among researchers and policymakers alike (Iredale 2005; Purkayastha 2005; Badkar, Callister et al. 2007; Badkar, Callister et al. 2007a; Kofman and Raghuram 2009). In spite of this trend, much attention has been given to

women in less-skilled sectors of the labour market and the presence of high-skilled women in other sectors has been neglected (Dumont, Martin et al. 2007: 3; Kofman and Raghuram 2009: 1).

In 2000 almost 39 million immigrant women aged 15 and over were living in OECD countries (Dumont, Martin et al. 2007: 5). Of these, 17 million were from other OECD countries, 9.4 million from South and Central America and the Caribbean, 8.4 million from Asia and 3.2 million from Africa. Table 2.10 provides the breakdown of immigrant women in OECD countries. Thus in all other countries except Mexico, Spain, Germany and Greece there are more women immigrants than men. In NZ, women make up 52 percent of the migrant population.

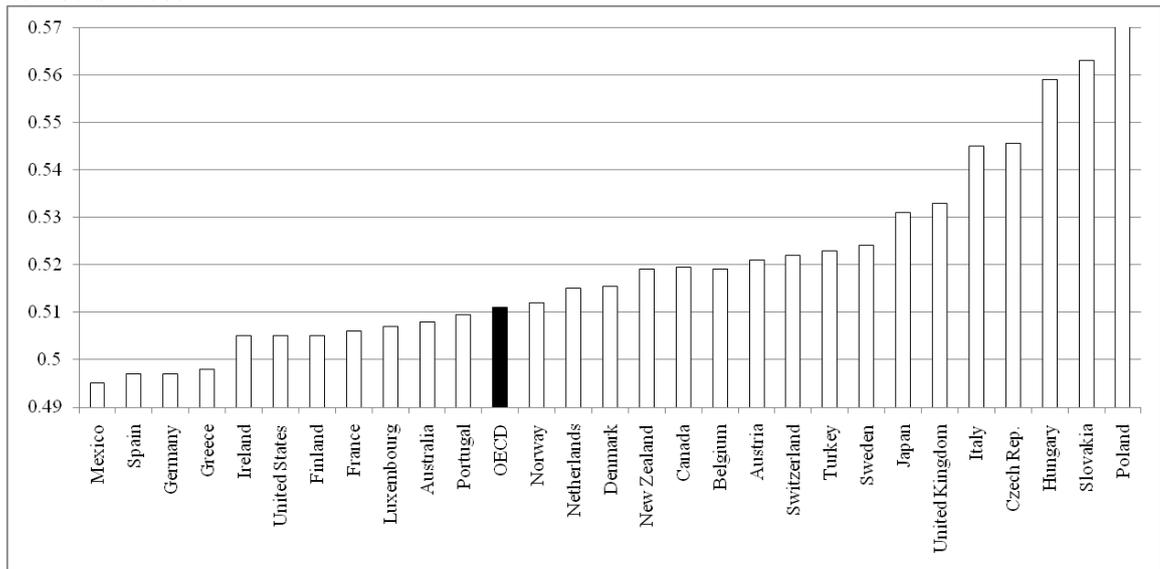
Table 2.10 Percentages of women in the immigrant population in OECD countries - 2000

Country of birth	Female	Male	Total
Philippines	562215	325262	562215
United Kingdom	509887	565273	509887
Former USSR	506999	423151	506999
Germany	440991	415688	440991
India	429547	570019	429547
China	400495	416471	400495
Poland	235147	211349	235147
Mexico	234781	239291	234781
Canada	217108	205061	217106
United States	205847	185601	205847
France	199630	166184	199630
Japan	157724	119744	157724
Vietnam	156349	193292	156349
Chinese Taipei	140840	122246	140840
Jamaica	122800	67912	122800
Former Yugoslavia	118048	148780	118048
Italy	114302	158884	114302
Cuba	111521	109530	111521
Iran	110939	171761	110939
Romania	110715	115341	110715
Total	8812173	9041503	8812173

Source: Jean-Christophe Dumont, John P Martin and Gilles Spielvogel (2007), p. 7.

International high-skilled migration has been dominated by migrants from Asian countries (Indians, Chinese and Filipinos) over the past decades (Hugo 2009: 7) and the picture does not change fundamentally for women, as shown in Figure 2.7, except that the Philippines can be said to contribute to the most number of tertiary educated women in OECD countries while Indian women comprise 42 percent of Indian high-skilled migration flows as shown in Table 2.7 above.

Figure 2.7 Main origin countries for highly skilled immigrants in OECD countries by gender, numbers – 2000



Note: Countries are ordered from highest to lowest in terms of the number of highly skilled female immigrants.

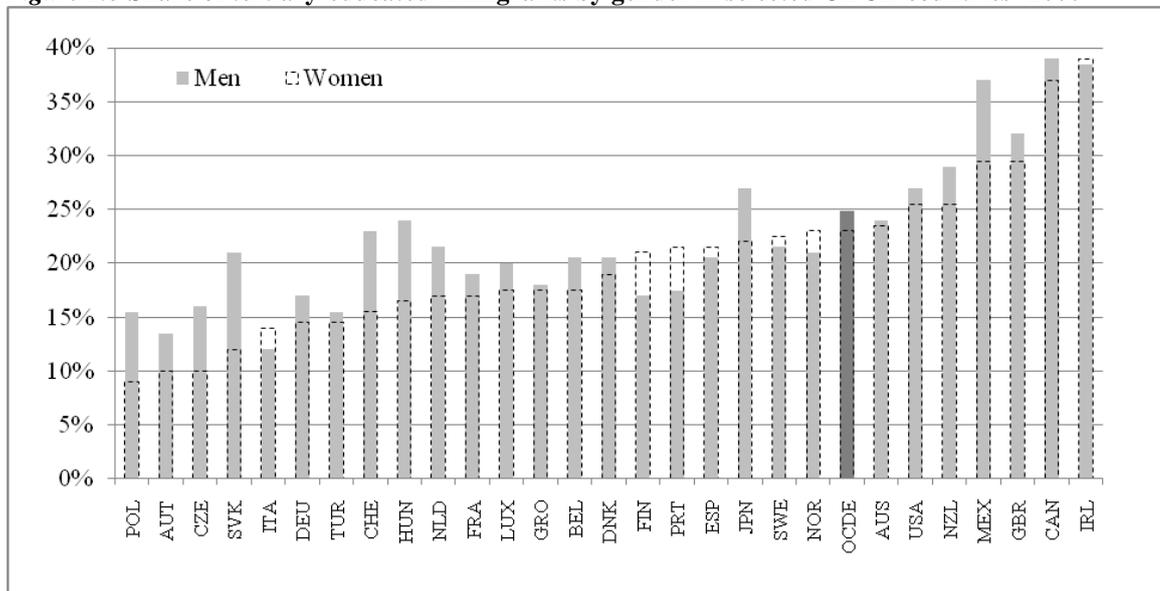
Source: OECD census cited in Jean-Christophe Dumont, John P Martin and Gilles Spielvogel (2007), p. 6.

In spite of these figures, female migrants are largely concentrated in family-related streams. As family migrants, women in skilled migrant streams are not perceived to possess skills that are labour oriented. While the numbers of women with tertiary degrees were only three percentage points below men in OECD countries (Raghuram and Kofman 2009: 3), qualified women, especially spouses of principal migrants, occupy jobs for which they are overqualified (Ho 2004; Man 2004; Purkayastha 2005). Further, while there are more migrant men than women holding tertiary qualifications in high-skilled migration streams, the difference is quite small.

Dumont and colleagues (2007: 9) suggest ‘assortative mating’ whereby ‘individuals with high educational qualifications seek spouses with similar characteristics’. This trend also reflects the high numbers of tertiary educated spouses in migration destination countries such as NZ, Australia and Canada where selection processes directly select only about 20-25 percent of the migration flow while ‘the selection

process implicitly extends to a much higher proportion of entering immigrants, principally via the family route' (2007: 9). Figure 2.8 shows the high numbers of high-skilled women migrants in skilled migratory flows to OECD countries (only three percentage points below men). While in 2000, the United States had 26.6 percent men with tertiary degrees compared to 25.6 percent women, Australia's high-skilled migration flow was equally gender-balanced whereas in NZ, high-skilled women were three percentage points behind men.

Figure 2.8 Share of tertiary-educated immigrants by gender in selected OECD countries- 2000



Source: Dumont, Martin and Spielvogel (2007), p. 10.

Importantly, women are a minority amongst ICT professionals in migration flows to any country. Kofman and Raghuram (2009: 3) report that only one quarter of computing professionals entering Australia as principal applicants in 2000 were women. Furthermore, between 1998 and 2000, only 20 percent of all computer programmers and systems analysts and 10 percent of computer engineers entering Canada as principal applicants were women. Therefore, in countries that have high flows of ICT professionals, family migration becomes the dominant mode of entry for

skilled women. Their stratification in low-skilled jobs or non-participation in labour markets then becomes ‘a social issue not an economic one’ (2009: 3) and as such is not analysed for labour market participation. This study’s findings confirm that in NZ, a large proportion of skilled Indian women in family flows are found in low-wage, low-skilled jobs (see Chapter Six).

Kofman and Raghuram (2009: 3) also argue that ‘the economic benefits of migration are often only analysed in the context of occupations (and wages) in knowledge-based industries such as finance and science and technology, in which men usually dominate’. Where migrant selection is driven by skills and occupations more favourable to males, for example ICT, where men are favoured because they are able to accumulate training and work experience often impossible for women, heavily male-dominated skilled migration flow can result. This confirms skilled women’s presence in NZ’s skilled secondary and family flows (Badkar, Callister et al. 2007: 24). Thus high-skilled women are doubly disadvantaged in such destination countries. Most countries with heavy ‘sectoral’ bias towards ICT, implicitly favour males (2009: 4). Thus immigration policies and regulations can greatly impact a woman’s ability to migrate and impact her ability to integrate into the profession or section of the labour market she is trained for. As the competition for skilled labour gains momentum, countries that vie for high levels of human capital have altered immigration regulations and policies to facilitate the entry of high-skilled migrants. However, these criteria are focused on human capital and affect women differently.

In 2002, Canada passed the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) and education and language attainment reflecting human capital replaced occupation as a ‘filter’ for migration. The launch of the IRPA saw an increase in the

numbers of women in the skilled migration category with 32 percent women in 2007 compared to 24 percent in 2000. Women continue to be a minority among principal applicants in skilled migration flows to Canada but the shift to a broader human capital approach is likely to be more advantageous to women, especially as their educational qualifications and skills increase (Kofman and Raghuram 2009: 5).

In many destination countries earnings prior to entry is an important criterion for selection. In others, earnings in the destination country are also assessed. In many others, earnings define highly skilled in immigration selection criteria. This criterion proves disadvantageous to women because globally women earn less than men. The pay gap tends to be different in different countries but on average is considered to be about 16 percent less than male earnings (2009: 5). Furthermore, skilled female migrants are often found stratified in the more regulated and less paid sectors such as welfare and social professions (Badkar, Callister et al. 2007: 6) and are even more disadvantaged. Canada, the only country to recognize the gender-selectivity in skilled migration programmes, is the first migrant destination country to have instituted a gender-based analysis (GBA) of immigration policy and settlement and integration programmes (2007: 33). As Kofman and Raghuram emphasise (2009: 6):

The emphasis on migrant women in less skilled sectors of the labour market has obscured the significant presence of skilled migrant women in the labour market. As the majority of immigration receiving countries encourage and facilitate the flow of skilled migrants, it is important that we begin to pay more attention to female skilled migrants.

2.7 Summary

The growth of skilled mobility over the past decade is reflected in the numbers of travellers in skilled migratory flows from developing countries around the world as better wages and employment conditions encourage people with experience and education to seek jobs in developed economies. As international skilled migration movements become more complex, its various aspects have been analysed by demographers, economists, sociologists, and other social scientists as illustrated in this chapter. However, there is wide consensus that our knowledge of the demography and social consequences of skilled migration are poor (Iredale 2001: 8; Lowell and Findlay 2001: 1; Taylor 2006: 2; Dumont, Martin et al. 2007: 3; Raghuram 2008: 3; Docquier, Marfouk et al. 2010: 3). The gender aspect of skilled migration is by far the most neglected (Purkayastha 2005: 181; Badkar, Callister et al. 2007: 2; Badker, Callister et al. 2007a: 3; Kofman and Raghuram 2009:1). These ‘data shortcomings’ (Docquier, Marfouk et al. 2010: 3) hinder research that could determine the skill and gender dimensions, and patterns of movement in international skilled migration. No international system for recording international skilled migration exists. As a result the term ‘skilled’ is often interpreted in terms of educational attainment (Lowell and Findlay 2001: 1; Cerna 2010: 1).

‘Skilled’ and ‘highly skilled’ are defined in immigration policy terms in this study. Iredale (2001: 7) points out that the explanation of high skilled migration theory is ‘far from adequate in terms of explaining what is occurring at the high skill end of the migration spectrum’. A brief overview of the major typologies of international skilled migration makes it obvious that there is no streamlined ‘typology’ or ‘system’ that can analyse the movements of high skilled people and no single blanket approach or

principle that can comprehensively describe and explain this phenomenon. A review of the demography of international skilled mobility and the global stocks of highly skilled workers offers an understanding of the potential of the skilled migratory movement. India is one of the largest contributors of skilled human capital in the world. Accordingly, this chapter has reviewed the human capital stocks that drive skilled migration from India. This chapter provides a global perspective into skilled migration movements and of how women are placed within them. Chapters Four, Six and Seven will further examine Indian women's migration experiences and the socio-economic and institutional factors that contribute to their eventual integration in NZ.

Asia is home to the largest number of people in the world and is the engine that runs migratory movements. International skilled mobility within the Asia-Pacific is seen as a catalyst driving the massive transformations in the region as more and more countries in the region adopt skilled immigration policies as a means of sourcing high levels of human capital to drive their economies. The scale and composition of international migration have been accompanied by rapid social and economic and political changes both in sending and in receiving countries (Castles 2009: online). Thus highly educated women are able to migrate either as principal applicants or as dependent wives (Man 2004: 5; Purkayastha 2005:188).

CHAPTER THREE

Methodological issues

3.1 Introduction to Chapter

Empirical research in the social sciences can be performed through both quantitative and qualitative approaches. While quantitative research is objective and deductive, qualitative research is subjective and inductive. Thus quantitative research can produce reliable population based data and is well suited for research studies on populations and people. Traditionally, migration studies have used quantitative research approaches that provide a ‘macro’ picture of the patterns of migration. The studies rely on the efficacy of such methods to provide a high level of measurement precision and statistical power. This study uses the questionnaires as its instrument (Mahler and Pessar 2006: 28). To supplement survey data, macroeconomic and historic data in the form of descriptive statistics are used to provide background context to this study. Survey data combined with other specific objectives such as labour market participation, income and housing also contributes towards presenting a continuum of historical and current accounts of migration to NZ with the ethnic profile of immigrants on one hand and their specific settlement outcomes on the other.

This thesis relies on a combination of both secondary and primary research data, descriptive statistics from Longitudinal Immigration Survey New Zealand (LisNZ), Statistics New Zealand and the Census as well as data from completed survey questionnaires by Indian women spouses in New Zealand. This chapter outlines and explains the methods and sources I have used.

3.2 Sources of Data for Research

In order to gain an understanding of skilled migration flows and the settlement landscape in NZ, it was critical that this study be based on information that fully encompassed and provided context to the subject of this research. This included the collection of facts and figures at international, regional, national and individual levels that provided both ‘longitudinal’ and ‘cross sectional’ perspectives of skilled and gendered migration. Accordingly, relevant historic and macroeconomic facts and data were collected to provide context and supporting evidence.

International migration data for this study, particularly on global gendered migration flows and the economic and socio-demographics of international skilled migration was freely accessible and was obtained from the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the yearly reports on Migration, Immigrants and Policy (SOPEMI) from the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), the International Organization of Migration (IOM) and the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM).

Other relevant information was collected from the extensive migration literature available, such as those published by the International Migration Review, the Asian Migration Research Network (APRMS), the Migration Information Source (MIS), the Social Science Research Network (SSRN), the Journal of European Women’s Studies and the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies. The information and data from these (and other) sources were of particular importance in assisting the researcher to realise the objective of providing a broad general context to the question of gendered skilled

migration and a specific background context to the migration experiences of Indian women spouses in NZ. Baseline information and relevant published data was gathered from the national level through Indian central government sources, such as published data from the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA). Other data, especially that of gender related factors that influence skilled Indian men and women to migrate from India was gathered from widely published Indian literature on skilled migration (Bhan 2001; Khadria 2004; Arya and Roy 2006; Khadria 2006; Khadria 2006; Munshi and Srivastava 2006; Mani 2009), and they provided valuable input into the question of why Indian families emigrate.

At the national level in NZ, valuable information was collected from government sources such as Statistics New Zealand, the Department of Labour (DOL), the Ministry of Social Development (MSD), the Ministry of Women's Affairs (MWA) and the Department of Internal Affairs (DIA) and from the Migration Research Group (MRG), the Asia Pacific Migration Research Network (APMRN), the Social Policy Journal of New Zealand and from the extensive publications from NZ migration scholars. Data from DOL settlement reports using LisNZ data and the yearly Migration Trends Reports as well as other relevant data from other New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS) reports was collected. The data collected from these sources has been particularly important and assists the specific objectives of this research.

The NZ census is conducted once every five years by Statistics New Zealand and provides a complete statistical record of the country. Thus the Census figures between 2001 and 2006 show a growth in the 'ethnic' Indian population from 62,190 to

104,583 a 68 percent increase in 5 years. Census data is a vital source of information on migrant populations in NZ, especially their geographic distribution, age and sex, qualifications, labour force activity, income levels, and English proficiency. Census data published by Statistics New Zealand was freely available and was collected for this thesis.

Census data was supplemented by LisNZ data published by Statistics New Zealand. The LisNZ is commissioned by the DOL to provide comprehensive information on the settlement experiences of immigrants in NZ. It is a longitudinal survey that tracks the settlement experiences of new immigrants during their first three years in New Zealand. The sample size is approximately 7000 (New Zealand Department of Labour 2009) comprised of randomly selected people approved for permanent residence in New Zealand. The survey interviewed immigrants at around six months (Wave 1), 18 months (Wave 2) and 36 months (Wave 3) and provides rich data of immigrants and their settlement experiences. Thus the employment experiences of immigrants in their countries of origin compared to their employment outcomes in NZ after arrival was very useful in checking the efficacy of this study's survey analysis. The LisNZ's detailed information on labour force variables that include qualifications, English proficiency and training, labour force participation and income, on housing, the use of support services and social networks were particularly useful while analysing the survey results of this study. However, the migrants in the LisNZ sample were required to have entered NZ after 2004 while the focus of this study is on those migrants who entered NZ between 1998 and 2008. Thus an in-depth understanding of the settlement and labour market experiences of skilled Indian women spouses cannot be deduced from the LisNZ data alone. Therefore the LisNZ data was supplemented by broader

data from Statistics New Zealand and the DOL on one hand and qualitative research data by individual academics on the other. While the longitudinal survey allows for the longitudinal comparison of experiences before and after migration and over a period of time, research studies that wish to use LisNZ data will need to wait till Wave 2 and Wave 3 data are available to make optimum use of the survey findings.

The aims and focus of this research required the collection of primary data from individual migrant women who were spouses of skilled migrants in order to explore their experiences that would contribute to our understanding of their challenges during settlement. The survey questionnaires thus, were designed and used to collect in-depth data that included personal and demographic characteristics (such as age, gender, immigration status, marital and parental status), education and work experience, paid work pre-migration, paid work post-migration, skills and language training post-migration, settlement services and networks, childcare, household work and empowerment and participation, which provided the necessary input for a micro level analysis.

3.3 Data Collection Tools and Limitations

This study relied on the collection of both macro and micro level data. Therefore different methods of data collection were used. The study employed a combination of primary and secondary data collection instruments to obtain the best possible data to address the research questions.

The data collection firstly included a search of administrative and statistical repositories to retrieve relevant secondary data. This research relied on both

qualitative and quantitative secondary data from official data archives, administrative records and documents collected and recorded by government and non-governmental organizations. Since these records are created by different organizations for various purposes, collections of data or documents that are relevant to this study needed to be found and retrieved 'their value depending on the degree of the match' (Hakim 2000: 48) between research and data. Administrative records are a valuable source of data when available for long periods of time. However, there are limitations in the use of such data due to methods of collection, collection purpose and a lack of consistency. For example a large part of the DOL's data is not sex-disaggregated. Further almost all statistical data published over the years has been centred on the principal applicant. It was thus difficult to input such data while measuring settlement outcomes for secondary applicants of skilled migration flows.

Rich data on the influence of gender and race on labour market participation of Indian women was very sparse. Also almost all available datasets in population based records were categorised under the five most populous ethnic groups (New Zealand European, Maori, Pacific, Asian and Middle Eastern/Latin American/African) often using 'other' as a category. Information requests to Statistics New Zealand on specific datasets addressing the target population proved to be very expensive and beyond the parameters of this researcher's budget. This research therefore has had to fall back on freely available data. The Migration Trends and Outlook reports and other relevant reports brought out each year by the DOL as well as other migration-related publications, especially those on women in skilled migration, have been freely quoted (Fletcher 1999; Bedford 2003; Friesen, Murphy et al. 2005; Pio 2005; Pio 2005a; Badkar, Callister et al. 2007; Badkar, Callister et al. 2007a; Friesen 2008).

Another challenge was that different agencies used different methods of categorisation to suit their own purpose, employing different concepts, definitions and terminologies for the same category. For instance, 'skilled migrant' was variously defined in migration destination countries in keeping with each state's immigration policy. Terms related to migration in this thesis, however, are consistent with those used in NZ and its skilled immigration policy. This state of affairs in gender and migration research proves difficult for researchers looking for more definitive data on specific groups and categories.

Nonetheless data derived from administrative records if accurately interpreted and systematically developed to provide necessary information can be considerably valuable. Because of the paucity of information on integration of skilled secondary migrant spouses in NZ, this study has heavily quoted from literature from other migration destination countries most similar to NZ, particularly Australia, and Canada and to a lesser extent, the United Kingdom and the United States (Boyd and Grieco 2003; Ho 2004; Iredale 2004; Man 2004; Purkayastha 2005; Kofman and Raghuram 2009). The researcher's own experience working in migrant settlement in NZ made available extensive anecdotal information that has been judiciously used in this study.

Taking into account the limitations described above, the necessity for primary data collection and the researcher's knowledge of the Indian migrant community in NZ, structured questionnaires (Appendix C) that required written answers were used to collect primary data towards meeting the objectives of this study.

Questionnaires were used to collect demographic details and measure both the social capital² of Indian women that were secondary migrants and their economic growth. Questions were included on their individual profiles and experiences, reasons for migration, their educational qualifications, their work experience, their gender and family roles and their status within their families. This methodology is a well-tested instrument of data-collection in the Social Sciences (Hakim 2000) and provided a systematic and time-saving method to obtain in-depth information from the women. The survey was anonymous, in keeping with the requirements of the University of New England's Human Research Ethics Committee and no identifying information was collected. All information was confidential with results presented in an aggregate form.

This study set out to accomplish the interrelated objectives of determining:

- a. How gender and other variables such as race/ethnicity, age and socio-cultural status influence integration of women that are spouses of principal applicants;
- b. How immigrant women spouses access and use social capital;
- c. What facilitates or inhibits skilled migrant women's access to various services/programs offered by the government;
- d. How such access is mediated by race/ethnicity, age and socio-economic status;
- e. The women's use of their economic capital and whether it is mediated by gender, race and status;
- f. The role played by regulatory bodies and state institutional structures on the women's occupational mobility;

² Social capital is defined as the norms and social relations embedded in the social structures of societies that enable people to co-ordinate action to achieve desired goals. [Social Capital: the Missing Link?, Social Capital Initiative, C. Grootaert, Working Paper No. 3, World Bank, 1998].
<http://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=3560>

- g. How gender roles and family responsibilities influence women's labour market integration, and
- h. Women's labour market participation pre- and post-migration.

The questionnaire thus consisted of eight sections (see Appendix C). The first section was designed to obtain a personal (demographic) profile of the participant that included age, education, parental status, migration status, country of origin. This information was particularly useful to put together a participant profile and helped the researcher assess and compare the participant's characteristics. The second allowed the researcher to extract information on the participant's educational background and their previous work experience. This information allowed the researcher to compare the labour market participation of skilled male and female migrants. The third and fourth allowed the researcher to not only obtain information on both past and present occupations of participants but also obtain information on current work status, income and working conditions which allowed an analysis of labour market participation of women in their countries of origin, and accessibility to the labour market in NZ. Questions in the fifth section were designed to obtain information on skills training and language training in order to give the researcher an understanding of training opportunities accessed by migrant women in their initial phase of settlement and whether such training was easily accessible.

In summary, the first section contributed towards building and comparing participant profiles. The next four sections enabled the researcher to measure the education, work experience and sets of skills each participant possessed through work or training that would contribute to speedy labour market entry. The next three sections focused

largely on gender roles and family roles of the participants and their access to social networks and state-run settlement support structures. The last two sections were about family, empowerment, civic and social participation and social integration. These advised the researcher on the gender roles and family relationships of each participant, the degree of participation in family decision-making, about the effects of migration on the participants gender roles, on how empowered the participants felt post-migration phase and whether their social and economic integration had been achieved.

The questionnaire survey was the instrument of choice for this study because of the relatively high educational and literacy levels of the participants. India is an Anglophonic³ country and most educated Indians, men and women alike have reasonably good spoken and written English language competence. The questionnaire was thus provided in English. To test the readability of the questionnaire and its ability to obtain accurate information, a pilot survey was conducted with six volunteer participants from the target group in April 2009 and very minor revisions made.

The Indian immigrant community in NZ is well represented across the country especially in the urban hubs of Auckland, Wellington, Hamilton, and Christchurch with smaller groups in Dunedin, Palmerston North, Whangarei and New Plymouth. However, the majority of Indian migrants live in and around Auckland (Friesen 2008) and these were the ones targeted.

The questionnaire and its guideline document (Appendix C) were accompanied by a cover letter (Appendix B) to the participant and an open letter (Appendix A)

³ An English-speaking person, especially one from a country where two or more languages are spoken, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/Anglophonic>

addressed to key contact people in Indian community organizations and to community leaders of ethnic Indian groups. All three documents included the contact details of the researcher (including postal addresses, email addresses, telephone number, and mobile number). The researcher's extensive work experience in the migrant settlement sector and her mailing list of Indian community organizations in Auckland and other urban centres were fully utilised. Altogether, thirty five open letters along with questionnaire surveys and cover letters were emailed to key people in community groups and organizations on the 30th April 2009. A few were posted. Letters were also emailed or posted to key contacts in Indian organizations listed on migrant community databases maintained by governmental and non-governmental organizations, freely available to people working in the settlement sector in NZ. Post-paid envelopes were offered on request. The open letter to community leaders introduced the researcher and the subject and purpose of the research (academic research for a university degree) and requested them to recruit interested women in their community groups to participate in the research. The cover letter to the questionnaire outlined the voluntary nature of the survey and assured confidentiality to women who chose to participate. The purpose of the study was stressed. Potential participants were invited to call the researcher if they had any questions.

Seventy-nine completed surveys were returned by email, fax and post by the 29th July 2009. Thus the participants in this research survey were self identified and the questionnaires were self administered. The locations where the completed surveys came from were recorded and identity tags were immediately removed on receipt, in compliance with the requirements of the Human Research Ethics Committee and the data collected through the questionnaires thus was rendered anonymous. The data

collected from the survey questionnaires was coded and then analysed using MS Excel. Information was compiled in the form of descriptive and inferential statistics, the final results presented using a combination of frequencies, percentages, cross tabulation, significance and strength of association. Also all qualitative factors were treated as 'binary' variables when examining strength of association (Fawcett and Arnold 1987). The results of the questionnaire survey are presented in Chapter Six.

The survey results provide both a snapshot and specific data on the settlement experiences of this sample of Indian women spouses in New Zealand. This study is especially important because of the limited information available on the settlement experiences of skilled migrant women spouses in NZ.

3.4 Summary

Migration research is frequently based either on small often unrepresentative samples with findings rich in detail but only relating to specific groups of people, or on quantitative studies based on large, representative samples that demonstrate large-scale trends that are unable to elucidate socio-cultural experiences. In using both questionnaire-surveys and large-scale data, this study is able to offer a more in-depth understanding of the topic under study. While the survey findings offer personal accounts of migration and settlement, the quantitative data provides a broader context within which to interpret and understand the respondents' experiences.

This study used two main methods of data collection to meet the main objectives of this research. The methods were: search for data from administrative records and government and non government and academic documents and questionnaire surveys. This Chapter has discussed methods and techniques used in this study and presented perceived limitations of each data collection method and ways the limitations were addressed.

CHAPTER FOUR

Indian Migrations to New Zealand and the respondents: A Profile

4.1 Introduction to the Chapter

NZ is clearly a migrant society and migration has often been heavily contested in many national dialogues. The shift in the NZ government's immigration policy towards a human-capital approach and the subsequent 'browning' of NZ has often given grounds for controversy. Further, NZ's bi-cultural heritage and the Treaty of Waitangi (Philips 2008d: online) allows Maori (Tangata Whenua or 'People of the Land') to contest any revisions in the NZ government's immigration policy and the subsequent entry of diverse people into Aotearoa (NZ), their homeland. The preamble to the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 acknowledges that more immigrants from the United Kingdom, Europe and Australia would settle in NZ. Māori argue that they be consulted about letting people from other countries settle in New Zealand (Beaglehole 2009e: online).

The NZ government formally abolished the 'White NZ' Policy in 1974 and has since welcomed diverse migrants regardless of their ethnic backgrounds. Consequently, NZ's non-European population has grown dramatically in the last four decades. The gradual relaxing of restrictions in the 1990s and the demand for human capital to meet labour-market shortages saw an upswing of non-Europeans migrating to NZ. By the end of 1996 there were 605,100 overseas-born people in NZ from 200 ethnic groups (Statistics New Zealand 1997: 28/39). The Indian community has grown from 62,646 in 2001 to 104,358 in 2006 of which only 22.8percent is NZ-born (Bedford and Ho

2008: 3). The extended restrictions of the entry of non-British migrants for over 100 years however, make Europeans the most dominant group in NZ.

The Indian community is profoundly multilayered, defined by factors such as country of origin, class, religion and gender, a community of individuals bound together by a powerful heritage that has withstood the tests of time. Indians have migrated from India and a number of Indian Diasporas (Indian Ministry of External Affairs 2001) to NZ since the nineteenth century. Over this time, un-skilled, low-skilled and high-skilled people arrived in NZ in primary, secondary and tertiary migration flows (Naujoks 2008: online). Indian migrations to NZ before 1987 are important to this study and are briefly covered in this chapter. The networks and connections these 'older' Indians established (including ethnic enclaves, cultural organisations, houses of worship, religious groups, shops etc) are critical to the settlement of modern skilled Indian migrant families. Also, such migration networks and connections are 'significantly gendered' (Vertovec 2002: 5) and offered critically important contacts and connections to the respondents. The role of such networks and connections in the integration of Indian migrant women is discussed more fully in Chapters five, six and seven

This chapter documents the history of Indian migrations to NZ since the mid-nineteenth century and during the last two decades. This is followed by a profile of Indians in NZ and a profile of the respondents who provide information on their settlement experiences in NZ.

4.2 Early Indian Migrations to NZ

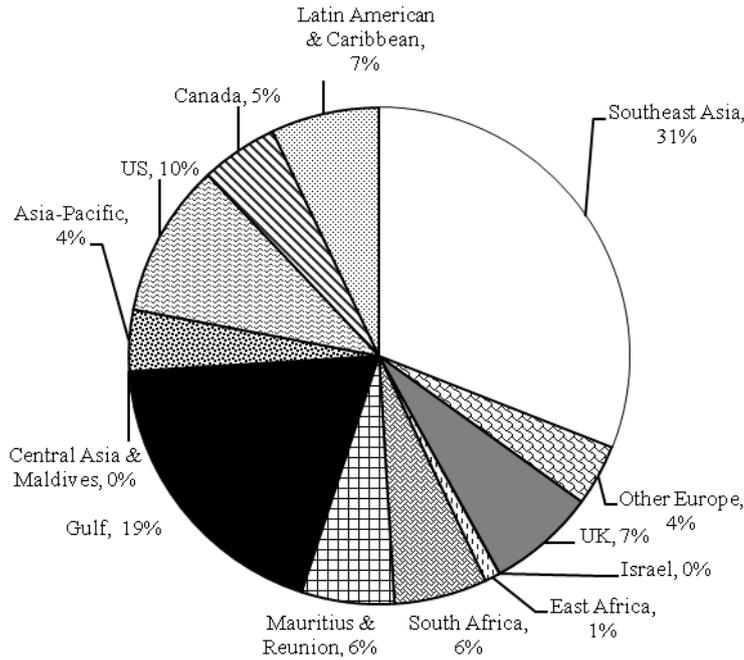
The first Indians documented in NZ were in the late 19th century. The 1881 census records six Indians in NZ. Most Indians came to NZ on British East India Company ships that brought supplies to convict settlements in Australia (Philips 2008: online). They were subsequently excluded from NZ for much of the twentieth century, when NZ introduced restrictions to the entry of all non-traditional migrants. The gradual relaxation of restrictions and further changes in immigration policy, along with political instability in other countries, brought many more Indians to NZ in the 1980s (Philips 2008e: online). Most of these early Indians settled in the Auckland region (Bedford 2003: online) making this the region of change and ‘the face of New Zealand in the 21st century’ (Friesen 2008: 2).

4.2.1 Indian Diasporas: An Overview

The diasporic communities that can be characterized as ‘ethnic’ Indian in NZ include people from a number of countries that have Indian Diasporas. The largest of these is Fiji with a majority Indo-Fijian population. The others are Malaysia, Singapore, South Africa, UK, the Caribbean countries, Zimbabwe and Sri Lanka.

The Indian Diaspora is estimated at 20 million Indians world-wide spread across 110 countries and is the outcome of waves of migrations of un-skilled, semi-skilled and skilled workers from India over 200 years (Khadria 2006: 1). Figure 4.1 presents 12 of the largest Indian Diasporas (2006: 4). While Indians are minority communities in the UK and USA, they constitute majority groups in Fiji (40 percent), Trinidad, Guyana, and Suriname and Mauritius (70 percent). Indians in the Asia-Pacific region (4 percent) are minority groups mostly in Australia and NZ.

Figure 4.1 Percentage distributions of people of Indian stock by region



Source: Binod Khadria (2006), p. 4.

Racial pressures and economic and political instability are some of the factors that influenced Indians from many diasporic communities to migrate to NZ in what is called secondary migration (Naujoks 2008: online). Political unrest and resentment, perhaps because of the Indian community's economic dominance in East Africa, Fiji, and some Caribbean countries also forced Indians to flee. While 35,600 Indians from Fiji emigrated to Australia and NZ after the coup in 1996, the exodus of 80,000 Indians from Uganda after a military coup in 1972, brought a small number of Indians to NZ under its humanitarian quota under which NZ reserved 10 percent of its immigration quota for refugees and asylum seekers, while the rest were accepted by Canada, the US, West Germany and Sweden (Naujoks 2008: online; Swabrick 2008d: online).

NZ's economic interests in Fiji allowed unskilled Indians from Fiji to migrate to NZ on work permits in the 1950s. These Indians worked as temporary scrub-cutters

clearing farmland for cultivation and development. This trend continued between 1967 and 1987 and many Indo-Fijians emigrated to NZ through several work schemes. Table 4.1 shows the waves of Indo-Fijian migrations. Until the 1980s the Indians in NZ were significantly from India. At this point, 46% of the Indians had been born in NZ, 31% were from India, 13% from Fiji and 10% were from other countries. The coup in Fiji in 1987 and 2000, however, saw an exodus of Indo-Fijians to NZ and by 2001, almost 32 percent of Indians in NZ were from Fiji (Swarbrick 2008: online).

Table 4.1: Indians in New Zealand 1971-2001

Birthplace of Indians resident in New Zealand, 1971					
	NZ	Fiji	India	Other	Total
Number	3,398	964	2,957	441	7,760
Percentage	43.79%	12.42%	38.11%	5.68%	100.00%
New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1971					
Birthplace of Indians resident in New Zealand, 1981					
	NZ	Fiji	India	Other	Total
Number	5,160	1,617	3,615	1,185	11,577
Percentage	44.57%	13.97%	31.23%	10.23%	100.00%
New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1981					
Birthplace of Indians resident in New Zealand, 2001					
	NZ	Fiji	India	Other	Total
Number	17,946	19,593	19,053	6,053	62,646
Percentage	28.65%	31.28%	30.41%	9.66%	100.00%
New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 2001					

Source: Nancy Swarbrick (2008), online.

The GCM of 1991 with its focus on certified trade and vocational qualifications proved far more favourable to Indian migrants with skills, qualifications and work experience and Indians from early to middle working age found it easier to meet the criteria to migrate to NZ. However, transferability of skills and English language competence severely challenged the integration of Indians (and other non-traditional

migrants) in the 1990s (Poot 1993; NZ Department of Internal Affairs 1996; Winkleman and Winkelman 1998; Bedford, Ho et al. 2000). In 2002, 8,400 Indian migrants were approved for entry and became ‘a visible target for anti-immigration political and public comment’(Bedford 2003: online).

The ‘politicization’ of immigration policies and selection criteria and the resulting revisions has resulted in a steady drop in numbers of Indian migrants in skilled migration flows to NZ. The decrease in numbers of Indian skilled migrants to NZ over successive years are as follows: 16percent in 2002/2003, eight percent in 2003/2004, seven percent in 2004/2005, five percent in 2005/2006, nine percent in 2006/2007 and seven percent in 2007/2008 (New Zealand Department of Labour 2005: 18). Indians, however, continue to migrate under Family Sponsored categories. This is discussed in Chapter One and Chapter Two.

4.2.2 Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Indian Migrations to NZ

Friesen (2008: 3) defines the Asians who arrived in NZ before 1987 as ‘old policy’ (arrival pre -1987) migrants. The ‘old policy’ Indian migrants were largely from India though there were some from Fiji as well (see Table 4.3). They were largely Lascars (Indian seamen) and Sepoys (Indian soldiers), agricultural workers, and domestics. Between 1896 and 1996, the numbers of Indians in NZ had risen from 41 to 42,411. While most of the early Indians were from Gujarat and the Punjab (in India), later flows included Indians from Fiji (Swabrick 2008d: online).

Early Indians settled in and around Auckland, a few settling around Wellington, the Waikato, Bay of Plenty, Taranaki, Manawatū, and the Wairarapa. Most worked in

agricultural occupations and were flax workers, drain diggers and scrub cutters. When agricultural labour work declined, they moved to market gardening, mostly in the Waikato. By the late 1930s, many Indians had moved to urban areas working as unskilled workers in the processing and manufacturing industries in Auckland. Many worked in hotels and owned fruit and vegetable stores. The ebb and flow of Indian migration to NZ continued, regulated and dictated by the changes in the NZ government's immigration policy. As numbers increased and they became visible, Indians (along with the Chinese) became targets of 'racist' campaigns and were excluded from 'mainstream' activities between 1925 and 1927. Indians were also restricted from working as barbers, from private bars, and in balcony seating areas of cinemas and this continued until the late 1950s (Swabrick 2008d: online).

After the second World War, Indian women were allowed to join their families and this changed the face of the Indian community in NZ. While the women helped in the businesses that husbands and fathers had set up, they re-introduced cultural practices and traditional diets and hitherto unavailable Indian dietary staples such as chillies, coriander, garlic and eggplant began to be cultivated. The women ground rice flour by hand, and bought rosewater and cardamom from the chemist (Swabrick 2008d: online). There was more focus on culture, language and religion. Gujarati and other language classes (Punjabi, Bengali, Marathi and Fijian Hindi) were held for the younger generation. Some of these farms, businesses and classes continue to this day (Swabrick 2008d: online). Political unrest in Fiji and Uganda brought Fijian and Ugandan Indians to NZ in the 1960s and 1970s. These Indians invested in convenience stores (dairies) and small restaurants while others continued to work in market gardens (2008d: online).

NZ continued its restrictions on Asians and other migrants of non-British parentage through much of the twentieth century. There was much hostility against non-European migrants and Indians came together to present a united front despite religious and other differences. For the first time in 1918, organisations were established to promote Indian values and culture and to combat hostility. The Central Indian Association established in 1926 marks an important milestone in the story of Indian settlement in NZ (Swabrick 2008e: online).

Early Hindu immigrants had met regularly in small groups to listen to readings and pray. In the years between 1920 and 1977 Indians made themselves more comfortable in NZ and formed sustainable communities. Cultural mores regarding cremations, religious festivals and traditional foods were followed. Community halls and places of worship were built (2008e: online). The 'old' Indian suburbs of Mt Roskill and Mt Albert continue to have dense Indian populations with the paraphernalia of Indian lifestyles – the shops and temple (Friesen, Murphy et al. 2005).

Indians are not homogenous and form distinctive community groups based on their place of origin, language and/or religion. However inspite of these differences, all Indians share important cultural characteristics. Extended kinship and community networks are founded on language, religion and place of origin while traditional family values prescribe gender roles. Women (and families) circulate within these networks drawing support from them when needed.

4.3 Indian Migrants in New Zealand: A Demographic, Geographic and Human Capital Profile

There are comparatively few Indians in Auckland who arrived before the Immigration Act of 1987. However, in its aftermath, there was a quantum increase in the number of overseas born migrants in NZ. The Asia-born population alone increased by about 50 percent (Friesen 2008: 3). The Indian population increased rapidly from 62,190 in 2001 to 104,538 in 2006 - a growth of 68.2 percent (Statistics New Zealand 2006: 4).

The introduction of the Immigration Act also shifted NZ's economic focus, from the recruitment of unskilled migrants in the early post-war period to the recruitment of education, skills and work experience. Thus NZ immigration policy has evolved to make human capital criteria the basis for migrant selection in an increasingly competitive world. NZ's new Indian migrants, quite unlike the earlier ones, had education, skills and work experience and had been in professional careers before migrating to NZ. A majority elected to live in Auckland because of the older established Indian communities there. Thus new migrants were able to rely on community and cultural networks and critical support for their families. They settled around schools that were 'multi-cultural'. Thus suburbs around Mt Roskill Grammar, Mt Albert Primary and Secondary and Lynfield College, schools that have catered to multi-ethnic student bodies for more than 50 years, were favoured (Friesen, Murphy et al. 2005; Friesen 2008).

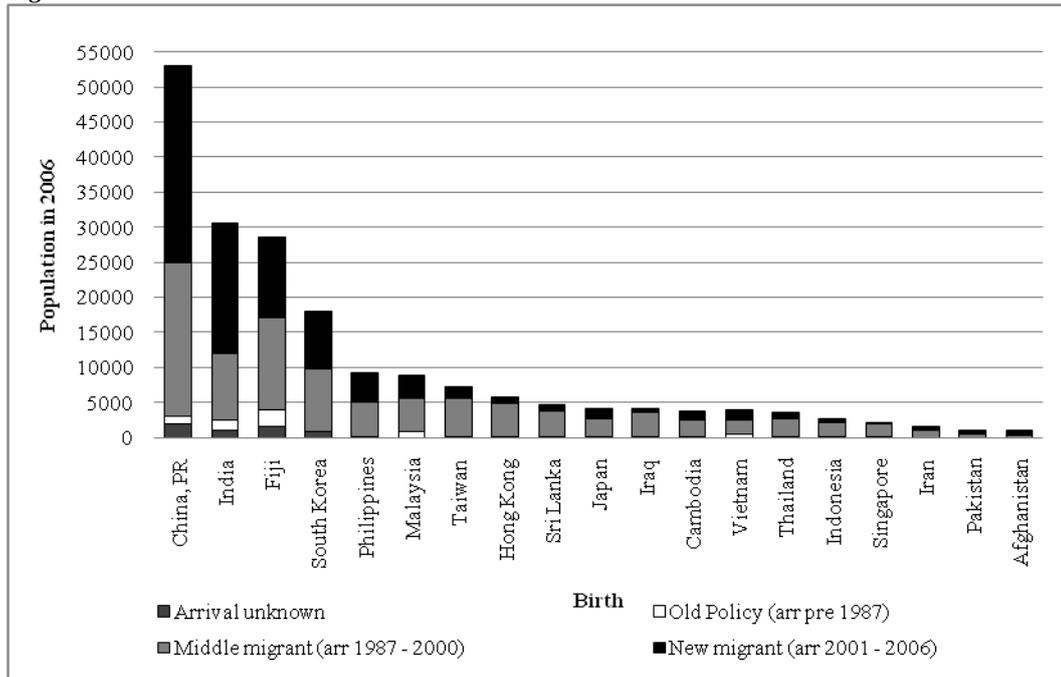
This study relies on level 2 (regional) and level 3 (local) data to build a representative profile of Indians in NZ. However, such data is difficult (and expensive) to access and is beyond the financial parameters of this study. Tabulated census data for common

use is only released at the 'highest' or national level (level 1). Such data is rather broad-based and general and where necessary this study uses this data. Auckland is the 'gateway' to NZ with 71.2 percent of its overseas-born Indian population (see Table 4.4) and more 'closely approximate identities'(Friesen 2008: 2) at the level 3 classification of 'Indian' is available for Auckland. Due to Auckland being the preferred area of settlement for most Indians (see above), the composite profile of Auckland's Indian migrants is highly representative of this study, this data is used often.

The following profile is drawn from data available from Stats NZ, DOL, AsiaNZ, the ARC and other sources that provide a context within which to interpret Indian migrants' experiences in New Zealand. Findings from state-run surveys such as the LisNZ and SEFS have not been used in this study because the survey's sample is not representative of Indian migrants. Also the LisNZ was launched in 2004 and as such does not cover the timeline for this study.

The origins and period of arrival are significant factors that influence the profile of Indian migrants in relation to demographics, acquisition of English language skills, integration into the labour force and other aspects of acculturation. Figure 4.2 indicates the number of Indians in Auckland categorized by the time of arrival. There are relatively few overseas-born Indians who arrived before the immigration policy revision of 1987. Both 'middle'(arrival 1987-2000) Indians and 'new migrants' (arrival 2001-2006) arrived in NZ after 1987 (Friesen 2008: 4) through the skilled/business migration streams (New Zealand Department of Labour 2010: 4).

Figure 4.2 Indians in Auckland: Number & Period of Arrival



Source: Wardlow Friesen (2008), p. 4.

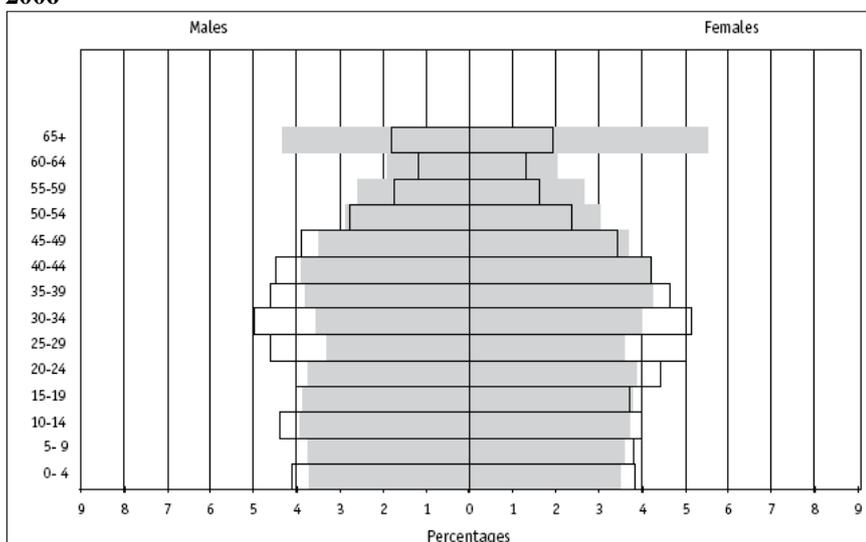
The Indian population of NZ (and Auckland) is identified by their origin for this profile and ‘migrant’ Indians who were born overseas are categorized as ‘overseas born’. Indian migrants who arrived after 1987 share distinct characteristics apart from their ethnicity. Most are relatively recent arrivals in NZ, having migrated in the last 20 years, are generally well-educated, and are concentrated in urban areas, mainly Auckland (Friesen 2008: 2). Since a majority of the respondents are from Auckland, sources and data from Fiji Auckland have significantly been used. The profile thus will present characteristics of Auckland’s Indians as well.

4.3.1 Demographics

The age/sex/gender structure of the Indian population in Auckland is similar to both the mainstream Auckland as well as to the national profile. The age and sex of Indian migrants reflects the immigration policy’s human capital approach and selection criteria that awards more points to working-age age groups. Thus Figure 4.3 indicates

both men and women well represented in the ages 25-49 with women best represented in the 30-34 age group.

Figure 4.3 Age/Sex/Gender and percentage of Indian and Total Population in Auckland (shaded) 2006



Source: Wardlow Friesen (2008), p.10.

Table 4.2 indicates the balanced age-sex distribution structure with both male and female Indian migrants well represented in a wide age range (25 – 49 years), reflecting migration criteria favouring these ages, especially between 1996 and 2006.

Table 4.2 Sex ratios (male / female) by age group- Indian populations, 1986, 1996 and 2006

Ethnic group and age	1986	1996	2006
b) Indian			
0 - 19 years	1.03	1.03	1.06
20 - 34 years	1.13	0.98	0.96
35 - 49 years	1.19	1.19	1.06
50 - 64 years	1.13	1.09	1.06
64 years and over	0.98	0.87	0.96
All ages	1.09	1.05	1.02

Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 2006
 Note: Data are extracted from tables titled 'Persons approved for residence by nationality, New Zealand, 1992-93 to 1995 from the source

Source: Richard Bedford and Elsie Ho (2007), p. 16.

Table 4.3 indicates place of origin for Indians in Auckland. The table illustrates the complexities of defining the identities of Indian migrants. Of the 74,442 (eight percent of Auckland's population), 80 percent were overseas-born and came from 24 countries world-wide. Of these the two largest places of origin were India (49.4 percent) and Fiji (39.5 percent). 1.7 percent were from other Asian countries and 9.3 percent were from non-Asian countries. Other than India and Fiji, Australia, Malaysia, UK and Zimbabwe were the larger source countries. Out of a total of 104,358 Indians in NZ (see Table 4.4), 71.3 percent of NZ's Indians lived in the Auckland Region.

Table 4.3 New Zealand resident population identifying Indians by place of origin – 2006

	Birthplace	Chinese	Indian	Others	Total Asian
a)	New Zealand				
	<i>Subtotal</i>	32,109	23,835	16,080	70,650
	% of total in ethnic group	21.8	22.8	15.2	19.9
b)	Asia				
	North-east Asia	94,755	111	37,749	132,615
	South-east Asia	16,575	1,864	34,901	53,340
	South Asia	51	42,206	10,156	52,413
	<i>Subtotal</i>	111,381	44,181	82,806	238,368
	% of total in ethnic group	75.5	42.2	78.3	67.2
c)	Other Countries				
	<i>Sub-total</i>	2,769	35,682	6,111	42,678
	% of total in ethnic group	1.9	34.1	5.8	12.0
	Birthplace not stated	1,308	885	711	2,856
	% of total in ethnic group	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.8
	Total	147,567	104,583	105,708	354,552

Source: Richard Bedford and Elise Ho (2008), p. 3.

'Ethnic' Indians in NZ come from a wide range of source countries. Table 4.4 indicates the place of origin for overseas-born Indians in 2006. While 22.8 percent were NZ-born, 42.2 percent were from Asian countries (of which 95 percent were from India), 34.1 percent were from countries outside Asia (Friesen 2008: 2).

Table 4.4 Overseas-born Indians by place of birth in the Auckland region (2006)

	New Zealand population	Maori	New Zealander	Chinese	Korean	Indian	Samoan	Tongan	Cook Islands Maori	Niuean	British	South Africa
New Zealand	515,925	132,690	89,712	18,114	1,266	14,517	49,803	21,201	23,520	12,384	4,923	351
% New Zealand born	85	98	91	19	6	20	54	54	69	72	16	3
England	46,794	297	3,097	117	9	372	6	27	18	15	20,043	75
China, PR	159	9	153	53,961	15	36	35,061	9	3	15	9	0
Samoa	561	60	168	435	0	15	3	147	39	246	39	0
India	525	6	201	33	3	29,664	162	0	0	3	96	0
Fiji	831	45	291	393	3	23,670	18	129	18	42	87	0
South Africa	6957	12	750	81	24	2,112	0	3	3	3	237	12,018
South Korea	48	3	54	57	19,644	12	81	6	3	0	6	3
Tonga	162	36	57	9	0	12	738	17,010	24	84	18	0
Australia	9,402	1512	831	228	57	243	33	306	285	111	189	9
Cook Islands	204	69	60	21	0	9	33	27	10,158	51	30	0
Scotland	5391	12	312	15	0	18	3	3	0	3	2,913	6
Taiwan	18	0	42	1416	3	0	3	0	0	6	0	0
Malaysia	255	33	156	6060	3	747	3	3	3	6	45	0
Hong Kong	303	18	111	5304	6	21	81	0	0	0	75	0
Niue	51	15	18	12	0	9	195	96	27	4,182	6	0
USA	1764	108	264	138	36	75	3	195	21	12	84	3
Singapore	420	66	78	1467	3	201	3	0	3	3	69	0
Wales	996	3	96	0	3	3	12	0	0	0	993	0
Canada	1230	27	192	57	6	48	3	3	3	0	66	0
Neherlands	1,275	15	243	12	0	12	0	0	3	6	15	6
Zimbabwe	873	3	87	3	0	204	3	0	0	0	90	153
Germany	957	6	93	6	6	3	0	6	0	0	111	6
Indonesia	144	6	57	936	3	15	0	0	0	0	9	0
North Ireland	849	3	45	0	0	6	456	0	3	0	234	0
All other countries	8,712	141	1,269	2,661	156	1,845	1,074	156	75	96	750	162
Not elsewhere incl.	5,697	1,935	825	852	114	564	87	186	576	402	192	87
Total	610,506	137,136	99,261	98,391	21,351	74,442	834	40,140	34,776	17,667	31,323	12,879

Source: Auckland Regional Council, (2007), p. 19.

Indian migrants in permanent migration flows to NZ generally tend to migrate as, skilled principal, skilled secondary, business, family sponsored and the humanitarian categories (New Zealand Department of Labour 2007: 17). Irrespective of level of skill and qualifications, Indian migrant flows are generally dominated by males, women migrating more often as dependent spouses or family migrants. Table 4.5 (Badkar, Callister et al. 2007: 22) indicates that between 2004 and 2006 an increasing number of men and women migrated singly as principal applicants. The immigration policy's 'active' human capital approach to recruiting migrants would account for this trend and suggests that the attributes of the principal applicant most suited to qualify

for maximum points under the SMC would be used by the family, whether male or female. This suggests that a family-unit made decision to emigrate. However, between 1997 and 2006, an average of 61.4 percent of men migrated with dependents.

Table 4.5 Proportions of Indian migrants by gender/principal applicant type and 1997-2006

Female	Single	Dependents	Total		Male	Single	Dependents	Total
1997/98	13.9	86.1	122		1997/98	25.1	74.9	366
1998/99	10.7	89.3	196		1998/99	19.2	80.8	433
1999/00	9.2	90.8	249		1999/00	23	77	538
2000/01	16.3	83.7	498		2000/01	26.5	73.5	1,013
2001/02	16.5	83.5	804		2001/02	35.5	64.5	2,061
2002/03	20.8	79.2	634		2002/03	44.4	55.6	2,031
2003/04	23.8	76.2	223		2003/04	47.8	52.2	510
2004/05	30	70	277		2004/05	59.5	40.5	693
2005/06	38.8	61.2	188		2005/06	66.4	33.6	798

Note: Data are extracted from tables titled 'Proportion of female and male principal applicants with and without secondary applicants (male dominated nationalities)' from the source

Source: Juthika Badkar, Paul Callister et al. (2007), p.22

Indian migrants, both men and women, migrate via the skilled/business migration stream and are known to be well educated with high levels of skills and work experience (Pio 2005a: 1285; Badkar, Callister et al. 2007: 24). A sizeable number of them come from professional backgrounds. For reasons, explained earlier in the chapter, often migration criteria dictate who will be the principal applicant and who the dependent partner. Thus the occupation for which the migrant is migrating to NZ dictates the gender of the applicant (Badkar, Callister et al. 2007: 24). Table 4.6 presents the principal applicant's occupations between 2003 and 2006 by gender. Women dominate certain job categories, especially Clerks and Technicians and Associate Professionals. Men outnumber women in the Professional category, however the number of women in the Professional category increased by 64 percent between 2003/04 to 2005/06. Also women are over-represented in the Life Science and Health Professional category significantly outnumbered men while high numbers of men are represented in the Trades and other Technical occupations.

Table 4:6 Occupations 2003/04 to 2005/06, by gender (Principal applicant)

NZSCO major group	Gender	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06
Agriculture and Fishery Workers	F	22	17	33
	M	100	142	190
Clerks	F	285	119	123
	M	148	103	92
Elementary Occupations (Inc. Residuals)	F	75	65	235
	M	140	119	382
Legislators, Administrators and Managers	F	420	604	715
	M	732	1235	1419
Plant and Machine Operators and Assemblers	F	12	13	3
	M	78	128	154
Professionals	F	1281	2161	2098
	M	1405	2575	2601
Service and Sales Workers	F	159	114	249
	M	230	232	625
Technicians and Associate Professionals	F	485	656	816
	M	683	1105	1286
Trades Workers	F	13	38	27
	M	753	1459	1382

Note: Occupations that are female dominated, or have an increasing number of women from 2003/04 to 2005/06 are highlighted.

Note: Data are extracted from tables titled 'Occupations (NZSCO major group) 2003/04 to 2005/06, by gender (Principal applicant)' from the source

Source: Juthika Badkar, Paul Callister et al. (2007), p. 25.

4.3.2 Education and Skills

At 88 percent, Asian migrants had the highest proportion of people with qualifications in 2006; Table 4.7 indicates the high numbers of Indians that had post-secondary qualifications in Auckland. However, Indian migrants tend to have lower employment rates than the total NZ-born population despite higher qualifications. 31 percent Indians had university degrees compared to 14 percent of NZ-born. 92 percent Indians claimed English language competency. Only 10 percent Indians had no high-school qualifications compared to 20 percent at the national level (Statistics New Zealand 2006: 4). The high levels of skills and education is contrary to the downward occupational mobility all skilled migrants, women in particular, face in NZ. Evidence

indicates that professionally qualified Indian women are not employed commensurate with their qualifications and training (Pio 2005a: 1285). Further Pio (2005; 2005a) confirms that Indian women, no matter how highly educated or skilled, were unemployed or under-employed for a minimum of two years after arrival.

Table 4.7 Language and Educational Characteristic of Indians in Auckland - 2006

Ethnic groups	5 who could have everyday conversation in English	Multiple Language indicator*	Education aged 15+	
			% no high school qualification	% university degree
Chinese	80	1.82	11	27
Indian	92	1.91	10	31
Korean	70	1.63	6	21
Filipino	98	1.83	5	41
Japanese	87	1.71	6	22
Sri Lankan	94	1.74	4	37
Cambodian	73	1.77	46	5
Thai	88	1.81	27	16
Other Asian	84	1.93	18	24
Total Asian	84	1.83	11	28
All ethnic groups	95	1.34	22	20

*Average number of languages specified on Census from i.e. number of total responses by number of people in group (not including too young to speak and n.s.)

Source: Wardlow Friesen (2008), p. 13.

The SEFS (2005: 21) in 2005 reflects this indicating that 76 percent of secondary applicants from UK were employed 12 months after approval, while secondary applicants from Asia had a lower employment rate with only 48 percent employed. This study confirms that highly qualified women from non-traditional source countries still find it difficult to find jobs commensurate with their qualifications in 2008. The reasons for these low employment rates are explored in Chapters 5 to 7, with more detailed data on Indian migrant women's employment experiences.

Indians are a male dominated society by culture but immigration criteria favours male migration as well. Table 4.8 indicates that males dominated Indian migrant flows in all age categories. However, the age/gender pyramid for Auckland (Table 4.6) and figures from the national level (Table 4.3) indicate a more evenly balanced community with a balanced representation of males and females indicating that families migrate as a unit.

Table 4.8 Gender and Age Ratio's for migrants from India

	India			
	20-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years
	F:M	F:M	F:M	F:M
1997/98	0.35	0.35	0.29	0.33
1998/99	0.59	0.45	0.43	0.45
1999/00	0.41	0.46	0.49	0.46
2000/01	0.52	0.51	0.46	0.49
2001/02	0.38	0.41	0.35	0.38
2002/03	0.25	0.36	0.42	0.32
2003/04	0.31	0.44	0.65	0.43
2004/05	0.28	0.46	0.66	0.40
2005/06	0.21	0.27	0.26	0.24

Note: Data are extracted from tables titled 'Gender ratios for migrants from the India and South Korea by age group, through the Skilled/Business stream (men dominated countries)' from the source

Source: Juthika Badkar, Paul Callister et al. (2007), p. 19.

4.4 The respondents: A Demographic, Geographic and Human Capital Profile

This section introduces the respondents by presenting basic data on their age, place of origin, duration of settlement in NZ, place of location in NZ, educational qualifications, skills and work experience. Related data and the significance of these characteristics will be discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, which document and analyse their settlement experiences in NZ.

As described in Chapter Six, Seventy nine survey questionnaires were collected. The respondents were all aged between 18 and 55 at the time of survey in 2009. A majority were between the ages 25 and 48 at the time of the survey. Thirty eight out of 79 respondents were in the age range 35-48 (48.1 percent). Twenty-four respondents were in the 25-34 age range with 30.4 percent representation. Fourteen respondents were in the 49-55 age range making up 17.7 percent of the sample. Only two (2.5 percent) were of the age group 18-24, confirming a distinct trend for younger couples in Indian migration flows. This is consistent with findings from other studies (Badkar, Callister et al. 2007: 22) and also accounts for the presence of younger, better skilled women in recent years (Badkar, Callister et al. 2007: 18).

A majority of the respondents (63.3 percent) were from India, the rest were from the six Indian Diasporas of Malaysia (7.6 percent), South Africa (3.8 percent), Fiji (21.5 percent), Kenya (1.3 percent) and Sri Lanka (2.5 percent). All respondents were secondary applicant spouses and had migrated with principal applicant males through the skill stream as skilled secondary migrants or in family flows.

The location of respondents was recorded giving a snapshot view of the respondent's settlement location patterns. Most of the respondents in this sample were from Auckland. Thus 66 respondents (83.5 percent) were from Auckland while 9 (11.3 percent) were from Wellington, 2 (2.3 percent) from Christchurch and 1 each (1.3 percent) were from Whangarei and Hamilton. Auckland is the gateway to NZ with a large Indian population (Friesen 2008: 2). My experience in settlement and other anecdotal evidence suggests that most Indian families tended to stay with family or friends in Auckland till they found suitable employment. Also schools in Auckland

are more multicultural and Indian families tended to settle in suburbs around such schools to satisfy school zoning requirements. Thus Indian migrant families were largely located in middle-class suburbs like Mt Roskill, New Windsor, Lynfield and Sandringham with children attending Mt Roskill, Lynfield and New Windsor schools. The access to Indian shops, temples and community networks could also be a driver for such settlement patterns (Friesen, Murphy et al. 2005: 6).

All 79 respondents were married and 97.5 percent had at least 1 child whereas 2.5 percent had no children. While 10 percent of the respondents had at least one infant child (less than three years), 2.6 percent had three or more children. The ages of the children ranged from infants to sub-adults under 14. Social and family networks are known to drive migration (Vertovec 2002: 2) and this study suggests that while family, friends and community networks anchor new migrants down in their initial years of settlement, it could also be the driver for migration. Fifty of the 79 (63.3%) respondents had family in NZ on arrival. 25 respondents (31.6 percent) had friends but no family while 4 (5.1 percent) did not have either relatives or friends on arrival. Eighteen (22.8 percent) had both family and friends.

Of the respondents, 37.2 percent had bachelor's degrees while 43.3 percent had higher degrees. This is consistent with data from New Zealand migration literature (Basanayake 1999; Badkar, Callister et al. 2007) that suggests that migrant women, especially Chinese and Indian, are better educated than the national average. A large number of respondents, 86.1 percent, were employed in their country of origin while 11.4 percent were housewives. However, this study indicates that seven of the nine respondents who had been housewives were working in NZ. Migration is known to be

empowering to some women while others face downward occupational mobility. While 77 of the 79 respondents (97.3 percent) worked either full time or part time, only 11 respondents were able to find openings in areas of their study, mostly at a much lower skill level. Most women however, worked in occupations not related to their areas of expertise, many opting for low skilled jobs, indicating a sharp fall in occupational mobility.

Almost all respondents indicated that they had access to paid household help and family support that included parents, parents-in law and/or other extended family pre-migration. While 42 (53.2percent) of the 79 respondents did not have in-house family support, 37 (46.8 percent) did and had either parents or parents in law living with them. Cultural norms require Indian sons and daughters to take responsibility for the care of elderly parents. Thus Indian families often have parents or parents in law living with them.

This is a preliminary profile of the respondents and we can already begin to see a pattern emerging where spouses of Indian skilled migrants migrating to NZ between 1998 and 2008 are seen to be largely in the age group 25-48, have higher degrees, skills and work experience from careers in their countries of origin. Almost all have children and most are seen to have both family support and family responsibilities.

4.5 Summary

Indian migration has been part of NZ history from the mid-nineteenth century and along with the Chinese, Indians were one of the earliest non-traditional migrants in NZ. Restrictive immigration policies kept Indian migration to NZ very low for over a

hundred years. The end of the discriminatory immigration policy regime that excluded non-traditional migrants has led to an influx of Indian (and other) migrants over the last two decades.

Access to better education has seen a massive increase in stocks of qualified young Indians and consequently in international skilled migration flows across the world. Contemporary Indian migrants to NZ tend to be well-educated, skilled professionals with a strong history of work-force participation, unlike Indians in early migration flows. This trend reflects the NZ government's immigration policy that favours high levels of human capital in new entrants.

An understanding of the socio-cultural systems within which Indians operate enables an understanding of the social capital that is available to this study's respondents on arrival while a historical, demographic and human capital profile of Indian migrants in NZ provides a context within which we can 'place' this study's respondents and understand their settlement experiences. Moreover, significant key concepts such as human capital, culture and gender allow comparisons of the average Indian skilled migrant and the female respondents of this study. This chapter has introduced the respondents by presenting basic data on their age, duration of settlement in NZ, location of residence, and educational qualifications. The significance of these characteristics will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, which document and analyse Indian women's settlement experiences in NZ.

CHAPTER FIVE

Skilled Migrants and Spouses: Settlement Assistance and Pathways to Integration

5.1 Introduction to the Chapter

The previous chapter presented a profile of Indian migrants in NZ. It also presented an overview of the Indian community, its social and family structure, the networks between families and community and the community infrastructure established by Indian immigrants who arrived in Auckland in the last decades of the twentieth century. The Indian groceries, shops, temples, the Indian community groups and the socio-cultural activities are vital to new Indian migrants and their families in the initial months after they arrive. However, new migrants need specialised settlement-specific assistance and free services are offered to skilled migrants and their families for the first three years after which they are expected to transition to main-stream services for more generalised support.

This chapter outlines major public-funded services and programmes that target the settlement of skilled migrants and their families. It outlines the government approach to settlement and compares this country's approach and content with that of Canada and Australia, the two other major migrant-destination countries most similar to NZ. It also discusses the versatility of the programs and their ability to provide assistance to the settlement needs of diverse groups of skilled migrants as a consequence of changes in immigration selection criteria. This chapter also refers to the efficacy of such support available to new migrants and especially spouse migrants based on the findings of this study as documented in Chapter Six. A formal evaluation of

government-funded settlement services is pending, therefore the discussion on effectiveness and efficiency is analysed from available sources of information.

For the purpose of this study, 'settlement' is defined as 'a process or continuum involving at least 3 stages' (Robson-Haddow and Ladner 2005: 8), the stages being, an early adjustment phase during which the new migrant adjusts to his or her new situation, an adaptation phase during which the new migrant adapts and learns to engage with his new situation with a little assistance and the integration phase in which the new migrant is able to actively participate in all aspects of economic, social, cultural and political life in his new country. No timelines have been defined regarding settlement and my own experience suggests that the process of settlement is different for different people.

In NZ non-governmental agencies are funded by the central government to provide a major portion of settlement services. However local ethnic communities are recognised to provide assistance to members of their own ethnic groups on arrival (New Zealand Department of Labour 2009: 137). Better organised ethnic community organisations access funds to provide their community members settlement and other support though they are not centrally funded⁴ and may access funds from local community charities and/or private foundations for this work. Australia and Canada play a far more active role in the provision of settlement services to skilled migrants (Fletcher 1999: 11). In Canada settlement related services to new migrants are partly funded by the national government, administered by federal or provincial governments and run by community-based or ethno-specific non-governmental

⁴ The Chinese New Settlers Services (CNSST) is the only 'ethnic' group to have historically received migrant levy funding to deliver settlement services to Chinese immigrants.

organisations (Richmond and Shields 2005: 513), while in Australia such services are funded and administered by the national government, and delivered by community-based organizations.

Changes in migration patterns have profound implications on migrant settlement. Labour markets across the world, driven by globalization and other economic and demographic forces, are increasingly internationalized. Highly skilled migrants participating in such internationalised ‘markets’ migrate many times and their increased mobility and choice of destination are associated with high expectations of their future lives in NZ.

5.2 Settlement Assistance in New Zealand: A History

In the early 1990s, NZ like other migration destination countries, revised immigration policies to allow entry to skilled migrants from non-traditional source countries. However, serious issues challenged their integration (Poot 1993; Ethnic Affairs Service Information 1996; Winkleman and Winkelman 1998; Fletcher 1999; Bedford, Ho et al. 2000) and well educated and skilled migrants found themselves without the support and the know-how to settle into NZ’s social and economic life. The concept of settlement assistance was still new and immigrants were usually assisted by members of family or community already in the country. Most immigrants settled in Auckland, the ‘gateway’ to NZ because it provided them access to community networks.

The influx of diverse migrants and their poor integration severely affected Auckland’s infrastructure. The emergence of ethno-cultural organizations in Auckland can be

attributed to a serious gap in settlement assistance where local communities undertook to assist the settlement of incoming migrants, often raising money from within the community or from private sources. The first community-run migrant resource centre set up in the mid 1990s, was based on the Australian model and largely focused on providing settlement related information and training relating to skills, language acquisition and driving. Other non-governmental organizations in Auckland volunteered basic settlement assistance in response to issues seriously challenging new migrants, filling a much needed gap. Thus English language classes, settlement information, settlement orientation, employment support and mental health support assistance was offered on a voluntary basis (New Zealand Department of Labour 2002: 3).

Increasing incidence of poor integration of skilled migrants in the late 1990s and the results of investigative studies (Poot 1993; NZ Department of Internal Affairs 1996; Winkleman and Winkelman 1998; Basanayake 1999; Fletcher 1999) led to a survey (Bedford, Ho et al. 2000) of ethnic and migrant groups providing settlement assistance to identify the factors behind integration issues of skilled migrants. The findings of the survey were critical to the establishment of a fully funded migrant resource centre in Auckland.

In response to the above survey, the NZ government allocated funds collected from a migrant levy (see Chapter 5.3) and a settlement pilot was launched to evaluate settlement services provision to new migrants. Thus \$1,238,575.00 sourced from the migrant levy was allocated to 11 different organizations for pilot projects. The projects focussed on initiatives that reduced the barriers to employment and included

the utilisation of websites and computer based profiling tools, business courses, mentors and people to bridge the gap between employers and prospective employees. The evaluation of the settlement services pilot in 2002 influenced the scope and character of future settlement services for new arrivals in NZ (New Zealand Department of Labour 2002: 3).

Early studies also identified factors critical to the settlement of new migrants as English language proficiency and the ability to read, write, converse and the ability to perform occupational tasks with ease; an effective and seamless 'qualification assessment and recognition process' and a non-discriminatory occupational licensing and professional registration process; the establishment of networks and connections (social and professional) and, NZ orientation (Fletcher 1999: 11; Bedford, Ho et al. 2000: 5).

Subsequently, the NZ government allocated \$38.412 million for the purchase of 'services to manage the flow to NZ of migrants, returning residents and people seeking temporary entry' in 2000/2001 (New Zealand Treasury 2001: 2). The first fully funded migrant resource centre, a multi-agency partnership, was opened in Auckland (Auckland Regional Migrant Services 2011: online). It was based on the Australian model (Ethnic Community Councils of NSW 2006: online) but unlike the Australian model, there was no involvement from the ethnic communities. The Australian Migrant Resource Centre (MRC) model recognises that most immigrants reach out to their ethnic groups on arrival and funds ethnic community organizations 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 Factsheet 68 cited in Fletcher 1999: 73).

Further in 2005, the NZ government set up the Settlement Division within the DOL with adequate crown funding to fund and monitor migrant and refugee settlement (New Zealand Department of Labour 2007: 1). It was seen as the government's response to the critical need to provide settlement assistance to new migrants. The role of the Settlement Division is to ensure positive settlement outcomes for migrants and refugees. Thus settlement related services are purchased from non-governmental organizations for the speedy settlement of skilled migrants. Currently more than 20 organisations and support groups are funded through the Settlement Division to offer settlement-related services to skilled migrants.

5.3. NGO and Community-based Settlement Assistance

Richmond and Shields (2005: 515) suggest the settlement process as a 'lifelong journey'. However, the economic and social integration of skilled migrants is significantly influenced by their early settlement experience. Currently the delivery of centrally-funded settlement services in NZ is largely through NGOs located in urban hubs such as Auckland, Hamilton, Christchurch and Wellington. While the service centre models differ, they all offer a range of fully funded settlement services for new migrants. These include: multilingual information services, employment brokerage and English language support. Other settlement related services are delivered by local community-based organisations that fill gaps in settlement assistance. However, these services are not centrally funded and are inconsistent. Centrally funded-programmes

may also have a wider regional role that includes regional settlement service coordination, case management, capacity building and the establishing of best practice and standards in migrant settlement.

For the migrant however, settlement is a complex process and involves the whole family unit. Thus any analysis of migrant settlement needs and responsive services is incomplete without taking into account the economic and socio-cultural aspects of settlement for both the skilled migrant and the accompanying spouse and may well include the occupational mobility of the high-skilled spouse.

As mentioned earlier, settlement services to skilled migrants are paid for by both principal and secondary skilled migrants themselves - through the migrant levy fund (see Box 5.1) and are managed and administered by the Settlement Division of the DOL. The programs funded are listed below. Of the seven programs, only two offer employment-related assistance (Department of Labour 2007: 16) and none specifically target women.

- 1) The Auckland Chamber of Commerce: an NGO working to provide employment support. Through the New Kiwi's website, <http://www.newkiwis.co.nz/>, for job seekers and employers providing them a forum that listed the new migrant's skills and matched them to the employer's needs. Indian migrants were the largest ethnic group using the web-site followed closely by the Chinese.
- 2) The Auckland Regional Migrant Services (ARMS): an NGO that provides a 'one stop' shop of settlement information to new migrants, migrant

Employment Assistance Programme, English Advisory Services and Volunteer Work Experience Programme,

- 3) The Chinese New Settlers Services Trust (CNSST): Runs five multi-service centres providing bi-lingual programmes, seminars, and one-on-one case management to meet the settlement needs of local Chinese migrant community
- 4) The Relationship Services: Provides NZ orientation courses on adjusting well to life in NZ.
- 5) Canterbury Employers Chambers of Commerce: provides a migrant employment recruitment service. Also offers job placement services and job search support programme for skilled migrants and refugees. One-on-one case management with job seekers aimed at linking skills and work experience with employers
- 6) Citizens Advice Bureau's (CAB) Multi Lingual Information Services: Provision and management of a multi-lingual information service that promotes, facilitates and improves access for migrants to local and regional settlement and mainstream services, including management of the CAB Mandarin telephone line.
- 7) PEETO Trust: Provides six orientation programmes of at least 20 hours duration for a minimum average of 13 participants per programme
- 8) Christchurch Resettlement Services: Provides individual 'settlement needs' assessment and social work support services (which includes counselling) with referral to other appropriate mainstream services for at least 35 migrants per annum new to the service.

The migrant levy fund pays for immigration-related services that cannot be billed directly to the migrant. The levy contributes towards English tuition in the

compulsory schools sector and for adult learners, the government's immigration research programme, provides funding for settlement assistance services, and lastly, contributes towards the telephone interpreter services (Language Line) run by the government. The outlay of funds for each financial year depends on the estimated numbers of migrants and the incoming revenue from the migrant levy for that year as seen in Box 5.1. Historically, a major portion of the levy has been allocated to English tuition in the compulsory schooling sector and to language learning for adult learners in both the professional and the community education sectors. Another major portion of the levy goes towards supporting research. The DOL's immigration research agency, IMSED (International Migration Settlement and Employment Dynamics) conducts all migration, settlement and integration related research. It hosts seminars and conferences to share information about settlement and integration activities, publishes the 'Migration Outlook and Trends Reports' and evaluates ongoing settlement related programmes. However, IMSED's research focus is gender neutral and its migration data not sex-disaggregated despite that women constitute around fifty percent of skilled migration flows. A much smaller portion of the levy supports various settlement assistance programmes listed earlier. The Department of Internal Affairs' (DIA) telephone interpreter service (Language Line) also receives funds from the levy.

Box 5.1 Allocation of the Migrant Levy 2003/04-2007/08

Vote	Service	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08
		\$000	\$0000	\$000	\$000	\$000
Education	ESOL in the compulsory schools sector	3,367	2,767	2,460	2,460	2,460
Education	ESOL in schools (material for parents, and professional development)	575	450	400	400	400
Education	ESOL for adults (home and community based)	397	397	353	353	353
Immigration	Levy administration	436	398	354	354	422
Immigration	Immigration Research Programme: Short Term	650	650	578	1,203	2,253
Immigration	Immigration Research Programme: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to New Zealand (LisNZ)	21	273	224	216	431
Immigration	Settlement Services	1,551	1,106	983	1,233	1,700
Statistics	Immigration Research Programme: LisNZ	906	2,435	1,200	300	1,000
Employment	Settlement Services	-	445	396	438	711
Internal Affairs	Language Line – pilot telephone interpreting service	300	1,266	-	417	537
Internal Affairs	Cultural awareness project	70	-	-	-	-
	Subtotal	8,273	10,187	6,948	7,374	10,267
	Contribution to Budget settlement package	-	1,682	3,603	-	-
	Contestable fund for one off settlement projects	-	-	-	-	1,202
	Total	8,273	11,869	10,551	7,374	11,469

Source: New Zealand Department of Labour (2007), p. 152.

Thus in a typical year (2005/06), a migrant levy of \$10.5 million was collected from 51,000 skilled/business class migrants approved for entry. Of this amount, a total of \$3.2 million was allocated to the three English education programs, \$2 million to research-based activities, including the Longitudinal Survey New Zealand (LisNZ) and just under \$1.5 million was allocated to the deployment of settlement assistance to new migrants (New Zealand Department of Labour 2007: 152). It is curious to note that in the three years between 2005/2006 and 2007/2008, only 13 percent, 21 percent and 22 percent of the migrant levy collected was allocated to actual service-related settlement assistance to skilled migrants and all of it was gender-neutral.

My experience working in the settlement sector suggests that the role of the ethnic communities in settlement cannot be discounted. Centrally-funded settlement services programmes are far too inflexible, often unable to respond to the diverse needs of incoming migrants and their families, leaving wide gaps that are then filled by poorly-funded local agencies or by informal ethnic community groups/networks.

Unlike Canada and Australia, NZ does not acknowledge the critical role played by formal and informal ethnic community organisations in the settlement of migrants and their families. In NZ, the informal community groups/networks are often run by volunteers and are either unaware of government-funded local settlement programs or too busy to make contact with them during working hours (Bedford, Ho et al. 2000: 43). Many raise funds from within their own communities and contribute time to provide new arrivals with precious resources, information on schools, transport and housing and socio-cultural support

Canada and Australia share settlement priorities with NZ such as English language competence; access to the labour market and provision of settlement information. However, each country's response is quite distinct. NZ's centrally-funded settlement assistance for new migrants is mainly built around provision of settlement information, NZ orientation and employment assistance. The CAB's multi-lingual service provides information to migrants (and refugees) in their 24 different languages. English language advisory services are provided in the four main centres of Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Hamilton. Locally identified settlement needs are responded to locally through a range of settlement-related programs largely funded by local government and private foundations.

Like NZ, Canada and Australia have comprehensive long term, centrally-funded settlement services (Fletcher 1999: 11). The Canadian settlement services provide fully funded programmes that include the provision of language training, settlement information, assistance to find employment commensurate with skills and education and assistance to establish networks and contacts in their communities. The Australian

settlement focus however, is on ‘building self-reliance, developing English language skills and fostering connections with mainstream services in the early settlement period’ (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs 2011: online). Settlement services are targeted towards those migrants that are in greatest need of assistance and settlement needs indicators such as English language proficiency, visa category and length of time are used to determine the most likely migrants that need assistance. The target group comprises of permanent resident migrants who have arrived within the last five years as family stream migrants and have low levels of English proficiency. Both Canada and Australia consider community-based ethno-specific organizations to play an important role in settlement and provide public funds to deliver settlement assistance services (Fletcher 1999: 67). Public funding is also made available to other settlement related projects designed to complement the delivery of government-run settlement services. However, there is much debate on the understanding of what ‘settlement’ actually means and the efficacy of publicly funded settlement programs (Fletcher 1999: 68; Richmond and Shields 2005: 514).

The NZ government immigration programme, influenced by changing patterns in international skilled migration seeks to capitalize on language proficient people who are familiar with the NZ ‘way of life’ and are already in the country either as students or as temporary workers. Thus in 2009/10, of the 45,719 people approved for permanent residence, 84 percent were already in NZ on temporary visas. Of these, 92 percent were principal migrants and 78 percent had already lived and worked in the country (New Zealand Department of Labour 2010: 44). Thus the numbers of skilled migrants approved ‘onshore’ has steadily increased (New Zealand Department of Labour 2009: 46) and the focus in NZ immigration has shifted from skilled migrants

arriving from overseas locations to skilled migrants already in the country when approved. The focus of settlement has shifted from English language and employment to community participation, social integration and membership. These shifts are important to understand because they have bearing on the human capital profile of people (both men and women) being approved as permanent residents and the type of settlement services and support that should be made available to them.

The DOL has currently moved to a ‘whole-of-government’ approach to settlement as proposed by the New Zealand Settlement Strategy (NZSS) (New Zealand Department of Labour 2007: 11) where other government agencies also undertake to provide specialist services for new migrants and families. Thus government agencies such as the Ministry of Education (MOE) provide migrant-specific education programmes and English-language programmes for schools, the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) invests in English language tuition, the Families Commission and the New Zealand Police provide programmes on family safety, the Ministry of Health (MOH) promotes health, Housing New Zealand Corporation (HNZC) promotes housing for eligible migrants, the MSD promotes social linkages, community participation and capacity building and the DOL promotes employment relations and workplace safety (2007: 9).

However, the services most relevant to new migrants on arrival are the ones funded by the DOL’s Settlement Division. Eight of these, as mentioned above are funded by the migrant levy and address the immediate post-migration phase of settlement while the Settlement Support New Zealand (SSNZ) initiative funded by the NZ government is targeted for the first three years after arrival and provides new migrants and their

families local information while connecting them to mainstream and other local services. There are 19 such initiatives around NZ placed in settlement hubs (New Zealand Department of Labour 2011:online). The initiatives provide a base from which to deliver settlement support services to assist migrants settle in local areas to settle quickly. The settlement related services are largely purchased from local non-governmental organizations or delivered by the local city councils where appropriate.

A strategic framework under the NZSS provides a rationale and philosophy for settlement policy and settlement service development. While the NZSS has identified appropriate government interventions that can promote good settlement outcomes, (New Zealand Department of Labour 2005:18), the framework has identified the need for an on-going strategic knowledge base involving both research and evaluation to inform immigration-related work.

In comparison, issues of immigration and settlement have been the responsibility of the federal and provincial governments in Canada and an integrated and pan-Canadian settlement strategy does not exist. Each provincial government has individual settlement strategies and frameworks to guide settlement policies for their regions. Thus the government of Manitoba has evolved a framework for a strategy on qualifications recognition to help settle high-skilled migrants in their region (Government of Manitoba 2010: 1). In Australia, however, the Access and Equity Strategy was adopted as early as 1985 in response to the Galbally report, to provide settlement services to migrants with serious settlement issues. A revised version of the strategy, the National Integration Settlement Strategy (NISS) has been in place since 1991. Its aim is ‘to provide specialist settlement services, to those most in need, in the

early years after their arrival' (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs 2006: 3).

While NGOs continue to provide migrant levy-funded settlement services that were designed for migrants in the early years of the twentieth century, community-based organizations rely on limited funding from private funding sources (Bedford, Ho et al. 2000: 17). While inadequate funding is a quandary encountered by most community-based organizations, limited funding also means that some of the most vital services to the most vulnerable section of migrants, for example women, cannot be adequately delivered. The DIA's Community Organization Grants (COGS) and Lottery Grants are two funding sources, largely accessed by community organizations for socio-cultural programs.

With almost 50 percent of the skilled migrant flows made up of women, the absence of gender-specific services in settlement is very evident. NZ government research (Badkar, Callister et al. 2007; Badkar, Callister et al. 2007a; New Zealand Department of Labour 2010) indicates the presence of well-educated secondary applicant spouses in NZ's current skilled migrant flows. Few of the settlement service programs stated above however, provide gender-friendly assistance for such women to achieve labour market and social integration. Serious issues that are related to the occupational mobility of skilled migrant women continue to be addressed as social issues with interventions from the social services wing of the NZ government while highly skilled migrant women languish in entry-level jobs, their high-level qualifications and work-experience wasted. Thus high-skilled women who migrate to NZ in family flows have little useful support from the settlement service programmes funded by the NZ

government. On the other hand, evidence that skilled women were unable to penetrate job markets has prompted NGOs to offer special settlement related workshops for unemployed and underemployed women. However, these programmes are not adequately funded and whether they actually benefit such women is not known. In her study on Indian women, Pio (2005a: 1292) confirms that skilled migrant women continue to face disadvantages that seriously affect their economic integration while they work in low-paid, low-skilled entry level jobs for sustained periods.

To ensure that settlement services are appropriate, effective and consistent in quality, a periodic evaluation of programs and services is essential. There has been no recent evaluation of settlement services after the evaluation of settlement pilots in February 2002. While a study that evaluates migrant levy funded settlement programs is underway (Department of Labour 2010: online), the settlement of new skilled migrants continues to grow more complex heavily involving the wider ethnic communities and their formal and informal networks. A Canadian research study while acknowledging the importance of community-run migrant settlement services warns of ‘neo-liberal’ funding policy excesses, noting the need for public accountability in the provision of state-funded services (Richmond and Shields 2005: 514).

How efficient is modern settlement service provision in NZ? Does it provide adequate initial support for new migrants and spouses and the integration of their *families*? What of the skilled women that arrive as spouses? These are questions we have just addressed in this chapter. We have seen that NZ has carried its ‘legacy’ settlement service program since inception with few changes that reflect the changes in

immigration policy or migration trends. While women who migrate as wives of skilled migrants in secondary flows are also charged a migrant levy, there are few settlement services that are women orientated.

Developing settlement policies that reflect changes in the demographic and human capital profile of skilled immigration flows while simultaneously reinforcing the overall objectives of immigration policy is challenging (Fletcher 1999: 11). Especially challenging is the implementation of critical settlement policies evenly at central, regional and local levels, with infrastructure and resources to meet varying needs of new arrivals, their spouses and children. The launch of the NZSS and the Regional Settlement Strategies (New Zealand Immigration Service 2004; The Department of Labour 2006), the subsequent Action Plans and the restructuring of certain government departments to include dedicated agencies to address settlement policy on one hand and settlement outcomes on the other is commendable. How all this benefits skilled migrant women who migrate as spouses of skilled migrants remains to be seen.

5.4. Ethnic Community Networks: Role in NZ Settlement

Ethnic communities and community-based organizations represent social networks new migrants can connect with on arrival. Together they build an effective network to support members of their community group, both old and new. This is especially important to migrant women who arrive with disconnected social networks. This study's findings (see Chapter 6.3.9 iii) indicate that a large proportion of its respondents were dependent on family and community networks for initial support. Despite high levels of qualifications and skills these high-skilled women were isolated and used their community networks for information and support. Migrant women and

their families often have family and community connections pre-arrival and prioritise the establishing of new connections with other members of their own ethnic communities. Castles (2002: 221) confirms that, 'transnational social networks become conduits for flows of information, ideas, money, goods and people'.

Skilled migration is a social process as well as an economic one. High-skilled migrants travel to NZ with families and face significant economic, social and cultural challenges. Skilled spouses of migrants are especially affected. Migration leads to a loss of professional networks and women struggle to re-build them (Purkayastha 2005: 189) but initially depend on family and friends to get 'connected'. Ethnic communities, by virtue of their extensive networks, within the community and outside, provide important linkages to other community resources for new migrants. Well-organised ethnic communities provide a platform, in the form of volunteer work for newcomers to connect with the 'mainstream' in local communities. Most of these community organizations have tight budgets and extensively use volunteers 'for their board of directors as well as day-to-day operations' (Anucha, Dlamini et al. 2006: 91). Volunteering opportunities are valued as stepping stones to future job opportunities. However, excessive volunteering can hamper highly-skilled women's ability to connect to professional networks that would lead to more appropriate employment. Also the role of community organizations in the provision of 'everyday' information to new migrant families is important. Knowledge gained from friends in ethnic community networks help migrant women secure entry-level jobs. The value of social capital can be seen 'emerging from the ability of individuals to use or convert it into other forms of capital, mainly, economic capital' (Bourdieu cited in Anucha, Dlamini et al. 2006: 91).

New migrant families settle in areas where relatives, friends and communities have settled earlier and with socio-cultural and economic conditions ‘substantially modified by their predecessors’ (Buehler cited in :Boyd 1989: 652). For example, an Indian migrant family settling in Auckland would have access to well organized Indian suburbs with a rich variety of Indian groceries, restaurants, temples, mosques, support for women (childcare, takeaways) and socio-cultural activities (Friesen, Murphy et al. 2005). The Indian community is well represented in Auckland and my data-base records well over 55 Indian groups registered for the region. Ethnic community groups play an important role in the socio-cultural and economic integration of Indian migrants providing a point of connection for members of their own cultural group while enabling links into mainstream NZ society as well. They also provide a kind of ‘safety net’ for new arrivals.

Ethnic community networks have multiple roles in the migration/ settlement/ integration process. The settlement and integration process is influenced by ties to family and community, to share cultural and language groups and to religious affiliations. Such ethno-networks provide short-term housing, contacts and information on schools, job resources, health-care, social services, recreation and social and cultural activities and other vital information (especially for non-traditional groups) about where to shop and where to find your place of worship (Boyd 1989: 639). Further ethnic enclaves - small enterprises owned by members of the community- draw labour from within the same community and provide entry-level jobs to new migrants especially the spouses (Vertovec 2002: 3). However, while ethnic enclaves improve initial labour market outcomes, they equally restrict opportunities for the highly-qualified (Anucha, Dlamini et al. 2006: 91). Ethnic

enclaves are a valuable hub for the business-minded migrant and provide essential information on economic inputs required, the problems encountered and the labour. They also link potential migrant workers to potential employers through personal connections. Ethnic businesses extensively use family connections and often depend on women in the operation of family businesses (Boyd 1989: 654). Very often women benefit greatly from these ethnic enclaves until they are able to find jobs more appropriate to their training.

Thus ethnic community organizations foster networks and build social capital for women while providing them opportunities to meet other women with shared experiences. Migrant women who are connected to these community networks enjoy advantages over those who are not connected. Studies indicate that women with high levels of education and English who did not connect to such networks were deprived 'of an important source of social capital and advantages that women who were connected enjoy' (Anucha, Dlamini et al. 2006: 95). While participation and volunteering alone do not ensure jobs, employment, no matter at what level, offers women an opportunity to build social capital with people with whom they would not normally interact. As Anucha et al (2006: 95) assert 'while social capital facilitates employment, being employed also offers women opportunities to develop friendships and build networks'.

Do ethnic communities have the knowledge, the capacity and the means to provide settlement assistance to new migrants? NZ's ethnic communities, particularly the Indian and Chinese have a long history of settlement and are well-established and well-organised, particularly in urban centres such as Auckland (Friesen, Murphy et al.

2005; Friesen 2008). However, a lack of core funding impacts their day-to-day operations. While community organizations in NZ do secure funding for socio-cultural and other ethnic community related programs and services, they are not funded enough to maintain their office infra-structure and central administration. Anucha and colleagues (2006: 42) point out:

‘Administrators of most of the [community] organizations are under tremendous pressure, leading to management exhaustion and limiting the organizations’ ability to respond proactively to the needs of immigrants within the community’.

A shift in focus to multiculturalism in recent years has prompted various NZ government departments to allocate funding to minority ‘ethnic’ communities to encourage a sense of belonging, social participation and the development of ethnic community networks, social capital and infrastructure. The focus is however on ethnic groups that have been resident in the country long enough to want to organise themselves. The DIA and the MSD fund ethnic groups towards building social capital and establishing sustainable communities and for socio-cultural activities (Department of Internal Affairs 2011: online; Department of Social Development 2011: online). A recent COGS evaluation suggests that while the funding available to communities was small (an average of \$3000/year), COGS was one of the funding schemes most accessed by community groups (Department of Internal Affairs 2011: 81).

5.5. Summary

NZ is a country of migrants and has one of the highest proportions of overseas-born in the population of any country in the OECD (Bedford 2003: online). Economic and

demographic factors affect the composition of migration flows and therefore the settlement needs of incoming skilled migrants. Thus settlement policies reinforce the economic objectives of immigration policy while they provide incoming migrants adequate and relevant support to quickly integrate into workplace and community (Fletcher 1999:12). However NZ has a diverse migrant profile, with migrants immigrating through permanent (skilled migration/business migration), temporary (work and students) and humanitarian (asylum seekers and refugees) streams (New Zealand Department of Labour 2008: 17). Settlement assistance that meets the diverse need of these varied categories is challenging to deliver within the current funding envelope. Therefore for some migrants, support services can shift from the stable, centralized government funded settlement service to a more 'restrictive' contract funded community-based settlement service after the initial phase of three years (Richmond and Shields 2005 : 516).

The NGOs in NZ are centrally funded to provide settlement assistance to new migrants. However settlement services in NZ are gender neutral, their central focus being the provision of appropriate settlement-based information to new migrants and their families. While skilled migrant women who migrate as wives of skilled migrants have specific needs on arrival they have been historically neglected. Yet the presence of Asian women in skilled migration flows has gained prominence in recent years because of their increasing numbers (Badkar, Callister et al. 2007: 2).

Ethnic communities have long been known to fill settlement provision gaps and provide *ad hoc* services for new migrants. Thus new migrants and their families have heavily depended on their own communities for initial assistance. Social capital thus

has relevance to the settlement of skilled migrant women and can provide ‘tangible and intangible’ benefits (Anucha, Dlamini et al. 2006: 101). It is therefore important for government policy planners to examine the efficiency and adequacy of these services in relation to female spouse skilled migrants.

CHAPTER SIX

Research Findings and Analysis of Responses: Based on results of survey questionnaires

6.1 Introduction to the Chapter

This chapter presents the summary of responses to the questionnaire survey mailed to community representatives during the months of April to July 2009. In total, there were seventy nine responses. A total of thirty five open letters along with cover-letters and questionnaire surveys were sent out to key contacts in the Indian communities and seventy nine completed surveys were returned by email, fax and post. The respondents were self-identified and self-administered and were from five urban centres in NZ namely, Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Whangarei and Hamilton. It was clearly stated in the covering letter attached to the questionnaire that the respondents of this study be wives of skilled primary migrants from India and Indian Diasporas, be resident in NZ from 1998 and be between 18 and 55 years of age. Respondents were asked about their previous country of citizenship, level of formal education, occupation, earnings, family status, access to social capital and degree of empowerment. The following section will briefly discuss the concept and criteria defining the desired participants before proceeding with the analysis of the results. A summary of overall results of the survey is presented as well.

6.2 The Criteria for Skilled Indian Spouses

For the purpose of this survey, Indian women needed to meet the following criteria:

- a. Be of Indian origin from India or from one of the Indian Diasporas;

- b. Have qualified for entry into NZ as secondary applicants under the SMC or the GSC or joined permanent resident spouses through the family category;
- c. Have a fair understanding of English;
- d. Have lived in NZ for at least one year and not more than ten years i.e. between the years 1998 and 2008; and
- e. Be aged between 18 years and 55 years. Excluded were women on a visit visa, those that were principal applicants, those that were over the age of 55 years and those not of Indian origin;

The origin of 'ethnic' Indians in NZ is wide-ranging. Therefore the questionnaire accommodated women of Indian origin from the wider Indian Diasporas. Thus Indian women from Malaysia, South Africa, Kenya, Sri Lanka and Fiji were also included in the sample, in addition to the larger group of women from India. For the purpose of this study, 'skilled' and high-skilled' were defined as those respondents in possession of formal tertiary (12 years of schooling plus three years) or higher academic or professional qualifications (12 years of schooling plus five/six years) and relevant occupational experience. Chapter Two discusses the definition of 'skills' and high-skilled in more detail. It can be argued that 'skills' need not necessarily be acquired through formal education or training and can also be acquired through specialised work experience 'on the job'. However, the NZ immigration selection system uses the ANZSCO (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2009: online) framework for assessing skills which includes both qualifications and occupational experience. In keeping with this definition, this survey measures both qualifications and occupational work experience acquired by the respondents.

The age criteria for the women between the ages of 18 and 55 years was determined on the basis of the years when they are most likely to participate in the labour market - after obtaining a degree and before retirement. Thus the focus for analysis is the age range of: 18 – 24, 25 – 34, 35 – 48 and 49 –55. Skilled migrants are known to migrate where they have family and friends. Further social and community networks are known to support new migrant families on arrival, thus it was important to know if the respondents had family, friends and an established network on arrival. Indian family structures are built to include younger couples, older parents or parents-in-law, siblings and children (Naidoo 2007: 58). The extended family support is vital for women with young children. Thus the survey sought to establish the respondent's family structure and whether it included grandparents and sibling members.

Categorising the socio-economic status of 'skilled Indian women' required that their skill be 'measured' while also understanding both the socio-cultural and educational background of the respondents and their challenges achieving paid work. My experience working in migrant settlement suggests that highly skilled Indian women often choose to withdraw from the labour force to help settle families. With skilled husbands who can afford to support them, women are known to delay their re-entry into the labour force until the household is 'settled'. Further anecdotal evidence indicates that family and community networks are critical to their socio-economic integration. The importance of social and professional networks is further confirmed by Vertovec (2002: 5) and Purkayastha (2005: 188). The survey thus included a section on family, community and state-initiated 'settlement' networks to identify whether those respondents with family and social support were better able to integrate.

Language barriers can pose serious challenges for immigrant women from non-English speaking backgrounds. Research studies (Fletcher 1999: 49) identify English proficiency as a key factor in successful settlement and integration. Fletcher (1999: 49) also points out the importance of language proficiency to accessing labour market opportunities. While almost all educated Indian women have reasonable English language skills (Mitter, Fernandez et al. 2004: 191), limited fluency in NZ English and weak spoken communication skills could reduce their employment opportunity. My experience working at the ARMS suggests that women with higher levels of English are more likely to enter paid work. The questionnaire thus addressed language and skills training post-migration and whether the respondents thought it important to include English language training to access the labour market.

While settlement-information systems such as the SSNZ have been established for new migrants in nineteen locations across NZ (New Zealand Immigration Service 2009: online), evidence suggests that ethnic community networks are still the most important source of assistance and support for new immigrants (New Zealand Department of Labour 2009: 137), especially those from Asian ethnic groups. Community networks play a critical role in assisting newcomers during the settlement process, especially in the provision of critical settlement information including information on employment options, education, English language and health. Studies find that community networks also provide critical everyday information and referrals to banks, tax information, interpreting and other everyday information (Bedford, Ho et al. 2000: 19). The survey thus included questions on the types of networks and services accessed by the respondents and whether they were accessible, appropriate and convenient.

The extent of women's responsibilities in household work and childcare is critical to their ability to integrate into the labour market. Thus a section of the questionnaire sought to clarify whether women's roles were 'feminised' by migration. Ho (2004: 193) suggests the feminisation of skilled Chinese women after migration to Australia. Indian women belong to similar patriarchal societies and while they bring high levels of human capital to NZ, competing demands of domestic and family responsibility may doubly disadvantage them (Purkayastha 2005: 183). Thus the survey included a section on childcare and support to gauge the extent of the respondents' involvement and whether it impacted their occupational mobility.

Evidence suggests Indian women's parenting roles can influence both labour market participation and occupational mobility (Purkayastha 2005: 192). In my work at the ARMS, I frequently found highly-skilled Indian and Chinese women, especially those with young children, step back from professional careers because they are unable to manage their families, households and careers. Thus the survey included questions to measure how much household/care-work influenced respondents' labour market participation.

The post-migration 'nuclearisation' of Indian families can be a major challenge especially for Indian wives and mothers of small children in their bid to achieve labour market participation. While most women attempt to access jobs that match their qualifications, professional expertise and jobs they held in their country of origin, they are only able to access low-skilled, low-wage jobs. Pio (2005: 68) suggests the first two years to be very challenging for Indian women until they attain labour market participation more suited to their qualifications and skills. Indian

women accustomed to extended families of grandparents, parents, aunts and cousins, residing together and sharing resources and household labour and support for childcare suddenly find themselves removed from the comfort of extended family support are known to feel acutely isolated. The survey questionnaire thus includes questions on extended family support available to the respondents.

The rather traumatic migration experience is known to influence changes in the interpersonal relationships between men and women and between women and other family members. The status of the women within their families is known to change, as earning power diminishes. In some cases women's labour force participation increases their status and authority in the family as well as their sense of control and decision making while men assume responsibilities for housework and childcare. The survey thus includes questions that address the resilience of relationships. The respondents' socio-economic integration was therefore evaluated not only by their formal qualifications but also by their language competence, their work experience, their skills and training, their family and social support networks and other settlement factors.

6.3 Responses to Survey Questionnaires and Analysis

The presentation of responses to the mailed questionnaire below follows the structure of the questionnaire. The responses are presented in a tabulated format. Where appropriate, comparative perspectives are introduced and references to discussions on skilled migrants and patterns of settlement of Indian migrants in Chapter Two and Four are made.

To collect primary information from this sample, the questionnaire survey included 49 questions related to the topics mentioned above, relevant to the women's settlement experiences and social and economic integration. The questionnaire was divided into eight sections that included:

1. Demographic details,
2. Education and work experience,
3. Paid work pre-migration,
4. Paid work post-migration,
5. Skills and language training post-migration,
6. Settlement services and networks,
7. Childcare, household work and
8. Empowerment and participation.

6.3.1 Demographic Details of the Respondents

This section not only details the demographic results but also ascertains immigration status as 'secondary applicants' according to my definition above. The following paragraphs present the demographic results under eight headings: Year of Arrival, Country of Origin, Immigration Category, Age, Marital and Parental Status and Family Details. It presents an analysis of their demographic characteristics ascertained through eleven questions.

i. Year of Arrival

Table 6.1 indicates the year of entry for this study's respondents. Thus all 79 respondents who responded to this survey arrived in NZ between the years 1998 and 2008, the period stipulated by the survey. The year 1998 saw the most number

entering NZ at 12 respondents (15.2 percent) as shown in Table 6.1. This was followed by the year 1999 with 10 (12.7 percent) and nine (11.4 percent) in 2003. A comparative drop in numbers is seen in the years 2005 with six respondents (7.5 percent) and 2006 with four (5.0 percent) respectively while an increase is seen in 2007 with eight (10.1 percent) respondents. These fluctuations reflect changes in immigration policies and other political factors that have been discussed in Chapter One. Research studies (Bedford, Ho et al. 2000; Ainsworth and Johns 2001) indicate the year 1998 – 1999 to have seen the highest flows of Indian migrants.

Table 6.1 Number of Respondents by Year of Arrival in NZ

Year of Arrival	Number of women	%
1998	12	15.2
1999	10	12.7
2000	7	8.9
2001	7	8.9
2002	8	10.1
2003	9	11.4
2004	7	8.9
2005	6	7.6
2006	4	5.1
2007	8	10.1
2008	1	1.3
Total	79	100

ii. Country of Origin

Table 6.2 indicates the country of origin for the study's respondents. Thus 79 respondents were from India and five other Indian Diasporas that included Fiji, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, South Africa and Kenya. India had by far the highest representation with 50 respondents (63.3 percent), followed by 17 from Fiji (21.5 percent), 6 from Malaysia (7.6 percent), 3 from South Africa (3.8 percent), 2 from Sri Lanka (2.5 percent) and 1 from Kenya (1.3 percent). The countries of origin for this sample are more or less representative of the countries of origin for Auckland's overseas-born Indian population (see Chapter Four, Table 4.5). The complexity of 'ethnic' Indians in NZ and their origins were discussed in Chapter Four.

Table 6.2 Number of Respondents by Country of Origin

Country of Origin	Number of Women	%
India	50	63.3
Fiji	17	21.5
Malaysia	6	7.6
South Africa	3	3.8
Sri Lanka	2	2.5
Kenya	1	1.3
Total	79	100

iii. Age

As seen in Table 6.3, 38 (48.1 percent) of 79 respondents were in the age range 35-48. Twenty four (30.4 percent) respondents were in the 25-34 age range and 14 (17.7 percent) respondents were in the 49-55 age range. Only two (2.5 percent) were of the age group 18-24. 1 respondent (1.3 percent) abstained. This reflects the ‘working-age’ range most favoured for skilled migrants migrating to NZ and their spouses. This age-range is also reflected in the distinct trend for women in the age bracket 25 to 48 in migration flows from India and other Asian countries (Badkar, Callister et al. 2007: 21). Further it reflects the age/sex pyramid for Indian migrants in the Auckland region with women more represented in the age bracket 25-44 (see Chapter Four, Figure 4.3).

Table 6.3 Number of Respondents by Age

Age Range	Number of women	%
18-24	2	2.5
25-34	24	30.4
35-48	38	48.1
49-55	14	17.7
Abstained	1	1.3
Total	79	100

iv. Location in New Zealand

Table 6.4 indicates the settlement location for the respondents. This information was collected through recording the locations of origin of the completed surveys. Thus as Table 6.4 indicates, of the 79 respondents, 66 (83.5 percent) were from Auckland. This reflects the settlement locations of NZ's migrant Indian population with 71.2 percent living in Auckland (see Chapter Four, Table 4.4). Nine respondents (11.3 percent) were from Wellington, 2 (2.3 percent) from Christchurch and 1 each (1.3 percent) were from Whangarei and Hamilton. Since the launch of the immigration policy that allowed migrants from non-traditional source countries to migrate to NZ, Auckland has been the most preferred area of settlement. Thus most ethnic groups have sizable communities in Auckland making it a popular place to start new lives. Currently to avoid new settlement in Auckland, incoming skilled migrants are awarded extra points for opting to accept jobs in places other than Auckland.

Table 6.4 Number of Respondents by Settlement Location

Location in NZ	Number of women	%
Auckland	66	83.5
Wellington	9	11.4
Christchurch	2	2.5
Whangarei	1	1.3
Hamilton	1	1.3
Total	79	100

v. Immigration Category

This aspect of the survey was to ensure that all respondents were secondary applicants. All 79 respondents completed this part of the questionnaire and 100 percent were in fact, secondary applicants.

vi. Marital Status

All 79 respondents in this survey were married and had either accompanied or joined their principal applicant husbands to NZ, thus confirming their immigration categories as secondary applicant spouses.

vii. Parental status and number of children

As Table 6.5 shows, 77 (97.5 percent) of the 79 respondents in this survey, had one or more children while 2 of them (2.5 percent) were yet to start families. Importantly, 10 percent of the respondents reported to have at least 1 infant child (less than 3 years). 37 respondents (50.5 percent) reported that they had more than 1 child, with only 2 (2.5 percent) with 3 or more children. This trend is reflected in the pattern of skilled migration flows to NZ between the years 1997-98 and 2007-08 with an average of 2.6 people per resident application, indicating migration of the family as a unit (see Chapter Four, Table 4.7). Numbers of children and family responsibility are known to critically impact migrant women's ability to access paid work. This is further discussed in Chapter Seven.

Table 6.5 Number of Respondents by Parental Status and Number of Children

Parental Status	Number of women	%	Number of Children	Number of women	%
With children	77	97.5	1	40	49.4
Without children	2	2.5	2	35	48
Grand Total	79	100	3	2	2.5
			Without Children	2	2.5
			Grand Total	79	100

viii. Family and Friends

Family, friends and community networks anchor new migrants down in their initial years of settlement. As Table 6.6 shows, 50 of the 79 (63.3%) respondents had family in NZ on arrival. 25 respondents (31.6 percent) had friends but no family while 4 (5.1 percent) did not have either relatives or friends on arrival. Eighteen respondents (22.8 percent) had both family and friends. Family and community connections are largely responsible for the settlement assistance new migrants and their families receive on arrival. Vertovec (2002: 5) and Purkayastha (2005: 188) suggest the role of community and family networks in the speedy integration of the new migrant family. This is further discussed in Chapter Five.

Table 6.6 Number of Respondents with Family/Friends in NZ

Family/Friends	Number of women	%
With family in place of settlement	50	63.3
With friends in place of settlement	25	31.6
With no family or friends	4	5.1
Total	79	100

ix. Family

Thirty seven respondents (46.8 percent) had family members residing with them while 42 (53.2 percent) did not as seen in Table 6.7. It is not unusual to see Indian families with extended family members living in-house. In most cases these are parents, parents-in-law or siblings. While this can be a source of great support to working women with young children, it can also mean extra responsibility, especially if women are responsible for multiple numbers of extended family. Of the 37 respondents who had family living at home, 1 (1.3 percent) had three people residing with them. Sixteen (20.3 percent) had two while 20 (25.3 percent) had only one.

Table 6.7 Number of Respondents with in-House Family Support

Family support at home	Number of women	%	Number of family members residing at home	Numbers of women	%
Yes	37	46.8	1	20	25.3
No	42	53.2	2	16	20.3
Total	79	100	3	1	1.3
			None	42	53.2
			Total	79	100

6.3.2 Education

This section of the questionnaire detailed the levels of formal education of the respondents and included questions on both qualification and occupation. The definition of ‘skills’ in migration streams has been discussed in detail in Chapter Two. For the purpose of this study, educational qualifications and the occupational experience contribute towards the definition of skills. Thus the educational component of being ‘skilled’ is a tertiary qualification with at least 15-16 years of education (Lowell 2006: 11). This includes formal qualifications acquired in the country of origin and those (if any) picked up in NZ after migration;

i. Formal qualifications from country of origin

Table 6.8 shows that a large proportion (79.5 percent) of the respondents had 15 years or more study. The respondents thus arrived with degrees ranging from BA/BSc to doctoral and professional degrees and many now work in mainstream jobs. As Table 6.8 shows, all women had at least a secondary education (12 years of schooling). One respondent had a PhD (1.3 percent), 29 had bachelor degrees (37.2 percent), 33 had master’s degrees (41.0 percent), 12 had tertiary diplomas (15.2 percent) and 4 (5.1 percent) had certificate diplomas. Two respondents (2.5 percent) abstained.

Since educational qualifications, in the definition of skills, are the numbers of years spent in education, this section's analysis tabulates the years of study each respondent had to offer. Thus 63 respondents (79.5 percent) of the respondents had tertiary education with at least 15-19 years of study, depending on the country of origin. Of these, 1 (1.3 percent) had 19-20 years study, 33 (41.0 percent) had 17-18 years study and 29 had 15-16 years, again depending on the country of origin, whereas 12 (15.4 percent) had approximately 14 years of study while 4 (5.1 percent) had about 12 years of study. These findings are consistent with research studies that indicate the increased numbers of tertiary educated women in international skilled migration flows. Women from India are known to be particularly well-educated (Dumont and Lemaitre 2005: 10). NZ research (Badkar, Callister et al. 2007: 7) suggests that Asian women in NZ to have 'at least' secondary qualifications.

Table 6.8 Number of Respondents by Qualification

Highest Formal Qualifications	Total number of women	%
PhD	1	1.3
Bachelor's degree	29	37.2
Master's degree	33	41
Tertiary Diploma	4	5.1
Certificate	12	15.4
Total	79	100

ii. Further education in NZ

As Table 6.9 shows, 42 (53.2 percent) of the 79 respondents, were enrolled in some sort of study in NZ after arrival. Of these 15 were enrolled in a 2-3 years Master's or higher study while 27 (34.2 percent) were enrolled in short term (6 months/1-2 years) study courses. Interestingly, of the 42 that opted to study in NZ, only 19 respondents (24.0 percent) were interested in furthering education in their own areas of expertise while 23 (29.0 percent) had decided to make a completely fresh start. Fifteen

respondents (19 percent) were processing professional registrations and preparing for qualifying exams/tests. Importantly, this analysis shows that 22 respondents (27.8 percent) were not involved in any further study. Evidence suggests that women take from 18 to 30 months to access jobs more suited to their qualifications (Pio 2005a: 1286). Highly qualified women prefer to take the NZ-study route convinced that an NZ degree would give them better access to jobs more suited to their qualifications. While some undertake higher study in their own fields of expertise, other professional women re-qualify in completely new less challenging areas of work.

Table 6.9 Number of Respondents by Education in New Zealand

Further education in NZ	Total number of women	%
Master's and other higher degree (2 years and more)	15	19
Short-term study (1-2 years)	27	34.2
Preparing for qualifying tests and registrations	15	19
Not in study	22	27.8
Total	79	100

6.3.3 Paid Work pre-Migration

This section of the survey measured the labour market participation of the respondents, pre-migration and is presented through questions on their labour market participation in their countries of origin. It targets the 'occupation' of the respondents and thus addresses their skills and work experience accumulated on the job. The questions addressed: whether the respondents were employed; whether their employment status was part-time or full-time; and what their occupation was in country of origin;

i. Employment Pre-Migration & Status

Table 6.10 indicates that 68 (86.1 percent) of the 79 respondents, were employed in their country of origin, while 9 (11.4) percent indicated that they had been housewives- a fairly common situation in India for educated married women of Indian origin in the early part of their married lives. Two respondents (2.5 percent) abstained. Of the 79 respondents, 64 (81.0 percent) had worked full-time while 4 (5.0 percent) had worked part-time.

Table 6.10 Number of Respondents by Labour Market Participation

Labour Market Participation	Total number of women	%	Employed Women	Total number of women	%
Employed	68	86.1	Full time	64	81
Unemployed	9	11.4	Part time	4	5
Abstained	2	2.5	Total	68	100
Total	79	100			

ii. Occupations of Respondents pre-migration

As indicated in Table 6.11, it is interesting to note that of the 68 previously employed respondents, 37 (54.4 percent) had professional careers which are regulated professions in NZ. Thus, nine (13.2 percent) were medical doctors, six (8.8 percent) were engineers, four (5.0 percent) were chartered accountants, two (2.5 percent) were architects, 14 (20.6 percent) were school teachers and one (1.3 percent) chemist and one pharmacist (1.3 percent). Of the remaining 42 respondents, 2 (2.5 percent) were senior managers in banks while 4 (5.0 percent) were managers from the tourism, hotel and airline sectors, 6 (7.6 percent) were from the ICT sector, 9 (11.4 percent) were academics from universities, 5 (6.3 percent) occupied various positions in Human Resources (HR) sector, 2 (2.5 percent) worked for the non-profit sector, 2 (2.5

percent) were government workers and 1 (1.3 percent) was a *sous* chef. All had been employed in their areas of work in their countries of origin. Significant research has been done on the challenges of navigating regulatory systems in NZ and this will be further discussed in Chapter Seven. The overwhelming numbers of teachers is not surprising because teaching is considered an ‘honourable’ profession for women in India allowing women to synchronise their lives with that of school-going children. The high numbers (46.8 percent) of ‘high-skilled’ professionals in this sample is also not surprising. International studies show that women in skilled migration flows are as skilled, if not better-skilled, than men (see Chapter Two, Figure 2.8).

Table 6.11 Number of Respondents by Occupation in Country of Origin (OCO)

OCO	Total number of women	%
Professionals	37	46.8
HR/Office accounting	5	6.3
Academics	9	11.4
Social Services	2	2.5
Government servants	2	2.5
Hospitality (chef)	1	1.3
Bank Managers	2	2.5
Office Managers	4	5
ICT	6	7.6
Not working	11	13.9
Total	79	100

Professional OCO (regulated in NZ)	Total number of women	%
Medical Doctors	9	24.3
Engineers	6	16.2
Architects	2	5.4
Teachers	14	37.8
Chartered Accountants	4	10.8
Chemist	1	2.7
Pharmacist	1	2.7
Total	37	100

6.3.4 Paid Work post-Migration

This section measured the labour market participation of the respondents post-migration in comparison with their occupations in their country of origin before

migration. The respondents in this study worked in selected fields: medicine, academia, banking, insurance, and social services. While these do not exhaust every type of job Indian women have held in NZ, it provides a cross section of women who came as “wives” of highly skilled migrants.

Survey questions address the respondent’s present occupation, the sector of industry, and the type of occupation in their country of origin. Other questions addressed whether they were employed, part-time or full-time, job satisfaction, job suitability, salary levels and employment history. Questions also addressed whether the respondent was satisfied with the present career, the time each respondent spent commuting to work and whether they had full NZ driving licenses which in many cases are a qualifying factor to access employment.

i. Sectors of Occupation

As seen in Table 6.12, 16 (20.2 percent) of the 79 respondents, worked in the public sector, 1 (1.3 percent) worked in a tertiary education institution, 29 (36.7 percent) were employed in corporate business or other manufacturing enterprises while 31 (39.2 percent) were employed in other assorted jobs as seen in Table 6.12 below.

ii. Occupations of Respondents post-migration

As table 6.12 indicates, 77 (97.5) of the 79 respondents were in paid work, 16 (20.2 percent) worked for local or central government. The NZ public sector appoints qualified migrants from the various ‘ethnic’ groups to positions that are responsible for delivering migrant-specific services. Highly qualified migrant women often unable to resurrect their past-professional careers are found stratified in the public sector in

NZ. 13 (16.5 percent) were employed in the education sector as assistant teachers or teacher aides in Early Childhood Education (ECE) centres while 1 (1.3 percent) was a programme coordinator in the university. 8 (10.1 percent) worked as volunteers in various NGOs while four (5.0 percent) worked as interns/apprentices in professional organisations to add NZ skills and work experience to their resumes. Since accessing paid work without NZ work experience is a major issue in NZ, NGOs often provide short-term volunteering opportunities for migrant women in return for a skills and work experience reference. Eight respondents (10.1 percent) were working in a range of customer service occupations that included shop assistants, office assistants, catering assistants and as customer care service personnel. Ten (12.7 percent) were in Human Resources related occupations, five (6.3 percent) were in the corporate sector in management roles while six respondents (7.6 percent) from the ICT sector were in ICT related jobs. Two (2.5 percent) respondents had just completed medical registration exams and had started working as trainees while three (3.8 percent) worked in libraries in a variety of roles, one (1.3 percent) worked in a bank as a temporary worker while two (2.5 percent) were not employed. It is interesting to note that of the 11 respondents (13.9 percent) who were housewives in their countries of origin, nine were in paid work in NZ.

This analysis indicates that only 19 (24.0 percent) of the 77 respondents were able to find work in the areas of their qualification and work experience. Of these six (7.6 percent) were in accountancy and management. The other thirteen comprised of two (2.5 percent) medical doctors who had been able to clear exams and were working in their own fields, six (7.6 percent) worked in the ICT sector and five (6.3 percent) worked in HR related roles in small businesses. An overwhelming 58 (73.4 percent)

of the 77 respondents were working in occupations not related to their area of expertise, many in low-paid jobs not commensurate with their qualifications and training, indicating a sharp fall in occupational mobility. These included university academics, teachers, medical doctors, engineers, chartered accountants, architects and journalists.

Open-ended questions elicited many comments. Most women encountered severe devaluation of credentials. Many comment on the challenges navigating the regularisation processes. Others felt isolated from social and family networks. Overall comments indicate that a series of gender barriers seriously affected their attempts to rebuild careers and lives.

Table 6.12 Number of Respondents by Occupation in New Zealand

Sector employed in NZ	Number of women	%
Public Sector	16	20.2
Tertiary Education Institutes	1	1.3
Business/ Industry	29	36.7
Other	31	39.2
Not Working	2	2.5
Total	79	100

Occupation in NZ	Number of women	%
Central/ local govt.	16	20.2
Teacher Aides/ ECE	13	16.5
Academic	1	1.3
NGO Volunteering	8	10.2
Internships	4	5
Customer Services & related occupations	8	10.1
Resources	10	12.7
Business Administration	5	6.3
ICT	6	7.6
Medical Doctor	2	2.5
Librarian	3	3.8
Banker	1	1.3
Not working	2	2.5
Total	79	100

iii. Employment Status

According to Table 6.13 of the survey, 64 respondents (81.3 percent) currently work full time in NZ followed by 10 respondents (13.3 percent) who work part time. A minority of 2 respondents (2.7 percent) earned their income through temping or contract work while another 2 (2.7 percent) were not in paid work. While most respondents noted challenges in accessing paid work in their own fields of expertise, indicating deskilling and/or challenges navigating qualification and regulatory bodies, it is interesting to note that an overwhelming 77 respondents (97.5 percent) were in some sort of paid work in NZ. This is not surprising because most respondents were highly educated and skilled with good levels of written and spoken English and would have easy access to poorly paid entry-level jobs.

Table 6.13 Number of Respondents by Employment Status

Labour Market Participation Post-Migration	Total of women	%
Employed/Full time	64	81.3
Employed/Part time	10	13.3
Employed/Temporary	2	2.5
Unemployed	2	2.5
Total	79	100

iv. Number of Jobs held since arrival

Table 6.14 indicates the number of jobs the respondents had held since arrival. Thus of the 79 respondents, only 13 (16.9 percent) had been in the same job since arrival in NZ. The majority of the 64 respondents (83.1 percent) had worked in one or many jobs. This is in line with studies that find women moving up the career ladder after gaining work experience, on-the-job training and/or NZ-based degrees. However, there is evidence from my work that migrant women with no access to professional networks and/or skills training are known to stagnate in low-wage low-skilled jobs for longer periods.

Table 6:14 Number of Respondents by Jobs Held in New Zealand

Number of jobs held since arrival	Number of women	%
One	13	16.9
More than one	64	83.1
Grand Total	77	100

v. Job Satisfaction

Table 6.15 indicates whether the respondents were satisfied with their jobs. Of the 79 respondents, only 4 respondents (5.1 percent) were completely satisfied with their jobs. Twenty two (27.8 percent) were satisfied that they were in paid work. 30 respondents (38.0 percent) were dissatisfied while 22 (27.8 percent) were very dissatisfied with their jobs. The comments to open ended questions on Pages 172-176

are indicators to this dissatisfaction. This follows the pattern that highly qualified women are stratified in low-skilled jobs and are frustrated that their skills and qualifications are wasted. ‘Brain waste’ is a term used by Kofman and Raghuram (2009: 5) in their study on high-skilled migrant women that migrate in skilled migration flows.

Table 6.15 Number of Respondents by Job Satisfaction

Job Satisfaction	Total	%
Very Satisfied	4	5.1
Satisfied	22	27.8
Dissatisfied	30	38
Very Dissatisfied	22	27.8
Abstained	1	1.3
Total	79	100

vi. Job Suitability

Table 6.16 indicates job suitability of the respondents. A total of 38 respondents (48.1 percent) indicated that their jobs were “slightly suitable” or ‘somewhat suitable’, as compared to the 65.8 percent that indicated that they were either ‘dissatisfied’ or ‘very dissatisfied’ with their jobs. This highlights women being resigned to the backward slide of their professional careers, perhaps affecting their status in their families and their married relationships. A total of 40 respondents (50.6 percent) found their jobs unsuitable when compared to their qualifications. Of these, 31 respondents (39.2 percent) found jobs ‘unsuitable’ while 9 (11.4 percent) found them ‘very unsuitable’. It is not surprising that highly qualified skilled women are not satisfied with their low-paid entry-level jobs. Many women are known to step back from high-profile professional careers after migrating to NZ.

Table 6.16 Number of Migrants by Job Suitability

Job Suitability	Number of women	%
Somewhat suitable	14	17.7
Slightly suitable	24	30.4
Unsuitable	31	39.2
Very unsuitable	9	11.4
Does not apply	1	1.3
Total	79	100

vii. Salary Range

Table 6.17 indicates the respondent's salary range at the time of this survey. Thus 77 of the 79 respondents were in paid work. Three (4.2 percent) respondents were earning between \$21,000 and \$29,000 per annum, 13 (17 percent) between \$30,000 and \$39,000. 30 respondents (38 percent) were earning between \$40,000 and \$49,000 while (5.0 percent) were earning between \$50,000 and \$59,000. Only six (7.9 percent) were earning over \$60,000. (See personal comments below on careers and salaries). These salaries compare well with the median annual income of migrants in the LisNZ report which quoted the median annual income for skilled migrants to be \$48,100 and for secondary migrants to be around \$26,000. However, this sample constituted a high number of tertiary educated migrants and as such the salaries indicated are well below their skill levels. Migrants from the Asia and Pacific regions generally reported lower incomes than migrants from other regions as did women especially those from Asia. It also suggests that one in four migrants earned more than \$50,000 per year (New Zealand Department of Labour 2011: 102).

Table 6.17 Number of Respondents by Salary

Salary Range	Number of women	%
\$21,000-\$29,000	3	3.8
\$30,000-39,000	18	22.8
\$40,000-\$49,000	35	44.3
\$50,000-\$59,000	7	8.9
\$60,000 and above	6	7.7
Volunteers	8	10.1
Not working	2	2.5
Total	79	100

viii. NZ Driving License

Sixty nine out of the 79 women (87 percent) had full New Zealand driving licenses, whereas a minority 10 (13 percent) did not.

ix. Distance from work

As shown in Table 6.18, the largest number of respondents, 42 (53.2 percent), lived just 20-30 minutes from their workplace while 23 (29.1 percent) lived even closer with just 10-15 minutes to work. 3 (3.8 percent) lived more than an hour away from work while 9 (11.4 percent) commuted between 45 minutes and an hour to work. Of the 77 respondents, only 30 (38 percent) used personal transport) while 47 (59.5 percent) either used public transport or were dropped off to work. Some indicated that the family could not afford two vehicles. With short commuting distances, those with family responsibilities are able to comfortably see children off to school before beginning work each morning.

Table 6.18 Number of Respondents by Commuting Distance

Distance to work	Number of women	%
10-15 min	23	29.1
20-30 min	42	53.2
45 min - 1 hour	9	11.4
More than 1 hour	3	3.8
Not employed	2	2.5
Total	79	100

NZ Driving License	Number of women	%
Full NZ License	69	87.3
No License	10	12.7
Total	79	100

6.3.5 Skills/Language Training post-Migration

This section of the survey measured skills and English language training accessed by the respondents. One of the aims was to measure critical English language proficiency of the respondents and gauge whether skilled Indian women have adequate English language levels to access professional careers post-migration. This was done through measuring the numbers of respondents who found it necessary to undertake English language training. India and all Indian Diasporas have been British colonies and are thus Anglophonic. However, the accents, especially the heavily accented English of Indians from India can be difficult to understand and employers in NZ have been known to be reluctant to employ such staff. The questions thus addressed: skills training attended and English language courses attended.

i. Skills training

Most respondents indicated that they had accessed some skills training post arrival. The most frequented type of skills training was that which focused on computing. Table 6.19 indicates that 31 respondents (39.2 percent) were enrolled in a wide range of computer training that included MYOB and other office and business applications. Most highly qualified migrant women are adept at using computer applications.

However, computer training classes also allow them to make connections with other professionals and link them to career information.

ii. English-language training

Table 6.19 also indicates the English language training accessed by respondents. Thus while English language competence and related communication skills are known to be a major factor that denies career opportunities to highly qualified migrants, an overwhelming 65 of the 79 survey respondents (82.7 percent) said that they had not accessed any language training on arrival. Fourteen (17.3 percent) indicated that they had. Most did not think that they needed English language training and felt they possessed excellent English language skills before arriving in NZ. However, some commented on the non acceptance of heavy ‘Indian’ accented English at work places and admitted that perhaps they did need some training on NZ workplace English.

In contrast, 42 respondents (53.2 percent) as shown in Table 6.19 were pursuing higher education, either in their own areas of expertise or in completely new fields. This was a little higher than the number of respondents who chose to enter the labour market at the entry level without availing any skills training or further education. Most respondents quoted on-the job training at their workplaces and were satisfied that such training would take their careers forward. Many migrant-related skills training workshops are free in NZ- CV writing, NZ orientation etc. Some of the respondents had accessed these and other ‘leadership’ training and customer skills training as well.

Open-ended questions on why skills or English language training was not accessed led to a number of comments most of which indicated that the respondents' command over English was very good. Others indicated that they thought they needed help with professional English and were thus enrolled in classes.

Table 6.19 Number of Respondents by Type of Training Accessed

Computer Up-skilling	Number of women	%	English Language training	Number of women	%
Yes	31	39.2	Yes	14	17.3
No	48	60.8	No	65	82.7
Total	79	100	Total	79	100

6.3.6 Settlement Services/Ethnic Community Networks

This section of the survey sought to measure the ease of access to state run local settlement networks and other information programs and workshops for the respondents and its usefulness. On the other hand the survey explored the existence of and access to family, social and community networks. Both can be critically important to the lives of new immigrants. The questions addressed were: state-funded settlement services accessed and usefulness; ethnic community networks accessed and usefulness;

i. State-run settlement services accessed

Table 6.20 indicates the access respondents had to both state and community networks. Thus a majority of this survey's respondents (81.8 percent) did not utilize the free government-funded settlement service programmes provided locally (see Chapter Five). A close analysis of the comments left on this section of the survey indicates that many had no knowledge of any such free services indicating that perhaps the services were not very well advertised. However, 17.7 percent did attend

them but did not find them particularly useful. Their expectations of state-run programmes were high and they felt severely let down by the information and referral orientated services. Most of these women were well educated and were able to find information themselves through informal channels of friends and family. 55 (69.6 percent) did attend their own community's network meetings.

Table 6.20 Number of Respondents by Access to Networks

Access to Settlement Networks (State run)	Number of women	%	Access to community and ECN*	Number of women	%
Yes	14	17.7	Yes	55	69.6
No	65	82.3	No	24	30.4
Total	79	100	Total	79	100

*Ethno-cultural networks/ meeting

ii. Ethnic community networks accessed

Table 6.21 indicates which community networks the respondents accessed. Thus fifty five respondents (69.6 percent) accessed 'ethnic' community networks soon after arrival and gained information and initial support from family, friends and the community. While 17 respondents (30.9 percent) attended what was termed as 'community meetings' which were 'pan' Indian meetings and not the ethno-cultural meetings that were more regional language focused. 23 respondents (41.8 percent) indicated that they had attended 'ethnic community' meetings while 15 (27.3 percent) indicated that they had attended religious/cultural meetings. 9 respondents (16.4 percent) had attended both community and ethnic meetings. However, 24 respondents (30.4 percent) did not attend any meetings.

Open-ended questions on attending the networks and their usefulness elicited many responses. Many did not have the time to attend. A few even brushed them off as frivolous while others did not bother to comment. Several women mentioned that they had expected a system where their human capital rather than “professional connections” governed access to jobs. However, they realised that without professional networks their chances of rebuilding careers were few. Respondents were affected by these barriers in several ways. The ones with ‘general’ degrees had to find ways of accessing job options. Those with professional degrees found it hard to find and connect to appropriate professional networks and find ways to penetrate the ‘old boy’ networks before they could access their professions. A large number felt that more substantial support was needed, rather than just the socio-cultural support the community groups offered; frequently, childcare was quoted as a problem, as often both parents needed to work in order to gain enough net income to run a household and many had no support from extended family to assist with childcare. The role of social capital in settlement assistance is further discussed in Chapter Five.

Table 6.21 Number of Respondents by Type of Community Networks Attended

Types of CN* attended	Number of women	%
Community meetings	17	30.9
Family/ethnic community meetings	23	41.8
Cultural/Religious meetings	15	27.3
Total	55	100

*Community networks

6.3.7 Childcare

This section addresses the respondent’s access to childcare facilities within or outside their homes. Questions address: type of childcare support accessed; sharing of family

responsibilities; family and community support available to respondents.

i. Childcare Support

As Table 6.22 indicates, 64 respondents (81.3 percent) accessed alternate support for childcare either from extended family, friends or from childcare facilities, while 13 (16.7) percent did not. Traditionally, family child care-giving is routinely available to women in many close knit communities. Often grandparents living at home take over the responsibility of childcare. This survey indicated high incidence of extended family residing at home with 37 respondents (46.8 percent) having parents, parents-in-law or siblings living at home. Twenty-seven (34.2 percent) respondents without access to family support used childcare/day care facilities while they worked.

Table 6.22 Number of Respondents by Alternate Childcare Support

Alternate support (Family, Friends, Childcare, Daycare)	Number of women	%
Yes	64	81.3
No	13	16.7
Not applicable	2	2.5
Total	79	100

ii. Use of Day care/childcare facilities

A significant number of respondents, 37 (46.8 percent), did not use paid childcare or day care facilities as seen in Table 6.23. Many indicated that they could not afford it at the time, or were utilising childcare support from family members (usually grandparents) or close friends. However, 27 (34 percent) of the sample indicated that they did use daycare or childcare facilities. 13 (16.5 percent) abstained. Childcare support is the critical factor in women accessing paid work. Women without support are known to forego professional careers and take on family roles.

Table 6.23 Number of Respondents by Access to Childcare

Access to Childcare/Daycare	Number of women	%
Yes	27	34.2
No	37	46.8
Did not indicate either way	13	16.5
Not applicable	2	2.5
Total	79	100

iii. Sharing of family responsibilities

Table 6.24 indicates the sharing of family responsibilities in the homes of the respondents, Thus a majority of respondents rotated caregiver roles with their husbands when their children were sick. Fifty five respondents (69.6 percent) indicated that either they OR their husbands would take the day off to look after sick children. However, 16 respondents (20.3 percent) who had no support from their husbands while 6 (4.2percent) could not drive and asked their husbands to stay back as well when children were ill. Women who are known to share family responsibilities with their husbands are able to venture out and connect to professional networks and access skills training that may lead to professional jobs. Sixteen (20.3 percent) respondents had distinct family roles and did not have support from the men in the family. An overwhelming 55 respondents had husbands who were willing to share responsibility for their children and 6 were forced to depend on their husbands at all times, perhaps because they could not drive or did not have access to transport.

Table 6.24 Number of Respondents by Family Responsibilities

Responsibility for Children	Number of women	%
Both Husband and wife	6	7.6
Wife	16	20.3
Either Husband or wife	55	69.6
Other	0	0
Not applicable	2	2.5
Total	79	100

iv. Community and Family support

Table 6.25 indicates the most frequently used forms of family/community support. The most frequently cited type of support was family support; support from brothers, sisters, parents, other extended family members and community that functioned as surrogate families for those without immediate family members in NZ. Respondents who had family at home commented on the extra responsibilities for caring for older members. Many also commented on the positive support (childcare and housework) from live-in extended family members such as parents/ parents in law. Although Indian women are drawn from the same range of social and economic backgrounds as men, as secondary migrants, either their later entry or their initial status as dependants exposes them to a different set of circumstances as they attempt to rebuild their careers. Comments from many of the respondents describe several degrees of marginality which would primarily include their race and gender. Being Indian and female, there was an expectation that the family resources would be made available to the male member while the women stepped back to take responsibility for home and children. Women also faced isolation, lack of professional networks, mobility and household help. This explains their extreme dependence on their own social and community networks and ethnic enclaves.

Thus 60 respondents (76.0 percent) indicated that they were connected to family, friends and the wider community from where they could garner support if needed while 13 (16.5 percent) indicated that they could rely on no such support. 27 respondents (34.1 percent) had full support from family members (parents, parents-in-law, siblings and/or other household member) living with them while 42 (53.2 percent) did not. However, Table 6.25 indicates that 10 (12.7 percent) respondents,

who had live-in extended family, were not able to draw support from them. Some respondents were not well connected and indicated that they had little or no help from their husbands or from friends and found it difficult to manage home and family. Many with preschool children had elected to give up their careers temporarily while others indicated that they had not had time to look for jobs, or attend training and other up-skilling opportunities.

Table 6.25 Number of Respondents by Access to Family Support

Access to general support post-migration	Number of women	%	Access to at-home family support post-migration	Number of women	%
Yes	60	76	Yes	27	34.1
No	13	16.5	No	42	53.2
Abstained	6	7.5	Abstained	10	12.7
Total	79	100	Total	79	100

6.3.8 Household Work

This section included questions that addressed major changes in the respondent's life style and support post-migration and to measure the extent to which respondents participated in household work and whether they could tap into any 'surrogate' systems that they had established post-migration. These 'surrogate' structures were expected to be extended family albeit smaller, or a 'surrogate' family of friends through community networks established post-migration. Thus questions address: Household work participation and daily routines; and satisfaction with current lifestyle/routines

i. Housework and daily routines

Table 6.26 indicates respondent's participation in housework routines. As high as 78 of the 79 respondents (98.7 percent) indicated that they participated in some form of

household work, as compared to 1 (1.3 percent) who did not. Cooking and cleaning was the most common form of housework, as 96 percent of the sample took part in it. Routines largely included indoor household chores. Except shopping, very few routines were located outdoors.

ii. Similar/dissimilar routines pre/post migration

Table 6.26 indicates whether NZ housework routines were similar or dissimilar to their routines pre-migration. Thus sixty seven (84.6 percent) of the respondents stated that their household routine was dissimilar to their routine in their countries of origin whereas only 12 (15.4 percent) felt that their routines were similar before and after migration. Approximately 66 respondents (83.5 percent) commented on the help they had relied on from either paid help or from family members towards completing household work in their countries of origin. Forty nine respondents (62.0 percent) quoted having paid help to cook and do the housework in their countries of origin. Most respondents indicated that they had paid help and access to family support that enabled them to manage families and satisfying careers in their countries of origin. The dissimilar lifestyles post-migration impacts both their ability to manage both family and work and their occupational mobility.

Table 6.26: Number of Respondents by Housework Pre and Post-Migration

Household Work	Number of women	%	Household routine Pre and post-migration	Number of Women	%
Regularly	78	98.7	Similar	12	15.2
Occasionally	0	0	Somewhat similar	0	0
None	1	1.3	Not Similar	67	84.8
Total	79	100	Total	79	100

iii. Satisfaction with life/routine post-migration

Table 6.27 indicates whether the respondents were satisfied with their new routines. Fifty six (70.8 percent) respondents were happy with their routine while 12 (15.2 percent) indicated that they had no comments while 11 (14.0 percent) indicated that they were not happy with their post-migration life and routines. Comments from the open-ended questions provide rich data and indicate why the respondents were dissatisfied. Comments are topically categorised at the end of this section.

Table 6.27: Number of Respondents by Satisfaction with Post-Migration Routines

Satisfaction with post-migration life/routine	Number of women	%
Happy	56	70.8
Unhappy	12	15.2
No comment	11	14
Total	79	100

6.3.9 Empowerment, Participation

This section included questions that measured any changes in the respondent's relationships with husband and the wider family. It sought to measure the power dynamics in the family- whether there were any significant changes post-migration and whether the participant had established connections with social/organizational /professional networks. Thus questions addressed: quality of family relationships; changes in lifestyle; settlement stress and degree of control; participation in community activity.

i. Changes in Lifestyle and Family relationships

Table 6.28 indicates that 37 (47.0 percent) respondents had reasonably good relationships with their husbands while 12 (15.2 percent) indicated excellent relationships. Twenty-six (32.8 percentage) described their relationship as adequate while 2 (2.5 percent) indicated it to be poor. Their comments (below) are an indicator to their family relationships and status.

Table 6.28 Number of Respondents by Changes in Lifestyle and Family Relationships

Lifestyle changes Post-migration	Number of women	%	Family relationships Post-migration	Number of women	%
Yes	78	98.7	Excellent	12	15.2
No	1	1.3	Good	37	47
Total	79	100	Adequate	26	32.8
			Poor	2	2.5
			Abstained	2	2.5
			Total	79	100

ii. Degree of control

This section of the survey provides an indication on the degree of control our respondents have, to make decisions that might affect their lives after migration. As Table 6.29 indicates, only 21 respondents (26.6 percent) had control over all decisions that could affect their lives while 45 (56.9 percent) had control on ‘most’ decisions. Ten respondents (12.6 percent) had control on making ‘some’ decisions while 3 (3.9 percent) had little control over any decisions. This is a critical question in the survey. Most Indians come from families where there are expectations of women to operate within the bounds of traditional gender roles so ‘degree of control’ would indicate how much freedom women had to pursue their life’s goals. This is further discussed in Chapter Seven.

Table 6.29 Number of Respondents by Degree of Control

Degree of control over decisions	Total number of women	%
Control over very few decisions	3	3.9
Control over some decisions	10	12.6
Control over most decisions	45	56.9
Control over all decisions	21	26.6
Total	79	100

iii. Community connection and participation

Family connections and community networks play an important role in migrant settlement, especially when the migrants are women (Vertovec 2002). This section of the survey explores whether respondents actually find that by establishing community connections and participating in community networks, they achieve better settlement outcomes. Table 6.30 indicates that a total of 65 respondents (82.3 percent) found it ‘true’ that community connections were useful for settlement and that community networks were worth attending while another 10 (12.6 percent) did not agree at all. Community networks are an important source of information to new migrant families and sustain them in the initial period of settlement. Chapter Five discusses the role of such networks in the settlement of migrants. The open-end questions in this section of the survey provide rich data on actual instances where attending community meetings could establish professional connections for new migrants that would aid their settlement. Comments are categorised and then presented below.

Table 6.30 Number of Respondents by Usefulness of Community Networks and Connections

Community networks and connections are useful during early settlement	Number of women	%	Community connections and role in supporting settlement	Number of women	%
Completely true	27	34.1	Very Supportive	22	27.8
Somewhat true	27	34.1	Supportive	25	31.6
Slightly true	11	13.9	Not Supportive	12	15.2
Not true	10	12.6	Not at all supportive	10	12.7
No time to attend meetings	5	6.3	Abstained	10	12.7
Total	79	100	Total	79	100

6.3.10 Integration Issues

This section included open-ended questions into the degree of integration of the respondents and to provide rich data and to add value to this analysis 54 (68.3 percent) respondents noted a range of issues that seriously affected their initial settlement – lack of employment opportunities, difficulties accessing training, too busy husbands, lack of family networks, issues with childcare and settlement related challenges were major causes for settlement stress which in turn affected family relationships and thereby their general well being. Not surprisingly all comments were related to economic disempowerment. 10 (12.7 percent) commented on the lack of support from the state towards regularisation of their professions in NZ so that they could restart past professional careers, 28 (35.4 percent) commented on family responsibilities and the lack of childcare support holding them back from accessing training or entry-level jobs or building networks, 11 (14 percent) were philosophical about their lives in NZ and were willing to compromise and step back from being career women changing roles, lifestyles and sacrificing their own professional careers for the ‘greater good’ of the family. 5 (6.3 percent) of them were very frustrated with their lives in NZ, commenting on the stressful situation at home because husbands

were unhappy with their employment and earnings. Approximately 15 (19 percent) also commented about the high cost of living in NZ and being unable to afford paying childcare costs and maintaining a second car if they were to access training and paid work while 4 (5 percent) also commented being satisfied with their professional and personal lives. 6 (7.6 percent) also commented on moving overseas (4 to Australia) if both partners were not able to access jobs and wages their qualifications warranted

Four sections of the survey included open-ended questions to provide rich data that would advise the analysis. The comments have been sorted and topically categorised under headings: Occupational Mobility; Employment support, family support, childcare support, social and community networks and support and settlement stress and frustrations and presented below.

Occupational Mobility

Occupational mobility was the greatest stressors for the women of this survey and caused the most frustration. Most women were impacted by migration and had to give up their past professional careers and life-styles. For many it meant restructuring their lives.

“My career has undergone a drastic change but I am working hard and will achieve what I want to achieve.....”

“It has taken me a long time to access [appropriate] employment. I worked as a volunteer for years”.

“I have not been able to get work in the tourism and travel industry because I cannot afford childcare and don't have the time to attend classes”

“Not many opportunities for career growth. I have done a course in accountancy [in India] but cannot find a job in my area of qualification”

“It is very difficult to work as a teacher in New Zealand. I have given up trying”

“I had to change my career after migration and that disappointed me initially. But I enjoy my work and am well settled. I undertook training to support my work”

Employment and Support

“It is challenging to balance work, study and family. There is little support for me. There is more support for less skilled people but nothing for highly skilled immigrant especially women. It would help to have support for my study, in terms of finances and time and perhaps with childcare and some structures that will utilize my skills as a specialist”.

“The 1st years are very difficult to cope, especially because I had very little family support. My husband has been very supportive but

it is still hard. I cannot afford to study and cannot get into HR without a [NZ] degree....”

Family support

“I had family support and paid help in India so it was easy to manage home and career. It is very challenging here_____ [till] you have a good job and get [yourself] organised.”

“We are well organized and my mother in law helps”

“I am unable to pay attention to my career and my studies. I spend the whole day in housework or caring for the children the children are doing well and my husband has an OK job [but] I have to take a backseat”

“Training and recertifying were useful in getting me an entry level job. I have full support from my family and so I could train and can manage both children and work without too much trouble”.

“I had the support of my husband and family and could study full time and qualify to practice as a doctor in New Zealand but know that it is not so easy for other women immigrant doctors who struggle between children and exams”.

Childcare support

“It is challenging to balance work, study and family. There is little state support for people like me. There is more support for less skilled people but nothing for highly skilled immigrant especially women. It would help to have support for my study, in terms of finances and time and perhaps with childcare and some structures that will utilize my skills as a specialist”.

“I realize that migration causes a disruption in a family's economy and it takes a while to get back to where you were before, but I wish I had better support in terms of childcare assistance and registering as a chartered accountant. I could have contributed better to the country”.

Social/Community Networks and Support

“As a family we attend community events. These are more of social interaction opportunities for us and we feel very comfortable mixing around with our people with no language barrier for any of us at home, therefore socialising is easy”

“As an Indian, living within an extended family, we attend a lot of community events, organised by Indian ethnic groups”.

Settlement stress and Frustrations

“I am so tired all the time ___[I]don't know if I will ever be happy here”

“I am frustrated sometimes because of the pressures at home because my husband is unhappy but we understand that we will go through this settlement stress before we settle down. There is financial stress as well. I’ve got myself a job in spite of the pressure of managing home, children and work so that I can contribute to the upkeep of the house___ could do with child care support for my kids and some support for me”.

“I find it difficult to penetrate the system here in Auckland. I don't think I want to start all over again. My husband is very frustrated and is not happy with his job and how much he earns. We are looking for opportunities in Australia and Canada”.

These comments from the respondents add rich data to the findings of this survey, thereby putting in perspective the individual challenges of the women. The open ended questions were useful in establishing another layer of information that was not possible through the survey questionnaire. Chapter Seven uses the comments to discuss the survey’s findings and will use these comments as a reference point summarising the pot-migration challenges of Indian women that migrate as wives.

6.4 Summary

This survey forms the basis for illustrating the disadvantages skilled Indian migrant spouses face at home and at work, and the compromises they make as they begin new lives in NZ. The completed surveys were received in April 2009 from English-

language literate 'ethnic' Indian migrant spouses who had migrated as secondary applicants along with principal skilled migrants or joined them in NZ through family flows. This data includes responses from 79 women from six Indian Diasporas who described their settlement experiences after migrating to NZ between 1998 and 2008. A profile of this study's respondents is presented in Chapter Four.

The examination of survey findings was constructed around the eight main themes. For this study, 'ethnic' Indian women were defined as those women of Indian extraction from one of the many Indian Diasporas around the world. 'Skill' and high-skilled were defined by the respondent's level of formal education and occupational work experience. It is quite clear that the majority of women in this sample were high-skilled, as shown by their profiles and their migratory and employment experiences.

The Indian migrant women were from India and five Indian Diasporas. While this sample population was not homogenous, they are all bound together by the similarity of their settlement experiences. They were all married as was required by the survey and all but two had children. The median age of the group was 34. This again reflects immigration policy selection criteria which favour working-age people. The respondents were all secondary migrants or wives of principal migrants as was required by the survey. They had either accompanied skilled migrant principal applicants to New Zealand or joined them later in family flows. Thus they were not labour market tested. However, those that had contributed points when applying for residency would have needed to pass the level stipulated by the NZ immigration selection criteria of the IELTS (International English Testing System) test. Most respondents indicated that they had friends or family in NZ before they arrived. This

confirms that skilled migration flows are influenced by transnational networks (Vertovec 2002: 3).

A majority of the respondents were well educated and a large majority had tertiary education and good English language skills. This is not surprising because studies suggest that wives of highly educated principal migrants are highly-skilled themselves according to the principle of assortative-mating (Dumont, Martin et al. 2007: 9). While most respondents were in professional careers before migration, their occupational profile in NZ did not reflect either their qualifications or the senior positions most had held in their countries of origin. Their current positions were simply the ones that were easiest for them to access and most respondents had given up trying to restart professional careers. A large proportion of the sample was in study or training and very few had satisfying careers. Many of the respondents had acquired skills training 'on-the-job' or as volunteers before accessing entry-level jobs. A majority of respondents were in paid-work. However a large number were in jobs that were not commensurate with their qualifications. The women did not earn as much as principal skilled migrants with equivalent qualifications (New Zealand Department of Labour 2011:105) and most respondents had family responsibilities that impacted on their accessing training or professional networks that would lead to better jobs. The study indicates that the respondents found navigating regulatory bodies and registering their professions challenging and expensive and few could afford the cost. Almost all respondents indicated that their lives had drastically changed after migration as their roles became more 'feminised'.

The study found that a number of respondents were re-qualifying themselves. This is because most thought that with an NZ degree they would get better jobs. While some were training in their own areas, a majority had completely changed track, choosing less-challenging careers options. The study indicates that most respondents attended skills training - largely computer skills and other computer-related training that they thought would add to their skills profile when they applied for jobs. Others had accessed professional English classes but the majority indicated that their English competence was good and that they did not need extra training.

The group of respondents had invested time to re-build their community networks. The study indicates that most respondents had family and friends when they arrived in NZ and the respondents had built on those connections and attended many social and cultural events and activities. The study indicates that the social capital of the Indian communities is very high and that they heavily invest in supporting new members of the community through the initial months of arrival. Although state-provided settlement assistance is available to new migrants in all urban migrant settlement hubs in NZ and provide free settlement information and other settlement related resources, very few of the respondents had knowledge of such services or indeed attended any. The ones that did know about the services were unable to access them because of family responsibilities or because they had no access to transportation or could not drive. However most had easy access to community networks and these connections were widely appreciated. Some of the connections had resulted in job opportunities for some.

Almost all respondents with children indicated being pulled back by family responsibilities. The absence of extended family and paid help that was available to them pre-migration was keenly felt. In most cases those that had extended family were able to tap into family support but those who did not were forced to give up on career aspirations and either undertake part-time jobs or become housewives. The few that had support did well and were able to access training and entry level jobs.

Respondents indicated major changes to their lives post-migration. Most respondents were uncomfortable about having to do ALL work around the house and the garden. Many found it difficult to manage home, family and work. The quality of life for most respondents had changed. Most respondents would have been able to access support from family and paid help to manage homes, families and well-paid jobs in their countries of origin. Sometimes settlement related stress caused friction between family members. Husbands had never assumed household responsibilities before migration and found that they were unable to cope when women went to work and this caused friction. Moreover some respondents felt threatened by having to assume traditional gender roles and forego decision-making so married relationships post-migration had to be re-negotiated.

All in all the study found that most respondents were resigned to their lives in NZ. Most had re-negotiated their careers and though dissatisfied were willing to work their way up. The younger respondents were more frustrated and were willing to look out for better opportunities overseas. In the end, they felt that their higher qualifications and training meant that they should be earning more than was currently possible in

NZ. They were willing to make sacrifices if they could see their way out. A detailed profile of this study's respondents has been presented in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Settlement and Integration Policies: An Analysis

7.1 Introduction to Chapter

This study's research findings as described in Chapter Six indicate poor integration of educated and skilled Indian women spouses' inspite of the fact that most had tertiary degrees and had been in the country for five or more years. The women's inability to access appropriate job opportunities, their underemployment and their struggle to balance work and family responsibilities are indicative of barriers that intersects race, gender and institutional factors, seriously affecting their ability to integrate fully into the economic and social fabric of the country.

Skilled migration is increasingly perceived as a phenomenon the positive impacts of which, in development terms, can be substantial, provided that appropriate policies are in place (Ng, Man et al. 2006: 5). However, insufficient attention to gender analysis in NZ immigration research has meant that secondary migrant women's contributions and concerns remain too often ignored, especially within economic structures, such as regulatory systems and labour markets as well as within families and households. As a result, many policies and programmes may continue to contribute towards inequalities between women and men.

Factors that influence integration outcomes for skilled women spouses in NZ become clearly evident when settlement dynamics (such as the lack of settlement and childcare assistance and access to social/ professional networks) are clearly understood. Understanding the women's migration experience thus provides a

concrete background from which to develop evidence-based gender sensitive policies and programs. This chapter provides an in-depth analysis of this study's research findings regarding the post-migration experiences of Indian women that are secondary migrants as compared to the NZ government's settlement policies in the years 1998-2008. It uses key indicators for settlement as identified by the research findings and discusses NZ settlement policy responses.

7.2 Survey Research Findings and NZ Settlement Policy

Settlement policies enable new migrants to develop a sense of belonging in the communities they settle in, to participate in all aspects of local activities whether economic, social or cultural and 'be confident that they are coming into a country that is able to accept their difference and value their contribution' (Spoonley, Peace et al. 2005: 86). Thus settlement policies and programs need to reflect the essential centrality of both family and work in the lives of women who migrate as spouses of skilled migrants. However, existing literature is quite limited in its capacity to inform settlement policy about the needs of such women. For example, the LisNZ analysis of data does not have a specific focus on women (New Zealand Department of Labour 2009).

While the NZ government's settlement policies and funding priorities were only launched after 2004, settlement assistance pre-2004 was voluntarily delivered by NGOs and community-based organisations until overwhelmingly poor integration outcomes for migrants and their families triggered the collection of a migrant levy fee from new migrants in 1998 and settlement programmes were launched thereafter, funded by the migrant levy (see Chapter 5.3).

The NZSS was launched in 2004. It identifies six goals for the settlement of new migrants (and refugees) and their families (see Chapter Five). The first three goals were set as settlement priorities for the NZ government budget in 2004. The ‘migrant’ orientated goals were employment, English language services and support, and access to information and services (New Zealand Department of Labour 2004: 13). These funded initiatives addressed: careers and labour market information, adult ESOL tuition, additional funding for ESOL in schools, establishment of a network of migrant resource services and a national settlement secretariat to support a structure for ongoing communication between central government agencies and people and groups interested in settlement issues. The following paragraphs will compare this study’s research findings with the outcomes of the above policies and programmes, assess the settlement outcomes for secondary migrant Indian women spouses and outline any policy or programme responses to their unmet needs.

7.2.1. Educational Qualifications

Iredale defines skilled workers as those who have university degrees and/or extensive experiences in various fields (2000: 883). This study’s research findings indicate that 79.5 percent of the respondents had 15 years or more study with 42.3 percent having a Masters or higher degree (see Chapter 6.3.2, Table 6.8). However, 76.1percent of the respondents entered NZ between the years 1998 – 2004 (see Chapter 6.3.1, Table 6.1) when centrally-funded settlement assistance programmes to migrants were not yet available. Migrant settlement support was undertaken by community-based settlement services funded either by the communities themselves or through private funders. Most other settlement-related services were delivered by voluntary organizations. Basic services were offered on a voluntary basis and included English language

training, settlement information, settlement orientation and employment (New Zealand Department of Labour 2002: 3). But these services were inadequate and inconsistent (Bedford, Ho et al. 2000: 35).

Research findings also indicate that the respondents found the regulation process and the registering of professional qualifications challenging and expensive and few could afford the cost. This contributed to respondents undertaking to requalify in less challenging areas of work (see Chapter 6.3.2 Table 6.9). Thus of the 46.8 percent of the respondents who had professional qualifications, only 2.5 percent were actually working in their area of work (see Chapter 6.3.2 Table 6.8). While such challenges are not restricted to migrant women professionals alone, they are known to face higher levels of disadvantage. Further, anecdotal evidence collected during my work suggests that in families where strong gender hierarchies exist, women's need to re-skill or to initiate accreditation processes may be given a lower priority in spite of the women's skill and education levels. Eventually, under-employment and lengthy periods out of the labour market harm the women's self-esteem and increase the likelihood of deskilling. The importance of settlement-assistance that provides support for high-skilled women to process their qualifications and navigate professional accreditation systems cannot be stressed enough. To date there are no centrally-funded settlement assistance programmes or dedicated agencies that specifically offer such support to high-skilled secondary applicant women.

7.2.2. Paid work and Occupation

Although Indian women spouses are drawn from the same range of social and economic backgrounds as men, either their later entry or their initial status as

dependant secondary migrants exposes them to a different set of circumstances as they attempt to rebuild their careers. Comments from many of the respondents in this research study describe several degrees of marginality which primarily include their race and gender. Being Indian and female, there was an expectation that the family resources be made available to the male member while the women stepped back to take responsibility for home and children. Women also faced isolation, lack of professional networks and mobility. This explains their extreme dependence on social and community networks and ethnic enclaves.

Chapter 6.3.3, Table 6.10 indicates that 86.1 percent of the respondents were employed in their country of origin. Of these 54.4 percent were professionally occupied in careers which are regulated professions in NZ. This is reflected in other studies (Raghuram 2004; Purkayastha 2005; Pio 2005a) that suggest that Indian women migrants are usually high-skilled and bring with them skills and work-experience. However, 73.4 percent of the professionally qualified respondents from this study were working in totally unrelated occupations, many in low-paid jobs not commensurate with their qualifications and training (see Chapter 6.3.4, Table 6.12). Comments to open-ended questions regarding paid work and occupations were many. While some women encountered severe devaluation of credentials, others reported challenges navigating the regularisation processes (see Chapter 6.3.10). Comments also indicate that women from professional backgrounds in this study were frustrated as they confronted the proverbial wall in terms of time and expenses towards initiating professional accreditation or regulatory processes that either slowed or stopped their professional growth.

Services providing employment assistance to skilled spouses of new migrants have always been non-existent or minimal (Bedford, Ho et al. 2000: 37). While formal recognition of their skills and qualifications would ensure better employment outcomes and work-related integration (Butcher and Hall 2006: 8), the funded programmes did not offer specific support towards regularising professional qualifications. The most significant employment service provider before the launch of migrant levy funded employment assistance programme was the MSD's Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ). This programme supported new migrants into entry-level jobs while the employment training programme provided work experience for unskilled migrants in small businesses within Auckland. However, the services mainly catered to low skilled migrants (Bedford, Ho et al. 2000: 6). Few services were available, either from WINZ or other agencies that helped highly skilled migrant women gain employment in the NZ labour market. This is reflected by the research findings in this study where high-skilled women languished in poorly paid entry-level jobs (see Chapter 6.3.4, Table 6.12).

Seven settlement programmes that supported new migrants on arrival were launched at the end of the settlement pilots in 2002. They were funded by the migrant levy, paid for by the migrants themselves (see Chapter 5.3). Three of these migrant levy funded programmes offered employment assistance and included: job placement and job search support, one-on-one case management with job seekers aimed at linking skills and work experience with employers, a website that matches new migrant skills with employers' needs and employment seminars and workshops. None however, specifically targeted high-skilled secondary migrant women (Department of Labour 2007: 16). Later settlement-related programmes have focused on provision of

settlement information to new migrants. Thus while there is an outstanding need for high-skilled labour in NZ, its gendered policies and practices, regulatory processes and lack of timely and appropriate state support systems prevent highly qualified and skilled secondary migrant women, already in the country, from participating in jobs commensurate with their skills and training.

7.2.3. Skills and Language training

This study's research findings indicate that most respondents accessed some sort of skills training post-arrival. Approximately, 39 percent of the respondents' accessed computer training that included MYOB and other office and business applications (see Chapter 6.3.5, Table 6.19). Such skills training linked them to professional networks and to career information. English language competence is one of the key indicators of successful settlement in NZ and accordingly has been included as Goal Two of the NZSS. However, this study's research findings indicate that the respondent's English language competence was good. A few needed help with professional English and were thus enrolled in relevant classes. This is perhaps because the English language requirement for migration has increased to an IELTS 6.5 average and most skilled migrants and spouses need to be well-versed in English to qualify. Further highly educated women from Anglophonic countries can be expected to have a good command over English.

Chapter 6.3.5, Table 6.19 indicates that 82.7 percent of the respondents had not accessed any language training on arrival. Thus while English language competence and related communication skills are known to be a major factor that denies career opportunities to highly qualified migrants, this study's findings indicate that most of

the respondents had good English language skills and did not think that they needed English language training.

The poor integration of high-skilled migrants entering the country in the last years of the twentieth century influenced the launch of WINZ services to assist migrants to improve their English language skills through formal and informal English language courses. Academic institutions were funded to offer courses with a job placement component. The English language component of these programmes focused on teaching the participants job search skills, English in the workplace, and work culture in New Zealand. Needless to say none of these classes were gender-friendly and women had issues with the class timetables and finding transport. Moreover most of these classes did not cater to the high-skilled migrant (Bedford, Ho et al. 2000: 37).

However, the migrant levy funded ESOL courses and the English language assessment services provided by the TEC after the launch of the NZSS in 2004 ensured that high-skilled migrants were provided English language support. Specific courses were designed for professional migrants to re-start past professional careers. These courses were limited to people who could afford to pay course fees and had access to transport and there were long waiting lists (Bedford, Ho et al. 2000: 39). However, many migrants especially the skilled spouses could not afford to pay for these English language classes. Others could not access classes because of a lack of transportation.

7.2.4. Settlement and Community Networks

The study explored the respondents' access to family, social and community networks. While access to settlement services is critically important to the lives of migrant women, access to networks (family, social and professional) can be equally important. This has been recognised by the NZSS and is listed as its fourth goal. However, this study's research findings indicate that 81.8 percent of the respondents did not access any local settlement services (see Chapter 6.3.6, Table 6.20). Comments indicate that few knew of any such services. 17.7 percent did attend them but did not find them particularly useful. On the other hand 69.6 percent respondents accessed 'ethnic' community networks soon after arrival and gained settlement information and initial settlement-related support from family, friends and the community. Few of the respondents attended the 'settlement' networks conducted by the state initiatives to enable migrants to link to other settlement services. Research findings indicate that most did not know of such networks or of the initiatives (see Chapter 6.3.6, Table 6.20). Recent research indicates that the DOL has advertised such services on its website and through free copies of the Linkz magazine (New Zealand Department of Labour 2011).

7.2.5. Childcare and household work

Childcare is an important variable in the labour-market integration of skilled migrant women. Responsibilities for small children have been known to set high-skilled professional women back for many years. This study's research findings indicate that 63.3 percent of the respondents' accessed support for their childcare responsibilities either from extended family, friends or from childcare facilities (see Chapter 6.3.7, Table 6.22). While findings indicate high degree of support from extended family

residing at home, 34.2 percent respondents without access to such support used daycare centres and ECE facilities while they worked (see Chapter 6.3.7, Table 6.23). Importantly many women indicated that they could not afford costs of childcare services.

While high-quality ECE for pre-school children is a key to ensure high-skilled women balance family responsibilities, participate in paid work and restart past-professional careers, there is no specific state-funded childcare support to enable skilled secondary migrant women into training or the workforce. Existing programmes that provide childcare assistance to families by the MSD (New Zealand Ministry of Social Development 2010: online) are focused around support for low-income and single parent families (New Zealand Ministry of Social Development 2010: online). Childcare assistance programmes provide eligible families twenty hours of financial support for ECE. Assistance is limited to families that meet income criteria that has gradually changed since 2004 from \$32,240 in 2004 to \$77,272 in 2009 and \$72,800 in 2010 for one income families, from 38,480 to \$88,296 and 83,000 respectively for two income families and from \$44,200 to \$ 99,320 and 93,000 for three income families respectively(2010: online).

The women in this study found the free twenty hours per week ECE policy a boon and while some were accessing this support for their eligible three- and four-year-old children, others commented on the barriers to accessing this entitlement (see Chapter 6.3.10). These were: a shortage of places in the ECEs in their neighbourhoods, their in-affordability to top up for the extra hours each week, the limited and sometimes unsuitable service hours when women had to attend training or study, the long waiting

lists and the limited cultural understanding in some ECE centres causing friction between caregivers and ECE managers

7.2.6. Empowerment and Participation

Changes in power dynamics in a new migrant family post-migration, affects the status of women spouses. This study's research findings indicate that 56.9 percent respondents had control over 'most' decisions in the family while 62.2percent had 'good' relationships with their husbands (see Chapter 6.3.9, Table 6.28). Family connections and community networks play an important role in migrant settlement, especially when the migrants are women (Vertovec 2002). This study's research findings indicate that 82.3 percent of the respondents' were involved in community activities. Comments indicate that they found it 'true' that community connections were useful for settlement and that community networks were worth attending (see Chapter 6.3.9, Table 6.30). The NZSS acknowledges the importance of ethnic community connections and a part of the settlement network's role is to initiate such connections. However the findings of this study indicate that the program was not well advertised and thus were not well attended by new migrants or families.

7.3 Settlement and Integration Outcomes: Key Settlement Indicators

The terms 'settlement' and 'integration' are often used interchangeably. However while settlement focuses on the individual migrant and shorter-term goals, integration refers to the adaptation process and to longer-term outcomes that involve both the migrant and the systems and structures of the host society. Further while 'successful' settlement is hard to measure definitively, factors associated with the migrant's 'satisfaction' of their settlement such as access to services, suitable employment and

host society participation can be measured, These factors are reflected in the settlement indicators that are commonly indicated by researchers and governments (Henderson 2004: 2).

Thus settlement indicators can be used to assess to 'what extent and in what ways settlement is occurring'(Fletcher 1999: 30). The indicators can be from the perspective of individual migrants, migrant groups, the society as a whole or in terms of evaluating specific policies and programmes. Lack of data can impede the development of settlement indicators. The absence of realistic evidence in NZ that tracks the settlement process for secondary migrants, especially female spouses severely impedes gender-friendly settlement policy and programmes, especially because along with every principal migrant, two to three secondary migrants are admitted into the country (Morse 2007: 19).

The NZSS launched in 2004 defines a society that accommodates new migrants and their families and recognises the contributions they make. This is highlighted in its six goals (New Zealand Department of Labour 2007: 15) aimed at the rapid social and economic integration of new migrants and their families and to limit the waste of human capital. The emphasis then is to know whether settlement policies are effectively ensuring positive outcomes for migrant individuals (men and women alike), and their families. Such evidence also indicates whether settlement policies are working or not, reflected in the positive integration outcomes for migrants and their families (Spoonley, Peace et al. 2005: 86). Thus most critical 'satisfaction' factors that need to be addressed by such indicators and measures outweigh any others for the successful settlement of migrants (2005; Butcher and Hall 2006). The following

‘satisfaction’ factors were identified as key indicators to the settlement and integration of secondary migrant women by this study’s research findings:

- Satisfaction with settlement assistance
- English language proficiency and access to improvement
- Social and economic integration
- Empowerment and participation
- Access to funded childcare
- Access to networks

The following paragraphs present an analytical discussion on the key indicators as identified by the findings of this study.

7.3.1. Satisfaction with Settlement Assistance

For new migrant families, the most important settlement experiences on arrival relate to the understanding of NZ’s institutions - its social and economic institutions and systems, government and other services relevant to them and other ‘everyday’ issues which include the finding of appropriate accommodation, organising schools for children, getting a driver’s licence and accessing health care. In the late 1990s, there were few services to assist new migrants cope with everyday issues. Ethnic communities thus took initial responsibility to settle new migrants from their own communities providing them housing and other relevant settlement-related information. However post-2004 centrally-funded settlement assistance was made available to new migrants and settlement-related information was freely available through settlement hubs across the country. Specially trained multi-lingual information advisors at the CABs provided settlement-related information to new

migrants and their families to help them deal with their everyday requirements (see Chapter 5.3). However this study's findings indicate that 81.8 percent of the women in the study were either not aware that settlement services existed or were unable to access them (see Chapter 6.3.5, Table 6.20). This study's findings indicate that the respondents' expectations of state-run programmes were high. They felt severely let down by the information and referrals orientated services, especially since most of the women were well educated and were able to find information themselves through informal channels of friends and family.

The SSNZ initiative (New Zealand Immigration Service 2009) - launched by the NZ government in 2005 in response to the poor integration outcomes for migrants is aimed at fast tracking new migrant's economic integration through the provision of 'up-to-date and appropriate' information. Thus high-skilled migrants that NZ's immigration policies specifically target are expected to quickly integrate into the social and economic fabric of the host society with the minimal assistance offered by the initiative. While access to timely settlement information is critical to the settlement outcomes of migrants, skilled women that migrate as secondary applicants seek concrete support to enable their social and economic integration as mentioned above. Responsive settlement assistance programmes that specifically take into account the needs of high-skilled secondary migrant spouses are almost non-existent in spite of the fact that the state levies a migrant levy fee from both principal and secondary migrants on entry.

7.3.2. English Language Proficiency and Improvement

The English language skills of migrant women spouses not only ensures better occupational mobility and economic integration but also increases a perception of legitimate belonging in the host country. Also English language competence ensures the best possible outcomes for employment and increases the women's ability to access host-specific workplace skills and knowledge. Evidence from research studies on Indian women (Pio 2005; Pio 2005a) indicate that Indian women were tertiary educated with good English language skills and hoped to restart past professional careers soon after arrival. This study's research findings also indicate that 82.7 percent of the respondents had good English language skills and did not find it necessary to undertake English language training (see Chapter 6.3.5, Table 6.19). This is because India and the Indian Diasporas are Anglophonic and tertiary-educated women generally have a high standard of English competence. However, this study's findings indicate that educated and skilled women without 'NZ' English and heavy 'Indian' accents find it difficult to access employment (see Chapter 6.3.5, ii). This is also reflected in other NZ studies (Henderson 2004: 25; Pio 2005a: 1285). Further, this study's findings indicate that many professionally qualified women found it useful to attend 'professional' English courses. However, the courses were highly priced and the new migrant family's scarce financial resources soon after arrival could not pay for the women to attend such classes.

7.3.3. Social and Economic Integration Outcomes

The two institutions of family and work greatly influence the social and economic integration of Indian women in NZ. While the social systems that women operate in influence their gender roles and their family lives, their professions dictate the

pathways of access to labour markets (Sallaf and Greve. 2003: 2). Negotiating these two diametrically different settings may cause a disruption of careers, especially if the women are without any form of family, community or state support. With support from extended family members of parents/parents in law, brothers and sisters however, women, as indicated by this study (see Chapter 6.3.7, Table 6.22), manage to integrate the two institutions to their advantage and fashion reasonably challenging careers for themselves. However, these may not always be the careers left behind and most are resigned to the options immediately available to them. Women with professional qualifications especially are gravely tested by the time and resources they need to navigate regulatory bodies and accreditation processes. The feeling of frustration and failure is common as women are repeatedly challenged by sticky, time consuming and expensive processes. The overall picture indicates a significant under-utilization of valuable human capital. This ‘misalignment’ of pre and post-immigration occupations for skilled women spouses migrating as secondary migrants has been noted in immigration literature in NZ (Basanayake 1999; Pio 2005; Pio 2005a; Badkar, Callister et al. 2007).

The high incidence of tertiary educated women in this study (see Chapter 6.3.2, Table 6.8) is consistent with international academic research that suggests Indian women in family migrant flows are often professionally skilled workers with university degrees and work experience (Raghuram 2004; Pio 2005; Purkayastha 2005; Pio 2005a). This study’s findings indicate that while 46.8 percent of women were professionally qualified, only 13.9 percent actually worked in their areas of expertise (see Chapter 6.3.4 Table 6.12). This is reflected in other NZ studies where Indian migrant women regardless of their professional training, skills and qualifications, are known to

dominate the welfare and social sectors as in social work, education and the public sector (Pio 2005a: 1286). Studies from Australia (Ho 2004) and Canada (Ng, Man et al. 2006: 35) also note this disturbing trend where immigrant women are found stratified in feminized sectors of the labour market.

Institutional structures are dominated by professional regulatory bodies that often routinely devalue professional certifications or work experience from non-traditional source countries, usually major migration source countries from Asia (Sallaf and Greve. 2003: 34). Often accredited qualifications recognised by regulatory bodies are rejected by employers because they are unfamiliar qualifications as are work experiences that are not locally certified. Further, professional qualifications such as medicine, veterinary science, dentistry, architecture and engineering require re-certification in NZ. The re-certification process itself is expensive and fraught with challenges and few migrant women can hope to qualify without support - burdened as they are with family responsibilities and few resources to spare. Further, professional careers are known to follow 'pre-subscribed trajectories' and migrant women are often confronted by rigid and 'closed' institutional structures and regulatory bodies that govern local professional careers (Sallaf and Greve. 2003) 'institutionalised in local settings' (Ng, Man et al. 2006: 35).

Professional careers in NZ are well structured within a hierarchy that includes an initial degree followed by an internship and a job - a pathway that leads to a successful career. Few immigrant women are able to penetrate these structures or access those pathways unless they choose to fully or partially re-qualify. Also most trades and professions in NZ are regulated by governing or licensing bodies of

professional associations that become gatekeepers to entry into each profession or trade. The process of re-certification is usually expensive and time-consuming both of which the women can ill afford (Man 2004: 18). For example few Indian women that are professional teachers are able to access teaching jobs in NZ. Fluent but heavily accented “Indian’ English and the registration processes disadvantage them. In spite of teaching experience and qualifications, women often find it almost impossible to penetrate the teaching profession at senior levels in NZ. Most are required to re-train and often re-start at the bottom of the ladder. Thus senior teachers from India and the Indian Diasporas end up working as teacher’s aides or as temporary teachers. Many simply change careers. 37.8 percent of the respondents in this study were in the teaching profession of which only 6.3 percent had managed to access teaching jobs. The women of this sample, as secondary migrants, were not labour market tested and consequently were not aware that they were jeopardising the future of their careers by migrating to NZ. Benson-Rea et al (2003: 65) suggest that successful settlement outcomes of immigrants ‘depend on realistic expectations on the part of would-be migrants and an honest assessment of opportunities on the part of information providers’ in this case the DOL.

Further, meeting the expectations of employers in a small country like NZ can be challenging. Most expect professionals to ‘come from certain schools, have particular on-the-job experience, and be certified and recognised in the NZ professional community, thereby institutionalising work experience and training (Sallaf and Greve. 2003: 7). While training and work-experience of an individual is not officially denied, there is an expectation that the utilization of human capital be host-culture specific.

Women, are thus disadvantaged by their race and gender on one hand and by their overseas credentials on the other (Sallaf and Greve. 2003: 7).

In the case of Indian women from this study the tasks of negotiating the restrictive, lengthy and expensive professional re-certification process proved challenging enough for many women to give up their professions and accept secondary job opportunities or as in cases where family support was not available, immerse themselves in 'feminised' family roles of supporting children and the rest of the family. Importantly, scarce family resources were allocated to the re-certification and retraining of their husbands while the women themselves accessed secondary jobs to contribute towards the household economy while others simply chose to prioritise family responsibilities taking a complete break from paid work. Institutional settings and systems in India/ Indian Diasporas and NZ can be very different where credentials and gendered work roles are concerned and moving between these two rather different systems might very well break the careers of professional women. Clearly then there are complex factors at play here that influences a different post-migration trajectory for these highly qualified Indian spouses. This is of course by no means unique to Indian women alone.

The NZ government mediates the certification of conditions under which specialised and marketable credentials are awarded and also suggests the appropriate levels of education and training. Trades and professions are regulated through the governing and licensing bodies of professional associations such as the Chartered Accountants (Institute of) New Zealand, New Zealand Teacher's Council, Architects Institute of New Zealand, Counsellors Association of New Zealand, Dental Council of New

Zealand, Veterinary Association, Finance Professionals Institute of New Zealand, Engineering Associates Registration Board, Medical Association of New Zealand and Occupational Therapists Association of New Zealand (New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2011: online). Each professional association has its own licensing body and a family with two professionals might be heavily set back by recertification expenses. Moreover, information regarding the certification process is not easily available and new migrants, men and women alike, especially those from countries with different systems from that of NZ's often find the certification process extremely frustrating. The state and civic institutional systems do not de-mystify the re-certification process to make it easier for interested professional migrants - to take courses, establish a supervised position, or internship. For many new migrants especially women dually burdened with family and settlement responsibilities this is hard to accomplish on their own. Skilled migrants in Canada are known to face similar challenges while navigating regulatory processes (Sallaf and Greve. 2003; Man 2004).

Professional statutory bodies have a role safeguarding public health and safety. They also monitor professional education programmes, state examinations and licensing rules. Since the institutions are dependent on government funding, it allows the state a high degree of control of these institutions albeit indirectly. Thus it can be said that the state and the regulatory institutions indirectly dictate professional certification as well as the regulatory process in NZ (Churchman and Woodhouse 2010: 213). Some of the more perceptive migration destination countries have tried to assign a cost to the limited utilisation of education and skills. Thus 'Australia estimated it had incurred a "loss" of AU\$100 million to AU\$350 million because it did not recognize

foreign degrees for some 200,000 immigrants in 1990' (Brouwer cited in Batalova, Fix et al. 2008: 33) whereas the estimated cost of immigrant skill underutilization in Canada amounts to CAN\$2 billion annually (Reitz cited in Batalova, Fix et al. 2008: 33).

The NZ government's current immigration policies are streamlined to source principal skilled migrants with a 'proper fit' and to improve the efficient utilization of immigrant human capital, yet little is known whether secondary human capital is efficiently utilized or hopelessly wasted. The reality is that while labour market tested primary applicants, most with job offers quickly integrate into the labour market (New Zealand Department of Labour 2009: 2) their spouses, especially those from regulated professions are disadvantaged from the moment they arrive (Ng, Man et al. 2006: 1). Interaction of factors such as age, race, ethnicity, urban/rural origins, family status, educational qualifications, occupational skills/training and work experience impact labour market outcomes for migrant women (Pedraza 1991: 304). Their social and economic integration are however, the most important indicators to their successful settlement (Boyd and Grieco 2003: online).

7.3.4. Access to Networks (Social and Professional)

Migration tends to isolate skilled women with loss of support systems and professional connections and networks (Ho 2004; Man 2004). Social and professional networks are critical for migrants. They assist new migrants in finding accommodation, jobs and provide continuous settlement-related and social and economic information (Vertovec 2002: 3). The networks fostered by individual migrants may depend on friends, family, acquaintances or professional colleagues.

Community networks play an important role in the settlement of migrant women. This study's research findings indicate that 82.3 percent of the women found community connections were useful for settlement information and links to entry-level employment (Chapter 6.3.9, Table 6.30).

However skilled migrant women spouses are known to rely on professional networks and less on those based on community or family. This study's findings indicate that women with professional degrees found it hard to gain access to appropriate professional networks. A large number felt that more substantial support was needed, rather than just the socio-cultural and entry-level support the community networks offered; Women found the absence of professional networks most frustrating. The role of social capital in settlement assistance is further discussed in Chapter Five.

7.3.5. Access to Childcare

Indian families traditionally comprise of older dependent parents and younger couples and children (De Silva 2001: 4) where the older generation takes over responsibilities of home and children while younger adults work. This readjustment of family and roles is one of the social consequences of migration. Traditionally, China and India have been the largest source countries for people entering the country through the Parent/ Sibling/ Adult Child Stream categories accounting for example, about 44 percent of approvals (25 percent and 19 percent respectively) in 2007/08 (New Zealand Department of Labour 2008: 87). However changes to immigration policies in 2001 stipulated that newly arrived migrants were unable to sponsor parents or siblings for the first three years which made sponsoring of parents difficult for new migrants. (New Zealand Immigration Service 2009: 3). This has influenced a

‘nuclearisation’ of families. Women are known to be particularly affected by this ‘nuclearisation’ as it increases their family responsibilities to the extent that care for children and family ‘feminises’ their roles (Ho 2005: 195). The supportive family environment with the sharing of finances, resources and household responsibilities, defined by Indian cultural practices and values is missing in their post-migration lives (Naidoo 2007: 58). Professional careers and working lives bear the brunt of these changes to family structures. This study suggests that 63.3 percent of the respondents did not access childcare support for the care of young children (see Chapter 6.3.7, Table 6.23), most preferring to leave children with family members at home. Many others indicated that they could not afford to pay for such support.

While the twenty hour free policy does not meet all of the families’ needs for ECE, research findings from this study clearly indicate that it is definitely useful and 34 percent of the women were accessing this for their three- and four-year-old children (see Chapter 6.3.7, Table 23). However, they noted that there was no support for children younger than three. Research also indicates that ECE’s are not affordable to all migrant families despite state support or childcare where families can access 20 free hours ECE for three- and four-year-olds (Broome and Kindon 2008). This is also reflected in the findings of this study where more than 60percent of the women did not access childcare services. This was especially so for families needing care for children under the age of three, or for more than 20 hours a week. It was even more important for families that needed access to childcare for women who wanted to train or study. Other barriers included: a shortage of ECE openings and long waiting lists, parents required to pay a ‘voluntary contribution’ in some centres, limited hours per

day that did not allow the women to attend training, limited cultural understanding of the ECEs.

Traditional Indian families include paternal or maternal grandparents who play the important role of caregivers share family and household responsibilities and offer daughters or daughters in law valuable support as they re-negotiate careers or undertake further professional training. Thus while it seems that in the absence of concrete state support, inbuilt family support mechanisms prevalent in Indian societies were critical to the labour market integration of Indian women spouses, it must also be noted that women from such families have the added responsibility of taking care of the elderly. Further while women in this study often relied on parents/parents in law in the role of caregivers, a few women noted other challenges of having parents-in-law living with them.

7.3.6. Empowerment and Participation

Migration can mean major compromises to skilled Indian women. Heightened domestic responsibilities and reduced employment opportunities due to loss of previously available sources of support from family and paid domestic help means an intensification of domestic workloads. As this study indicates, the number of Indian women who down-track their careers or alternatively undertake part-time work, increases dramatically after migration (see Chapter 6.3.7, Table 6.23). Moreover, new post-migration responsibilities may contribute to changes in the distribution of power within the family relegating women to gender roles of housewives. More important, it may mean a change in independence, family status and participation in household

decision making and control over scarce family's resources (see Chapter 6.3.8, Table 6.26).

For most women, changes in family relationships and status within the household after migration are very real. Most women in this study felt burdened and challenged by household and other family responsibilities (see Chapter 6.3.9, Table 6.28). Almost all were accustomed to paid household help and family structures that provided enough support to sustain professional careers. Many were frustrated by the extreme challenges of re-starting interrupted careers that otherwise relegated them to gender roles of wives and mothers. This was especially true of professional women with very good English who expected to quickly integrate into jobs and professional careers but ended working in entry level jobs – a far cry from the high profile careers many had left behind. Many commented that as working mothers, they bore the burden of family and work and utilized various strategies to balance commitments to both unpaid and paid work (see Chapter 6.3.10).

Most Indian women however, are deeply committed to the wellbeing of their spouses and children, sometimes at the cost of their own lives and professional careers. Often women, who prioritised their careers in India at the cost of family time, prefer part-time employment ‘mainly out of gender role considerations, where they put their husbands’ careers and children’s needs ahead of their own careers (Mak cited in Ho 2004:200). Many comfortably adapt to the slower pace of life in an environment that places value to ‘quality’ of life and to ‘work / life balance. This study confirms that while many women found the challenges of migrating and settling in a new country stressful, for many it was liberating as well.

7.4 Summary

The emphasis on the principal migrant, often male has obscured the significant presence of high-skilled women spouses in NZ's labour market – a potentially high-skilled workforce waiting to be tapped. As the process of globalization and the competition for skilled human capital intensifies and NZ launches new initiatives to recruit skilled migrants, it is important that the country consider the largely untapped human capital from skilled migrant spouses in secondary migration flows and take full advantage of 'the fluidity and flexibility of human capital'(Man 2004: 26). Currently such women with high levels of English language competency face poor labour-market integration in spite of being well educated and high-skilled as demonstrated by this study. However, policies and practices mediated by state institutions and regulatory bodies, and the women's family responsibilities intersect in complex ways to marginalize these skilled Indian women who migrate to NZ in family flows.

It is evident from this research that the everyday lives of skilled Indian women who migrate as spouses and secondary migrants are severely transformed after they migrate to NZ. Faced with expensive, time-consuming regulatory processes and state institutions and mechanisms and unfamiliar employment pathways, a race and gender-biased labour market, highly educated, skilled migrant professional women have become deskilled workers in poorly paid entry-level jobs.

Comments from women in this study illustrate that their personal experiences of balancing work and family are mixed. Most have had to sacrifice or temporarily put on hold well-paid past professional careers but for some this has been done willingly.

While some women have stepped back from professional careers, they have begun to adapt to the 'NZ way of life' and savour its slower pace. Women have often been frustrated about not being able to find job opportunities in their own areas of professional expertise but there is a rationalization and acceptance that this is probably the price to pay for having migrated. Many, unable to continue promising careers, have been realistic and have 're-identified with the domestic sphere' as mothers and wives taking pride in the achievements of their children. These women will eventually overcome these challenges as they take stock of their abilities, re-identify their roles and begin to redefine their careers, becoming independent in the way they go about their daily lives.

Looking into the future, despite changes in technology, NZ's reliance on skilled migrants (both men and women), especially from South Asia, will continue to grow. Especially needed will be professionals in computing and in areas of healthcare and business (New Zealand Department of Labour 2010: 41). NZ cannot afford to put its skilled migrant women on the shelf while it goes shopping for new human capital.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Concluding Remarks

The international demand for high-skilled migrants by the more developed nations has grown dramatically in the past decade as a growing number of countries compete to attract and retain migrants with scientific, technical, engineering, and management skills, advanced degrees and extensive technical training; especially because these are workers that are more likely to obtain high-salaried, full-time jobs and pay more in taxes than they receive in public benefits (Lowell 2005: 1). Thus migration-destination countries such as Canada, Australia, NZ and many others in the Asia-Pacific region and Western Europe have adopted immigration policies intent on sourcing workers with high levels of education and skills. This is reflected in the phenomenal growth of global skilled migratory movements, as educated and skilled people from developing countries seek better wages and employment conditions overseas.

Global skilled migratory movements are complex and our understanding of their demographics or their subsequent economic and social consequence is poor. While the definition of 'skilled' and 'high-skilled' is still not universally accepted, the growing presence of high-skilled women in skilled migration flows is overlooked. The absence of data has hampered our understanding of the numbers, the skill dimensions and the wide diversity of gendered skilled migration flows (Docquier, Marfouk et al. 2010: 3).

The transformation of NZ from a resource-based to a knowledge-based economy underpins its need for competent and highly skilled human capital which is currently met by immigration policies and selection criteria that ensure the selection of skilled migrants with the 'right fit'. Ironically this overt human capital approach neglects the significant presence of skilled women spouses in secondary flows (Badkar, Callister et al. 2007: 32). The NZ government's immigration policy is gender-neutral and as such disadvantages women. Furthermore, the NZ government has never used gender-based analysis (GBA) to evaluate either its immigration or settlement policies for gender-friendliness as Canada has. Also migration research data in NZ is not sex-disaggregated and there are wide gaps in our knowledge of the integration outcomes for skilled women who migrate as secondary applicants to NZ. Thus on all counts NZ's immigration system is unfavourable to women.

The demography of skilled mobility and stocks of highly skilled workers recognises India as one of the largest contributors of skilled human capital (Lowell 2001: 10). Access to education in India has contributed large numbers of highly educated and work-experienced men and women to the skills pool and consequently to skilled migration flows to NZ. However skilled principal migrants are accompanied by, or are joined by, other family members. Thus Indian migrants migrating to NZ *via* the skilled migration programme often migrate with high-skilled wives according to the principles of assortative-mating mentioned earlier in this thesis. However this study confirms that skilled Indian women migrating as dependent wives to NZ face restrictive policies and unfavourable labour markets.

Using primary and secondary methods of data collection, this study has met all the objectives of this research related to the settlement experiences of Indian women who migrate as wives of skilled migrants to NZ. Thus secondary data from administrative records and governmental archives together with academic literature and primary data from completed questionnaire surveys have been collected and analysed. The study indicates that poor integration outcomes, despite high levels of human capital, underpin the complex realities of skilled Indian women in NZ. For high-calibre women with past-professional experience, migration to NZ is usually accompanied by downward occupational mobility and an escalation in domestic workloads. Because secondary migrants migrate without job offers, the issue of credential assessment, recognition and upgrading remains a serious issue, especially in regulated occupations. Complex interacting factors are responsible for these poor outcomes and include race, gender and immigration regulations that relegate women to a secondary status as well as the cumulative stress from navigating alien institutional systems in a new country. Thus we see migration creating a gender/race distinction through the intersection of policies, discriminatory practices and work places for these women.

In the past, poor integration outcomes for its non-traditional migrants resulted in NZ investing in settlement assistance programs made available to new migrants and families for the first three years after arrival. However the programs are gender-neutral and fail to recognise that skilled secondary migrant women may face a different set of challenges from male migrants. The settlement programmes largely deliver settlement information-related and NZ orientation-based services. Thus while NZ's efficient immigration programme sources diverse skilled migrants, its settlement assistance programmes are not designed to cater to this diversity. Skilled migrant

women and families heavily depend on ‘ethnic’ community networks for initial assistance. The importance of social capital has been acknowledged by NZ (New Zealand Department of Labour 2009: 150) and other migration-destination countries such as Australia and Canada where community-based settlement is seen to provide ‘tangible and intangible’ benefits especially to migrant women (Anucha, Dlamini et al. 2006: 101). However, while Australia and Canada have invested in community-based settlement models, NZ has not.

This study was undertaken in order to garner better understanding of why skilled Indian women who migrate as spouses face multiple disadvantage in NZ. In all respects, this study has accomplished its central aim of documenting the nature and characteristics of settlement for Indian women who migrate as wives of skilled migrants. The study has presented a broad global view of skilled migratory movements within which skilled women migrate in secondary and family flows while it analyses the immigration system in NZ within which Indian women experience migration and other integration challenges. It has presented a historical account of the evolution of NZ immigration policy to its present human capital approach and its repercussion on the ethnic profile of its migrants. It has analysed the legislative and policy frameworks which have shaped, and continue to shape, the extent of migration to NZ and has presented information about the trends and characteristics of skilled migration to NZ. Within the scope of its study this thesis has explored the settlement assistance programmes for skilled migrants in NZ and analysed them for gender friendliness. Finally, the study has documented the settlement experiences and the integration outcomes for Indian women who migrate to NZ in secondary flows. In doing so, this research has added substantially to the growing body of knowledge on

the migration experiences of skilled women who migrate as wives in secondary migration flows to NZ.

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APPENDIX A: Opening letter of introduction



School of Education

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email: education@une.edu.au
web: www.une.edu.au/education

Greetings!

I am conducting a Master's research study titled 'Indian Women Spouses as Secondary Migrants in New Zealand: Challenges and Missed Opportunities'. I am interested in the migration experiences of 'ethnic' Indian women who have immigrated to New Zealand from India or any of the Indian Diasporas⁵ as secondary migrants⁶ in the last ten years.

Towards that end, I request you to forward this letter with the attached information sheet and the accompanying questionnaire to interested women to complete and return to me by the 30 July 2009 by email or pre-paid envelope. I am particularly interested in those women who have migrated to New Zealand as dependent wives of skilled migrants and are between 18 and 55 years of age.

Attached to this letter are: an Information Sheet, Cover Letter and Questionnaire, along with my contact details. Do contact me for pre-paid envelopes.

This research will directly benefit 'ethnic' Indian wives that are secondary applicants in New Zealand and will contribute towards an understanding of the incredible challenges they face in the initial years of settlement.

Please do contact me if you wish to know more about the research.

Best Regards,

⁵ The Indian Diaspora: A number of countries that Indians have migrated to over the last two centuries.
(<http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/southasia/Diaspora/diaspora.html>)

⁶ Secondary Applicants: Those women who qualified to migrate to New Zealand as dependent wives of principal Applicants

APPENDIX B: Cover letter



**Contextual Studies in Education•Learning and Teaching•Humanities Education
•Science Education•Early Childhood Education•Professional Experience**

School of Education

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UNE – Achieving Regional and Global Impact

Dear Respondent,

Research Project: Indian Women Spouses as Secondary Migrants in New Zealand: Challenges and Missed Opportunities.

I wish to invite you to participate in my research on the above topic. The details of the study follow and I hope you will consider being involved.

I am conducting this research project for my Masters degree at the University of New England, Australia. My supervisors are Dr Siri Gamage and Dr Amarjit Kaur of the University of New England. Dr Gamage can be contacted by email at: siri.gamage@une.edu.au and by phone at: 0061 2 67733836 and Dr Kaur can be contacted by email at: akaur@une.edu.au and by phone at: 0061 2 67732874.

The aim of this study is to gather relevant information for the analysis of the patterns of settlement and integration of 'ethnic' Indian women that are secondary migrants during their post-immigration phase in New Zealand. This study will also collect information on problems the women may have faced while managing different activities, namely, household work, paid work and child care.

Participation is completely voluntary. You may withdraw from the project at any time and there will be no disadvantage if you decide not to participate or withdraw. It is unlikely that this research will raise any personal or upsetting issues but if it does you may wish to contact your local Community Health Centre.

The surveys will be kept in a locked filing cabinet at the researcher's home office until they are analysed. They will be stored in a similar manner at the University of New England by the principal supervisor, for five years following thesis submission and then destroyed.

It is anticipated that this research will be completed by February 2010. The results may be presented at conferences and written up in journals without any identifying information. The information you provide may also assist local and central government planners in New Zealand in the long-term planning of settlement services for secondary applicant migrants in New Zealand and lead to a better understanding of the barriers migrant women face during the settlement process

This project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of New England (Approval No HE09/054 Valid to 01/04/2010).Should you have any complaints concerning the manner in which this research is conducted, please contact the Research Ethics Officer at the following address:

Research Services
University of New England
Armidale, NSW 2351.
Telephone: (02) 6773 3449 Facsimile (02) 6773 3543
Email: ethics@une.edu.au

APPENDIX C: Questionnaire Survey

**Contextual Studies in Education•Learning and Teaching•Humanities Education
•Science Education•Early Childhood Education•Professional Experience**

UNE – Achieving Regional and Global Impact

A Study of the Patterns of Settlement and Integration of Indian Women Secondary Migrants in New Zealand

Guidelines for gathering information

The purpose of this study is to gather information on the patterns of settlement and integration of Indian women secondary applicants in New Zealand. This study will also collect information on problems the women may have faced while managing different activities, namely, household work, paid work and child care.

The women selected for this study are ‘ethnic’ Indian women from India or the Indian Diasporas⁷, who arrived in New Zealand as spouses of principal applicants under the Skilled Migrant Category (SMC), the General Skills Category (GSC) or in the Family Category. The selected women will be permanent residents or citizens in New Zealand and have lived in New Zealand between 1 and 10 years, be between the ages 18 and 55 with at least one dependent child.

Selection of Respondents:

The survey questionnaire will be sent to key contact people of established ethnic Indian community groups in New Zealand, listed on the researcher’s extensive listings of ethnic Indian groups, compiled during her various roles in the Migrant Settlement sector across New Zealand. The researcher will enlist the services of the key people in these community groups to distribute the questionnaire to eligible female members.

Eligible respondents will be:

- Female spouses of ‘ethnic’ Indian migrants (categories as mentioned above)
- With a fair understanding of English
- Permanent Resident/Citizen of New Zealand
- With at least one dependent child
- Between the ages 18-55 years
- Resident in New Zealand between 1 and 10 years i.e. have migrated to New Zealand between 1998 -2008

⁷ The Indian Diaspora: A number of countries that Indians have migrated to over the last two centuries. (<http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/southasia/Diaspora/diaspora.html>)

Education

12. Highest formal education: PhD Masters Degree Bachelors Degree Certificate
 Diploma Secondary school Other

13. Where did you gain your highest degree? New Zealand Other (*specify*)

14. Have you undertaken/are undertaking any further education, course of study in New Zealand?

Yes No

If yes, please indicate the course/study and its duration

Course of study	Duration of course	Course of study	Duration of course
1.		4.	
2.		5.	
3.		6.	

Paid Work *pre*-Migration

15. Were you employed in your country of origin? Yes No

16. If yes, what was your status of employment then? Full-time Part-time

Temporary Contract Casual

17. What was your occupation? _____

18. What was your income (in Rupees)?

19. What type of organisation/agency did you work for?

Paid work *post*-Migration

20. What is your present occupation/position?

21. What type of organization /agency do you work for? Public Sector Tertiary education institute
 Business/industry Other (*specify*)

What was your previous occupation in your country of origin? _____

22. What is your current employment status? Full-time Part-time
 Temporary Contract Casual

23. Is this your first paid job in New Zealand? Yes No

24. How long have you been in your current job?

32. Did you access any of the free Settlement Support Services for advise/support after your arrival in New Zealand? Yes

No

If yes, please specify the type of service you accessed and where?

Type of service	Where	Type of service	Where
1.		4.	
2.		5.	
3.		6.	

33. Did you attend any of the free information /employment support workshops for new migrants?

Yes

No

If you did you attend any of these employment support workshops, specify (1) what workshops they were (2) whether they were useful and (3) whether they were held at a convenient time and place?

Which workshop?	Usefulness	Convenience
1.		
2.		
3.		

34. Do you attend any community network meetings (Ethnic, community, state or migrant etc)?

Yes, regularly

No, never

If yes, please specify which network meeting(s) you attend and how you find them useful

Which meeting?	Usefulness	Which meeting?	Usefulness
1		4.	
2		5.	
3		6.	

Child Care

35. Do your children go to pre-school, school, after-school care? Yes No Not Applicable

If no, who takes care of your child/children? Parent Relative
 Child Care Centre Friend Other (specify)

36. When your children get sick who normally takes the day off?

Self Husband Both Other (specify)

37. Do you get support at home from family, community, friends, paid labour, others?

Yes

No

If yes, please specify who and what sort of support you get from them

Supporter	Form of support received	Supporter	Form of support received
1.		4.	
2.		5.	
3.		6.	

If no, how do you manage?

Household Work

38. Do you do much household work here in New Zealand?

- Yes, regularly Yes, occasionally No, none

If yes, what type of work do you do?

- Cooking Gardening Cleaning/vacuuuming/sweeping
 Washing/drying Tidying of bedrooms Home maintenance/improvement
 Child minding Ironing Household shopping

39. Is your household routine (cooking, cleaning, washing and childcare) similar to your routine in your country of origin? Similar Not similar

If not similar, please specify the difference

40. Are you happy with your household routine? Yes No No comment

Explain your answer:

41. Could you please indicate any problems (for example- family rift, stress, not doing well in your career) that affect you presently while carrying out your paid work and house work?

Empowerment and Participation

42. Describe your relationship with your husband after migration Excellent Good
 Adequate Poor

43. Would you say that your lifestyle has changed after migrating to New Zealand?

- Agree Disagree

44. How much control do you think you have in making day-to-day decisions that affect your life in New Zealand? No control Control over very few decisions

Control over some decisions

- Control over most decisions Control over all decisions

45. For many immigrants, participation with various groups/ organizations alleviates stress and difficulty Completely true Somewhat true
 Slightly true Not true

with settlement transition. How true is this for you? Other
(specify) _____

46. Provide the names of organisations you are involved in, and rate them in terms of empowerment. Please *rate* the organisations you are involved in by circling one number from 1 to 5, in terms of how supportive they are in empowering you and your family (1=Very supportive; 5=not at all supportive).

Organisation	Rate	Organisation	Rate
1.	1 2 3 4 5	4.	1 2 3 4 5
2.	1 2 3 4 5	5.	1 2 3 4 5
3.	1 2 3 4 5	6.	1 2 3 4 5

Integration Issues

47. Have you been facing any issues pertaining to your professional area or intended professional area?

If so, explain

48. What attempts have you been making to resolve them, and what was the outcome?

49. What help do you need to resolve these and from whom do you need such help?

Any other comments:

RETURN TO
Gauri Mallapur
4031A, Great North Road, Glen Eden, AKL 0602, New Zealand
Fax: +64 (9) 916 5530, Email: gmallapu@une.edu.au

Appendix D: New Zealand Immigration Policy: Timeline of Policy Change 1986-2007

Date	Category	Policy	Summary of changes
1986	Skilled	Occupational Priority List	The Occupational Priority List is introduced to encourage entry of people with skills to fill labour market gaps. Principal applicants must be no older than 45, and family members must meet health and character requirements. National surveys are undertaken to assess areas of skills shortage.
	Business	Business Immigration Programme	The Business Immigration Programme is developed to encourage migrants with business ideas, business experience and investment capital. Business migrants must have capital of at least \$150,000.
	Family	Family Reunion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The 'centre of gravity' approach is adopted to determine eligibility for family reunion. • Residence is granted to the spouse or partner of a New Zealand citizen or resident, while dependent children, parents and siblings were eligible to be reunited in some circumstances. • New Zealand residents can sponsor a close relative who has a 'worthwhile skill', a job offer and English language skills. • Relatives who do not meet the usual criteria can be considered on humanitarian grounds.
	Humanitarian	Refugees	The 1986 review endorses New Zealand's commitment to the resettlement of refugees in New Zealand.
Nov-87	Legislation	Immigration Act 1987	The 1987 Immigration Act replaces the Immigration Act 1964.
Nov-91	Legislation	Immigration Amendment Act 1991	This Act establishes two independent appeal bodies - the Residence Appeal Authority, which reviews residence application decisions, and the Removal Review Authority, which considers appeals against removal orders.
Nov-91	Skilled	1991 General Category	The General Category marks the introduction of a human capital model of skilled migration. This policy replaces the Occupational

¹ In August 1986, the then Minister of Immigration, Hon. Kerry Burke, tabled in Parliament the Burke Report (also known as the *White Paper*), which was a comprehensive review of immigration policy.

Date	Category	Policy	Summary of changes
			Priority List and introduces a points-based system. Applicants are granted points for employability, age and settlement factors. All applicants must meet health and character requirements, and principal applicants require a minimum standard of English language. Applicants are ranked in a pool and selected monthly to meet an annual migration target.
Nov-91	Business	1991 Business Investor Category	This category is developed to attract business migrants who will increase the level of human capital and contribute to New Zealand's economic growth. Applicants are required to invest in New Zealand for a minimum of two years. The minimum capital required is \$750,000 for passive investment, \$625,000 for active investment in the Auckland or Wellington area, and \$500,000 for active investment outside Auckland or Wellington. All applicants (principal and secondary) aged over 17 must meet a minimum level of English language ability, equivalent to the General Category requirements.
Nov-91	Family	Family Category	This category allows New Zealand citizens or residents to sponsor the following people: a spouse, a de facto partner, parents, dependent children, single adult children and siblings.
Nov-91	Humanitarian	1991 Humanitarian Category	Applicants can be granted residence if they, or a New Zealand party, is suffering serious physical or emotional harm. Applicants must be supported by a close relative who is a New Zealand citizen or resident. Applicants must show that their situation can only be resolved by being granted residence in New Zealand.
Nov-91	Irregular migration	Well Settled policy	This transitional policy applied to people who were overstayers as at 18 November 1991 and who did not have a removal order or deportation order in force. Such persons could apply, once only, for residence under relaxed policy criteria.
Oct-95	Skilled	1995 General Skills Category	The 1995 General Skills Category (GSC) replaces the 1991 General Category. The pool selection mechanism is replaced by an auto-fail system. A pass mark is set and made public each month. Applications falling below the pass mark are declined automatically. The major changes from the 1991 policy include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • minimum IELTS level 5 for principal applicants and secondary applicants over 15 (secondary applicants could pay a \$20,000 bond if requirements were not met) • flatter points structure for qualifications, more points for job offers and greater emphasis on job verification, points awarded for a partner's qualifications, points for New Zealand work experience • where applicable, statutory registration is required to gain points for a qualification.
Oct-95	Business	1995 Business Investor Category	This policy replaces the 1991 Business Investor Category. The primary focus is on active investment and an applicant's personal attributes. The major changes from the 1991 policy include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • minimum IELTS level 5 for principal applicants and secondary applicants over 15 (secondary applicants could pay a \$20,000

Date	Category	Policy	Summary of changes
			<p>bond if requirements were not met)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • more points are awarded for direct investment funds than for accumulated funds • an age limit of 64 is introduced.
May-98	Legislation	Immigration (Migrant Levy) Amendment Act 1998	This amendment introduces a settlement fee and migrant levy for new migrants granted permanent residence.
Apr-99	Legislation	Immigration Amendment Act 1999	This amendment creates a statutory framework for determining refugee status under the Refugee Convention. Limited Purpose Permits are introduced.
Mar-99	Skilled	1995 General Skills Category	The English language bond for secondary applicants is abolished. Secondary applicants can now pre-purchase ESOL training. International students gain recognition of their New Zealand qualifications through the GSC.
Mar-99	Business	Investor Category	The Investor Category replaces the 1995 Business Investor Category. Applicants must meet a pass mark that is assessed by a points-based system for age, business experience and investment funds. Applicants require a minimum of \$1 million to invest in New Zealand and must keep their investment in New Zealand for at least two years, after which permanent residence is confirmed. The age limit is 84 years. Principal applicants require a minimum English language standard of level 4 IELTS.
Mar-99	Business	Employees of Relocating Businesses	This category is for employees of a business relocating to New Zealand. Employees of a relocating business who do not qualify for residence under any other residence category may be granted residence on a case by case basis. There is a two-year employment period before the residence permit is endorsed.
Mar-99	Temporary	Long Term Business Visa	The Long Term Business Visa (LTBV) is a temporary work visa issued for up to three years and renewable for a further three years. Applicants must have a satisfactory business proposal, investment capital and sufficient funds for the maintenance of themselves and any secondary applicants. LTBV holders can apply for residence through the Entrepreneur Category after being self-employed for two years.
Mar-99	Business	Entrepreneur Category	This policy is for entrepreneur migrants who establish a business in New Zealand. Applicants are first issued the Long Term Business Visa (LTBV) for three years. LTBV holders can apply for residence through the Entrepreneur Category after being self-employed for two years. Principal applicants require a minimum English language standard of level 4 IELTS.
Mar-99	Temporary	Student	Students from visa-free countries can apply for their permit in New Zealand where previously they had to apply offshore. Students are now able to work up to 15 hours per week during term time.

Date	Category	Policy	Summary of changes
Jun-99	Legislation	Immigration Amendment Act (No 2) 1999	This amendment hastens the implementation of provisions established by the Immigration Amendment Act 1999.
Mar-00	Temporary	Job Search Visa	Principal GSC applicants within 5 points of the pass mark can apply for the Job Search Visa (JSV), which is a six-month open work permit.
Jun-00	Temporary	Working Holiday Schemes (WHS)	WHS quota is increased from 10,000 to 20,000 places per annum.
Oct-00	Irregular migration	Transitional	Well-settled overstayers can apply for a two-year work permit and then apply to transition to residence.
Oct-01	All permanent residence categories	New Zealand Immigration Programme (NZIP)	<p>The NZIP includes three separate residence streams based on skill and family connections. Each stream is allocated a proportion of places in the overall programme:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Skilled/Business Stream – 60% of the NZIP. • Family Sponsored Stream – 30% of the NZIP. • International/Humanitarian Stream – 10% of the NZIP. <p>Under the NZIP, a numeric target of permanent residence approvals is set annually.</p>
Oct-01	Family	Family Category	<p>A range of policy changes come into effect for family sponsorship:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Newly arrived residents are unable to sponsor parents or siblings to New Zealand for their first three years of residence. • Definition of dependent children is broadened to include children under 25. • Parents are deemed to include grandparents and legal guardians where parents are deceased. • Married siblings/adult children and their children can be sponsored when the principal applicant has a job offer.
Oct-01	Family	Family Quota	The Family Quota is established for parents, siblings and adult children of New Zealanders who do not meet normal family policy. The number of places is set at 250 for each of the 2001/02 and 2002/03 financial years.
Oct-01	Family	Domestic Violence	This policy enables ex-partners of New Zealanders to apply for residence when their relationship has ended because of domestic violence and they cannot return home for cultural or social reasons.
Oct-01	Family	Humanitarian	Category closed.
Feb-02	Skilled	1995 General Skills Category	Differential points are allocated for relevant and non-relevant job offers. Applicants score 5 points if the job offer is relevant to their qualification and experience, 2 points if the offer is not relevant.

Date	Category	Policy	Summary of changes
Apr-02	Temporary	Work to Residence	<p>Three new Work to Residence policies come into effect:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Priority Occupation List work permits are issued to people who will fill a position deemed to be in absolute shortage. • The Talent Visa (Accredited Employer) requires an applicant to have an offer of employment with an accredited employer and a minimum base salary of \$45,000. • Talent Visa (Arts, Culture and Sports) is issued to applicants with an exceptional talent in a declared field of art, culture or sport and are sponsored by a New Zealand organisation of national repute in the declared field. <p>Work permit holders can apply for residence through an associated residence policy after two years.</p>
Jul-02	International/ Humanitarian	Refugee Family Sponsored	This category is for family members of New Zealand residents (who are themselves former refugees) who are unable to gain entry through any other category. 300 places are made available for the 2002/03 financial year.
Jul-02	International/ Humanitarian	Pacific Access Category	The Pacific Access Category (PAC) allows an annual quota of 375 residence places for citizens of Tonga (250 places), Tuvalu (75) and Kiribati (50). The PAC operates on a ballot system.
Nov-02	Skilled	1995 General Skills Category	English language requirements increase from IELTS 5 to IELTS 6.5.
Nov-02	Business	Investor Category	Tighter operational policy requirements are introduced regarding the source of investment funds. The minimum English language requirements are increased from IELTS 4 to IELTS 5.
Nov-02	Business	Entrepreneur Category	The minimum English language requirements are increased from IELTS 4 to IELTS 5.
Nov-02	Temporary	Job Search Visa (JSV)	The JSV is now offered to a GSC applicant only if their qualifications are relevant to an occupation on the Occupational Shortage List.
Nov-02	Temporary	Long Term Business Visa (LTBV)	The LTBV is now issued for 9 months, not three years. After 9 months, applicants can apply for the balance of three years.
Apr-03	International/ Humanitarian	Pacific Access Category	Fiji is included in the PAC quota (250 places). Places for Kiribati increase from 50 to 75.
Apr-03	Temporary	Working Holiday Schemes (WHS)	WHS quota increases from 20,000 to 25,000 places per annum.
Jul-03	Legislation	Immigration Amendment Act 2003	This Act introduces provisions to accommodate the mechanisms needed for the Skilled Migrant Category, namely the expression of interest and invitation to apply mechanisms. This Act also allows the Secretary of Labour to determine the order and manner of deciding applications.
Jul-03	Skilled	1995 General Skills	GSC applications are prioritised on the basis of contribution and

Date	Category	Policy	Summary of changes
		Category (GSC)	settlement potential. Some applications are lapsed to help manage the level of applications on hand and to ensure that the outcomes of the Skilled Migrant Category can take effect more quickly. The GSC is closed.
Jul-03	Skilled	Interim General Skills Category	Interim GSC replaces the GSC. Applicants through the Interim GSC are required to have a relevant job offer in New Zealand.
Jul-03	Temporary	Job Search Visa	Category closed.
Sep-03	Legislation	Immigration Amendment Act (No 2) 2003	The Amendment introduces a compendium of changes. The Residence Appeal Authority is renamed the Residence Review Board.
Sep-03	Family	Partnership	Married and de facto couples are now treated on the same basis when applying for residence through the Family Category. Under Partnership policy, a couple must have been living in a genuine and stable relationship for 12 months or more at the time they lodge their application for residence.
Sep-03	Temporary	Guardian Visa	A person may be issued a visitor's permit for the purpose of living with, and caring for, a foreign fee-paying student in New Zealand.
Nov-03	Skilled	Interim General Skills Category	Category closed.
Nov-03	Temporary	Working Holiday Schemes (WHS)	WHS quota increases from 25,000 to 31,000 places per annum.
Dec-03	Skilled	Skilled Migrant Category	The Skilled Migrant Category (SMC) shifts immigration policy from the passive acceptance of residence applications to the active selection of skilled migrants. Points are awarded for a skilled job or offer, work experience, qualifications and age. Bonus points are granted in certain circumstances and recognise partners' employment and experience, New Zealand qualifications and employment outside of Auckland. Applicants must obtain at least 100 points to submit an expression of interest (EOI) into a pool. Applicants meeting a selection point are selected from the pool and may be invited to apply for residence through the SMC.
Dec-03	Temporary	Work to Residence	SMC applicants may be issued a work permit for up to two years to establish themselves in ongoing employment. They may be eligible for residence through the SMC if they have held a skilled job for three months or more in that two-year period.
Apr-04	Skilled	Residence from Work	People lodging an application for residence under the Talent Visa and Priority Occupations List policies must do so in New Zealand.
Apr-04	Temporary	Student health requirements	Tuberculosis (TB) screening becomes mandatory for students with TB risk factors who want to stay for 6 months or more.
Sep-04	All permanent residence categories	New Zealand Immigration Programme	The Department of Labour issues a general instruction to prioritise SMC applications and approved refugee applicants over other residence applications in the NZIP. Partners and dependent children

Date	Category	Policy	Summary of changes
			get priority in the Family Sponsored Stream.
Sep-04	International/ Humanitarian	Samoan Quota and Pacific Access Category	<p>Changes are made to increase the take-up of places and maintain positive settlement outcomes for Pacific migrants, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • minimum income requirement is lowered for applicants with dependent children, and a partner's job offer can contribute to meeting the minimum income • either the principal applicant or their partner can satisfy the requirement of a genuine, permanent job offer • successful registrants given 6 months to apply for residence • successful registrants lawfully in New Zealand can apply for residence • Residual Places policy is introduced.
Nov-04	All categories	Health requirements	TB screening extended to include all persons with TB risk factors who intend to stay in New Zealand for 6 months or more, except for working holidaymakers.
Dec-04	Skilled	Skilled Migrant Category	<p>A range of policy changes come into effect for skilled migrants:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More points allocated to qualifications, work experience and employment, in areas of absolute skills shortage. • Recognition of a broader range of trade qualifications. • Additional points for having close family in New Zealand.
Apr-05	Temporary	Working Holiday Schemes	TB screening policy extended to include working holidaymakers who intend to stay in New Zealand for 6 months or more.
Apr-05	Temporary	Work to Residence	The Priority Occupation List Work policy is renamed the Long Term Skill Shortage List Occupation policy.
Jul-05	Business	Investor Category	Replaces the 1999 Investor Category. Applicants must submit an expression of interest, after which they may be invited to apply for residence. The minimum amount of investment is NZ\$2 million, and these funds are held by the New Zealand Government for five years. Applicants may withdraw up to NZ\$1 million after two years to invest in a business that will benefit New Zealand. Applicants must be no older than 54 years and have at least five years' business experience. Conditions apply for 5 years post residence.
Jul-05	International/ Humanitarian	Special Zimbabwe Residence policy	Zimbabwe nationals who arrived in New Zealand on or before 23 September 2004 and who do not meet the requirements for approval under any other category can apply for residence. Principal applicants must meet health, character and criteria specific to this policy.
Jul-05	Temporary	Working Holiday Schemes (WHS)	<p>WHS quota increases from 31,000 to 36,000 places in 2005/06 and 40,000 in 2006/07. Other changes include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10,000 additional places divided between Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Ireland, Italy, Norway and the USA

Date	Category	Policy	Summary of changes
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> cap removed for UK, Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands work restrictions eased for some schemes, allowing working holidaymakers from Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and the USA to work for up to 12 months with one employer UK working holidaymakers can now stay for up to two years online processing available for most schemes.
Jul-05	Temporary	Work post study	<p>A range of policy changes aim to make New Zealand a more competitive destination for international students:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A six-month Graduate Job Search Permit is introduced for foreign graduates who complete a course that would gain points under the SMC. A two-year work permit is available to eligible students with a job or offer relevant to their course or qualification. Work rights are increased for eligible students and extended to more students. Partners of post graduate students or those studying in an area of absolute skill shortage can apply for an open work permit for the duration of study.
Aug-05	All categories	Health requirements	<p>A new medical and chest x-ray certificate is introduced and includes: additional compulsory blood tests for applicants aged 15 years to include HIV, Hepatitis B, full blood count, serum creatinine and liver function; assessment for critical developmental delay, particularly in children; and assessment for impaired cognitive performance, with compulsory screening for applicants over 69.</p>
Nov-05	All categories	Health requirements	<p>The definition of an Acceptable Standard of Health is now based on significant costs and demand thresholds for publicly funded health and special education services. In addition, all people entering New Zealand for longer than 12 months (changed from 24 months) are now required to complete a medical certificate using the Medical and Chest X-ray Certificate introduced in August 2005.</p>
Dec-05	Skilled	Skilled Migrant Category	<p>Principal applicants who score 140 points or more in their EOI are now selected from the pool automatically. Applicants who score between 100 and 140 points and have a skilled job or offer are ranked and selected in sufficient numbers to meet the required places for the Skilled/Business Stream at the time of that selection. Additional EOIs may be selected from the pool on the basis of criteria set by the Minister of Immigration.</p>
Dec-05	Temporary	Work to Residence	<p>The currency of the SMC Work to Residence permit is decreased from two years to six months.</p>
Dec-05	Temporary	Seasonal work permit (2006 pilot)	<p>The seasonal work permit allows employers in the horticulture and viticulture industries to employ foreign workers to plant, maintain, harvest and pack crops in the horticulture and viticulture industries, in regions where the Ministry of Social Development has identified an absolute labour shortage. The initial number of places available</p>

Date	Category	Policy	Summary of changes
			through this policy is 4,000.
Jan-06	Temporary	Student	Fees for international PhD students are reduced to the domestic level, and their dependent children attend school at domestic fees.
May-06	Temporary	Student	Dependent children of New Zealand citizens or residents applying for citizenship or residence are now granted domestic student status.
Jul-06	All permanent residence categories	New Zealand Residence Programme	The New Zealand Immigration Programme is renamed the New Zealand Residence Programme (NZRP).
Aug-06	Family	Sibling, Adult Child	An age limit of 55 years comes into effect.
Aug-06	International/ Humanitarian	Special Zimbabwe Residence policy	Applications made after 30 August 2006 are exempted from the requirement to be of an acceptable standard of health. The closing date for applications under this policy is 28 February 2007.
Oct-06	Temporary	Crew of foreign chartered fishing vessels	New standards are introduced to improve the conditions for foreign crew working on foreign fishing vessels in New Zealand, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a new code of practice that strengthens requirements for minimum working and living conditions strengthened accountability on the New Zealand charter partner a new minimum remuneration requirement, increasing over the next three years the ability of the government to undertake onboard inspections.
Dec-06	All categories	Immigration Change Programme	New Immigration Policy Framework and policy objectives introduced.
Apr-07	International/ Humanitarian	Pacific Access Category	Fijian citizens are suspended from registering in the PAC ballot following the December 2006 coup.
Apr-07	Temporary	Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE)	The RSE policy is implemented to help meet the labour requirements of the New Zealand horticulture and viticulture industry and supports development goals for the Pacific. Once an employer has been approved under the RSE policy, they can recruit workers from offshore with priority given to Pacific Island Forum nations (except Fiji). Kiribati, Samoa, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu are supported to be 'kick start' countries.
May-07	Legislation	Immigration Advisers Licensing Act 2007	This Act requires the mandatory licensing of all immigration advisers. There is a 2-3 year implementation timeframe for onshore and offshore immigration advisers to be licensed.
Jul-07	Skilled	Skilled Migrant Category (SMC)	Several changes are made to the SMC, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> an amendment to the allocation of points for employment, qualifications and experience in an identified future growth area an amendment to the allocation of bonus points for study in New Zealand and for partners' skilled employment and qualifications

Date	Category	Policy	Summary of changes
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the introduction of a more transparent definition of skilled employment based on the new Australia New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO).²
Jul-07	Business	Investor Category	The 2005 Investor Category is closed to new expressions of interest. A new Active Investor Migrant Category is announced to be implemented in November 2007.
Jul-07	Family	All Family categories	The cap on the number of places available in the NZRP for partners and dependent children of New Zealand residents or citizens is removed. These categories are approved through a new, separate stream to the Family Sponsored Stream. Limits will still be imposed on the number of parents, siblings and adult children of New Zealand sponsors, with a separate cap for each of these categories.
Jul-07	Family	Family Quota	Category closed.
Jul-07	International/ Humanitarian	Refugee Family Support Category	The Refugee Family Quota is renamed the Refugee Family Support Category. In July 2007, a two-tier registration system is established. Sponsors who meet tier one criteria have first access to available places and are queued. If places are not filled by those in tier one, registrations will be called for from those who meet tier two criteria, and will be balloted to fill the remaining places. There are 300 places available each year.
Jul-07	Temporary	Work to Residence	The duration of the SMC Work to Residence permit is extended from six to nine months.
Jul-07	Temporary	Work to Residence	The minimum salary threshold for the Talent Visa (Accredited Employers) increases from \$45,000 per annum to \$50,000.
Aug-07	Legislation	Immigration Bill	A new Immigration Bill is introduced into Parliament. New legislation, to replace the Immigration Act 1987, proposes a simplified visa system, more flexible powers to enforce immigration law and the ability to collect and use biometric information.
Nov-07	Temporary	Student	The duration of the Graduate Job Search permit increases from 6 to 12 months. The Post Study Practical Experience permit increases from 2 to 3 years for graduates who require 3 years' work experience in New Zealand to qualify for membership or registration with professional bodies.
Nov-07	Business	Active Investor Migrant Category	<p>The new Investor policy is segmented into three sub-categories on the basis of the migrant's potential contribution and the assessed level of risk, as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Global Investors – highest priority category for high value investors investing \$20 million (including at least \$5 million in active investment). Professional Investors – a second priority category for migrants investing \$10 million (including at least \$2 million actively).

² The ANZSCO definition will be implemented in February 2008.

Date	Category	Policy	Summary of changes
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General (Active) Investors – a category for those investing a minimum of \$2.5 million. Applicants are selected through a points system.
Nov-07	Family	Family Category	<p>A number of changes are introduced, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a new visitor’s visa for parents and grandparents visiting family New Zealand – the holder can make multiple visits of up to 6 months each, for a maximum stay of 18 months over 3 years • strengthened character requirements for sponsoring a partner • a minimum income requirement for those sponsoring parents (excludes refugee sponsors and those over 65 years old).

Sources:

1. *The New Zealand Immigration Service: New Zealand Immigration Policy and Trends*, a paper submitted to The Population Conference, Wellington 13-14 November 1997.
2. The New Zealand Immigration Service (2002): *The Evaluation of the 1999 Business Immigration Policy*. Wellington.
3. Department of Statistics (1988): "New Zealand's Immigration Policy", in the *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1988-89*. Wellington.
4. The New Zealand Immigration Service: *Trends in Residence Approvals* Vols.1-3. Wellington.
5. Department of Labour: *Migration Trends* Vols. 2003/04–2005/06. Wellington.
6. *Immigration New Zealand Operations Manual*. Current policy is available at:
<http://www.immigration.govt.nz/migrant/general/generalinformation/operationsmanual>

Source: New Zealand Department of Labour (2007) Pg 4

Appendix E: Canberra Manual - Human Resources in Science and Technology (HRST)

Box 1. Human Resources in Science and Technology (HRST)

The *Canberra Manual* (OECD, 1995) defines HRST as people who fulfil one or the other of the following conditions:

- they have successfully completed education at the tertiary level in an S&T field of study;
- they are not formally qualified as above, but are employed in an S&T occupation where the above qualifications are normally required.

The *Canberra Manual* definition is based both on notions of educational qualification and of occupation and therefore covers a very broad population with either tertiary-level education or an occupation in a field of science and technology (S&T). S&T is understood in a very broad sense, covering all fields of education and occupation, including social sciences and humanities. Tertiary level education is defined using the former ISCED definitions:

ISCED category 5: "education at the tertiary level, first stage, of the type that leads to an award not equivalent to a first university degree".

ISCED category 6: "education at the tertiary level, first stage, of the type that leads to a first university degree or equivalent".

ISCED category 7: "education at the tertiary level, second stage, of the type that leads to a postgraduate university degree or equivalent".

ISCED was revised after the release of the *Canberra Manual*; categories 5B, 5A and 6 of the new ISCED-97 may be considered as the new equivalent of the former categories 5, 6 and 7.

S&T occupations are defined using the following ISCO-88 categories:

- 122 Production and operations department managers.
- 123 Other department managers.
- 131 General managers.
- 21 Physical, mathematical and engineering science professionals.
- 22 Life science and health professionals.
- 23 Teaching professionals.
- 24 Other professionals.
- 31 Physical and engineering science associate professionals.
- 32 Life science and health associate professionals.
- 33 Teaching associate professionals.
- 34 Other associate professionals.

Occupations in India are classified according to the National Classification of Occupations 1968 (NCO 68), which is close to ISCO-68. HRSTO includes certain managerial occupations (122, 123 and 131), which have been defined in ISCO-88, but for which there is no direct conversion to ISCO-68. These occupations are part of division 2 as well as parts of the other divisions in ISCO-68. Therefore, when talking about HRST in this document, managers are excluded, and reference is only made to professionals, technicians and associate professionals (major groups 2 and 3 in ISCO-88, group 0-1 in NCO 68).

The advantage of the double educational/occupational classification is that it allows an analysis of both the supply side of HRST, in terms of qualification (coined with the term HRSTE), and the demand side, in terms of occupation (HRSTO). Its drawback is that, by definition, it does not allow for homogeneous measurement because the two classifications are based on different premises, and it is too broad to meet specific analytical needs. Hence the need to define subsets of interest within this broad population. This was extensively done in the *Canberra Manual* and has been further refined in subsequent studies.

Source: Auriol and Sexton (2001).

Source: Binod Kadria (2004), p. 11.