BANGERS ‘N’ MASH:
BRITISH EMPLOYERS AND
EMPLOYEES IN AUCKLAND AND
HAMILTON

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Historically, migrants from Britain and Ireland have dominated permanent settlement in New Zealand. Despite the increase in the proportion of migrants from Asia and elsewhere since the late 1980s, Britain remains a key source country for migrants. The present research sought to increase understanding of the economic integration of immigrants from the United Kingdom\(^1\) by examining the experiences of seven United Kingdom-born employers (three based in Hamilton and four in Auckland) and 22 British\(^2\) employees (10 living in Hamilton and 12 in Auckland) who arrived in New Zealand in 2000 or later.

This research is part of a larger project which is looking at the settlement experiences of the five main immigrant groups in New Zealand after 1986/87: immigrants born in the People’s Republic of China (see Meares, Ho, Peace, & Spoonley, 2010a), South Africa (see Meares, Lewin, Cain, Spoonley, Peace, & Ho, 2011a), the Republic of Korea (see Meares, Ho, Peace, & Spoonley, 2010b), India (see Lewin, Meares, Cain, Spoonley, Peace, & Ho, 2011b), as well as those from the United Kingdom. The project seeks to explore the settlement outcomes of these immigrant groups, both in terms of labour market engagement and business success, as well as social and cultural outcomes.

The 2006 Census registered 244,800 United Kingdom-born migrants in New Zealand. Although residing throughout the country, the greatest concentrations can be found in Auckland (with clusters in the residential areas of Rodney/North Shore, Greenhithe, Waiheke Island, Howick, Botany Downs and Beachlands) and the lower North Island, especially on the Kapiti Coast.

Our research paints a picture of relative financial prosperity. The pre-departure employment of the participants in this study (employers and employees from both Hamilton and Auckland) was dominated by management and professional positions (77%), and there appeared to be little downward occupational mobility on arrival in New Zealand. The information about the participants’ assets and income also indicated a degree of financial security, similar to the South African respondents but higher than that of the Chinese and Korean participants. In relation to the adequacy of their New Zealand income, 64 percent of employers and 57 percent of employees said that their total income met their everyday needs either ‘very well’ or ‘quite well’.

Like the other immigrant groups in our research, many British arrivals had family living in New Zealand. However, unlike the Chinese, Korean or South African participants, whose wives (or

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\(^1\) The United Kingdom is defined here as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

\(^2\) Throughout the report, we refer to United Kingdom-born or British migrants. These include migrants from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland.
partners) and children tended to precede or follow their spouse in a split family model of settlement, most British respondents arrived in family units. Indeed, family life was often the fulcrum for the British migrant's decision. As with the findings from the South African, Indian, Korean and Chinese participants in our earlier studies, the British participants' hopes and dreams for their migration to New Zealand revolved around the desire for: a better, more relaxed lifestyle; improved employment prospects; a safer environment; and education/employment opportunities for their children/partner. Most participants who moved for lifestyle reasons said that they were satisfied with their New Zealand lifestyle. However, some felt disappointed at their reduced career paths and a lack of funding available within their chosen profession, both of which they attributed to working in a smaller city/country. Most participants were satisfied with the education offered to their children and, like the Korean and Chinese participants, if there was ambivalence, it related to perceptions that there was insufficient pressure placed on children to achieve their educational goals.

While some British respondents said that they had experienced a degree of discrimination in New Zealand, particularly in the workplace, participants believed that other immigrants were more likely to experience discrimination, a perception borne out by the responses of the Asia-born participants interviewed in our earlier reports.

In general, a wide range of positive migration outcomes were identified by British respondents. The negative consequences concerned missing family and friends, cultural differences, unrealised financial advancement (many came with expectations that they would reap greater financial rewards and attain quicker advancement in their chosen careers); the isolation from metropolitan centres and poor quality housing.

One other very explicit difference between the British and other immigrant groups interviewed as part of the Integration of Immigrants Programme is that family life in New Zealand is seen as being very similar to that in Britain. If there are changes, they tend to be related to stage of life, rather than migration per se. This applied to both men and women.

EMPLOYERS

A number of differences set the findings from the British participants apart from the findings of the other four groups who participated in the Integration of Immigrants Programme research – particularly the findings from the Chinese, Korean and Indian participants, but also, to a lesser degree, from the South Africans.

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3 Where ‘Asian’ is used throughout the report, we refer to China, Korea and India-born migrants.
First, the overall familiarity with the culture of the business and financial context, along with complete fluency in the language of everyday exchange, meant that the British employers experienced little displacement on arrival in New Zealand. Most British employers who were interviewed noted that, post-arrival, they were in very similar occupations to their pre-departure work. Furthermore, where they indicated they had undertaken training, it was most likely to be directly related to running their current business. This was in contrast with other migrant groups surveyed in this project who identified the importance of training as a preparation for owning a business because business management was not where their prior experience lay.

Second, British employers established contact with and accessed a wide range of local business organisations in contrast to Chinese or Korean employers who did not. Thus, more of the British employers took advantage of services offered by government departments such as the Chamber of Commerce and the Department of Labour, as well as organisations specific to their industry such as the Motor Trade Association.

Third, the British employers reported relatively few problems obtaining finance, operating in a New Zealand business environment and employing staff. This is in quite stark contrast to the Chinese and Korean employers we interviewed, who faced considerable challenges.

Fourth, in relation to employees, suppliers and customers, British employers were vague about the ethnicity of those they engaged with, or indicated that ethnicity was not an issue. Again, this is somewhat different from the Chinese and Korean participants who relied heavily on co-ethnic networks.

Finally, most United Kingdom employers (85.7%) entered New Zealand on a temporary visa prior to obtaining permanent residence, 71.4 percent as tourists and 14.3 percent on a work visa.

**EMPLOYEES**

The employers’ responses indicated relatively few difficulties in maintaining a career trajectory for themselves through their migration experience. Employee responses also suggested that aspects of migration were more straightforward than they were for any of the other groups of employees interviewed in the IIP project.

Over half of British migrant employees had arranged their employment before they left the United Kingdom. This contrasts considerably with the much lower percentage of South African
(28%), Korean (15%), Chinese (10%) and Indian (0%) employees who had work organised before they arrived in New Zealand. In Auckland, 58.3 percent of employees entered on a tourist visa and 8.3 percent on a work visa, whereas in Hamilton, 40 percent entered on a tourist visa and 60 percent on a work visa. Most (78%) had obtained their current jobs on-line and fewer used personal contacts (compared with Asian migrants) to obtain employment.

The British employees experienced upward occupational mobility rather than downward and 73 percent said that their initial jobs were a good match with their qualifications. These results are quite different to those from our Chinese, Korean and Indian interviewees, who experienced both downward occupational mobility (especially in their first years in New Zealand) and poor matches between the work they obtained and their qualifications.

The factors that the British respondents saw as important in gaining New Zealand employment were (in order of importance) their work experience (96%), education (86%), English language skills (50%) and personal networks (27%). The relatively low consideration attributed to English language skills is somewhat surprising, particularly given reduced English language proficiency appears to play such a crucial role in the settlement trajectories of the Chinese and Korean participants. However, this might be explained by the participants not fully appreciating the advantages that accrue through language fluency.

While many British migrant employees did work with British employers and co-workers, they rated these co-ethnic linkages less strongly than the Korean and Chinese employees who took part in our study. Seventy-five percent of the Korea-born participants were employed by other Koreans and 70 percent worked with Korean colleagues. Similarly, of the Chinese participants, 60% were employed by other Chinese and 80% worked with Chinese colleagues.

Similar levels (compared to other migrant groups), undertook training after arrival but this was focused on professional development, not English language competency.
INTRODUCTION

Migration flows to and from the United Kingdom have historically played a dominant role in New Zealand’s migration patterns. In recent years, between 1995 and the year to June 2009, the United Kingdom continued to be the main source of permanent long-term (PLT) arrivals to New Zealand (9,100, compared to 6000 from India and 3800 from China in 2009) (Statistics New Zealand, 2010a). However, some changes to migration flows from the United Kingdom are evident, particularly compared with migration flows from Asia. In 2001, almost a third (32.2%) of overseas-born migrants came from the United Kingdom and Ireland but, by 2006, this had dropped to 28.6 percent, equalling the total percentage of Asia-born migrants (Statistics New Zealand, 2006a). By the year to June 2010, the United Kingdom was overtaken by Australia as the country providing the most PLT arrivals in New Zealand (15,800 from Australia compared with 15,700 from the United Kingdom). That said, the United Kingdom remains a dominant source country for migrants, representing some 19 percent of the total 82,300 PLT arrivals in the June 2010 year (Statistics New Zealand, 2010a).

Within New Zealand, Auckland has typically been the ‘favoured initial destination for overseas-born immigrants for much of the twentieth century’ (Lidgard, Ho, Chen, Goodwin, & Bedford, 1998, p. 12) and this is as much the case for British migrants as any other group. For example, in the years 1996 to 2003, half of all migrants settled in the Auckland region. Following changes to immigration policy in 2003 that granted extra points to those applying for residence under the Skilled Migrant Category with a ‘relevant’ offer of employment outside the Auckland region, this dropped slightly to 46 percent between 2004 and 2010 (Statistics New Zealand, 2011). With regard to those migrants from Britain, at the 2006 Census, there is a slight shift from this overall pattern in that the region with the greatest percentage of United Kingdom-born residents was the Kapiti Coast (12.7%) in the lower North Island, followed by the Rodney District (12.6%), just north of the Auckland metropolitan area.

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4 It should be noted that 35-35 percent of PLT figures include those born in New Zealand returning from Australia and the United Kingdom (Bedford, Callister, & Didham, 2010).

5 For details of changes to New Zealand’s immigration legislation see Bedford, Ho and Bedford (2010).
### Table 1 United Kingdom-Born Population in New Zealand, 1991-2006

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>239,160</td>
<td>230,049</td>
<td>225,123</td>
<td>244,800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### THE UNITED KINGDOM-BORN IN AUCKLAND AND HAMILTON

In 2006, among recent migrant arrivals in Auckland, those born in the United Kingdom constituted the third largest group (13,332 United Kingdom-born migrants who had been resident in New Zealand for fewer than five years), behind migrants born in China and India. In Hamilton, those born in the United Kingdom were the second largest group behind China (1,029 new arrivals from the United Kingdom) (Statistics New Zealand, 2006b).

With regard to longer term migrants, those who have lived in New Zealand for longer than five years, in Auckland, the greatest proportion have arrived from the United Kingdom (21%). In Hamilton, this is even more pronounced with over 30 percent of United Kingdom-born migrants residing in Hamilton for longer than five years,\(^6\) where they comprise a much larger percentage of the overseas born population (but while nearly half (47.7%) of New Zealand’s overseas-born population were living in Auckland, just 3.05 percent were living in Hamilton).

\(^6\) This longer period of residence may reflect the aforementioned policy change to support those migrants who were willing to reside beyond Auckland.
### Table 2
Longer-Term and Recent Arrival Migrants Living in Auckland and Hamilton, by Birthplace, 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Auckland</th>
<th>Hamilton</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Longer term</td>
<td>Recent arrivals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(% of arrivals)</td>
<td>(% of arrivals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>44.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


At the time of the 2006 Census, the United Kingdom contributed the highest percentage (21%) of longer-term migrant arrivals living in Auckland. However, the declining percentage share of migrants from the United Kingdom is evident in Table 2, given that they contribute only 9.5 percent of those who have been in New Zealand for less than five years compared to the 19.9 percent share of those residents who are China-born and the 12.7 percent from India.

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7 Longer term refers to more than five years.
8 Recent arrivals refers to less than five years.
Given the geographical spread of Auckland, it is worthwhile considering the regional concentrations of United Kingdom-born immigrants within Auckland's borders. The following maps illustrate the distribution of British migrants across the Auckland area, again based on 2006 Census data. Figure 1 shows the percentage of a particular Census Area Unit (CAU) born in the United Kingdom, while Figure 2 indicates the actual headcount. It is important to note that the percentages and numbers illustrated here encompass temporary residents, such as those on a student visa, as well as permanent residents. As the maps show, there are noteworthy United Kingdom-born populations throughout the entire Auckland region. However, there are also significant clusters such as those found in the Rodney/North Shore area, particularly surrounding the Whangaparaoa Peninsula where British make up 17.8 percent of residents in Gulf Harbour, 16.3 percent in Army Bay, and 15.3 percent in Orewa. There are also particularly high residential concentrations of British-born migrants in Torbay (17.2%) and Mount Victoria (15.3%). In addition, there are smaller, but still substantial, residential concentrations in Greenhithe, on Waiheke Island and in the Howick, Botany Downs and Beachlands areas.

Figure 1 Distribution of the United Kingdom-born in Auckland as a Percentage of the Total Population

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9 Auckland includes the four previous Local Territorial Authorities: North Shore, Auckland, Manukau and Waitakere Cities.

10 Census Area Units are small geographical areas which together make up territorial authorities. They usually contain 3000-5000 people.
In sum, British immigrants remain an important part of New Zealand’s migrant intake, even though they do not comprise the same proportion of the total flow as they have in the past. They represent, along with Chinese and Indian immigrants, one of the three dominant groups of those arriving as permanent immigrants. However, this is a long way from the situation of mid-twentieth century New Zealand where all but a very small number of migrants came from the United Kingdom.

Although migrants from the United Kingdom are less ‘culturally visible’ in New Zealand than migrants from China, Korea or India and there are many cultural and social commonalities between the United Kingdom and New Zealand, they still have some different cultural understandings and are expected to conform to New Zealand social mores and culture (Spoonley & Gendall, 2010; Dean, 2010; Thomas & McKenzie, 2005). Indeed, despite some shared cultural heritage, immigrants from the United Kingdom still experience challenges in settling in New Zealand. It is those challenges, particularly with respect to business practice and employment, and the strategies adopted by British immigrants that are the focus of this report.
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 Programme: the People’s Republic of China, India, South Africa, the Republic of Korea and the United Kingdom. In order to achieve this objective, we developed employer and employee-specific surveys which sought information about the nature of immigrant transitions into their new lives in New Zealand. This information was gathered through in-depth, face-to-face interviews with participants that lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. The interview schedule included a range of closed questions such as age, marital status, previous education and employment, as well as a number of more open questions where the participants were encouraged to respond in greater detail. Although the key focus was the economic integration of participants, we were also interested in a number of inter-related issues. The interviews, therefore, included questions about: the hopes and dreams 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 in 2009/10 with 7 employers (three based in Hamilton and four in Auckland) and 22 employees (10 living in Hamilton and 12 in Auckland) from the United Kingdom. The employer interviews 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 initially selected using the following criteria: currently resident in either Auckland (in Manukau, North Shore, Auckland or Waitakere cities as they existed at that time) or Hamilton; born in the United Kingdom; and granted permanent residence in New Zealand in 2000 or later. However, the latter criterion was relaxed after participants proved difficult to find.

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11 As well as British and South African participants based in Hamilton.
12 Available on request from T.Cain@massey.ac.nz.
and, as a consequence, one employer was granted permanent residence prior to this date. Further criteria for employers were that they were GST registered and had at least one employee (paid or unpaid, full or part-time). Employees were employed on a full-time, part-time or casual basis.

A widespread and prolonged recruitment process by several researchers was undertaken in the search for participants in both Hamilton and Auckland. Employers were especially difficult to find, resulting in just 7 employers participating in the project, rather than the 20 we aimed to achieve.

Numerous strategies were employed in the search for suitable prospective participants. Flyers (email and print) were sent to key people in business, as well as migrant organisations, placed in churches and community centres and also distributed through the personal networks of the research team. Notices about the project were also posted in a range of electronic mailing lists, such as the Aotearoa Ethnic Network.13

In Hamilton, employees were recruited following email, phone and door-knocking contact with large companies and organisations. In addition, the Internship Co-ordinator at Hamilton Multicultural Services Trust proved invaluable, providing an extensive list of contacts of British-born employees, companies employing British immigrants and agents who assist people to migrate. Previous interviews with South African migrants also led to further contacts through a ‘snowball’ effect.14 The same methods were less successful in recruiting Hamilton employers and the researcher noted that the project’s stringent recruitment criteria eliminated many possible participants.

It was also difficult to find suitable participants, both employers and employees, in Auckland. The following recruitment strategies indicate the scale of the efforts made by the researchers. Schools on the North Shore, West Auckland, Mt Albert and Onehunga were visited, as well as tertiary institutions (Massey University, Unitec, University of Auckland and Manukau Institute of Technology).15 All the major hospitals in Auckland were contacted, as was the New Zealand Nurses Organisation. Emails and letters were sent to Medlab, Radiology Group as well as

13 The Aotearoa Ethnic Network (AEN) is a free-to-join email-based networking service, designed to keep people informed of developments within ‘ethnic communities’ (see aotearoaethnicnetwork@aen.org.nz).
14 An advantage of using the snowball sampling technique is that it is a way of finding people in a specific community (here, employees born in the United Kingdom) who may otherwise be difficult to locate because no list of the community’s members exists (Bloch, 2004; Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005). However, even this proved largely unsuccessful and researchers noted that while most of the British who participated in the interviews said they enjoyed the process and all said that they would talk to their friends about the research, very few additional contacts resulted.
15 An email sent via the Massey University internal email was the most successful recruitment tool among education providers.
professional bodies for physiotherapists, occupational therapists, doctors and dentists. Auckland providers of counselling, psychology, physiotherapy and veterinarian services were also contacted. Numerous business associations and organisations throughout Auckland were contacted, including the Auckland Retailers Association, Auckland Women’s Business Association, Westfield, Master Builders Association, Auckland Architecture Association, Landscape Design, Master Accountants, NZ Institute of Chartered Accountants, CFANZ (association of investment professionals), British New Zealand Business Association and the NZ Institute of Science and Technology. Individual companies involved in Auckland-based building and construction were contacted, as were immigration consultants who appeared to be dealing with British-born residents and other companies marketing themselves to United Kingdom-born expatriates. Finally, all of the soccer clubs in Auckland were contacted.

In all, about 200 letters and emails were sent out to potential participants in the Auckland region. This method resulted in a significant number of interviews in the South African and Chinese business communities but was spectacularly unsuccessful for the British-born business community. This was despite researchers’ personal contacts within the fields of health, education, business and sports. The reason for this unwillingness to participate appeared to stem from the United Kingdom-born migrants’ self-perception as a migrant. In general, while they acknowledged that they had migrated to New Zealand, many from the United Kingdom did not see themselves as having anything to contribute to a project on migration and, importantly, they did not see themselves as immigrants in the same sense as the other groups of participants. Some indicated that although they did not think they would go back to the United Kingdom, they still had not discounted this as an option because of family ties. In addition, they appeared to think of New Zealand as an extension of the United Kingdom with very similar systems. Consequently, they did not see themselves as having immigrated properly. Although disappointed with the poor response rates, we continued with reduced levels of participation.

Unlike the Korean, Chinese and Indian participants we interviewed for our earlier reports, the prospect of audio-recording did not generally cause participants unease and most interviews were recorded digitally and transcribed where appropriate. Although not considered payment for their participation, all of the participants received a supermarket voucher in recognition of their contribution to the research project. Analysis of the interview notes and transcripts was assisted by the use of software programs, SPSS\textsuperscript{16} and NVivo\textsuperscript{17}.

\textsuperscript{16} SPSS is a computer program used for statistical analysis.

\textsuperscript{17} NVivo is a computer program used for qualitative data analysis.
The researchers involved with the project continued to play a key role in the development of the report, providing on-going feedback on the analysis and interpretation of data. Although the sample is not representative of all recent migrants from the United Kingdom, the information gathered in these interviews nonetheless provides valuable insights into the transition experiences of employers and employees from this migrant group. In the report, we further contextualise our interview data by referring, where appropriate, to results for those of British nationality from Waves One and Two of the Longitudinal Immigration Survey: New Zealand (hereafter LisNZ).\textsuperscript{18} 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, 2009a).

In the next section of the report, we outline the key characteristics of the British-born employers and employees we interviewed. As mentioned above, the recruitment of employers was particularly challenging in both Auckland and Hamilton, resulting in only seven employer interviews. In order to maintain their confidentiality, comparisons will not be made between employers in the two cities. We will, however, point out relevant differences between employees resident in Auckland and Hamilton where appropriate.

\textsuperscript{18} In the Longitudinal Immigration Survey: New Zealand, immigrants were interviewed at 6 months (Wave One), 18 months (Wave Two) and 36 months (Wave Three) after they had taken up permanent residence in New Zealand.
UNITED KINGDOM EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES

KEY CHARACTERISTICS

Of the seven employers taking part in the study, six (85.7%) were men (see Table 4). The employees were a little more evenly balanced overall with regard to gender, with just over half men (54.5%) and just under half women (45.5%). This gender balance reflects the percentages of men and women who took part in the LisNZ survey (57.7% and 42.3% men and women respectively). When considering the gender of those employees residing in Auckland and Hamilton, there was a marked reversal between gender numbers: in Auckland, 75 percent were men, while in Hamilton, 70 percent were women.

Table 4 Gender

<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
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</table>

The employer participants tended to be a little older than the employees, as might be expected. Employers’ ages ranged from 30 to 60 years old, with an average age of 48 years (see Table 5). With respect to Auckland and Hamilton employees, their ages ranged from 31 to 53, with an average combined age of 43. Our participants tended, therefore, to be considerably older than the median age of 32.4 years for recent British migrants at the 2006 Census (see Statistics New Zealand, 2006b).

When considering the average age and the gender of the employees, there is little difference between women and men overall; women at 42.5 years were only slightly younger than men at 43 years. However, there are differences when comparing the ages of men and women employees in the two cities. While the average age of women in Auckland was almost 40 and in
Hamilton nearly 44, for men the difference was reversed with the average age of men in Auckland being nearly 44 and in Hamilton just 41.

Table 5  Age

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Employees</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Years)</td>
<td>(Years)</td>
<td>(Years)</td>
<td>(Years)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average Age</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Range</td>
<td>30 to 60</td>
<td>31 to 53</td>
<td>32 to 52</td>
<td>31 to 53</td>
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</table>

As can be seen in Table 6, with respect to industry, the employers were fairly evenly distributed. Two employers (28.6%) were in retail and two in the professional, scientific and technical category (28.6%), while there was one each in health care and social assistance (14.3%), administrative and support services (14.3%), and ‘other’ services (14.3%). Overall, the employees were largely divided between education and training (54.5%) and health care and social assistance (36.5%). Separating the Auckland employees from their Hamilton counterparts, however, produces a different picture. Eighty percent of the Hamilton employees were working in health care and social assistance, 10 percent in professional, scientific and technical, and 10 percent in information, media and telecommunication, while in Auckland, all of the employee participants were working in education and training.

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19 Industry statistics in New Zealand are compiled using the Australia and New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification (ANZSIC) 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2010b). Accommodation and Food Services includes businesses involved in providing accommodation for visitors, such as hotels and motels, as well as cafés, restaurants and takeaway food services.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6</th>
<th>Industries</th>
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<th>Employees</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care and social assistance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional, scientific and technical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative and support services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and training</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information, media and telecommunication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most common visa category in which employers (57.1%) and employees (63.6%) were granted permanent residence was the skilled principal category (see Table 7). This is considerably higher than the Korean participants for whom the business category dominated (57.1% and 35% of Korean employers and employees respectively entered under the business category and just over one quarter - 28.6 percent of employers and 25 percent of employees - entered under the skilled principal category (Meares et al., 2010b). It is also different from the Chinese participants who were divided fairly evenly between the different categories (Meares et al., 2010a) and the India-born participants, particularly the employers, who were equally as likely to arrive under the skilled secondary category as the skilled principal (Lewin et al., 2011). Interestingly, the United Kingdom-born results more closely resemble those of the South-African participants for whom the skilled principal category also dominated (Meares et al,
Among employees, the percentage of skilled principals in Auckland (66.7%) was higher than in Hamilton (60%) - although only marginally so - where both skilled secondary and family sponsored migrants formed a slightly higher percentage (Hamilton 20%, Auckland 16.7% each).

Table 7  Category of Permanent Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Permanent Residence</th>
<th>Employers Employers Employees Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%) (%) (%) (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Principal</td>
<td>57.1 63.6 66.7 60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Secondary</td>
<td>14.3 18.2 16.7 20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>14.3 0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Sponsored</td>
<td>14.3 18.2 16.7 20.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to compare these overall results with those of participants from the United Kingdom in Wave One of the LisNZ (see Table 8 below). While the men’s percentages are similar, the female participants in our study, at 63.6 percent, were significantly more likely to have been granted residence as a skilled principal than British women in the LisNZ (25.4%) who were more likely to have gained residence in the skilled secondary category.
As can be seen in Table 9, most United Kingdom employers (85.7%) entered New Zealand on a temporary visa prior to obtaining permanent residence, 71.4 percent as tourists and 14.3 percent on a work visa. Considering employees, in Auckland, 58.3 percent of employees entered on a tourist visa and 8.3 percent on a work visa, whereas in Hamilton, 40 percent entered on a tourist visa and 60 percent on a work visa. Like the South Africa-born interviewees, but unlike their Korea-born and China-born counterparts, no United Kingdom migrants entered New Zealand on a student visa prior to gaining their permanent residence. The significant percentages of migrants from all five source countries entering New Zealand on temporary visas illustrates, on a small scale, the increasing tendency for migrants in OECD nations (including New Zealand) to visit, work or study in the destination country before becoming permanent residents (Department of Labour, 2009b; 2009c).

20 LisNZ percentages do not add up to 100 percent. Their participants gained permanent residence through categories that did not apply to any of our participants so have been omitted here.
Table 9  
Temporary Visas to New Zealand

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entered New Zealand on temporary visa</th>
<th>Employers (%)</th>
<th>Employees (%)</th>
<th>Employees Auckland (%)</th>
<th>Employees Hamilton (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourist</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visa Waiver</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other visa</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is little variation in the average length of time employers (6 years) and employees (5.7 years) had been in New Zealand since obtaining permanent residence. Male employees (6 years) tended to have been here a little longer than females (5.1 years).

When the employees in our study were asked how long they had spent working in New Zealand prior to obtaining their permanent residence, the responses ranged from zero months (50% overall, 67% of Auckland and 30% of Hamilton employees) to 36 months (9%). The average time was almost 10 months. Women (60%) were more likely than men (42%) to spend no months working between arrival in New Zealand and obtaining permanent residence. This differs from the LisNZ results which show that approximately a third of British men (33%) and women (34%) had gained permanent residence approval in six months or less following their arrival in New Zealand.
Turning now to education levels, more than half of the employers and just over 90 percent of employees (that is, 74 percent of all the participants in the study) had a Bachelor’s degree or higher qualification. This is considerably higher than found among the LisNZ British participants where 31.4 percent had obtained a similar educational level and significantly higher again than the 16 percent of Auckland’s New Zealand-born population who have a Bachelor’s degree or higher (see Table 10). The high percentage of degree qualified employees in our sample confirms the extent to which this group of participants were not necessarily representative of all British migrants, but it also allows us to explore some of the characteristics of this particular sub-group of British migrants who are concentrated in the areas of education and training (all of the employees in Auckland), and the health sector (80% in Hamilton).

### Table 10   Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employers</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s Degree or</td>
<td>57.2%</td>
<td>90.8%</td>
<td>91.7%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of participants from both employment categories were married. However, while all Hamilton employees were either married or in a de facto relationship, nearly 42 percent of those in Auckland had either never married or were divorced or separated.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Employers (%)</th>
<th>Employees (%)</th>
<th>Auckland (%)</th>
<th>Hamilton (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never married</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil union</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Facto</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced/Separated</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of religious affiliation, the British participants declared much lower levels of affiliation than any of the other groups interviewed as part of the IIP project. While migrants from South Africa and Korea were largely Christian (Meares, et al., 2011a; Meares, et al., 2010b), a relatively small majority of British employers (57%) identified as Christian, and a relatively high proportion of Auckland employees (75%) identified as having no religion, especially those in Auckland. Some of the British employers (8.3%) and employees (10%) indicated a Buddhist affiliation suggesting some diversification in the religious background of the migrant group (Table 12).
Table 12  Religion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employers (%)</th>
<th>Employees (%)</th>
<th>Employees Auckland (%)</th>
<th>Employees Hamilton (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Religion</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>59.1</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With respect to ethnicity, the United Kingdom 2001 census shows that 4.6 million, or 7.9 percent, of the United Kingdom population identify as 'non-White' (Office for National Statistics, 2005). While the increasingly diverse ethnicity of the British population is reflected in the general population of United Kingdom-born migrants to New Zealand (Bedford, Callister, & Didham, 2010), this does not appear to be the case among the participants in our study. Posed as an open-ended question, there was a degree of ambivalence in participant responses, with many hesitating over how to define their ethnicity. Their choices provide a wide range of labels as shown in Table 13 below. Almost 59 percent opted for 'European' with 27 percent of those modifying the term with 'White'. Twenty-seven percent identified as 'British', with others specifying 'White English' or 'Caucasian'.

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21 Following Frueh (2003), the capitalisation of these labels is intended to convey the fact that they are political and socially-constructed rather than natural distinctions.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>All Participants %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White European</td>
<td>27.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>24.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>20.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White British</td>
<td>6.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Caucasian</td>
<td>6.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White English</td>
<td>3.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British European</td>
<td>3.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pākehā</td>
<td>3.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LANGUAGE**

There is a minimum standard of English required for most migrants entering New Zealand through the skilled or business visa categories (Department of Labour, 2009a; 2009b), reflecting the general consensus in the literature that English language proficiency is an important predictor of post-migration employment (Chiswick, Lee, & Miller, 2004; 2006; Foroutan, 2008; Winkelmann, 1999).

All United Kingdom participants stated that English was their main language, the one they speak, read and write best, and for each, do these ‘very well’. While one employer indicated they could read a newspaper and/or hold a conversation in another language, and around half of the employees could also, our participants were predominantly monolingual in English.
A few participants commented on the impact of a British accent in New Zealand; one reported being taunted by mimics and one had found that, because they look like Pākehā New Zealanders, 'Kwis' did not listen carefully to them and perceived their British accent to be hard to understand. Another’s colleague had encountered problems at work when dealing with customers. However, on the whole, those who mentioned accent had found a British accent was perceived to be acceptable.

Oh I experience it all the time here with people making Yorkshire-like statements. Oh yes. It is terrible. [Laughs] (Does it bother you?) Oh, no one has seen fit to ask me before if it bothers me. (Well I am asking) I’m hardened to it now.

We hear, 'You bloody foreigners in my country telling me what I can do’… it’s not so bad with me. With me it’s more of a, ‘That’s not a Kiwi accent. Where are you from?’ and it’s kind of okay that I’m English and living here … and I guess because English is my first language, that’s not so bad. I’m not perceived quite so foreign as some foreign people, which is probably a language barrier more than anything else.

One of our receptionists is English, has been here 30 years but sounds like she’s stepped right off the set of Coronation Street. She had a phone call not so long ago and the person wanted to speak to a proper Kiwi. She was like, ‘Well, I’ve been here 30 years and I have a passport’, and the person on the phone said, ‘No, I want to speak to a proper Kiwi’.

I still walk into a shop and … you have to repeat yourself because they are wanting to hear a Kiwi accent and they see me coming in as a white person and they are expecting it, and especially in one-to-one, they are really focussed on it. Whereas coming in as Black or Asian, they would be paying more attention.

**HOME COUNTRY EMPLOYMENT**

Participants were asked about their last job before they migrated to New Zealand. Among the seven employers, four (57%) worked as managers (including one self-employed), two (29%) worked as professionals and one was in clerical or administration work. Employees (82%), both women (90%) and men (75%), were far more likely to have been working in professional or management (including self-employment) than in any other occupation. Others had worked as technicians or tradespersons, in community or personal service, or in clerical or administrative

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22 The term ‘Kiwi’ is generally used by participants to refer to Pākehā 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.

23 Throughout this report, interviewees’ words are in italics and the interviewers’ words are in bold and bracketed.
work. The large majority of employees in Auckland (83%) had been working in professional jobs and the remaining 17 percent in clerical or administration work. In Hamilton, 60 percent were working in the professions and the remaining 40 percent were evenly spread across management (including self-employment), technical or trades, and community or personal service.

The 77 percent of the British IIP employers and employees (combined) who had been working in management or the professions is higher than the 54 percent of LisNZ participants. This is a reflection of other differences between our IIP participants and those in the LisNZ study, with those in our study showing higher age and education levels, a greater number gaining permanent residence through the skilled principal category and a shorter period spent in New Zealand before gaining permanent residence.

In their last job prior to moving to New Zealand, 57 percent of British employers managed between three and 50 employees (with a median of 10), while 41 percent of the employees managed between four and 17 employees (also with a median of 10). Hamilton employees were considerably more likely than those in Auckland to have managed employees: 60 percent of United Kingdom employees in Hamilton managed an average of 10 employees, while 25 percent of Auckland employees managed an average of seven employees.

Although all were in paid employment prior to leaving for New Zealand, around 14 percent of both employers and employees were working fewer than 20 hours per week. The average number of hours worked per week was 52 by employers and 41 by employees.

A gender comparison of occupational mobility in Table 14 shows interesting differences, both among the IIP participants (of employees and employers combined) and between them and the LisNZ respondents. With IIP participants, there was a clear distinction between the occupational mobility of men and women in the different occupational groups. The women tended to experience downward mobility when they first arrived in New Zealand but then rose higher than the men who did not drop on entry here. Pre-migration almost 82 percent of women were in either management or the professions with a smaller 72 percent of men working in these categories. The percentage of women in management and professions dropped to 73 when they first arrived in New Zealand but rose to almost 91 percent at the time of the interviews. The men, on the other hand, stayed at 72 percent when they first arrived and rose to 83 percent at their current jobs. Once again, a comparison with LisNZ shows marked differences, with the men dropping on arrival in New Zealand and not recovering while the women rose with their arrival: 57 percent of LisNZ men were in management and professions in the United Kingdom,
dropping to 53 percent at Wave One and staying there at Wave Two; 50 percent of LisNZ women had worked in management and professions in the United Kingdom, rising to equal the men at 53 percent by Wave Two in New Zealand.

Table 14  Gender Comparison of Occupational Mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>United Kingdom</th>
<th>First Job</th>
<th>Current Job</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIP</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>55.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72.2</td>
<td>81.8</td>
<td>72.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LisNZ</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>53.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ASSETS AND INCOME

We asked participants a number of questions about their assets and income, both in New Zealand and overseas. Overall, the results from this section of the survey suggest that, like our South Africans interviewees (Meares et al., 2011), the British employers and employees we interviewed enjoy relative prosperity, particularly in comparison with the position of the Korean and Chinese participants from our earlier reports (Meares et al., 2010a; 2010b; 2011).

The report on South African experiences shows that despite South African immigrants’ overall economic prosperity, there were key differences between employers and employees and between employees resident in Hamilton and Auckland, suggesting that employers were experiencing more economic hardship than employees, and that Auckland-based employees were less well off than their counterparts in Hamilton. A more complex picture is revealed among British interviewees, indicating that, on the whole, employers were better off than employees. Although fewer British employers (43%) than employees (77%) owned their homes, this is counterbalanced by several factors: (1) 29 percent of employers owned business properties; (2) only 25 percent of employers with homes had a mortgage compared with a much greater 89 percent of employees who had home mortgages; (3) 57 percent of employers own other assets in New Zealand as well as overseas, while among employees, a smaller 41 percent owned other assets in New Zealand and 45 percent owned assets overseas.

Comparing employees in Auckland and Hamilton shows a pattern closer to that experienced by the South African employees, apart from income levels which tended to be higher among the British interviewees, especially in Auckland. Auckland employees, with 75 percent earning more than $70,000 a year (and 50% on $100,000 or more), were on higher levels of annual personal income than Hamilton employees where just 40 percent earned more than $70,000 (and 20% earned $100,000 or more). However, this may be offset by the higher costs of housing and living in Auckland: 80 percent of Hamilton employees (70% of those with a mortgage) owned their homes compared with 75 percent of Auckland employees (all with a mortgage); and only 17 percent of Aucklanders had other assets in New Zealand as well as overseas compared with 70 percent of Hamiltonians owning assets in New Zealand and 80 percent owning assets overseas.

In contrast to South African participants who had received a range of income support benefits, ‘Working for Families’24 is the only form of income support received by British employers (14%) and employees (4.5%). Looking at superannuation schemes, employers (fewer than

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24 Delivered by Work and Income and Inland Revenue, Working for Families is a financial welfare support package designed to help make it easier to work and raise a family.
30%) were least likely to have a superannuation scheme, including ‘Kiwisaver’, while employees in Hamilton (70%) were more likely to have some kind of superannuation provision than those living in Auckland (50%).

In order to better understand participants’ overall economic situations, we asked them whether they regularly had to use savings to cover their expenses, how well their total income met their everyday needs and how their post-migration situations compared with their positions in the United Kingdom. Responses to these questions show a similarity, except by degree, between British and South African employers compared to employees but a reverse picture emerges in relation to employees in the two cities. Looking first at interviewees’ use of savings (or the interest from savings) to meet their daily needs, employers (at 43%) were far more likely to be in this situation than employees (4.5%). However, no employees in Auckland had used this strategy to cope financially while 10 percent of Hamilton employees had.

Almost 64 percent of employees and just over 57 percent of employers said that their total income met their everyday needs either ‘very well’ or ‘quite well’, while 27.3 percent of employees and 43 percent of employers chose ‘adequately’ (see Table 15). Although no employers selected the ‘very poorly’ option, one employee described their situation in this way. Following the same trend reflected in responses to earlier questions (but against the trend for South Africans), two-thirds of Auckland employees said that their income met their everyday needs either ‘very well’ (16.7%) or ‘quite well’ (50%), while this figure was slightly less for Hamilton residents (40% stated ‘very well’ and 20% ‘quite well’).

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25 Coming into operation in 2007, Kiwisaver is a voluntary work-based retirement savings initiative.

26 Participants were asked how well their income met their everyday needs for things like housing, food, clothing and other necessities, on a scale of one to five, one being ‘very well’ and five being ‘very poorly’.
When comparing their New Zealand and United Kingdom experiences, Table 16 shows that participants’ responses again follow the trend of earlier answers, with differences between employers and employees, and also between Auckland and Hamilton-based employees. Although nearly 30 percent of both employers and employees said that they were ‘much better off’ post-migration, only employees (18.2%) said they were ‘a little better off’, while 28.6 percent of employers and 9.1 percent of employees described their positions as ‘about the same’.

Overall, a considerable 43 percent of employers considered themselves either ‘a little worse off’ or ‘much worse off’, not dissimilar to employees (41%). Despite their higher overall incomes, more employees in Auckland (50%) considered themselves to be worse off than did employees in Hamilton (30%). Although overall, the British-born interviewees are faring well financially, particularly when compared to our Asia-born participants, both employers and Auckland-based employees are experiencing greater difficulties than Hamilton residents. This may be explained by participants’ annual incomes,27 Auckland’s relatively expensive housing market and Hamilton interviewees’ longer average length of residency in New Zealand.

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27 Employees were asked to indicate their personal income bracket, with options ranging from $1-5000 through to $100,000+. Only one participant did not answer this question.
Table 16 Economic Well-Being (Part B)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Zealand/United Kingdom comparison:</th>
<th>Employers</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Employees Auckland</th>
<th>Employees Hamilton&lt;sup&gt;28&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Much better off</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little better off</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About the same</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little worse off</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Much worse off</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The information provided above has been drawn from the closed questions in the interview schedule. As our data indicates, most of the interviewees are employed in positions which are similar to those they held in Britain and there is relatively little evidence of the downward occupational mobility experienced by immigrants from Asia. The result is that the proportions who are worse-off are modest, again by comparison. They enjoy higher levels of prosperity so that economic and social outcomes are largely positive. These conclusions are qualified by some of the open-ended answers provided below but, as far as comparisons between immigrant groups, the British are generally better off than all other migrant groups studied in the IIP research, with the possible exception of immigrants from South Africa.

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

<sup>28</sup> Employees’ percentages do not add up to 100 as one Hamilton employee did not answer this question.
HOPES AND DREAMS

Participants were asked about the hopes and dreams they had for their migration to New Zealand. As the following table shows, by far the most common response was the desire for a better, more relaxed lifestyle. Participants also talked about wanting: to improve their employment prospects; a safer environment; and improved education and employment opportunities for their children or partner. Some spoke of their desire for a new start, their wish to join family who had already migrated to New Zealand and wanting to explore a new country. These migration motives (or very similar ones) also appear on the list of most common reasons given by participants in the LisNZ at numbers one (relaxed pace of life or lifestyle), six (safety from crime), four (employment opportunity), three (a better future for my children) and seven (join family members) (Department of Labour, 2009a).

Table 17 Hopes and Dreams

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lifestyle</td>
<td>75.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own employment</td>
<td>48.27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safer environment</td>
<td>44.82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s education</td>
<td>27.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New start</td>
<td>10.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other30</td>
<td>13.78%31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29 Migrants who move for lifestyle reasons are being increasingly defined in the academic literature as ‘lifestyle migrants’ (see, for example, Benson & O’Reilly, 2009; Torkington, 2010). The phrase has been used to describe those who seek a ‘clean, green’ or sustainable environment or to escape the worst impacts of climate change – eco-migrants – (Leake & Rushworth, 2009), as well as to describe retirement migration (to warmer, sunnier destinations) and urban to rural migration. However, more recently the definition is being enlarged to include those who seek better opportunities for themselves and their children in terms of escape from heavily industrialised or urbanised cityscapes or a search for residential, educational or recreational opportunities that may not be available in the source country.

30 ‘Other’ includes those who migrate to join family members and those who aim to support their partner’s and children’s employment.

31 Due to multiple possible responses, the figures do not add up to 100.
More than three-quarters of British interviewees said that they moved to New Zealand for an improved lifestyle or quality of life. For some, the desired improvement would be in a slower, more relaxed pace of life made possible by the smaller, less densely settled population and shorter commuting times. Others wanted to be able to live in a larger house with space for a garden. About a third hoped that the more relaxed pace of life, less crowded conditions, proximity to beaches and mountains, and/or drier, more temperate climate would enable them to enjoy more time outdoors. The following interview excerpts demonstrate the participants’ viewpoints about the hoped-for new lifestyle:

Certainly for a better lifestyle, a less hectic lifestyle. Everybody had always said to us New Zealand is the place for you, there's lots of walking, it's very beautiful – because we both like to hike and things like that.

An improved quality of life. That was the main thing that we came over for. (Right, so that's the life outside of work then?) Everything: at work, outside of work, our assets, enjoying the New Zealand countryside. We haven't got a family, but we were thinking of family, if we ever had them at the time that we could improve their quality of life too.

We needed a change. We were burning out in the UK and we wanted a little bit more of the outdoor life and the clean, green living.

I wanted a bigger house because in England we were in a detached house, quite a big house but nothing compared to what we have here. We just wanted not to be looking over my back gate and seeing my next door neighbour, lovely though she was ... I wanted to enjoy a more outside life, better weather, just really wanted to get out of the rat race, the pressure of always trying to get ahead.

I just got fed up with the UK ... It is just far too busy. On a good day I was commuting 45 minutes to work. On a bad day, it was an hour and a half. And the same again back. Britain is just so busy. Everybody's short of time, they are becoming unfriendlier. If you go to Heathrow airport now it is just appalling. People don't even talk to you as if you're a human being. It is just terrible. It's not because they're bad people, it's because they're under pressure. And in New Zealand we just wanted to get away from the traffic, the pressure. We wanted our lives to be slower, we wanted more space. It's a much better place to raise a family.

32 UK has been used in place of United Kingdom where this was used by participants.
b) **OWN EMPLOYMENT**

Almost half of the participants hoped to further their careers, finding employment in their preferred field or finding more enjoyable employment.

*Opportunities certainly to be a bit more creative. The job I left was very structured, very pre-ordained sort of thing, so I needed a bit more opportunity to be a bit more of an entrepreneur.*

*To be able to do the work I enjoy.*

*I didn’t have a career in the UK … I remember the day that my line manager… said *Congratulations … you have just been made permanent’ … And my heart just sank. ’Shit, I can’t do this for another twenty years’.*

*Although I was employed full-time it was on a fixed-term contract. So it was really at a stage like when I really needed to find something that was stable so that meant looking at other [institutions]*\(^{33}\) *than where we were.*

*When I did come over here I was excited about the prospects of starting something new, because I wouldn’t have started a shop in [city] not like this.*

c) **SAFER ENVIRONMENT**

The third most frequently mentioned hope for British migrants was for a safer environment. In common with Chinese, Korean and South African interviewees, the underlying reason for many British participants wanting an improved lifestyle was to benefit their children’s lives and provide them with greater opportunities. The desire for a safe environment for their children is tantamount to this, examples of which are apparent in the following.

*Definitely for the safer environment for my children.*

*A safer upbringing for the kids.*

*Yeah there is crime in New Zealand, but for me it was just the pro rata. There are only four million of the buggers out to get you here, whereas in the UK there are 70 million (Laughs) of the buggers.*

\(^{33}\) Square brackets indicate the omission of information, such as names, locations and fields of expertise, that might identify the research participant.
The place we came from by UK standards ... it was a reasonably nice area... it wasn’t in the city... but there were still drugs being offered to kids on the school bus and all that kind of thing. It is just part and parcel of where it is. There are so many people so you are fearful for your kids when they’re out.

d) **Children’s Education**

Forty-one percent of our British-born interviewees came to New Zealand with children. Two-thirds of these listed educational opportunities for their children among their pre-migration hopes and dreams. The quotes below illustrate these sentiments.

*Yes, for children. Improving educational opportunities for my step-daughter.*

*For my family, a higher standard of education.*

*I think children get more opportunities here. The UK is so politically correct now, children would never go to camp with the UK. Within weeks of my children being here they had both gone to camp with their respective schools. They were big pulls for us.*

*New Zealand has got a good reputation for education.*

e) **New Start**

Although not a common motivator for migration among our participants, making a fresh start and leaving behind the past was a key motivation for three participants, as two of them explain here.

*I was going to get a good job, start my career, get a house and get on with my life really.*

*Doing something different was another dream, you know actually, hey we could do whatever we wanted (Ah, ok, sort of a new start?) Yeah a new start, new opportunities.*

**Discrimination**

We asked the participants about their perceptions and experiences of discrimination since arriving in New Zealand. The results for the survey questions (focusing on participants’ perceptions and experiences of discrimination) (see Table 18), suggest that, while discrimination toward British migrants is not common-place, it is in the workplace that British interviewees are most likely to have personally experienced discrimination.
Table 18 Experiences of Discrimination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migrants experience 'some' discrimination</th>
<th>EMPLOYERS</th>
<th>EMPLOYEES</th>
<th>EMPLOYEES</th>
<th>EMPLOYEES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the workplace</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the media</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>66.6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In organisations</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the street</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Over one-third claimed to have been on the receiving end of some form of workplace discrimination. This has occurred most frequently when applying for jobs, being accused of taking jobs from ‘locals’ or not taken seriously because they are not ‘Kiwis’. Others feel that, in the workplace, they have been treated as ‘arrogant’ and one has been called a ‘Pommy snob’. Others stated:

*I had a case of a [client] being quite irate with me because I was not a Kiwi and coming over here and taking my job type of thing ... Some of my colleagues at [place of employment] thought it was unnecessary that I should get a different job above them.*

*I think there is a lot of; I wouldn’t say it is as strong as racism, but there is an undercurrent still that English people, ‘Oh you come in here with your English attitudes,’ and I think people that come in here like that struggle. So we have had some people join our service from England and they have since left because I think they came in saying, ‘Ah, back in England it is like this’ and people just get fed up with that and say, ‘Well, why don’t you go back to England then?’*

While many believe that migrants experience at least some discrimination in New Zealand, they tend to feel that migrants from the United Kingdom are less likely to suffer discrimination than migrants from other origins or ethnicities. Consequently, smaller proportions of British
interviewees reported experiencing discrimination than our respondents from Korea (75% of employees and 92.9% of employers) or China (55% of employees and 30% of employers) (Meares et al., 2010a; 2010b). One noted that the differences between themselves and New Zealand-born may be expressed in a light-hearted way: ‘you get called ‘Pom’ and things like that, but it’s all just harmless fun. I have not had any negative issues at all’. However, comments from another participant show wariness of an underlying tension:

‘Here’s another Pommy’ and even although that is generally jovial and quite light hearted ... There has been nothing that has happened that you would go, that is an incident. Most of the differences tend to be highlighted in a jovial banter-ish way. In sport, particularly when England plays New Zealand, there is an element of that. I think over time if that continues it gets wearing.

In this section of the survey, as in others, there are also differences between the experiences and perceptions of Auckland and Hamilton participants. South African participants living in Hamilton reported experiencing more discrimination than their Auckland counterparts (Meares et al., 2011). On the other hand, British perceptions of personal discrimination in the workplace and in organisations were more evenly reported in the two cities but, while 25 percent said that they had experienced discrimination on the street in Auckland, no Hamilton residents said that they had experienced discrimination in this location. While two-thirds of Auckland employees spoke of observing discrimination in the media, it was not mentioned by any employers or by Hamilton employees. Moreover, the discrimination reported was not in relation to themselves but to ‘Asian’ immigrants or to their belief that New Zealanders and the New Zealand media discriminate in favour of Māori.

(Do you think there is discrimination in the media against immigrants?) I think not actively but there is a cultural definition of ... What everyone is called, what they are and you just don't get that in Britain and even in Europe. They have got away from identifying people.

I would in the media. There is about foreign drivers at the moment ... I wouldn't say particularly English. I would say Asian more.

Ah some immigrants do, but not Brits.
I would say in the Kiwi way rarely is it spoken out. That’s why Hone Harawira\textsuperscript{34} gets so much media time, but he is only saying what lots of people are thinking. I mean my school is very big on trying to build up the bicultural thing, but there are members of staff who will say, ‘Well, hold on a minute, but we have other ethnicities too. We need to think multicultural’. And so there is a tension between those who are dealing with bicultural and those who are dealing with multicultural and there seems to be again that there is a balance to be struck.

RELATIONSHIPS, HOME LIFE AND LEISURE

Although the Integration of Immigrants Programme focuses largely on the labour market experiences of migrant employers and employees, we are also 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. In the next 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

Forty-five percent of employees and 14 percent of employers had family living in New Zealand before they arrived. The majority of these family members were in-laws followed by aunts, uncles and cousins and there was only one instance each of a partner, a sister and a daughter. This differs from our earlier Chinese, Korean and South African reports which found that spouses and children were more likely to arrive in New Zealand at different times, with either the husband arriving first to establish a business or get a job followed by his wife and children, or wives and children arriving first to settle their children into school, followed at a later date by husbands and fathers (Meares et al., 2010a; 2010b; 2011). Nearly 70 percent of British interviewees, on the other hand, arrived with their partners and, where they had them, their children. The two children who arrived post-migration were working age. Those with aunts, uncles or cousins in New Zealand were likely to say that they did not know them well or had had little contact with them pre-migration. One said, ‘I only met them once’. However, another elaborated on the way in which the migration process can bring extended families closer together:

\begin{quote}
Before I applied for the job here in 2004 I met this guy. I was at a funeral and this guy walked up to me and said, ‘Hello son, I am your uncle.’ And I thought, ‘Who the hell are
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{34} MP Hone Harawira is a Māori activist and Leader of the Mana Party.
you? I have no idea who you are.’ And it turned out that it was actually my father’s cousin [from New Zealand]. And he was in the UK for his mother, and that was the only time that I had ever met him. So when I came out … he met us at the airport when we arrived.

In the years following migration, 20 percent have had visits from family ‘back home’. Interviewees also assisted friends and acquaintances, both formally (through sponsorship) and informally (providing a place to stay and advice on jobs and housing) to migrate to New Zealand. This assistance was provided to family members, work colleagues and friends by 18 percent of employees and 42.8 percent of employers.

Interviewees were asked what friendships and relationships were important to them in New Zealand. In response, they talked about their spouses, their immediate and extended families and their friends. They met and made friends at work, through business contacts such as fellow business owners and customers, with their neighbours, through their children’s contacts, and through leisure activities at sports and other clubs. Some noted that, because they have been in New Zealand for only a brief time, they have fewer friends than they did in the United Kingdom, they are more selective in developing friendships, and that such friendships are likely to be at a deeper level. As one participant explains:

*We have got a smaller group of friends here than we had in the UK just because we had a lot of friends in the UK and we have only been here for six years instead of 35 years. But they are quite important. I think when you move here you tend to be more selective. I mean when you think about it, with a large group of friends some you are friends with because they are friends of a friend of a friend, whereas in New Zealand when you don’t know anyone you sort of become selective of the ones that become important. It’s more of a tighter, closer network of friends I think. You choose the ones that you get on with and like and you focus on them, and the ones you don’t you just say hello to and that’s about it.*

A common theme was the importance to participants of other migrants, especially those from the United Kingdom and Kiwis who had returned from living in Britain. They spoke of the increased intimacy which developed in friendships with other migrants as they re-created a sense of extended family amongst other nuclear families in their communities. They also talked about finding it easier to develop friendships with them and the support they gained from their shared cultural experiences and understanding.

*I have some Kiwi friends who are just good friends. You talk about things, different things. With the Brits you talk about the old days, the foods, but with the Kiwis you talk about the sport, you talk about the countryside, the walks, the politics, you know.*
I have a few good mates that are my own friends. I think I need them. The thing is that most of them are actually English. I mean it is different working here now because I have been working here for a while but mostly they are English, Irish, Scottish, and I think [the reason] is that we are all in the same boat ... I mean I have obviously got Kiwi friends and South African friends, but when you are in the same boat it is easier to make friends.

The friends I have met are all Poms. I haven’t got any Kiwi friends. I think it is when you first arrive you hear someone talking and it's, 'Oh, where are you from?' And it's an opening and it is easy. It’s understandable. You don’t say to a Kiwi, ‘Oh where are you from?’

When they were asked what friendships and relationships were important to them overseas, most interviewees talked about their parents, other family members such as siblings and grandparents, and friends who were still living in the United Kingdom. Some participants expressed a sense of sadness at being so far away from loved ones and at losing the ease of day-to-day contact with them.

All the friendships seem to disappear.

It’s not the same as if I was there. The time difference and everything. One of my friends, just before you turned up, he Skyped me and I said, 'Sorry mate, I've got to go to a meeting', you know?

Yes, we've got friends [still in the United Kingdom]. It's bizarre actually because I've got two very good friends over there and I was looking at a picture of them today and I was really missing them.

We were also interested in the ways in which interviewees kept in touch with friends and family, both here in New Zealand and overseas. While they spoke of who they formed relationships with in New Zealand and why, not many mentioned how they maintained those relationships. The majority of those who did said that they maintained their New Zealand relationships face-to-face. Around seven percent used email and seven percent used internet forums, while just one person spoke of using the phone, texting and Skype® to maintain their New Zealand relationships.

Looking at respondents' overseas relationships, the most common way of communicating with friends and family was by email (34.5%), followed by phone calls (24%) and Skype® (17%). Three percent of interviewees keep in touch by texting and a further three percent via

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35 Skype is a trademarked software application that allows videoconferencing over the internet.
Almost 32 percent of employees and 28.6 percent of employers said that they maintained their overseas relationships face-to-face, although this is likely to occur less frequently than emails and phone calls.

We have averaged four sets of visitors every year since we’ve been in New Zealand. And they don’t come for a week, they usually come for four or five weeks!

I visit regularly. I visit every year. I organise my visits so that they are around conferences as I am passing through Europe, on my way somewhere, or on my way back. So I do make sure that I keep in contact.

HOME LIFE

We asked interviewees to tell us about their daily lives, firstly in the United Kingdom and then in New Zealand. The most common theme that emerged from an analysis of employers’ and employees’ responses was that the interviewees often believed their lives had not altered dramatically post-migration. Rather, they suggested, there tend to be more opportunities in some areas and fewer in others, in each country. For example, there are likely to be more opportunities for some cultural pursuits in the United Kingdom because of the bigger population base, and more for outdoor activities in New Zealand because of the smaller size of the country, closeness to beaches, bush and mountains, the longer summers and temperate climate.

Some changes, as the interviewees pointed out, are more related to changes in life circumstances. These are changes that would most likely have occurred even if they had stayed in the United Kingdom, such as moving from life as a student to participation in paid employment, from part-time to full-time work, from working as an employee to working as a business owner, from single to married life or the reverse, or to parenthood.

It’s very similar. I have almost exactly the same routine. My journey to work takes me almost exactly the same amount of time. In London, I was driving from the centre out. I am doing exactly the same here … So in many ways my daily routine is very similar, except that I am living on my own now. And partly as a result of being on my own, I am out every evening doing something. So I am currently living a much more active outgoing lifestyle.

It hasn’t made that much difference because when I was in the UK my life revolved around my kids. And to some extent, what social life I have still revolves around my kids. It is just that they

Facebook is an online social networking service.
are older and we do different things ... But I am not sure that they are that different. We used to go camping, we used to go to the beach, so in New Zealand you go camping and you go to the beach. The kids played tennis; the kids play tennis. It didn’t make a big difference.

We look first at men’s daily lives in the United Kingdom. A number of their stories focused on work, including the extended work hours and travel times in the United Kingdom compared to New Zealand, and how family (38.9% of men arrived in New Zealand accompanied by children) and other activities were more readily accommodated post-migration as a result. The following excerpts are fairly typical of the descriptions we received.

People here don’t tend to work past five o’clock or they don’t work weekends, which is why we came. But traditionally I would have worked until seven in the evening and most weekends I’d have worked ... There are 32 million cars on the road in the UK and they all seem to be in front of you when trying to get somewhere so you don’t have that problem here ... to drive around New Zealand is delightful. That’s one of the reasons why we came, a much better balance of working life ... I live on the North Shore and I work here, and so in terms of my commute that’s drastically reduced. My last post in the UK, I was commuting an hour and a half, one way, so that was like three hours a day commuting.

It was a longer working day in England mainly because of the travel ... because Auckland isn’t very big it doesn’t take that long to get anywhere ... I would think nothing of driving for three hours, doing eight hours work and driving back for three hours, previously. Whereas here I would drive for twenty minutes then do eight hours work and then drive for twenty minutes. My working day is probably similar, actual work, but it’s the travel that makes it a lot shorter here.

I probably don’t play as much football as I would like to. I would like to play that more ... Although I don’t necessarily take up every opportunity ... sports here are a lot more accessible. There is a lot more physical activity and a lot more openness in terms of physical activity ... more walking, tramping, kayaking, cycling and all that kind of thing.

Because we owned our own house in the UK, it was your house, you’d jobs to do. This is rented accommodation so it is a different set up. We do have a garden ... but you don’t put as much effort into the house as you would have done, into things like redecorating and

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37 Rather than describing first their daily lives in the United Kingdom and then following with a description of their routines in New Zealand, the men were likely to swap back and forth, comparing different aspects of their lives in each country.
fitting new bathrooms and things that you wouldn’t do here because it’s not your bathroom.

For some male participants, changes were brought about by the change in location, combined with a change of occupation. For others, the change of location has led to a deliberate change of lifestyle to include more leisure activities.

I’d get up at 5 am, be at work for 6 am, work till 4 pm ... then I’d cycle to the [...] then I’d open that up at 6 pm till 1 am. Five days a week in the factory and then all weekend as well in the [...] and that used to be midday till midnight Saturday and Sunday. (So there was not much time for socialising?) Well, no, the social life was great, all weekend basically. We used to go on big nights out, hire coaches and go watch bands. But, no family time. No family time at all (And in New Zealand?) Now, it’s great. I start work at 9 am, finish at 5 pm. Weekends off, drinks on Friday afternoon, evenings don’t do work as such, just family time, pure family time. So, yeah, way more family time in New Zealand and a slower pace of life definitely. Still busy, but not busy like we were in the UK.

And what am I doing in New Zealand? Pretty well the same thing. I think what happens here is I take more advantage of the environment here so although I work hard, I may have mentioned that I work sixty hours, I actually have a game of golf every Thursday afternoon ... The same at the weekends, although I might have to work one of the days, when I’m not working we’ll be out in the car or go swimming or taking advantage of remembering why we’re here.

We turn now to women’s daily lives in the United Kingdom. On the whole, they were very similar to the men’s. Apart from one woman who had been studying for four years, all of the women we interviewed were engaged in paid work pre-migration. However, several were working part-time, moving to full-time employment in New Zealand. For those with children (45.5% of the women arrived in New Zealand accompanied by children), the focus was on fitting childcare arrangements around work life, both in the United Kingdom and in New Zealand.

Like the men, the women spoke of how they believed that changes in the daily routine of their lives were only partially the result of their shift to New Zealand. They too, suggested that the reasons were more related to changing circumstances such as moving into paid employment, parenthood, or their children now being older and more independent in some areas. That said, while older children no longer required transportation to and from school, they still required transportation to sports and other activities after school and at weekends.
In the United Kingdom] Rising at 6 o’clock, children off to school. May even leave them at home to get themselves off to school for some of the time. Off to work, not back in the evening till 7 or 8 o’clock at night and the children may well have to go home and open up the house themselves and sort themselves out. And that was happening five days a week. Saturday and Sunday heavily involved with sport and activities for the children. Very little time for myself or to do anything other than work and run round for the children … I was commuting 40 minutes, could be an hour and a half in one direction and my husband the same in another direction so that was added on every morning and that was one of the things that is a lot better coming over here. (And in New Zealand?) Take the children to sports practice before school three days a week. The other days we don’t need to get up as early. We can take them to the bus, take them to school and we’re 10 minutes from work and that commuting journey is at most 15 minutes … And it’s not as stressful, leaves more time in the evening to do whatever we want as a family. And then at the weekend, we do spend Saturday rushing around for sport but all of it is on Saturday. Training for sport takes place during the week so that leaves Sunday where we are all free as a family to do things together.

I only worked three days a week (in the United Kingdom). Get up, shower, breakfast, get my three-year old ready for day care, take him to day care, go to work, come back from work, pick up my son, dinner, bath for him, shower then bed. Boring. (What were your working hours?) Oh I worked from 9-5, three days a week, and day care was round the corner from where I worked. It was great. I had a better work life balance there, definitely better, because I only worked part-time. Life outside of work wasn’t as good quality but I had more time with my family than I do now working full-time. (And in New Zealand?) Get up, get children, get breakfast and usually take the children to school and to a friend who looks after them, work, pick up my seven-year old, bit of play time, be able to sit down and watch TV for an hour, bed. Five days a week. Saying that, part of the day is also my son’s sporting activities, but my husband coaches them so I don’t have to go and do that. Take him to swimming lessons one day a week after school. He goes to soccer practice one day a week after school. I haven’t found time to do anything for me this year.

I used to have to get up fairly early (in the United Kingdom). I worked shifts most of all. Well, flexi-time and I would have to travel an hour and a half to get to my workplace, most of it at a fairly slow rate due to the pressure of traffic. So that would be fairly stressful, actually getting there … My working hours were quite unpredictable. The work came before my shift hours so I would stay until the last person had gone, so some days that
would be on time … and some days it would be 9 o’clock at night … and of course I would have an hour and a half plus trip home at the end of the day. Not much time for doing anything other than working and sleeping. (And in New Zealand?). I leave the house at 7:45 am, be at work by 8am. We only have to take the one car now and maintain the one car because we work quite closely together, which is a huge benefit. Although I still have pressures of work, they don’t seem to be as many as in the UK. As I say, I work autonomously now so the accountability to managers isn’t quite so, I don’t have to do quite so much. I finish at 4:30pm, I work regular hours. I work part-time so I can do other stuff like my study. And it takes me 10 minutes to get home at the end of the day.

While some participants spoke of flexi-time employment conditions in New Zealand allowing greater freedom to organise and enjoy their life outside work, one found flexi-time in the United Kingdom was better, describing New Zealand management-style as a ‘bit backward’. Most described their working days as being similar in length to the United Kingdom, a few found they were working longer hours and/or in more stressful conditions, and some stated that their working days and weeks were shorter in New Zealand. Several commented on a more relaxed, leisurely, slower, or laid-back lifestyle, which they attributed, in large part, to a shorter commute with less traffic.

On the one hand, some participants found it harder to make social contacts generally in New Zealand although some found it easier to make friends with other immigrants, especially those from Britain. On the other hand, other participants found it easy to slot into the social life of their local school and work communities. A common theme was the relative ease with which they could now spend time with their families, and/or in outdoor activities:

*I love the sense of the outdoors, which you get here, and which you didn’t get in the UK … Here, the houses are individualised and everything is very different. In the UK, you tend to live on estates or where houses were very similar and the division of property is very equal. I mean, my back garden is, I come from somewhere like Coronation Street. I come out into the street and I see – everybody! Whereas here … you just get a feeling of openness even though you are in a city. And within 20 minutes to half an hour, you are outside of that environment completely. There is very much a sense of openness with all the domains and everything. It’s a lot different.*

*I don’t think my lifestyle is hugely changed but there are more opportunities to do certain things, and the weather is generally better here as well, which makes it just a lot easier to be outside here, more so than in the UK.*
LEISURE

Participants were asked what activities, other than work, they regularly made time for over the course of a week. Interviewees said that they liked to go to the movies, attend festivals or concerts and do family-oriented activities such as taking their children to the beach or sports activities. Many were involved in educational activities, their own and their children’s, ranging from hobby classes, such as music and cookery courses, to work-related and university study. Socialising with friends was an important aspect of the lives of several British participants. They also enjoyed many different sporting activities, including walking and hiking, fishing, golf and swimming.

The movies, probably every fortnight. We’ve been to a few concerts up in Auckland.

Weekends tend to be more sociable, my kids aren’t sporty so we might catch the ferry and wander around the shops in the city or go and walk the dog together, that type of thing.

We do a lot of family things. Take the daughter to play mini-golf and go for walks, take the dog out on the beaches, general sort of family things, cooking. Some travel but not as much as I would have liked.

Lots of interesting outside of work courses such as photography, wine-tasting and mosaics etcetera. Probably, reading and doing research and other bits and pieces.

Sports, yes. I’ve joined a golf club and I’ve joined a tennis club and I started playing squash again and I’ve had my first game of table tennis.

Take the dog for a walk twice a day. Swimming three times a week. Bike rides, and going to Ruapehu a few times over winter for skiing.

Regularly go kayaking. I go to the gym about two or three times a week for about an hour each evening. I have a couple of club meetings with the kayak club. That is about once every two weeks. I’m starting to join a yoga class and other sort of leisure activities.

Surfing, fishing, snowboarding in the winter, Pilates, sometimes I go swimming.

A few gave their time to different causes, mostly involving their local school boards or fund-raising activities, or coaching children’s after-school sports activities. For example, one was a member of a service club, one had worked voluntarily at a social services centre, one did voluntary work through the church, another ran a meditation group, one was a sports coach, one entertained at rest homes and hospitals, and one was on a city council events committee.
UNITED KINGDOM EMPLOYERS

Between them, at the time of the interviews, the seven employers (one woman and six men) interviewed for the study owned a total of eight businesses. Seventy-one percent of participants started their initial businesses either the same year they obtained permanent residence, or between one and two years later. The remaining interviewees established their businesses one or four years before they were granted permanent residence. Two of the enterprises were New Zealand publicly listed limited liability companies, two were sole proprietorships, two were private limited companies and two were partnerships. With respect to industry, three of the businesses were in retail, two were in professional, scientific and technical, and one each in health care and social assistance, other services, and administration and support services.

The businesses employed between one and seven employees, with an average of 3.1 paid employees, just under 14 percent of whom were family members, including wives (75% of cases), or husbands (25% of cases). Unlike the Korean and Chinese enterprises in our earlier reports where 57 percent and 45 percent respectively had family members working without wages or salary (Meares et al., 2010b; 2010a), there were no unpaid family members working for the British firms. Employers worked between 25 and 70 hours per week in their businesses, an average of 47 hours per week. Nearly 60 percent worked 50 hours per week or more.

STARTING OUT

Participants gave a number of reasons for establishing businesses in New Zealand. The most common was that they had been used to running their own businesses in the United Kingdom and preferred being in charge.

Initially I came out on a business visa. It was the only way for me to get into the country in terms of the immigration process because I hadn’t got a degree or anything else like that. Also I had been self-employed before in the UK so it just made sense really ... once you’ve been your own boss it’s pretty difficult to go and work for someone else.

We had run our own business previously and had been successful and we just wanted to do the same over here ... I’m better self-employed. I think I’m unemployable now so I have to run my own company.

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38 Because of the very small number of United Kingdom employers and because there is only one woman, we have not compared gender experiences, nor have we compared differences between employers in Auckland and Hamilton.

39 In fact, the husband cited was a partner in the enterprise rather than a paid employee.
Other reasons included: discovering an opportunity in New Zealand to use pre-existing skills; to fulfil a long-held desire to own a business; to reap greater financial rewards and personal satisfaction; and the ability to establish a lifestyle that allowed work to be fitted around leisure activities. The excerpts below illustrate participants’ varied responses:

If you’re employed as a […] there’s only a certain distance you can go and only a certain distance you can achieve. So if you’re your own boss, obviously you can achieve more and you can go further, both financially and in a personal manner.

I just wanted an opportunity to do something different. I felt as I was travelling through New Zealand … that there was a distinct lack of the goods that I now sell. So through that and with my desire to have a shop … I put all that together and that’s where I birthed it from. I thought there was a niche. I think there is still a niche market for what I am trying to sell.

I had an opportunity basically to do a management buy-out so I was kind of presented with the opportunity. Why did I choose to do it? Because I felt it was fairly easy actually. I had been running the company as the general manager … I had an opportunity to buy and I believed at the time that there was still a lot of value in the company and what we did and we had good process, good people and it was really easy for me to take it on. I wanted to keep it going and I wanted to have the control and be able to determine where we went next.

EMPLOYMENT TRANSITIONS

Prior to starting up their New Zealand businesses, all except two of the British employers had worked as paid employees in New Zealand. This employment, lasting between four months and four years, was in such fields as administration, management, health services and training services. Interviewees from the United Kingdom have not experienced downward occupational mobility in the transitions made between their work in the United Kingdom and their first job in New Zealand, as happened with many of the Chinese, Korean and, to a lesser extent, Indian participants. Only two participants had arranged their first job before they arrived in New Zealand. One participant had owned another New Zealand business prior to the one they were running at the time of the interview.

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40 Occupation omitted to preserve the participant’s privacy.
Table 18  Employers’ Occupational Mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>United Kingdom (%)</th>
<th>First Job (%)</th>
<th>Current Job (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and Administrative Workers</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When we compare participants’ employment in their home country to their current employment in New Zealand, the key finding is that employers have tended to move to occupationally similar work to what they did in the United Kingdom. However, there are a few differences. For example, one who was in administration remains in administration but as an employer and in a different industry, one has moved from management to ownership of a business in the same field, another has moved from the field of health care and social assistance to retail, and one from working as a health professional to owning and working in a health care business.

One of the key policy and academic questions about migrant business owners, and an important focus of the Integration of Immigrants Programme, is the extent to which migrants are forced into business ownership by their inability to enter the labour market. This small study cannot conclusively answer this question. Data from the Korean interviews indicated that they experienced some constraints in their decision to set up their own businesses, due to the requirements of their business visa (the means by which the majority gained permanent residence), because of downward occupational mobility in the transition between Korea and their first New Zealand job, and because of inadequate income (Meares et al., 2010b). These kinds of constraints were less evident among the British employers: only one entered on a business visa; and, as mentioned above, they did not experience downward occupational mobility. While 42 percent said they were either a little or much worse off financially than before they migrated to New Zealand, they all said that their current income met their everyday
needs for things like housing, food, clothing and other necessities, either ‘adequately’, ‘quite well’ or ‘very well’.

**TRAINING**

Only one participant (compared with 50% of Koreans) had undertaken some form of training before starting their New Zealand business. However, almost 86 percent invested in new skills after their businesses had started, and nearly 43 percent were engaged in training at the time of the interviews. Most training was related to running their businesses: understanding Inland Revenue Department (IRD) requirements; business management and improvement; updating web and email marketing skills; plus, in one instance, professional development courses.41

One interviewee was unenthusiastic about some of the training:

> They were on time management and delegation and things like that and I found they reinforced some of the principles I already had but I didn’t think wow, that’s really going to improve my business.

However, participants were generally positive about the training they had undertaken, describing it as very useful to their business in their new environment:

> Very useful. The owner/manager programme in particular was very useful.

> I’ve got a business coach that I started with about six months ago. (How are you finding that?) Really good, really good.

Interviewees were shown a long list of organisations and individuals and asked which three were most helpful to them during the start-up phase of their businesses. The most frequently mentioned were the IRD, Enterprise North Shore, Business Networks International (BNI) and the Chamber of Commerce. The BNI was found to be a particularly useful networking asset. Verdicts on the helpfulness of IRD, the Citizens’ Advice Bureau (CAB) and of different banks varied. One employer was helped by the CAB while another was not. Some found the IRD most helpful, while others did not and one participant stated: ‘The bank we've got now is particularly helpful but the original one was not’. Another participant elaborated on the training he received from the IRD and from his industry association:

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41 This commitment to further training can also be seen among British employees, with more than 86 percent participating in training since their arrival in New Zealand.
The IRD were quite helpful. They offered to do a course for GST because we had VAT but obviously the dynamics are slightly different. They offered us some bookkeeping workshops and an employers’ workshop, so how to keep records and things like that. The other one we found quite helpful setting up is the [Trade] Association. They supply us with lots of information, they supply us with legal back-up, they supply us with mediation should we have a complaint about any of our work when we can’t resolve it. Obviously you don’t have to use these things, they’re just there. They have an employers’ section where you can download contracts and get advice – if I was going to employ someone I could download an employment contract and it would tell you the bits to look out for.

A high level of reliance on family and friends was found among both Chinese and Korean participants in our research, suggesting that co-ethnic networks play an important role in contributing to settlement and business start-ups (Meares et al., 2010a; 2010b). Among the British participants, only one mentioned that friends and family in New Zealand and overseas had been helpful in starting up the business, reinforcing the frequently-stated view of the United Kingdom group that they did not find life in New Zealand substantially different from the life they had left. It is also indicative of the greater ease with which they were able to establish themselves and feel accepted, and of their expectation that this is what would happen.

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 frequently mentioned issues were: obtaining finance; operating in the New Zealand business environment; and employing staff.

OBTAINING FINANCE

Several participants mentioned that obtaining finance to create a business in New Zealand was either difficult or was expected to be difficult. Some had no expectation that finance would be available to them so they arrived with their own. For others, overdraft or loan facilities from a bank were secured, although not necessarily from the first lending facility they applied to. Others experienced difficulties obtaining finance for even small items as a result of having no financial history in New Zealand.

Technically, there wasn’t a lot of financial support there. But we were expecting that.

No, we didn’t [have trouble obtaining finance]. Then we moved house and we wanted to borrow another $40,000 and the bank we were banking with at the time said no, which
was completely stupid but we changed to another bank and they looked at us with their mouth open and said, ‘I can’t believe you said that. We’ll lend you a lot more than that’.

We pay cash so we needed a printer for our office but because we didn’t own property and because our business was less than a year old, we couldn’t get finance for having the printer so we bought one. That was easy enough but it’s a small point.

No, I didn’t need finance. I had my own finance. To be honest, business finance is really quite difficult. I think if I went in asking for two million dollars I would have a better chance at that than asking for five [dollars, you know.

OPERATING IN THE NEW ZEALAND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT

The local business environment presented few challenges for the British-born employers. Participants generally stated that they found New Zealand a straightforward place to establish and do business.

There is quite a lot of red tape and stuff I need to do here ... I was in cotton wool over there because I had this huge corporation around me ... It’s easy to start a business over here. That’s my experience ... There’s quite a lot of things to do but it’s fairly well laid out ... it’s logical and there is support there and the websites are great. I had no difficult setting up the company. I guess I did start it up because I had to convert it from an American-owned corporation into a Kiwi-owned corporation. I had to set that up, register it with the Companies Office and get the documentation around the company, find accountants.

Nevertheless, some found the large number of small businesses, combined with the smaller population in New Zealand, restrictive in terms of developing a customer base. Some also felt that it was hard for a newcomer to break into an established circle of business contacts.

Operating within the New Zealand business environment is different. I think the restrictions of a smaller population ... that’s difficult, plus there’s a lot of competition. I think New Zealand has got the highest ratio of self-employed people in the world and most businesses are one or two people, you know, so there are a lot of businesses so there is a lot of competition.

There’s a cultural difference, definitely ... You’re sort of on the outside trying to break in, and in New Zealand, with your business, most people will already be using somebody else who’s doing it for them and so how do you get them to walk away from that person and start using you? That’s really hard. So it’s beating the competition that is difficult. Getting
into an established market is hard and especially when you come from overseas. Because you feel like an outsider already, you’ve got to prove yourself even more.

The solution suggested by two participants was to visit companies and show them what they have to offer rather than by advertising through other media to attract customers. In this way, they were able to slowly build their client base. One explained:

I said when I start my business I need to get some clients so I’d better go and see some people and get some work … I went to visit [companies] here and asked if I could show them the work that I’d done and asked if they’d give me some work. And eventually I got some work and from that I was able to get some more work and so I built up a small list of clients doing regular work … If you do a good job they give you another one, so all you need to do is keep doing a good job and you’ll get more work.

One employer spoke of what he believed was a misconception about the labour laws faced by business owners in New Zealand, arguing that contrary to popular belief, they are no stricter than anywhere else:

There’s a perception here that the employment laws are so draconian and so difficult and once you’ve employed someone you’re stuck with them forever and it’s an absolute nightmare [but] the laws here seem to be pretty similar to the laws everywhere else. If you’re fair and reasonable you won’t have any problems.

**EMPLOYING STAFF**

Some employers talked about difficulties employing staff for their business. However, it was also acknowledged that these difficulties were not always specific to the New Zealand workplace as demonstrated by the comment: ‘when you employ staff you have the same issues anywhere in the world’. Strategies for managing recruiting challenges involved networking and, more frequently, finding a good recruitment agency. In this, some had more success than others.

Just two interviewees mentioned having issues knowing how to deal with current staff they considered unsuited to the work. One was pleased with the advent of the recent law which allows employers to dismiss staff within the first 90 days of employment. The other said:

We found it quite hard with some of the employees we’ve had. They don’t seem to be very motivated … We’ve got one who’s absolutely brilliant but the other two … it was quite a struggle and you feel constrained as well because it’s almost like they’ve got all the rights.
They can walk anytime they like but you can’t send them on their way without a six month process.

ADVICE

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?

Our participants’ businesses differ considerably in size and the services provided (for example, just one provides an online sales service), and the advice tends to be most relevant to their own concerns so, at times, may appear contradictory. Generally, though, the advice falls into three main areas: research and planning your business, including analysing the current market; marketing through face-to-face contact and developing networks of contacts, rather than relying on websites, newspaper and other media advertising; and taking care to follow the instructions given by government agencies such as the Department of Labour when setting up a new business. Below are a number of quotes which are typical of responses in these three main categories.

Do your research. Get some help from people who are in New Zealand who have done it before. Help from someone in the UK telling you how to do it is pretty useless ... Network as much as possible when you’re here. Spread your business by word of mouth ... you have to get out and talk to people.

Analyse your market well before you start ... I think if you have a good idea then in the early stages you have to know who your competitors are.

You do need to market but you need to market on a personal level ... That’s where we’ve got most of our business ... You get by far a much better response with that personal touch.

Get a good bank that understands your business. Get a good accountant who again understands your business. Not all accountants are equal. I would recommend joining something like Enterprise North Shore. They can introduce you to networks of people. And again, get a relationship with a recruitment consultant, a recruitment agency. They’re all support networks I know.
I would say integrate into the business community. I would say network with people. I would say don’t make any enemies. This country is not even two degrees of separation. If you upset anyone in this country, the chances are you’re going to meet someone who knows them. So don’t make any enemies at all. Don’t say anything to upset people because everybody knows everybody else here so stay friends with everybody.

BUSINESS CONTACTS

EMPLOYEES

We asked employers about the ethnicity, religion and languages spoken by and with their employees, suppliers and customers. All seven employed ‘Kiwis’, Pākehā or Europeans. One also employed a Māori, one a Malaysian, another an Australian and one had previously employed South Africans. Five had, or now have, British employees. All of the employees spoke English. Typical responses were:

*My workers, so far we’ve employed two Kiwis and an Australian and we’re British.*

*Generally I’ve had a good mix. Right now I have, I guess they’d call themselves Kiwis, all four of them but two of them are Croatian originally. I’ve had South Africans, Europeans and obviously Kiwis as well so a fairly good mix. No Indians and no French or anything like that or Asian.*

One interviewee commented that he and his business partner found having a Māori employee was helpful with their large Māori customer base:

*Well I think having Māori staff is really beneficial for the business, especially amongst our Māori patients, because myself and [partner] are both European, White, and a lot of our patients are Māori … and I think they feel more trusting and a lot more willing to be there if there is someone Māori there.*

We also asked about employees’ religious affiliations. In contrast to the Korean employers, 64 percent of whom stated that their employees were Christian and seven percent Buddhist (Meares et al., 2010b), all of the British employers said that they neither knew their workers’ religion nor thought it relevant.
SUPPLIERS

Turning now to the ethnicity of participants’ suppliers, the answers tended to be a little vague. For example:

I think they’re mainly Kiwi. Our main supplier is [...] down the road, most of the chaps there are Kiwi, mostly Kiwis. Some of them Māori Kiwis.

All Europeans from the UK. I do deal, not directly, with Pakistan and India. I buy articles from them ... It’s made over there and I buy it direct.

The one I used to use a lot, was originally from England, he’s been here about forty years so called himself a Kiwi ... but I don’t have any local suppliers for other things although people who service the building, they’re locals, Kiwis.

CUSTOMERS

When asked about the ethnicity of their customers, one participant who runs an agency recruiting people from overseas to New Zealand said, ‘ninety percent from the UK, 10 percent mixed with the majority from South Africa and a growing number from the USA’. For all other participants, the majority of their customers were Kiwi, Pākehā or English, with just two mentioning Māori and one mentioning Korean, Chinese and Indian. In their own words:

In the main, Kiwi, English or South African but we do obviously have some Korean, Chinese ... Japanese ... a couple of Filipinos as well. Indians, now you’re going to ask me whether they’re Fijian? One of them comes from Nottingham. We’ve got Eastern Europeans.

Most of them are Kiwi-owned businesses actually, thinking about it. We’ve got lots. Some big corporations ... are internationally owned. Then we’ve got small businesses and a lot of those are Kiwi-owned. Most of the small businesses would be Kiwi-owned. It’s not individuals, it’s companies.

A mixture but mainly English people. Kiwis.

A variety, mainly Pākehā.

Predominantly white European Pākehā. About 10 percent are Māori. I get a lot of Māori people coming in ... Very few Asian. They don’t have any interest in what I sell.

Māori, European, Asian, Indian, Pacific Islands.
While the employers all spoke English with their customers, one found it helpful if they, or their Korean and Chinese customers, wrote key words to explain what they wanted.

**OTHER CONTACTS**

We also asked participants about their business contacts and relationships, both in New Zealand and overseas. Forty-three percent said that contacts from home were important to the running of their businesses here in New Zealand. A further employer occasionally phoned a former colleague to discuss any ‘obscure’ problems, though the employer added, ‘that would be very rare’. The excerpts below offer explanations and show the closely interweaving links of those who maintain business contacts in the United Kingdom:

*We are still doing some work in the UK so we have lots of business contacts over there.*

*That’s where I buy all my stock from.*

*In the business that we do it is essential. I still use a lot of contacts in the UK to get things done in the business because we work with the UK. We bring people from the UK. Magazines that I used to write for, I still write for now. Websites that I used to use, I still use. People even get hold of me because of what I used to do. For example, there was a guy this morning... and he obviously knew about my background when I was in the UK and he wants to move to New Zealand so he’s here in New Zealand now looking for a job, and I’m trying to help him find a job. A lot of the marketing for our business is based around me, my move to New Zealand. Everyone reads about it, they know my story and that’s why they talk to us and see what we’ve been through and they say, ‘Right these guys have been there. Let’s use them’.*

The British participants did not mention travelling internationally to support their businesses in the previous 12 month period. On the contrary, one stated:

*I don’t need to travel. I could if I wanted to and I do go to Australia from time to time but it’s up to me, which is great. I could do a lot more but I don’t want to, I don’t need to. I’m kind of happy where we are at the moment.*

In contrast to the relative lack of importance afforded overseas contacts, nearly 86 percent of employers said that their New Zealand contacts were essential to their businesses. These contacts included suppliers, customers, sales representatives and accountants. Participants explained:
Very important, probably the most important because of networking. We needed to develop a network of contacts in the business community so that we know where the vacancies are and where the people are to fill them. Because this country works on word of mouth so it's all about who you know, more so than in the UK. So when you open or start a business in the middle of a recession with no clients and no contacts and no candidates and no office, it's a bit challenging so the thing you've got to do is get out there and talk to people and that's what we've been doing ... We joined every organisation we can think of and more besides.

They advise me as to what the top selling articles are and that. So I take advice from them, I listen to what the reps have to say, you know, 'That's selling' or 'that's not selling'. I've got a bond with them over five years and I've kept the same supplier for the last five years.

They are like the second part of the process. We can market to the UK etcetera for as long as possible but without any contacts here it's not going to go anywhere. They help us expand our business and refer us and help us grow.

Six of the seven participants had joined at least one local or national business association. They included the Motor Trade Association, New Zealand Retail Association, Business Networks International (BNI), Enterprise North Shore (ENS), Auckland Chamber of Commerce, Waikato Chamber of Commerce, Rotary, Employers and Manufacturers Association. When asked about which associations they had joined, one responded that the association specific to their business was very useful but that other networking associations were less so:

We've tried but we don't belong to them any more ... we've tried three networking groups, none of which for the input you have to put in, the output you gain wasn't worth it really.

One found the local Chamber of Commerce branch useful for ‘contacts and networking’, but the other stated:

The Auckland Chamber [of Commerce], they do have training and information ... to be honest I'm considering just how useful they are. They haven't been very useful.

On the other hand, Enterprise North Shore and Business Networks International were found to be helpful. A typical comment about Enterprise North Shore was:

Enterprise North Shore is particularly useful for networking. [It] is much more proactive and obviously more immediate in the local community. So, networking, information days and general information on running a business and also referrals. If I need a this or a that, they can put me in contact with a local business.
**Using the Internet**

Nearly 86 percent of employers said that they used the internet to support their business. The most common purposes were to: market their businesses; to search for information about products, procedures, services or potential customers; for on-line sales; and to communicate with customers. One employer also used internet-based management and accounting systems.

*We have a website and virtually all our communication is by email and we advertise online. We use Seek and we use email.*

*We use it to advertise. I use it for research of products and services and to research customers, potential customers. I also use the internet for email, communication.*

*It’s a web-based business, it’s how we market, it’s how we find people, it’s how we talk to them.*

*I have an online shop and it is computer controlled, and I use an unusual thing called Word Jot which is attached to the website, which is a database of customers. So my customers are invited to subscribe to my newsletter. And I advertise my website quite widely ... You can buy direct off it. I’ve only just gone to a shopping cart which I think is very vital. People want to be able to buy it straight away. At the moment I am marketing my website.*
UNITED KINGDOM EMPLOYEES

INITIAL JOBS

Employees were asked a number of questions about their New Zealand labour market experience, in particular about their initial and current jobs. Looking first at employees’ first jobs, 55 percent had arranged this work pre-migration, a high percentage compared with Chinese (10%), Korean (15%), South African (28%) and Indian (none of whom had pre-arranged their initial employment) participants (Meares et al., 2010a; 2010b; 2011a; Lewin, 2011). A similarly high proportion (50%) had been granted permanent residence before they started work while the remaining participants took between four months and three years and an average of just under 10 months before they became permanent residents. Ninety-one percent of the respondents had found their initial job within the first two months, while 4.5 percent took 12 months.42 With respect to industry, a large majority of interviewees worked in either education and training (50%) or health and social assistance (31.8%), while the remainder worked in manufacturing (9.1%), public administration and safety (4.5%), or arts and recreation services (4.5%).

When we compare our employees’ occupational status in their home country with their first New Zealand job and their current job (see Table 19), we can see that, overall, they have experienced some upward occupational mobility. This differs from the experiences of participants from China, Korea and India who had experienced considerable downward occupational mobility during their transition into the labour market in New Zealand. In the United Kingdom, participants worked predominantly as professionals or managers (81.9%), with 9.1 percent in clerical/administrative positions, and 4.5 percent in technical or trades work and in community and personal service work. In their first job in New Zealand, there was a drop in the proportion of our participants who were employed as either managers or professionals (77.3%), but that proportion had risen to comparable pre-migration levels of 81.8 percent at the time of interviews. At the same time, the proportion of clerical/administrative workers rose to 13.6 percent on arrival in New Zealand but then fell back to 9.1 percent, while technical/trades workers rose to 9.1 percent and remained there at the time of the interviews.

42 Data was missing for the remaining 4.5 percent.
We turn now to our employee participants’ assessment of their first jobs in New Zealand. With respect to their initial jobs being a good match for their qualifications, nearly three-quarters of the interviewees (72.8%) either strongly agreed or agreed that this was the case. Nine percent neither agreed nor disagreed and the same percentage either disagreed or strongly disagreed that their jobs matched their qualifications. An even greater majority (86.4%) agreed or strongly agreed that the job used their skills and experience. Sixty-eight percent felt that their first job met their expectations and 59 percent stated that they were in their preferred occupation. More than 86 percent believed they had been treated fairly. Half of the employees were satisfied with their job while 36.8 percent were not. However, just over one-third (36.3%) felt that their current job offered opportunities for career development, while half did not, raising interesting questions about the longer-term career trajectories of British-born migrants.

Just over 36 percent of the interviewees had received assistance in finding their first New Zealand job. The source of help included friends, employment agencies, career services, Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ) and Immigration New Zealand. At times, the help was direct, informing of vacancies, while at other times, the help was indirect, assisting with the development of CVs, for example, that addressed local requirements.
I assume that the post must have been advertised here but one of the ... staff sent it to a colleague ... and they put that around to the staff on their mailing list.

[Career service organisation] were really helpful ... and I guess it is who you meet. There was one particular young woman who gave me feedback on the CV but also really helped me to make that change on the style of CVs because the whole way they do it [in New Zealand] is genuinely harder ... She was really good at helping me and giving me examples and coaching me a lot.

An employment agency I met at the Expo acted on my behalf, put me in contact with recruitment officers.

Nearly half (45%) of the participants were still employed in their first job. Those who were not were asked why they had left. For most, the reason was lack of job satisfaction: the job was deemed repetitive and uninteresting; did not match experience; there was not enough to do; or it failed to be challenging enough. Other reasons were that they had to: travel too far; that the shift work required did not fit with childcare and family life; the interviewee’s qualifications were not recognised and retraining demanded; one participant was made redundant; and another was 'headhunted' to another position.

It was a very small department doing a very specific job and I left after 18 months. I got bored. It was the classic 'great place, shame about the job'.

Primarily, my experience was more extensive than what I was doing at the time.

Working shifts with a three-year old child. Childcare was very difficult because every day was different. I think in nine months I worked I had five weekends off. It was appalling.

When I got over here I had to go back through loads of hoops, retake qualifications that I had already done. It was going to take me two years to get back to a place that I was already at five years ago.
CURRENT JOBS

We now turn our attention to interviewees’ current jobs. In terms of industry, as mentioned previously, 36.4 percent were in education and training, 36.4 percent were in health care and social assistance and 4.5 percent were in professional, scientific and technical, and another 4.5 percent in information, media and telecommunication. With respect to occupation, 68.2 percent, the largest proportion, were professionals, 13.6 percent were managers, 9.1 percent were technicians and tradesmen and 9.1 percent were clerical and administrative workers.

Participants’ workplaces had between four and 6000 employees, with an average of 652 workers. However, this figure is elevated by workplaces with 1000, 5000 and 6000 employees. The median number of employees was 34, and 48 percent worked in businesses with 25 or fewer staff. This is in marked contrast to the Korean employees, where 61 percent worked in firms with six or fewer members of staff (Meares et al., 2010b) and the Chinese employees where 55 percent were employed in firms with fewer than seven staff (Meares et al., 2010a).

Interviewees had been in their current jobs for between four months and eight years and an average of nearly four years. More than 86 percent were full-time and 13.6 percent were part-time. They worked an average of 38.8 hours per week, 14.3 percent worked 20 hours a week or less, while two-thirds worked 40 hours per week or more. Twenty-seven percent of participants managed between three and 20 other employees.

STRATEGIES

Interviewees were asked about the strategies they used to find their current job. By far, most (78%) had responded to an advertisement online. Just under 30 percent had sought help from personal contacts and 23 percent had responded to a newspaper or magazine advertisement. In contrast to Korean and Chinese employees, many of whom had sought help from close friends and family (30% of Korean employees and 45% of Chinese employees), only nine percent of British employees had used this strategy to find their current job. When asked about the most successful strategy, 45 percent claimed online advertisements, 20 percent newspaper or magazine advertisements, 20 percent personal contacts, and five percent found close family and friends, a government scheme and other means were most effective.

Respondents were also asked what three strategies they would recommend to new migrants looking for work in New Zealand. The most frequent advice participants gave was that

43 Data from one participant is missing.
prospective migrants should ‘do their research’ into the job market, checking that qualifications match the New Zealand situation, looking to see what jobs are available by looking online (SEEK was a site mentioned by several) and at advertisements in newspapers, going to ‘expos’, asking friends and relatives and, if possible, by making a local contact in your industry. Next, respondents talked about the importance of having a good CV, of ensuring first that it conforms to local expectations in terms of style and, second, that it matches the job description. Other advice included: ensuring you have the right experience for the job and the paper-work to support your claims; being prepared to start in a lower-paid, more junior position, maybe even doing something different; establishing networks of contacts, undertaking volunteer work if necessary; foregrounding one’s skills while avoiding making references to how things are done in the United Kingdom; and lastly, the importance of maintaining perseverance and confidence.

*I’d say to do your research. There’s lots of information out there and the expos that I went to prior to coming here were very useful, not just for work but for every other aspect of your life.*

*Look at the CV. The way people look at CVs over here is different to the UK, I think. Trim it down, make it succinct.*

*Be prepared to take a lower paid job temporarily. Most people I know that have come over from the UK have started in a more junior role and worked up very quickly.*

*Well I’d say volunteer work. Also I’d say, you can call it networking and being cheeky, and I’d also say pro-active volunteer work ... I targeted certain organisations, like I went to [...] and I said, ‘I like your politics ... I heard from [name of team member] and a couple of other people that you might be a match and have you got anything for me?’*

*Don’t go on about what you did in the UK. There’s a prejudice.*

*Endlessly persistent. I mean perseverance is a big one ... It’s get online, get on the newspapers and don’t just rely on word of mouth. Perseverance with that first step.*

When respondents were asked what strategies they would use if they were searching for another job, more than three-quarters (77.3%) said they would respond to an advertisement online and a further 36.4 percent would respond to a newspaper or magazine advertisement. Nearly 30 percent would approach business contacts, 18 percent would register with an employment agency, nine percent would place an advertisement online and a further nine percent would visit a job fair.
DIFFICULTIES

When asked, slightly fewer than 30 percent of the British employee respondents reported having difficulty finding work in New Zealand. The most common barriers identified were: lack of New Zealand experience and employer attitudes (13.6% each); problems with recognition of their United Kingdom qualifications (9%); and prejudice against their British accent (4.5%). Other problems encountered were being overqualified and being unable to find suitable job opportunities or jobs in their local area.

Fewer British LisNZ participants (24%) experienced difficulties in finding work. Like the IIP employees, their most frequently reported problem was lack of New Zealand experience (9.2%), but this was followed by their belief that there was insufficient work available for their skills and experience (7.1%), by discrimination because they were migrants (4.3%), that their British qualifications were not recognised by employers (3.8%) and that there were no jobs available in the area they lived in (3.5%). The following excerpts represent the perceptions of the IIP employees.

It was the catch 22 of having the right to work. Well, they were all saying, ‘if you have the right to work, we will think about giving you a job’. And of course the Immigration Department was saying, ‘Well you can’t have the right to work until you have got a job’. So it was the catch 22.

We both have a post grad teaching certificate from a college in London and they refused to recognise it, partly because the college no longer exists. But she has a [...] Honours degree in [...] and they said the equivalent was a BA, not honours … and when she came over, they said she wasn’t qualified to do anything. So she had to do another teaching qualification, and then when they put her on a pay scale, and they said that none of that stuff counted and they started from scratch.

JOB SATISFACTION AND EVALUATION

Their work experience (96%) and education (86%) were considered by British employees to be the most helpful factors in gaining their current jobs. These were followed by their English language skills (50%) and personal contacts and networks (27%). Just four percent attributed their success to training they had done since arriving in New Zealand. When asked to rate how they felt about their current job on a scale of one to five, where ‘one’ is very happy and ‘five’ very unhappy, while only four percent chose a negative ‘four’, 23 percent chose a neutral ‘three’.
However, the majority (73%) chose the most positive ‘one’ or ‘two’. The following quotes are illustrative of the largely positive assessment of interviewees’ job satisfaction.

- "It suits me better than the other roles I have had. I like working autonomously and on my own. It’s also a new role within the hospital so it’s quite exciting to develop it and expand the service."

- "I have got very good colleagues and very good backing and I am doing the job that I have been trained for. I have been given a lot of professional freedom and a lot of support."

- "It fits my qualifications. I’m using all my skills and experience. And it’s office hours not shifts, so it suits my family. And when it comes to [professional field] in New Zealand it’s not bad money."

- "I’d prefer to be a little more taxed. But I can’t work 70 hour weeks because there would be nobody to look after (child). You can’t get a high powered, taxing and interesting job and only work 40 hours a week. If we had extended family over here, we could have babysitters, maybe hand (child) over to the grandparents, uncles, aunties you know. But we’re just on our own over here and somebody has to play second fiddle so it’s me."

Using a similar scale, where ‘one’ is very important and ‘five’ is very unimportant, 91 and 82 percent rated their current job positively, at ‘one’ or ‘two’ respectively, in terms of the interest or challenge of the work and possible career development. Related to this, 82 percent of participants said that their current job made good use of their qualifications. In contrast, however, only 68 percent of employees said that their current position made good use of their skills and experience. Some expressed satisfaction in both areas. For example one stated: ‘It lets me use my teaching qualifications and my teaching experience to date. It just puts it all together’. More often, though, participants’ explanations for their responses to these questions suggest that although their formal qualifications may be recognised in their current jobs, they are often not able to make use of the wider range of skills and experiences acquired over the course of their working and personal lives. This is a reversal of the position experienced by the Korean participant employees (Meares et al., 2010b).

- "I’m carrying over a job role that links very much to the qualifications that I did in the UK over here. On the one hand it doesn’t make use of the managerial and leadership qualifications which is an issue ... which I can put up with at the moment. On the one hand it does, but not 100%. So it is utilising some skills and experience but not 100%."
With hindsight, and from the position of having gained employment that matches her/his qualifications and experience, one respondent was able to rationalise the discrepancy between the level of jobs gained when migrants first enter a country and the qualifications and experience they bring:

Yes, finally. I could have done this job five years ago when I arrived. Actually what you need to understand is the context and the culture of where you work so it was the right thing to take crap pay and an easy job so that you can understand where you’re going to be working and I actually think it is quite hard for an English person to come in straight at the top because you don’t have any credibility and you don’t understand the system. Even though I could have done this five years ago, I can do it better now.

Only 50 percent of employee participants responded to the question asking how long they intended to stay in their current jobs. Eighteen percent said that they would stay for five years while the others planned to stay from six months to four years (the average figure was just under four years). Fifty percent of interviewees thought that they would stay in their current job indefinitely and 23 percent would stay until a better job came along. Twenty-three percent were actively looking for another job, most in Auckland or Hamilton, but 4.5 percent in another New Zealand centre and 4.5 percent overseas. No participant was actively looking for work in the United Kingdom.

**BUSINESS CONTACTS**

Many employees work closely with British employers and co-workers. Fifty-five percent of the participants in the study, for example, were employed by other Britons while 64 percent worked with British colleagues. All spoke English with their co-workers. Participants also worked with ‘Kiwis’ (64%), South Africans (50%), Indians (27%), ‘Asians’ (23%), Chinese (18%), Koreans (9%), and Pākehā (9%) and 68 percent described their co-workers as ‘multi-ethnic’ or ‘multicultural’. Similarly, while 14 percent said that their colleagues were Christian, participants also said they worked with Muslims (5%), Hindus (9%) and members of other religions (9%). Forty-four percent of the interviewees said their co-workers spoke English but said co-workers also spoke Afrikaans (18%), an Indian language (14%), a Chinese language (9%), Korean (5%) and 36 percent said co-workers also spoke another language. One participant described the range of their co-workers’ ethnicities as follows:

*You name it, we’ve probably got it. This is a hugely international organisation. The full range of Europeans, we’ve got several Africans as in Black Africans and White South

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44 These include all religions other than Christianity, Islam, Hinduism or Buddhism.
Thinking about participants’ working environments, 91 percent of respondents said that they came into contact with people other than their colleagues in the course of their working day. Fifty-five percent of this group said that they come into contact with people of many ethnicities, languages and religious groups. All participants spoke English with these contacts while 14 percent said that they also spoke another, unidentified, language with contacts.

Although only 36 percent of respondents said that contacts from their home country were important in their current job, this number rose to 77 percent for New Zealand-based contacts. When asked to explain the ways in which their local contacts were important, interviewees spoke of work or business contacts in New Zealand offering advice, support and networking on work-related issues. Only one mentioned finding them helpful on a personal level, saying, ‘we have an employee assistance programme so if I am depressed I could phone these people’. On the subject of work-related issues, participants made such comments as the following:

Yes, it is starting to happen. Because we have got like our own professional body and there have been a couple of conferences and so there are networks that have come out of that. But again, the community is quite small, so getting to know people and getting to make contacts is relatively easy. (And does that help with keeping in touch with what is happening in the profession as whole?) To a degree, but again it’s an isolation issue that, relatively speaking, I think the isolation of New Zealand makes it more difficult, yeah. I don’t mean just geographical.

I suppose my Kiwi friends know the community, so part of my job is about networking and also about getting resources for people. So knowing the local community is really important so I suppose they help me with that.

If you want to find any information out here, you have to know people in the industry ... and jobs seem to be sewn up. I now understand I’ve been really lucky to get a job without having any contacts out here. The majority of jobs, people say this person is going to get that job and they inevitably do.

For 41 percent of the respondents, New Zealand contacts among their own ethnic community were important. This contrasts with the Korean participants, 75 percent of whom said that their local contacts were primarily from the Korean community (Meares et al., 2010b). On the other hand, while only three Korean participants had joined a group, club or organisation related to
their work, 77 percent of British employees had done so, perhaps reflecting the larger percentage of United Kingdom employee participants who were professionals and managers.

**TRAINING**

Eighty-six percent of employees had participated in some form of training since they arrived in New Zealand. Although marginally higher, this is not dissimilar to the other employees in this study: Koreans, 85 percent; Chinese, 80 percent; South Africans, 78 percent; and Indians, 75 percent. However, while 80 percent of Korean and Chinese training was self-funded, the training of other migrant groups was largely funded by their employers. Indeed, 80 percent of the United Kingdom employees’ training was funded by their employers. Moreover, while much of the Korean and Chinese employees’ training was focused on learning English, the majority of training for British employees was for professional development. Some British participants also participated in training for personal reasons. Forty-six percent were still participating in training at the time of their interview.

*Non-violent communication training. Personal I would say but I knew it would be useful in any context. It would help any professional work I would do. Te reo Māori course, introduction course. I just thought it was part of being bicultural really, for me and for [work]. Community Law course to get more of an understanding of New Zealand legislation and organisations, so it was kind of personal and professional ... I thought it would be quite useful that I knew something about it rather than assuming it was like Britain.*

*I did have a forklift driver’s licence in England but it didn’t count here so I got the opportunity to redo that ... I also ... did a welding course, because they do like fitters to weld here. In engineering in England you’re a welder, a fitter or a turner but in New Zealand they like you to be a fitter/turner or a fitter/welder or all three. And they would expect you to weld a bit even if you were a fitter/turner.*

Almost all the respondents who had undertaken training believed that it had been useful to them for a number of reasons, including being essential for their job and personally satisfying, but mostly for professional development purposes.

*Really useful. I couldn’t have got the membership of some of these organisations and institutions without doing some of these courses.*

*The short courses have been ... work requirements so they have been useful ... the university [course] was me choosing to personally develop my career especially as all my*
academia is in England. So with the Resource Management Act ... I've been working under it for two and a half years now and all of a sudden I understand what people are talking about around me. So it has been good.
HOPES AND DREAMS: AN EVALUATION

Employers and employees were asked, at the end of their interviews, to consider the hopes and dreams they had identified earlier and to reflect on the extent to which these had been realised post-migration. We discuss here the three main themes identified by participants earlier: lifestyle; their own employment; and their children's education.

a) LIFESTYLE

After thoughtfully weighing up their lives in the United Kingdom and in New Zealand, thinking about what they missed and what they had gained, most participants who moved here for lifestyle reasons said that, on balance, they were satisfied with their New Zealand lifestyle and believed they had been right to make the decision to migrate. In this, they closely resembled British participants in the 2008 skilled migrants survey (Department of Labour, 2009) who placed lifestyle and environment among their favourite aspects of New Zealand life. A few of the IIP participants' comments follow.

Quality of life definitely has improved, as we thought it would ... we feel so much more relaxed and less wound up over here than in the UK. I guess we both feel a bit more settled, like we never did in the UK ... I think they have been realised yeah, 100 percent completely.

I really can't imagine myself living back in England. Unless there was some sort of family, you know if I was widowed or needed my family around me. Like I love seeing my friends and family and I love going shopping over there but when you get down to the nuts and bolts of the drudgery of everyday living in England. You know, the travelling and the traffic, the small houses, not being able to go outside because the weather is so crap. It is just filthy. New Zealand is just not filthy.

I'd say 100 percent to be honest, completely ... I think the different opportunities have been huge. [But] ... they don't just come, you have to go and grab them. You know, if you want to make something out of living in New Zealand, you can. I think that's the difference. There are far less barriers to stop you doing things. So, yeah, no, it's been great.

Yeah I think they have been. I think if you look back and compare the 'me' today with the 'me' of six years ago, I think the 'me' today is a much happier and satisfied person. I remember definitely being stressed about a lot more things in the UK, stressed about
money, stressed about the job, time, time. I think here ... it is all a relaxed sort of place and very beautiful ... to a degree. It is a different kind of beauty. There are only so many lakes and mountains and glaciers. I do actually long for hedgerows. Every country has got its own beauty.

Some participants had more mixed views about fulfilling their dreams of a better lifestyle in New Zealand but still felt they were satisfied:

I expected a more relaxed lifestyle ... that hasn’t quite happened ... I hoped to be more outdoors, which we did for the first year, and then we bought a house and now every weekend seems to be spent fixing up the house up and doing things to the house ... But it is still an easier lifestyle I suppose. It’s been great, I like New Zealand. It is better in a lot of ways than England in terms of, I suppose less people ... I guess I like it, it’s nice, it’s green. I miss the history of England. Like, you know, the little towns you drive through, the old pubs and castles and stuff. New Zealand is great. The beaches are great and it’s warm. It’s too hot for me sometimes.

We unfortunately bought a business just as the world went into recession so in terms of that, building it and growing at the rate that we originally anticipated hasn’t happened but then we’ve also had the benefit of being our own bosses and working for ourselves and managing to keep our heads above water really. So as I said at the beginning, we’re not any worse off than when we were in the UK and in some social aspects, we’re better off.

b) OWN EMPLOYMENT

Almost half of the participants stated that they had hoped that by coming to New Zealand, they would have more opportunities to find employment in their preferred field, to find more enjoyable employment or to further their careers. While many have found these opportunities, some have been disappointed by such aspects as the lack of career paths, lack of funding, workplace politics, and the sense of isolation engendered by working in a smaller country.

I am not getting what I need out of it [work] ... so what I need is some kind of opportunity that ... gives me the advantages that come from a real [institution] ... because I feel constrained now ... people get in your way and stop you achieving what you want ... I have become frustrated in the politics of it ...

I don’t get everything I want, the hours are probably higher now than they were then but I’m a lot happier in New Zealand.
c) **Children’s Education**

Many interviewees were happy with their children’s education in New Zealand, especially with the opportunities to participate in extra-curricular activities. However, others were more ambivalent, noting that although they were pleased that their children were happy at school, they were not entirely sure whether there was enough pressure on their children to achieve their educational goals.

*Definitely, [my daughter] is so much more happy over here. She’s got freedom over here that she wouldn’t be allowed to have in the UK. She has done so much here that she would not even have had an opportunity to do, like going to camps and going on the flying foxes and kayaking and hiking, just all those outdoor experiences which children in the UK just don’t get now.*

*The children are in good schools and are happy.*

*I think they have a much higher standard of education here than they probably would get in the UK ... and I think they have a better outlook on life. In the UK they would be a bit more cynical about life whereas here kids tend to be a bit more naive and just live life for what it is rather than trying to live life the way they think their peers might want them to live ... In England people want to knock everybody else who's doing well.*

*It is very different to the UK. It is much more relaxed, they don’t have as much homework and the same pressures don’t seem to be on them, but that is not to say that it was right in the UK.*

### Attaining and Maintaining Acceptance and Satisfaction

Respondents were also asked several other questions which together provide some insight into the way they felt about their lives in New Zealand. For example, they were asked whether they felt accepted in New Zealand and, if they did, how long it took them to feel this way. All of the employers and 90 percent of the employees who responded to this question\(^\text{45}\) felt accepted here and 71 percent of employers and a third of employees said that they felt this way on arrival. The remainder of employers took an average of 10 months and employees 14 months to feel accepted. They were also asked how satisfied they were with their current life. All of the employers and 90 percent of employees who responded to this question said that they were either satisfied or very satisfied with their current life. Of the remaining 10 percent of

\(^{45}\) Two employees did not respond to the questions regarding their feelings of acceptance or satisfaction.
employees, five percent were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, and just five percent were 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 their responses were quite similar. The percentage of LisNZ British immigrants who were either satisfied or very satisfied at both waves was around 94 percent although the proportion dropped slightly between Waves One and Two. At Wave Two, just 1.3 percent were either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied. Taking into consideration only those migrant groups who are the focus of the IIP research, this makes the satisfaction levels of the LisNZ United Kingdom migrants second, behind the South African migrants (96% of whom were either very satisfied or satisfied at both Waves One and Two), with those who were either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied too few to report for confidentiality reasons.

When asked what, if anything, they would change, the replies from the 86 percent who responded tended to fall into the following three categories: distance from family and friends still in the United Kingdom (44%); employment or work place issues (44%); and being able to own their home more easily (16%).46 We examine these issues in turn below.

**FAMILY AND FRIENDS**

Reflecting the responses in the interviews and survey questionnaire by Hutching (1999), many IIP participants missed their families and friends in the United Kingdom, regretting their inability to visit, support or be supported by them. A common wish was to be able to bring their family to New Zealand: ‘I think it would nice to bring all my family and friends over here’. For most, the distance, cost and travel time all made visits difficult:

> I guess the only thing that you miss is having friends and family visit more I suppose, or not be so far away. Because of the distance and the cost, it tends to be that they visit once every two years, rather than if I was in Spain, for example, it could be three or four times a year. So distance is something I would change.

Some had been away at the time of family deaths, while others were concerned with trying to help with family health and accommodation issues:

> We’ve had a few health scares over the past few years and you feel a bit helpless being this far away so if I could bring them over that is what I would do.

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46 As some respondents mentioned more than one wish, percentages do not add to 100.
Some missed extended family help with raising children:

*If you could take New Zealand and move it up to the Northern Hemisphere ... mainly because I could dump [my daughter] with the family and go and have a social life.*

Others missed the long-standing friendships they have so far been unable to establish in New Zealand:

*I’d have some more friends I think. Like, I had lived in the UK for 30 years and you can’t replace 30-year friendships ... no matter how hard you try because you have got no history with these people. So you can’t say ‘Remember when we all went to France when we were 20?’ You just can’t.*

**EMPLOYMENT ISSUES**

Employee participants wished to change an array of employment issues, from workplace conditions to lack of career development or insufficient hours.47 One employee, explaining about short holiday times and the requirement they be taken at a time to suit the employer, spoke of the difficulties it created when trying to organise trips to the United Kingdom to see family. The employee concluded: ‘So I think if I could magically change something it would be a bit more leave. Not have that crunch and pressure on it in the same way’. One participant wished she could afford to work fewer hours so she could spend more time with her children, although this was not directly related to her status as a recent migrant:

*Unfortunately I’m doing too much work because my husband has been off for a year on sick leave and basically, financially I have to work and I’m dissatisfied with that. I’d rather be at home with my babies. So if I could change anything, my husband is back at work now but it will take us a while to get straight financially, so I would say I’m going to have to continue what I’m doing for quite a while. And because of the cost of living, if I was to change anything, that would be to work part-time.*

Several employers spoke of the long hours required to build their businesses. They did not regret the effort involved but wished that they could strategise their efforts so they could continue to develop their businesses while freeing up more time to spend with their families or on leisure pursuits:

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47 These responses have been discussed at length elsewhere in the report so are not repeated in great detail here.
I think what I would like to do is grow the business and spend more time on it and less time in it ... at the moment I’m very, very hands-on because there’s only five of us ... grow the business to the point where I can start to delegate more and have more time to spend on the business.

I’ve had to up the hours but I’m hoping it’s just temporary until we get the systems and processes and everything and the staff structure right within the business. It’s going to be reliant on me for the next few months but then hopefully I will be able to get it to the point where I don’t need to put those hours in, in order to achieve the results that we need from the business. So I will be able to wind back a little bit and spend a bit more time with the family and enjoy New Zealand.

**Owning Their Homes**

Several participants wished they could own their homes, be mortgage free or have lower interest rates. Expressing this wish, one added:

> Mortgage rates are hideous. Why is my mortgage rate four times what my sister is paying in England? She was grumbling, 'I'm on two and a half percent on my mortgage' and I thought, 'Hell, I'm on nine percent!'

**Positive Migration Outcomes**

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 shift from the United Kingdom to New Zealand.

Respondents described a wide array of positive consequences of their migration to New Zealand. The most frequently mentioned outcomes were centred on the change of pace and lifestyle, especially on improvements in participants’ sense of freedom and well-being:

> This is the first place I have lived that I have felt at home, felt at ease ... I remember being sat on the hill looking down and thinking ‘I've come home’ and looking down and here I am. I feel much, much calmer here than I ever felt at home ... I feel as though I am living again. I have got the best job in the world and I live in paradise.

> It’s that balancing in work with what you are wanting in life ... I am much more active and have a much wider sort of group of friends really. In Britain we just kept to ourselves ... These activities wouldn’t have been available where we were ... It’s sort of just being able
to live. It sort of feels like being more able to live the life that I want to live ... you just reach a point where you suddenly think, 'Oh yeah, this is right. This is where it is comfortable'.

There are certain things about the quality of life here, like things I can do and have, which are much harder to obtain in a place like London. I have easy access to lots of environmentally attractive places, whether that's places to walk or beaches ... to go to clubs or things like that. So I have quite an active social and cultural life ... I think that here I have made more opportunities of what is available ... It has been a learning experience. I have been able to learn a lot about other things, professional skills and personal things. I have met some wonderful people that I wouldn't have met otherwise, seen beautiful places and I do have, broadly speaking, the kind of lifestyle which I aspire to.

I like the weather. I like the pace of life here. It's just the relaxed factor. I go back to England and people are just permanently screaming around. It's like, 'Slow down, sit down, enjoy the sun and have a cup of coffee' ... over here it's almost a status of 'Look how many years I've kept my crappy old bomb going for on the road', whereas people in England would be appalled and say, 'Oh no! You must go and take out a huge loan and go and buy a shiny new car.' And that's the pace of life thing. Just that relaxed, 'she'll be right' thing.

I think I've rediscovered my enjoyment and interest in my work. I think I was getting a little bit burnt out in the UK. Spending a lot more time outdoors and being able to do things more throughout the year like tramping and kayaking which we enjoy. Better weather and much better access to those sorts of things which aren't considered mainstream in the UK and considered a little bit weird.

Just not having that pressure of being in the rat race.

I find that there's very little class system in New Zealand. Everybody talks to each other on the same level and there is a much stronger class system in the UK which is not nice whereas here, everybody gets on well with everybody ... I think generally people respect each other for what they do and the role they play in the community and it's not like I'm not going to associate with that person because they do a menial job or because they don't come from the same background as me. It doesn't even enter their heads.

Some participants spoke of their migration benefiting their children's and their family lives:

The main one is probably the kids' education and upbringing. And I do enjoy the New Zealand summers. So we all just trip off to the beaches for the weekend and the beaches are
empty and you can swim in the sea because it is nice and warm and go fishing so leisurely it’s great.

In the UK, my husband worked an hour and a half’s drive away from us ... So when the kids were younger they didn’t see him until Saturday night or Sunday morning because he’d be gone by the time they got up, and they’d be in bed by the time he got home. So we do more as a family than we ever used to.

[Speaking of his son] He’s dead keen on football. He used to go to football training [in the United Kingdom] every Saturday morning because he liked it. He was never very good so therefore was never picked for the teams. Every week he would get deflated ... I like the fact that over here, if you have eighty kids who want to play a sport, they will just make up nine teams. So he is playing with eleven other boys who also aren’t very good, but they are all enjoying it. And I love that. They just make room for you ... and it has really brought him out of his shell.

You know my son dresses himself in the craziest outfits and I know that he is going to go to school and no one is going to beat him up. Even yesterday, he’s in reading recovery, and my husband was saying to me, ‘won’t he get beaten up for that or bullied?’ and I said, ‘It’s normal. Loads of kids go to reading recovery.’ No kids take the mickey out of you ... It’s just that acceptance that you can be anybody.

Regarding their employment outcomes, several British employees commented that they had taken a drop in their salaries or wages. However, this has been offset for some through increased job satisfaction and opportunities to broaden their career prospects:

If I was in Britain now I would be one among a plethora of [field] experts. The vast majority have been around a lot longer than me ... and my level of expertise would be substandard. But when we landed here, I became one of two ... so straightaway I get a chance to influence society in a greater way than I could in Britain.

Owning my own business, I don’t think I ever would have got to that in the UK.

Better job satisfaction. Not a better job because for what I do now I still get paid less.

One participant spoke of learning tolerance towards others as a positive migration outcome:

Learning to become more tolerant because seeing it from the other side ... before I was the white hegemony where my father, it sounds terribly classist, but one of the ruling elite, not
that I was really a part of the elite, but I was a part of the majority, where you are anonymous, whereas now for that first period I felt I had a big sign on my head saying, you know, 'Foreigner', so I am just aware of what migrants in general go through.

The following responses capture the many and varied ways that interviewees expressed their largely positive views about the post-migration lives.

You would never have met the Prime Minister in the UK. You wouldn't have even got within 100 metres of him let alone talk to him whereas here you can meet the mayor, you can meet the council, you can meet whoever it is because it's such a small community that you actually feel part of it and that's really liberating. To actually feel like I'm here, I'm chipping in and doing my best and I'm part of it and what I say matters whereas in a country of 60 million people, whatever you do is never going to be part of it.

Two weeks later we had a letter from the Inland Revenue and I remember taking it out of the post box and looking at it and thinking, 'Oh no, we haven't even started this business yet and the Inland Revenue are onto us. Oh no', expecting the worst. When I opened the letter it said, 'Dear Mr [...], congratulations on your new business. We want to give you every help and support. If you'd like to come along we do a free training session on a Monday afternoon to explain how we work and what we expect and we want to meet you and love and kisses, the Inland Revenue'. I thought wow, what a fantastic country this is. The Inland Revenue want us to succeed and they want to help us.

NEGATIVE MIGRATION OUTCOMES

The negative consequences of migration, as perceived by participants, fell into five distinct but often inter-related areas: missing family and friends in the United Kingdom; cultural differences impacting on social life and employment conditions; financial disadvantages from lower earnings and the relatively higher cost of living; the isolation from metropolitan centres; and the poor quality of housing in New Zealand.

As mentioned above, the most frequent negative migration consequence was missing family and friends. This was exacerbated for many by both the high cost of travel and the time taken to travel between New Zealand and the United Kingdom.

We get twenty days of holiday here and for someone who wants to go over to England it's not long enough ... it is hard enough to afford the flights ... and I am trying to go over once a year ... It means that they have this on-going expense and more so, the time that you have in your year. You don't have time to have another sort of holiday.
Being so far away, especially when you have family emergencies, that’s been tough. I think that’s the only thing really.

Cultural differences between the United Kingdom and New Zealand were also frequently mentioned as a negative consequence of migration. The cultural differences tended to be of two kinds: social and employment related. These differences led to feelings of dislocation and were connected to such everyday things as settling in and understanding how to access services:

You come to New Zealand and it looks similar, but actually in subtle ways, it is very different ... I felt that a lot of the problems that [daughter] had particularly was the fact that we dragged her out, effectively, to this place on the other side of the planet. And she had quite a few difficulties settling in ... It was really hard for her ... being completely isolated and starting all over again.

At first every week something ticks you off and you think this place is ridiculous and I can’t live here. Then it goes to every three weeks then every three or four months. And now it is every six months. Like, I hate New Zealand supermarkets with a passion. I used to love going food shopping in England. I hate it here. All the food goes off quicker.

This country all works on who you know and when you come in as an outsider you've got to sort of elbow your way into the stage and sometimes it’s very difficult. It takes a long time to try and break into little circles that exist. It is doable and we’re doing it but it’s a slow process. It’s the slowness and maybe some people need to open their minds to change a bit more.

Employment-related cultural differences were more likely to have led to a sense of frustration or disappointment as United Kingdom qualifications and experience were considered to have been belittled, leading to difficulties in gaining employment or promotion at an equivalent level to those they had held in the United Kingdom:

Kiwi [profession] don’t sort of recognise the standard of qualifications that other migrants have, not just the English but all migrants. I’m sure that they think that they are the be all and end all. That’s what I’ve found ... A lot of them haven’t got any qualifications, they are self-taught. And the ones that have got qualifications, I’ve seen the way the apprentice scheme works here and it’s just rubbish ... it sort of goes on to [affect] your wages as well because they think you’re semi-skilled because most Kiwis are. The ones that are [perceived to be] highly skilled are the ones that are the managers.
Having to work at a much more junior level. Taking a step back and it probably took us about 18 months to two years to get back to the level we were working at in the UK. My husband was the same, he went down a couple of grades in his [profession] initially. I think my experiences with my first job were a very negative thing.

Just as the distance between New Zealand and the United Kingdom limited the possibilities of visiting family and friends, the distance between New Zealand and the larger metropolitan centres of Europe created a sense of cultural isolation for some participants while the much smaller population base created fewer employment opportunities for others:

A couple of things that really hit home was the realisation of isolation ... London obviously has a lot of things which are not so available in New Zealand and in particular I miss going to the theatre. Things like that ... The same opportunities are still here, but it's the number of opportunities. I understand that's because of the size of the population.

There are certain activities like going to a football match that I can’t do here. I miss the permanence of big cities. You can’t just get on an Easy Jet to go to Madrid ... I miss European cities. There is a bit of a culture shock here.

Several participants were disappointed to find wages in New Zealand lower, the cost of living relatively higher and the exchange rate between the English pound and the New Zealand dollar poorer than they had anticipated:

Financial stress I would think the year in, year out thing of financial difficulty.

The cost of living is expensive, compared with the wages. You know, I'm underpaid for what I do. As in most people I think. And you think when you're in the UK the cost of living is going to be less over here. Actually, financially you are no better off.

While many British migrants commented on enjoying the warmer climate in New Zealand, some found the houses inadequately insulated and heated for the winter cold:

No central heating and no double glazing. I suppose if I was going to have a criticism I would say the housing here I find quite poorly built.

Other negative consequences included a perception of lack of quality in the New Zealand media, with one person noting: 'The media is a travesty ... I despair sometimes'. Ten percent felt endangered by New Zealanders’ driving standards, making comments such as:

The driving is appalling. Road safety is diabolical.
I have to mention New Zealand drivers ... probably the worst in the world. They are incredible. I ride a motorbike and I see ... car drivers ... waiting to pull out and just as you get there they start moving. And you think Christ he's trying to kill me on purpose.

One interviewee considered discrimination towards migrants a negative migration consequence, saying: 'There is some discrimination and I don't want to generalise because most people are fine. But in general I think there is a lot of negativity around outsiders'.

Several migrants took the view that there was a combination of positive and negative consequences. Some were still considering the overall impact and still struggling with the negative aspects. For example, one had mixed feelings about the consequences of New Zealand’s smaller population:

The smaller population is a negative and a positive: It’s great because it’s quieter and more laid back; but a negative is public transport is not hot – for example, getting around if you want a drink. I live in [a rural area] so if we wanted a taxi out there it’s $70-80 before we’ve even had a drink and there’s no bus, so you just tend not to do it.

On the other hand, there were others who believed that the good aspects of their migration, on the whole, outweighed the bad, as the following excerpt explains:

I just think immigrants have to lower their expectations when they come here first of all. Not lower them in a bad way. I think there is a lot of propaganda that New Zealand is this that and the other and when you get here it isn’t like that ... At first the sort of culture shock is quite hard ... we used to joke about it being propaganda, you know immigration say you can buy a loaf of bread for this much and you get here and it is three times as much ... I think food here is expensive. Petrol is expensive in relation to what you own. The first year you spend a lot of time being not too happy about that and then you get used to it and think, well on balance my job I only work 50% as hard as I did in the UK. Even though I work longer hours, I feel more refreshed. And just so many things are free. If you go to the beach the showers are free, the toilets are free, the parking is free. And the parks are excellent. Like Hamilton Park you would have to pay to go in back in England.
WHERE TO NOW?

We asked participants a number of questions about their future plans: what work they thought they would be doing in three years; where they would be living in three years; and whether they think their children (if they had any) would be living in New Zealand over the next ten years. Employers’ most common response to the question about work plans during the next three years was that they would continue to run their own businesses, the majority in their current form but some planned further development or a move into more of an online focus. For employees, the most frequent response to this question was also that they would continue in their current positions or something similar, although several were hoping to gain promotions or new roles within their current organisations, some were working towards a permanent contract and some were planning to embark on postgraduate study to widen their options.

_We plan to grow this business. We've set up one specialist division so far. We are thinking of other specialist divisions when the money comes right and the opportunities come right._

_I will grow the business but only to the point where it's fulfilling my objective which is to give us a pot of money in ten years' time that I can buy an annuity with or whatever for retirement here._

_I would imagine that I will be still here working my way up the ladder within [the organisation], doing what I am doing. And hopefully our programme will have expanded, our numbers will have expanded, our research will have expanded, and so on, but I don't envisage me being elsewhere. I am not looking to move up the ladder by moving somewhere else to do that. If an opportunity arises that is too good to turn down, but I am not seeking that._

Almost all the participants planned to still be living in Auckland or Hamilton or elsewhere in New Zealand in three years’ time, while a small number were contemplating a shift to the United Kingdom, Australia or other overseas destination to further their careers. One participant spoke of returning to the United Kingdom if he could find a job there, but he explained that this was 'not really anything to do with the job. It's more to do with personal circumstances'.

With respect to interviewees’ opinions about their children’s plans, when asked if they were likely to remain in New Zealand, more than two-thirds said that their children were likely to remain in New Zealand. One said: ‘Oh he is definitely a Kiwi. He is born in East Yorkshire, but walks like a Kiwi and he talks like a Kiwi. You try putting a pair of shoes on him for goodness' sake!’ Some were not sure:
Yes I do [think the children will be in New Zealand]. I think they may well have to go back to the UK to realise that it is better out here. But I think they probably will be.

I don’t know about my son. He does want to go back to the UK so he might go back but at the moment he’s only in year 10 so who knows really?

Almost a third mentioned either that their children wished, or that they hoped their children might wish, to go to the United Kingdom, Europe, Australia and/or Asia to study or simply to travel as part of what they considered to be the ‘typical Kiwi OE’.48

In ten years’ time I think she’ll do the Kiwi thing. Following school I think she’ll go to university which could be here and then she’ll definitely do an overseas trip which she is already talking about – going to Australia or to Asia, all kinds of things.

I’d like it if they go into further education and hopefully do a bit of travelling. I’d like them to go to Europe and do the big OE and see how the rest of the world lives and then realise what a great place New Zealand is to come back to.

Lastly, we asked respondents about growing old and retiring. When asked ‘Do you imagine yourself retiring here in New Zealand?’, 100 percent of employers and 85 percent of employees who responded to the question49 said that they did see themselves retiring in New Zealand. Two typical comments were:

Yes! God, to retire in the UK?!

Yeah, this is home and where I would consider home now. I guess it is just habit to call the UK home. If people asked me in the past, I would say, ‘I haven’t been home for three years’. But now I would say, ‘I haven’t been to the UK for three years’. I have only been back once since I have been here.

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48 The acronym OE is an Australasian colloquialism referring to the Overseas Experience.
49 Two employees did not respond to this question.
CONCLUSION

This report has focused on the largest and historically most significant immigrant community in New Zealand: those who have arrived from the United Kingdom. They dominated arrivals until immigration policy changes in 1986/87 when migrants from the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland dropped to 28.6 percent (by 2006). These immigrants still represent the largest community of overseas-born. In Auckland, they are residentially concentrated in Rodney, the North Shore, Waiheke Island and the semi-rural southern perimeter of the city.

The experiences of British immigrants are in marked contrast to those arriving from China or Korea. Linguistically and culturally, there are important points of similarity and history within New Zealand. However, that is not to say that British immigrants settle without issues. Their experiences indicate that there are a range of concerns, including distance from family and friends, obtaining suitable employment and a lack of New Zealand work-place experience that replicate the issues faced by other immigrants. And the reasons for selecting New Zealand – lifestyle, safety and children’s education – are the same as those identified by other groups. Overall, however, it would seem that the extent of the challenges is of a different magnitude.

The proportion of participants who reported encountering problems was much smaller for British immigrants and in sharp contrast to the Chinese and Korean immigrants. Participants from the United Kingdom were generally able to obtain employment that was commensurate – or even better – than their pre-departure employment. The downward occupation mobility of Asian immigrants was thus not characteristic of United Kingdom settlers. The clear differences between Asia-born and British-born migrants appears to be a function of cultural and linguistic similarities between homeland and destination, combined with lower levels of encountered discrimination. The reliance on co-ethnic networks by Chinese and Korean immigrants, in the face of substantial differences and discrimination, is missing for arrivals from Britain. There was no such need to compensate for language difficulties; much that they encountered in New Zealand was sufficiently familiar that adjustment was easier and prior education/experience was much more likely to be accepted (although not always the case). This was underpinned by the fact that higher proportions had arranged employment before departure.

Britain remains an important source country for New Zealand and British migrants’ settlement outcomes tend to be much more positive, especially compared to immigrants from China and Korea. However, it should not be assumed that settlement is problem-free; far from it. This report highlights a number of concerns and experiences that British immigrants share with other new arrivals.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


