BAKKIE, BRAAI AND BOEREWORS: SOUTH AFRICAN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES IN AUCKLAND AND HAMILTON

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For those unfamiliar with Afrikaans, the title of this report draws on important South African socio-cultural references: a ‘bakkie’ is a small pickup truck or utility vehicle, commonly known in New Zealand as a ute; the word ‘braai’ is Afrikaans for a barbecue or grill; and ‘boerewors’ is a spiced sausage, popular in South African cuisine. Our use of these terms acknowledges our participants’ memories of their lives in South Africa and their on-going connections with their birth country.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to thank researchers Chris Read (Auckland), Annika Philipp (Hamilton) and Alex Jones (Hamilton) as well as GIS specialist Jingjing Xue for their assistance with this research. We are also very grateful to Dr Bronwyn Watson and Tanya Roberts for their careful data coding. We acknowledge the contributions of the remaining members of the Integration of Immigrants Programme (IIP) research team: Jacques Poot and Richard Bedford; and the New Zealand Ministry of Science and Innovation (formerly the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology) who are funding the IIP (2007-2012). Most importantly, we wish to thank all the research participants who contributed so generously to this project.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

South Africans began arriving in New Zealand during the apartheid years but numbers remained relatively low until the 1990s. By 2001, they comprised the fifth largest migrant group in New Zealand and numbered 41,676 at the last census in 2006. Migration to New Zealand during the last two decades has largely been a result of ‘push’ rather than ‘pull’ factors: political instability, violence and crime; positive discrimination workplace policies; and a perceived drop in the quality of education and infrastructure in South Africa are cited by migrants as motivations for coming to New Zealand. Although South Africans have settled all over New Zealand, the highest proportions have chosen to live in Auckland, particularly in the eastern and northern suburbs of the city.

Our research seeks to increase understanding of the economic integration of immigrants from South Africa by examining the experiences of 13 employers (10 based in Auckland and three based in Hamilton) and 32 employees (17 in Auckland and 15 in Hamilton). The majority of employers were found in three industry groups: accommodation and food; retail; and professional, scientific and technical services. The majority of Hamilton-based employees worked in health care and social assistance, while Auckland-based employees worked in a variety of industries, including financial and insurance services and education and training. Over 90 percent of the interviewees identified as Christian.

The findings from the research suggest that many of the participants chose to live in New Zealand in order to enjoy a safer environment and better lifestyle, and to provide education and employment opportunities for their children. Asked to reflect on their migration experiences, participants told us that:

- They and their families felt safe in New Zealand. Most were pleased that they had been able to experience a less restrictive environment in which to grow, learn and work.
- They generally enjoyed a good lifestyle and praised the ‘Kiwi’ way of life. Many participants reported that they were able to spend more quality time with their families and appreciated New Zealand’s infrastructure and ‘ease’ of living.

1 Industry statistics in New Zealand are compiled using the Australia and New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification (ANZRIC) 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2010). Accommodation and Food Services includes businesses involved in providing accommodation for visitors, such as hotels and motels, as well as cafés, restaurants and takeaway food services.

2 The term ‘Kiwi’ is generally used by participants to refer to Anglo-European or Pākehā New Zealanders. However, its meaning can also vary according to the context within which it is used and may refer to
They generally felt more relaxed in New Zealand and free from the stresses that had accompanied their previous lives in South Africa. However, a number of participants mentioned the higher cost of living in New Zealand and many desired greater financial security.

Participants’ daily lives pre and post-migration were considerably different. Although interviewees spoke of a wide range of daily routines, both prior to and following immigration, some common themes emerged with respect to how their lives had changed:

- Daily lives had altered significantly due to the differing security environments of South Africa and New Zealand. In New Zealand, participants spoke of living in houses without security bars and guard dogs, of letting their children walk to school or to the shops unaccompanied, and of enjoying public spaces without the fear of crime and security checks;
- When living in South Africa, most families employed part or full-time domestic help to assist with housework and childcare. Such domestic assistance is not readily available in New Zealand, and this meant that families had to renegotiate daily routines and household responsibilities;
- Many employers reported working longer hours in New Zealand, particularly during the establishment phase of their businesses, or when their businesses were run from home;

Almost 22 percent of the interviewees reported experiencing discrimination because of their immigrant status, with Hamilton immigrants believing discrimination to be more prevalent than those resident in Auckland.

The majority of participants planned to be living in Auckland, Hamilton or elsewhere in New Zealand in three years’ time. Many also envisaged that their children would remain here but, like other young New Zealanders, would embark on overseas travel and work. None planned to return to South Africa.

While employers and employees held many views in common, the research also revealed some differences between these two groups and between our Hamilton and Auckland-based employees.
EMPLOYERS

The 13 employers interviewed for the study owned a total of 16 businesses that were established between 1995 and 2008. Four of the businesses were in the accommodation and food industry and two were in each of the following categories: retail; health care and social assistance; professional, scientific and technical; and other services. The remainder of the businesses were in: construction; education and training; public administration and safety; and rental, hiring and real estate services (one each). All but two of the participants employed staff, and businesses had an average of nine paid employees. Just under 70 percent of participants had a family member working in their businesses, either paid or unpaid. Employers reported working between 40 and 82 hours per week with an average of 60.9 hours per week.

The most common reason participants gave for establishing their New Zealand businesses was that they had been self-employed before and wanted to re-establish their own business in New Zealand. Other reasons included discovering a business opportunity, to fulfil business visa requirements, or because of a negative experience as an employee. Just over 60 percent of employers had worked as paid employees in New Zealand prior to starting their own businesses.

There was some evidence of downward occupational mobility in the transitions participants made between their work in South Africa and their employment in New Zealand but not to the same extent as the Chinese, Korean and Indian participants involved in previous studies (see Meares, Ho, Peace, & Spoonley, 2010a; 2010b; Lewin, Meares, Cain, Spoonley, Peace, & Ho 2011). When comparing interviewees' employment in their home country to their current employment, many have shifted into work that is similar to their pre-migration employment. Where that is not the case, participants tended to move into businesses that cater to the needs of their own birthplace communities, such as retail businesses selling South African food and other specialist products. It appeared likely that most employers had made a decision to start their own business based on a strong motivation to be autonomous in their working lives rather than because they had been unsuccessful in finding other employment.

Commonly reported problems experienced by employers during the set-up phase of their businesses included operating in the New Zealand business environment, employing staff, obtaining finance and knowing the right person. Almost half of the South African businesses had joined a business association or organisation. Asked what advice they would give to other
immigrants starting businesses in New Zealand, participants said that it was vital to research local market conditions, professional registration criteria and compliance requirements.

The research also explored the networks and relationships that employers depended on. Just over 50 percent of participants employed at least one South African employee (either paid or unpaid) and just under half employed Kiwis. English was reported as the main language used to communicate with staff. In regard to suppliers and customers, the majority were Kiwi but many were also South African and Chinese, as well as a range of other ethnicities. Over 90 percent of employers said that they used the internet to support their business.

EMPLOYEES

The majority of employees’ first jobs in New Zealand were in the healthcare and social assistance, education and training, or financial and insurance services industries. This was particularly the case for those participants resident in Hamilton. Unlike the Chinese, Korean and Indian participants in our earlier reports, 28.1 percent of employees had arranged their initial jobs prior to migration. However, this percentage differed between cities of residence, with Hamilton-based immigrants more likely to have a pre-arranged job (40%) than Auckland-based immigrants (17.6%). Of those who received assistance to find their first jobs, many said they had used a recruitment agency, applied in response to online advertisements or had approached employers directly. A little over 40 percent of participants were still employed in their first job.

Over a third of the participants also said they responded to an advertisement online in order to find their current jobs, while a quarter had sought advice and help from personal contacts. Another 18.8 percent used recruitment agencies. In terms of industry, 43.8 percent of employees are currently employed in health care and social assistance; 12.5 percent in education and training; 12.5 percent in financial and insurance services; 6.3 percent in professional, scientific and technical; 6.3 percent in administrative and support services; and the remainder are employed in construction; wholesale trade; manufacturing, property and business services; public administration and safety; or electricity, gas, water and waste services. South African immigrants in Hamilton are more likely to be employed in the health care and social assistance industry (80%), while Auckland-based immigrants are more likely to be employed across a range of industries, including financial and insurance services (23.5%) and education and training (17.6%).
Interviewees had been in their current jobs between two months and ten years with an average of almost three years; 90.6 percent worked full-time and 9.4 percent part-time. Just over a third of the participants were employed by other South Africans and three-quarters had South African colleagues. They also worked with Kiwis (78.1%), as well as a range of other ethnicities. Just over three-quarters of employees had participated in some form of training since they arrived in New Zealand, the majority of which was provided by their employer.

When comparing interviewees’ occupational status in their home country with their first and current New Zealand positions, it can be seen that South African immigrants in this study do not appear to have experienced marked downward occupational mobility during their transition into the labour market in New Zealand. In South Africa, 75 percent of the employees in this study were either managers or professionals. Although this proportion dropped slightly to 62.5 percent with employees’ first jobs in New Zealand, it climbed to 81.2 percent with their current jobs.

The most common difficulties employees experienced when finding work in New Zealand were: lack of local experience; not knowing people in the industry; employer attitudes; difficulties associated with accent; no suitable job opportunities; lack of recognition of qualifications; and being overqualified. Auckland-based immigrants experienced more difficulties than those based in Hamilton. When asked what strategies they would recommend to new immigrants, interviewees suggested that: they should do their utmost to research New Zealand and its job market; make sure all paperwork is completed well in advance; seek the advice of an immigration consultant; tailor your CV to the New Zealand environment; and be persistent, flexible and proactive.

When asked to rate how they felt about their current job on a scale of one to five, where ‘one’ is very happy and ‘five’ very unhappy, the majority of employees said that they were either ‘happy’ or ‘very happy’. Most also said that their job made good use of their skills, experience and formal qualifications. Nearly half of employees said they planned to remain in their jobs indefinitely and only 15.6 percent of interviewees were actively looking for another job at the time of the interviews.
Source: Hindustan Times
INTRODUCTION

Prior to the 1990s, the number of South African settlers in New Zealand was modest. Following South Africa’s transition to democracy in 1994, however, numbers began to rise significantly. In the ten years between 1996 and 2001, the number of South Africa-born residents in New Zealand more than doubled, from 11,334 to 26,061. By the latest census in 2006, this number had risen by another 15,000.

Despite the increasing prominence of this group, South African immigrants to New Zealand have received little attention in the literature (Lucas, Amoateng, & Kalule-Sabiti, 2006). Perhaps this may be attributed to South Africans not being a particularly ‘visible’ migrant population, given that the majority of immigrating South Africans are white and are, therefore, physically indistinguishable from the dominant host group (Bedford, 2004). This report seeks to address this lacuna by concentrating on the experiences of immigrants who were born in South Africa and arrived in New Zealand after 2000.

This research is part of a larger project looking at the settlement experiences of the five main immigrant groups in New Zealand after 1986/87: those born in Britain, the People’s Republic of China, India and the Republic of Korea, as well as those from South Africa. The project overall seeks to explore the settlement outcomes of these recent immigrant groups, both in terms of labour market engagement and business success, as well as social and cultural outcomes. This report highlights both the positive and negative aspects of the migration process for South Africa-born immigrants, provides information on South African immigrant experiences, and offers insight into the factors that help or hinder their pathways to successful economic and social settlement.

SOUTH AFRICANS IN AUCKLAND AND HAMILTON

In the first half of the twentieth century, there were just over 1,000 South African immigrants living in New Zealand. This number increased during the apartheid years (1948-1994), especially in the 1960s and 1970s when many ‘Whites’\(^3\) left South Africa and, by 1986, the South African community living in New Zealand had grown to 2,685 (Walrond, 2006).

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\(^3\) The term ‘White’, used here, reflects language usage adopted in South Africa and signals membership of a dominant ‘racialised’ community that included English, Dutch (Boer) and Jewish (European) settlers.
The political and economic turmoil that both preceded and followed South Africa’s transition to democracy in 1994 occurred around the same time as the introduction of New Zealand’s points-based system of immigrant selection (Trlin, Spoonley, & Watts, 2005). As a consequence, there was a surge of migration from South Africa during the 1990s. By 2001, they comprised the fifth largest immigrant group in New Zealand and, at the last census in 2006, they numbered 41,676.

### Table 1 South Africa-born Population in New Zealand, 1986-2006

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>2,685</td>
<td>5,652</td>
<td>11,334</td>
<td>26,061</td>
<td>41,676</td>
</tr>
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</table>


Migration from South Africa over the last two decades has occurred largely in response to ‘push’ factors such as: increasing political instability, violence and crime; a perceived drop in educational standards and the quality of infrastructure; and positive discrimination policies in the workplace (Barkhuizen, 2006; Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2005; Lucas, Amoateng, & Kalule-Sabiti, 2006; Pattundeen, 2007; Trlin, et al., 2005). Indeed, Pernice, Trlin, Henderson and North (2000, p. 27) describe South African immigrants to New Zealand as ‘semi-voluntary’ because of this predominance of ‘push’ factors (see also Meares, 2007; Philipp & Ho, 2010). Although South Africans have settled all over New Zealand, most have chosen to live in Auckland, particularly in suburbs in the north and east of the city (Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2005). Many of these more recent South African migrants are Afrikaans speaking. Their presence in these parts of the city is evident in the aisles of supermarket chains with their shelves of ProNutro breakfast cereal and other South African products, in small South African grocers providing All Gold tinned fruit and Mrs Balls chutney, in specialist butchers supplying biltong and boerewors. It is also seen in the establishment of Afrikaans sections in local public libraries and the availability of church services in Afrikaans.

The following maps illustrate the distribution of South Africa-born immigrants across the Auckland area based on 2006 census data. Figure 1 shows the percentage of a particular Census Area Unit (CAU) born in South Africa while Figure 2 indicates the actual headcount. The tendency of South Africa-born newcomers to live in northern and eastern suburbs is clearly visible in both maps, with the top five census area units located either on the North Shore or in eastern suburbs like Howick.
Figure 1  Distribution of the South Africa-born in Auckland as a percentage of the Total Population

Figure 2  Distribution of the South Africa-born Population in Auckland by Number
While most South African immigrants have been attracted to New Zealand's largest city and its well-established South African ‘ethnoburbs’, others have chosen to settle elsewhere in the country, including cities such as Hamilton. According to the latest census, 1,755 South Africa-born people reside in Hamilton, comprising 1.4 percent of the total population of 130,000 Hamiltonians (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). Given this small number, South African immigrants in Hamilton are generally less obvious than their counterparts in the concentrated suburban settlements in Auckland. However, reflecting the high demand for health professionals in the Waikato region, South Africa-born immigrants in Hamilton (as well as immigrants from the United Kingdom and India), are more likely to be concentrated in the health and social services industry compared with South African immigrants living in Auckland, who are more occupationally diverse. In Hamilton, this workplace concentration in the health sector, where they come into contact with ‘locals’ on a regular basis, increases the South African migrants’ visibility.

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4 Ethnoburbs denote the development of distinct residential ethnically concentrated communities (see Li, 2009).
METHODOLOGY

The broad aim of the employer and employee surveys is to better understand the experiences of Auckland and Hamilton-based immigrant employers and employees from the five source countries that are the focus of the Integration of Immigrants research programme: the United Kingdom, the People's Republic of China, the Republic of Korea, India and South Africa. In order to achieve this objective, employer and employee-specific interview schedules were developed, which sought information about immigrants' transitions into their new lives in New Zealand. This information was gathered through in-depth, face-to-face interviews with participants that lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. The interview schedule included a range of closed questions such as age, marital status, previous education and employment as well as a number of more open questions where the participants were encouraged to respond in greater detail. Although the key focus was the economic integration of participants, we were also interested in a number of inter-related issues. The interviews, therefore, included questions about the hopes and dreams immigrants had before they arrived in New Zealand, their leisure activities and community involvement, their retirement intentions, their home and family lives, and their opinions on, and possible experience of, discrimination in this country.

Interviews were undertaken in 2009/10 with 13 employers (10 based in Auckland and three in Hamilton) and 32 employees (17 in Auckland and 15 in Hamilton) from South Africa. The employer interview included questions about the reasons for business start-ups, the main business activities undertaken in participants' business(es), the number of paid and unpaid employees as well as the legal structure of their organisations. Another area of interest concerned interviewees' business networks, including their membership of business organisations and information about their customers, suppliers and business associates. Employees were asked about their first and current jobs in New Zealand and the extent to which these jobs were commensurate with their qualifications and experience prior to migration. Participants' strategies for entering the labour market were explored, as well as any difficulties encountered, the ways in which they overcame these problems and the assistance (if any) they received in order to do so.

Participants were selected using the following criteria: currently resident in Auckland (in Manukau, North Shore, Auckland or Waitakere cities as they existed at that time) or Hamilton;

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5 Interviews with Korea-born, China-born and India-born employers and employees were only undertaken in Auckland.
6 Available on request from T.Cain@massey.ac.nz
born in South Africa; and granted permanent residence in New Zealand in 2000 or later. The latter criterion was relaxed after participants proved difficult to find. As a consequence, around 20 percent of employers and employees received their permanent residence prior to this date. Further criteria for employers were that they were GST registered and had at least one employee (paid or unpaid, full or part-time). Those participants who were employees were employed on a full-time, part-time or casual basis.

A number of different approaches were used to recruit participants. The Hamilton-based researcher had previously worked with South African immigrant women and already had good contacts within the community. In addition to her personal networks, she approached key immigrant organisations and support personnel, immigration consultants and Waikato Hospital. The recruitment of South Africa-born employers was particularly challenging in Hamilton, which is why there are only three employers in this category. In order to maintain confidentiality, comparisons will not be made between employers in the two cities.

In Auckland, the researcher approached Link South Africa (www.linksouthafrica.co.nz) and Die Afrikaanse Klub Nieu-Seeland (www.afrikaans.org.nz). Both organisations circulated notices about the research in their newsletters and were also generous with their time in providing background information about the settlement experiences of the wider South African community. Most of the employers were recruited directly from business listings on http://www.amakiwi.co.nz. In addition, the researcher also contacted (in person, in writing and via email) schools and training institutes, immigration consultants, hospitals, occupational health organisations, physiotherapy practices and psychological support agencies.

Unlike the Korean, Chinese and Indian participants we interviewed for our earlier reports (see Meares, Ho, Peace, & Spoonley, 2010a; 2010b; Lewin, Meares, Cain, Spoonley, Peace, & Ho, 2011), the prospect of audio-recording did not typically cause participants unease and most interviews were recorded digitally and transcribed verbatim. Although not intended as payment for their time, the participants were offered a supermarket voucher in recognition of their contribution to the research project. Interview notes and transcripts were analysed using SPSS and NVivo. The researchers involved with the project continued to play a key role in the

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7 Given that our analysis of 2006 census data showed that many South African immigrants worked within the healthcare and social assistance industry, Waikato Hospital was deemed an appropriate source of prospective participants.
8 Education and training were also industries in which, according to the 2006 census, many South Africans were employed.
9 SPSS is a computer program used for statistical analysis.
10 NVivo is a computer program used for qualitative data analysis.
development of the report, providing ongoing feedback on the analysis and interpretation of data. Although the sample is not representative of all recent immigrants from South Africa, the information gathered in these interviews nonetheless provides valuable insights into the transition experiences of employers and employees from this immigrant group. In the report, the interview data is further contextualised by referring, where appropriate, to results for those of South African nationality from Waves One and Two of the Longitudinal Immigration Survey: New Zealand (hereafter LisNZ). This comprehensive survey tracks 7,000 permanent residents for the first three years of their settlement in New Zealand (for more information on this survey, see Department of Labour, 2009b).

South Africa is home to many different ethnicities, religions and tribal groups, which is why Nelson Mandela has described the country as ‘the rainbow nation’ (Walker, 2005). Although most of the skilled immigrants who have left South Africa since the 1990s for New Zealand have been of White/European descent, there are nonetheless representatives of other South African groups who have also settled here. In this report, we have used the following common South African terms to distinguish between these groups where there is some important difference in the nature of their experiences in New Zealand: ‘White’ is the usual label for South Africans of European descent and encompasses the ethnic sub-categories of ‘English-speaking’, ‘Afrikaner’ and ‘Jewish’. ‘Coloured’ refers to those with European and Khoi, San or Malay ancestry and Indian denotes those descended from South Asian immigrants to South Africa. ‘African’ is used here to refer to the indigenous population (Murphy, 1998).11 We acknowledge that these labels are problematic and that the boundaries are far from clear-cut; for a detailed discussion of their contemporary and historical usage, see Murphy (1998).

In the next section of the report, we outline key characteristics of the South Africa-born employers and employees we interviewed. As mentioned earlier, because of the small number of Hamilton-based employers in our sample, we will not be making comparisons between them and employers based in Auckland. We will, however, point out relevant differences between employees resident in the two cities.

11 Following Frueh (2003), the capitalisation of these labels is intended to convey the fact that they are political and socially-constructed rather than natural distinctions.
* DROËWORS
* BILTONG
* BOEREWORS
SOUTH AFRICAN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES

KEY CHARACTERISTICS

Employers and employees in the two centres differed somewhat in terms of age, with employees generally younger than employers, and employees in Auckland younger on average than those living in Hamilton. Overall, employees range from 26 to 58 years old and have an average age of 43, while employers range from 39 to 52 with a mean age of 49. Employees resident in Hamilton are between 32 and 58 years old with an average age of 47, while those living in Auckland range from 26 to 50 and have a mean age of 40. Looking at the length of time participants had been in New Zealand since obtaining permanent residence, employees have a mean of 6.9 years while employers have a slightly longer average residence of 8.0 years. Employees in Hamilton have generally spent more time in New Zealand after gaining their permanent residence (9.7 years) than those in Auckland (4.5 years). Participants may have been in New Zealand for longer than this, however, if they have studied or worked here temporarily before applying for their permanent residence.

Table 2  Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EMPLOYERS</th>
<th>EMPLOYEES</th>
<th>EMPLOYEES</th>
<th>EMPLOYEES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Age</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Range</td>
<td>39 to 52</td>
<td>26 to 58</td>
<td>26 to 50</td>
<td>32 to 58</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In terms of gender, just under 70 percent of employers are male and just over 30 percent female. For the employee group, the proportions are reversed with 34.4 percent male and 65.6 percent female.
Table 3  Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employers</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Employees</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With respect to industry, the majority of employers are found in three groups: accommodation and food (23.1%); retail (15.4%); and professional, scientific and technical (15.4%). The majority of employees, in contrast, work in health care and social assistance (43.8%) and to a lesser extent in education and training (12.5%) and financial and insurance services (12.5%). There are quite marked differences between Auckland and Hamilton in terms of the industries in which employees work. In Hamilton, the top three employee industries are health care and social assistance (80%), education and training (6.7%) and construction (6.7%). According to the latest census, these are also the three industry sectors in which most recent South African immigrants in Hamilton are employed. In Auckland, the industries in which most participants were employed are: financial and insurance services (23.5%); education and training (17.6); and healthcare and social assistance; professional, scientific and technical; and administrative and support services (all with 11.8%). Only two of these industries - education and training; and professional, scientific and technical - correspond to the top five industries employing recent South African immigrants in Auckland, according to the last census.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Employers Auckland (%)</th>
<th>Employers Hamilton (%)</th>
<th>Employees Auckland (%)</th>
<th>Employees Hamilton (%)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation and Food</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Care and Social Assistance</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>80</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wholesale Trade</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Professional, Scientific and Technical</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and Training</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative and Support Services</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Property and Business Services</td>
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<td>3.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Administration and Safety</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>3.1</td>
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<td>6.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Financial and Insurance Services</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Electricity, Gas, Water and Waste Services</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Services</td>
<td>15.4</td>
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There are differences between participant employers and employees, and between male and female employees, with respect to the category in which they received their permanent residence. Almost one in four employers received permanent residence in the business category (which includes investor, entrepreneur and long-term business visas) while no employees did. Conversely, a greater proportion of employees (65.6% compared to 38.5% of employers) were granted permanent residence as skilled principal migrants and skilled secondary migrants (28.1% compared to 23.1%). More than twice as many employers as employees were family sponsored.

Turning now to gender differences between employees, women were more likely than men to be granted permanent residence as skilled secondary applicants (33% compared to 18%) and in the family-sponsored category (9.5% compared to 0%), while a greater proportion of men obtained their permanent residence in the skilled principal category (82% compared to 57%).

Table 5  Category of Permanent Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Principal</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>73.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Secondary</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Sponsored</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entered NZ on Temporary Visa</td>
<td>Employers</td>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>Employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>82.4</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>86.7</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visa Waiver</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Just over 60 percent of employers and 75 percent of employees in our sample (82.4% of Auckland residents versus 66.7% of South Africans living in Hamilton) had entered New Zealand prior to obtaining permanent residence. The majority entered on tourist visas (44.4% of employers and 68% of employees) with smaller proportions of each group holding other temporary visas such as work permits (11.1% of employers and 48% of employees), business visas (22.2% of employers, no employees), or visa waiver (22.2% of employers and 4% of employees). The differences between Auckland and Hamilton employees with respect to the kinds of temporary visas they had (86.7% of Auckland employees entered as tourists compared to 40% of Hamilton interviewees) is perhaps due to the concentration of Hamilton-based employees working in the healthcare industry and the relative security of finding and keeping jobs in this sector.\(^{13}\)

The overall proportions of South Africa-born immigrants entering New Zealand on temporary visas are similar to those for the China-born interviewees (75% of employers

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\(^{12}\) Percentages can add up to more than 100%, given each participant may hold more than one temporary visa type.

\(^{13}\) Many of the Hamilton-based participants (60%) arrived in New Zealand with a work permit and work pre-arranged in the health sector through a recruitment agency.
and 60% of employees), higher than those for the India-born interviewees (28.6% of employers and 35% of employees) but lower than for the Korea-born participants (92.9% of employers and 95% of employees), as outlined in our earlier reports (Meares et al., 2010a; 2010b; Lewin et al., 2011). Unlike their Korea-born, China-born and India-born counterparts, however, none of the South Africa-born interviewees had entered New Zealand on a student visa prior to gaining their permanent residence. The significant percentages of immigrants from all four source countries entering New Zealand on temporary visas illustrates, on a small scale, the increasing tendency for immigrants in OECD nations like New Zealand to work or study in the destination country before becoming permanent residents (Department of Labour, 2009a; 2009b).

When the employees in our study were asked how long they spent working in New Zealand prior to obtaining their permanent residence, the average response was just under five months and the median three months. All the employees in the research had achieved permanent residence status within two years of arriving in New Zealand. This is significantly faster than the Korean participants in our previous report, only 50 percent of whom had received their permanent residence within the same two year time frame. It is also faster than the South African immigrants in the LisNZ, only 68 percent of whom received their residency in this time.

Turning now to education levels, 46.2 percent of employers and 46.9 percent of employees in the study had Bachelor’s degrees or higher qualifications, significantly greater than the 16 percent of Auckland’s New Zealand-born population and the 20.1 percent of South Africa-born immigrants in the LisNZ who share similar education levels.14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EMPLOYERS</th>
<th>EMPLOYEES</th>
<th>EMPLOYEES</th>
<th>EMPLOYEES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s Degree or</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>53.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14 One possible reason for this high level of academic attainment among the South African migrants is the high proportion of participants employed in the health care sector who were recruited as skilled labour.
Over 90 percent of employers and 75 percent of employees were married at the time of their interviews. The smaller proportion of married employees may be due to the fact that the group is younger overall than employers. Interestingly, even though Hamilton-based employees are older on average than those living in Auckland, and almost the same mean age as Auckland employers, their percentage of married participants is considerably lower than both other groups.

Table 8  Marital Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employers</th>
<th>Employees Auckland</th>
<th>Employees Hamilton</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never married</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>92.3</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>88.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Facto</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced/Separated</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of employers and employees, both in Auckland and Hamilton, are Christian.

Table 9  Religion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employers</th>
<th>Employees Auckland</th>
<th>Employees Hamilton</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>92.3</td>
<td>90.6</td>
<td>94.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Religion</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We asked each participant what ethnic group or groups they belonged to. The majority described themselves as 'European' and/or 'South African' while others identified as 'White South African' or 'Caucasian/White', 'English' or 'Afrikaans-speaking' or as 'Afrikaaners', 'Cape Coloureds' or 'South African Indians'. A small group described themselves as 'Kiwis/New Zealanders/Pākehā'.

Table 10 Ethnicity

| ALL PARTICIPANTS |
|------------------|----------------|
|                  | (%)            |
| European         | 39             |
| European South African | 20           |
| White South African | 10            |
| Afrikaans-speaking/ Afrikaner | 8        |
| Kiwi/New Zealander/ Pākehā | 6        |
| South African    | 6              |
| Caucasian/White  | 4              |
| Indian/South African Indian | 2      |
| English-speaking South African | 2 |
| Cape Coloured    | 2              |

Language and Accent

There is a minimum standard of English required for most immigrants entering New Zealand through the skilled or business visa categories (Department of Labour, 2009b), reflecting the general consensus in the literature that English language proficiency is an important predictor of employment post-migration (Chiswick, Lee, & Miller, 2004; 2006; Foroutan, 2008; Winkelmann, 1999). According to the 1996 and 2001 censuses, South African immigrants to
New Zealand can be divided more or less equally into native English and Afrikaans speakers (Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2005). The overall responses from our participants suggest that they all read, write and speak English proficiently, even those whose first language is Afrikaans. However, several native Afrikaans speakers describe how hard they have worked in order to achieve this level of fluency, and various interviewees, both native English and Afrikaans speakers, note that they find ‘Kiwi’ vernacular difficult to decipher at times. Many participants identified accent as an ongoing issue, both in terms of understanding local accents but also with respect to their own accents being understood and accepted in their new communities. The following quotes illustrate participants’ views and experiences.

I think if you don’t look like the average New Zealander you are going to find it more difficult, so the advantage that I have is that I look like a New Zealander. But what gives me away is every time ... I open my mouth.15

Speaking English was hard when I first came to New Zealand. At work I did not always understand everything but I just had to get on with it.

Oh well, the language was the greatest barrier. It was okay to have a conversation in English, but when I had to write formal reports ... Oh ... I cried in the toilets every day ... But what doesn’t kill you makes you stronger. Yeah, it is just those little things ... But I am getting better after seven years... (laughs) I am a fast learner, pure survival.

My children laugh at me. If I get excited, I mix my tenses and ... (laughs) If we go to a school function, my daughter will say to me, ‘Dad, you had best keep quiet’. (laughs) I think with my accent as well ... I can’t go through a drive through. Not even after seven years. (laughs) If I go through a drive through it is a mess. (laughs).

I would say English language skills [were] an issue at the beginning (laughs). Because I am a receptionist and I need to deal with lots of people, umm ... They were concerned about the South African accent.

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15 Participant quotes appear in italics throughout the report.
Table 11  Language Spoken Best

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Employers Auckland (%)</th>
<th>Employers Hamilton (%)</th>
<th>Employees Auckland (%)</th>
<th>Employees Hamilton (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>93.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12  Language Spoken at Home

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Employers Auckland (%)</th>
<th>Employers Hamilton (%)</th>
<th>Employees Auckland (%)</th>
<th>Employees Hamilton (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>86.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All employers and employees were able to read a newspaper, write a letter and hold an everyday conversation in English. In addition, more than 90 percent of all interviewees could also read a newspaper, write a letter and hold an everyday conversation in Afrikaans. Overall, English was the language spoken best (a total of 61.5% and 56.3% of employers and employees respectively), and the main language spoken at home by 58 percent of interviewees (61.5% of employers and 56.3% of employees). For just over 38 percent of participants, Afrikaans was the main language spoken at home.

The participants were asked to assess their level of spoken English on a scale of one to five, where one is 'I speak English very well' and five is 'I speak English very poorly'. All employers rated their ability to speak English either 'very well' (84.6%) or 'well' (15.4%), as did employees (90.6% 'very well' and 9.4% 'well'). Similarly, all employers and employees rated their ability to understand and read English either 'very well' or 'well'.

28
HOME COUNTRY EMPLOYMENT

Participants were asked about the last job they had before they migrated to New Zealand. Women who ran their own businesses in South Africa were involved in a variety of ventures: a picture framing business, a pre-school and a garage. Female employees were employed as teachers, receptionists, personal assistants and clerks, accounts and property managers, and nurses, doctors, physiotherapists and psychologists while resident in South Africa. Men who operated their own businesses in South Africa ran their own education franchises, flooring contracting businesses, steelworks foundries, and professional practices such as dentistry, while male employees were financial administrators and data analysts, doctors, nurses, engineers, policemen and architects.

Employers and employees (both in Auckland and Hamilton) were quite similar with respect to the proportions who were managers or professionals pre-migration: 84.7 percent of employers and 75.0 percent of employees. Interestingly, all of the participants (employers and employees), irrespective of gender and residency in New Zealand, were involved in the paid workforce in South Africa. Employers and employees differed, however, with respect to whether they managed employees in their previous work (80% of employers and 47% of employees), in terms of the average numbers of employees they were responsible for (employers managed an average of 27 workers and employees an average of ten), and with respect to the number of hours they worked per week (employers worked 50 hours per week while employees worked 43).

ASSETS AND INCOME

We asked participants a number of questions about their assets and income,\(^\text{16}\) both in New Zealand and overseas. Overall, the results from this section of the survey paint a picture of relative prosperity amongst the South African employers and employees we interviewed, particularly when compared to the experiences of Korean, Chinese and Indian participants from our earlier reports. Despite this overall economic prosperity, however, there are some key differences between employers and employees, and between employees resident in Hamilton and Auckland, which suggest that employers are experiencing more economic hardship than employees, and that Auckland-based employees are less well off than their counterparts in

\(^\text{16}\)Employees were asked to indicate their personal income bracket, with options ranging from $1-5000 through to $100,000+. Only one participant did not answer this question.
Hamilton. Auckland’s relatively expensive housing market and Hamilton interviewees’ longer than average length of residency in New Zealand may account for these regional differences.

Looking first at home ownership, employees, at 59.4 percent, had a slightly lower rate than employers at 69.2 percent. The difference is greater, however, between employees in Auckland, with a rate of only 47 percent, and those resident in Hamilton, 73.3 percent of whom own their own homes. Eighty-five percent of employees and all employers who own their own home have a mortgage, but again there are differences between Hamilton and Auckland employees: all Auckland-based employees have a mortgage on their homes while this figure falls to 75 percent for those living in Hamilton. There are also differences between employees in Hamilton and Auckland with respect to owning assets other than their own home in New Zealand (60% of Hamilton employees compared to 11.8% of Auckland residents) and to a lesser degree owning assets overseas (40% of Hamilton employees compared to 29.4% of those living in Auckland). Overall, just over 60 percent of employers own other assets in New Zealand, 30.8 percent own assets overseas and only 7.7 percent received some form of income support in the previous 12 month period.

Turning our attention now to income levels, only 22.6 percent of employees in Auckland earn more than $70,000 annually, compared with 60 percent of Hamilton-based employees. These figures stand in stark contrast to the experiences of our Chinese participants (94% of whom earned $40,000 per year or less), our Indian interviewees (two-thirds of whom earned $35,000 or less), and to our Korean participants (80% of whom earned $35,000 or less annually before tax in the 12 months prior to the survey).

Hamilton-based employees also received less income support with only 13.3 percent receiving some form of government assistance in the 12 months preceding the interview, compared to 29.4 percent of Auckland-based employees. Differences between Hamilton and Auckland employees are also evident with respect to the type of income support received, with Auckland-based residents receiving a range of benefits, including paid parental leave (60%), ‘working for families’ (20%), accommodation supplement (20%) and other benefits (40%). All those receiving support in Hamilton, in contrast, received ‘working for families’, as did 100 percent of

---

17 This figure represents the 80% of China-born participants who answered this question.
18 This figure represents the two-thirds of India-born employees who answered this question.
19 All Korea-born participants answered this question.
20 Delivered by Work and Income and Inland Revenue, Working for Families is a financial welfare support package designed to help make it easier to work and raise a family.
21 The total does not add up to 100 percent because participants may be in receipt of more than one type of support.
employers. Looking next at superannuation schemes, 56.3 percent of employees and 61.5 percent of employers had some kind of superannuation provision. Again there are some differences between Hamilton employees (60%) and those employees living in Auckland (52.9%).

Table 13 Assets and Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employers</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own their own home</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>77.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With a mortgage</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own other assets in NZ</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own other assets overseas</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have a superannuation scheme</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received income support</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regularly uses savings to live</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to better understand participants’ overall economic situations, we asked them whether they regularly had to use savings to cover their expenses, how well their total income met their everyday needs and how their post-migration situations compared with their positions in South Africa. Responses to all these questions follow the trend of earlier asset-related questions and suggest that employers are facing greater financial challenges than employees and that Auckland employees find it more difficult than Hamilton employees to make ends meet. Looking first at interviewees’ use of savings (or the interest from savings) to meet their daily needs, employers (at 15.4%) are more likely to be in this situation than employees (9.4%) and of those employees resident in Auckland, 17.6 percent regularly used savings to meet their daily needs while none of those resident in Hamilton used this strategy to cope financially.
Almost 70 percent of employees and just over 60 percent of employers said that their total income met their everyday needs either ‘very well’ or ‘quite well’, while 25 percent of employees and 30.8 percent of employers stated that their total income met their everyday needs ‘adequately’. Although no employees selected the ‘very poorly’ option, one employer chose this description of their situation. Following the same trend reflected in responses to earlier questions, 73.3 percent of Hamilton employees said that their income met their everyday needs either ‘very well’ or ‘quite well’ while this figure dropped to 64.7 percent for Auckland residents.

Table 14  Economic Well-being (Part One)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employers</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Employers</th>
<th>Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total income meets needs:</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very well</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quite well</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adequately</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quite poorly</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very poorly</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When comparing their New Zealand and South African experiences, participants’ responses again follow the trend of earlier questions, with differences between employers and employees, and also between Auckland and Hamilton-based employees. Nearly a third (31.5%) of both employers and employees said that they were ‘much better off’ financially post-migration. In contrast, 7.7 percent of employers and 25 percent of employees described their positions as ‘the same’ and, indeed, 12.5 percent of employees said that their financial positions were ‘much worse’ compared to 23.1 percent of employers. Clearly, the financial outcomes for immigrants post-settlement are diverse.

22 Participants were asked how well their income met their everyday needs, for things like housing, food, clothing and other necessities, on a scale of one to five, one being ‘very well’ and five being ‘very poorly’.
Table 15   Economic Well-being (Part Two)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Zealand/South Africa comparison:</th>
<th>EMPLOYERS</th>
<th>EMPLOYEES</th>
<th>EMPLOYEES</th>
<th>EMPLOYEES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Much better off</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>46.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little better off</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About the same</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little worse off</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Much worse off</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The information presented so far is drawn from the closed questions in the interview schedule. Overall, our data shows that most participants are well-educated, married and Christian. They read, write and speak English proficiently, even those whose first language is Afrikaans. Although English fluency is much less of an issue than it was for our Chinese and Korean participants, some native Afrikaans speakers experienced difficulties in their early months of settlement and have worked hard in order to achieve fluency. Many participants identified accent as an ongoing issue, both in terms of understanding local accents but also with respect to their own accents being understood and accepted in their new communities. Interviewees are generally doing well economically, although employers and Auckland-based employees are experiencing greater difficulties than Hamilton residents.

The following sections discuss the findings from the more detailed, open-ended questions where participants were encouraged to talk more freely with the interviewers. Three broad areas are covered under these findings: hopes and dreams; experiences of discrimination; and relationships, home life and leisure.
HOPES AND DREAMS

Participants were asked about the hopes and dreams they had for their migration to New Zealand. Our interviewees’ most common response was that they had migrated so that they and their families could live safely. Participants also talked about wanting better lives for their children in terms of education and employment prospects, and about their desire for a better, more relaxed lifestyle. These migration motives (or very similar ones) also appear on the list of most common reasons given by participants in the LisNZ at numbers six (safety from crime) and three (a better future for my children) (Department of Labour, 2009b). In the following section, we consider more closely our participants’ desire for a safe environment and better future for their families.

A SAFE ENVIRONMENT

Living in a safe environment with their families was a defining factor in many of our participants’ migration stories. Our research, like other work with South African immigrants, suggests that they are shifting away from their homeland in response to a range of push factors, key amongst these the relatively high level of crime, particularly violent crime (Thompson, 2000). Some participants had personal experiences of this phenomenon while others had friends and/or family whose lives had been damaged by it. Still others had not been directly impacted but nonetheless were affected by fear of crime, by the practices and apparatus required to protect themselves and their families from crime, and by the emotional toll of living in almost constant fear. As Frueh (2003, p. 140) notes, ‘crime affects the daily life of every South African, altering established patterns, imposing restrictions on movement, and adding both material and psychological costs to a range of activities that used to be significantly more free’. The quotes below illustrate some of these experiences.

One of the catalysts, I don’t want to keep looking over my shoulder, because the thing is that in New Zealand, trouble doesn’t come looking for you. In South Africa it does.

Well, I mean the main reason I left South Africa was because I was witnessing violence on a first hand basis, being in a surgical ward watch, seeing people being stabbed, seeing the results of people being hijacked, so it wasn’t something I read in the newspapers, it was something that I lived every day. And I got to the stage where I’ve seen one too many people shot and injured and I went home to my wife and said, ‘that’s it, I’m not talking
anymore, we’re going.’ So, yeah, and New Zealand looked really peaceful … basically my main objective was to get out for the safety of my children and at that stage I didn’t care if I had to sweep the streets. I’d just had seen enough killing and violence to last me ten life times.

And then when we made the decision to do it, we sort of said, ‘OK we are going to go to New Zealand.’ Then I kept on saying, ‘we need a sign. Just show us that we are doing the right thing’ because everything is good and everything is happy … and then there was a woman across the road from us that was killed for a phone. I was with her when she was killed and I said to [ ],23 ‘this is the sign’, even though it is a bad sign.

Lifestyle in terms of moving to a country that had law and order and safety and security … that was the big issue, yeah. (In what way … had things deteriorated for you personally?)24) Yes we were attacked in our home … we had home invaders, five armed men at three o’clock in the morning and so we just said, ‘no, we can’t have these great big men standing in my daughter’s bedroom’. We just decided, ‘no’ (And you are OK?) Yeah, we are OK now, years down the road … We had no intention whatsoever to want to even leave what we had … so, it had happened to many other friends and you think, ‘oh well, it won’t happen to us’. And then it did. And it’s very typical of the situation in South Africa, and that’s kind of … you eventually give up and join everybody else that is leaving the country.

OK, um the crime rate was absolutely untenable and I had been held up at gunpoint … We were asked weekly to pray for families in my daughter’s school who were victims of crime and we were only a thousand families in that school. It was only a matter of time before it happened to us.

**A Better Life for Their Children**

Like the Chinese, Korean and Indian interviewees in our previous research, the South Africa-born immigrants we spoke to placed considerable emphasis on their children’s welfare in their decision to move to New Zealand. A better life for their children, according to respondents,

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23 Square brackets indicate the omission of information that might identify the research participant.
24 Interviewer’s words are in bold and brackets.
consisted of a good education, sound employment prospects and that rather less definable quality of ‘being free to be a child’.

I could not raise my children in the environment in South Africa and we were very lucky because nothing bad had ever happened to us. I mean, you know we weren’t hijacked, we weren’t shot at, our house was only burgled once, but I could not educate my children in South Africa. (And why is that?) Oh, it is just appalling … if you didn’t come from a previously disadvantaged background, then your chances of getting into university were very slim.

For my children’s future because they are both so bright and they are hard workers and I knew they wouldn’t be able to go to university in South Africa, so I thought for their future, we need to give them a chance.

Education, job wise … they are the wrong colour. Education has gone down the tubes in a bad way. They won’t even recognise some degrees from the [ ] university now from a specific time onwards and it is scary because that was a very big and very well recognised university. And … we wanted mainly a future for the children.

I was quite happy to go and sweep streets and live in a hut. I was quite happy to sacrifice my own aspirations for the future of the children. I didn’t even plan anything for myself, I had no hopes, none. All my hope was based in them … that they would provide a future for our children to make a go of it.

In a nut shell I was hoping to give my daughter the childhood that I had from a standard of living point of view and just the freedom to be a child … I grew up just out of [ ] in a place called [ ]. Beautiful, beautiful, upper middle class, sort of nice big homes, nice huge big gardens, kikuyu grass everywhere … We used to walk home from school and walk to school and we used to go to the library, and I was just hoping to give her something like that.
**LIFESTYLE**

The third most common reason participants gave for migrating to New Zealand was to obtain a better lifestyle, a motivation they share with Chinese, Korean and Indian participants in earlier surveys.25

*I think it was about quality of life, to improve our quality of life and we were looking for a different lifestyle. I think that was the key driver.*

*I sent a friend across about four years before I came ... He did the LSD for us. Look, See and Decide. We sent him to Britain and he was there for a month and toured the country and came back and said ‘no’. Then we sent him to New Zealand. He spent six weeks, two weeks in Australia and four weeks in New Zealand ... and he came back and he said he was going to Hamilton ... He said, ‘there are people living there.’ He said, ‘you can take those words one at a time ... there are people, and they are people, not animals ... there are people ‘living’! Living, not just surviving, living there.’ He said, ‘you will be able to live there.’ ... So he came first. He settled in Hamilton and got himself a job, not paying nearly as well, not doing nearly as well as he should have ... but he is happy. He is really happy, because he is now spending more time with his kids, which I couldn’t do. So he is better off not being so financially successful. But his lifestyle is a hundred times better.*

**DISCRIMINATION**

The results for the survey questions focusing on participants’ perceptions and experiences of discrimination suggest that while most interviewees have not personally experienced discrimination because of their immigrant status, many believe that immigrants experience at least some discrimination in New Zealand. In this section of the survey, as in others, there are also differences between the experiences and perceptions of Auckland and Hamilton participants, with Hamilton residents experiencing more discrimination than their Auckland counterparts and also believing discrimination to be more prevalent at work, in the media, in organisations and on the street.

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25 Increasingly, immigrants who migrate in search of a better lifestyle are being defined in the academic literature as ‘lifestyle migrants’ (see, for example, Benson & O’Reilly, 2009). The phrase has been used to describe retirement migration (to warmer, sunnier destinations) and urban to rural migration. However, more recently the definition is being enlarged to include those who seek better opportunities for themselves and their children in terms of escape from heavily industrialised or urbanised cityscapes or a search for residential, educational or recreational opportunities that may not be available in the source country.
Almost 22 percent of employees said that they had experienced discrimination in New Zealand because of their status as immigrants. When we take into account city of residence, discrimination affected a greater proportion of Hamilton employees (33.3%) than Auckland employees (11.8%). The data for employers, at 23.1 percent, was very similar to the overall figure for employees. Generally, smaller proportions of South Africa-born interviewees reported experiencing discrimination than the Korean (75% of employees and 92.9% of employers), Chinese (55% of employees and 30% of employers) or Indian (40% of employees and 42.9% of employers) respondents. An Indian South African described his experience of discrimination in New Zealand in the following way:

_Generally we had a very positive feel about Kiwis and the people we meet are lovely, they don’t see your colour, they just see you as a person. But what makes you worried is that there’s some people, like we were at traffic lights, we had the window open and this group of young kids, European kids, were in a car next to us and they left, we were turning, they threw something at my wife. So they hit her. That upsets you._

Turning now to participants’ views about discrimination at work, 43.8 percent of employees and a smaller proportion of employers (23.1%) believe that immigrants face some discrimination in the workplace. Reflecting the results of the question about personal experiences of discrimination, 53.3 percent of Hamilton employees believe this to be the case while the figure falls to 35.3 percent for Auckland-based employees. Similarly, while no Auckland employees thought that migrants experienced ‘a lot’ of discrimination in the workplace, 13.3 percent of Hamilton-based participants chose this option. Interviewees describe their experience and perceptions of work-related discrimination in the following ways:

_I have been through an interview with [   ]. And there were three on the short list and I went for the interview and the … ‘we want a Kiwi.’ So how can I help that? Why are you interviewing me? It’s irritating but it is also … it is heart breaking in the end. Because there is a lot of work goes into applying before the time … How Kiwi do I need to be?_

_It is hard to prove yourself. It is hard to be … you are almost seen at times that you pose a threat to something and you don’t know what it is. You are accepted but you are not. Do you know what I mean? How many times have I heard in workplace discussions that this is just for Kiwis, it is a Kiwi role, where is your Kiwi experience?_
Participants’ views on discrimination in the media are quite similar to those about the workplace, with 37.5 percent of employees stating that immigrants face some discrimination in the media while only 15.4 percent of employers believe this to be the case. There are regional differences in the responses to this question too; 53.3 percent of Hamilton employees thought that immigrants face some discrimination in this area, while the figure for Auckland-based participants was just 23.5 percent. The questions about discrimination in organisations and on the street follow similar patterns. Only 15.6 percent of employees and 7.7 percent of employers think that migrants face discrimination in organisations. Again, there are differences between Auckland and Hamilton, with 33.3 percent of Hamilton employees and no Auckland employees choosing this option. Lastly, 15.6 percent of employees (33.3% in Hamilton and none in Auckland) and no employers believe that migrants experience some discrimination on the street. The following quotes are illustrative of participants’ views about discrimination in this country.

*One comment I have heard made by a few people ... is that sometimes Kiwis don't realise that they ... almost have their own form of apartheid where they almost have this perception of South Africa ... as having this discrimination, but actually they can be just as bad.*

*Yes, I do feel it as a discrimination at times ... I think we're a novelty in the beginning, 'cause there weren't many of us and the accent was cool and you know you were more sort*
of interesting and accepted but now I think that there has been a shift ... that a lot of New Zealanders are not happy with so many South Africans coming ... sometimes I get an absolute delight with it like ‘oh we love the accent and oh, yeah we really like South Africans, they’re so forthright and they wanna get on and work hard and blah-blah-blah, good work ethic’ and, you know, get all the positives coming and then you get other people that have got the negatives coming. So, you know, I do find it’s discrimination still.

There are some people who are prejudiced against all South Africans, because we are all apartheid ... you know, all about that. You know, they are very judgemental ... sometimes, not very often, but sometimes I have had the feeling where it’s, ‘oh, not another South African’. You know, you open your mouth and it’s ‘Oh here we go ...’ It makes me feel that some people might feel that they are being over-run by South Africans in this country (Laughs).

RELATIONSHIPS, HOME LIFE AND LEISURE

Although the Integration of Immigrants Programme focuses largely on the labour market experiences of immigrant employers and employees, we are also very interested in other aspects of our respondents’ lives. For example, we asked several questions about participants’ home lives and the way they spend their leisure time and, in this section, we discuss a number of common themes that emerged from interviewees’ responses to these questions. To begin, we provide a brief introduction to the family members and networks present in New Zealand prior to participants’ arrival, those who migrated with them and those who have arrived subsequently.

RELATIONSHIPS

Almost one-third of employers and 37.5 percent of employees had family living in New Zealand before they arrived. These family members included siblings, parents, aunts, uncles and cousins, as well as various in-laws. Although there were several couples who arrived separately with their children and were followed at a later date (several weeks or months afterwards) by the remaining spouse, this was not as prevalent as it was with Korean participants in earlier surveys. In the years following migration, 38.5 percent of employers and 43.8 percent of employees assisted other family members to migrate to New Zealand. Most of these newcomers were participants’ parents and siblings, including in-laws, but the group also included grandparents, children and cousins. Interviewees also assisted friends and acquaintances, both
formally (through sponsorship) and informally (providing a place to stay and advice on jobs and housing) to migrate to New Zealand. This assistance was provided by 38.5 percent of employers and 31.3 percent of employees.

Interviewees were asked what friendships and relationships were important to them in New Zealand and, in response, talked about their spouses, their immediate and extended families and their friends. Most participants said that their circles of friends included other South African immigrants, some of whom they had known before migrating, as well as Kiwis and immigrants born elsewhere. They met and made friends at work, at church, in antenatal groups, at sports and other clubs, including the South African Club and the Royal New Zealand Returned and Services’ Association (RSA). A common theme was the increased intimacy which developed in friendships with other South Africans as they recreated a sense of extended family amongst other nuclear families in their communities.

I have got more friends here than I had in South Africa. I am not sure why that is. I think it’s because no-one has got family here anymore.

You make friends and I think because you haven’t got family here, friends do become very important. There are some South African friends, there’s English, there’s Kiwis, um, I mean my group of friends, I spend a lot of time with Sri Lankans, Maori, so yeah, nah, I think I’ve got a good mixture of people, yeah.

Others spoke about how important it was to put energy into creating customs and rituals in their new networks of friends.

I think it is because within our group of friends, our close group of friends, it’s always been a big thing. It’s always been the thing that everybody has gone ‘oh gee, but you don’t have a history’. So we work really hard on that, all of us, all of us. So we have, every Sunday before Auckland Anniversary day, we have at our house, we have a huge 120 people barbeque. And we have done that in January this year, our fourth annual. And we have a big supper ... and there is curry night and there is Christmas in July and there is Boxing Day and there is the first of January and there are 50 thousand families there and it is chaos.

Several participants explained that friendships with other South African immigrants developed very quickly and naturally as they were able to understand each other much more easily than
non-South Africans. At times, this also involved the development of relationships with people from South Africa with whom friendships would not ordinarily be formed in the birth country.

*We do have Kiwi friends. We actually had a talk about this the other day. We are closer to South African Indians. A lot of them we didn’t even know in South Africa, we sort of met here through acquaintances or through other families and became really close, like some people we’ll go up and stay at their house or they’ll come down and stay with us. So we became very much like a family kind of set up. I’m not sure if it’s done on purpose, I think it’s just you get support … shared experience, you talk the same, you eat the same food, um, yeah, so you don’t have to watch your language, you talk slang … we use a lot of slang … we use one word to talk about something or mix a bit of Afrikaans and Zulu with the English and yeah, but we know the context of what we’re talking [about] … we do mix with Kiwis, mainly at parties and things like that, but not to that closeness of, yeah, of how we mix with South Africans here.*

*It is just so easy to speak to fellow South Africans who have been through what you have. Because the Kiwi guys won’t at first understand what you’re asking for, because for them it is so natural and they are putting their own feelings of ‘don’t you know that?’ on you.*

When they were asked what friendships and relationships were important to them overseas, most interviewees talked about family and friends who were still living in South Africa but also in a range of other countries: the United Kingdom; the United States; Canada; and Australia. Participants expressed a sense of sadness at being so far away from loved ones, at losing the ease of day-to-day contact with them, and at managing family problems and dilemmas long distance, as these interviewees explain.

*Parents, I care for my mother, she is still there. My brother, he is still there. And my wife’s parents, they are still there. She misses them. She is on Skype® everyday to them. They have been here to visit twice … it is really hard.*

*Friends, some of them have drifted away. We find it difficult to talk to them. Different lives … that’s the sad part of it … we don’t want to lose touch with them but it just happens, because they talk about different things to what you do, and you go, ‘oh don’t worry about it. You’ll be all right’. Because here, you would be all right, over there it is a big thing.*

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26 Skype is a software application that allows users to make voice and video calls and chat over the Internet.
I’ve actually lost a little contact with my friends, struggling to actually find them ... a lot of our close friends we lost contact with them, but we do keep in contact with family. A bit hard as well, ’cause you’re so far away and there’s lots of issues that go on at home and you ... want to help, but you can’t. So you feel quite distant and to an extent I sometimes actually rather not phone, you know, make contact, ’cause you feel so powerless, you can’t do much and usually a lot of it is material assistance, like money or food, groceries. So, yeah, that’s where it gets a bit tricky.

We speak to my parents probably twice a week. My sisters ... I come from a family of five children. My brother is in the United Kingdom. I very rarely speak to him or email him ... And my three sisters in South Africa, we speak probably once a month, but they will ring me when it suits them and it’s because there is a problem. They don’t ring me just to have a conversation, they ring me because I am the oldest and I will fix it.

As evident in the quotes above, maintaining relationships with people from South Africa is not always easy. Consequently, we were also interested in the ways in which interviewees kept in touch with friends and family, both here in New Zealand and overseas. The majority of participants said that they maintained their New Zealand relationships face-to-face or on the telephone, although many interviewees also used email to keep in touch. Looking at respondents’ overseas relationships, the most common way of communicating with friends and family was via the telephone (more than 80% of employers and employees) and email (84.6% of employers and 75% of employees) although Skype was also used by 53.8 percent of employers and 40.6 percent of employees. The proportion of participants who maintained their overseas relationships face-to-face is also significant, with 30.8 percent of employers and 15.6 percent of employees maintaining their relationships this way.

Many participants talked about the benefits and challenges of new communication technologies. They love catching up with family and friends using Skype and sharing photos and news on Facebook27, but also bemoaned the poor infrastructure that sometimes made using these communications either difficult or impossible.

We still connect with probably a fair majority of friends there as well as family through Facebook ... we send photos and pretty much post things on sites. My wife does a lot more of that than me.

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27 Facebook is a privately owned and operated social networking service.
There is a strong component of everyday, day-to-day chatter that gets lost ... maybe I am not really that good on the phone ... we buy a phone card and we phone them [family/friends] for twenty minutes or so but it is not the same as just picking up the phone on a weekly basis and just saying 'how are you?' because we sort of ... you lose contact with those day to day affairs. We use Skype but unfortunately the broadband is of such a poor quality. My Dad doesn't even have a landline at the moment because every time he puts in a landline it gets stolen. The wire gets stolen. For some reason, I don't know why they don't put in fibre optics, but he lives in a rural area so I can't ... his internet is so slow, and the same with most of the others ... And in South Africa broadband is not so commonplace.

**HOME LIFE**

We asked interviewees to tell us about their daily lives, firstly in South Africa and then in New Zealand. What is most striking about employers’ and employees’ responses is the variety of narratives in terms of their occupations, daily schedules and styles of living both pre and post-migration. There are, however, a number of common threads: the issues of security in South Africa and the change in this situation once in New Zealand; the redistribution of housework and childcare as a consequence of more expensive domestic help and the absence of extended family; employers’ (both women's and men's) long work hours in New Zealand compared with their time in South Africa; and lengthy and stressful commutes between work and home in South Africa, compared to New Zealand life. In the next section, we examine each of these threads in more detail.

**a) SECURITY**

Participants explained that their daily lives were significantly altered as a consequence of the different security environments of South Africa and New Zealand. These changes ranged from allowing their children to walk to the local shops or to school, living in homes without guard dogs, burglar bars and other security apparatus, making parks and beaches part of their everyday lives and enjoying the lack of security checks in car parks and other public spaces. They also describe the decrease in stress and anxiety that accompanied these changes.

When we first got here, we said to the kids ... 'go up to the dairy and get some milk.' And they wouldn't go ... because they never knew that you could walk out of the yard and go down to the dairy and walk back again without anybody going at you or something like
that. And not locking the house all the time and that type of thing. We used to close the curtains all the time because we felt as though people were looking at us ... Here you know, you have homes with curtains that are open ... and now we don’t care a thing ... and that's something that took a long time ... to realise: you can do this, you can do that.

Very good friends of ours in [South Africa] had a horrific experience. These guys came over the wall in the garden in the early evening ... It was just horrible. And I just said to [my wife]... 'I go away all the time [in New Zealand] and at no given time do I ever believe that your personal safety is at risk'.

I had a Bull Mastiff outside, six feet fence, gates, burglar bars, alarm system, whereas I leave my front door sometimes open when I am at home [here].

b) HOUSEWORK AND CHILDCARE

Many of our participants employed part or full-time domestic helpers to assist with housework and childcare in South Africa. Moreover, they also had access to the help of extended families to balance their paid work and family obligations. In New Zealand, however, full-time (and sometimes live-in) domestic labour is not a common feature of the labour market and the cost of part-time help is considerably less affordable than in South Africa. In addition, many families do not have parents or siblings living close by on whom they can rely for childcare or other domestic assistance. These changes had considerable impact on the daily lives of interviewees and their families as they negotiated the redistribution of housework and childcare.

The lucky thing is that we had a household maid that did the cooking, so it freed up a lot of time ... [which] you could spend on yourself. I did a lot of woodwork and tinkering, and gardening and played squash and golf and things like that.

We take care of the kids more ourselves now so we are much more focussed as a family ... We have got a routine that is much better now than it was ... in South Africa we didn’t have to clean the house and all these kind of things, which we have to do now, so it is much more a team effort and it is much better for their development [refers to his children].

I was not close to my son when we were in Africa because he was just a child that was looked after by the nannies and that sort of thing.
I don’t have my family to help in terms of babysitting, so we are not going out so much ... or in terms of working late, I can’t just phone my Mum and say, ‘I am working late’ ... So that’s a huge change, being the main carer for her. So you are it, so between you, you have to arrange all that stuff.

I had a lot of spare time, went shopping a lot, went to the [   ] with my friends, had breakfast. Here I find my whole life exists around this place, and [husband] and the kids, and like you are not living your own life. It’s like you are living everybody else’s life. And when I get home, it’s cooking and dogs and the housework ... there is never anything for ... yeah, it’s very difficult ... we used to come home and the food was cooked and the kids were ready for us to go to bed and everything like that, so you would go and have a glass of wine, have supper, wind down and do your thing or go out and do your story. Out here, it’s like ... it’s just so much ... you have to think about supper ... you have to take out what you want for the day, and you know, it is the kid’s homework, you have got to run around for that. You have got to go home and do washing and cleaning and making sure that everybody has got their uniforms and stuff. *(But you wouldn’t still trade it for that though?)* No. No. I don’t think so ... you are working harder but you feel safer.

I had a full-time domestic ... which I don’t here ... it is a big house to clean though, on my own. I am the bloody domestic. So, my daughter is good though. *(Would you ever have asked them to do anything in South Africa?)* No. No! Whereas now, [my daughter] ... she cleans the bathrooms, she vacuums once a week for me, she unpacks the dishwasher, She helps out. If I ask her to do the washing, she will do the washing.

The only difference I would say in South Africa, we had people working in our house that did our ironing and our cleaning and we paid them to do that. Because it is not so expensive to have them you know, because a lot of them were just labourers and they didn’t have any education and they wanted to work in the house. So I had a girl two days or three days, so that was a nice thing coming home. You don’t have to clean and wash and iron. That was something I had to get used to. And so I do it over a weekend ... it’s a good thing you can teach your children. You know what? ... when you mess, you clean up.
c) EMPLOYERS’ LONG WORK HOURS

Many employers described long work days, particularly during the periods when they were establishing their businesses. These hours tended to increase when businesses were run from home and the lines between work and non-work became somewhat blurred. Sometimes, as the employer below explains, differences in labour markets and infrastructure between the two countries result in long work hours.

In South Africa we started early (7.00 am) and thus had breakfast on the job (around 9.00 – 9.30am). Therefore, no morning tea! In New Zealand, morning tea seems to be a very important necessity. In South Africa, I had a team of workers that had to be picked up in the mornings and dropped off again in the afternoons as there was no public transport (such as buses or trains) in my hometown. In New Zealand public transport is cheap and very readily available, thus no problem for employees to get to work. In South Africa labour is relatively cheap and I could employ seven or eight people at a time, providing an income for them and having my work made easier, also allowing me to delegate and take time off occasionally. In New Zealand, I can only afford to employ two people and have to do most of the work myself, not allowing me to take time out at all.

My working day is much longer. I start at a quarter past six and I go until whatever. Nine o’clock. So I work much harder, much harder. Although I work from home, we put in the hours.

d) LENGTHY, STRESSFUL COMMUTES

Participants talked about the negative impact that long and stressful daily commutes had on their lives in South Africa. In addition to the time this took up during the working week, interviewees were also concerned about the safety of travelling on South African roads and the stress that this caused them.

For me the difference obviously was traffic. I mean I come from [ ], where you sit in the traffic for an hour, getting here and you don’t have the same, I mean it is five cars in front of you in Hamilton and it’s a traffic jam.

[At night] you don’t stop at a traffic light. You go there and you don’t stop from go to whoa.
The traffic is terrible and there is lots of stress.

It took my husband an hour to get to work and maybe two hours to get home. Traffic was, traffic was bad.

LEISURE

Participants were asked what activities other than work they regularly made time for over the course of a week. In the same way that interviewees’ home lives differed greatly from family to family, participants’ leisure choices also showed considerable variety. Often these leisure activities reflected those recreational activities previously carried out in South Africa. Also, as in the previous section, issues around the comparative security of their lives in New Zealand featured strongly in our respondents’ narratives about their choices of leisure activity and the way they felt about these. Families regularly made time for sport and outdoor activities; movies, concerts, plays and exhibitions; family activities and socialising with friends; attending church and participating in bible study; furthering educational goals and doing volunteer work; and belonging to clubs and community groups.

I enjoy running, fishing and hiking, and motorcycling. These activities I would have done in South Africa, but they are not safe anymore, so even though the country is beautiful, it is hard to get [out] and enjoy it safely. I have enjoyed being able to do those things again.

It’s just good to walk in safety in New Zealand. Yes, I do a lot of walking on the weekend.

We go for lots of walks ... Living in [ ] it’s perfect so … gorgeous. We love the beach, we love swimming, we love walking in the Waitakeres ... and up North.

During the week in the summer, I play golf after work once a week. Bowls on Wednesday nights. We go walking ... my wife and I, after work some nights when we can. Play squash on a Monday night and tramping at the weekends. Just finding a hill or a mountain to climb ... we’ve done them all in this area ... some twice.

We have enjoyed being able to go to the movies and concerts. Parking is safe in New Zealand. You don’t have the extra cost of having to pay someone to look after your car so that it will be safe while you are at a concert.
We still live the same, we still like a braai, that is the Afrikaans barbeque on an open fire, we have adapted to it ... the first couple of weeks was difficult because of the rain in winter ... but I built a deck with a roof and put sides that can go up and down.

We are still in an Afrikaans church. To me everything is fine in English but English church. I can’t pray in English.

We go to church. It is a very strict thing with us on a Saturday ... it is my highlight for the week. The church has been a very, very great source of comfort and support. Yeah I don’t know where I would be without my faith.

At the moment I’m learning Te Reo Maori. I’m doing a project which involves a Maori immersion school and I’ve actually done a lot of research over at the university.
SOUTH AFRICAN EMPLOYERS

Between them, the 13 employers (four women and nine men) interviewed for the study owned a total of 16 businesses established between 1995 and 2008. Ten of the enterprises were categorised as partnerships, three were sole proprietorships, one was a family business, and one a New Zealand publicly listed company. There was significant variety with respect to industry category: four businesses were in accommodation and food; two were in retail; two in health care and social assistance; two in professional, scientific and technical; and two in other services. The remainder of the businesses were in construction (1), education and training (1), public administration and safety (1) and rental, hiring and real estate services (1).

All but two of the participants (85%) employed paid staff and their businesses had an average of nine paid employees. Just over 50 percent of the business owners with paid staff had between one and four paid employees who were family members, including wives (50% of cases), husbands (50% of cases) and daughters (16.7% of cases). Fifty percent of cases fell into the category ‘other [family]’ which included in-laws and siblings. Thirty percent of participants had one family member working in the business without wages or salary, mostly wives or husbands but also, to a lesser extent, daughters and sons. Employers worked between 40 and 82 hours per week in their businesses, an average of 60.9 hours per week. Half reported working 65 hours per week or more.

STARTING OUT

The most common reason participants gave for establishing businesses in New Zealand was that they had been self-employed in the past and wanted to re-establish their own businesses after arriving in New Zealand. Other reasons included: discovering an interesting business opportunity post-arrival; because of a negative experience as an employee; or because of the requirements of a business visa. The excerpts below illustrate participants’ responses.

I was always self-employed, I had my own business in South Africa ... for nine years and I always wanted to stay self-employed ... initially when I migrated I first worked for [ ] [but] I wanted to set up my own business again ... that’s what I was looking for as I felt it gave

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28 The category for one business was missing.
29 These figures do not add up to 100 percent because participants could choose more than one category.
me a lot more independence to run the business the way I wanted to and do things the way I wanted to, rather than just be employed the whole time.

I didn’t like working for a boss. I had come from my own business and then to go and be working for a boss again. And being told what to do … it wasn’t bad, but to me it was … I felt much better. Yeah. I like to wheel and deal and do my thing you know.

And for a long time I said to [ ], ‘oh I would give anything for a more plain [specific item of food].’ Because the [foodstuff] back in South Africa were heavenly (laughs). So I said, ‘why don’t we start something up?’ And this is what is so lovely about this country. You can reinvent yourself if you want to. I mean you have the opportunity to do it.

**EMPLOYMENT TRANSITIONS**

Just over sixty percent of employers had worked as paid employees in New Zealand, mostly at the occupational level of professionals or clerical and administrative workers. Only two participants, however, had arranged their first job before they arrived in New Zealand. Three participants had owned other businesses prior to the ones they were running at the time they were interviewed. There is some evidence of downward occupational mobility in the transitions participants made between their work in South Africa and their first job in New Zealand (see Table 17), but not to the same extent as the Korean, Chinese or Indian participants in our previous surveys.

More than half of the employers we interviewed (69.2%) worked as managers immediately prior to their migration. The occupations of the remainder included professionals (15.4%), technicians and trades workers (7.7%), and clerical and administrative workers (7.7%). Almost all the managers worked in their own businesses, which included automotive workshops, foundries and construction companies. Immediately after their migration, the proportion of managers had decreased to 30.8 percent, while there was an increase in professionals (15.4% to 30.8%), clerical and administrative workers (7.7% to 15.3%), community and personal service workers (0% to 7.7%) and labourers (0% to 7.7%).

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Table 17  Employers’ Occupational Mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>SOUTH AFRICA (%)</th>
<th>FIRST JOB (%)</th>
<th>CURRENT JOB (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>15.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Technicians and Trades Workers</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and Administrative Workers</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community and Personal Service Workers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When participants’ employment in their home country is compared with their current employment in New Zealand, the key findings are that most continue to run their own businesses and the majority have shifted into work that is similar to their pre-migration employment. For example, the owner of an automotive business in South Africa is now running a similar business in New Zealand, the proprietor of a healthcare practice is owner of the same kind of organisation post-migration, and the participant running their own professional services company pre-migration is offering the same service here in New Zealand. Where this is not the case, interviewees have tended to move into businesses that cater to the needs of their own birthplace communities, such as retail businesses selling South African food and other specialist products.

One of the key policy and academic questions about immigrant business owners, and an important focus of the Integration of Immigrants Programme, is the extent to which they are forced into business ownership by their inability to gain appropriate employment in the labour market. This small study cannot conclusively answer this question. However, the data suggests that despite the fact that our interviewees experienced some downward occupational mobility in the transition between their last job in South Africa and their first job in New Zealand, their decision to start their own business was based on a strong motivation to be autonomous in their working lives and a determination to move ahead by working hard.
TRAINING AND SUPPORT

Almost 40 percent of participants had undertaken some form of training before they started their own businesses, just over 60 percent continued to invest in new skills for some time afterwards, but only one employer was engaged in training at the time of the interviews. Participants had three main motivations for training: several had to study in order to obtain and maintain registration in their professions in New Zealand; others chose training specific to their business plans, such as food safety courses; while some undertook study to familiarise themselves with the local context of their particular industry.

Well, I had to, just to review all my [specific profession] studies in order to do my exams. It was just self-study but a lot of other [professionals in this field] do actually go through a formal New Zealand refresher course that the [ ] School runs so that they can get ready to do the exam.

Yes, we did the ... food health and safety course and our eldest came with us. We managed to get him out of school for the day and he did it with us ... the people that we get our [specialist ingredients] from ... [they] have been coming in and teaching us. Pretty much everything else was self-taught.

Constantly, it’s a legal requirement to do 80 hours of continuing education so I attend courses and lectures and [professional] group meetings on a monthly basis, congresses and things like that. The [professional] Association runs a congress every year, it’s just been in [ ] so I do those all the time.

This commitment to further training can also be seen amongst South African employees (78.1% of whom had participated in training since they arrived in New Zealand) and is reinforced from the data derived from the LisNZ. Just over three percent of South African men and 7.5 percent of South African women completed post-school qualifications between Wave One of the LisNZ survey (six months post-migration) and Wave Two, which occurred 12 months later. The figure for South African women is second only to Chinese women (11.7%) and is higher than the data for women from the other three groups studied by the IIP. The survey data in our study shows only a small gender disparity with respect to training and only for employers. Half the women employers undertook training before they opened their business compared to only a third of the men, and three-quarters of the women were involved in training after their businesses were set up compared with just over half of the men.
Participants were very positive about the training they had undertaken, describing it as essential to their business or to their ability to function successfully in their new communities.

*It was useful because it gave that New Zealand focus ... you need to know the New Zealand approach.*

*They've been very useful.*

*I did a paper on Maori culture and work ... I did ‘Maori Policy and Frameworks’ and I absolutely loved it because I loved the culture. I never knew all this stuff in Maoridom, you know.*

Interviewees were shown a long list of organisations and individuals and asked which three were most helpful to them during the start-up phase of their businesses. According to the participants, New Zealand-based friends and family were the most common source of assistance (75% of cases), followed by bank manager or accountant (66.7%) and then by ‘other’ (41.7%).

*I just sort of found out from friends and family. Like the [supplier] that I use now was a guy that [did the same service] for my father-in-law. I mean, I have been with him ever since. It's interesting, you sort of think back ... one of the guys who is my [supplier] in Christchurch ... I used his solicitor for something in the beginning and I have used him ever since.*

The ‘other’ category included business partners, professional organisations, the Kiwi Ora programme and insurance brokers.

*They [the professional organisation] provide us with a lot of professional support and negotiate on our behalf when legislative issues come up and dealing with the government and they sort of provide a lot of continuing education support which is a legal requirement for us ... and they would also provide us support in terms of that we get a special professional liability insurance through them. And assist with complaints resolution if required, some complaints from the patient that we can't solve. It's all professional support.*
What we did when we got here, we started off with the Kiwi Ora\textsuperscript{31}, which was a bloody good programme. Unfortunately they stopped it ... you do a year ... it tells you what to do, when to do it and how to do it. How to buy houses, where to buy houses ... everything, every kind of information ... banks, how to write up your own CV, everything.

Other common responses included the IRD, the city council and business associations, each of which provided assistance to 33.3 percent of participants.

\textit{[Inland Revenue] were very good. Yeah, they helped us.}

\textit{We got most of our information through the council.}

\textit{You might want to mention the Hamilton City Council because they are actually a great resource. Because we deal with them all the time ... they are a great resource for us.}

\textit{Employers and Manufacturers Association, they were very good.}

Participants’ high level of reliance on family and friends is not unusual for new immigrants and suggests that ethnic-based networks play an important role in contributing to settlement and business start-ups. Although the question we asked did not specify whether New Zealand-based friends were co-ethnics or not, the responses provided by participants suggest that this was often the case.

**PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS**

We asked respondents about the difficulties (if any) they experienced in the start-up phase of their businesses and also about the strategies they used to overcome these obstacles. The most common problems were: operating in the New Zealand business environment (61.5%); employing staff (46.2%); obtaining finance (46.2%); and knowing the right person (46.2%).

\textsuperscript{31} Established in 2002, Kiwi Ora was a home-based learning programme, now discontinued, targeted toward recent immigrants who wanted to learn more about New Zealand society.
a) **OPERATING IN THE NEW ZEALAND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT**

The local business environment was a challenge for some employers. Unlike the Korean and Chinese participants, who found language a significant barrier to their understanding of local ways of doing business, South Africa-born interviewees found some of the processes associated with setting up their businesses both cumbersome and confusing. They resolved these challenges through trial and error and also by asking for advice and guidance from friends and family as well as wider networks. Unfortunately, this process was sometimes protracted, difficult and expensive, in terms of both time and money.

*Labour laws are different to what we are used to. Even housing laws are different to what we are used to.*

*Well, just the sheer amount of red tape that you need to go through to set up ... to do simple things like the electronics, the lighting, the plumbing, that sort of thing. And what we had to do to get to that point, and the inspector comes and says, 'who did the work?' Knows the guy's name and says, 'oh yeah' and signs it off in seconds. And it's like all of that blood, sweat and tears! There was a lot of red tape involved in ... that whole process.*

*I think that was my biggest problem ... I mean, it's ridiculous. The one says it is a dairy, the other says it is a supermarket but in fact it is not either ... The [local official] was very helpful at the end. He came to my rescue ... but who would have thought that for 18 months we would have had a problem over half a car park.*

b) **EMPLOYING STAFF**

Several employers reported having difficulty employing and retaining staff. This was sometimes related to confusion over local labour laws and the specific rights and responsibilities of employers. Some noted that their problems had decreased somewhat with the downturn in the economy post-2008 while, for others, there were cultural differences with respect to the relationship between employers and employees.

*It is starting to get better now and that is due to the economy. Because there is not enough work and they have let go some of the people. Umm unfortunately you get the bad group coming out of the closet now as well, but you can start to pick and choose.*
Not so much in employing, more so in keeping them here. We had problems with the last people ... I think it is common because it is in the culture, which we are not used to, because loyalty doesn't seem to play a role in this country and we are used to loyalty ... and it doesn't matter what age group because we have tried all age groups.

c) Obtaining Finance

Obtaining finance was also a challenge for participants setting up businesses, one that required careful planning and saving as well as the support of family, at times, to resolve.

[It was] a challenge in the first year of being here in New Zealand ... you know you can't get a credit card for the first year ... they wanna see some history.

We find it hard to deal with the banks. I think they just see us as high risk and that is what happened to our friends as well. They are in business for about seven years or so ... they ... were charged nearly ten percent more because they couldn't go through the bank ... so when you have your own business you are considered a high risk because it is two people living off one income.

Well, I had no security. I had no house. I had nothing. Basically it is like that with banks all over the world. They don't want to take a risk. I gave them what I believed were good trading figures from a business, showing ... well, trying to demonstrate that I had the ability, but, at the end of the day that's fine, but if it doesn't work, 'how do we get our money back?' So my father-in-law... said to me one night, you know, 'how is it all going?' I said, 'you know, I have just been turned down by the bank you know' ... and he said, 'how much do you need?' I said, 'I reckon if I was able to raise about $20,000 I would get enough stock and I would be able to sell it.' And he went, 'I will loan it to you.' So I wrote a formal agreement and I gave him the bank rate plus 1% so he was better off and I paid him back after 5 years ... in one lump sum. I gave him a cheque and said, 'much appreciated'.

d) Knowing the Right Person

Participants acknowledged the difficulties they experienced in knowing the right person in their new and unfamiliar environment post-migration. Some interviewees also believed that in New
Zealand, the strength of networks, particularly in the search for employment, is such that new arrivals are hampered considerably by their lack of connections.

*Look, it is important who you know in this country. It is not what you know because ... um, it makes such a huge difference. I mean you come in here and you don't know anybody. I mean, I am afraid ... sorry you are just not going to get anywhere.*

*You know when you spent 15 years doing the same thing and then you umm. You have a network, so if you need someone you can ring them and say 'Christine, I need this.' You might say, 'Oh, I can't help you but I know someone who can.' That I have really struggled with.*

**ADVICE**

Participants' thoughtful responses to the following question provide an insight into their perceptions of the challenges immigrant business owners face and the strategies they believe will lead to success.

*If you were giving advice to another new migrant starting up in business in New Zealand, what are the three main things you would say?*

By far the most common advice given by participants is to research local market conditions, professional registration criteria and compliance requirements. Other recommendations include: join a professional organisation; settle in one of New Zealand's smaller cities; and work hard at establishing a good reputation. The following quotes illustrate these different perspectives.

*I got a certificate in small business management also through Te Wananga. And I feel that is most important to have that because that will tell you more about IRD, ACC [and] all those things ... you need to start off in business. Everything is in there, and that's a very important thing to do.*

*I would tell him, before he opens a business, go and work for someone else, just ... to understand the market first. Then he will struggle less.*
Do some courses or find out as much information as you can about things. Understand the market and the culture ... especially in the area that you are wanting to buy in because that is a new thing for us. Each area has got its own little ... what they like, and what they don’t like. Whereas, where we were, everywhere you went, it was the same, the same items, the same type of food ... whereas in New Zealand, like I say, if you are going to compare Papakura to Ponsonby; two totally different clienteles and different likes.

Understand the market that you are getting into.

If possible, they should join a professional organisation if there's one available, some sort of industry organisation, the Chamber of Commerce, making use of that support that’s available ... to get through day to day problems, setting your business up ... my wife just set up her own business and joined the Chamber of Commerce and it's been quite an eye opener for me now, having been here for a while in business, how much support they provide. I could have used some of that in the beginning. That would have been good ... You don't have to reinvent the wheel - they've all that stuff, all the support they have. And the cost of membership is really affordable, for what you get. They can just guide you through the whole thing ... and you get an immediate network.

I was very unhappy in Auckland and I found it better in Hamilton. And I think it’s because it’s more ... aligned to the South African culture. There’s a better ... lifestyle here than in the big cities ... Auckland for me I found too stifling. Too many cultures, too many people, really bad transport issues, you know ... I spent one and a half hours twice a day on a bus ... So I would say to an immigrant, location is fundamental - find a place that you can fit into, and I would suggest one of the smaller cities which are going through development rather than Auckland, which is crowded and over-run and there’s too much competition there.

Do the job right. If you made a promise, keep that promise and do what you are saying you are going to do. And keep that promise. And don’t BS people because they don’t like it, not at all. If you gave a price, keep to your price.

These responses suggest a high level of awareness of the difficulties facing South African small business owners in Auckland. They also give us some insight into the energy, time and capital that migrants have invested in the success of their New Zealand enterprises.
BUSINESS CONTACTS

EMPLOYEES

We asked employers about the ethnicity, religion and languages spoken by and with their employees, suppliers and customers. Of the South African employers, 53.8 percent employed South African workers, 46.2 percent employed Kiwis or Pākehā, 46.2 percent employed people of other ethnicities, 15.4 percent employed British or New Zealand/European workers, and 7.7 percent employed Chinese or Indian employees.\(^\text{32}\)

\[\text{I've got one Pom, I've got two Tongans, I am talking about fulltime, I've got two South Africans - White South Africans - and I've got two Samoans. And of the forty odd others, I would say 50:50 Samoans and Tongans.}\]

\[\text{Well it is more like a food court downstairs, (laughs) so Kiwis, Indians, Chinese and South Africans.}\]

\[\text{It is completely bizarre because ... out of 14 staff that are there, we have three Kiwis. The rest are something else ... South African, English, Swiss, Zimbabwean, Scottish ... truly United Nations.}\]

Over 90 percent of participants’ employees spoke English and 83.3 percent of interviewees said that the main language they use to communicate with their workers is English. Twenty-three percent of employees spoke Afrikaans and 16.7 percent of employers communicate with their workers mainly in this language.

We also asked about employees’ religious affiliations. As with the Korean employers we interviewed in our previous report, the majority of South African employers (85.7%) said that at least one of their workers identified as Christian. In addition, 14.3 percent said their workers were Hindu and the same proportion ‘other’.\(^\text{33}\)

\(^{32}\) Each question has a number of possible responses (and indicates only that at least one employee of a given ethnicity was employed), and the total figures, therefore, do not add up to 100 percent.

\(^{33}\) The category ‘other’ includes those who do not identify as either Christian, Buddhist, Jewish, Muslim or Hindu.
**SUPPLIERS**

Ethnicity was also explored in relation to the participants’ suppliers, 75.0 percent had at least one Kiwi or Pākehā supplier, 25 percent had at least one South African provider and 25 percent had at least one Chinese supplier. In addition, more than 30 percent had suppliers from other ethnicities. Similarly, participants reported that 100 percent of their suppliers spoke English and 33.3 percent spoke Afrikaans. When asked about their suppliers’ religious affiliations, two-thirds of the participants said that they had Christian suppliers, one-third had Hindu suppliers and one-third had suppliers from ‘other’ religions. However, in the qualitative responses, the interviewees were more likely to identify ‘country of origin’ of their suppliers rather than their religious affiliation.

*They are all Kiwis except just one person. We know that he is South African.*

*[We have] only one South African supplier, the rest are mainly Auckland-based Kiwis.*

*We get probably get 70 percent of our product from New Zealand locally. We have a supplier in the States and we have a supplier in China, and we have a supplier in Pakistan.*

**CUSTOMERS**

Just over 60 percent of interviewees’ businesses had Kiwi or Pākehā customers, 53.8 percent had South African clients and 23.1 percent had Chinese customers. What comes across most strongly, however, is the proportion of employers (69.3%) who state that their customers are from a range of ethnicities, including a number of ethnic groups outside of the particular interests of our project. Similarly, customers spoke a range of languages, including English, Afrikaans, Mandarin, and ‘other’. Participants explained that they all spoke English with their customers, while 25 percent spoke to their customers in Afrikaans.

*Our customers ... I certainly have European-descent Kiwis, a fair number of Maori and ... Asian [clients] as well, Taiwanese and Chinese, quite a few students ... and their families ... quite a few Asian ... South Africans, yes there is a significant number of South African people now.*

*Oh it’s multicultural, Maori, European, Pacific Islanders, Asians.*
**OTHER CONTACTS**

We also asked participants about their business contacts and relationships, both in New Zealand and overseas. Just over a third of participants said that contacts from ‘home’ were important to the running of their businesses here in New Zealand. For some interviewees this is because they are involved in the retail of South African products, so their contacts from ‘home’ are integral to the way their businesses operate. For others, contacts from ‘home’ are more peripheral to business success, while others are important during the start-up phase but diminish as time goes on and the business grows, as the participants explain below.

They supply South African products [for my business].

[They are somewhat important], but I wouldn’t say it’s a priority, it’s not fundamental. It’s part of my business it’s not the most of it.

(So have you maintained those business contacts with South Africa or extended them?) Diminished them, actually. (So they are still there but less so?) Considerably. (So is there any reason for that or is it just that you have moved out into other areas?) Moved out into other areas. And also it wasn’t going to be commercially viable from there. Because, wherever they were getting stuff from, I could get it quicker and cheaper and more reliably, I didn’t need to go there first.

Correspondingly, 46.2 percent of participants said that they travelled internationally to support their business, 66.7 percent of these interviewees to South Africa or another country;34 33.3 percent to China; and 16.7 percent to India or the United Kingdom.35 Almost 40 percent of respondents had travelled overseas on business at least once within the previous 12 month period.

Turning now to the importance of local contacts, 91.7 percent of employers said that their New Zealand contacts were essential to their businesses. Of these, only 27.3 percent stated that these local contacts were members of their own national community.

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34 ‘Other’ countries are those not amongst the five countries the IIP focuses on: China; Korea; India; South Africa; and the United Kingdom.

35 Total does not add up to 100 percent due to multiple possible responses to this question.
I’ve got an extensive network of New Zealanders so that’s just been built up over 10 years and I would say that most of my business is actually with New Zealanders, and a smaller part is, probably about a third, is with South Africans.

All my business has come from contacts in New Zealand; word of mouth has played a big part. Most of my work has come to me from people that I know. Sometimes I have had to apply for a job, a contract, but often somebody will know someone who is looking for what I can do.

In the beginning it was easier to deal with just South Africans. You know we come from a country where it is easier to distrust people before you trust them. It is totally different to being in a country like this where you trust everybody until they shaft you ... here you trust everybody until they prove you wrong.

This contrasts with the reports from the earlier surveys of Korean and Chinese employers. Sixty-five percent of the Chinese employers and 71 percent of Korean employers stated that their New Zealand contacts were important to the running of their businesses in New Zealand, while 79 percent and 80 percent respectively claimed that these local contacts were members of their own ethnic communities. This greater reliance on co-ethnics suggested by this result is a complex issue that cannot be explained with reference to any single cause. However, the possible contributing factors could include the greater cultural distance between New Zealand and China/Korea, greater difficulties with English language and higher incidence of discrimination against Chinese and Korean peoples in the local New Zealand labour market.

Also, unlike the Chinese and Korean employers (only one Chinese and one Korean employer had joined a local business association), almost half the South Africa-born employers belonged to a business or professional organisation. Many participants belonged to multiple organisations, and while some interviewees claimed to receive little benefit from their memberships, the majority claimed that they enjoyed their involvement and received considerable benefits from their participation.

The Employers and Manufacturers Association ... they are very good.

The [professional] association helped me with a lot of information about doing the exams to register here.
And the Chamber of Commerce ... excellent.

**USING THE INTERNET**

Over 90 percent of employers said that they used the internet to support their business. The most common purposes were: business websites used to promote and provide information to clients about products and services as well as to provide an interface for direct orders and payment online; email to communicate with clients and suppliers; and the internet generally to research new products and techniques, pay bills and monitor bank accounts.

*We have a website that we use, which is quite a marketing tool for us. And then obviously just email, it's getting used more and more to communicate [with] suppliers and our [clients]. And we do use the internet also for researching new products and techniques.*

*Basically everything that we do is on the net.*

*We have got a website and it is equivalent to another shop ... We are getting our orders all over the world. People let us know, 'listen my daughter is in Christchurch. Please send us this and that'. And they can choose, pay for it, the whole works, everything. We make up the parcel and we send it away and in that parcel is a self-addressed envelope, how they received it. Was it in good condition? And all that and we haven't had one complaint. Because the couriers here ... they are so good and that's why I started the ... website, the online business.*
**SOUTH AFRICAN EMPLOYEES**

**INITIAL JOBS**

Employees were asked a number of questions about their New Zealand labour market experience, in particular about their initial and current jobs. Looking first at participants’ initial employment, 28.1 percent of all employees had arranged this work pre-migration. The proportion of Hamilton and Auckland employees with pre-arranged work, however, was quite different, with only 17.6 percent of Auckland employees in this category compared with 40 percent of Hamilton-based interviewees. A similar proportion (33.3%) had been granted permanent residence before they started work, while the remaining participants took between one month and two years and an average of just under five months before they became permanent residents.

With respect to industry, the majority of participants worked in healthcare and social assistance (46.9%), education and training (18.8%) or financial and insurance services (9.4%), while the remainder worked in: construction; administrative and support services; retail; manufacturing; professional, scientific and technical; property and business services; public administration and safety; or electricity, gas, water and waste services. The differences between Hamilton and Auckland employees with respect to initial industry and the number of industries represented mirror those found in participants’ current industry as discussed earlier in the report and presented in Table 4 on p.21. Again, Hamilton employees are found in a smaller range of industries (five, compared to nine in Auckland) and were predominantly employed in healthcare and social assistance (73.3% of Hamilton employees versus 23.5% of those based in Auckland).

Unlike the Korean participants in our earlier report, 25 percent of whom took between six and 12 months to obtain their first job, 64.5 percent of South Africa-born interviewees had found their first job within one month and all the participants were employed after only six months. The average length of time before interviewees’ first job was less than two months. The number of job rejections participants reported before they obtained this first job, however, suggests that interviewees did not always experience immediate success. Although just over half had no job rejections before obtaining their first job, 13.6 percent of interviewees reported receiving between 15 and 72 rejections and one participant said that they had received at least 100.
When the interviewees’ occupational status in their current New Zealand job is compared with their first job and their home country occupations (see Table 18), it is evident that, unlike the China-born and Korea-born participants, overall, they have not experienced any significant downward occupational mobility during their transition into the labour market in New Zealand. In their first job, participants worked predominantly as professionals (62.5%), with 21.9 percent working as clerical and administrative workers, 6.3 percent as technicians and trades workers or sales workers, and 3.1 percent as community and personal service workers. In South Africa, 75 percent of the participants were employed as either managers or professionals. Although this proportion decreased slightly to 62.5 percent with employees’ first jobs in New Zealand, the percentage had increased to 81.2 percent at the time of their interviews.

Table 18 Employees’ Occupational Mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>SOUTH AFRICA</th>
<th>FIRST JOB</th>
<th>CURRENT JOB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>25.0</td>
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<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>65.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technicians and Trades Workers</td>
<td>6.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community and Personal Service Workers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clerical and Administrative Workers</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>21.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sales Workers</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>0</td>
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</table>

An examination of occupational data from the LisNZ presents a slightly different picture. Sixty-three percent of South Africa-born participants in the LisNZ were either managers or professionals pre-migration, a figure that fell to just over 50 percent at both Wave One (six months post-migration) and Wave Two (18 months post-migration) of the survey. A larger proportion of our interviewees, therefore, were managers or professionals in South Africa, and in their first and current positions. These differences may be explained to some extent by the following factors: the interviewees in the IIP survey have been in New Zealand an average of 6.9 years, significantly longer than the six and eighteen months of the LisNZ participants; the percentage who have a Bachelor’s Degree or higher (46.9%) is significantly greater than the proportion of South African respondents in the LisNZ (20.1%); and the percentage who are
skilled principal applicants (65.6%) is considerably greater than the proportion of the LisNZ sample (43.6).36

The employee participants’ assessment of their first jobs in New Zealand also adds to these findings about occupational shifts. With respect to their initial jobs being a good match for their qualifications, just over two-thirds (68.8%) of interviewees agreed or strongly agreed that this was the case, while a quarter disagreed or strongly disagreed. A slightly higher percentage of South African immigrants in Hamilton believed their first jobs were a good match for their qualifications compared with the South African immigrants in Auckland (73.3% compared with 64.7%).

The majority (81.3%) of South African immigrants agreed or strongly agreed that their initial job in New Zealand made use of their skills and experience. Once again, compared with South African immigrants in Auckland, a higher percentage of South African immigrants in Hamilton felt this way (86.7% compared with 76.5%). Overall, 15.7 percent of interviewees disagreed or strongly disagreed that their first job used their skills and experience, but only 6.7 percent of South African immigrants living in Hamilton felt this way, compared with nearly a quarter (23.5%) of South African immigrants based in Auckland.

Most South African immigrants (81.3%) also agreed or strongly agreed that their first job measured up to their expectations, although once again, there were differences between our Hamilton and Auckland participants. While 23.5 percent of Auckland employees disagreed or strongly disagreed that their jobs lived up to expectations, none of the Hamilton immigrants felt this way. When asked whether they were working in their preferred occupation, the results were similar. While almost three-quarters of those from Hamilton agreed or strongly agreed that they were working in an occupation of their preference, less than half (47.1%) of Auckland immigrants felt they were. South African immigrants in Hamilton were also more satisfied with their pay compared with their counterparts in Auckland (66.7% of Hamilton-based immigrants agreed or strongly agreed compared to only 53% in Auckland).

With respect to employment prospects, half of all South African immigrants in this study either agreed or strongly agreed that their initial job provided them with opportunities for career development (46.7% and 52.9% of Hamilton and Auckland immigrants respectively), while a

36 Skilled principal applicants are granted permanent residence in New Zealand based on the points they are allocated for their skills, qualifications and experience. Families are generally quite strategic in their applications and principal applicants are therefore those with the most skills, qualifications and experience within each family unit.
quarter disagreed or strongly disagreed (20% of Hamilton immigrants and 29.4% of Auckland immigrants). The majority of South African immigrants felt they had been treated fairly at their jobs (84.4% agreed or strongly agreed) while 71.9 percent were satisfied with their initial jobs (73.4% of Hamilton immigrants and 70.6% of Auckland immigrants).

Compared with the findings from the Chinese, Korean and Indian employees in earlier IIP studies, the results indicate that South Africa-born immigrants were generally more satisfied with their first jobs in New Zealand. For example, only five percent of Indian immigrants felt they were working in their preferred occupation and just 45 percent were satisfied with their first jobs. While the Chinese and Korean immigrants were more positive (65.5% of Chinese and 60% of Korean immigrants were satisfied with their initial employment), the South African immigrants were more likely to be working in their preferred professions and to be utilising their qualifications, skills and experience.

Just over half (53.1%) of the interviewees had received assistance in finding their first New Zealand job. When asked about this help, many participants said that they used a recruitment or employment agency, something which was not common among the IIP-surveyed Chinese, Korean and Indian immigrants. A relatively high percentage of South African participants in the LisNZ (12.9%) also obtained their first New Zealand job through an employment agency (compared with just 2.8% of Chinese participants and 6.0% of Indian participants).

*I was placed by an employment agent. (And how useful was their assistance?) The employment agent? (Yes). Yes, she was. She was very useful. Very helpful. I think she worked hard to make the placement considering I was brand new and I didn't have a work permit at the time. ... I was waiting for mine to come through so she really worked ... it was very good.*

*It was actually a recruitment agency that placed me here. I applied through an advert in a [professional] journal and it was a Canadian, a recruitment agency, who then put me through, you know, to the job in New Zealand.*

Participants also obtained their first job by looking for positions on job-seeking websites, such as SEEK, or by approaching employers directly. This was also a popular approach taken by the LisNZ participants. Eighteen percent of these South African new immigrants obtained their first job by contacting employers, while 37.2 percent looked at job advertisements.
It took about a day (laughs). I think I was quite lucky. Because I was just browsing the SEEK [website], to see what was out there and I saw this job advertising for [administrative services]. It may have been a bit of luck as well. Because I kind of just applied to see how I would go. To see if could find a job and they phoned the same day to say that they had received my CV.

I looked on-line ... On SEEK.

I just walked in and handed them my CV and they interviewed me. A lovely fairy tale story. (When you found this job, how did you actually come to...) I just saw the signage and I walked in. (Oh. OK. So not even an ad in the ...) No. I had to go to the bank, and yeah, I saw them, and I was actually looking for recruitment companies and I couldn’t find one in Christchurch. They were all hiding and I couldn’t find them. I was very fortunate and very blessed to get a position.

A little over forty percent of our participants were still employed in their first job. This was a much larger percentage than the Chinese, Korean and Indian immigrants (30%, 15% and 25% respectively). This may be because, compared with the other groups, a significant number of South African immigrants had arranged their employment prior to immigrating and had found jobs commensurate with their qualifications and previous experience. Similarly, higher proportions were employed in their preferred industry and were more satisfied with their jobs.

Those who had changed jobs were asked why they had left. Many participants said that their contracts had ended or that their role evolved into a different position. Others had moved on because of a change in circumstances, or because they wanted to better utilise their skills and experience.

It was just I had to fill in a year for someone who went overseas.

I’ve done post-graduate studies here and done vocational training and so I’m still at the place ... but my role has changed to that of a consultant. It was career development.

The temporary position led to a permanent position.

I moved to Hamilton, ’cause my family moved here and I got a better paying job.
I wanted to use more of my experiences, not only my experience but also to work in the [ ] industry.

It wasn’t the right kind of work, I wasn’t using my skills. That’s it really.

I managed to find an occupation more suited to my experience and my qualifications.

The remaining participants expressed dissatisfaction with their first jobs: disagreements with employers; disapproval of changes in the company; or a lack of job satisfaction.

I’d been working there for four years and I really was unhappy there. So I moved on. Because the organisation was changing and I was uncomfortable with that and as a result I moved on.

It was just really... I just really wasn’t enjoying any success in it. I need to be successful and I just really wasn’t being successful.

I could see that the business was going under.

**CURRENT JOBS**

In terms of industry, as mentioned previously 43.8 percent of interviewees’ current jobs are in health care and social assistance, 12.5 percent are in education and training, 12.5 percent are in financial and insurance services, 6.3 percent are in professional, scientific and technical, 6.3 percent are in administrative and support services, and the remainder are in: construction; wholesale trade; manufacturing; property and business services; public administration and safety; or electricity, gas, water and waste services (3.1% respectively). South African immigrants in Hamilton were more likely to be employed in the health care and social assistance industry (80%), while Auckland-based immigrants were more likely to be employed across a range of industries, including financial and insurance services (23.5%) and education and training (17.6%).

With respect to occupation, the largest proportion (65.6%) are professionals, followed by clerical and administrative workers (18.8%) and managers (15.6%). Participants’ workplaces have between one and 5,000 employees, a median of 40 employees. Sixty percent of the
workplaces employed 50 employees or less. Interviewees had been in their current jobs for between two months and ten years and an average of almost three years. The majority worked full-time (90.6%), while just 9.4 percent worked part-time. They worked an average of 41.06 hours per week (18.8% worked less than 40 hours per week, while a quarter worked over 40 hours per week). Just over a fifth (21.9%) of participants managed between one and twenty other employees.

**Strategies**

Interviewees were asked about the strategies they used to find their current job. The most common answer was responding to an advertisement online (37.5%) and seeking advice and help from personal contacts (25.0%). Another 18.8 percent said that they sought the assistance of an employment agency to find their current job and 15.6 percent answered advertisements in a newspaper or magazine. A further 18.8 percent used ‘other’ strategies.\(^{37}\) When asked about the most successful strategy, 28.1 percent claimed ‘other’ methods\(^ {38}\) were most effective, followed closely by responding to an online advertisement (25%). A further 21.9 percent said that they preferred to use personal contacts and 15.6 percent said that they favoured employment agencies.

Respondents were also asked what three strategies they would recommend to new immigrants looking for work in New Zealand. Participants gave a wide range of well-considered answers. One of the most frequent pieces of advice was that immigrants should ‘do their homework’ first; that is, research New Zealand, its job market and how the prospective migrant’s skills and experience would fit in. Interviewees also said it was wise to get all your paperwork, such as visas, organised well in advance, contact an immigration consultant or ask Immigration New Zealand for advice and assistance and, if possible, obtain permanent resident status before arriving. A number of interviewees also suggested finding a job in New Zealand prior to immigrating or using a recruitment agency to help set one up. Others recommended utilising internet-based job seeking sites such as SEEK. There was considerable emphasis on the importance of good CVs, with many advising that CVs need to be tailored to the New Zealand market. Lastly, the participants stressed the importance of being flexible, persistent, proactive and prepared.

\(^{37}\) Total does not add up to 100 percent due to multiple responses to this question.

\(^{38}\) The ‘other’ methods cited include: self-promotion/marketing; being ‘shoulder-tapped’; and ‘cold-calling’.
I would suggest that before you come to gather as much information as you can about how marketable you are, your skills and your education. The second thing of course is that you have to understand what the requirements are of immigration. You know what kind of visa you may qualify for, and what you need to prove to get that visa ... I always say to people, do your homework ... You don't do your homework ... you are going to fail. And third thing is you have to, as a person, be extremely flexible which means that you need to re-adjust, and you have to sometimes take a step back in your career, to get a foothold, and to use that as basis to finally find a job. So that's why I say it is not an easy process. And if you are really exacting in your requirements, forget it.

Start your paperwork from that side and don't come over until your paperwork is finished and there are a lot of hidden costs. Which is never told to you when you start. So make sure you have got a lot of money to cover that.

Three things: Check up on the Immigration website. You have to understand what your future is, what your chances are. It changes all the time, your personal set of skills and whatever, is completely unique ... Secondly get a good Immigration consultant in New Zealand and I could recommend a few that I have heard of that other people have used and I would recommend. And thirdly, I would go to SEEK.co.nz.

Use a recruitment agency because they will give you good advice about how to present yourself and your CV. They know lots of HR managers and often have a relationship of trust with these managers and so if they recommend you for a job, this will be an advantage at interview.

The CV is the most important thing when applying for a job. In South Africa, you list every job you have done. In New Zealand, you need to think about what skills and experiences you have and think about what the requirements of the job are. Then you need to tailor your CV and application so that the employer knows what you can do, not just what your qualifications are.

I think you need to be open for what is available and because when I started in that initial job it was not definitely what I wanted to do, but it gave me opportunity to know how the system works ... and that was good.
When respondents were asked what strategies they would use if they were searching for another job, the internet once again assumed a crucial role. Over eighty percent said that they would either place or respond to an advertisement online. Again, the importance of employment agencies was stressed, with 50 percent saying that they would register with such organisations in order to get a job. Another 43.3 percent would respond to a print ad, a third would approach close friends or family, and 30 percent would approach business contacts.39

DIFFICULTIES

Just over 20 percent of the respondents reported having difficulty finding work in New Zealand, a much lower figure than their Chinese (69%), Korean (45%) and Indian (70%) counterparts. South African immigrants in Auckland were more likely to have experienced problems (29.4% compared to just 13.2% of Hamilton-based immigrants). The most common barriers identified were: lack of Kiwi experience (87.5%); not knowing people in the industry (50%); difficulties associated with accent (37.5%); employer attitudes (37.5%); no suitable job opportunities (25%); lack of recognition of qualifications (25%); and being overqualified (25%).40 Lack of local experience was also the most common difficulty identified by South African participants in both Wave One and Wave Two of the LisNZ survey.

Yes, lack of New Zealand experience, when they advertise a job they say experience required, like we said earlier how do they expect you to have experience if they don’t give you a chance. It’s like people coming out of university ... they’ve got the theory, but not the practical, it’s exactly the same ... some companies don’t wanna spend extra time giving somebody training. I suppose they are scared of foreigners, they will resign and go to another company.

(Now in trying to get those jobs, were any of these problems for you?) Yeah it was a problem because I didn’t have any referees and normally they call a referee ... and they couldn’t because of the time difference. And if you have 50, 50-70 applications on your desk you wouldn’t go for ... And I wasn’t New Zealand trained. Back then ... every single advertisement it said New Zealand trained or preferably New Zealand trained.

39 Total does not add up to 100 percent due to multiple responses to this question.
40 Total does not add up to 100 percent due to multiple responses to this question.
Oh no, I walked around with CVs for the first six weeks and dropped them at every [specific industry] company and introduced myself personally to try to ... I had pictures of what I had done before, and I tried to promote myself directly and I just had no luck. Just zero, zero luck. What I have found though, is that it is a damn sight easier getting a job from another immigrant than trying to get a job from a Kiwi.

**JOB SATISFACTION**

Despite the fact that participants felt they lacked New Zealand work experience, the majority (84.4%) said their work experience helped them to obtain their current job. Another 59.4% believed their education was a key factor, while just over half (53.1%) said it was their English language abilities. Just over a quarter (28.1%) claimed it was due to personal contacts and networks.41 When asked to rate how they felt about their current job on a scale of one to five, where ‘one’ is very happy and ‘five’ very unhappy, none of the participants chose a negative ‘five’ or ‘four’. Encouragingly, the majority (90.6%) chose a positive ‘one’ or ‘two’, while 9.4 percent chose a neutral ‘three’. The following quotes are illustrative of the largely positive assessment of interviewees’ job satisfaction.

*Very happy. I think the environment gives me the support I need to grow and develop. I think there is a good amount of growth and development and challenge which I like. And I can also manage it with my personal life, which means I have a family and that has always been in the background of my ... when I look for a job, I have to think about my family as well, being a woman especially.*

*I am very happy. I would be more happier if I would be able to help more candidates. Yeah I am very happy. I love what I am doing. I love helping people. Yeah.*

*Oh I am very happy. I enjoy my job. I am being challenged. I can use my skills. And, I mean, it’s what I enjoy. I like working with numbers.*

*Well, I’m very content, but I suppose I am reaching the 10 year mark where I suppose I need to consider some, that’s why I don’t make it ‘very happy’, ‘cause I think that I ought to be considering maybe some changes? Perhaps. But more in the line of personal*

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41 Total does not add up to 100 percent due to multiple responses to this question.
development, not anything else, 'cause my salary is not going to increase, in fact it might actually decrease. So it's more about that I suppose.

Oh I am very happy in my current job, yes. Like any other job, it ha ... the pressure ... You are essentially a problem solver. You have got to smooth out the rough edges and be diplomatic about it at the same time.

Using a similar scale, where ‘one’ is very important and ‘five’ is very unimportant, 90.7 and 75 percent rated their current job at the positive end of the scale at ‘one’ or ‘two’ in terms of the interest or challenge of the work and possible career development respectively. Related to this, 87.5 percent of participants said that their current job made good use of their skills and experience and 78.1 percent said it made use of their qualifications. This was in stark contrast to the Chinese, Korean and Indian participants, many of whom said that although they were able to make use of a range of skills and experiences acquired over the course of their working and personal lives, they did not use their formal qualifications in their current jobs.

When asked how long they intended to stay in their current jobs, 46.9 percent said indefinitely while others said between one month and ten years (the average figure was just under three years). Only 15.6 percent of interviewees were looking for another job, most in their current cities, and none outside of New Zealand. South African immigrants in Auckland were slightly more likely to be looking elsewhere for employment compared to their Hamilton-based counterparts (17.6% compared to 13.3%).

**Business Contacts**

Unlike the Korean and Chinese employees in our previous reports, the South African employees did not work as closely with employers and co-workers from their own ethnic or national background. Nevertheless, just over a third (34.4%) are employed by South Africans while 75 percent worked with South African colleagues. Participants also worked with Kiwis (78.1%), British (56.3%), Indians (46.9%) and Chinese (34.4%); and 72 percent described their co-workers as ‘multi-ethnic’ or ‘multicultural’.\(^\text{42}\) While 60 percent of interviewees did not know the religion of their co-workers, 48 percent said that they were Christian, 12 percent Buddhist and 12 percent from ‘other’ religions.\(^\text{43}\) Not surprisingly given these results, all of the participants

\(^{42}\) Total does not add up to 100 percent due to multiple responses to this question.

\(^{43}\) These include all religions other than Christianity, Islam, Hinduism or Buddhism.
speak English with their co-workers and 32.3 percent speak Afrikaans. Thinking about participants’ working environments, 87.5 percent of respondents said that they came into contact with people other than their colleagues in the course of their working day. All of these people said that they come into contact with people of many ethnicities, languages and religious groups.

Although only 12.5 percent of respondents said that contacts from their home country were important in their current job, this number rose to 68.8 percent for New Zealand-based contacts.\textsuperscript{44} When asked to explain the ways in which their local contacts were important, interviewees said that they were useful for building networks and business relationships. Unlike the Chinese and Korean IIP participants, who relied heavily on their ethnic communities, only 21.9 percent of the South African respondents said that these contacts were primarily from the South African community. However, this percentage was much higher for the Hamilton-based immigrants: 40 percent said their contacts were fellow South Africans. A relatively high number of participants (43.8\%) had joined a group, club or organisation related to their work.

**TRAINING**

The majority of employees (78.1\%) had participated in some form of training since they arrived in New Zealand, a figure which represents a considerable investment by this group. Most of this training was provided or funded by employers, including compulsory training (such as health and safety), as well as training for up-skilling or career development (such as management training or computer courses). A number of participants also undertook mandatory study to maintain their registration or to become New Zealand certified or accredited. Others embarked on their own studies, such as postgraduate and master’s degrees. A third were still involved in training or study at the time of their interview.

\begin{quote}
I’ve just done a professional minute taking course and that was just to help support me with doing minutes in different, various meetings.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Yes I have been on a number of courses related to my work. Professional development and some of it is related to safety ... Traffic management and site safety.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Certification of [accredited profession]. It is a professional responsibility to maintain [professional] competence through reading and doing courses in order to maintain
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{44}These contacts could include co-ethnics and others.
registration. Points have to be accrued for certified courses to ensure that you are up-to-date with your practice. This is ongoing for everyone.

We had multiple short … day courses that give us further skills and things. An example would be like learning about the [legislative] act or learning about recovery … and then there’s certain compulsory things we’ve gotta do, like risk assessments.

I’ve done postgraduate studies here and done vocational training … it was career development.

Almost all the respondents who had undertaken training believed that it had been useful to them for a number of reasons: because it was essential for their job; because it provided them with skills and knowledge; because it allowed them to better understand and keep up-to-date with New Zealand systems, operations and legislation; and because it was valuable to career progression.

*(Did you find that it was useful?)* Yes. *(And in what way?)* Understand the New Zealand legislation, the framework and, yeah, and also helped to get to know the nitty-gritty of the legislation. The basis of this legislation is very similar to South Africa, but the nuances of it are a bit different. Different approaches.

Very useful. It’s just, you know, keeping current with the field really, what’s going on. I’ve also had very specific leadership training given to me, which had been very useful and something I hadn’t been exposed to before. So yeah, no, very useful. Very useful.

Oh, definitely useful, very useful. Well, my manager is giving me a lot of additional tasks to do, which requires that I have some knowledge of those particular applications. And that’s why he sent me on the training.
SOUTH AFRICAN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES

HOPES AND DREAMS: AN EVALUATION

Employers and employees were asked, at the end of the interview, to consider the hopes and dreams they had identified earlier and to reflect on the extent to which these had been realised post-migration. We discuss here the three main themes identified by participants: a safe environment; a better life for their children; and lifestyle.

a) A SAFE ENVIRONMENT

Most interviewees said they felt secure in New Zealand and were no longer worried about their personal safety. For most, this was in stark contrast to the way they felt living and working in South Africa and was a welcome relief.

People don’t die because of their political or religious beliefs in New Zealand. So, you know, that was my dream to go in a non-violent society where I would feel safe with my family and I have achieved that.

Because when I close [premises] at night and I am all by myself (...) it is normally me alone, I don’t feel unsafe. I don’t feel at ease but I feel ... in South Africa, you would not have let me do that (to husband). The children walk to their friends at Long Bay at 8 [o’clock] and things and I would never have allowed that. I don’t like it now but ... (laughs). Like this morning, my daughter walks to her friend’s place. In South Africa we would never have let her do that. (Even in daytime?) No, never. Because I would always take her to school.

People often used to joke ‘Oh no burglar proofing on the windows or the doors. No security doors and that sort of thing. How are you going to cope?’ We just slipped into it, because it is like ... the way you live here is the way you should live. The way we were living was not right. No.

Oh, completely, absolutely. As I said, I’ve grown as a person and feel a lot safer here to walk on my own late at night and just the whole change in my life it has been good, yeah.
They [hopes and dreams] have all been achieved. I feel safe and I feel safe for my children.

b) A BETTER LIFE FOR THEIR CHILDREN

The majority of participants believed New Zealand provided their children with a good education and quality of life, something which was lacking in South Africa.

Yeah, no, she [daughter] has settled amazingly. She has got better friends now than she has ever had. And I think it is because the people are so lovely and relaxed and the schooling is really ... the teachers are such professionals. It is amazing the attitude and the ... but relaxed and lovely, so she has just fitted right in. And she loves the freedom. She loves the responsibility. She is a really lovely person. She has really blossomed under this kind of ...

(Yes, well, I would guess that she is partly why you came over?) My wildest dreams have been completely exceeded.

My children are so happy and they are just blossoming and they are because my son has just finished his second year ... and my daughter is in Waikato, and she has completed her first year of [degree].

People complain about how difficult life is here but kids can play outside in the street. Life has been better than they could have expected in New Zealand. The average life expectancy in South Africa is now 43 years, so what would that mean for the boys?

c) LIFESTYLE

Most participants were satisfied with their New Zealand lifestyle and spoke of realising their pre-migration dreams.

Really, it is like I pinch myself every day. And when I drive home and I see [physical landmark in Auckland], it ohh ... I can't believe I live here. It is amazing ... I mean I work, I work hard and all that, but I feel like I am on holiday permanently, because I check out of work each day, and I go to a place that is like a holiday resort, to the beach ... It's ... just 'Oh...' So it has far, far exceeded ... We have been so blessed.
I think they’ve been realised, in that, we’ve achieved what we wanted for [daughter] and in that we’ve also achieved stuff for ourselves and I think we are actually very happy and settled here, so. I think you never stop dreaming of other stuff etcetera but … you know that story, they say the grass is never greener on the other side? Well I do think the grass was greener on this side when we came and it stayed green.

I think so. You know we have had quite a range of experiences and I am really enjoying it, eh. We are doing quite well and fairly comfortable and we’ve got a good range of friends you know.

For others, fulfilling their dreams and expectations is a work in progress.

But there is progress. Yeah. We are still working towards what our whole dream was for coming to New Zealand, because we set ourselves little things … And this is how we see ourselves … because we are getting ourselves there, but it is taking us a bit of time.

LEVELS OF SATISFACTION

Respondents were also asked several other questions which, together, provide some insight into the way they felt about their lives in New Zealand. For example, they were asked whether they felt accepted in New Zealand and, if they did, how long it took them to feel this way. The vast majority of participants (93.8%) felt accepted here and nearly half (43.8%) of these interviewees said that they felt this way within a month of arriving. The remainder took an average of just over 15 months to feel accepted. South African immigrants in our study felt more accepted in New Zealand compared with our Chinese and Korean participants. Just over half (55%) of Chinese immigrants and 75 percent of Korean immigrants felt accepted in New Zealand.

Participants were also asked how satisfied they were with their current life. An encouraging 96.9 percent of respondents (100% of Hamilton-based immigrants and 94.1% of Auckland-based immigrants) said that they were either satisfied or very satisfied with their current life. Furthermore, not one participant reported feeling dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with life. Participants in the LisNZ were also asked about their levels of satisfaction with life in New Zealand at Waves One and Two (six months and 18 months post-arrival respectively) and their responses are very similar. The percentage of South African immigrants who were either satisfied or very satisfied at both Waves was around 96 percent.
In both LisNZ Waves, men were slightly more satisfied than women. While men’s satisfaction levels remained about the same (an average of 99%) between Waves, the percentage of women who were either satisfied or very satisfied dropped by three percent (going from 95.6% at Wave One to 92.6% at Wave Two). Similarly, while the number of South African men who were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied was too small to report for confidentiality reasons at both Waves of the LisNZ, the number of women who felt ambivalent was five percent at Wave One and 6.7 percent at Wave Two. However, the number of South African immigrants who were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with their current life in New Zealand was too small to report for both genders.

Once again, these results paint a mostly positive picture of South African immigrants in New Zealand, especially when they are compared with the responses from Asian participants in our previous reports. Around three-quarters of Korean and Indian immigrants said that they were either satisfied or very satisfied with their current life, a figure considerably lower than immigrants from South Africa. However, just 30 percent of Chinese felt the same way, with 55 percent neither satisfied nor dissatisfied and 15 percent dissatisfied or very dissatisfied.

When asked what, if anything, they would change, the responses fell into the following categories: financial security; being closer to family; New Zealand’s political, business and social environment; and work-related changes. We consider these in turn.

\textit{a) Financial Security}

Although the South African immigrants in general earned higher salaries than our Asian participants, many would like to be more financially secure in New Zealand. A small number of interviewees mentioned the high cost of immigrating. Others wished they could own their own home, or to be mortgage-free again. A significant number mentioned they would love to win lotto.

\textit{Bank balance. I think so. If you have money you can do things. Because one of our ideas about coming over is that we can do a tour to see the different places and we can’t do that. It’s frustrating.}
I mean everybody would love to win the Lotto but that’s not going to happen. I would like to be, but I don’t regard it as a short term solution, I would like to be financially more comfortable than I am and I would like to ... work less and have a bit more time but again that is something that I see myself as doing in a few years time but not at the moment.

(laughs) The money aspect. I think it’s very tough. It does contribute to one’s quality of life and, you know, I do feel very bad that my children have had to take up study loans and to cope going to university, whereas in South Africa we would not have had to do that. Admittedly the university experience would have been different, would not have been nice, I’m sure. But yeah, I do feel quite dissatisfied about that.

Oh ... I’d love my own home. (Yeah? So that’s what you are working on?). Yeah, that’s what we are working on. I think that will be the final thing ... Yeah, the final thing to make us settled.

b) BEING CLOSER TO FAMILY

Many respondents said that they wished their family members could move to New Zealand so that they could be closer to them.

I am very happy. I would just change to have my Mum here. Just to have the family.

My mother here in New Zealand.

Would love to have my family here as well.

Oh, if I could bring my family over. That’s something that would be the only thing I’d change. Yeah, it’s mainly my mother and sister.

c) NEW ZEALAND

There were also references to the kinds of changes interviewees would like to see in New Zealand, from better infrastructure to less bureaucracy and business red tape.
I find sometimes some of the legislation here is very restrictive on business and there’s a lot of time spent doing paperwork that doesn’t actually produce any more income or benefit to the business, but you do all the stuff because it’s a requirement. The compliance cost basically is quite high ... Like the equipment we use, we had to have all the special equipment ... on the waste water lines and all other sort of things that doesn’t actually produce any more income and actually just becomes a cost on the business. I think a lot of that stuff ... could be more streamlined.

I would say with my experience, not only from the angle of a new immigrant, I think for New Zealand’s future, if it can get rid of some of the bureaucracy and red tape.

One thing that really bugs me is the roads in New Zealand. I think that, you know the government should just get in and get toll roads and get the infrastructure in. The same with rails, get the rails sorted out, get roads, rail, railway stations, airports ... I actually worked on Auckland airport for four years while I was up in Auckland and it’s a world class facility you know, get the same attitude into toll roads and fast movement of people, you know, by train and by car to actually streamline the whole situation (...) It’s just I find it a constant imposition here the attitude is ‘oh well, we’ll just fix it’, you know. The Kiwi attitude is if it ain’t broke don’t fix it. You know, number 8 wire, I don’t buy into that. Look ahead and actually plan ahead, don’t just mend it.

d) Work

Other participants desired work-related changes, such as career development or to spend less time at work and obtain a better work-life balance.

Oh I would love to be in a management job in an insurance company.

More going out. More leave and ... more time. Time is a very important commodity for me at this stage.

I wouldn’t mind working less, fewer hours. It’s quite tough work. That’s what I would change.
I am doing what I have to do to make ends meet. I am happy with the people that we are meeting, lovely people, but I am dissatisfied with the lack of time that I am able to spend with the children... *(That balance in your life...)* Yeah, there is no balance. It’s like this. *(Indicates with her hands to suggest a great distance, a lack of balance.)* *(Laughs.)* *(If there was one thing you could change about your life... You know magic wand stuff, what would it be?)* Being able to have my afternoons to spend with my children. To be a Mum.

Other wishes included: to migrate to New Zealand earlier in life; to enjoy better weather; to be able to afford a few more luxuries (such as domestic help or a new car). Several participants said they would not change anything.

*(So if there was one thing one change, is there anything you change about your life?)*

Here? Oh, just let the place open and let’s have all this loveliness for everyone. *(Enjoy it?)*

Yeah, enjoy it like we do. We really enjoy it.

In a question which sheds further light on the participants’ overall perceptions of their immigration experiences, interviewees were asked about the three most positive and the three most negative things to have come out of their shift from South Africa to New Zealand.

**Positive Migration Outcomes**

Respondents described a wide array of positive consequences of their migration to New Zealand. The most frequently mentioned outcomes were centred on lifestyle, safety, children and family, and employment. Many participants spoke positively about the New Zealand way of life – from the ease of doing business and buying a house, to the less ‘materialistic’ culture and emphasis on family. People felt more relaxed and less burdened, not only by the stresses of everyday life, but by more overarching concerns such as healthcare, employment and crime. Participants also talked about their new-found sense of freedom, stability and personal safety, something which was missing from their lives in South Africa. For participants with families, most were pleased they were able to provide their children with better education and job opportunities and a freer childhood. Several interviewees also mentioned that they had better career prospects in New Zealand compared with prospects in South Africa.
Freedom I think. Freedom to do everything really, to ride a motorcycle, to let my windows open, to unlock my doors. In South Africa we don’t have that, there’s no security, well, and you have to have burglar guards and barbwire fences and electric fences and so on. Ease of owning property, ‘cause it’s more difficult in South Africa. You’ve gotta pay stamp duty and you’ve gotta pay capital gains tax. Here in New Zealand you don’t have to do either of those. It’s relatively easy to own property. And the stability I think. Stability of economy, of people, and there being no wars, no coups, you know, like Fiji, in my country there’s always unrest, there’s always something going, people getting murdered. So it’s safety and security.

Well, I mean there’s no, much less crime and violent crime and murder. A more egalitarian society and ... I think I appreciate the Kiwis for their sort of non-judgemental attitude. They tend to accept people at face value. And you know, just about everything is ‘good on you mate’, which is, you know, quite a friendly way of talking.

I am living my life and by that I mean, me and [daughter], and my family. And for me, for the very first time forever. Do you know what I mean? Because it is so easy to live here, because there is so much infrastructure and things work so well, and you can find an equilibrium ... You know, I don’t feel like I am fighting for my life all the time. And I feel like we can build something here, instead of like just trying to survive.

To realise that we are family. It takes a lot of family support from each other. **(Oh, OK. So you feel that it’s brought you into a closer family relationship with each other?)** Yes, and to realise that material things aren’t that important. You got to leave a lot behind. Like you can’t really bring a lot of stuff. You are here and you realise that we don’t have two cars because we don’t need two cars. We only need one. We don’t have a house. We are renting one. That material stuff that seems so important ... but all of a sudden you are here and you realise it is more important to go and visit your family back home ... spend time in the park. Spend time together.

Our children are very happy. They have got friends and are settled ... there is more positives for them than for us. So there is that satisfaction of knowing that they are happy. For children it’s absolutely marvellous for the freedom of walking to see friends and socialising.
I have a much better outlook professionally ... one of the big drivers for me moving was that I felt the professional situation was deteriorating in South Africa. And yeah, you can run your business far more independently. I think the sort of business prospects work better and the other thing I found here, I found the school system to be quite acceptable and affordable. My kids were at sort of a semi-private school, so that was quite acceptable and affordable ... I feel that the chance for me to educate my children is much more attainable here. In South Africa it was a much bigger worry ... just generally, the lower personal stress level in terms of personal safety and so on. The freedom that you have yourself, but also the kids, they can go and do things that in South Africa, you’d just restrict them and they’d be very limited in things that you let them do, especially younger kids. You’ve got a lot more personal freedom to move around and things and they’re really safe. It changes a little bit, but not dramatically. It’s still a safe environment compared to what we were used to.

NEGATIVE MIGRATION OUTCOMES

Many people struggled to come up with three negative consequences of migration. Not surprisingly, however, the majority of responses centred on missing friends and family in South Africa. New Zealand's lower wages, expensive housing costs and higher living costs was also cited as a negative, along with the stress, expense and upheaval involved in relocating and adjusting to a new country.

It took me about a year to realise that the people that I thought were friends in South Africa are not. Because I was out of sight, out of mind. And that’s probably the most ... for both my husband and I actually, that is probably the most dramatic thing.

Just that we weren’t prepared for how expensive it is. Living costs ... for your day-to-day living costs it is not that expensive. Accommodation and housing and childcare are. (Anything else?) It is just being away from family and friends.

Financial loss, which has been huge. Capital loss as well as every day, loss of, you know, not loss of income but lesser income. I hate the distance of New Zealand. The expense of travelling home is just huge. So just that sheer expense, the isolation geographically is terrible I think.
Money issues, step backward in work, immigration guys weren’t negative enough about New Zealand … For me the biggest thing is they think that people that immigrate come with money … Go do this $200 for this and go do that. And for me, it just very, very expensive.

I think, you know, the estrangement or the ripping away from family. From your parents, so you always carry a guilt factor that you’ve left them behind, especially when they get sick, face crisis.

Isolation I have to mention and the initial settling period was very tough. My wife wanted to go back - that actually caused a marital conflict. But she stuck it through and we’re in a much better place now. And just the attitude of my kids growing up, it’s very different from how we were back home, just around respect. And I don’t know if that is partly us as well, expecting it, too much.

Oh leaving the family behind that is one of the hardest things. If I could wave a magic wand I would like to have them here. I think the hardest thing coming here as well is just the change. People don’t like to change. They like things to be the same every day. And as much as it is an adventure … as nice as New Zealand is and how beautiful it is, for some reason I miss the nature that is there. Not that you want to go back, but you grew up there.
WHERE TO NOW?

We asked participants a number of questions about their future plans: what work they thought they would be doing in three years; where they would be living in three years; and whether they think their children (if they had any) would be living in New Zealand over the next ten years. Employers’ most common response to the question about work plans during the next three years was that they would continue to run their own businesses, some in their current form but a number planned further development, expansion or a shift into other areas. Several said they were not sure what the future would hold. For employees, the most frequent response to this question was also that they would continue in their current positions although several were hoping to get promoted or change jobs altogether.

*I will still be in my [ ] practice I hope (laughs). Nah, I don't see a career change.*

That’s a really good question as well. I have had the thoughts here of actually doing something different from [profession]. So I thought of becoming a policeman, I thought of becoming a pilot, a helicopter pilot actually to be more specific, I was thinking fixed wing at one stage, but there are several things, those two jump out for me and also café owner (...) I’m also looking, from my business to have more leverage so I can do those things as well as be a [profession].

Still paying off debt ... the lease we have got here is for three years ... either owning and operating a second [ ] shop, or franchising, or retiring ... (Laughs) ... and doing something else.

*If things go well in this industry and they don’t do redundancies, I will still be here because you know what, the older you get, the more hard it is to start a new job. I know what I do and I know it so well and no-one trains me. I can train them, and I enjoy it, so hopefully I will still be here.*

*I will probably be where I am now. I would probably stay where I am, obviously if something would came along that I would 'yep', move on. But actively I wouldn't go seeking at the moment because my daughter's got two more years at school and as I said, it works all with her.*
Almost all the participants planned to be living in Auckland, Hamilton or elsewhere in New Zealand in three years’ time. Only a few were contemplating a shift to Australia or thinking about travelling overseas. None of the participants talked about returning to South Africa to live.

*I am never going to leave Auckland. Never! I love Auckland. I will live here the rest of my life. It is beautiful. There is just so much to do. It is just gorgeous.*

*I don’t know because I wouldn’t mind spreading my wings a bit but I haven’t seen enough of New Zealand. But I am very happy in Auckland.*

*We don’t want to change now. We have houses in Christchurch but I don’t know if we will go back because I just love the North Shore. I love the sun here and it’s not so cold ... it’s very cold there in Christchurch.*

With respect to interviewees’ opinions about their children’s plans, most said that their children were likely to remain in New Zealand although a number of participants mentioned that their children might travel or live overseas.

*I could never send my kids anywhere else. (Laughs) No, neither of them.*

*I am not ruling out that they will be working across the Tasman, Australia definitely and I am pretty sure that if the economy allows it, my son will investigate his OE options. But I don’t regard it as long term. I sort of have the feeling that they will sort of come back to us here.*

*I think they will travel but I don’t think they will live elsewhere.*

*Gosh, I hope so [children live in New Zealand], but I think there’s a good possibility that one or two of them will work in Australia.*

Lastly, we asked respondents about growing old and retiring. All employers, and all of the employees who answered this question, said that they imagined themselves retiring in New Zealand.

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45 The acronym OE is an Australasian colloquialism referring to the Overseas Experience.

46 There were two missing responses to this question.
CONCLUSION

South Africans are now a well-established migrant group in New Zealand, numbering 41,676 at the last census. Many have chosen to live and work in Auckland, while others have settled in New Zealand’s smaller cities, such as Hamilton. This report provides an insight into the experiences of recent South Africa-born immigrants living in these two centres. In particular, it focuses on the employment trajectories of South African employers and employees, and their experiences of living and working in a new country.

Evidence from this research suggests that South African immigrants fare relatively well in New Zealand, particularly compared with immigrants from China, Korea and India. In general, their English language abilities, education and work skills, enable them to obtain jobs quickly and find work commensurate with their skills, experience and qualifications. This was particularly true for the South African immigrants in Hamilton (concentrated primarily in the health sector) who generally experienced better employment and economic outcomes compared with the South African immigrants in Auckland.

Despite their relative prosperity, many participants spoke about the significant expense involved in relocating to another country, as well as the higher cost of living and lower wages in New Zealand. For some, these economic barriers had prevented them from buying a house or being mortgage-free, goals which had already been reached in South Africa. Along with the financial cost of immigrating were the ‘human’ costs. Participants spoke of the sadness of leaving family, especially older parents, behind, of losing day-to-day contact with close friends, and of how the distance and cost of air travel prevents frequent visits ‘home’. As with any migration process, it also takes time to adjust to new ways of living and working, including coming to grips with New Zealand’s social norms, accent and colloquialisms, and local ways of doing business.

It was personal safety, rather than financial security, which was the driving force behind participants’ migration to New Zealand, however. Participants shared with us some harrowing stories of violence and crime in their homeland, and of the emotional toll this took on themselves and those close to them. For many, these experiences served as a catalyst for their decision to leave South Africa, and outweighed the more negative aspects of migration. Considerable emphasis was placed on the welfare of families, and participants spoke of a strong
desire to provide their children with a good quality education, improved employment prospects and a better way of life.

Overall, life in New Zealand has lived up to – and often exceeded – these expectations. Our participants told us they felt safer and more relaxed in New Zealand, and enjoyed the laid-back, family-focused and outdoor lifestyle. Many had a new-found sense of freedom and stability. They were overwhelming satisfied with their jobs and most were working in their preferred careers or industries. Most importantly, they were providing their children with the opportunities they felt were lacking in South Africa.

As with all immigrants, South African newcomers show a level of resilience and commitment that is to be admired. Leaving family, friends, well-established careers and financial security behind is never an easy decision. Our participants have shown that, with hard work and determination, new, productive and successful lives can be forged. As South African immigrants settle in Auckland and Hamilton, they generate social, cultural and economic opportunities for themselves. In doing so, they also create opportunities for New Zealand's social, cultural and economic growth.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


