BAMBOO NETWORKS:
CHINESE EMPLOYERS AND
EMPLOYEES IN AUCKLAND

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摘要

二十一世纪以来，进入新西兰的中国大陆新移民呈不断增加的趋势。人口普查的资料显示，在2001至2006年期间来自中国大陆的移民人数增长了一倍，达53,694人。目前，来自中国大陆的新移民在奥克兰华人中所占的比例已超过百分之五十五。他们中的许多人采取自我雇佣的方式在经营商业。华人拥有和经营的各类商业机构在奥克兰的广泛地区均有蓬勃发展，但在某些特定的区域也有相对集中的现象例如Northcote商业中心，Meadowlands商业中心，Dominion Road商业街，以及在奥市中心商业区。

本研究拟通过对选自旅店住宿，餐饮和零售业中的二十位新雇主和二十位现雇员的研究，来增加我们对中国大陆的新移民在融入本地经济方面的了解。2006年人口普查的资料显示：在奥克兰的就业领域中，中国大陆出生的新移民比较集中在上述行业。为数众多的受访者在成为新西兰永久居民前曾持有学生和/或工作签证。

研究结果发现受访者选择生活在新西兰的原因通常是这里可以提供较佳的生活方式如纯净、绿色的自然环境和给子女提供一个更好前途的可能性。当请受访者回顾其移民的感受时，他们认为：

关于生活方式，大多数受访者认为，虽然移民后生活方式有所改善但现实生活和他们移民前的期望还存在着一定的差距。

众多的受访者对新西兰纯净、绿色的自然环境给予了充分的认可。

在给子女一个更好的前途方面，有些受访者对新西兰的教育系统表示失望，但绝大多数的受访者认为这方面的希望在移民后已经变成了现实，且对他们的子女所取得的成就溢于言表。

受访者描述他们在移民前的日常生活中大都拥有相对规律的工作时间和丰富多彩的社交活动。但移民后，艰辛的工作；超时工作；以及很少的社交活动却成了他们日常生活的共同特征。

几乎所有的受访者都计划在三年后仍会继续在奥克兰生活。

百分之六十五的雇员和百分之五十五的雇主预期他们会在新西兰退休或养老。

该研究显示：虽然在受访雇主和受访雇员之间有着诸多共同点，但同时也存在着某些差异。

新西兰的行业统计是基于澳洲和新西兰行业分类标准（ANZSIC）2006版（新西兰统计，2010）。旅店业和餐饮服务业包括为旅客提供住宿的商业机构，例如宾馆，旅店；也包括咖啡店，餐馆和外卖食品店。因为在本研究中的受访者均来自餐饮业而没有涉及旅店业，所以我们在本报告中引用为餐饮业。
雇主

所有受访雇主的商店均选自餐饮和零售业，这些商店分别创建于2002年至2009年期间且平均拥有五个雇员。百分之二十的受访商店拥有一至三位付工资的家庭成员为其工作，百分之四十五的商店有一位为其工作的家庭成员但不领周薪或年薪。受访雇主述说他们在自己商店里的工作时间通常为每周三十到一百个小时，平均工作六十五个小时。上述数据显示出大部分受访雇主在自己的商店中工作的时间相当长。

雇主们表示他们创建自己生意的初衷除了想做自己的老板之外也想为他们的新国家做出应有的贡献。百分之三十的雇主在创业之前曾在新西兰打过工，百分之八十的雇主在创业之前曾参加过某种类型的培训。本研究也在如何为新移民提供帮助的方面进行了探讨，结果发现受访雇主在创业初期得到的帮助绝大部分是来自他们在新西兰的朋友和家人。

受访雇主普遍反映在创业初期所面临的困难是：英语交流；雇佣合适的员工；结识相关的人士；获取财政支持；以及在新西兰的商业环境中经营。只有一位受访雇主参加了当地的商业组织。在请受访雇主向有意在新西兰创业的新移民提出建议时，他们大多提出：首先要学好英文；最好要选择适合自己专长的生意；一定要选择合适的经营地点；必须做好充分的准备和努力工作。

本研究还探讨了受访雇主所信赖的商业交往和人际关系。所有的受访雇主至少雇用有一位华人员工，国语是他们与员工进行交流的主要语言（百分之九十五）。雇用双语（国英）员工是雇主们克服自身英文障碍的策略之一。所有的受访雇主都拥有至少一位华人供应商，大多数雇主兼有华人和当地不同族裔的供应商。有百分之九十的受访雇主表示他们生意的主要客源为华人，另百分之八十五的受访雇主表示他们拥有一定数量的当地顾客，也有众多的受访雇主表示他们的顾客群是来自多个不同的民族。
雇员

百分之七十五的受访雇员在取得居留权之前曾在新西兰接受过不同程度的教育。我们特别关注到，受访雇员的第一份工作几乎全都是在食品行业，仅有百分之五的受访雇员是受聘于专业领域。百分之三十的受访雇员仍然在从事来新西兰以后的第一份工作，这部分受访雇员往往是得到朋友的帮助才找到了第一份工作，或是将他们介绍给雇主，或是提供了相关的信息。其余的受访雇员表示他们找到现在的工作是通过如下方式：询问家人和朋友；回应互联网上的广告；或回应报纸和杂志的招聘广告。

所有受访雇员目前都在食品和零售业工作。其中百分之十五的人是担任经理职务；百分之二十五的人主管协调或客户服务；百分之二十的人从事销售；百分之十的人从事体力劳动。受访雇员平均从事目前工作的时间为十八个月。其中，百分之七十五的人是全职，百分之二十是兼职，还有百分之五是临时工。他们每周的工作时间平均为三十三个小时。百分之六十的受访雇员受雇于华人老板；百分之八十的受访雇员的同事是华人。百分之八十的雇员来到新西兰之后曾接受过某些方面的培训。

在新西兰找工作中最常见的困难是：没有当地的工作经验；缺乏流利的英语；找不到适合的工作机会；雇主的态度和不认识在相应行业中的人士。当受访雇员为新移民提供建议时，他们都指出新移民要拓展个人的人际交往和提高英文的沟通技巧。

对于目前所从事的工作，百分之六十五的受访雇员表示他们无所谓满意或不满意，有百分之二十的人表示满意。表示非常满意，不满意或非常不满意的人各占百分之五。百分之六十五的受访雇员表示目前的工作和他们所学的专业无关；百分之四十五受访雇员说在目前的工作岗位上无法发挥他们的技能和经验。有百分之三十的受访雇员正在寻找新的工作，其中有一半表示会在当地找工作，另一半则有意去海外寻求发展。只有两位受访雇员表示他们参加了与工作有关的小组，俱乐部或团体。
BLOCK C SHOPPER'S PARKING ONLY
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since the turn of the century, New Zealand has experienced increased immigration from the People’s Republic of China. Between the 2001 and 2006 censuses, the number of migrants from China doubled to 53,694; they now comprise just over 55 percent of the ethnic Chinese population of Auckland. Many of these migrants are self-employed in the business sector and Chinese-owned and operated businesses are flourishing Auckland-wide. There appears to be some residential concentration of these newer Chinese migrants in certain suburbs and equally, a concentration of business activities in areas such as Northcote, Meadowlands, Dominion Road and parts of the central city.

This research sought to increase our understanding of the economic integration of migrants from the People’s Republic of China\(^2\) by examining the experiences of 20 recent employers and 20 employees selected from the accommodation and food\(^3\) and retail industries. According to the 2006 census, migrants born in China are concentrated in these sectors of Auckland’s labour market. Many participants had previously held student and/or work permits before transitioning to permanent residence in New Zealand.

The findings from the research suggest that many of the participants chose to live in New Zealand because of the lifestyle the country offers: a clean, green environment and the possibility of a better future for their children. Asked to reflect on their migration experiences, these migrants suggested that

- With respect to lifestyle, the majority reported that although there had been some improvements, gaps remained between their expectations and the reality of their lives post-migration.
- For many, there was a positive appreciation of New Zealand’s clean, green environment.
- In terms of a better future for their children, while several expressed disappointment with the schooling system, the majority felt that their hopes had been fulfilled in this area and described with pride their children’s achievements.

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\(^2\) People’s Republic of China, China and PRC are used interchangeably in this report.

\(^3\) Industry statistics in New Zealand are compiled using the Australian and New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification (ANZSIC) 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 cafes, restaurants and takeaway food services. Because all the participants in this category were involved in ‘food’ rather than ‘accommodation’ activities, we refer to ‘food’ industries in this report.
• Pre-migration, participants describe daily lives characterised by regular work hours and full social lives. Post-migration, hard work, long hours and quiet social lives are the common themes of interviewees’ daily routines.
• Almost all planned to be living in Auckland in three years’ time.
• Sixty-five percent of employees and 55 percent of employers reported that they saw themselves growing old or retiring in New Zealand.

While both employers and employees held many views in common, the research also revealed some differences between these two groups.

EMPLOYERS

All businesses were in the food or retail industries, had been established between 2002 and 2009 and had an average of five employees. Twenty percent of businesses had between one and three paid employees who were family members and 45 percent had a family member working without wages or salary. The employers reported working between 30 and 100 hours per week in their businesses which, while producing an average work week of 65 hours, suggests that some are working very long hours in their businesses.

Employers reported starting their businesses out of a desire to be their own bosses and to make a meaningful contribution to their new country. Thirty percent of employers had worked as employees in New Zealand prior to starting their own businesses and 80 percent had undertaken some form of training before they started their businesses. The research explored aspects of assistance to new migrants, with the most commonly reported source of assistance during the start-up phase of participants’ businesses being New Zealand-based friends and family.

Commonly reported problems experienced by employers during this time were: speaking English; employing staff; knowing the right person; obtaining finance; and operating within the New Zealand business environment. Only one participant had joined a local business association. Asked to offer advice to other new migrants starting businesses in New Zealand, participants said: learn to speak English; choose a business appropriate to skills and expertise; choose the right location; prepare adequately; and work hard.

The research also explored the networks and relationships that employers depended on. All participants employed at least one Chinese employee and Mandarin was reported as the main
language used to communicate with employees (95 percent). The hiring of bilingual (Mandarin-English) speakers is one of the strategies participants use to manage their own difficulties with English. All employers had at least one Chinese supplier but many had both Chinese and Kiwi\textsuperscript{4} suppliers. Although 90 percent of participants’ businesses had Chinese customers, 85 percent had ‘Kiwi’ customers and many described clients from a range of different ethnic groups.

**EMPLOYEES**

Seventy-five percent of employees were students in New Zealand prior to becoming permanent residents. This must be kept in mind when considering that interviewees’ first jobs were mostly within the food industry and only five percent of participants were employed as professionals. Thirty percent of interviewees were still employed in this first job and those participants who received assistance to find this first job said that they were helped by friends who introduced them to their employer or provided them with the information they needed to obtain the job. Other participants used a range of strategies to find their current jobs: asked family and friends; responded to an online advertisement; or answered an advertisement in a newspaper or magazine.

Employees’ current jobs are all in the food or retail industries where 15 percent work as managers, 25 percent as community or personal service workers, 20 percent as sales workers and 10 percent as labourers. Interviewees had been in their current jobs for an average of 18 months; 75 percent worked full-time, 20 percent part-time and five percent casual. They worked an average of 33 hours per week. Sixty percent of employees were employed by other Chinese and 80 percent worked with Chinese colleagues. Eighty percent of employees had participated in some form of training since they arrived in New Zealand.

The most common difficulties experienced when finding work in New Zealand were: lack of local experience; difficulty speaking English; no suitable job opportunities; employer attitudes; and not knowing people in the industry. When asked what strategies they would recommend to new migrants, interviewees suggested developing personal networks and improving skills in English.

\textsuperscript{4}The term ‘Kiwi’ is generally used by participants to refer to Pakeha New Zealanders. However, its meaning can also vary according to the context within which it is used and may refer to anyone who is a New Zealander, whatever their ethnicity.
Sixty-five percent of employees said that they were ‘neither happy nor unhappy’ with their current job, 20 percent were ‘happy’ and five percent were ‘very happy’, ‘unhappy’ or ‘very unhappy’. Sixty-five percent of employees said that their current job does not make use of their qualifications and 45 percent stated that it does not make use of their skills and experience. Thirty percent were looking for another job, half in New Zealand and half overseas. Only two participants had joined a group, club or organisation related to their work.
In the late nineteenth century, Chinese migrants became the largest non-European immigrant group in New Zealand. They numbered 5000 residents at the high point although many were sojourners; they came to work in New Zealand for a period before returning to their homes in China. After 2000, Chinese migrants again dominated arrivals, now second only to those arriving as permanent arrivals from the United Kingdom. There are, however, some key differences between early Chinese migrants and those arriving in the first years of the 21st century. Contemporary Chinese migrants are part of an overall policy focus on economic migrants, those who would contribute to New Zealand’s economic development and performance. They come as families, sometimes as part of the migration of an extended family involving two or more generations or siblings and their families. And they are no longer subjected to the same level of discrimination as those arriving from China through the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Chinese immigrants after 1987 firstly arrived from Hong Kong and Taiwan but, since 2000, the majority of Chinese arrivals have come from China. They are largely Mandarin speaking, unlike the nineteenth century migrants who were Cantonese-speakers, and they come from a range of origins in China, rather than predominantly from Guangdong as the earlier migrants did.

This report examines the experiences of these recent migrants as they settle in Auckland, the destination for most of them. It is part of a project which is looking at the settlement experiences of the key migrant groups post-1986/87 – those from Britain, India, Korea and South Africa, as well as those from China. The aim is to look at the strategies that these migrants employ, their settlement outcomes, both in terms of labour market engagement and business establishment, but also in relation to social and cultural outcomes, and what can be learnt from these experiences. This first report on the Chinese will be followed by others which will look at the four other migrant groups. But for now, it is the experiences of Chinese employers and employees which will be discussed here.

As the material which follows will demonstrate, Chinese migrants are an important part of Auckland’s ethnic and economic landscape at the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century. They are the largest non-British migrant group and they represent a significant proportion of those migrants who arrive with English as second (or third, or fourth) language. Their settlement challenges are significant, as they have to adjust to a very different language and business environment, as they gain an understanding of New Zealand’s cultural and social norms and as they begin to establish their own networks here. It is the latter which we have
referred to in the title of this report. It was used by a respondent to indicate the networks of Chinese immigrants and it symbolises an aspect of Chinese migration that, while not new to New Zealand – Chinese migrants have been coming to New Zealand for more than 140 years – is gaining in importance. In an Auckland environment, the Chinese community is now a sizeable one, numbering about 100,000. They have had an impact on residential patterns (ethno-burbs), on business activity (ethnic precincts), on education and on the cultural landscapes of the city. Understanding how they succeed or fail in the process of settlement is intrinsic to Auckland’s success or failure. We hope this report provides some insight into the things that help or hinder the pathway to successful settlement and we want to acknowledge those that have been prepared to share their stories with us.
People of Chinese ethnicity have lived in the Auckland region since the late nineteenth century, drifting northwards after working as itinerant labourers in the goldfields of central Otago, Southland and the West Coast (Ho & Bedford, 2006). This first wave of Chinese immigrants were mostly males and came overwhelmingly from the poverty-stricken province of Guangdong in southern China and spoke variations of the Cantonese dialect (Ip, 2003). Restrictive legislation dating from the 1880s, and especially the Immigration Restrictions Act 1920, separated many of them from their families in mainland China. When this act was formally abolished in 1944, wives and children were allowed to reunite with their husbands and fathers in New Zealand.

In Auckland, Chinese migrants settled in the inner city and worked as laundrymen and women, market-gardeners and fruit and vegetable shop owners (Ho & Bedford, 2006). Although Auckland has never had a Chinatown like those in Sydney, Vancouver or Los Angeles (Ho & Bedford, 2006), the cluster of homes, laundries, fruit and vegetable shops, eateries and churches that developed around Greys Avenue served as a focal point for the Chinese community during the first half of the twentieth century (Ip, 2003). Among these businesses was Wah Lee's, which opened its doors in the early 1900s selling Chinese food ingredients, offering banking and postal services, and providing a space for exchanging news and gossip from China. After the buildings in this area were demolished in the 1950s and 1960s, Wah Lee's shifted to Hobson Street where it is still operating today (Ng, 2005).

The second major wave of Chinese migration occurred after the historic policy shift of 1986/87 (Bedford & Ho, 2008) when country of origin preferences were abandoned in favour of criteria based on personal merit (Ip, 2003). In contrast to earlier Chinese settlers, the new immigrants came from a range of source countries, including the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and Malaysia and were well-educated, skilled individuals with considerable business experience and/or investment capital (Ho & Bedford, 2006). Many of these new arrivals settled in the Auckland region; of the 147,570 people identifying as Chinese in the 2006 census, 97,425 (66%) live in Auckland.

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It is important to acknowledge that the Chinese community is very diverse. The descendants of these early immigrants live and work alongside those who have arrived in the last two decades. There are important differences in terms of their place of origin, political inclinations, religion and language or dialect. The use of the label ‘Chinese’ and the way that official statistics are collected means that these distinctions are not always clear. As Richard Bedford and Elsie Ho (Bedford & Ho, 2008) point out in their review of the changing demography of New Zealand’s Asian population, it is important not to confuse birthplace with ethnicity. Aucklanders who identified as Chinese in the 2006 census were born in several different countries, including New Zealand. Table 1 shows the numbers of ethnic Chinese resident in the Auckland area at the last five censuses, according to their place of birth. The most common birthplace at the 2006 census was the People’s Republic of China (53,694), a figure which has more than doubled since the previous census in 2001. In the 1986 census, which took place before the major immigration policy changes of that year, Chinese born in the People’s Republic constituted just 15.8 percent of the total Chinese population of Auckland. At the latest census, they comprised just over 55 percent. The experiences of this group are the focus of this report.

Table 1 Auckland’s Resident Chinese Population by Birthplace, 1986-2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>Hong Kong</th>
<th>Taiwan</th>
<th>Malaysia</th>
<th>NZ</th>
<th>Others*</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,668</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>5,250</td>
<td>2,433</td>
<td>10,548</td>
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<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,110</td>
<td>2,850</td>
<td>2,838</td>
<td>3,681</td>
<td>6,306</td>
<td>3,891</td>
<td>23,676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td></td>
<td>12,054</td>
<td>8,868</td>
<td>7,965</td>
<td>4,596</td>
<td>10,293</td>
<td>5,928</td>
<td>49,704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td></td>
<td>26,547</td>
<td>8,406</td>
<td>8,562</td>
<td>4,953</td>
<td>13,203</td>
<td>6,459</td>
<td>68,130</td>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td></td>
<td>53,694</td>
<td>5,280</td>
<td>7,323</td>
<td>6,003</td>
<td>17,682</td>
<td>7,443</td>
<td>97,425</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: This category includes all those born in countries other than those listed in the table

The following maps illustrate the distribution of China-born migrants across the Auckland area based on 2006 census data. Figure 1 shows the percentage of a particular Census Area Unit (CAU) born in the People’s Republic of China while Figure 2 indicates the actual headcount. The flows illustrated here encompass temporary residents (those on a student visa) through to permanent residents, from those who seek lower cost accommodation in the central city or in suburbs such as Northcote, through to the higher cost housing in established suburbs (Epsom).

6 Auckland includes the four existing Local Territorial Authorities: North Shore City, Auckland City, Manukau City and Waitakere City.
7 Census Area Units are small geographical areas which together make up territorial authorities. They usually contain 3000-5000 people.
and new housing developments in Albany or Howick. The student component can be seen in the significant numbers in the Auckland central area (2,454 PRC Chinese), although not all are students. There has also been investment in the central city property market (Friesen, 2008) which has increased residential options for students in inner city apartment dwellings.

The next largest group, a total of 4368 in six CAUs, can be found in an area extending from Three Kings through Hillsborough and Avondale to Lynnmall. The housing through this area is a mix of state houses, bungalows built in the early part of the twentieth century and multi-residential units of various descriptions interspersed with newer inbuilt housing that is often more expensive. This concentration of Chinese is evident at the weekly Avondale market and reflected in the specialist fruit and vegetable products on sale, the sellers and the customers (McAllister, 2008).

PRC Chinese are also concentrated in parts of Howick and Pakuranga; they constitute the largest Chinese group living in Point View but they are also to be found in the belt that extends from Point View through to Bucklands Beach. Here, their presence can be seen in ethnic precincts such as Meadowlands and in the other large weekly market in Otara. On the North Shore, China-born migrants can be found around the Northcote shopping centre and in Forrest Hill. These newer PRC Chinese are more likely to purchase housing in less affluent areas, providing a direct contrast to the earlier Taiwanese and Hong Kong Chinese migrants who were more likely to have bought in new, relatively expensive housing developments in Albany and Chelsea.
Figure 1  Distribution of PRC-born Chinese in Auckland as a percentage of the Total Population
Figure 2  Distribution of the China-born Population in Auckland by Number
METHODOLOGY

The broad aim of the employer and employee surveys is to better understand the experiences of Auckland-based migrant 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, India, South Africa and the Republic of Korea. In order to achieve this objective, we developed employer and employee-specific interview schedules which sought information about migrants’ transitions into their new lives in New Zealand. This information was gathered through in-depth, face-to-face interviews with participants that lasted between one and one and a half hours. 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 migrants 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.

The interviews were undertaken with 20 employers and 20 employees from the People’s Republic of China. 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 any one of Auckland’s four main cities, Manukau, North Shore, Auckland or Waitakere; born in the People’s Republic of China; and granted permanent residence in New Zealand from 2003 (employers),

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8 As well as British and South African participants based in Hamilton.
9 Available on request from HC.L.Meares@massey.ac.nz.
2000 (employees) or later. Further criteria for employers were that they were GST registered; had at least one employee (paid or unpaid, full or part-time); and that their businesses were located in one of two industries: retail or accommodation and food services. Employees were also from these industries and were employed on a full-time, part-time or casual basis. The accommodation and food and retail industries were selected because immigrants born in China are concentrated in these sections of Auckland's labour market (NZ Census 2006). Although we also disaggregated the industry groups by gender, for the China-born, retail and food services are the top industry sectors for both women and men.

Table 2 Top Five Industry Sectors of Employed China-Born Migrants Living in Auckland 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation and Food Services</td>
<td>20.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail Trade</td>
<td>15.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>9.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration and Support Services</td>
<td>7.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale Trade</td>
<td>5.89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of different approaches were used to recruit participants. Email flyers in both English and Mandarin were sent to key people in business and migrant organisations and also distributed through the personal networks of the research team. Hard copies of the same flyers were placed in churches and community centres and sent to individual businesses and professional organisations. Notices about the project were posted in a range of electronic mailing lists, such as the Aotearoa Ethnic Network. Researchers went in person to speak to employers and employees in several Chinese ethnic precincts, including Dominion Road and Meadowlands. The recruitment of employers was also promoted as part of a broader search for participants for an Asia: New Zealand Foundation report on Chinese businesses in Auckland (Spoonley & Meares, 2009). This promotion involved a Massey University press release that was picked up by the New Zealand Herald and followed up with an interview on the World TV.
network for the lead researcher for the IIP, Paul Spoonley.\textsuperscript{13} The data from 18 of the employer interviews was subsequently also used as part of the Asia New Zealand project.

Although each of these methods contributed in a small way to raising the profile of the research, the key factor in recruiting participants was the involvement of members of the new migrant Chinese community themselves in the recruitment and research process. The involvement of these interviewers was invaluable in assisting the research team to successfully navigate a number of challenges that arose during the recruitment of interviewees. Recent Chinese migrants expressed concern, for example, about the possible misuse of their personal and business information. The fact that interviewers were members of the Chinese community helped to alleviate these anxieties and establish a degree of trust about the safety and security of their interview material. The prospect of audio-recording also caused participants unease and where the interviewee felt this to be a barrier to participation, interviewers dispensed with recording and spent considerable time making detailed notes, which they later translated into English. The interviewers also proposed that, in recognition of their time and expertise, each participant be offered a supermarket voucher which, while not considered as payment by interviewees, acknowledged their contribution to the research project. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, the interviewers’ facility with Mandarin was pivotal in recruiting participants; all interviewees chose to be interviewed in this language.

The recruitment and interviewing processes were new experiences for the researchers who worked with us on the project. There is some variability, as a consequence, in the depth of the qualitative data acquired from those interviews undertaken at the beginning of the process and those which took place later. Over time, the researchers developed greater skill in facilitating more in-depth responses to qualitative questions. Participants were asked for their feedback on the survey questions and the overall interview process. Although one interviewee felt that he had not had sufficient time to share all of his experiences as an employer in Auckland, most participants reported feeling happy about their interviews. They enjoyed the process of talking about their migration experiences with an empathetic interviewer and also placed a high value on the fact that their contributions would increase awareness of the issues faced by new migrants and therefore improve the circumstances of those yet to arrive in New Zealand. The following response is typical.\textsuperscript{14}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13} Satellite digital service on the SKY network offering programmes in a number of Asian languages.
\item \textsuperscript{14} As mentioned in this section, interviews were not audio-recorded. This excerpt and others in this report are from notes made by the researchers during the interview.
\end{itemize}
He asked the purpose of the research again and reflected that this survey was well designed. He commented that the outcome of this research would be useful for new migrants. He stated with emotion that it would have been great to have this information when he arrived in NZ.15

Interview notes and transcripts were translated into English for analysis, which was undertaken using SPSS16 and NVivo.17 The researchers involved with the project continued to play a key role in the development of the report, providing ongoing feedback on the analysis and interpretation of data. Although the sample is not representative of all recent migrants from the People’s Republic of China, the information gathered in these interviews nonetheless provides valuable insights into the transition experiences of employers and employees from this migrant group. Moreover, the reliability of the data has been increased by recruiting participants who are employed or run businesses in the two industries in which the majority of recent Chinese migrants work in Auckland. In the report, we further contextualise our interview data by referring, where appropriate, to results for those of Chinese nationality from Waves One and Two of the Longitudinal Immigration Survey: New Zealand (LiNZ). 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).

15 Participant quotes appear in italics throughout the report.
16 SPSS is a computer program used for statistical analysis.
17 NVivo is a computer program used for qualitative data analysis.
CHINESE EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES    华人雇主和雇员

KEY CHARACTERISTICS    特点

The employer and employee groups are similar with respect to age, sex and length of residence in New Zealand. Employees range in age from 25-54 and have an average age of 37, while employers range from 24-57 and have a mean age of 42. Forty percent of employees and 45 percent of employers are women. Employees had been in New Zealand for an average of 6.2 years since they were granted permanent residence and employers for an average of six. Participants may have been in New Zealand for significantly longer than this, however. As discussed later in this section, interviewees may have studied or worked here temporarily before applying for permanent residence. Employers and employees work either in the retail industry or in food. For both groups, the majority of participants work in food-related industries; 80 percent in the case of employees and 87.5 percent in the case of employers.

Employers and employees differed with respect to the categories in which they were granted permanent residence; 70 percent of employees as skilled principal or secondary applicants while the figure for employers was 40 percent. Although both groups shared a similar number of family sponsored migrants (25% for employees and 30% for employers), there was also a difference in those granted permanent residence in the business category (5% for employees and 30% for employers). In addition, the groups differ with respect to their highest qualifications on entering New Zealand (40% of employees had Bachelor's degrees or higher while only 20% of employers had a similar level of qualifications).

Large proportions of employers (75%) and employees (60%) were already in New Zealand prior to obtaining permanent residence. Of those who were, relatively few from both groups entered as tourists (16.7% of employees and 13.3% of employers). Significant proportions had held other temporary visas such as a student visa (75% of employees and 40% of employers) and/or a work permit (41.7% of employees and 33.3% of employers) prior to being granted permanent residence. These figures illustrate, on a small scale, the increasing tendency in New Zealand, and in other OECD nations, of increasing proportions of migrants working or studying in the destination country before becoming permanent residents (Department of Labour, 2009a, 2009b). Results from the Longitudinal Immigration Survey: New Zealand (LisNZ) also suggest that migrants who had lived and worked in New Zealand previously have higher rates of labour force participation than those who had not been here before, or those who had been here before
but had **not** been employed. Being employed previously makes the biggest difference for Chinese women, with a labour force participation rate of 77.8 percent six months post-arrival compared to 28.2 percent for Chinese women who had not been to New Zealand before.
### Table 3a  Key Characteristics of Participant Employers and Employees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employers (%)</th>
<th>Employees (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td>45</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Retail</strong></td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accommodation and Food</strong></td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Skilled Principal</strong></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Skilled Secondary</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Business</strong></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family Sponsored</strong></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Entered New Zealand on other temporary visa before obtaining permanent residence</strong></td>
<td>75</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tourist</strong></td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Student</strong></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Work</strong></td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>41.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Business</strong></td>
<td>33.3[sup]18]</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bachelor’s degree or higher</strong></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Never married</strong></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Married</strong></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>De Facto</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Divorced/Separated</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Widowed</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Buddhist</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Christian</strong></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No religion</strong></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other religion</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chinese</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘Kiwi’ Chinese hybrid</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18 These figures do not add up to 100 percent as participants may have held more than one visa prior to obtaining permanent residence.
Employers and employees were also similar with respect to marital status, religion and ethnicity. Twenty percent of employers and 30 percent of employees had never been married, probably reflecting the fact that employees were generally younger. Seventy percent of employers and 60 percent of employees were married, with only one participant from each group either divorced/separated or widowed. The majority of Chinese participants, both employers (60%) and employees (55%), had no religion. Ten percent of each group reported that they were Buddhist while 20 percent of employers and 35 percent of employees stated that they were Christian. Ten percent of employers had religious views which were not included as responses in the survey.\textsuperscript{19} All respondents claimed Chinese ethnicity, although one participant employee identified as a Chinese Kiwi.

\section*{Language 语言}

There is a minimum standard of English required for most migrants entering New Zealand through skilled or business 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). There were differences in English language facility between employers and employees. We asked participants whether they could read a newspaper in English (75% of employees and 45% of employers reported being able to do this); write a letter in English (70% of employees and 35% of employers) and hold a conversation about everyday things in English (80% of employees and 60% of employers). All participants reported that the language they spoke best and the language they spoke at home was either Mandarin or another Chinese language.

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'. Twenty percent of

\textsuperscript{19} Responses included the following options: Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Judaism, Muslim, Sikh, Parsee, no religion, other.
employees rated their spoken English at a level of either four or five, while 35 percent of employers rated their spoken English at these lower levels. With respect to understanding English and using the same scale, fifteen percent of employees considered their understanding of English to be at levels four or five but 40 percent of employers reported their understanding of English at these levels. The results for reading English are similar, with only 20 percent of employees rating their ability to read English at level four or five, while 45 percent of employers rated their ability to read English at these lower levels. Results from the LisNZ survey are similar; 45 percent of Chinese women and 46.5 percent of Chinese men in Wave One rated their overall English language ability as moderate or poor, a level which decreased only slightly for both groups by Wave Two.

HOME COUNTRY EMPLOYMENT

Participants were asked about the last job they had before they migrated to New Zealand. Employers and employees differed in the following respects: more employers (30%) than employees (5%) ran their own businesses in China; and more employees (35%) than employers (15%) were students in the period immediately prior to their migration. Similar numbers of employers (45%) and employees (40%), however, managed other workers, either in their own businesses or as employees. For employees, the number of staff for whom they were responsible ranged from 1 to 40 while for employers the range was 3 to 600. Employers worked an average of 51 hours per week in their previous job while employees worked 42 hours.

An examination of occupational data from the LisNZ provides some context to the experiences of our research participants. Overall, the survey results paint a picture of downward occupational mobility over the course of Waves One and Two. Looking at the home country occupations of Chinese participants, 40 percent of men and 19.2 percent of women were managers, while 20 percent of men and 42.3 percent of women were professionals. At Wave One of the survey, after participants had been in New Zealand for 6 months, the proportion of Chinese men who were managers had almost halved to 22.5 percent, as had the percentage of Chinese women professionals. At the other end of the occupational spectrum, the proportion of Chinese women and men who were labourers rose from rates that were too small to be released because of confidentiality concerns to 12.7 percent for men and 9 percent for women. At Wave Two, 18 months post-arrival, the percentages of Chinese men who were managers or professionals had dropped slightly from the previous wave. Interestingly, the proportion of Chinese women managers increased slightly between Waves One and Two but there was a decrease in women professionals from 21.6 percent to 14.7 percent. The percentage of male and
female labourers increased between Waves One and Two, by 1.8 percent and 0.3 percent respectively.

**ASSETS AND INCOME**

We asked participants a number of questions about their assets and income, both in New Zealand and overseas. There were differences between employers and employees with respect to assets, with employers generally better off in this area. More employers (45%) than employees (20%) own their own homes in New Zealand. Similarly, a greater proportion of employers have assets other than their own home in New Zealand (30%) and overseas (35%) than do employees, only fifteen percent of whom have assets other than personal housing here in New Zealand or overseas.

With respect to income, however, the differences between employers and employees are less clear-cut. When asked how well their total income met their everyday needs, for example, similar proportions of both groups (15% of employers and 10% of employees) answered either ‘poorly’ or ‘very poorly’. However, when participants were asked how their current financial position compared to their pre-migration status, 50 percent of employers but only 25 percent of employees said that they were ‘much worse off’. Similarly, 35 percent of employers but only 10 percent of employees said that they regularly used their savings, or interest from savings, to meet their everyday needs for things like housing, food, clothing and other necessities. Employees were also asked to indicate their personal income bracket, with options ranging from $1-5000 through to 100,000+. Twenty percent of employees chose not to answer this question; of the remaining respondents, 94 percent earned $40,000 or less.

The introduction of Kiwisaver, which came into operation in July 2007, is the likely explanation for the fact that 30 percent of employers and 55 percent of employees belong to a superannuation scheme. More employees (45%) than employers (25%) had received income support in the twelve months prior to participating in the research. The types of support and the proportion of each group receiving particular allowances also differed. Sixty percent of employers but all employees in receipt of assistance were claiming the accommodation supplement. Twenty percent of employers but only 11 percent of employees were receiving ‘working for families’ payments, possibly due to the fact that employers tended to be older and with higher rates of family formation than employees. More employers (40%) than employees (11%) were in receipt of student allowances, despite the fact that employees were generally younger and a greater proportion of them had been students in New Zealand prior to obtaining
permanent residence. This may be due to the fact that employers were generally less qualified than employees and found it necessary to up-skill themselves since arrival.

The information presented so far in the report has been drawn from the closed questions in the interview schedule. The following sections discuss the findings from the more detailed open questions where the 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. Their most common responses were lifestyle, a clean, green environment and a better future for their children, which were also the most frequent reasons given by migrants in Wave One of the Longitudinal Immigration Survey (Department of Labour, 2009b). In addition to these themes, participants also talked about the importance of a safe environment, a new start and educational and employment opportunities for themselves.

a) **LIFESTYLE**

The ‘New Zealand lifestyle’ referred to by many participants incorporates a number of key ideas: overall living conditions; a smaller population; a simpler, more relaxed pace of life; and the implications of the latter for improving the quality of family relationships. The quotes below illustrate the range of sentiments expressed.

*Since I came to New Zealand, I find that the living conditions here are better than in China. And also the population here is less than in China. So that I felt that I could enjoy living here.*

*I hoped that I might get a better lifestyle. In China, I was too busy with my business.*

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20 Migrants who move for lifestyle reasons are being increasingly defined in the academic literature as ‘lifestyle migrants’ (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009).
My lifestyle is much simpler than in China. Apart from watching TV programmes I have no other entertainment at all. I miss the excitement in my life in China but I also have got used to the simple life now.

The lifestyle in New Zealand is easy and relaxed. I quite like this kind of lifestyle.

I have got more time with my family, my wife and my children. I gained more intimacy with my family.

b) A CLEAN, GREEN ENVIRONMENT 纯净绿色的自然环境

References to New Zealand’s ‘clean, green environment’ included comments about the beauty of the natural environment; the lack of pollution; the fresh air and the weather; and the benefits of these qualities for migrants’ health and wellbeing. The quotes below are typical of migrants’ hopes and dreams in this area.

I hoped for a safer and less polluted environment.

I enjoy the beautiful natural environment, nice sunshine and fresh air in New Zealand.

New Zealand is a beautiful country and I am living in a better environment.

The natural environment in New Zealand is very nice and good for my health.

c) A BETTER FUTURE FOR THEIR CHILDREN 子女更好的前途

Improving their children’s educational and employment opportunities were key motivations for many migrants, as exemplified in the quotes below.

My main purpose in coming to New Zealand was for my children.

I didn’t have much hope for myself because of my religious beliefs. My only hope is for my son. I wish he could get a better education and I wish he wouldn’t seek connections or compare himself with the children of the rich in China.
I also hoped for improved educational opportunities for my son. He came to New Zealand to study at high school. The fee for an overseas student was too high, so we decided to immigrate to New Zealand.

Interestingly, several participants also mentioned that once their children’s education was complete, they saw greater employment opportunities for them back in China.

My kids have very good academic records but I would like them to go back to China to better develop their careers. My elder son currently works in Shanghai city.

d) A SAFE ENVIRONMENT 安全的社会

When asked about their migration hopes and dreams, many participants said that they felt safe in New Zealand.

I believe we have got a safer living environment. I enjoy the neighbourhood.

However, several respondents mentioned that although this was something they had hoped for before they migrated, they had not felt safe here.

I came here for a safer environment but I doubt whether New Zealand is a safe country to live and I wonder if I should have come here. Some local boys broke into my house one evening. My flatmate and I were home while the house was being burgled. That is terrible for me to think about even now. We lost a lot of money, [a]21 computer, my driver's license and my bankcards.

I am quite concerned about the safety in New Zealand. Sometimes I lack confidence in the law and police in New Zealand. Living in Auckland is not as safe as I expected.

Others felt that New Zealand law did not adequately punish those found guilty of crime.

I can’t understand the way New Zealand law deals with criminal persons ... I think the law is too soft [on them].

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21 Words in square brackets are not verbatim translations of participants’ statements but have been added by the authors.
Another common theme in participants’ migration hopes and dreams was the idea of a ‘new start’. This included a sense of being true to themselves; of not having to compete with or compare themselves to others; and being able to live and make choices freely. The quotes below exemplify these sentiments.

I feel I can live my own life in New Zealand. I don’t need to flatter any one … and I can live true as myself.

My current life is very relaxed. I don’t need to compare myself to anyone else.

There is less competition here and people cooperate more with each other.

I enjoy the freedom in New Zealand. I have more choices and I can decide what I want to do.

In addition to their hopes for improving their children’s educational and employment prospects, participants also wanted to improve their own levels of education and work through their migration to New Zealand. This was more marked amongst employees, who tended to be younger and less advanced in their careers. The quotes below are examples of these aspirations.

The main hope at that time was to improve my educational opportunities, as it is very difficult to get into university in China.

I just wanted to get an overseas university degree and then go back to China to find a good job.
DISCRIMINATION  厮视

Employers and employees expressed very similar opinions about the levels of discrimination faced by migrants in a number of different circumstances: at work, in the media, in organisations and on the street.

*Discrimination against new migrants still exists in New Zealand. I think that a few people’s behaviour has damaged the good name of New Zealand because most of the people here are friendly.*

Seventy percent of both employers and employees believed that immigrants face some or a lot of discrimination at work.

*Local people are prioritised when it comes to seeking jobs.*

*When I worked in a distribution company, I felt that I was discriminated against by [other migrants] and Kiwi colleagues because I was a new migrant. Most of them were [migrants] and a few Kiwis as well. They thought my English was not as good as theirs. Some of the Chinese staff were dismissed by the boss because their English was not very good.*

Just over half of the participants, both employers and employees, thought that migrants are discriminated against in the media. However, it is important to note that Chinese migrants have access to a range of Chinese language media. Those who have difficulty reading a newspaper or understanding English may in fact have little exposure to mainstream newspapers, television or radio. Nevertheless, discussion amongst Chinese migrants about their shared perceptions/experiences of the mainstream media might provide the sense that there is discrimination.

Employers (60%) and employees (65%) thought that migrants experience no discrimination in organisations such as banks and government departments. Sixty-five percent of employers and 80 percent of employees believed that migrants experienced either some or a lot of discrimination on the street. When asked if they had personally experienced discrimination because of their migrant status, 30 percent of employers and 55 percent of employees said ‘yes’. These quotes exemplify these personal experiences, which often took place on the street and also frequently involved younger people.
One day I was walking on the street and some Kiwi kids passing by in a car did a very rude gesture to me when their car passed by.

Most of the local people are kind and friendly toward new migrants. One time a few young guys said nasty words to me from a bus window.

One day I went shopping. Two young guys said nasty words to me in the shop. I felt very uncomfortable.

RELATIONSHIPS, HOME LIFE AND LEISURE 人际关系，家庭生活和休闲

Although the Integration of Immigrants Programme focuses largely on the labour market experiences of migrant 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 人际关系

Thirty-five percent of employers and employees had family living in New Zealand before they arrived. These family members included parents, siblings, spouses, children and in-laws. Half of the employees and 45 percent of employers arrived in New Zealand on their own, while the remaining participants migrated with their spouses and/or children. In the years following migration, 20 percent of employees and 35 percent of employers had assisted other family members to migrate to New Zealand: in-laws, children, parents, spouses and siblings. Only five percent of employees but 20 percent of employers had assisted those other than family to come to New Zealand. These included friends, girlfriends and the children of more distant family members. The majority came to study.

I helped a student come to New Zealand to study. His father and my father are colleagues. I provided the student with relevant information about overseas students in New Zealand.
Interviewees were asked what friendships and relationships were important to them in New Zealand. They spoke about their immediate and extended family such as siblings, parents and children but also about friends, workmates, former and current classmates and fellow church members. Although most mentioned how much they valued their circle of friends, several participants said that they had few or no friends in New Zealand. The quotes below are examples of the range of responses.

I have made a few friends in Auckland from my classmates. I have also got some workmates in New Zealand. They are very important to me but I hardly have time to see them. I haven’t got a girl friend.

I have made some friends and they are important to me. We get together often. Our families are not here so we have to keep very close relationships.

Umm, for us, many long-term customers have become our friends. In New Zealand, we don’t have many friends. Not like in China, you have many old classmates. Many of my classmates from New Zealand have gone back to China.

I really need my friends to help me, for example for reading English letters and providing transport because I can’t drive and don’t speak English very well.

I have some very good friends from Church and I contact them very often. I know about the Chinese community centre but their activity time clashed with my working hours so I couldn’t attend. Most of my friends are from Church including Chinese and Kiwis.

I have almost no friends in Auckland.

When they were asked what friendships and relationships were important to them overseas, the majority of participants talked about their parents and other family members such as siblings (and much more rarely, spouses) who were still living in China. In terms of friendships, many respondents mentioned old colleagues or classmates with whom they kept in regular contact but others discussed losing touch with these friends and having less in common with them than before.

My parents and other family member still live in China. They are important to me.
My old friends still live in China. They are quite important to me as well. Sometimes I call them and chat with them on the phone.

My old classmates and I barely keep in contact because the topics of conversation with them are so different now. Most of my classmates have got a stable job, so they are getting married and having kids. We are in very different situations now.

We were interested in the ways in which interviewees kept in touch with friends and family, both here in New Zealand and overseas. The majority of employers and employees said they maintained their New Zealand relationships face-to-face or on the phone. Twenty percent of employees communicated via skype® and/or email, while these figures were slightly lower for employers (10% and 15% respectively). Looking at respondents’ overseas relationships, all employees and employers reported using the phone; 35 percent of employees and 44 percent of employers used skype; and 45 percent of both groups used email.

**HOME LIFE** 家庭生活

We asked interviewees to tell us about their daily lives, firstly in China and then in New Zealand. For women and men, employers and employees, the common themes that emerge from descriptions of their days in China are: regular work hours, frequently with meals and/or transport provided by employers; and full social lives with friends, family and colleagues, both within and outside the home. Participants’ daily routines in New Zealand, however, tend to be characterised by: hard work and often long hours; and a dearth of social life and entertainment which some interviewees describe as a ‘simple’ or ‘peaceful’ life and others identify as a source of loneliness and isolation.

Meili²³ was a teacher in China and now works as an employee in the accommodation and food industry. Her day is typical.

_In China, I got up at 8:00 a.m. I had breakfast at 8:30 a.m. at home then my working day started at 9:00 a.m. Normally I had two hours teaching in the morning and had two or three hours teaching in the afternoon. My working hours were not fixed, so I didn’t feel stressed and it was an easy job for me. I had time to chat with my colleagues and talk with_

²² Skype is a software application that allows videoconferencing over the internet.
²³ All names used are pseudonyms.
my friends by phone during working hours. I finished work at 6:00 p.m. After work, I often had dinner out. In the evening, I spent a lot of time socialising with my friends. I usually went to bed at 11:00 p.m., but at the weekend I might go to bed even later.

Now, I normally get up at 7:30 a.m. and make breakfast for myself at home. I start working at 9:00 a.m. Very often I work alone in the shop in the morning. Although there are not many customers I need to do a lot of things. For example, display goods, tidy up the shop or prepare food, so I am quite busy in the morning. I finish work at 1:00 p.m. in the [ ] shop, then I need to go to the city for my second job before 3:00 p.m. My second job is teaching. The first class is from 3:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. and my second class is from 6:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. After work, I go home at 8:00 p.m. and have dinner at 9:00 p.m. Usually I go to bed between 10:00 p.m. and 10:30 p.m. I work and work all day. I have no entertainment in my life only hard work. I am exhausted. Anyway, I think my life in New Zealand is too busy and my workdays here are very different from the days in China.

Chen was the manager of a production company in China and now runs his own food business in Auckland. The length of his working day in New Zealand is common amongst the employers in the study, particularly those in the food industry.

Well, in China, my lifestyle was less stressful than it is in New Zealand. I didn’t do manual work and work was only part of my life. Usually, I got up at 7.00 a.m. Because I was a manager my working hours were flexible. I was involved in many different types of activities within my working hours and in my spare time. My wife worked as an Associate Professor. Her working hours were very flexible so she had more time than me to look after housework and my son. I did very little housework.

My life in New Zealand is much more stressful than in China. I have to do both manual work and management work in my business. I do everything. I have no personal life at all, only work. Normally I get up at 8:00 a.m. I go shopping for the day for my shop. My shop opens from 10:00 a.m. till 9:30 p.m. After the shop closes I go back to my living room to rest. I have no entertainment time. My living room is on the top level of my shop.

LEISURE

Participants were asked what activities other than work they regularly made time for over the course of a week. Interviewees enjoyed a wide range of sporting activities including swimming
(most popular), walking, badminton, golf, fishing and bowling. They also liked to watch movies, either at home or at a cinema. Several spent time in educational activities such as developing their English and a number were involved in religious activities in churches or at the Buddhist Temple. Participants also assisted family or others as volunteers, caring for elderly family members or donating their time to the church. In line with earlier sections which noted the lack of time many participants had outside of their work, several noted that they had little time to spend on leisure.

*I like to go fishing and swimming about once every two weeks.*

*Yes, I like sport. I play badminton once or twice a week. Sometimes I play football or swim.*

*I am studying English now.*

*We often go to the cinema to watch movies.*

*I went to Fo Guang Shan Temple to worship and I join in religious activities every 1st and 15th of the month according to the Chinese calendar.*

*Yes, I take care of my friends. I looked after my friend’s daughter when she gave birth.*

*No. I hardly ever do. I have only been to the cinema to watch a movie once in the last 3 years.*
Chinese Employers 华人雇主

Between them, the employers in the study owned a total of 24 businesses: 14 partnerships, six sole proprietorships and four family businesses. All the businesses were in the food (21) or retail (3) industries, were established between 2002 and 2009 and had an average of 5 paid employees. Twenty percent of the enterprises had between one and three paid employees who were family members, including wives (75% of cases), husbands and sons. Forty-five percent had a family member working without wages or salary, including wives (44% of cases), husbands (20%), fathers and sons. Twenty-five percent of businesses had no paid employees. Employers worked between 30 and 100 hours per week in their businesses, an average of 65 hours. Just under half work 60 hours per week or more. Thirty percent of employers had worked as employees in New Zealand but none of these jobs had been arranged prior to their arrival.

Starting Out 创业

Participants gave a number of reasons for establishing businesses in New Zealand. The two most commonly mentioned were that respondents did not want to work for others and that they wished to make a meaningful contribution to New Zealand society. Other reasons included having experience in the relevant industry, having a history of business ownership and the need to take care of their families. The excerpts below illustrate their range of responses.

I don’t like to work for other people and wish to have my own business. My parents in China are running their own restaurant so I was exposed to this kind of business when I was young. I became familiar with such business. My parents also give me their advice.

I think that everyone who lives in New Zealand should work hard and earn money to support themselves. I do not feel comfortable if I have to depend on a social welfare benefit. I would also like to test my own ability to run a business in New Zealand again.

The main reason for opening this business was that I am familiar with the food industry and have management experience. I have studied a small business management course and I have managed a restaurant for a long time in China.

I like to work for myself. Even though this is a small business it meets my family’s needs. I didn’t have much money before I came to New Zealand so I have to find a way to support
my family. I didn’t like to apply for any social welfare benefit. My opinion is that to give is better than to receive. However, I will only run the business if it can make a profit.

Eighty percent of participants had undertaken some form of training before they started their businesses, the majority studying English and/or completing a Food Safety Certificate (a prerequisite for running a food business) or the Sale of Liquor Certificate. Forty percent completed training in the same areas after the opening of their businesses and 15 percent are currently doing English language courses. This commitment to further training can also be seen amongst Chinese employees (80% of whom had participated in training since they arrived in New Zealand, see p. 60) and in data from the LisNZ. Almost 15 percent of Chinese men and 11.7 percent of women completed post-school qualifications between Wave One of the survey, six months post-migration, and Wave Two which occurred 18 months after they arrived in New Zealand. This compares with 3.8 percent of the remaining male participants and 5.1 percent of female interviewees in the IIP interviews.

I got a certificate in food safety. This certificate is essential for running the restaurant. I have also got two licences for selling alcohol, one for the restaurant and the other for the person who serves the customers. I also gained a certificate for making coffee.

I studied English, then to be a travel agent and then a chef course for improving my employment capability and competence. I got a food safety certificate which is essential for opening a restaurant. I also got an alcohol license which can help me to get more customers.

Participants were generally very positive about the training they had undertaken. The following comments are typical.

To learn food safety is essential for operating a restaurant. I have learned a lot of new concepts and standards of food hygiene from this course. Learning English was important for me to live in New Zealand but it was not very necessary for this job because most of our customers are Chinese.

It was very helpful to learn English before I started my business. I also think learning food safety was very important for me to run my business. The course helped me to better understand New Zealand food safety policies.
Interviewees were shown a long list of organisations and individuals and asked which three were most helpful to them during their start-up phase. According to the interviewees, New Zealand-based friends and family were by far the most common source of assistance (94%) followed by overseas-based friends and family (28%), the Citizens’ Advice Bureau (CAB) (11%) and bank managers and accountants (6%).

My parents helped me a lot with finance, and with their experience and advice about how to manage a restaurant. This help was invaluable. CAB provided me with information on legal issues and some family issues. They were very helpful. If I ask lawyer I have to pay. CAB provides free services.

I received a lot of help from my parents.

My daughter was very helpful. She helped me to communicate with a lot of agencies in English.

My friends provided me with a lot of information about the business. We got a lot of information about business issues and family issues from CAB. The bank manager and accountant helped me to get a loan and to manage my account.

The very high levels of reliance on family and friends indicate the strong ethnic-based networks and their key role in contributing to settlement and business start-ups. It is not unusual for migrants to rely on networks of co-ethnics but this is reinforced by the importance of family, both immediate and extended.

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: speaking English (68%); employing staff (58%); knowing the right person (42%); obtaining finance (37%); and operating within the New Zealand business environment (37%). Unsurprisingly, given the results discussed in the previous section, the key strategy used by participants to resolve many of these problems was approaching friends and family for assistance.
Sixty-five percent of employers claimed that speaking English was either important or very important in their business. A possible explanation for this lower than expected proportion is that several employers operate businesses where the majority of their customers, suppliers and employees are Chinese and they have little immediate need to speak English. Nonetheless, the language barrier posed significant problems for many of the respondents. Participants used three main strategies to cope with their lack of English language ability: enlisting the assistance of English-speaking family members or friends; employing staff fluent in Mandarin and English; and using Chinese language media to obtain information.

I had a few difficulties with English but my wife speaks good English. So, my wife works more with outside people and I work more with internal staff.

I have a lot of problems communicating in English. I can’t understand some letters from government offices or other agencies so I often make mistakes. Luckily, most of my customers are Chinese and my daughter has helped me a lot to overcome these difficulties.

I have difficulty communicating in English. I can overcome this problem by employing workers who can speak good English.

The only thing I had difficulty with is the language barrier. I couldn’t get the same amount of information as others in New Zealand. I could only get information from the Chinese media but that resource was very limited.

Employers talked about the difficulties they experienced with recruiting and retaining staff. Some attributed this to the nature of the food industry itself while others believed visa problems or low wages were the cause of the problem. Overall, there appeared to be an acceptance of this as a long-term issue for the running of their businesses and they had several strategies for dealing with it: planning ahead and investing in training; recruiting staff through their social networks; and advertising in Chinese newspapers.
Every restaurant has this kind of problem. We look for people who are hard working and are willing to learn new skills. We are willing to provide training for them. They may leave us one day but we have no problem with that.

Yes, this is the most difficult challenge in running this business. I have a very high rate of staff turnover because they are not satisfied with their wages. I have to maintain a low price for my meals in order to attract customers so I can’t pay staff high wages. They might only stay for two or three months so I have to put a lot of time into finding and training new staff.

It is hard to find people who can work long term for me due to many different reasons. Some of them may have short-term work permits and some of them find other jobs. I have to keep looking for new staff.

c) Knowing the Right Person

Knowing the right person, participants explained, is a problem that is often connected to language difficulties. Even for employers with considerable experience in the same industry in their home country, this can be a big challenge. Most respondents resolved the issue by asking friends or family for help.

I had difficulties finding the right person to get the information I needed because of language barriers. I have only made a few new friends in Auckland.

I had difficulties finding the right person to get the information I needed. For example, I want to have an alcohol licence but I don’t know how to apply. I asked my friend to look up the information for me.

No, it is not difficult at all for me to run such a small business. I managed a big restaurant for a long time in China and I have got a lot of experience in doing business. For making contact with suppliers I have to depend on my son.
d) **Obtaining Finance**

Employers who had difficulty obtaining finance resolved the issue with the help of local bank managers and accountants, or by approaching friends and family in New Zealand or China.

*I had trouble getting enough money to start up my business, but the local banks helped me overcome this difficulty. They helped me get a secured personal loan from my own house. I think the services from local banks are better than the banks in China.*

*I got help from my family, my friends and my relatives in New Zealand and in China.*

e) **Operating in the New Zealand Business Environment**

在新西兰的商业环境中经营

The local business environment was also a challenge for some employers. Generally, this was connected to the small size of New Zealand’s population compared to China and also to the different expectations of Chinese and New Zealand consumers. Employers modified the ways in which they did business in order to accommodate the different requirements of their customers and to compete within the smaller local market.

*Yes, the population in New Zealand is rather small so the marketing is small as well. It is not like in China where you had no concerns about not having enough customers. Running a business in New Zealand you have to rely on regular customers. So you must keep your cooking standards stable and consistent. If the taste of a meal differs each time no one will come back. Particularly for our restaurant which is located in a rural-like area, we don’t have many drop-in customers. We must put in a lot of effort to maintain the standard of our meals.*

*The majority of our customers are Kiwis. The number is about 80 percent. We improved our restaurant environment and changed the flavour of our food. We have also added some French flavours of Vietnamese foods. Many Kiwis like the food in our restaurant. I am quite concerned that some Chinese customers wish to have a very low price for their meal from Chinese restaurants; however, the restaurant staff wish to receive the same wage as they do in Kiwi restaurants. How can the owner make both parties satisfied?*
Participants’ thoughtful responses to the following question provide an insight into their perceptions of the challenges migrant 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?

Their advice falls into five categories: learn to speak English; choose a business that is appropriate to your skills and expertise; choose the right location for your business; prepare adequately; and lastly, work hard. Below are several quotes which are typical of responses in these five areas.

*English is the official language in New Zealand so as a new immigrant we must study hard so we can communicate and develop our business.*

*Choose a suitable place for your business. Business in New Zealand is very much a local enterprise. You have to choose a location which is close to your target customers.*

*I think you must choose a business that suits you. You must have a lot of relevant background knowledge and experience.*

*You have to be very careful in your capital investment. You have to do very good research and consider your own capabilities ... you have to be patient and it will take time to find a business that suits you. It will be too hard to run a business that is not right for you.*

*I would like to warn anyone who wants to run a business in New Zealand that it is very hard for new migrants to integrate into the mainstream society. It is hard for a new migrant to integrate into the local Chinese community as well. New migrants also should be aware of and be ready to accept that running a business is very hard in New Zealand.*

These considered responses suggest a high level of awareness of the multiple challenges facing migrant business owners in New Zealand. They also give us some insight into the energy, experience, time and capital that migrants have invested in the success of their New Zealand enterprises.
We asked participants about the ethnicity, religion and languages spoken by and with their employees, suppliers and customers. Each question has a number of possible responses and the total figures, therefore, do not add up to 100 percent. For example, all the respondents in the study employed Chinese workers, five percent employed 'Kiwis' and 15 percent employed people of other ethnicities. However, this does not mean that all the staff employed by respondents were Chinese, only that each employed at least one Chinese employee. The following respondent’s description of the ethnicity of the staff in his three businesses provides a clear example of this:

There are three Chinese employees in [my retail business]. I have 16 staff in [my] café. They are all Kiwi but the manager is Chinese. I have 12 employees in [my other] shop. Half of them are Chinese and half are Kiwi.

Correspondingly, all the participants’ employees spoke Mandarin and 95 percent of interviewees said that the main language they use to communicate with their workers is Chinese. Forty-five percent of employees spoke English. The hiring of bilingual (Mandarin-English) speakers described earlier as one of strategies employers use for dealing with their own lack of English language ability can be seen in this data. The same employer who provided the previous quote explains the impact of his lack of English language ability on his choice of staff in this way:

My English is very bad so I must hire employees who speak good English. All the staff in my [ ] shop and half of the staff in [ ] shop are Kiwis but I have to hire a Chinese manager for each shop.

We also asked about employees’ religious affiliations but most participants said either that they did not know or that it was irrelevant. The five employers who did know said that their employees were Christian or Buddhist.
Turning now to the ethnicity of participants’ suppliers, all had at least one Chinese supplier and 55 percent had at least one ‘Kiwi’ provider. Although a few businesses dealt exclusively with Chinese suppliers, many had both, as did this employer:

*I have about seven or eight Chinese suppliers and one or two Kiwi suppliers.*

Similarly, all the participants had Chinese-speaking suppliers and 65 percent had suppliers who spoke English. As with the employment of Chinese workers, employers indicated that they chose Chinese suppliers for language reasons, as this participant explains:

*The reason for using Chinese suppliers is that it is easier for me to communicate with them. I don’t have many choices in supplier so I must keep a good relationship with them.*

Other reasons for choosing Chinese suppliers include price, a stable source of supply and the fact that the majority of participants are operating businesses which are selling Chinese food and require a range of specialist ingredients which are very often provided by Chinese suppliers.

*I think to get good price and good quality products from suppliers are the most important things for running my business. I find that I always get cheaper and more suitable products from Chinese suppliers, such as fruit and vegetables and condiments.*

*The price of materials is better from Chinese supplies than non-Chinese.*

**Customers 顾客**

Ninety percent of businesses had Chinese customers, 85 percent had ‘Kiwi’, 25 percent had Korean and Indian and 70 percent had customers of another ethnicity. Ninety percent of these businesses had customers who speak Chinese and the same proportion had customers who speak English. Several employers talked about the importance of speaking English in order to communicate with their customers.
The owner needs to speak good English. There are a lot of situations where the owner has to communicate with others in English. Most of my customers speak English.

Employers explained that this was important not only to converse with their 'Kiwi' customers but also to communicate with customers from other migrant communities.

I consider what flavour they would like and adjust my manual. For instance, Indians don’t like eating pork and others won’t eat meat at all. So I must make special food for them. Usually I don’t need to speak their language but I must be able to communicate with them in English very well.

Others commented on the impact of their customers’ ethnicity or religion on their business practices although most participants said that they did not know the religious affiliations of their customers.

I need to learn their habits and their favourite food. Regarding their religions, I don’t know how it affects my business. Yes, I suppose that it does matter. For instance, some Indians may not eat pork meat due to their religious beliefs. We have to take account of those situations. However, most of the time they will tell us when they order. Sometimes we have some customers who are vegetarians. They really need to be handled carefully. There is a lot of stuff they cannot eat, such as spring onion, garlic or any meat.

I think my customers’ ethnic and religious backgrounds have influenced my business. I have to consider their interests and needs. For instance, Chinese people like to eat less salty and less sweet food but local Kiwis like strong tasting food. Maori people like to have a big amount of food and Indians like hot spicy food. I need to cook a different style of food to meet my customers’ needs. Then they will become my regular customers.

OTHER CONTACTS 其他

We also asked participants about their business contacts and relationships, both in New Zealand and overseas. Only ten percent said that contacts from home were important to the running of their businesses here in New Zealand. The excerpts below offer explanations for this:
I need to learn any new dish in China so I can provide it to my customers here as soon as possible. The other reason is that some materials I can only get from China, so sometimes I need to import products.

My Chinese [ ] company must import [ ] from China then sell [these products] to other Chinese shops in New Zealand. If I lost the business contacts in China my business wouldn’t be able to continue running.

Interestingly, however, 50 percent of the respondents said that they travelled internationally to support their businesses, mostly to China (90%). Of these, 45 percent had travelled at least once over the previous 12 month period.

In contrast to the lack of importance afforded overseas contacts, 65 percent of employers said that their New Zealand contacts were essential to their businesses. Of these, 80 percent stated that these local contacts were members of their own ethnic communities.

My first restaurant in New Zealand was very successful. I have built a very strong business network through my first restaurant. It is very important for my current business because my name is well known locally. I have become a living business card and I am an advertisement once I stand in the front door of my restaurant.

Yes, my network in New Zealand is very important to me because whenever we meet we talk about the difficulties in our businesses and personal lives as well. We share all sorts of information and that is very helpful for me to deal with my problems.

Only one of the participants had joined a local business association.

The Restaurant Association is a mainstream organisation. The Restaurant Association provides us with a discounted banking fee when customers use their credit cards in our EFTPOS machine. We have also joined a website named DineOut. We paid money to join the website then they help us to promote our business and inform other customers of our restaurant.
Employees were asked a number of questions about their New Zealand labour market experience, in particular about their first and current jobs. Looking first at employees’ initial jobs, only ten percent had arranged this work pre-migration. Almost half had been granted permanent resident status before they started work, while the remaining participants took between one and four and a half years before they became permanent residents. Data from the LisNZ shows that 61.6 percent of Chinese men and 59.6 percent of Chinese women had been in New Zealand for more than two years before they received residence approval. This is quite different from other migrants in the survey, who tended to receive their permanent residence between 0 and 18 months post-arrival. With respect to industry, by far the greatest proportion (more than half) worked in the food sector. All respondents had found their first job within two months of their arrival in New Zealand, an indication of the booming economy pre-2008. Sixty percent said that they had had no job rejections while searching for this first job while remaining participants said that they had received between one and ten rejections.

In terms of occupation, participants worked predominantly as technicians and trade workers, community and personal service workers, sales workers or labourers. Only five percent were professionals. It is important to consider, however, that three-quarters of the employees were students in New Zealand prior to becoming permanent residents and that, as a consequence, their first jobs may well have been part-time service jobs taken to provide extra income while they were studying. It is also important to remember this when considering participants’ responses to the following questions. Interviewees were asked how much they agreed or disagreed with a number of statements about this first job. Eighty percent disagreed or strongly disagreed that their job was a good match for their qualifications while 70 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed that their job used their skills and experience. Just over half of the interviewees disagreed or strongly disagreed that their job measured up to their expectations and 40 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed that they were working in their preferred occupation. Similarly, 65 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed that there were opportunities for career development.

Sixty-five percent, however, agreed or strongly agreed that they were treated fairly in this first job and 40 percent agreed or strongly agreed that they were satisfied with their pay and their
job (45%). Just under half of the interviewees had received assistance in finding their first job. When asked about this help, most participants said that their friends had introduced them to their employer or provided them with the information they needed to obtain the job. Other connections were also useful, such as landlords or lecturers or fellow church-goers. Several respondents said that they had seen advertisements in Chinese language newspapers or on the internet, while only two interviewees described approaching a business directly and obtaining work as a result. Data from the LisNZ supports these findings: 36.5 percent of Chinese men and 39.7 percent of Chinese women in the LisNZ study said that they had obtained their first job through friends or relatives; 39.4 percent of men and 39.7 percent of women looked at job advertisements; while only 14.4 percent of women and men contacted an employer directly.

Amongst the IIP interviewees, 30 percent of participants were still employed in this first job. Those who were not were asked why they left. Although some participants expressed dissatisfaction with their wages and/or conditions in their first jobs, or mentioned that the work was seasonal or that they had health problems, by far the most common explanation for leaving these first jobs was related to the participants’ study. The following statements are typical.

I got my first job after arriving in New Zealand. The job started at 4:00 pm and finished at 4:00 am the next day. As my study got busier in the second year, I had no time to work so I left that job.

The reason I quit is because I was too busy in my university courses, and I didn’t have enough time.

Certainly, I didn’t do that job for a long time, because the payment and working environment were not very good for me. I was not satisfied with that job. The reason I did that job was because I was studying at university. I knew that the job was only temporary. Once I finished my course I planned to get a new job and the new job should be related to my training and qualifications.

CURRENT JOBS 现在的职业

We now turn our attention to interviewees’ current jobs. In terms of industry, as mentioned previously, 20 percent are in retail and 80 percent in food. With respect to occupation, 15
percent are managers, 25 percent are community or personal service workers,24 20 percent are sales workers and ten percent are labourers. Participants’ workplaces have between one and 100 employees and an average of 18 workers.25 Fifty-five percent of the workplaces employed seven employees or less. Interviewees had been in their current jobs for between one and five years and an average of 18 months. Three-quarters were full-time, 20 percent part-time and five percent casual. They worked an average of 33 hours per week; 25 percent worked 25 hours or less, while one in five worked more than 40 hours a week. One-fifth of participants managed other employees.

STRATEGIES 策略

Interviewees were asked about the strategies they used to find their current job. Forty-five percent said that they had asked close friends, family and other personal contacts; 40 percent reported responding to an online advertisement; while 25 percent answered a newspaper or magazine advertisement.26 When asked about the most successful strategy, 45 percent claimed family, close friends and personal contacts were most effective, 30 percent newspaper or magazine advertisements and 15 percent online advertisements. Respondents were also asked what three strategies they would recommend for new migrants looking for work in New Zealand. The two most common strategies recommended were to develop personal networks (reflecting the dominant theme of responses to earlier questions about strategies) and to improve English language skills.

A job seeker needs to make more friends in New Zealand to build up their personal network. There are a lot of job vacancies advertised within a company. If you know someone who works there you have a better chance of getting that job.

Good oral English is very important. Most of the time when you are working you need to use English to talk with other people.

I think the most important thing for getting a job is you must have sound communication skills in English.

24 Community and personal service workers in the food industry serve and sell food and beverages in bars, cafes and restaurants (Statistics New Zealand).
25 This figure is elevated by two workplaces which have 100 employees.
26 The responses do not add up to 100 percent because respondents were able to select a number of strategies from a list of possible alternatives.
Two other strategies were also recommended by a number of participants: firstly, that migrants needed to be patient, persistent and hard working; and secondly, that they should look for job vacancies in Chinese newspapers.

\[
\text{You have to prepare yourself to work hard and to face any tough situation.}
\]

\[
\text{You must be prepared to work hard. You need to do well with any type of work even if it is a small piece of work because you would like to receive a good reference letter from that job.}
\]

\[
\text{I think looking in Chinese newspapers is a good way to get a job. It is important for a job seeker to contact the business owners in person and to let them know you.}
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\[
\text{Looking for job advertisements in Chinese newspapers is a very useful way to get a job.}
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Other strategies mentioned included: undertaking local training and thereby obtaining easily recognised qualifications; taking on any job to become established; door-knocking; and using the internet. When participants were asked what strategies they would use if they were searching for another job, the internet assumed far greater importance. Eighty-five percent said that they would respond to an online advertisement, 60 percent to a print advertisement and 55 percent said that they would approach close friends or family.

**DIFFICULTIES**

Just over half of the respondents reported having difficulty finding work in New Zealand. The most common barriers identified were: lack of ‘Kiwi’ experience (82%); difficulty speaking English (82%); no suitable job opportunities (73%); employer attitudes (46%); and not knowing people in the industry (46%). A lack of local experience and difficulty speaking English were also the two most common difficulties identified by Chinese participants in both Wave One and Wave Two of the LisNZ survey.

The following excerpt illustrates many of these common problems.

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\text{When I came to New Zealand, I faced a lot of barriers getting a job. For example, many employers expected that I would speak English as well as other employees. However, they}
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forgot that I am Chinese and that English is my second language. Therefore, I have lost some employment opportunities. When I speak English with a strong accent many bosses are afraid that their customers may have difficulty understanding my English. It is understandable. So, good oral English is very important in finding a job. Another problem was over-qualification. Sometimes the boss thought my education level was too high, they didn't think I would work for them for a long time. I haven't made many friends in my professional field in New Zealand so it is hard for me to get job vacancy information at an early stage or from internal employment advertisements. That is an important way to get a job in New Zealand. Lack of local working experience also caused trouble for me to get a job in my professional field.

Although almost 46 percent of respondents identified employer attitudes as a source of difficulty in getting jobs in New Zealand, few chose to elaborate on this. One participant put it this way:

I think there are some good people and some bad people in the world and also in New Zealand. Some employers are very friendly in New Zealand but some employers are so bad. As a new migrant I don't speak English very well because English is not my parents' language. Sometimes I can't explain my idea clearly; sometimes I can't understand what the employer wanted to tell me.

**JOB SATISFACTION AND EVALUATION**

In line with the importance participants placed on the strength of personal networks in finding employment and developing New Zealand careers, just over half of the employees said that their personal contacts were one of the factors that helped them gain their current job. Sixty percent claimed that it was their work experience and 35 percent their English skills or post-arrival training. 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' is very unhappy, 65 percent chose a neutral 'three', 20 percent chose a more positive 'two' and five percent selected the most positive 'one' and the most negative 'four' and 'five'. The quotes below illustrate several of these perspectives.

My boss is a very kind person and the payment is good. Also the work hours are not fixed so I can change them to suit my life.
I think I have worked here for about six months and generally speaking I am satisfied with this job. The boss and workmates are very friendly to me. The location of this job is not very far from my home as well; the payment is good. Anyway I think this job is a good job for me.

I got my permanent residence status through this job. My boss is very friendly to me but I don’t think this job is very good for me. I am not satisfied with the payment and the environment. And I can only get limited experience from this job. Making and selling fast food is very tiring work and doesn’t require many skills as well. Usually people hardly work here for more than two years. If I could get a new job soon, I will make a change. However, if I can’t get a new job, I might have to work longer in this job.

Using a similar scale, where ‘one’ is very important and ‘five’ is very unimportant, half of the interviewees rated their current job at the negative end of the scale at ‘four’ or ‘five’ with respect to the interest or challenge of the work, and possible career development. Related to this, 65 percent of participants said that their current job does not make use of their qualifications while 45 percent stated that it does not make use of their skills and experience. Participants expanded on this in the following ways.

My current job doesn’t relate to my previous experience. I was a professional electrician in China but now I am a waitress in New Zealand.

This job doesn’t make good use of my skills and my experience. The only thing it has made use of is my English. Speaking good English is very important in my current job.

My banking experience and degree are totally irrelevant to the job I am doing.

Some participants, however, reported that their jobs were a good match for their qualifications, skills and experience.

I learned how to make western style cakes in China and gained a certificate in China. That training was useful for my current job.

I have learned how to manage staff. For example, I know how to arrange shift work and how to make certain foods. I learned that through my study at AUT.
Thirty percent of interviewees were looking for another job. Of these, half were looking in New Zealand and half overseas (in their country of origin or elsewhere). A quarter of those who were not looking for another job claimed that they intended to stay a further twelve months in their current position. Participants were asked what, if anything, they would change about their lives post-migration. The responses to this question were almost exclusively work-related. Employees wanted better jobs which they specified as being better paid and/or more closely related to their qualifications and expertise. They also commonly aspired to self-employment.

I hope to have my own business again. I wish to improve our financial situation so we can live in a bigger house and have a better lifestyle.

I would like to get a new job that makes good use of my qualifications. Then I want to earn more money and buy my own house.

I want to change to a better job and get a better salary. I wish to have my own house and my own business. I also would like to invite my parents to visit New Zealand.

Many employees work closely with Chinese employers and co-workers. Sixty percent of the participants in the study, for example, were employed by other Chinese. In terms of co-workers, almost 80 percent worked with Chinese colleagues and one-third reported that they worked with 'Kiwis'. Fifty-four percent of participants speak Chinese with their co-workers and 39 percent speak English. Thinking about participants' working environments, three-quarters of the respondents said that they came into contact with people other than their co-workers in the course of their working day. Seventy percent of this group said that they come into contact with people of many ethnicities, languages and religious groups. Sixty percent speak English with these contacts while 39 percent speak Mandarin.

Although only five percent of participants said that contacts from their home country were important in their current job, this number rose to 50 percent for New Zealand-based contacts. When asked to explain the ways in which their local contacts were important, participants said that they had helped them get their jobs, provided help and support and taught them a number of valuable work-related skills. Sixty-five percent of the interviewees said that these contacts
were primarily from the Chinese community. Only two participants had joined a group, club or organisation related to their work.

*My business contacts in New Zealand are very important to me. They introduced me to my boss so I could get my current job. And I have learned a lot of working skills from those contact persons.*

*I think these contacts are very important to me because they can provide me with a lot of information about related companies and help me get more job opportunities.*

*These contacts are very important for my job because they can provide essential information and some practical help.*

**TRAINING**

Eighty percent of employees had participated in some form of training since they arrived in New Zealand. Although some of this training can be accounted for by the 45 percent of employees who entered New Zealand as students, this nonetheless represents a considerable investment by this group. The training undertaken included English language training; undergraduate and postgraduate courses; training designed specifically for migrants; and employment training such as food safety. Twenty percent of the employees’ training was funded by their employers and 15 percent were involved in training at the time of interview. The range of training undertaken by participants is illustrated in the following quotes:

*I studied a course in finance management at Massey University for improving my education and immigration opportunities. I studied a course on food safety before I got this job because that is essential for working in a food shop.*

*I studied Kiwi Ora migrant settlement programme at Te Wananga O Aotearoa in 2006 for three months. I learned a lot about the New Zealand systems, such as education, medication and banking. It has also helped me to improve my English.*
I studied an English course at Auckland Business College because I would like to improve my working capability. Studying English was one of my immigration conditions so I had to invest a lot of money for English study before I came to New Zealand.

Almost all the respondents who had undertaken training believed that it had been useful to them: from the point of view of the skills they had acquired; because it was a local qualification and therefore easily recognised; because it developed their New Zealand networks; or because it assisted them to improve their English language skills. The following statements are typical.

*It gave me more opportunities to communicate with a wider variety of people and make friends, especially those who are doing the course with me. Also I gained a lot of information and knowledge.*

*I thought the training I got in New Zealand was very important. If you want to have a good job, you must get a local educational background. A local certification relevant to the job will help you to be accepted by an employer.*

*I can make good use of some of the knowledge in finance management from my course in my current job. The food safety training was very useful as well because it really helped me to make sure our foods meet the requirements for customers' safety. Anyway, my qualification from Massey University and my English skills have helped me to get my Permanent Residence status. They are very useful to me.*
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 most common hopes and dreams for respondents’ migration to New Zealand: lifestyle; a clean green environment; and a better future for their children.

a) LIFESTYLE

Many respondents reported that their lifestyles had improved post-migration.

All my hopes have been realised and I have fulfilled an extra goal to run my own business. I never imagined that I could have my own restaurant before came to New Zealand. I had already retired in China, which means that your working life has ended. I can work for ten more years in New Zealand. I have felt myself becoming younger.

I think I have got a better lifestyle. I have my own car; my own house and I have two children now, one daughter and one son. My parents have also immigrated to New Zealand. I have improved my relationship with my parents since they started to enjoy living here.

The majority of participants, however, felt either that their migration to New Zealand had not improved their lifestyles or that there had been some improvements but that gaps remained between their expectations and the reality of their lives post-migration.

Not all my hopes have been realised. My lifestyle has not got better.

I don’t think I have realised my hope for a better lifestyle. There are still gaps between my expectations and my life. My current lifestyle is different from my hopes. Maybe I need a bit more time to adjust myself and time might change my mind about this.
I don’t think I have realised my hope for a better life style. Although my current lifestyle is good it does not match my expectations.

b) A CLEAN GREEN ENVIRONMENT 纯净绿色的自然环境

Many participants felt positive about New Zealand’s environment.

I enjoy the beautiful natural environment in New Zealand.

New Zealand has a very good natural environment. I enjoy the fresh air.

I am living in a very nice environment. I can breathe fresh air.

The natural environment is very nice here. I enjoy living here and it is good for my health.

c) A BETTER FUTURE FOR THEIR CHILDREN 子女更好的前途

A majority of participants reported that their hopes for improving their children’s education were realised in New Zealand, many pointing out their children’s achievements.

I think I have realised my hope for improving my child’s educational opportunities because he is in his last year studying computer science at the University of Auckland.

I have achieved the goal of improving my child’s educational opportunity. My daughter is studying medical chemistry at the University of Auckland.

My children have had improved educational opportunities. My son can study in a less stressed environment.

Several respondents, however, were disappointed with the local schooling system.

For my children’s education opportunity, I don’t think that has been improved because the study in high school in New Zealand was too easy. I found that the educational opportunities are no different from China.
I don’t think my children have improved their educational opportunities in Auckland because I think the level of education in New Zealand is lower than in China. Students have no pressure so they have no motivation to study hard. My children don’t like to study in school, so at the moment my elder son helps me managing our restaurant.

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. Fifty-five percent of employers and employees felt accepted here and took an average of two years to feel this way. They were also asked how satisfied they were with their current life, to which employers and employees also responded similarly: 55 percent of both groups said that they were neither; 30 percent that they were either satisfied or very satisfied; and 15 percent were either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied.

Participants in the LisNZ were also asked about their levels of satisfaction with life in New Zealand at Waves One and Two (6 months and eighteen months post-arrival respectively) and the responses seem, at first, to paint quite a different picture. The percentage of Chinese migrants who were either satisfied or very satisfied at both waves was over 80 percent, although the proportion dropped slightly between Waves One and Two. Similarly, the levels of those who were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied were less than 2 percent for both waves. Examining the data from a comparative point of view provides a more nuanced view, however: the proportion of Chinese migrants who were very satisfied with their lives in New Zealand was only a quarter of the figure for those born elsewhere, and these rates almost halved between Waves One and Two, from 12.8 percent to 6.6 percent for Chinese men and from 13.3 percent to 6.6 percent for Chinese women.

When asked what, if anything, they would change, employees’ responses were almost exclusively employment-focused and discussed in greater detail on p. 61. Employers, however, desired a range of changes, including growing their businesses, improving their English and learning to drive. Mostly, however, they wished for more leisure time. These responses are typical.

I would like to have more spare time for myself but I know it won’t be easy.

I would like to reduce my working hours and take some more quality time.
I wish my business could get back on the right track. Over-working is not a normal life. I would like to reduce my working hours and at least take one day off per week.

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

**POSITIVE MIGRATION OUTCOMES**  移民的积极方面

Respondents described a wide array of positive consequences of their migration to New Zealand, from acquiring permanent residence or citizenship through to their satisfaction in learning to speak English and pride in their children’s educational achievements. The most frequently mentioned outcomes, however, were centred on family, work, the natural environment and personal freedom.

- *I have been reunited with my husband. It was a hard time for me when my husband lived in Auckland and I lived in China.*
- *I got a job that makes good use of my qualification and my working experience.*
- *I live in a better natural environment.*
- *I really like the personal freedom in the social environment of New Zealand. I can set personal goals and I can get a lot of help from government and other agencies.*

**NEGATIVE MIGRATION OUTCOMES**  移民的消极方面

In contrast to the wide variety of positive outcomes identified by participants, almost all the negative migration outcomes fell into five groups: English language difficulties; loneliness and isolation; an inability to find the right job or having to work too hard; crime and safety; and problems with immigration policies, procedures or support.

- *Communication in English is the biggest problem for me because my English is very poor.*
I have no personal life in New Zealand. I also feel very lonely because of the separation from my family and my old friends.

My working hours are too long and I only have a very small network and few social contacts.

The public order in New Zealand is not very good. My house was broken into and I lost a lot of money. I reported it to police but they responded too slowly. Although the police were very kind, I was not satisfied with the way they handled the criminal case.

I think the New Zealand government welcomes new migrants to live and to do business here. However, they don’t provide enough support for new comers to settle down. I wish the government would take more practical actions, for example, translate relevant legal documents into different languages. Therefore, new migrants can better understand local business law and policies, and also they can follow those laws and policies in their businesses.

WHERE TO NOW? 未来的展望

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 over the next three years was that they would continue to run their own businesses, the majority in their current form, but some planned further development or a move into other industries. For employees, the most frequent response to this question was that they wished to open their own businesses. Other employees talked about getting a job which used their skills and training. In both groups, several interviewees were unsure of their future work plans while others had quite specific intentions, including retraining, retiring, making a complete change of career or a return to China.

I will continue running my business here and maybe I will open two more chain restaurants.
I don’t think that I will continue running the same restaurant after three years. Maybe I will make the restaurant bigger or make a series of restaurants in Auckland or New Zealand.

I am not sure, anyway I think I should set up my own business after three years. I am not very sure what type of business I am going to do but I am sure it will be my own business.

I am not sure what I am going to do after three years. Anyway, I think I should get a new job that relates to my professional training.

Almost all the participants planned to be living in Auckland in three years time while a small number were unsure or talked about a move to Australia or a return to China. With respect to participants’ opinions about their children’s plans, most believed that they would remain in New Zealand although almost as many were unsure. Several interviewees already had children living and/or working overseas or had plans in place for this to occur.

I am not sure because my elder son is working for Citibank in Beijing. He is a New Zealand citizen so I can’t guess what might happen after ten years. And my second son is studying at university in the south island and the study will take six years. Again, I can’t guess what will happen in six years.

I am not sure. My daughter wants to be an accountant after she graduates from university. It will be easier for her to get a job in Australia or the USA.

My son will move to the USA for his university study in three years and then he will live in the USA. I am not sure where he will live when he finishes his university study.

I think my daughter will maybe go to work and live in Hong Kong.

Lastly, we asked respondents about growing old and retiring. Sixty-five percent of employees and 55 percent of employers said that they imagined themselves growing old and retiring in New Zealand.
CONCLUSION 结论

This report has provided an indication of the experiences and strategies used by Chinese immigrants. One thing has become very apparent: understanding how migrants have responded to challenges is the key to understanding what works and what doesn’t. These immigrants enter and operate in a particular city economy, that of Auckland in the twenty-first century, and that environment dictates the opportunities available to a recently arrived migrant. But the individual migrant, and the communities that they have rapidly established, exercise considerable agency as they seek certain settlement outcomes. For example, they rely extensively on Chinese networks for advice and help of various sorts, the ‘bamboo’ networks referred to in the title of this report. They must, of necessity, be inward looking in the initial phases of settlement but their ambitions are outward and future focussed. For both employers and employees, ethnic networks played a key role in adjusting to a New Zealand and an Auckland setting. Their non-Chinese networks, both in a professional and a social sense, were limited and few had gained many new friends. This is not unusual for any migrant group. They have used what they know best and have relied upon networks of co-ethnics, especially those who were family members or existing friends. This has become a source of strength and reflects the extensive nature of such networks now apparent in Auckland, especially with a Chinese population of 100,000.

So why have they come? The answers are clear and relate not to economic opportunities as such – although these are important – but to lifestyle: the quality of the environment, children’s education and safety. While New Zealand immigration policy looks to recruit immigrants for their potential economic contribution to the country, the reality is that Chinese immigrants come for other reasons. They do make an important economic contribution but their motivation – their hopes and dreams – are concerned with other matters. Have they achieved their goals? The answer is yes but it is a qualified answer. The migrants are still quite new and therefore their answers reflect the initial stage of settlement and all the difficulties that this presents. And they have not had all their expectations met. Their answers indicate that there are concerns about the education available to their children, for example. But there is also an appreciation that the reasons for their migration have been met in many instances. This is the positive part of the story. However, the level of frustration and disappointment increases in relation to employment and business establishment.

There is a marked difference for many migrants between their life in China pre-departure and what has occurred since arriving. It is reflected in the amount of leisure time that they have at
their disposal in Auckland – there is evidence of a long working hours culture – and in relation to their level of responsibility at their former jobs in China compared to what has happened in New Zealand. There is a disjuncture between what their employment in China involved and what they are now doing in New Zealand. Again, this is not unusual for migrants as overseas qualifications and experience are often discounted in a destination labour market. But for both employers and employees, getting established in New Zealand presented some significant challenges. In the case of employers, for example, new strategies were needed to ensure that both Mandarin and English-speaking customers were catered for. Many recognised that language limited what they could do and how they could do it in New Zealand. They worked hard to establish themselves and there was a tendency to sacrifice their personal and immediate dreams in order to provide a sound financial base for the next generation. Ironically, working long hours means that their opportunities to establish new friends and new networks are limited.

The information provided here indicates the personal and financial investment made by immigrants as they seek to establish themselves in Auckland. They demonstrate a lot of resilience and commitment, even though some do contemplate a return to China or onward migration to another country. The comments we have selected to reflect their experiences are interesting and are not always what we or others might have anticipated. They provide an insight into the Chinese immigrant experience and what we might learn about what works and what does not. Our focus is on the immigrant and their experiences and strategies. We would also note that there are some lessons for our existing institutions, whether in relation to the attitudes of employers or the help provided by business associations. Some of the comments relayed here indicate that Chinese immigrants do not feel welcome nor do they see much to be gained by joining, for instance, a professional or business association. The migrants are more likely to rely on an organisation such as Citizens Advice Bureaux. It is important to reflect on what the research says about the need to better meet the needs of Chinese migrants so that successful settlement outcomes can be achieved. There are a number of agencies who seek to help such migrants but, in general, the migrants are left to their own devices. The overwhelming story here is about the way in which migrants have to rely on their own personal networks for help with settlement and – at times – the indifference (sometimes hostility) of some New Zealanders and New Zealand organisations.


